

Partisan Cues and Perceived Risks: The effect of partisan social media frames during the Covid-19 crisis in Mexico

Natalia Aruguete ^a and Ernesto Calvo ^b and Francisco Cantú ^c and Sandra Ley ^d and Carlos Scartascini^e and Tiago Ventura ^b

^a Universidad Nacional de Quilmes, UNQ. Castro Barros 981, CABA, Argentina; ^b University of Maryland, GVPT. 3140 Tydings Hall, College Park, MD 20742, USA. ^c University of Houston. 3551 Cullen Boulevard Room 429, Houston, TX 77204-3011, USA. ^d Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas (CIDE), Mexico City ^e IADB. 1300 New York Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20577, USA.

ARTICLE HISTORY

Compiled November 30, 2020

Abstract

We present the results of a survey experiment designed to evaluate the effects of social media exposure on perceptions of personal health and job risks during the COVID-19 pandemic in Mexico. Our framing experiment treats respondents to positive and negative partisan messages from high-level politicians. Descriptive findings show divergent evaluations of how the government is addressing the crisis by supporters of the government and opposition parties. Results show that respondents are sensitive to negative frames regardless of the political color of the messenger. Further, supporters of the incumbent are more likely to deflect government's responsibility when treated with a negative frame by a politician from the opposition.

KEYWORDS

COVID-19, Framing Effects, Social Media, Partisanship.

This research is part of the *Inter-American Development Bank* project: "Transparency, trust, and Social Media", 1300600-01-PEC. PI: Ernesto Calvo, 2019-2020. We thank Elizabeth Zechmeister, Noam Lupu, and Maita Schade from LAPOP, who coordinated the probabilistic selection of respondents from a Netquest panel of Mexican voters. We also thank Julia Rubio, who contribute to the survey design, as well as the members of the interdisciplinary Lab for Computational Social Science (iLCSS-UMD).

CONTACT AUTHOR: Sandra Ley, Email: sandra.ley@cide.edu latex.helpdesk@tandf.co.uk

1 Introduction

Since the beginning of the COVID-19 crisis, researchers have documented significant partisan differences in perceived risk from the pandemic as well as wide partisan gaps in the voters' assessments of the government response (Gadarian et al., 2020; Green et al., 2020; Allcott et al., 2020). Findings line up with a broad literature that connects risk perceptions to communication frames, from the well known prospective model of Tversky and Kahneman (1981) to the more recent partisan models of Iyengar (1990) and Iyengar et al. (2012). In this article, we deploy a novel experimental design to investigate how framing and partisan identities affects risk perceptions during the COVID-19 pandemic in Mexico.

We describe results from a pre-registered¹ survey experiment that models the effects of partisan frames on health and job risk and in the overall perceptions of the Mexican government response to the COVID-19 pandemic. Our goal is to test for the effect on partisan messages on perceived risk, manipulating social media messages from high level politicians aligned with the government and the opposition. These frames communicate negative and positive partisan messages in response to the crisis.

We implement the survey using an online probabilistic sample of Mexican voters. We prime respondents with information about the virus using edited tweets that changed the author and the content of the message. In the former manipulation, respondents are exposed to tweets from a like-minded, prominent political figure. For the content priming, respondents are exposed to either a positive tweet with the same wording from each politician, or a negative tweet from each politician blaming the other side for the pandemic crises.

The Mexican case offers an unique opportunity to investigate framing and partisan effects during the COVID-19 pandemic. The Mexican president, Andrés Manuel López Obrador, il-

¹Our pre-registration and pre-analysis plan are available here <https://osf.io/akru5/>

illustrates an example of erratic, negacionist response to the pandemic, similar to the cases of Jair Bolsonaro in Brazil, and Donald Trump in the United States. The ambiguous stance of President Obrador reverberate among his supporters and opposition; while the latter developed a distinctive narrative against the belated government response and demanded quick action from the federal authorities (Beauregard and Camhaji, 2020), López Obrador’s copartisans had mixed reactions, from passionate public commitments with the presidential decisions (Padilla, 2020) to calls for a reconsideration of the federal government’s policy decisions (Damián, 2020; Navarro, 2020). Second, most of the recent studies on partisan responses to the COVID-19 pandemic have been conducted on developed countries and long-standing party systems (Gadarian et al., 2020; Allcott et al., 2020), our study brings these studies to the Mexican case, a country living through a radical reconfiguration of its party system, and that offers a hard-test for the effects of partisan responses during the pandemic (Greene and Sánchez-Talanquer, 2018)

Our empirical results show large partisan differences in risk perception and limited effects of the experimental treatment. First, the evidence supports the expected effects of negative messages on respondents’ job and risk perceptions. The results are mostly driven by voters of the opposition parties and independents. In particular, this group feels more at risk after reading messages in which high-levels politicians blame their opponents for the consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic. Further, we show weak results when separating the frames according to partisan cues from the authors of the social media message. Overall results validate the effect of negative frames on inducing partisan responses to the crisis, and show modest effects for partisan cues on voters’ risk perceptions during the pandemic.

