Online Appendix:

Scapegoating During Crises

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1 Summary statistics and balance tables

Table 1.1: Summary statistics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(1) Full sample</th>
<th>(2) Biden voters</th>
<th>(3) Trump voters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>0.496</td>
<td>0.499</td>
<td>0.494</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>37.852</td>
<td>33.669</td>
<td>42.229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>0.823</td>
<td>0.736</td>
<td>0.913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income</td>
<td>69327.613</td>
<td>67169.339</td>
<td>71585.430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College degree</td>
<td>0.661</td>
<td>0.681</td>
<td>0.639</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full-time work</td>
<td>0.504</td>
<td>0.501</td>
<td>0.506</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northeast</td>
<td>0.182</td>
<td>0.208</td>
<td>0.154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midwest</td>
<td>0.220</td>
<td>0.209</td>
<td>0.232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>0.203</td>
<td>0.241</td>
<td>0.162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>0.395</td>
<td>0.341</td>
<td>0.452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observations</td>
<td>1,952</td>
<td>998</td>
<td>954</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: This table displays the mean value of basic covariates for the full sample (column 1) and separately by Biden and Trump voters (columns 2 and 3). “Male” is a binary variable with value one for male respondents. “Age” is age of the respondent. “White” is a binary variable with value one if the respondent selected “Caucasian/White.” “Income” is coded continuously as the income bracket’s midpoint (Less than $15,000, $15,000 to $24,999, $25,000 to $49,999, $50,000 to $74,999, $75,000 to $99,999, $100,000 to $149,999, $150,000 to $200,000, $200,000 or more). “College degree” is a binary variable taking value one if the respondent has a college degree. “Full-time employee” is a binary variable taking value one if the respondent is a full-time employee. “Northeast,” “Midwest,” “West” and “South” are binary variables with value one if the respondent lives in the respective region.
Table 1.2: Test of balance across treatments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>After (A)</th>
<th>Before (B)</th>
<th>P-value (A - B)</th>
<th>Observations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>0.49</td>
<td>0.650</td>
<td>1952</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>38.08</td>
<td>37.63</td>
<td>0.502</td>
<td>1952</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Log of income</td>
<td>10.88</td>
<td>10.92</td>
<td>0.218</td>
<td>1952</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>0.40</td>
<td>0.39</td>
<td>0.675</td>
<td>1952</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>0.735</td>
<td>1952</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northeast</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>0.222</td>
<td>1952</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>0.81</td>
<td>0.84</td>
<td>0.094</td>
<td>1952</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College</td>
<td>0.65</td>
<td>0.67</td>
<td>0.240</td>
<td>1952</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: This table provides a balance test across the two treatment arms. “Male” is a binary variable with value one for male respondents. “Age” is coded as the continuous midpoint of the age bracket (18 to 24, 25 to 34, 35 to 44, 45 to 54, 55 to 64, 65 or older). “Income” is coded continuously as the income bracket’s midpoint (Less than $15,000, $15,000 to $24,999, $25,000 to $49,999, $50,000 to $74,999, $75,000 to $99,999, $100,000 to $149,999, $150,000 to $200,000, $200,000 or more). “South”, “West”, and “Northeast” are binary dummy variables with value one if the respondent lives in the respective region. “White” is a binary variable with value one if the respondent selected “Caucasian/White”. “College degree” is a binary variable taking value one if the respondent has a college degree.
2 Screenshots of experimental instructions

2.1 Pre-treatment attention check

The next question is about the following problem. In questionnaires like ours, sometimes there are participants who do not carefully read the questions and just quickly click through the survey. This means that there are a lot of random answers which compromise the results of research studies. **To show that you read our questions carefully, please choose both “Extremely interested” and “Not at all interested” as your answer in the next question.** How interested are you in sports?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ ] Extremely interested</td>
<td>Extremely interested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ ] Very interested</td>
<td>Very interested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ ] A little bit interested</td>
<td>A little bit interested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ ] Almost not interested</td>
<td>Almost not interested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ ] Not at all interested</td>
<td>Not at all interested</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.2 Pre-treatment background questions

Please indicate your gender.

- Male
- Female

What is your age?

Which category best describes your highest level of education?

- Eighth grade or less
- Some high school
- High school degree/GED
- Some college
- 2-year college degree
- 4-year college degree
- Master’s degree
- Doctoral degree
- Professional degree (JD, MD, MBA)

Which of the following best describes your race or ethnicity?

- African American/Black
- Asian/Asian American
- Caucasian/White
- Native American, Inuit or Aleut
- Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander
- Other
Are you of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin?

- Yes
- No

What was your family’s gross household income in 2020 in US dollars?

- Less than $15,000
- $15,000 to $24,999
- $25,000 to $49,999
- $50,000 to $74,999
- $75,000 to $99,999
- $100,000 to $149,999
- $150,000 to $200,000
- More than $200,000

Who did you vote for in the 2020 presidential election?

- Donald Trump
- Joe Biden
- Other
- Did not vote

In politics, as of today, do you consider yourself a Republican, a Democrat, or an Independent?

- Republican
- Democrat
- Independent
Are you liberal or conservative?

- Very liberal
- Liberal
- Neither liberal nor conservative
- Conservative
- Very conservative

What is your region of residence?

- **Northeast** (CT, ME, MA, NH, RI, VT, NJ, NY, PA)
- **Midwest** (IL, IN, MI, OH, WI, IA, KS, MN, MO, NE, ND, SD)
- **South** (DE, DC, FL, GA, MD, NC, SC, VA, WV, AL, KY, MS, TN, AR, LA, OK, TX)
- **West** (AZ, CO, ID, NM, MT, UT, NV, WY, AK, CA, HI, OR, WA)

What is your current employment status?

- Full-time employee
- Part-time employee
- Self-employed or small business owner
- Unemployed and looking for work
- Student
- Not in labor force (for example: retired or full-time parent)
2.3 Treatment: Before crisis

Consider Mike, a blue-collar worker. Before the financial crisis in 2008, Mike had been enjoying a stable and well-paying job in manufacturing.

**Shortly before the financial crisis, Mike joined an anti-immigrant organization.**

During the financial crisis, the factory where Mike was working experienced a large decline in demand for its products. As a result, the factory went bankrupt and needed to lay off all of its workers in the middle of the financial crisis.

Why do you think Mike joined the anti-immigrant organization? 2-3 sentences should be enough.
2.4 Treatment: After crisis

Consider Mike, a blue-collar worker. Before the financial crisis in 2008, Mike had been enjoying a stable and well-paying job in manufacturing.

During the financial crisis, the factory where Mike was working experienced a large decline in demand for its products. As a result, the factory went bankrupt and needed to lay off all of its workers in the middle of the financial crisis.

**Shortly after the financial crisis, Mike joined an anti-immigrant organization.**

Why do you think Mike joined the anti-immigrant organization? 2–3 sentences should be enough.
2.5 Feedback

If you have any feedback on our survey, please leave it below.

[Text box]

[Submit button]