**HLM Model comparisons:**

We compared the two models: the ones with media multipliers (as described above) and the ones with self-reported measures only. Across the issues, the directions of relationships between variables generally remain constant and robust, with slight increases in the conditional R2 in the models with media multipliers. It is noteworthy that for the immigration model, moderate media variable shows the notable difference between the two models. This suggests that incorporating immigration frames, especially for the moderate media outlets, is significant for the outcome variable; estimated exposure to immigration frames through moderate media negatively relates to attitudes towards the restrictive immigration policy, while the self-reported moderate media measure is insignificant.

Appendix: Multilevel Modeling Tables

**Immigration Chapter**

Table 1\_A. Individual-level relationships only

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Favoring a restrictive immigration policy | | |
| Fixed Effects |  |  |  |
| Predictors | Estimates | std. Error | p |
| intercept | 3.169 | 0.111 | **<0.001** |
| age | 0.076 | 0.028 | **0.007** |
| male | 0.129 | 0.052 | **0.014** |
| edu | -0.076 | 0.028 | **0.007** |
| income | -0.032 | 0.028 | 0.240 |
| white | 0.043 | 0.098 | 0.658 |
| partyID (high=Dem) | -0.517 | 0.031 | **<0.001** |
| lib media | -0.195 | 0.034 | **<0.001** |
| mod media | -0.125 | 0.034 | **<0.001** |
| con media | 0.203 | 0.034 | **<0.001** |
| local media | 0.011 | 0.029 | 0.711 |
| twitter | -0.012 | 0.028 | 0.674 |
| conservative talk radio | 0.105 | 0.033 | **0.001** |
| Rep discussion | 0.138 | 0.055 | **0.013** |
| Random Effects |  | | |
| σ2 | 1.2052 | | |
| τ00 county | 0.0809 | | |
| N county | 68 | | |
| Observations | 1938 | | |

Table 1\_B. Contextual-level variables included

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Favoring a restrictive immigration policy | | |
| Fixed Effects |  |  |  |
| Predictors | Estimates | std. Error | p |
| intercept | 3.107 | 0.101 | **<0.001** |
| age | 0.086 | 0.028 | **0.002** |
| male | 0.129 | 0.052 | **0.013** |
| edu | -0.084 | 0.028 | **0.003** |
| income | -0.042 | 0.028 | 0.136 |
| white | 0.036 | 0.097 | 0.710 |
| partyID (high=Dem) | -0.553 | 0.032 | **<0.001** |
| lib media | -0.207 | 0.034 | **<0.001** |
| mod media | -0.121 | 0.035 | **<0.001** |
| con media | 0.212 | 0.034 | **<0.001** |
| local media | 0.015 | 0.029 | 0.596 |
| twitter | -0.018 | 0.028 | 0.521 |
| conservative talk radio | 0.109 | 0.033 | **0.001** |
| Rep discussion | 0.114 | 0.055 | **0.039** |
| unem 1yr change | 0.033 | 0.036 | 0.362 |
| +65 pop 1yr change | -0.008 | 0.042 | 0.840 |
| health 1yr change | 0.325 | 1.574 | 0.836 |
| manuf 1yr change | -0.095 | 0.045 | **0.034** |
| Random Effects |  | | |
| σ2 | 1.1984 | | |
| τ00 county | 0.0004 | | |
| N county | 68 | | |
| Observations | 1938 | | |

