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8 *Emergency Physicians and Personal Narratives Improve the*
9 *Perceived Effectiveness of COVID-19 Public Health*
10 *Recommendations on Social Media: A Randomized*
11 *Experiment*

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78

79 Abstract

80 **Background:** Containment of the coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19) pandemic requires

81 the public to change behavior under social distancing mandates. Social media are important

82 information dissemination platforms that can augment traditional channels communicating

83 public health recommendations. The objective of the study is to assess the effectiveness of

84 COVID-19 public health messaging on Twitter when delivered by emergency physicians and

85 containing personal narratives.

86 **Methods:** On April 30, 2020, we randomly assigned 2007 U.S. adults to an online survey

87 using a 2x2 factorial design. Participants rated 1 of 4 simulated Twitter posts varied by

88 messenger type (emergency physician vs federal official) and content (personal narrative vs

89 impersonal guidance). Main outcomes were: perceived message effectiveness (35-point

90 scale); perceived attitude effectiveness (15-point scale); likelihood to share Tweets (7-point

91 scale); and writing a letter to their governor to continue COVID-19 restrictions (write letter or

92 none).

93 **Results:** The physician/personal message had the strongest effect and significantly improved

94 all main messaging outcomes except for letter-writing. Unadjusted mean differences between

95 physician/personal and federal/impersonal were: perceived messaging effectiveness (3.2

96 [95%CI, 2.4-4.0]); perceived attitude effectiveness (1.3 [95%CI, 0.8-1.7]); likelihood to share

97 (0.4 [95%CI, 0.15-0.7]). For letter-writing, physician/ personal made no significant impact
98 compared to federal/ impersonal (odds ratio 1.14 [95%CI, 0.89-1.46]).

99 **Conclusions:** Emergency physicians sharing personal narratives on Twitter are perceived to
100 be more effective at communicating COVID-19 health recommendations compared to federal
101 officials sharing impersonal guidance.

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103
104

105 INTRODUCTION

106 The coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19) crisis has exposed the critical need for clearly and
107 consistently communicating public health guidelines anchored in the best available evidence.
108 Yet, many voices are competing with public health officials, particularly given that social
109 media outlets frequently supplant traditional news sources.¹ Amid this backdrop, the U.S. has
110 had higher COVID-19-associated deaths and excess all-cause mortality compared to most
111 peer countries.² Despite the alarming rate of viral transmission, the public has not had full
112 compliance with pandemic guidelines.^{3,4} Policymakers and public health officials therefore
113 must be strategic in communicating pandemic-related messages to the public.

114 Emergency physicians can play a key role in disseminating and amplifying public
115 health recommendations especially during a crisis.^{5,6} Emergency departments experienced the
116 severity of the initial COVID-19 viral surge and were challenged by a rapid response to the
117 influx of ED patients.⁷⁻⁹ Serving at the front lines of the epidemic, emergency physicians
118 have played a prominent role as a trusted source in communicating COVID-19 updates and
119 urging the public to stay home.^{6,10,11} The effectiveness of public messaging can be influenced
120 by the credibility of the messenger^{12,13} and the content of the message.¹⁴ However, there is
121 little experimental data measuring the effectiveness of public health communication through
122 personal narrative or by physicians, which has been commonly seen in social media posts
123 during the COVID-19 pandemic.

124 Therefore, the goal of this study was to evaluate the effectiveness of a physician
125 versus federal official and personal versus impersonal content in delivering COVID-19 public
126 health recommendations on Twitter, a popular social media platform. We tested the following
127 hypotheses: 1) Emergency physicians deliver a more effective message than federal officials;
128 2) Personal appeals are more effective than impersonal ones; and 3) The interaction of a
129 physician messenger with a personal message is synergistic.

130

131 **METHODS**

132 *Study Design and Setting*

133 We conducted a preregistered randomized experiment using simulated Twitter accounts and
134 posts that randomly manipulated messenger type and message content in a 2×2 between-
135 subject factorial design. We launched the experiment on April 30, 2020, the day the White
136 House-issued public restriction guidelines were set to expire, transferring decision-making
137 responsibility on restrictions to state governments.

138 This trial was approved by the institutional review board at the University of
139 Michigan. Written informed consent was obtained from participants before participation. This
140 trial followed the Consolidated Standards of Reporting Trials (CONSORT)¹⁵ guideline with
141 suggested amendments for reporting nonpharmacological treatments and factorial trials.¹⁶

142
143 *Participants*

144 We recruited U.S.-based adult participants from Lucid Theorem, a nationally representative
145 crowdsourced online subject pool that is quota-sampled to match census demographics on
146 age, gender, race/ethnicity, and region.¹⁷ Participants were eligible if ≥ 18 years old. We
147 included responses for analysis if $\geq 80\%$ of study questions were complete. We assessed the
148 impact of weighting the sample based on demographic characteristics of U.S. adults with
149 Internet access as reported by the 2017 U.S. Census.¹⁸ (**eTable 1 and eTable 2**) Participants
150 in Lucid were compensated at a rate comparable to \$1 per study. Median time to complete the
151 study was 11 minutes.