2 Party cues and frames in the COVID-19 crisis

When facing complex social problems, voters need shortcuts to simplify and understand their surroundings. A long standing literature on political behavior and party heuristics—from the classic work by [Campbell et al. \(1960\)](#) to the most recent experimental work by [Kam \(2005\)](#), [Berinsky \(2007\)](#), [Arceneaux \(2008\)](#), and [Nicholson \(2012\)](#)—has shown how voters rely on cues from party elites to process information, make decisions, define preferences, among other outcomes. At times, simple party labels and endorsements behind a given policy may be enough for voters to identify their own preferences and policy positions. However, as noted by [Entman \(1993, p. 5\)](#), partisan figures often take an additional step and select “some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described.” The partisan *framing* of a given social or political issue can, therefore, not only help voters take political stands, but also shape their interpretation and evaluation of a given problem.

The effect of partisan cues and corresponding frames, however, has its limits. The characteristics of the recipient, the messenger, and the issue at hand are particularly important elements to consider in such analysis. On the recipient side, political awareness ([Kam, 2005](#)) and partisan attachments ([Arceneaux, 2008](#)) deeply influence the sensitivity to a given message. Given the role of the recipient’s partisanship, the source of cues is equally relevant, as messages affect in-partisans and out-partisans differently ([Nicholson, 2012](#)). Such distinct partisan effect is more pronounced when issues are salient ([Arceneaux, 2008](#)) and divisive ([Berinsky, 2007](#)). It is important to note that, when dealing with science-based issues, such as the case of COVID-19, voters are also likely to use party cues from whichever side of the debate to make sense of their

own policy positions (Merkley and Stecula, 2018).

The framing used within a given partisan message is another important element in the analysis of the effects of party cues. Since Tversky and Kahneman's (1981)'s classic experiment on framing and risks, researchers have known that economic decisions framed in terms of losses yield substantively different responses than those framed in terms of gains (Thaler et al., 1997). Moreover, the framing of a given issue or event can alter perceptions of risk by increasing the salience of particular elements or dimensions. Ultimately, such frames can further shape trust in political facts and scientific evidence (Nisbet et al., 2015; Bullock et al., 2013; Kraft et al., 2015).

One of the most common channels to communicate specific partisan frames is through social media. In contrast to the conventional diffusion of messages by other media outlets, politicians have more control of the partisan messages they want to deliver, altering the frequencies of words, handles, and images (frame elements) that focus the attention of users on particular partisan traits (Aruguete and Calvo, 2018; Lin et al., 2014). In a rapidly changing and polarizing issue, as COVID-19 has resulted to be, along with the mobility restrictions it has imposed, social media has been a particularly useful for party leaders to share and frame their views on gains, losses, risks, and benefits that the pandemic has involved.

We combine these approaches to understand how partisan messages about the COVID-19 pandemic affect perceptions of health risk and job security in Mexico.

3 Experimental Design

Our experiment implements a four-arm treatment assignment in which each respondent is randomly exposed to one of four different tweets, with a variation on the content and the author of the message. Subsequently, the respondent answered a series of questions corresponding to

our outcome variables. The experiment was included in a national online survey in Mexico, fielded by Netquest-Vanderbilt with probabilistic samples drawn by the LAPOP team.

3.1 Treatment Conditions

We edited tweets to prime respondents in our experiment. Although we reduce the external validity of the experiment by not using real tweets for our treatment conditions, we chose the wording of the tweets based on actual public statements and social media activity to maximize the validity of each treatment condition. ²

We vary only two features of each tweet: author and tone. For the author, we use two prominent political figures: (1) Martí Batres, current senator for the President’s ruling party, National Regeneration Movement (MORENA); and Felipe Calderón, Mexico’s president from 2006 to 2012 and one of the most vocal opposition figures against López Obrador (Trejo and Ley, 2016). We choose high-level politicians to ensure congruence or dissonance between the message and the respondents’ preferences.

To vary the tone of the message, we use a positive and a negative framing related to the COVID-19 crisis. In the positive framing, we use precisely the same wording for each author, in which the tweets mainly highlight the existence of a crisis and the importance of President López Obrador to lead the institutional efforts to fight the pandemic. For the negative tweets, we created one for each sender, mimicking their political preferences, thus maximizing external validity for the experiment. In these tweets, the author is blaming the opponent for not dealing well with the current crisis. We provide in the appendix evidence using behavioral responses to the tweets that respondents understood the tone and partisan dynamics of the messages.