Table 1\_C. Cross-level interactions

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Favoring a restrictive immigration policy | | |
| Fixed Effects |  |  |  |
| Predictors | Estimates | std. Error | p |
| intercept | 3.173 | 0.112 | **<0.001** |
| age | 0.078 | 0.028 | **0.006** |
| male | 0.122 | 0.052 | **0.020** |
| edu | -0.077 | 0.028 | **0.006** |
| income | -0.031 | 0.028 | 0.257 |
| white | 0.032 | 0.098 | 0.744 |
| partyID (high=Dem) | -0.193 | 0.034 | **<0.001** |
| lib media | -0.123 | 0.034 | **<0.001** |
| mod media | 0.202 | 0.034 | **<0.001** |
| con media | 0.014 | 0.029 | 0.619 |
| local media | -0.014 | 0.028 | 0.631 |
| twitter | 0.103 | 0.033 | **0.002** |
| conservative talk radio | 0.139 | 0.055 | **0.012** |
| Rep discussion | -0.519 | 0.033 | **<0.001** |
| unem 1yr change | -0.003 | 0.069 | 0.970 |
| +65 pop 1yr change | -0.077 | 0.065 | 0.236 |
| health 1yr change | 1.573 | 2.515 | 0.532 |
| manuf 1yr change | -0.097 | 0.068 | 0.149 |
| partyID \* unem 1yr | -0.093 | 0.036 | **0.009** |
| partyID \* +65 1yr | -0.009 | 0.041 | 0.830 |
| partyID \* health 1yr | -1.925 | 1.654 | 0.244 |
| partyID \* manuf 1yr | 0.035 | 0.045 | 0.427 |
| Random Effects |  | | |
| σ2 | 1.2018 | | |
| τ00 county | 0.0843 | | |
| N county | 68 | | |
| Observations | 1938 | | |

**Healthcare Chapter**

Table 2\_A. Individual-level relationships only

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Favoring Obamacare | | |
| Fixed Effects |  |  |  |
| Predictors | Estimates | std. Error | p |
| intercept | 2.943 | 0.115 | **<0.001** |
| age | -0.007 | 0.029 | 0.813 |
| male | -0.084 | 0.054 | 0.118 |
| edu | 0.045 | 0.028 | 0.115 |
| income | -0.028 | 0.028 | 0.313 |
| white | 0.197 | 0.100 | **0.048** |
| partyID (high=Dem) | 0.816 | 0.032 | **<0.001** |
| lib media | 0.183 | 0.035 | **<0.001** |
| mod media | 0.107 | 0.036 | **0.003** |
| con media | -0.199 | 0.035 | **<0.001** |
| local media | 0.111 | 0.030 | **<0.001** |
| twitter | 0.061 | 0.029 | **0.036** |
| conservative talk radio | -0.113 | 0.034 | **0.001** |
| Rep discussion | -0.129 | 0.057 | **0.023** |
| Random Effects |  | | |
| σ2 | 1.2581 | | |
| τ00 county | 0.0937 | | |
| N county | 68 | | |
| Observations | 1938 | | |

Table 2\_B. Contextual-level variables included

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Favoring Obamacare | | |
| Fixed Effects |  |  |  |
| Predictors | Estimates | std. Error | p |
| intercept | 3.019 | 0.103 | **<0.001** |
| age | 0.018 | 0.028 | 0.533 |
| male | -0.081 | 0.053 | 0.128 |
| edu | 0.039 | 0.029 | 0.178 |
| income | -0.032 | 0.028 | 0.259 |
| white | 0.186 | 0.099 | 0.060 |
| partyID (high=Dem) | 0.858 | 0.032 | **<0.001** |
| lib media | 0.198 | 0.036 | **<0.001** |
| mod media | 0.108 | 0.036 | **0.003** |
| con media | -0.197 | 0.035 | **<0.001** |
| local media | 0.103 | 0.030 | **0.001** |
| twitter | 0.070 | 0.029 | **0.014** |
| conservative talk radio | -0.125 | 0.034 | **<0.001** |
| Rep discussion | -0.107 | 0.056 | 0.058 |
| unem 1yr change | -0.033 | 0.036 | 0.368 |
| +65 pop 1yr change | -0.052 | 0.042 | 0.216 |
| health 1yr change | 0.325 | 1.594 | 0.838 |
| manuf 1yr change | 0.082 | 0.046 | 0.072 |
| Random Effects |  | | |
| σ2 | 1.2476 | | |
| τ00 county | 0.0000 | | |
| N county | 68 | | |
| Observations | 1938 | | |