152
153 *Study Procedures*

154 Participants accessed the online survey (Qualtrics, Provo UT) through their personal
155 electronic devices and gave consent blinded to the study objectives. They first underwent a
156 pre-treatment attention assessment with the correct answer embedded in the instruction
157 stem.¹⁹ We randomized participants to 1 of 4 treatment arms with simulated Twitter posts and
158 they answered a series of questions to measure primary outcomes. This was followed by a
159 second attention check to recall the messenger's occupation which was a means of assessing
160 that participants read the post and had received the intervention. Lastly, participants were
161 invited to take a stay-at-home pledge, write a letter to their governor, and to answer additional
162 covariate questions.

163

164 *Twitter Stimuli and Randomization*

165 We created images of a Twitter account and message for experimental exposures. We used
166 the same male actor for the emergency physician (dressed in scrubs and a surgical cap) and
167 the non-physician federal official (business clothes). The background photo was a building
168 selected to plausibly appear as either a federal building or hospital. We took other Twitter
169 metrics (date joined, number of accounts followed and followers) from an exemplar
170 emergency physician Twitter account which were the same across conditions.

171 For message content, we compared the effect of a personal versus impersonal
172 message. The personal message was based on “the identifiable victim effect”, that having
173 more identifiable information about a victim increases caring.²⁰ In contrast, the language for
174 the impersonal message was used directly from a mass federal communication mailed on
175 postcards to 130 million U.S. households²¹ as part of the “President’s Coronavirus Guidelines
176 for America” and from the White House “Opening up America Again” guidelines.^{22,23}

177 The two messages had approximately the same number of words (personal:61,
178 impersonal:55) and delivered a similar three-part message: (1) young people are at risk; (2)
179 public activity restrictions should continue; and (3) continuing restrictions would reduce the
180 risk of viral resurgence. (**Figure 1**).

181 Simple random assignment was accomplished via the randomizer tool in Qualtrics.
182 Each participant was assigned to 1 of 4 possible treatment arms with equal probability: 498 to
183 physician/personal (PP); 505 to physician/impersonal (PI); 505 to federal/personal (FP), and
184 499 to federal/impersonal (FI).

185

186 *Primary Outcome Measures*

187 To evaluate the effect of messages, we measured (1) perceived message effectiveness
188 (PME), (2) perceived attitude effectiveness (PAE), and (3) behavioral outcomes: likelihood to
189 share, write a letter to a governor. The PME scale was intended to measure the message’s
190 emotional impact, and was adapted from a scale used in the context of smoking cessation
191 research.²⁴ Participants evaluated the messages as: memorable, grabbed my attention,
192 powerful, meaningful, and convincing on a 7-point Likert scale “Strongly disagree” to
193 “Strongly agree” (coded 1-7), summed to a 35-point rating. (Supplement section 5) We
194 modified the original scale by removing subscale “informative,” due to COVID-19
195 information saturation. The modified scale demonstrates high reliability ($\alpha=.93$) and an

196 eigenvalue of 3.96 accounting for 79.2% of the variance, similar to the original scale
197 reliability ($\alpha=.94$) and eigenvalue of 4.22 accounting for 70% of the variance.

198 The perceived attitude effectiveness (PAE) scale was intended to measure the
199 message's effect on attitudes, and was adapted from a scale used in smoking cessation
200 research.²⁵ Participants evaluated whether the message (1) "Made me concerned about the
201 health effects of lifting restrictions on public activity"; (2) "Made lifting restrictions less
202 appealing"; (3) "Discourages me from supporting opening America up right now" on a 5-
203 point Likert scale, "Not effective at all" to "Extremely effective" (coded 1-5), summed to a
204 15-point rating. The modified scale demonstrates high reliability ($\alpha=.88$) and one-factor
205 dimension that accounted for 81.3% of the variance, similar to the original scale reliability
206 ($\alpha=.93$) and a general factor that accounted for 82.6% of the variance.

207

208 We measured likelihood to share the Tweet as an estimator of the messages'
209 behavioral impact. This was measured on a 7-point Likert scale "Extremely unlikely" to
210 "Extremely likely" (coded 1-7). Self-reported willingness to share social media posts has
211 previously been correlated with increased sharing in reality.²⁶

212 Lastly, we asked participants whether they were interested in writing a letter to their
213 state governor (yes/no). Participants who agreed were provided a free-text response box to
214 write to the governor (not a form letter) and were truthfully informed we would send this
215 letter anonymously, which we did via state government online communication forms.
216 Because of the cognitive effort involved, the letter-writing task is less susceptible to
217 desirability bias.²⁷

218

219 ***Secondary Outcome Measures***

220 As an exploratory outcome, we asked participants to take a pledge (yes/no) to stay inside to
221 fight COVID-19. Pledging has been a popular way in the COVID-19 pandemic for concerned
222 groups to encourage social distancing.²⁸ Prior research indicates that pledging to engage in
223 prosocial behavior (*e.g.*, voting, environmental protection) has a small but significant effect
224 on increasing the desired outcome.²⁹

225

226 ***Covariate Measures***

227 We incorporated additional variables in a covariate-adjusted model and to explore
228 heterogeneous treatment effects using demographic information provided by Lucid (age,
229 education, race/ethnicity, sex, household income, political party, state), which we
230 supplemented with survey questions on overall health, marital status, population density,
231 number in household, employment status, and political ideology. We also collected variables
232 related to health behaviors, policy positions, and messaging receptiveness: anxiety about
233 coronavirus, trust in federal officials and physicians,³⁰ economy vs public health trade-off,³¹
234 political engagement,³² consumption of media bias via AllSides rankings,³³ empathy (using
235 the empathic concern subscale of the Brief Interpersonal Reactivity Index³⁴), and news
236 exposure frequency. Finally, we incorporated data on the extent of COVID-19 cases and
237 restrictions based on the participant's state of residence (Supplement section 3).