²The experiment received the approval of the Institutional Board Review of the University of Maryland, number 1552091-3. By the end of the survey, respondents were debriefed about the use of edited tweets.

3.2 Outcome Variables

We use three main questions as our outcome variables. These questions capture perceptions about personal risk regarding health and job security during the COVID-19 pandemic and the respondents' opinions about the government's performance during the crisis. The complete wording is presented in the Appendix.

Throughout the paper, we present the results across four groups: (1) those that voted for MORENA, the party that won the 2018 presidential election (53% of the vote) and leading the federal strategy facing the COVID-19 crisis; (2) those that voted for the National Action Party (PAN), the party that ended in second place in the 2018 election (22% of the vote); (3) those that voted for the Institutionalized Revolutionary Party (PRI); the party that ended up third in 2018 (16% of the vote); and (4) those respondents who voted for independent candidates or did not vote in 2018.³ In the Appendix, we show our results are similar using different measures of partisanship.

4 Hypotheses

The first hypothesis of our experiment expects negative messages to increase perceptions of individual risk and decrease support for the government's response to the pandemic.⁴ This expectation follows extant work in communication and political science, which show that voters increase their attention to issues that are negatively framed (Tversky and Kahneman, 1981; Iyengar, 1990; Arceneaux and Nickerson, 2010; Öhman and Mineka, 2001). For the case of the COVID-19 pandemic, negative frames should prime respondents about the extent of the health

³Each partisan group has respectively 699, 362, 192 respondents out of 2364 in our sample. All the other respondents were considered independents.

⁴We discuss in this paper the results for our three main pre-registered hypothesis. Other two additional hypothesis presented in our pre-analysis plan as extensions, with predictions for effects on emotional responses and attention, will be discussed in a future publication

crisis and subsequent losses.

- *Hypothesis 1:* We predict that negative messages, compared with the positive tweets, will increase perceptions of risk and decrease support for the government’s response to the COVID-19 pandemic.

We also expect dissonance between the respondents’ preferences and the author of the tweets to interact with the social media frames. In particular, we expect a positive message from an out-group politician to mitigate risk perceptions during the pandemic. These type of messages indicate that politicians are *crossing-the-aisle* and willing to collaborate with each other, thereby reducing cognitive dissonance by respondents. That is, we expect respondents exposed to positive messages from a ‘misaligned’ politician to report lower perceptions of risk, and a greater support for the government’s response.

- *Hypothesis 2:* We predict that a positive message from a misaligned politician will decrease perceptions of risk, and increase support for the government response when compared to the message with same content from an in-group.

Third, we expect the opposite effect when when a ‘misaligned’ politician publishes negative messages. As shown in previous research (Banks et al., 2020), exposure to dissonant social media messages increases *contrast* (Merrill et al., 2003) and heightens perceived polarization. Therefore, we expect that, to the extent respondents observe a negative message from an out-group politician, the framing effects of going negative about the pandemic will be exacerbated (Adida et al., 2018). Therefore, supporters of the opposition will show higher risk perceptions and be more dissatisfied with the government. In contrast, the opposite effects are expected for López Obrador’s copartisans. The corresponding hypotheses are as follows:

- *Hypothesis 3:* Out-group negative messages will increase framing effects compared with

in-group negative tweets:

- *H3a*: Respondents aligned with the opposition will feel more at risk and show greater negative views about the government when exposed to a negative misaligned message.
- *H3b*: Respondents aligned with the government will feel less at risk and show greater support for the government response to the crisis when exposed to a misaligned message.

