
Supplementary information

Affective polarization, local contexts and public opinion in America

In the format provided by the authors and unedited

Supplementary Information for “Affective Polarization, Local Contexts, and Public Opinion in America”

1. Supplementary Methods

1.1. Sample

The survey was conducted using Bovitz Inc. (<http://bovitzinc.com/index.php>). They provide an online panel of approximately one million respondents recruited through random digit dialing and empanelment of those with internet access. As with most internet survey samples, respondents participate in multiple surveys over time and receive compensation for their participation. Bovitz Inc. has been used extensively in other political science research (e.g., Howat 2019, Druckman and Levendusky 2019) including pilot data collection for the American National Election Studies.

The pre-COVID-19 survey was implemented over 3 waves in July and early August, 2019. The second wave included our main affective polarization measures to which 3,345 responded. (The three distinct waves were for reasons unrelated to this project. Also, the affective polarization measures in the survey varied the target such that some answered the conventional items asking about the Democratic and Republican parties, while others were asked about partisans who varied in terms of the amount they discussed politics (rarely, occasionally, frequently) and/or their ideology (liberal, moderate, conservative). As shown below, these variations do not affect the results we present here. That is, when we include variables for the experimental conditions they do not change our findings.)

The re-contact occurred in April, 2020, for the COVID-19 items. Of the 3,345 who had answered all of the affective polarization questions, a total of 2,484 responded in the re-contact, for a re-contact rate of 74% (in terms of those analyzed in our main models). (Of these, 360 are pure Independents and thus excluded from our main analyses.) While response to the COVID-19 wave is correlated with various respondent characteristics (e.g., higher income, older age, political interest), the composition of our final sample used here matches benchmarks well. This is shown in the below tables that presents the demographics of our COVID-19 sample to 2018 benchmarks from the U.S. Census Bureau, via the American Community Survey.

Supplementary Table 1 Demographics

Age

| Age Category | Our Sample (%) | Census Benchmark |
|--------------|----------------|------------------|
| 18-24 | 9.42% | 12.08 |
| 25-34 | 19.61% | 17.87 |
| 35-50 | 35.04% | 24.54 |
| 51-65 | 24.96% | 24.88 |
| Over 65 | 10.97% | 20.65 |

Gender Identity

| Gender Identity | Our Sample (%) | Census Benchmark |
|-----------------|----------------|------------------|
|-----------------|----------------|------------------|

| | | |
|------------------|--------|------|
| Female | 50.82% | 50.8 |
| Male | 48.19% | 49.2 |
| Transgender/None | 0.99% | --* |

*The U.S. Census Bureau does not currently ask about transgender identity, so there is no government-provided benchmark for that quantity. Flores et al. (2016) estimate that less than 1 percent of Americans identify as transgender, consistent with our estimates here.

Education Level

| Educational Attainment | Our Sample (%) | Census Benchmark (%) |
|--------------------------------|----------------|----------------------|
| Did not complete high school | 2.12% | 12 |
| High school graduate | 20.84% | 27.1 |
| Associates Degree/Some College | 41.98% | 28.9 |
| Bachelor's Degree | 25.80% | 19.7 |
| Advanced Degree | 9.27% | 12.3 |

Annual Family Income before Taxes

| Income Category | Our Sample (%) | Census Benchmark (%)* |
|-----------------------|----------------|-----------------------|
| \$30,000 or less | 27.28% | 29.4 |
| \$30,000 - \$69,999 | 38.14% | 30.3 |
| \$70,000 - \$99,999 | 16.86% | 12.5 |
| \$100,000 - \$200,000 | 15.51% | 20.9 |
| Above \$200,000 | 2.22% | 6.9 |

*The Census categories for income are slightly different than the ones we use. They record income as: \$34,999 or below, \$35,000 - \$74,999, \$75,000 - \$99,999, \$100,000 - \$199,999, and \$200,000 or greater.

Primary Racial Group

| Primary Race | Our Sample (%) | Census Benchmark |
|--------------------|----------------|------------------|
| Caucasian (White) | 69.66% | 72.2 |
| African-American | 14.47% | 12.7 |
| Hispanic or Latino | 9.36% | 18.3 |
| Asian-American | 4.13% | 5.6 |
| Native American | 0.87% | < 1 |
| Other | 1.52% | 5 |

Across categories, our sample matches the Census benchmarks fairly well. Our biggest discrepancies are that (1) we under-estimate senior citizens, (2) we under-estimate the least well-educated (and over-estimate those with some college or a bachelor's degree), and (3) under-estimate the top quarter of the income distribute. These are well-known limitations of any survey sampling procedure, not just our own—problems #1 and #2 are linked in that those populations are not online, and those with high incomes are also typically under-represented across all survey modes. The other significant gap is that we under-estimate the fraction of the population that is Hispanic or Latino, but this is in part a methodological difference. The Census asks about ethnicity (Hispanic/Latino) separately from race, whereas we combine them into one question. As a result, our estimates for Hispanic/Latino citizens are measuring a different construct from

the Census benchmark. Overall, however, our sample does fairly well in matching the Census benchmarks across these different categories.