238

239 *Statistical Analysis*

240 Sample size was determined from a pilot survey with 601 Lucid participants
241 conducted two weeks prior and not included in the final study. We estimated with 438
242 participants per treatment arm (N=1752), the minimum detectable effect at 80% power using
243 a 2-sided hypothesis test ($\alpha = .05$) is approximately 0.10 standardized units for a bivariate
244 outcome difference of letter-writing.

245 The statistical analysis plan was pre-registered prior to data collection through the
246 Open Science Framework (Supplement Section 9). We compared demographic characteristics
247 and outcomes across groups by analysis of variance and T-Test for continuous variables and
248 χ^2 test and Z-test of proportions for categorical variables. As recommended for the accurate
249 reporting of factorial studies,¹⁶ we present three major comparisons: (1) 4-level treatment
250 effects; (2) each factor pooled (messenger and message content); and (3) interaction between
251 factors. Assumptions for each statistical test were evaluated using standard diagnostic tests
252 and no major violations were found.

253 We estimated treatment effects using ordinary least-squares linear regression and
254 logistic regression on the 4-level treatment factor, with federal impersonal as the omitted
255 reference category. Regression models were covariate-adjusted to maximize the precision of
256 estimated treatment effects. Covariates were selected by items expected to be associated with
257 social distancing, then manually backward selected for inclusion based on the strength of the
258 association with the outcome and Akaike information criterion (AIC) of the model fit:
259 race/ethnicity, marital status, political party, gender, COVID-19 anxiety, news frequency, and
260 economy vs public health trade-off. All models were assessed for violations of basic

261 assumptions and no major violations were found. Participants with missing value for a
262 variable were included with a missing data indicator for that variable.

263 We also examined whether subgroups of participants were affected differently by
264 treatments using generalized random forest, a machine learning algorithm that estimates
265 treatment effect heterogeneity as a function of each participant's covariate profile by
266 nonparametric statistical estimation based on random forests.³⁵ Understanding how
267 demographics may contribute to different responses to messaging can help in creating tailored
268 content for specific groups at higher- risk for COVID-19.⁴ Identifying these groups would
269 create opportunities for audience segmentation - varying messaging strategies to address
270 different groups - as demonstrated in climate science communication literature.³⁶ We assessed
271 the effect heterogeneity specifically for PME because as an emotion-based rapid cognition,
272 we hypothesized it would be more likely to be influenced by demographic profiles.³⁷ R
273 version 3.5.2 (R Foundation for Statistical Computing) was used for statistical analyses, and
274 the grf package was used for Causal Forests.³⁸

275

276 RESULTS

277 Of 2090 participants who entered the survey, 2007 consented, were randomized, and
278 completed the survey with $\geq 80\%$ data (**eFigure 1**). All participants that were randomized
279 were included in the analysis. Participants' mean age was 45 years (SD 16.7 years), 51%
280 (n=1034) were female, 10.6% (n=214) were Black, and 11.6% (n=234) were Hispanic.
281 Baseline characteristics and covariates were well-balanced across the four treatment arms
282 (**Table 1, eTable 3**).

283 *Main Outcomes*

284 For the 4-level treatment results, participants rated PME, PAE and likelihood to share
285 significantly higher in the physician/personal (PP) condition compared with the
286 federal/impersonal (FI) condition, with largest effect on PME (**Figure 2**). Unadjusted
287 estimated effects of PP versus FI are presented here with outcome means (**eTable 4**);
288 remaining comparisons are shown in **eTable 5**. For the PME 35-point scale outcome, the
289 means were: PP 28.52 (SD 6.81) versus FI 25.32 (SD 6.95) (difference 3.2 [95%CI, 2.37 to
290 4.02] $p < 0.001$). For the PAE 15-point scale, the means were: PP 11.02 (SD 3.66) versus FI
291 9.77 (3.54) (difference 1.26 [95%CI, 0.81 to 1.7] $p < 0.001$). For the likelihood to share 7-point
292 scale, the means were: PP 4.99 (2.09) vs FI 4.59 (2.13); (difference 0.4 [95%CI, 0.15 to 0.66]

293 p=0.003). There was no significant difference across treatment arms of letter-writing to the
294 governor to continue public activity restrictions (odds ratio for PP compared to FI was 1.14
295 [95%CI, 0.89-1.46]). The proportion letter-writing was 50.6% for PP vs 47.3% for FI
296 (difference 3.3% [95%CI, -3.1%to 9.7%] p=0.33). There was similarly no significant effect
297 on the pledge to stay home secondary outcome: mean PP 90.6% vs FI 90.0% p=0.99. As
298 expected, adjusted means had similar effect estimates with more precise confidence intervals
299 (**eTable 6**).