5 Results

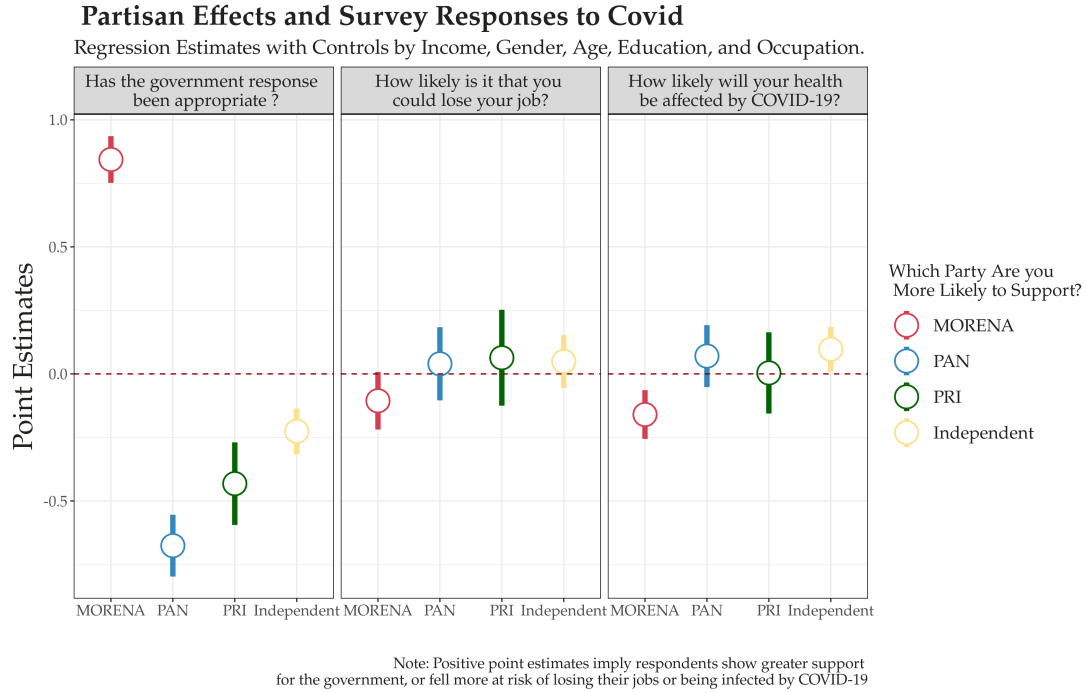
We first report descriptive results, with regression estimates for the dependent variables being explained by vote choice, with controls for gender, age, education, and occupation. Tables and raw percentages for each partisan group are available in Figure ?? in the Appendix.

Figure 1 shows wide inter-party differences in perceived government performance. In particular, MORENA voters tend to evaluate the government in a more positive way than the other groups of voters. As Figure ?? in the Appendix shows, while almost half of MORENA voters evaluate the government response to the COVID-19 crisis as “very appropriate”, fewer than 15% of either PAN or PRI voters agree with such positive evaluation.

Partisan differences on risk perceptions are more subtle. Figure ?? in the Appendix shows that PAN voters’ probability to report that it is “very likely” or “somewhat likely” to lose their jobs is lower than what is observed for PRI or MORENA voters. But such difference disappears after controlling for other respondent characteristics. In contrast, MORENA voters seem to perceive fewer risks of both losing their jobs and being affected by COVID-19, after including our sociodemographic controls.

Below we present the results of our experiment using subgroup analysis. This approach allows us to capture the effect of the tweet on the relevant group of voters for each hypothesis.

Figure 1. Regression Estimates for Partisan Effects on Risk Perceptions and Government Assessment during the Covid-19



The coefficient point estimates and confidence intervals in the figures below present the Average Treatment Effect of the relevant sub-group. The results comparing all the treatment arms against each other are available in the Online Appendix.

Figure 2 shows evidence for our first hypothesis. When looking at all respondents, those exposed to a negative tweet express higher perceptions of risk compared to those exposed to a positive tweet. There are, however, relevant differences across groups. The effect on the risk of losing one's job is mostly driven by independent voters. The members of this group are more likely to perceive themselves at risk of losing their jobs when they are exposed to a negative tweet than when exposed to a positive one.

PRI voters show the largest effects for the perceived consequences of COVID-19 for their personal health. In other words, compared to PRI voters who observed a positive tweet, PRI voters exposed to negative information are more likely to consider themselves at risk of devel-

oping health issues as a result of COVID-19. Since we expect that both independent and PRI voters have less emotional linkages with either Calderón and Batres, the results suggest the weak overall effect of negative information to activate a partisan filter.

Figure 2. Treatment Effects for Negative Messages about the COVID-19 Pandemic.

