Replication Notes for: "Do External Threats Unite or Divide?"

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Core Replication Files

These are the replication files for each study used with the "Main Data Files."

external_threat_replication_study1.R
Replicates results in main text and appendix for Study 1 on crises and partisanship of legislative speech

external_threat_replication_study2.R
Replicates results in main text and appendix for Study 2 on crises and partisan differences in presidential approval

external_threat_replication_study3.R
Replicates results in main text and appendix for survey experiments in Study 3

Main Data Files

These are the combined data files for each study used with the "Core Replication Files."

external_threat_data_study1.csv
Main data file for Study 1 based on polarization measures (external_threat_data_study1_cc-rhetoric-crisis.csv) and merged ICB crisis data. Unit of analysis is the country-session. Used to look at the relationship between security crises and partisanship of Congressional rhetoric around the country that triggered the crisis.

external_threat_data_study2.csv
Main data file for Study 2. Unit of analysis is the Gallup poll. Used to look at the relationship between crises and the partisan gap in presidential approval ratings.

external_threat_data_study3.csv
Main data file for Study 3. Contains results of full survey experiment, conducted June 2019. Unit of analysis is the individual survey respondent. Used to look at how a heightened threat from China affects partisan differences in attitudes towards China and affective polarization.

Data Cleaning & Preparation

These files create the datasets in "Main Data Files" using the "Secondary Datasets."

external_threat_dataprep_study1.R
Cleans and merges crisis data with partisanship of speech measures for Study 1.

external_threat_dataprep_study2.R
Cleans and merges Gallup data with crisis data and other political and economic variables for Study 2.

external_threat_dataprep_study3.R
Cleans survey data for Study 3.

Secondary Datasets

These are the data files that are used in the "Data Cleaning & Preparation" files to create the "Main Data Files." Many of these secondary data files are from other sources; please cite accordingly.

external_threat_data_study1_ICBv12.csv
Data file from the International Crisis Behavior Project (version 12). Also used in Study 2.

Citation: Brecher, Michael, Jonathan Wilkenfeld, Kyle Beardsley, Patrick James, and David Quinn. 2017. *International Crisis Behavior Data, Version 12*. Accessed at: https://sites.duke.edu/icbdata/data-collections/

external_threat_data_study1_ICBtrig.csv
Data file listing US crises and their triggering actors. "Trigents" coded by ICBv12. Non-state or multiple actor crises coded manually by author. Also used in Study 2.

Citation: Brecher, Michael, Jonathan Wilkenfeld, Kyle Beardsley, Patrick James, and David Quinn. 2017. *International Crisis Behavior Data, Version 12*. Accessed at: https://sites.duke.edu/icbdata/data-collections/

external_threat_data_study1_ICBmanual.xlsx
Data file adding three pre-1918 crises coded by author.

external_threat_data_study1_cc-rhetoric.csv
Polarization measures for country-sessions for each crisis country. Created by using digitized version of the Congressional record to extract and clean speeches about crisis countries, and then applying replication code from Peterson and Spirling (2018) for each country-session with the following defaults: min speech length: 40; vocab min: 200 speeches; normalized=1; fixed vocab: pooled crisis country speeches.

Citation for method and replication code: Peterson, Andrew and Arthur Spirling. 2018. "Classification as a Substantive Quantity of Interest." *Political Analysis* 26: 120-128. Replication code available at: https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.7910/DVN/YTPJ1N

external_threat_textdata_study1_speechesclean.csv
Cleaned text from speeches in the Congressional record mentioning crisis countries used with Peterson & Spirling code

Citation for digitized Congressional record: Gentzkow, Matthew, Jesse M. Shapiro, and Matt Taddy. Congressional Record for the 43rd-114th Congresses: Parsed Speeches and Phrase Counts. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford Libraries [distributor], 2018-01-16. Available at: https://data.stanford.edu/congress_text.

external_threat_textdata_study1_fixedvocab.csv
Fixed vocabulary (words mentioned in a minimum of 200 speeches) from crisis country speeches

external_threat_data_study2_gillionetal.dta
Stata data file from Gillion et al. (2020, BJPS) which contains fine-grained presidential approval data from Gallup.