300
301 The average effects of the messenger and message are presented in **eTable 7**. The
302 pooled treatment effect of both personal content and physician messenger had a statistically
303 significant impact on both PME and PAE. Cohen's D, a standardized measure of effect size,
304 is presented here to facilitate comparing across different scales-- 0.2 is considered a small
305 effect and 0.5 a medium effect.³⁹ The average personal content had a stronger effect compared
306 to physician messenger for PME (0.40 [95%CI, 0.28 to 0.52] p<0.001 versus 0.25 [95%CI,
307 0.13 to 0.37] p<0.001) and PAE (0.22 [95%CI, 0.10 to 0.35] p<0.001 versus 0.16 [95%CI,
308 0.04 to 0.29] p=0.009), respectively. Conversely, personal content did not significantly
309 increase likelihood to share, while the physician messenger retained a positive effect (0.17
310 [95%CI, 0.05 to 0.30] p=0.006). We found a negative interaction for PME such that
311 physicians had an incrementally increased score compared to federal officials when
312 presenting for the impersonal context, but less so for the personal narrative (-1.18 [95% CI, -
313 2.35 to -0.02]; P=0.045). No significant interactions were found for the other primary
314 outcomes.

315 316 ***Sensitivity Analysis Attention Check Question***

317 We presented participants with two attention checks. Most participants passed the post-
318 outcome measured manipulation check, correctly selecting the occupation in the Twitter
319 profile (81.1%, n=1628). Far fewer passed the pre-exposure check in which the correct
320 answer was hidden within the instruction paragraph (52.1%, n=1046). The groups were
321 similar in treatment effects but had slightly stronger effects in the groups with higher levels of
322 attention checks. (**eTable 8, eFigure 2**)

323 ***Treatment Effect Heterogeneity***

324 We did not find significant heterogeneity in causal forest-estimated treatment effects of the
325 personal message on PME. Causal forest was trained on many key variables, and test set
326 predictions and CIs were assessed (**Figure 3**). While some patterns visually emerged among
327 the variables specifically selected for graphical illustration based on hypothesised effect
328 heterogeneity- political ideology, health status, age, and race/ ethnicity- all individual
329 confidence intervals overlapped, coinciding with the null global test.

330 **DISCUSSION**

331 To our knowledge, this is the first large-scale, nationally representative, pre-registered,
332 randomized experiment to directly estimate the effect of a physician versus federal official
333 messenger and message content of simulated social media posts on individual perceptions,
334 attitudes, and behavior. We found that public health messages delivered by physicians and
335 personal messages elicited stronger emotions, greater changes in attitudes and an increased
336 willingness to disseminate the message than when federal officials delivered impersonal
337 messages. We did not observe differences in a stay-at-home pledge (which was near ceiling),
338 nor in willingness to write a letter to the governor to continue restrictions. These findings
339 suggest that to emergency physicians sharing personal stories on social media may be more
340 effective in increasing general adherence to public health guidelines than federal officials
341 sharing impersonal messages. Complementary communication campaigns are still needed to
342 augment these recommendations in order to change pandemic related individual behavior.

343 Our study adds important findings of source effects and messaging content on a non-
344 traditional communication platform during this public health crisis. We demonstrate that
345 trusted messengers can alter opinions on contentious public policy issues consistent with prior
346 experiments finding a medical scientist and physician increased support for antimicrobial
347 resistance policy¹² and comparative effectiveness research,¹³ respectively. The framing of
348 health messages also matters. Similar to identifiable victim effect findings, we found
349 enhanced emotional and attitudinal impact when the message was to help a single, identifiable
350 person (i.e. the COVID-19 victim who was a friend) compared to the concept of helping the
351 many, unidentifiable others.^{20,40} Moreover, findings of increased public health messaging
352 effectiveness from personal narratives is also supported by organ donation literature, which
353 has shown that when viewers are more emotionally involved in a television narrative they
354 were more likely to become organ donors if the show encouraged donation.⁴¹

355 We also assessed heterogeneous treatment effects to determine if there were distinct
356 subpopulations which were impacted by the intervention differently, a finding which would
357 be helpful for tailoring messaging for different groups. Despite a rigorous investigation
358 harnessing machine learning tools, we found no significant impact of any participant
359 characteristic, on the extent or direction of the message's impact, specifically examining
360 political ideology, health status, age, and race/ ethnicity. Although we did not observe a
361 differential impact of the emergency physician or federal official on lower income or minority
362 participants, underserved populations may have lower trust in physicians than those included
363 in our study,⁴² and may interact with messages differently from our participants. Future
364 research should examine how to most effectively communicate with underserved minority
365 populations hardest hit by the pandemic.

