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2 **The Conditional Nature of the Local Warming Effect**
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47 **Abstract:** The local warming effect occurs when perceived deviations in the day's temperature
48 affect individuals' global warming beliefs. When people perceive the day to be warmer than
49 usual, they tend to overestimate the number of warm days throughout the year, and to report
50 increased belief in and worry about global warming. For many, this is normatively concerning
51 because a single day's perceived temperature fluctuation is not representative of longer-term,
52 large-scale climate patterns. It thus makes for a poor basis for global warming judgments. Recent
53 work shows that the local warming effect might disappear when people receive a reminder to
54 think about weather patterns over the past year (i.e., a correction). This paper employs a survey
55 experiment that extends past research by exploring the generalizability, conditionality, and
56 durability of the corrective information. It identifies the conditions under which a local warming
57 effect is more or less likely to occur.

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73 **1. Introduction**

74 There is little doubt that perceptions of daily temperature deviations can influence
75 individuals' global warming beliefs. When people perceive the day's local temperature to be
76 warmer than usual, they tend to overestimate the number of warm days throughout the past year,
77 and to report increased belief in and concern about global warming. This *local warming effect*
78 has been documented with numerous operationalizations, across multiple populations, and at
79 different times (Joireman, et al. 2010, Li et al. 2011, Risen and Critcher 2011, Egan and Mullin
80 2012, Lewandowski et al. 2012, Zaval et al. 2014).

81 The local warming effect may not always occur, however. For example, Druckman
82 (2015) presents suggestive evidence that the effect may disappear when people receive a
83 reminder to think about over-time temperature patterns. Druckman's results show that *prompting*
84 people to consider weather fluctuations over time can sever the connection between perceptions
85 of the present day's temperature deviation and both impressions of the last year's temperature
86 trends and global warming beliefs. However, Druckman conducted his study on a young sample
87 at a single location, on an uncharacteristically warm day, following a near record-cold winter.
88 Thus, many questions remain. Just how generalizable is this corrective effect? Does the
89 occurrence of the local warming effect vary based on individual differences? Does the impact of
90 a corrective prompt sustain over time?

91 This paper presents an experimental study that addresses each of these questions. It first
92 presents data that re-tests the impact of the corrective prompt, with a more heterogeneous sample
93 across multiple locations, and with respect to an additional dependent variable beyond belief in
94 and concern about global warming – specifically, beliefs about the role of humans in causing
95 global warming (see, e.g., Hamilton and Stampone 2013). The expectation is that the prompt will

96 have the same corrective impact on this additional measure. Indeed, the psychological process
97 underlying Druckman’s (2015) findings should also occur here. Without the prompt, individuals
98 tend to substitute readily available direct sensory experience (i.e., perceived daily temperature
99 fluctuations) for more diagnostic but less accessible information (i.e., over-time temperature
100 trends) – a pattern of behavior similar to the “end-heuristic” observed by Healy and Lenz (2014).
101 In other words, people tend to engage in attribute substitution (see Kahneman and Frederick
102 2002). The prompt makes over-time temperature patterns more accessible, meaning people do
103 not rely on perceptions of today’s temperature deviation in forming their global warming beliefs.
104 The prediction then is: relative to people who do not receive a prompt to consider over-time
105 temperature patterns, people who receive such a prompt will be significantly less likely to base
106 their global warming attitudes on their perceptions of today’s temperature deviation, all else
107 constant (hypothesis 1).

108 Second, this paper presents a test of whether the local warming effect varies based on
109 individual differences. Past work suggests that less intelligent or cognitively able individuals are
110 more likely to rely on attribute substitution since they typically lack the knowledge base and
111 motivation to think through longer-term patterns (Stanovich and West 2002, Egan and Mullin
112 2012): there is “generally a negative correlation between... measures of intelligence and
113 susceptibility to judgment biases” (Kahneman and Frederick 2002, p. 68). The prediction is thus
114 that the local warming effect (which entails using the end-heuristic via reliance on perceptions of
115 today’s temperature deviation) will occur to a significantly greater extent among less cognitively
116 able individuals, all else constant (hypothesis 2).

117 Finally, this paper presents results regarding whether the corrective prompt endures over
118 time, continuing to eliminate the local warming effect even without re-exposure. The expectation

119 is that there will be over-time durability of the corrective prompt because it should stimulate
120 more elaborative thinking as people search their memories for over-time weather assessments
121 rather than rely on a simple attribution substitution. Such thinking is what minimizes the effects
122 of “more superficial, cue-driven processes” such as the end-heuristic (Visser et al. 2006, p. 5).
123 More generally, “when people [form] elaborated attitudes... their attitudes [are] more likely to
124 persist” (Erber et al. 1995, p. 436). The prediction then is that, relative to those who do not
125 receive a prompt, those who receive a corrective prompt will demonstrate stability in their initial
126 attitudes, and will be significantly less susceptible to the local warming effect (i.e., reliance on
127 perceptions of today’s temperature deviation) a week after receiving the initial prompt, all else
128 constant (hypothesis 3).