Citation: Gillion, Daniel Q., Jonathan M. Ladd, and Marc Meredith. 2020. "Party Polarization, Ideological Sorting, and the Emergence of the US Partisan Gender Gap." *British Journal of Political Science* 50(4): 1217-1243.

external_threat_data_study2_congsession.csv
Data file on Congressional sessions from Voteview

Citation: Lewis, Jeffrey B., Keith Poole, Howard Rosenthal, Adam Boche, Aaron Rudkin, and Luke Sonnet (2020). Voteview: Congressional Roll-Call Votes Database. Accessed from: https://voteview.com/

external_threat_data_study2_pressupport.csv
Data file on presidential support from Voteview calculated here:

Citation: Lewis, Jeffrey B., Keith Poole, Howard Rosenthal, Adam Boche, Aaron Rudkin, and Luke Sonnet (2020). Voteview: Congressional Roll-Call Votes Database. Accessed from: https://voteview.com/articles/presidential_support_scores

external_threat_data_study2_nominate.csv
Data file containing bicameral distance between House and Senate

Citation: Lewis, Jeffrey B., Keith Poole, Howard Rosenthal, Adam Boche, Aaron Rudkin, and Luke Sonnet (2020). Voteview: Congressional Roll-Call Votes Database. Accessed from: https://voteview.com/

external_threat_data_study2_housenominate.dta
Data file containing DW-NOMINATE scores for House

Citation: Lewis, Jeffrey B., Keith Poole, Howard Rosenthal, Adam Boche, Aaron Rudkin, and Luke Sonnet (2020). Voteview: Congressional Roll-Call Votes Database. Accessed from: https://voteview.com/

external_threat_data_study2_senatenominate.dta
Data file containing DW-NOMINATE scores for Senate

Citation: Lewis, Jeffrey B., Keith Poole, Howard Rosenthal, Adam Boche, Aaron Rudkin, and Luke Sonnet (2020). Voteview: Congressional Roll-Call Votes Database. Accessed from: https://voteview.com/

external_threat_data_study2_preselections.csv
Data file of presidential election dates

external_threat_data_study2_dispinc.csv
Data file containing real disposable personal income per capita (percent change from preceding period, reported quarterly, seasonally adjusted rate) from FRED economic data

Citation: "Real Disposable Personal Income." Accessed from Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis (FRED) Economic Data at: https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/A067RL1Q156SBEA

external_threat_data_study2_unemployment.csv
Data file containing monthly unemployment rate (seasonally adjusted) from FRED economic data

Citation: "Civilian Unemployment Rate by Month." Accessed from Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis (FRED) Economic Data at: https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/UNRATE

external_threat_data_study2_affectiveanes.csv
Data file containing affective polarization measures (feeling thermometers) from the American National Election Studies. Used in appendix.

Citation: American National Election Studies Time Series Cumulative Data File. Accessed from: https://electionstudies.org/data-center/anes-time-series-cumulative-data-file/

external_threat_data_study2_MIDv3.1.csv
Data file containing militarized interstate disputes from the MID project dataset. Used in appendix.

Citation: Palmer, Glenn, Vito D'Orazio, Michael Kenwick, and Matthew Lane. 2015. "The MID4 dataset, 2002-2010: Procedures, Coding Rules, and Description." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 32(2): 222-242.

external_threat_data_study3_finalsurvey.csv
Data file for full survey experiment (n=2500 adults) used in Study 3, conducted June 2019.

external_threat_data_study3_pilotsurvey.csv
Data file for pretest of survey experiment in Study 3, conducted May 2019. Used in appendix.