366 Our results add to a growing body of research investigating the impact of social media
367 platforms for public health communication. The majority of Twitter users cite it as a news
368 source,¹ presenting an opportunity for health professionals to capitalize on this channel as an
369 adjunct for reaching a broader segment of the public. Physicians, scientists, and health
370 providers have played an increasing role on Twitter, using it to share personal
371 communications⁴³ and engage with the public on health issues.⁴⁴ Relevant to a pandemic,
372 Twitter has been identified as a tool for efficient information dissemination during emergency
373 events⁵ and in public health crises to communicate recommendations.⁴⁵ Our findings support
374 the increased use of Twitter by healthcare professionals as a platform to communicate directly
375 to the public.

376 While government mandated public activity restrictions and social distancing
377 recommendations play a key role in preventing the spread of COVID-19, these interventions
378 will be ineffective if the public is not willing to adhere to them. Social media based public
379 messaging may help to improve the public's perception of these measures and thus adherence
380 to health guidelines. However, during the pandemic, several U.S. healthcare institutions urged
381 physicians not to make public appeals.⁴⁶⁻⁴⁹ Our findings bolster policies that protect social
382 media use by scientists and health providers to share public health communications directly to
383 the public.

384 **Limitations**

385 This study has several limitations. First, the experimental design used a simulated Twitter
386 message in the context of an online survey. Federal officials may be restricted on what they
387 can communicate on social media using their official titles, but pilot data for this experiment
388 showed most participants found the Twitter stimuli believable. It is possible that participants
389 would react differently if they encountered these messages on the actual social media
390 platform. However, participant likelihood to share a post has been shown to correlate highly
391 with action in real life.²⁶ Furthermore, while the effects of user comments on social media
392 were beyond the scope of this study, prior research has shown that user comments may have
393 an additive effect on messaging impact,^{50,51} though whether it will change reader behavior is
394 unknown. Although we observed an increased willingness to share certain messages, we did
395 not find differences in pledging to stay home nor writing a letter to the governor to maintain
396 restrictions. It remains unclear if the impact of the messages would translate into real-life
397 changes in compliance with social distancing measures. Second, though the participant pool
398 matches U.S. demographics in most regards, our participants had higher educational
399 attainment and lower proportion of Hispanic origin (approximately 15.4% of U.S. population
400 with access to internet versus 11% in our study)¹⁸ We weighted our sample to account for
401 educational differences and still did not observe an appreciable impact on treatment effects
402 (eTable 3). Further supporting generalizability, Lucid participants have exhibited behavioral
403 experimental results similar to U.S. national probability samples.¹⁷ Third, the high levels of
404 reported anxiety created a likely ceiling effect for our outcomes. For PME, almost half of
405 participants rated the message at 6 or above on a 7-point scale. Ceiling effects may have
406 reduced sensitivity to determining differences by treatment, biasing results towards null.
407 Lastly, we selected white males for the physician and federal official in the study, the most
408 common demographic for both groups. It is possible that other race and genders of the Twitter
409 messenger could have influenced subpopulations of this study differently than white males,
410 however prior patient satisfaction simulation studies did not find differences by physician race
411 or gender.⁵²

412 CONCLUSION

413 Using a rigorous randomized experiment of a simulated Twitter message, we found that an
414 emergency physician's Twitter message of a personal story and recommendation related to
415 COVID-19 increased the attitudinal, emotional and willingness to share measures of impact
416 compared to a federal official sharing impersonal guidance. These results underscore the

417 advocacy role for physicians on social media in promoting public health recommendations.
418 We did not find an impact on letter writing to their governor to support COVID-19
419 restrictions nor pledging to stay home. Future directions should explore the real-world impact
420 of emergency physician public health tweets on measures of behavior change.

421

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423

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617

618 **Figures Legends and Tables**

619 Figure 1. Simulated Twitter Messages for COVID-19 Public Health Messaging

620 Table 1. Participant Demographics and Baseline Characteristics

621 Figure 2. Estimated Treatment Effects on Primary Outcomes by Treatment Arm Compared to
622 the Federal, Impersonal Condition

623 Figure 3. Casual Forest Assessment of Treatment Effect Heterogeneity on Perceived Message
624 Effectiveness by Participant Characteristics

625 *Figure 1. Simulated Twitter Messages for COVID-19 Public Health Messaging*

626 *Simulated Twitter posts showing a sample of the federal official/ impersonal treatment arm on*
627 *the left, and the physician/ personal arm on the right. The text was copied in larger font on*
628 *the online survey. Two additional posts were created with the texts reversed.*

Table 1. Participant Demographics and Baseline Characteristics

	No.(%) of participants by treatment arm				
	Federal	Federal	Physician	Physician	Overall
	Impersonal	Personal	Impersonal	Personal	
	(n=499)	(n=505)	(n=505)	(n=498)	2007
Patient Demographics					
		247		267	1034
Female	246 (49.3)	(48.9)	271 (53.7)	(53.6)	(51.4)
Age Group					
		70		61	257
18-24	59 (12.4)	(14.3)	67 (13.8)	(12.7)	(13.3)
		163		178	720
25-44	187 (39.3)	(33.4)	189 (38.9)	(36.9)	(37.2)
		178		157	635
45-64	148 (31.1)	(36.5)	152 (31.3)	(32.6)	(32.8)
		77		86	323
65+	82 (17.2)	(15.8)	78 (16.0)	(17.8)	(16.7)
Region (%)					
		107		96	388
Midwest	90 (18.0)	(21.2)	94 (18.6)	(19.3)	(19.3)
		115		103	414
Northeast	100 (20.0)	(22.8)	96 (19.0)	(20.7)	(20.6)