129 **2. Experimental design and procedure**

130 Participants (n = 307) were recruited via Amazon’s Mechanical Turk (MTurk), an online
131 labor market utilized by an increasing number of survey researchers (Buhrmeister et al. 2011).
132 MTurk represents an improvement over student-based samples typically available to social
133 scientists in that MTurk samples are fairly heterogeneous and more closely representative of the
134 U.S. population as a whole (Berinsky et al. 2012). Mullinix et al. (2015), in fact, show that the
135 modal social science experiment done on a probability population sample replicates on MTurk.
136 Moreover, MTurk is a noted improvement over Druckman’s (2015) sample that largely consisted
137 of students living in one location (e.g., the respondents here came from a total of 44 different
138 states). It also is the same approach used by Zaval et al.’s (2014) investigation of the local
139 warming effect (for three of their studies). The first surveys described in this paper were
140 conducted on 15 December 2014; each respondent received \$0.50 for participating.

141 Participants were randomly assigned to a control (no prompt) or treatment (prompt)
142 condition. Following Zaval et al. (2014) and Druckman (2015), participants were asked: (1) to
143 assess whether the day’s local temperature was warmer or colder than usual for the time of year
144 (TT; with 1, much colder; 2, somewhat colder; 3, about the same; 4, somewhat warmer; 5, much
145 warmer); (2) to report what percentage of days over the past year seemed to be warmer than
146 usual compared with the historical average (PDW); (3) how convinced they are that global
147 warming is happening (GWB; on a four-point scale from not at all convinced to completely
148 convinced); and (4) how worried they are about global warming (GWW; on a four-point scale
149 from not at all worried to a great deal worried). Extending previous work, participants also were
150 asked about whether they think global warming is naturally-occurring or is the result of human
151 activities (GWH; on a seven-point scale, which after an adjustment, see Appendix A, ranged
152 from 1, definitely naturally induced to 7, definitely human induced). Question wordings are
153 provided in Appendix A. In what follows, unless otherwise noted, TT or today’s temperature
154 deviation refers to *perceptions* of temperature deviations rather than an objective deviation in
155 actual temperatures. The same is true for PDW.

156 The survey additionally asked each respondent about their demographic characteristics,
157 political ideology, environmental/economic attitudes, and cognitive ability. Specifically,
158 respondents reported their age, income, education, and gender, and located themselves on a
159 seven-point ideology scale ranging from “very liberal” (a score of 1) to “very conservative” (a
160 score of 7). Respondents also reported their environmental/economic attitude in terms of
161 preferences for protecting the environment (a low score of 1) versus maintaining economic
162 growth (a high score of 7). There are not clear directional predictions for all of these control
163 variables; however, prior work suggests that ideology (becoming more conservative) and

164 environmental/economic attitudes (moving towards a preference for economic growth) should
165 have negative effects on all global warming beliefs (e.g., McCright and Dunlap 2011, Marquart-
166 Pyatt et al. 2014, Bolsen et al. 2015).

167 Respondents' cognitive ability was assessed using a political knowledge battery that
168 included four items (Cronbach's alpha = 0.63) (Delli Carpini and Keeter 1996). Others have
169 shown that such a measure can serve as a proxy for intelligence or ability. Motta (2016, p. 7)
170 states, "Many scholars have documented a link between higher levels of cognitive ability and
171 increased knowledge about politics[.]" Rasmussen (2015, p. 7) similarly explains, "Research
172 demonstrates that people who are more intelligent are also more politically knowledgeable[.]"
173 This measure, which may have the advantage of being a domain specific ability proxy, will be
174 used to test the expectation that the local warming effect largely occurs among less cognitively
175 able individuals. A more general cognitive ability measure was not included; future work would
176 benefit from comparing distinct ability measures. Question wordings and scales for these
177 measures also are available in Appendix A; this appendix lists all of the questions in the order
178 they were provided to respondents.¹

¹ The demographic breakdown of the sample is as follows. Age was measured as a six-item categorical variable (1 = under 18; 2 = 18-24; 3 = 25-34; 4 = 35-50; 5 = 51-65; 6 = 65+); the mean response was 3.18 with a standard deviation of .80. Education was measured as a five-item categorical variable (1 = less than high school; 2 = high school; 3 = some college; 4 = 4 year college degree; 5 = advanced degree); the mean response was 3.46 with a standard deviation of .88. Slightly fewer than half of the respondents were female (46.5%). Income was measured as a five-item categorical variable (1 = < \$30,000; 2 = \$30,000 - \$69,999; 3 = \$70,000 - \$99,999; 4 = \$100,000 - \$200,000; 5 = \$200,000+); the mean response was 2.07 with a standard deviation of .90. As intimated, ideology was measured on a seven-point scale ranging from "very liberal" (a low score of 1) to "very conservative" (a high score of 7); the mean response was 3.26 with a standard deviation of 1.67. Also, as intimated, respondents' environmental/economic attitudes were assessed by asking them whether they favored "protecting the environment, even at the risk of curbing economic growth" or "maintaining a prosperous economy, even if the environment suffers to some extent?" Respondents' answers were recorded on a seven-point scale ranging from "definitely protect environment" (a low score of 1) to "definitely maintain prosperous economy"; (a high score of 7) the mean response was 3.46 with a standard deviation of 1.83. Finally, the average score on the four-item knowledge battery was 2.99 correct with a standard deviation of 1.15.

179 Finally, objective temperature and objective temperature deviations was collected for
180 each respondent’s location; these variables allow for several robustness checks. Appendix B
181 describes how these data were collected and details the robustness check results. These checks
182 rule out the possibility that it is objective conditions that drive the local warming effect, rather
183 than the posited *perceptions*.