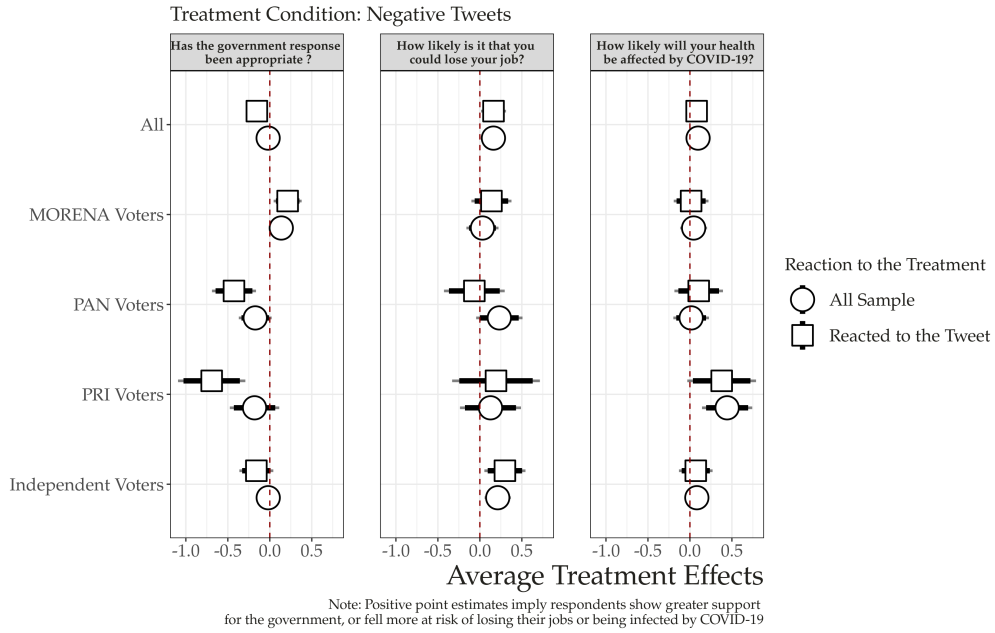


Figure 3. Note: Estimates are based on the benchmark OLS model; we present point estimates with 95% and 90% confidence intervals. The baseline group is respondents who read an positive tweet

Figure 2 also reveals that, among those individuals who reacted to the tweet,⁵ a negative message decreases their support for the government’s response to the COVID-19 pandemic. The effect is observable for PAN and PRI voters as well as independent voters. The effect, however, is positive for those who voted for the incumbent party. As we discuss below, this variable shows large differences across groups of voters and the treatment seems to be unlikely to change such differences. Overall, we can conclude that negative information has important effects on risk perceptions over the general population, as predicted in H1.

⁵After receiving the treatment, we ask respondents about their reaction to the tweet. We include in this analysis only respondents who answered they would retweet, liked, or replied to the treatment message.

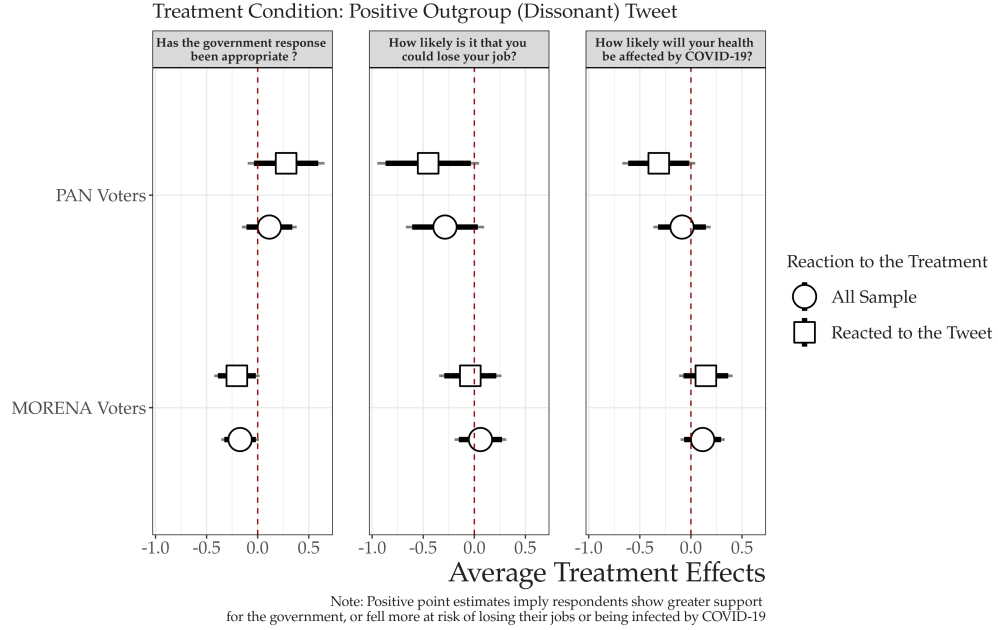
The next two hypotheses have theoretical expectations based on framing effects and the content of a message from an out-group politician. We do so by matching respondents' reported vote choice with the author of the tweet, building a binary variable that indicates whether the match comes from an in-group or an out-group character.