		184		189	772
South	189 (37.9)	(36.4)	209 (41.4)	(38.0)	(38.4)
		99		110	436
West	120 (24.0)	(19.6)	106 (21.0)	(22.1)	(21.7)
Race/Ethnicity					
American Indian or Alaskan					
					16
Native	5 (1.0)	4 (0.8)	4 (0.8)	3 (0.6)	(0.8)
		27			110
Asian	25 (5.0)	(5.3)	30 (5.9)	27 (5.4)	(5.5)
		51		51	214
Black	53 (10.6)	(10.1)	59 (11.7)	(10.2)	(10.6)
		60		55	234
Hispanic	57 (11.4)	(11.9)	62 (12.3)	(11.0)	(11.6)
		16			61
Other	15 (3.0)	(3.2)	18 (3.6)	12 (2.4)	(3.0)
		347		350	1375
White	344 (68.9)	(68.7)	332 (65.7)	(70.3)	(68.4)
Education					
		261		299	1122
College Grad	291 (58.6)	(51.9)	270 (53.6)	(60.0)	(56.0)
		123		84	430
High School Grad	107 (21.5)	(24.5)	115 (22.8)	(16.9)	(21.4)
		12			47
No Diploma	12 (2.4)	(2.4)	13 (2.6)	10 (2.0)	(2.3)
		107		105	406
Some College	87 (17.5)	(21.3)	106 (21.0)	(21.1)	(20.2)
Income					
		15			63
Missing	14 (2.8)	(3.0)	21 (4.2)	13 (2.6)	(3.1)
		117		106	498
<25k	134 (26.9)	(23.2)	140 (27.7)	(21.3)	(24.8)
		97		114	401
>99k	108 (21.6)	(19.2)	82 (16.2)	(22.9)	(20.0)
		118		102	461
25k-49k	110 (22.0)	(23.4)	130 (25.7)	(20.5)	(22.9)
		95		95	343
50k-74k	69 (13.8)	(18.8)	83 (16.4)	(19.1)	(17.1)
		63		68	244
75k-99k	64 (12.8)	(12.5)	49 (9.7)	(13.7)	(12.1)
Marital Status					

		233		245	938
Married	227 (45.5)	(46.1)	233 (46.1)	(49.2)	(46.7)
		127		121	512
Other	130 (26.1)	(25.1)	134 (26.5)	(24.3)	(25.5)
		145		132	557
Single	142 (28.5)	(28.7)	138 (27.3)	(26.5)	(27.8)
Health Status					
					28
Missing	6 (1.2)	6 (1.2)	7 (1.4)	6 (1.2)	(1.4)
		64		75	268
Excellent	67 (13.4)	(12.7)	62 (12.3)	(15.1)	(13.3)
		66		69	289
Fair	78 (15.6)	(13.1)	76 (15.0)	(13.9)	(14.4)
		202		191	764
Good	189 (37.9)	(40.0)	182 (36.0)	(38.4)	(38.0)
					53
Poor	16 (3.2)	9 (1.8)	15 (3.0)	13 (2.6)	(2.6)
		158		144	608
Very good	143 (28.7)	(31.3)	163 (32.3)	(28.9)	(30.2)
<hr/>					
Baseline Characteristics					
<hr/>					
News Frequency					
		156		145	595
Frequently	140 (28.1)	(30.9)	154 (30.5)	(29.1)	(29.6)
		93		80	362
Other	97 (19.4)	(18.4)	92 (18.2)	(16.1)	(18.0)
		256		273	1050
Very frequently	262 (52.5)	(50.7)	259 (51.3)	(54.8)	(52.3)
Prioritize public health over		396		407	1611
economy	394 (79.1)	(78.9)	414 (82.8)	(82.1)	(80.7)
Political Party					
		229		209	905
Dem	237 (47.5)	(45.3)	229 (45.3)	(42.0)	(45.0)
		62		69	268
Ind	60 (12.0)	(12.3)	76 (15.0)	(13.9)	(13.3)
		214		220	837
Rep	202 (40.5)	(42.4)	200 (39.6)	(44.2)	(41.6)
Political Ideology					
					33
Missing	6 (1.2)	9 (1.8)	9 (1.8)	6 (1.2)	(1.6)

		99		101	411
Conservative	101 (20.2)	(19.6)	110 (21.8)	(20.3)	(20.4)
		91		79	344
Liberal	93 (18.6)	(18.0)	81 (16.0)	(15.9)	(17.1)
		193		197	777
Moderate	191 (38.3)	(38.2)	196 (38.8)	(39.6)	(38.7)
		72		73	299
Very conservative	75 (15.0)	(14.3)	79 (15.6)	(14.7)	(14.9)
		41			146
Very liberal	33 (6.6)	(8.1)	30 (5.9)	42 (8.4)	(7.3)
Anxiety Level					22
Missing	6 (1.2)	6 (1.2)	6 (1.2)	1 (0.2)	(1.1)
		94		109	429
Not at all	110 (22.0)	(18.6)	116 (23.0)	(21.9)	(21.3)
		103		98	389
More than half the days	91 (18.2)	(20.4)	97 (19.2)	(19.7)	(19.4)
		185		172	685
Several days	162 (32.5)	(36.6)	166 (32.9)	(34.5)	(34.1)
		117		118	485
Nearly every day	130 (26.1)	(23.2)	120 (23.8)	(23.7)	(24.1)