184 The treatment (prompt) condition (n = 154) differed from the control (no prompt) (n =
185 153) in only one way. Specifically, as in Druckman (2015), before treatment participants were
186 asked to assess temperature trends over the past year (PDW), they were *prompted* with the
187 following reminder: “When thinking about temperatures over the last year, remember not only
188 the feeling of today but also how you felt throughout last winter, spring, and summer – when
189 temperatures were different.” Finally, all respondents were contacted 7 days after the initial
190 survey (on 22 December 2014) and asked to participate in another survey that re-asked the same
191 series of questions (TT, PDW, GWB, GWW, and GWH).² In the follow-up, respondents in *both*
192 experimental groups received the same questions; the prompt was not introduced again for the
193 treatment group. Respondents received \$2.00 for completing the follow-up; roughly half of the
194 initial respondents (52 percent of control respondents and 53 percent of treatment respondents)
195 accepted the invitation, with 80 control group and 81 treatment group respondents taking part.

196 To be clear, the experimental approach used here differs from Zaval et al. (2014). Their
197 fourth study (the one most similar to what is presented here) uses an observational approach to
198 explore the existence of the local warming effect. This paper focuses on the impact of the
199 prompt, which means that the key tests entail comparisons across the randomly assigned
200 experimental groups. Thus, even though responses to the measures varied through the sample,

² At the time of the initial survey, respondents were informed that they would be re-contacted to participate in a second brief survey.

201 given that respondents lived in a host of locations, random assignment to the control (no prompt)
202 or treatment (prompt) condition means that on average the two groups were the same.
203 Consequently, controlling for other variables (including actual rather than perceived temperature
204 deviations; however, see Appendix B) is not necessary since the groups should be comparable,
205 on average, other than exposure to the prompt (see Shadish et al. 2002).³ Any differences
206 between experimental groups can be confidently attributed to the prompt.

207 The control (no prompt) condition should display a similar local warming effect as
208 previous studies (i.e., Zaval et al. 2014, Druckman 2015). That is, among control (no prompt)
209 respondents, perceptions of today’s temperature (TT) should influence perceptions of the
210 percentage of warmer-than-normal days over the past year (PDW), as well as global warming
211 belief (GWB), worry (GWW), and the extent to which respondents believe that global warming
212 is the result of human activities (GWH). In contrast, treated (prompt) respondents should display
213 a significantly smaller or no connection between TT and PDW or the global warming variables
214 (hypothesis 1). The impact of cognitive ability among respondents in the control (the no prompt
215 condition, where the local warming effect is expected to occur) is explored by assessing whether
216 the effect is significantly larger for those who are less able, as measured by the aforementioned
217 four-item knowledge battery (hypothesis 2). Finally, the over-time impact of the prompt is
218 investigated by comparing experimental groups using the follow-up survey data (hypothesis 3).

219 **3. Results and Discussion**

220 The first prediction to test is whether the prompt vitiates or severs the connection
221 between TT and the other main variables: PDW and the global warming beliefs. Note that one-

³ The comparison of the two groups on all measured demographics confirmed they matched on average. Specifically, a logistic regression, available from the authors, showed that virtually none of the demographic variables significantly predicted experimental assignment, suggesting balance across conditions.

222 tailed tests are used, given the clear directional nature of the hypotheses (Blalock 1979: 163).
223 Table 1 presents the results. The first two rows display average scores for the given measures,
224 while the bottom four rows present relevant correlations. The table shows that TT is not
225 significantly different by condition, confirming the success of random assignment.⁴ On average,
226 respondents in both conditions reported that the present day's temperature was higher than usual
227 (the midpoint of the scale is 3 – so responses above this value indicate warmer than normal
228 temperatures).⁵ It is not surprising, then, that PDW is significantly higher among control (no
229 prompt) respondents: while both groups perceived the present day to be warmer than usual, only
230 those in the control group made the connection between TT and PDW, leading them to relatively
231 higher estimates of the number of such days over the past year (28.84 versus 24.88).

232 **[TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE]**

233 This is further evidenced by the marginally significant correlation ($r = 0.15$, $p = 0.059$,
234 one-tailed test) between TT and PDW among control (no prompt) respondents. Consistent with
235 hypothesis 1, TT and PDW are uncorrelated among treated respondents.⁶ Moreover, as predicted,
236 TT is correlated with each of the global warming measures (GWB, GWW, and GWH) for the

⁴ As mentioned, objective temperature data were collected (see Appendix B); those data show that TT is significantly correlated with *objective* temperature deviations at both T1 ($r = 0.431$, $p < 0.001$, two-tailed test) and T2 ($r = 0.2089$, $p < 0.01$, two-tailed test), suggesting that respondents did indeed attend to actual weather patterns in formulating their responses to this item. PDW, on the other hand, is not correlated with objective temperature at either point, and does marginally differ by condition (i.e., at the .1 level of significance). Additionally, neither objective temperatures nor objective temperature deviations differ significantly across conditions either at T1 or T2 (see Appendix B).

⁵ Objective temperature data show that respondents experienced temperatures on the day of the survey that were a mean of 5.3 degrees Fahrenheit (s.d. = 6.8 degrees) warmer than the historical average.

⁶ Linear regression shows that perceived temperature deviations (TT) influence PDW even when controlling for objective temperatures and objective temperature deviations among control (no prompt) respondents. TT's effects are insignificant among respondents who received the prompt. Details are available from the authors.