The second hypothesis expects that respondents who observe a positive tweet from a misaligned politician will report lower perceptions of risk and increased support for the government's response compared to those exposed to the same positive tweet but sent from an ingroup politician. As shown in Figure 4, the results fail to support this expectation. Given the partisan implications of this hypothesis, we focus the presentation of the results and discussion of the effects among those respondents more likely to be affected by the tweets of Calderón and Batres: PAN and MORENA voters. The point estimates among PAN voters suggest that those exposed to Batres' positive tweet have higher evaluations of the government and lower risk perceptions than those exposed to Calderón's positive tweet, as we theorized, but the results are not statistically significant. Surprisingly, the opposite is observed among MORENA voters. In comparison with those who observed the positive tweet from Batres, MORENA supporters exposed to Calderón's positive tweet show lower government support ($p\text{-value} < 0.10$). A positive tweet from Calderón seems to increase the perceptions of risk among MORENA voters, yet the result is not statistically significant. In general, the results for this test suggest that positive tweets are not a powerful tool to activate partisan responses.

Figure 5 shows the results for Hypothesis 3, which expects heterogeneous effects for negative tweets across partisan groups. The results for PAN voters fail to support Hypothesis 3a. Against our expectation, PAN voters exposed to a negative tweet from Batres show no significant effect on government support or risk perceptions.

In the case of MORENA voters, a negative tweet from a misaligned politician seems to reduce their risk perceptions. In particular, those MORENA respondents who reacted to the

Figure 4. Treatment Effects for Positive Messages from a Misaligned Politician

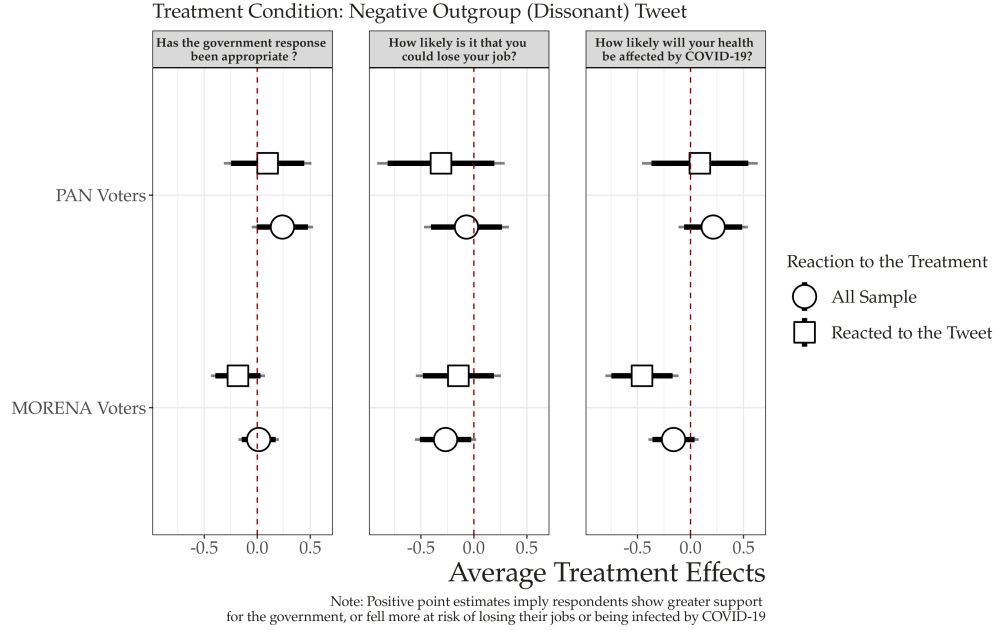


Note: Estimates are based on the benchmark OLS model; we present point estimates with 95% and 90% confidence intervals. The baseline group is respondents who read a positive message from an ingroup political authority

tweet have lower perceptions of health risks when exposed to Calderón’s negative tweet than when exposed to Batres’s negative tweet. This result supports our expectation for Hypothesis 3b, and it suggests that the effect produced by a negative tweet from an out-group politician is stronger than a negative tweet from a likely-minded politician.

In sum, the results illustrate the effects of negative information on the risk perceptions. Exposure to negative tweets seem to increase respondents’ perceptions of losing their job and being affected by COVID-19 on the entire sample. Nevertheless, voters of the incumbent party seem to report lower risk perceptions, by answering in a partisan fashion when the negative information comes from a misaligned politician attacking the government.

Figure 5. Treatment Effects for Negative Messages from a Misaligned Politician



Note: Estimates are based on the benchmark OLS model; we present point estimates with 95% and 90% confidence intervals. The baseline group is respondents who read a negative message from an ingroup political authority

6 Discussion

The mixed nature of some of our results deserves further discussion. It is important to highlight that the evidence of our first hypothesis adds support to the extensive literature on framing effects, with a particular emphasis on the role that negative messages play in expanding perceived risks. On the other hand, we did not find supporting evidence for H2, and H3 was only partially supported. To explain these findings, some underlying issues in recent Mexican politics are worth considering.