Table 2\_C. Cross-level interactions

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Favoring Obamacare | | |
| Fixed Effects |  |  |  |
| Predictors | Estimates | std. Error | p |
| intercept | 2.953 | 0.116 | **<0.001** |
| age | -0.008 | 0.029 | 0.787 |
| male | -0.088 | 0.054 | 0.102 |
| edu | 0.046 | 0.028 | 0.106 |
| income | -0.029 | 0.028 | 0.309 |
| white | 0.211 | 0.100 | **0.035** |
| partyID (high=Dem) | 0.817 | 0.032 | **<0.001** |
| lib media | 0.181 | 0.035 | **<0.001** |
| mod media | 0.109 | 0.036 | **0.002** |
| con media | -0.200 | 0.035 | **<0.001** |
| local media | 0.112 | 0.030 | **<0.001** |
| twitter | 0.060 | 0.029 | **0.040** |
| conservative talk radio | -0.114 | 0.034 | **0.001** |
| Rep discussion | -0.162 | 0.061 | **0.008** |
| unem 1yr change | 0.080 | 0.079 | 0.313 |
| +65 pop 1yr change | 0.081 | 0.078 | 0.299 |
| health 1yr change | 1.437 | 3.038 | 0.636 |
| manuf 1yr change | 0.201 | 0.082 | **0.014** |
| Rep talk \* unem 1yr | -0.193 | 0.074 | **0.009** |
| Rep talk \* +65 1yr | -0.100 | 0.087 | 0.252 |
| Rep talk \* health 1yr | 1.300 | 3.244 | 0.689 |
| Rep talk \* manuf 1yr | -0.056 | 0.093 | 0.546 |
| Random Effects |  | | |
| σ2 | 1.2018 | | |
| τ00 county | 0.0843 | | |
| N county | 68 | | |
| Observations | 1938 | | |

**Economy Chapter**

Table 3\_A. Individual-level relationships only

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Positive retrospective state economy | | |
| Fixed Effects |  |  |  |
| Predictors | Odds ratio | std. Error | p |
| intercept | 0.444 | 0.253 | **0.001** |
| age | 1.368 | 0.067 | **<0.001** |
| male | 1.472 | 0.119 | **0.001** |
| edu | 1.144 | 0.064 | **0.037** |
| income | 1.226 | 0.063 | **0.001** |
| white | 0.750 | 0.234 | 0.218 |
| partyID (high=Dem) | 0.399 | 0.070 | **<0.001** |
| lib media | 0.887 | 0.080 | 0.133 |
| mod media | 0.888 | 0.076 | 0.119 |
| con media | 1.545 | 0.069 | **<0.001** |
| local media | 0.982 | 0.066 | 0.781 |
| twitter | 0.967 | 0.068 | 0.623 |
| Rep discussion | 1.786 | 0.121 | **<0.001** |
| Random Effects |  | | |
| σ2 | 3.2899 | | |
| τ00 county | 0.1787 | | |
| N county | 68 | | |
| Observations | 1938 | | |

Table 3\_B. Contextual-level variables included

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Positive retrospective state economy | | |
| Fixed Effects |  |  |  |
| Predictors | Odds ratio | std. Error | p |
| intercept | 0.461 | 0.243 | **0.001** |
| age | 1.409 | 0.068 | **<0.001** |
| male | 1.435 | 0.119 | **0.002** |
| edu | 1.154 | 0.066 | **0.030** |
| income | 1.251 | 0.064 | **<0.001** |
| white | 0.725 | 0.234 | 0.170 |
| partyID (high=Dem) | 0.363 | 0.072 | **<0.001** |
| lib media | 0.880 | 0.082 | 0.119 |
| mod media | 0.897 | 0.077 | 0.158 |
| con media | 1.536 | 0.069 | **<0.001** |
| local media | 0.990 | 0.067 | 0.880 |
| twitter | 0.977 | 0.070 | 0.734 |
| Rep discussion | 1.679 | 0.121 | **<0.001** |
| unem 1yr change | 1.033 | 0.083 | 0.695 |
| +65 pop 1yr change | 1.092 | 0.097 | 0.360 |
| health 1yr change | 0.446 | 3.548 | 0.820 |
| manuf 1yr change | 0.844 | 0.103 | 0.099 |
| Random Effects |  | | |
| σ2 | 3.2899 | | |
| τ00 county | 0.0000 | | |
| N county | 68 | | |
| Observations | 1938 | | |