237 control group, but *not* the treatment group.⁷ The prompt did not just vitiate the impact of TT – in
238 the case of these data, it eliminated the effect.

239 Altogether, this is evidence that Druckman’s (2015) prompt generalizes to a broader
240 population at a distinct time. It also extends past work by exploring the local warming effect’s
241 absence or presence when it comes to beliefs about the role of human action in affecting global
242 warming (GWH).

243 Hypothesis 2 predicts that the local warming effect occurs to a greater extent among less
244 cognitively able individuals. Testing this possibility entails focusing on respondents in the
245 control (no prompt) condition where the local warming effect occurred.⁸ To do so, each
246 dependent variable is regressed on TT, PDW, demographic and ideological controls (i.e., age,
247 education, gender, income, ideology, and environmental/economic attitudes), cognitive ability,
248 and an interaction of cognitive ability with temperature (TT).⁹ The results are displayed in Table
249 2.

250 **[TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE]**

251 One thing to note, prior to discussing the results for hypothesis 2, is that the results
252 presented here differ from prior work in one regard. As Table 2 shows, the main TT effect
253 remains significant. Zaval et al. (2014) and Druckman (2015) suggest a mediational argument
254 such that TT works through PDW (i.e., TT affects PDW which, in turn, affects the global
255 warming beliefs). The continued significance of TT here suggests that the effects are not entirely
256 mediated through PDW (e.g., Baron and Kenny 1986). The experience of the hot day likely

⁷ As in Druckman (2015), the correlation between PDW and each dependent variable, while not reported in Table 1, is statistically significant across experimental conditions. There were no predictions about how the relationship among these particular variables might change (or not) based on exposure to the prompt.

⁸ It is possible that cognitive ability could moderate an effect in the treatment (prompt) group (e.g., the general null results could hide a small effect among those very low in ability). This possibility was explored, and the result was that cognitive ability has neither a main nor an interactive effect among treated respondents.

⁹ When Percent Days Warmer (PDW) is left out, all models remain substantively the same.

257 affects other mediators that were unmeasured (e.g., Leiserowitz 2006). For example, TT may
258 influence global warming attitudes via risk assessments (e.g., van der Linden 2015).
259 Alternatively, particularly warm days may cause individuals to worry more about global
260 warming consequences on public health, environmental degradation, or the local ecology, which
261 in turn could generate increased belief in and concern about global warming (see, e.g., Corbett
262 and Durfee 2004, Scannell and Gifford 2013, Weathers and Kendall 2015, Wiest et al. 2015).
263 This paper leaves it to future work to more concretely identify additional mediators.¹⁰ For the
264 present purposes, the more important point is that because TT remains significant, the analysis
265 tests hypothesis 2 by interacting cognitive ability with TT (rather than with PDW).

266 Table 2, consistent with hypothesis 2, shows both a main effect for TT *and* a significant
267 negative effect of the interaction term across all three models (although it is marginally
268 significant in the GWB model)¹¹ – suggesting that the local warming effect is indeed larger for
269 those with lower levels of cognitive ability (see note 12 on comparisons with prior work).¹² For
270 example, we find that while a one-unit increase in today’s temperature produces a 0.34 unit
271 increase (more than 30 percent of a standard deviation) in global warming belief (GWB) among

¹⁰ It is worth noting that recent work on mediation makes clear that the study design used here and by others – which involves the measurement, within a single study, of both the overall effect of the treatment (prompt) and its indirect effect through a potential mediator – makes it impossible to definitively establish mediation (Bullock and Ha 2011). Moreover, another challenge to documenting mediation, if it did occur partially via PDW, is that individuals may not easily translate their over-time perceptions into precise estimates.

¹¹ Similar results obtain using ordered logistic regression instead of ordinary least squares regression (in terms of significance and the direction of coefficients). Also, interacting cognitive ability with PDW instead of TT produces an interaction term that is significant for two of three dependent variables (GWB and GWW).

¹² In part, this replicates the findings of Egan and Mullin (2012), although they proxy for cognitive ability with education, and examine the effect of actual rather than perceived temperatures on attitudes and beliefs. Interestingly, the results here may appear to contradict Zaval et al. (2014), who find that increased knowledge does not eliminate the local warming effect. This may be due to differences in how the respective research designs operationalize “cognitive ability.” Zaval et al. directly *manipulate* respondents’ knowledge base, presenting treatment-group respondents with information about the relationship between local short-term and broad long-term temperature trends; they find that this information fails to correct the local warming effect. In contrast, the design here controls for respondents’ preexisting levels of cognitive ability using a political knowledge battery. It is possible that less able respondents were unable to integrate the information that Zaval and colleagues presented, allowing the local warming effect to persist in spite of their treatment. The results here show, on the other hand, that for more cognitively able respondents, the local warming effect never appears in the first place.

272 the least cognitively able control (no prompt) respondents, the same temperature increase among
273 the *most* cognitively able yields a change of just -0.007, indistinguishable from zero. A similar
274 pattern appears for the other two dependent variables.^{13,14}

275 As mentioned, ideology (moving in a conservative direction) and
276 environmental/economic attitudes (moving toward a greater preference for economic growth
277 over environmental protection) were predicted to have significant and negative effects on the
278 global warming variables. This is what was found, using one-tailed tests (given the directional
279 predictions). Fewer *a priori* expectations existed for the other control variables and thus for those
280 two-tailed tests of significance are used. The results show that age had a significant negative
281 effect on GWH. Cognitive ability also had a significant positive main effect on all variables,
282 although only marginally so for GWB (.1 level).