First, the results need to be understood in the light of the major reconfiguration of the party system that Mexico is facing nowadays. As argued by [Greene and Sánchez-Talanquer \(2018, 32\)](#), the Mexican party system has been under stress for several years and the 2018 election marked

a “turning point in a long-term process of partisan *dealignment*.” The PRI had a major historic loss that forced its members to rethink its identity (Sánchez-Talanquer and Becerra, 2019), the PAN has faced deep internal divisions (Corona, 2018), and the leftist Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) was unable to survive MORENA’s rise in 2014 (Canchola, 2019). Moreover, identification and attachment to MORENA as a party brand is recent and still evolving.

In addition, the fact that positive tweets do not activate partisan responses suggests that our findings are capturing several processes at work. PAN supporters did not react consistently to the positive tweet by Batres perhaps because it might not have seem to be a credible message calling for a national front around Obrador’s administration. The negative effect of Calderón’s positive tweet on government support among MORENA voters is particularly puzzling, however. As noted, it may be worth considering that (a) presidential approval was already in decline and (b) the coalition of MORENA supporters was unstable. Calderón’s tweet, which may have seem more as a call for unity amid a healthy crisis, could have reinforced such underlying anxieties among a relatively new and unstable group of MORENA supporters.

Furthermore, the null results for the partisan responses to the exposure of Batres’ negative tweet among PAN supporters could be related to two separate, but intertwined issues. First, as we describe, PAN suffered major internal divisions after a complicated nomination battle in the 2018 presidential campaign and the subsequent electoral defeat (Greene and Sánchez-Talanquer, 2018). Second, Calderón’s decision to leave the party and found his own was widely criticized among PAN members (Corona, 2018). Taken together, these two elements point to the lack of cohesion among PAN voters.

7 Conclusion

A common assumption regarding how information affects citizens' attitudes is that it is conditional on who delivers and receives the message. This report revisits the assumption studying the effects of information in the ongoing COVID-19 crisis in Mexico. The results show that negative framing matters. Tweets with negative content increase perceptions of risk, regardless of who delivers the message. Our analysis of the Mexican case amid a radical reconfiguration of the party system has revealed interesting partisan reactions to the politicians' messages.

Opposition voters are still recovering from their poor results during the 2018 election, along with the lack of a clear opposition leader. Together, these elements make Mexican voters more receptive to the messages coming from both sides of the aisle. In contrast, MORENA voters are more able to react to negative messages coming from the opposition. As the results show, their risk perceptions decrease after reading a criticism against the government by former President Felipe Calderón. This outcome illustrates the ongoing polarization in the country and the resistance from government supporters to even listen alternative policies to face the crisis outside from those proposed by the government.

We have brought to light new evidence about the role of positive and negative framing in political messages during a pandemic. This should not be, of course, the last word. First, our study lacks a baseline group; as such, we can't measure citizens' government evaluation and risk perceptions when they are not exposed to a treatment. Second, we invite scholars interested on the topic to complement our findings by measuring the strength of MORENA voters' cognitive dissonance. In particular, further research should explore the attitudinal changes of this group after seeing a negative message towards the government from an in-group member. Such comparison would help us clarify whether supporters of the current government care more about

the message or the messenger.

References

- Adida, C. L., Dionne, K. Y., and Platas, M. R. (2018). Ebola, elections, and immigration: how politicizing an epidemic can shape public attitudes. *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, pages 1–27.
- Allcott, H., Boxell, L., Conway, J., Gentzkow, M., Thaler, M., and Yang, D. Y. (2020). Polarization and Public Health: Partisan Differences in Social Distancing during COVID-19. *Available at SSRN 3570274*.
- Arceneaux, K. (2008). Can partisan cues diminish democratic accountability? *Political Behavior*, 30(2):139–160.
- Arceneaux, K. and Nickerson, D. W. (2010). Comparing negative and positive campaign messages: Evidence from two field experiments. *American Politics Research*, 38(1):54–83.
- Aruguete, N. and Calvo, E. (2018). Time to #Protest: Selective Exposure, Cascading Activation, and Framing in Social Media. *Journal of Communication*, 68(3):480–502.
- Banks, A., Karol, D., Calvo, E., and Telhami, S. (2020). #polarized feeds: Two experiments on polarization, framing, and social media. *International Journal of Press/Politics*.
- Beauregard, L. P. and Camhaji, E. (2020). Gobernadores y autoridades locales de México exigen más comunicación con el gobierno para hacer frente al coronavirus. *El País*, <https://bit.ly/2Zw7zVN>. Accessed: 2020-05-18.
- Berinsky, A. J. (2007). Assuming the costs of war: Events, elites, and american public support for military conflict. *The Journal of Politics*, 69(4):975–997.
- Bullock, J. G., Gerber, A. S., Hill, S. J., and Huber, G. A. (2013). Partisan bias in factual beliefs about politics. Technical report, National Bureau of Economic Research.
- Campbell, A., Converse, P. E., Miller, W. E., and Stokes, D. E. (1960). *The american voter*.