629

630 *Figure 2. Estimated Treatment Effects on Primary Outcomes by Treatment Arm Compared to*
631 *the Federal, Impersonal Condition*

632

633 *Covariate-adjusted treatment effects from ordinary least squares regression with reference*
634 *being the control group, federal impersonal message. Estimates are standardized using*
635 *Cohen's D, which scales outcomes by the pooled standard deviation. A Cohen's D of 0.2 is*
636 *considered a small effect and 0.5 a medium effect.³⁹ (eTable 6 for tabular form). Points are*
637 *bounded by 95% CIs. Regression adjusted by covariates: race/ ethnicity, marital (married,*
638 *single, other), party, gender, anxiety about COVID-19, news frequency (very frequent,*
639 *frequent, other), and economy versus public health trade-off.*

640

641

642

643 *Figure 3. Casual Forest Assessment of Treatment Effect Heterogeneity on Perceived Message*
644 *Effectiveness by Participant Characteristics*

645

646 *Treatment effect heterogeneity shown for perceived messaging effect outcome, ordered by*

647 *predicted treatment effect size in Cohen's D standardized units. A Cohen's D of 0.2 is*

648 *considered a small effect and 0.5 a medium effect.³⁹ Omnibus test for heterogeneity⁵³ found no*

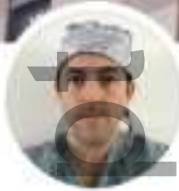
649 *significant heterogeneity in the effect (p-value 0.26). Political ideology and age selected due*

650 *to highest relative variable importance, though not statistically significant. Race/ethnicity and*

651 *health status selected due to hypothesized importance, though visually and statistically no*

652 *heterogeneity demonstrated.*

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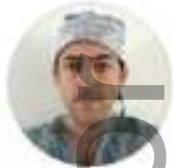
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My best friend of 20 years just died from COVID-19. Now he's gone, leaving behind his wife and 2 kids. My whole body feels numb. Heartbroken....I hear people are talking about opening up America. We MUST continue restrictions or this will come back even worse than it is now.

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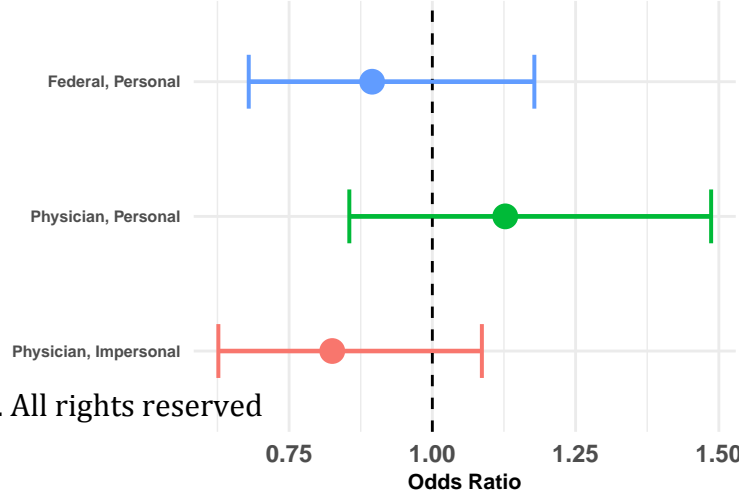
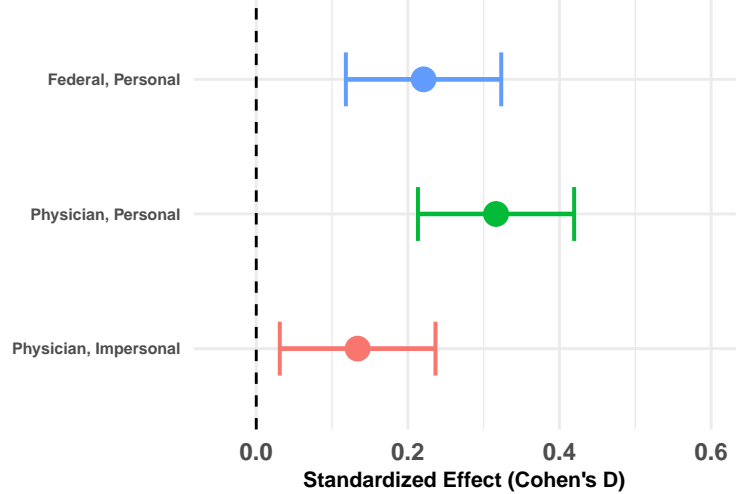
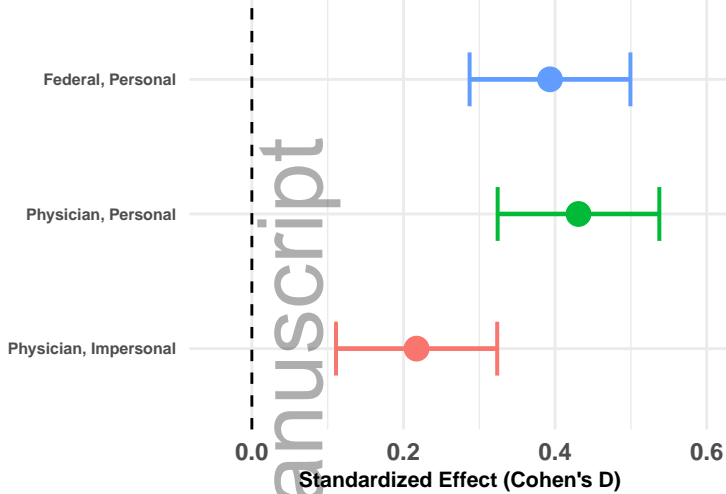
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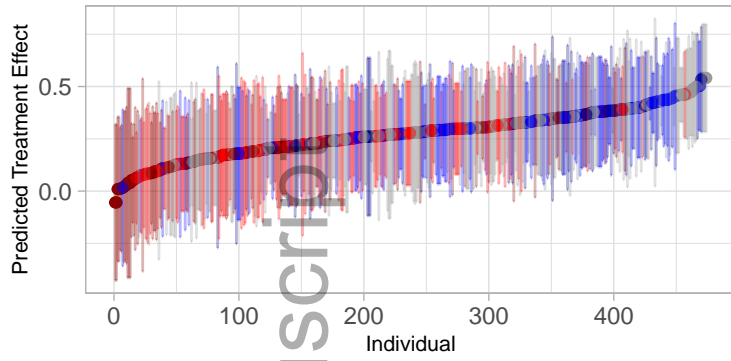
Kevin Miller @KevinMiller · 18s