283 The final question to explore is whether the effects of the prompt endure over time. Given
284 the results reviewed above, the prompt seems like a promising means for decoupling the public's
285 attitudes about global warming from a heuristic (perceived deviation in today's temperature),
286 especially in light of its robustness to a larger and more diverse population. However, another

¹³ Analyses using education as a measure of ability rather than the political knowledge battery were also conducted. Those analyses show that education does not work in the same way; that is, it does not moderate the results (c.f., Egan and Mullin 2012). This likely reflects the nature of MTurk respondents. While MTurk is better than a student sample, it is still skewed on some variables, including education (see Levay, Freese, and Druckman 2016). Indeed, in the sample studied here, variance was limited such that 55% of subjects had at least a 4-year college degree. Another test run was for an interaction between ideology and cognitive ability as some research has shown significant effects for such an interaction (e.g., Bolsen, Druckman, and Cook 2015). The results show no significant interaction, which likely again reflects a lack of variance in the MTurk sample: 58% of respondents were liberal and another 19% were pure Independents (see Levay, Freese, and Druckman 2016). To be clear, MTurk is generally heterogeneous across variables, but education and ideology are two of the central variables on which it tends to be skewed.

¹⁴ These same analyses were run with the inclusion of objective temperature and objective temperature deviation as control variables. The results remained substantively the same (i.e., perceived temperature deviations influence global warming beliefs among control (no prompt) respondents, and the interaction effects described above remain significant). In other analyses (more directly concerning results presented in Table 1), objective temperature deviation was substituted for perceived temperature deviation and it was found to be significant for only one outcome variable, and, interestingly, in that case, the prompt also eliminated its effect. See Appendix B for more discussion; all such results are available from the authors.

287 important matter to consider is the *persistence* of the treatment effect. If the effects of the prompt
288 quickly dissipate, it may have little value beyond simply improving one-off survey responses.
289 Yet, if the effects of the prompt are more long-lasting, as predicted by hypothesis 3, this would
290 constitute strong evidence of its rhetorical utility for scientists and educators seeking to
291 communicate with the public about global warming.¹⁵

292 As noted above, respondents were re-contacted seven days after the initial survey and
293 asked to complete a short follow-up questionnaire.¹⁶ Specifically, they were again asked about
294 the present day's temperature (i.e., on the day of the follow-up) and the percentage of warm days
295 over the past year, in addition to each of the three global warming variables (GWB, GWW, and
296 GWH). For each of the time 2 (T2) models, all political and demographic control variables were
297 excluded because these measures are captured by the dependent variables from time 1 (T1),
298 which are included as controls in the time 2 (T2) regressions. In other words, since the control
299 variables already influenced the initial measures, which are present in these models, there is no
300 need to include them a second time. Tables 3 and 4 present the longevity results.

301 **[TABLES 3 AND 4 ABOUT HERE]**

302 Table 3 shows T2 observations for control (no prompt) respondents. Clearly, these results
303 match the findings for control respondents at T1: perceptions of today's temperature deviation
304 exert a significant influence on all three global warming variables, although significance is
305 marginal for GWH. In short, the local warming effect appears again among control (no prompt)

¹⁵ Previous studies and reviews of the persistence of treatment effects and attitude change suggest mixed results (e.g., Lecheler and de Vreese 2011, Baden and Lecheler 2012).

¹⁶ One inferential concern is whether the balance achieved through random assignment at time 1 was maintained at time 2, given some response rate attrition. Balance would allow for causal inferences across the experimental groups (e.g., the prompt's impact is expected to endure and thus the experimental groups should continue to differ when it comes to the effect of perceived temperature deviations at time 2). In results available from the authors, it is shown that balance remains at time 2. The groups likely remain comparable on unobserved measures since there is no reason to expect those receiving the brief and subtle prompt at time 1 would subsequently engage in behaviors distinct from those who do not receive the prompt at time 1.

306 respondents at T2. Additionally, each dependent measure from T1 exerts a sizeable impact on the
307 same measure at T2.

308 Table 4 shows that treated (prompt) respondents show no signs of the local warming
309 effect at T2 – *even though* the treatment prompt was not re-administered. The corrective prompt
310 eliminates the local warming effect at least as much as seven days after the fact, as was predicted
311 with hypothesis 3.^{17,18} This suggests that even though global warming attitudes may be subject to
312 the influence of such fleeting and arbitrary factors as the present day’s weather, it may be
313 relatively easy to apply an enduring correction to these influences.

314 As previously intimated, each of the substantive findings described here, as well as the
315 conclusions drawn from them, hold up when accounting for objective temperatures and objective
316 temperature deviations in the models. For a detailed discussion of this, see Appendix B.

317 **4. Conclusion**

318 Recent research has shown that perceived short-term local temperature fluctuations can
319 exert undue influence on global warming beliefs. However, one recent study (Druckman 2015)
320 shows a way to successfully counteract it. This paper built on this prior work by demonstrating
321 that the correction is robust in a broader and more diverse sample: the prompt not only
322 neutralizes the local warming effect for students drawn from a single location, but also for adults
323 sampled from across the country. The results also reveal that the prompt’s corrective impact
324 extends to an additional global warming attitude: along with belief in and concern about global
325 warming, the prompt also eliminates the local warming effect with respect to the belief that

¹⁷ Substantively, identical effects are obtained via ordered logit: today’s temperature at T2 remains statistically insignificant among those who received the prompt at T1.