University of Chicago Press.

- Canchola, A. (2019). Prd se desangra; pierde 4.2 millones de militantes. *El Universal*, <https://bit.ly/3bKNlK9>.
- Corona, S. (2018). El expresidente mexicano felipe calderón renuncia al partido acción nacional. *El País*, <https://bit.ly/2yncD3w>.
- Damián, F. (2020). Como anillo al dedo, covid-19 para amlo; grillete al tobillo, para otros: Muñoz. *Milenio*, <https://bit.ly/2XawVpm>. Accessed: 2020-05-18.
- Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of communication*, 43(4):51–58.
- Gadarian, S. K., Goodman, S. W., and Pepinsky, T. B. (2020). Partisanship, health behavior, and policy attitudes in the early stages of the covid-19 pandemic. Available at SSRN. <https://ssrn.com/abstract=356279>. Accessed: 2020-09-04.
- Green, J., Edgerton, J., Naftel, D., Shoub, K., and Cranmer, S. J. (2020). Elusive consensus: Polarization in elite communication on the covid-19 pandemic. *Science Advances*, 6(28):1–5.
- Greene, K. F. and Sánchez-Talanquer, M. (2018). Latin america’s shifting politics: Mexico’s party system under stress. *Journal of Democracy*, 29(4):31–42.
- Iyengar, S. (1990). Framing responsibility for political issues: The case of poverty. *Political behavior*, 12(1):19–40.
- Iyengar, S., Sood, G., and Lelkes, Y. (2012). Affect, not ideologya social identity perspective on polarization. *Public opinion quarterly*, 76(3):405–431.
- Kam, C. D. (2005). Who toes the party line? cues, values, and individual differences. *Political Behavior*, 27(2):163–182.
- Kraft, P. W., Lodge, M., and Taber, C. S. (2015). Why people “don’t trust the evidence” motivated reasoning and scientific beliefs. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 658(1):121–133.

- Lin, Y.-R., Keegan, B., Margolin, D., and Lazer, D. (2014). Rising tides or rising stars?: Dynamics of shared attention on Twitter during media events. *PloS one*, 9(5).
- Merkley, E. and Stecula, D. A. (2018). Party elites or manufactured doubt? the informational context of climate change polarization. *Science Communication*, 40(2):258–274.
- Merrill, S., Grofman, B., and Adams, J. (2003). Assimilation and contrast effects in voter projections of party locations: Evidence from norway, france, and the usa. *European Journal of Political Research*, 40(2):199–221.
- Navarro, M. F. (2020). Coronavirus es ‘la prueba de ácido’ para la 4t: Porfirio muñoz ledo. *Forbes*, <https://bit.ly/2zS17gY>. Accessed: 2020-05-18.
- Nicholson, S. P. (2012). Polarizing cues. *American journal of political science*, 56(1):52–66.
- Nisbet, E. C., Cooper, K. E., and Garrett, R. K. (2015). The partisan brain: How dissonant science messages lead conservatives and liberals to (dis) trust science. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 658(1):36–66.
- Öhman, A. and Mineka, S. (2001). Fears, phobias, and preparedness: toward an evolved module of fear and fear learning. *Psychological review*, 108(3):483.
- Padilla, L. (2020). Ante covid-19, amlo ha actuado con responsabilidad: líderes de morena. *Milenio*, <https://bit.ly/3bLAZ1c>. Accessed: 2020-05-18.
- Sánchez-Talanquer, M. and Becerra, R. (2019). *Las caras de Jano. Noventa ños del Partido Revolucionario Institucional*. PRI-CIDE.
- Thaler, R. H., Tversky, A., Kahneman, D., and Schwartz, A. (1997). The effect of myopia and loss aversion on risk taking: An experimental test. *The quarterly journal of economics*, 112(2):647–661.
- Trejo, G. and Ley, S. (2016). Federalism, drugs, and violence. why intergovernmental partisan conflict stimulated the violence of the drug trafficking in mexico. *Política y gobierno*, 23(1):9–52.

Tversky, A. and Kahneman, D. (1981). The framing of decisions and the psychology of choice.
science, 211(4481):453–458.