Even if you are young and healthy, you are at risk for COVID19. As we consider guidelines for opening up America, it is critical we continue to adhere to State guidelines maintaining restrictions on public activities. This will mitigate the risk of resurgence.

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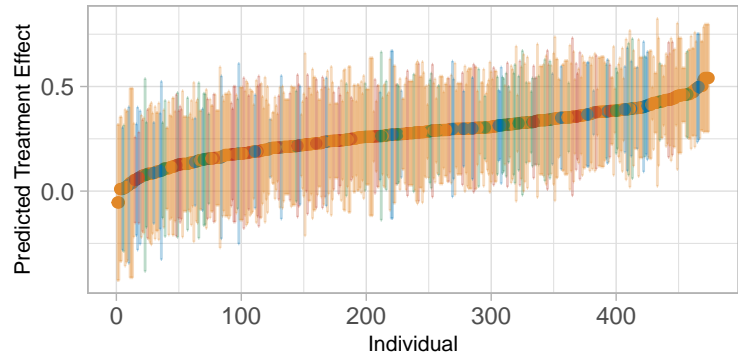


Political Ideology



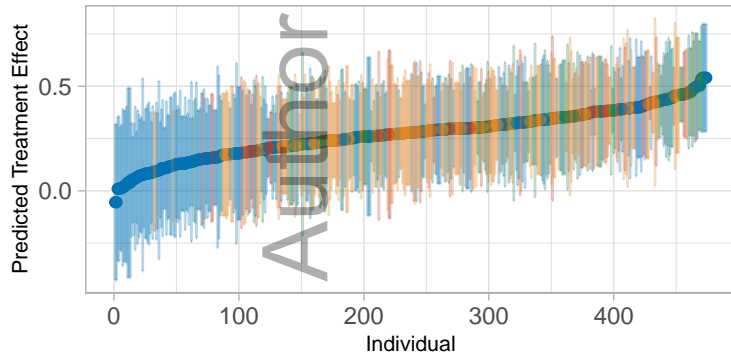
- Very conservative
- Conservative
- Moderate
- Liberal
- Very liberal

aceм_14188_f3.Pdf Race/Ethnicity



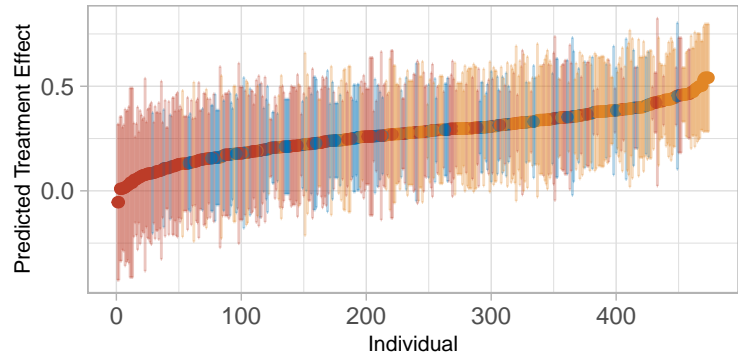
- Black or African American
- Hispanic
- White
- Other

Age



- 18-24
- 25-44
- 45-64
- 65+

Health Status



- Fair or Poor
- Good
- Excellent or Very Good

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