¹⁸ While similar in some respects, the consideration of over-time effects here differs from that of Egan and Mullin (2012) who find fleeting local warming effects. Egan and Mullin investigate the influence of temperature at T1 on attitudes at T2; in contrast, here the focus is on the effects of a prompt given at T1 and temperature at T2 on attitudes at T2.

326 global warming is human-induced. Moreover, the results indicate that cognitive ability is a
327 possible moderator of the local warming effect. Local daily temperature fluctuations seem to
328 have a significantly greater impact among the less cognitively able. Finally, the results show that
329 the correction can persist for at least one week afterwards.

330 While the findings illuminate the conditions and extent of both the local warming effect
331 and a correction to it, future work might continue to explore other aspects of these phenomena.
332 For instance, in addition to further replication studies across populations and time, scholars
333 might consider whether the correction persists longer than one week, and whether colder-than-
334 normal and warmer-than-normal temperatures are equally “correctable.” Furthermore,
335 researchers have explored the impact of other weather events besides temperature on global
336 warming attitudes and beliefs – for instance, rainfall, coastal erosion, and tropical storms (e.g.,
337 Goebbert et al. 2012, Taylor et al. 2014). When other kinds of short-term local weather
338 fluctuations influence global warming beliefs, scholars might ask whether these effects can also
339 be corrected in a similar fashion. Additionally, others might use more general measures of
340 intelligence or ability, rather than the domain-specific political knowledge proxy used here, to
341 assess the role played by cognitive ability in producing the local warming effect.

342 What are the normative implications? On the one hand, those who are concerned by the
343 local warming effect may be heartened by the finding that a simple admonition to keep in mind
344 less immediate considerations can eliminate the effect. From this perspective, science
345 communicators may want to add the prompt to their rhetorical toolbox when communicating
346 with the public about global warming. Moreover, the prompt may steer people to more of a
347 reliance on PDW, and some suggest that PDW is fairly accurate objectively: “individuals who
348 live in places with rising average temperatures are more likely than others to [correctly] perceive

349 local warming” (Howe et al. 2013, p. 352). On the other hand, priming people to rely on their
350 perceptions of annual weather trends may not be ideal. Such perceptions are rarely *entirely*
351 accurate and can be skewed by one’s ideology or world-view (Goebbert et al. 2012); moreover,
352 any given year can have unusual and unrepresentative weather that could bias opinions. The
353 solution may be to prime people to think about feelings over even longer periods of time, but
354 whether such an approach would work remains unclear. The findings here represent a step
355 forward in understanding the conditionality of the local warming effect. Yet, much remains to be
356 done to further isolate how weather events affect global warming attitudes and to explore the
357 normative significance of such effects.

358 **Acknowledgements:**

359 We thank Ethan Busby and Adam Howat for assistance.

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361
362

Appendix A: Wording and Scales for Survey Questions

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364
365

LocTemp Is the local temperature today colder or warmer than usual for this time of year?

366
367
368
369

<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
<i>Much</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>About the</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Much</i>
<i>colder</i>	<i>colder</i>	<i>same</i>	<i>warmer</i>	<i>warmer</i>
1	2	3	4	5

370
371
372
373

WarmPercent Over the past year, what percentage of days seemed to be warmer than usual for that time of year, compared to historical average? [100 POINT SCALE ANCHORED BY 0 50 AND 100%]

374
375

GWHappen How convinced are you that global warming is happening?

376
377
378
379
380

<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
<i>Not at all</i>	<i>A little</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Completely</i>
<i>convinced</i>	<i>convinced</i>	<i>convinced</i>	<i>convinced</i>
1	2	3	4

381
382

GWWorry How personally worried are you about global warming?

383
384
385
386
387

<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
<i>Not at all</i>	<i>A little</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>A great deal</i>
<i>worried</i>	<i>worried</i>	<i>worried</i>	<i>worried</i>
1	2	3	4

388
389
390
391
392
393

GWHuman If global warming is happening, to what extent do you think it is caused by human activities, as opposed to natural changes in the environment? (If you believe that global warming is clearly not happening, you can leave this answer blank.) **(We flipped this variable so higher values move towards “definitely human induced.”)**

394
395
396
397
398
399

<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
<i>Definitely</i>	<i>Very likely</i>	<i>Probably</i>	<i>Neither human</i>	<i>Probably</i>	<i>Very likely</i>	<i>Definitely</i>
<i>human</i>	<i>human</i>	<i>human</i>	<i>nor naturally</i>	<i>naturally</i>	<i>naturally</i>	<i>naturally</i>
<i>induced</i>	<i>induced</i>	<i>induced</i>	<i>induced</i>	<i>induced</i>	<i>induced</i>	<i>induced</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

400
401

Ideo Which point on this scale best describes your political views?

402
403
404
405
406

<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
<i>Very</i>	<i>Moderately</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Moderate</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Moderately</i>	<i>Very</i>
<i>liberal</i>	<i>liberal</i>	<i>liberal</i>	<i>liberal</i>	<i>conservative</i>	<i>conservative</i>	<i>conservative</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

407
408
409

EconEnviron In general, what do you think is more important: protecting the environment, even at the risk of curbing economic growth, OR

410 maintaining a prosperous economy, even if the environment suffers to
 411 some extent?

412							
413							
414	<u>Definitely</u>	<u>Very likely</u>	<u>Probably</u>	<u>Equally</u>	<u>Probably</u>	<u>Very likely</u>	<u>Definitely</u>
415	<i>protect</i>	<i>protect</i>	<i>protect</i>	<i>important</i>	<i>maintain</i>	<i>maintain</i>	<i>maintain</i>
416	<i>environment</i>	<i>environment</i>	<i>environment</i>		<i>prosperous</i>	<i>prosperous</i>	<i>prosperous</i>
417					<i>economy</i>	<i>economy</i>	<i>economy</i>
418	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

419
 420 **Gender** Are you male or female?

421		
422		
423	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
424	0	1

425
 426 **Educate** What is your highest level of education?

427					
428					
429	<u>Less than</u>	<u>High school</u>	<u>Some college</u>	<u>4 year</u>	<u>Advanced</u>
430	<i>high school</i>			<i>college degree</i>	<i>degree</i>
431	1	2	3	4	5

432
 433 **Age** What is your age?

434						
435						
436	<u>under 18</u>	<u>18-24</u>	<u>25-34</u>	<u>35-50</u>	<u>51-65</u>	<u>over 65</u>
437	1	2	3	4	5	6

438
 439 **Income** What is your estimate of your family's annual household income (before taxes)?

440					
441					
442	<u>< \$30,000</u>	<u>\$30,000 - \$69,999</u>	<u>\$70,000-\$99,999</u>	<u>\$100,000-\$200,000</u>	<u>>\$200,000</u>
443	1	2	3	4	5

444
 445 **Cognitive Ability (Political Knowledge) battery:**

446
 447 *Many people don't know the answers to the next set of questions, so if you don't know the*
 448 *answer, just leave it blank or check "don't know."*

449
 450 **Veto** How much of a majority is required for the U.S. Senate and House to override a
 451 Presidential veto?

452						
453						
454	<u>Cannot</u>	<u>1/3</u>	<u>1/2</u>	<u>2/3</u>	<u>3/4</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
455	<i>override</i>					
456	1	2	3	4	5	9

457
 458 **CorrectVeto (1=2/3, 0=anything else)**

459
 460
 461 **House** Do you happen to know which party currently has the most members in the House
 462 of Representatives in Washington D.C.?

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<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
<i>Democrats</i>	<i>Republicans</i>	<i>Tie</i>	<i>Don't know</i>
1	2	3	9

CorrectHouse (1=Republicans, 0=anything else)

Constitution Whose responsibility is it to determine if a law is constitutional?

<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
<i>President</i>	<i>Congress</i>	<i>Supreme Court</i>	<i>Don't know</i>
1	2	3	9

CorrectConstitution (1=Supreme Court, 0=anything else)

SecState Who is the current U.S. Secretary of State? Enter your response or write “don’t know” in the space below.

CorrectSecState (1=John Kerry, 0=anything else)

484

485 **Appendix B: Objective temperature data**

486 Data on objective daily temperatures and objective temperature deviations were collected
487 from the Automated Surface Observing System (ASOS), a climatological observing network
488 maintained by the National Weather Service (NWS), the Federal Aviation Administration, and
489 the Department of Defense. This system consists of hundreds of automated weather stations
490 located primarily at airports around the country. The historical weather archive maintained by
491 Weather Underground, Inc., (<https://www.wunderground.com/history/>) was used to collect
492 objective temperature data for each respondent. Specifically, participants' zip codes were used to
493 query historical temperature data for their locations. The Weather Underground system returned
494 temperature data from the NWS ASOS weather station closest to each zip code. Data on the
495 daily high and low temperatures from each zip code for the day that each respondent completed
496 the survey were collected. The historical average high and low temperatures were also collected.
497 All time 1 (T1) surveys were completed on 15 December 2014; the majority of time 2 (T2)
498 surveys were completed one week later on 22 December 2014 (81 percent of T2 respondents
499 completed the second wave of the survey on 22 December; remaining respondents completed the
500 survey no later than 28 December).

501 The average temperature during the first wave of the survey (T1) was 47.7 degrees
502 Fahrenheit (standard deviation = 10.2); the mean deviation from the historical average was 5.3
503 degrees Fahrenheit (standard deviation = 6.8). The average temperature during the second wave
504 of the survey (T2) was 47.3 degrees Fahrenheit (standard deviation = 13.1); the mean deviation
505 from the historical average was 6.5 degrees Fahrenheit (standard deviation = 5.8).

506 Altogether, the substantive results of the analyses are unchanged when including
507 objective measures of temperature and temperature deviations, and accord with previous findings

508 (e.g., Zaval et al. 2014). These data were used in three ways. First, the correlations among the
509 present day's objective temperature, objective temperature deviation, perceived temperature
510 deviation (which is referred to in-text as TT), and the perceived number of warmer-than-average
511 days over the past year (PDW) were examined. Both PDW and TT are uncorrelated with
512 objective measures of the temperature at T1 and T2. However, TT is significantly correlated with
513 objective measures of temperature *deviations* at T1 ($r = 0.431$, $p < 0.001$, two-tailed test), and TT
514 measured at T2 (TT2) is significantly correlated with objective temperature deviations at T2 ($r =$
515 0.2089 , $p < 0.01$, two-tailed test). The relationship between TT (which asks, "Is the local
516 temperature today colder or warmer than usual for this time of year?") and objective temperature
517 deviations suggests that respondents did indeed attend to actual weather patterns in formulating
518 their assessments.

519 Second, all of the models were re-run using today's actual temperature and then today's
520 actual temperature deviation instead of perceived temperature deviation. When used in this way,
521 neither actual temperature nor actual temperature deviations consistently influence global
522 warming beliefs either at the time of the initial survey or the follow-up wave – a result that
523 comports with Zaval et al.'s (2014, 145-146) analysis showing that it is "attention to and
524 perception of today's temperature, and not actual temperature deviation," which affects recall of
525 past temperature events such as weather patterns over the past year. Note, however, that
526 objective temperature deviations do produce the local warming effect in a single instance –
527 specifically, with respect to worry about global warming (GWW) at time 1 among control (no
528 prompt) respondents – and that the prompt serves to correct this effect, as well.

529 Third, both variables were added as controls to the regressions. Even when controlling
530 for the objective temperatures and objective deviations: A) the local warming effect still appears

531 among control (no prompt) respondents, with *perceived* temperature deviations still significantly
532 influencing global warming beliefs; B) the same interaction effect between cognitive ability and
533 today's perceived temperature deviation appears; and C) the local warming effect still *disappears*
534 among respondents who received the prompt at both T1 and T2.

535 Detailed results for each of the analyses described above are available from the authors
536 upon request.

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691

Table 1 The Impact of the Corrective Prompt		
	No prompt (n = 153)	Prompt (n = 154)
Average Scores		
• Today's Temperature (TT)	3.22 (s.d. = .97)	3.27 (s.d. = .86)
• Percentage Days Warmer (PDW)	28.84* (s.d. = 27.00)	24.88* (s.d. = 21.88)
Correlations		
• PDW and TT	0.15*	-0.04
• Global warming belief (GWB) and TT	0.20**	0.04
• Global warming worry (GWW) and TT	0.17**	-0.005
• Global warming caused by humans (GWH) and TT	0.17**	-0.07
***p ≤ 0.01; **p ≤ 0.05; *p ≤ 0.10. Given the directional nature of the hypotheses, all tests of statistical significance are one-tailed. Correlational tests are Pearson's R. Comparison tests (i.e., in the first two rows) are t-tests.		

Variable	DV = GWB (n = 144)	DV = GWW (n = 143)	DV = GWH (n = 140)
Age	-.11 (.10)	.03 (.08)	-.48 (.15)***
Education	.12 (.10)	.08 (.08)	-.05 (.14)
Gender	.23 (.16)	.05 (.13)	-.03 (.23)
Income	.03 (.09)	-.01 (.08)	.17 (.14)
Ideology	-.21 (.05)***	-.26 (.05)***	-.24 (.08)***
Environmental/economic attitudes	-.13 (.05)***	-.19 (.04)***	-.48 (.07)***
Today's temperature (TT)	.34 (.17)**	.39 (.14)***	.78 (.25)***
Percent days warmer (PDW)	.004 (.003)*	.004 (.002)*	.0002 (.004)
Cognitive ability	.29 (.19)*	.39 (.16)**	.87 (.28)***
Cognitive ability* TT constant	-.09 (.06)*	-.11 (.05)**	-.23 (.09)***
Adjusted R-squared	.30	.47	.45

***p ≤ 0.01; **p ≤ 0.05; *p ≤ 0.10. These models were estimated via OLS regression with the entries being unstandardized coefficients along with standard errors in parentheses. Given the directional nature of the hypotheses, tests of statistical significance are one-tailed for all variables other than age, education, gender, and income where two-tailed tests are employed.

698

Variable	DV = GWB T2 (n = 80)	DV = GWW T2 (n = 79)	DV = GWH T2 (n = 75)
DV at T1	.65 (.08)***	.50 (.08)***	.75 (.06)***
Today's temperature at T2	.24 (.09)***	.31 (.10)***	.18 (.12)*
Percent days warmer (PDW) at T2	.0003 (.002)	.003 (.003)	.0001 (.003)
constant	.31 (.31)	.46 (.31)*	.94 (.45)**
Adjusted R-squared	.56	.49	.70

***p ≤ 0.01; **p ≤ 0.05; *p ≤ 0.10. These models were estimated via OLS regression with the entries being unstandardized coefficients along with standard errors in parentheses. Given the directional nature of the hypotheses, all tests of statistical significance are one-tailed.

699

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Variable	DV = GWB T2 (n = 81)	DV = GWW T2 (n = 81)	DV = GWH T2 (n = 80)
DV at T1	.58 (.09)***	.59 (.09)***	.90 (.05)***
Today's temperature at T2	.04 (.11)	-.11 (.11)	-.09 (.10)
Percent days warmer (PDW) at T2	.001 (.004)	.006 (.004)*	.001 (.004)
constant	1.22 (.45)***	1.32 (.38)***	.85 (.43)*
Adjusted R-squared	.35	.42	.81

***p ≤ 0.01; **p ≤ 0.05; *p ≤ 0.10. These models were estimated via OLS regression with the entries being unstandardized coefficients along with standard errors in parentheses. Given the directional nature of the hypotheses, all tests of statistical significance are one-tailed.

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