The next table presents respondent’s answer to the seven point partisanship scale question for the survey’s Wave 1 (when most of the non-COVID control variables are measures), Wave 2 (when the affective polarization questions are asked), and Wave 4 (when the questions about COVID are asked).

Supplementary Table 2 Partisanship

| | Wave 1 | Wave 2 | Wave 4 |
|-------------|--------|--------|--------|
| Strong Dem. | 27.0% | 28.6% | 29.6% |
| Weak Dem. | 15.5% | 15.9% | 16.6% |
| Lean Dem | 12.2% | 11.5% | 9.9% |
| Pure Ind. | 15.8% | 14.4% | 14.1% |
| Lean Rep. | 9.5% | 8.5% | 8.9% |
| Weak Rep. | 9.4% | 9.7% | 8.9% |
| Strong Rep. | 10.6% | 11.4% | 12.0% |

Obviously, there is no census benchmark for partisanship. We instead can use other political surveys as benchmarks. We use the weighted data from two YouGov studies to establish partisan benchmarks. The first is the 2018 Cooperative Congressional Election Study—a 50 thousand respondent study that has become the gold standard in Congressional election research (e.g., Adams et al. 2017, Dancy and Sheagley 2013, Tausanovitch and Warshaw 2013). The other is a smaller study YouGov conducted for some of the paper’s co-authors in summer of 2020. The 2020 study took place during the pandemic and as a result might better reflect any changes in party identification caused by the pandemic. As in the Gallup poll of the same time period, we see a decline in the percentage of respondents identifying as Republican.

Supplementary Table 3 Partisanship Benchmarks

| | CCES 2018 | YouGov 2020 |
|-------------|--------------|----------------|
| Strong Dem. | 23.2% | 26.4% |
| Weak Dem. | 11.8% | 9.1% |
| Lean Dem | 9.2% | 9.2% |
| Pure Ind. | 17.4% | 20.3% |
| Lean Rep. | 9.8% | 8.4% |
| Weak Rep. | 10.0% | 7.8% |
| Strong Rep. | 18.6% | 18.8% |

We can see that our sample over-represents weak Democrats under-represents strong Republicans and pure independents (who are excluded from the main analysis).

While every segment of the public is represented in the dataset, the sample does not match the population on all measures. It is likely that this not a problem for the purpose we are using the data here – regression modelling – as they are unbiased and consistent (Winship and Radbill 1994). Given the nature of the data it is unclear how best to calculate the survey weights as the inclusion (or exclusion) of individual level or county level variables in the calculation can make a difference but the decision to include or exclude is fairly arbitrary and there is little guidance about how to proceed (Gelman 2007). Hence, while we can be confident about the relationships observed in the analysis, the means of the variables (including the predicted estimates of the dependent variable one could calculate from the regression models) should not be seen as estimates of the population means of those variables.

1.2. Full question wordings and coding for measures

Dependent Variables

- Worry about COVID-19

The variable is built using 2 different grids with six items each. Each has the same four response options.

For each of the following areas, how worried are you about the long-term impact of the coronavirus on the country in general?

Public Health
National Economy
Education
Social Relations
Entertainment/Sports
The 2020 Election

For each of the following areas, how worried are you about the long-term impact of the coronavirus on you and your family personally?

Physical Health
Mental Health
Finances
Education
Friendships
Personal interests/hobbies

<0> Not at all worried; <.3333> Not too worried; <.6667> Somewhat worried;
<1> Very worried.

The final variable is the mean response to the twelve items.

- Changed Behaviors

The variable is built as a count of the number of items checked based on the following question.

We're interested in how people are responding to the coronavirus. In the past few days, which of the following, if any, have you done to protect yourself from getting the coronavirus, also known as COVID-19? Please check all that apply.

Washed your hands more frequently
Worked from home
Used hand sanitizer
Cancelled planned travel
Avoided gatherings of more than 10 people
Tried to stay at least 6 feet away from other people
Worn a face mask
Worn gloves
Did not go to a grocery store to avoid contact with others

Ordered grocery delivery to avoid going to the grocery store
Cooked at home to avoid ordering food handled by others
Went outside less frequently to avoid contact with others
Stayed at home entirely
Bought extra food

- Policies to Fight COVID-19
Many states have required non-essential businesses to close to help prevent the spread of the coronavirus. Do you disagree or agree that this is a necessary policy to combat the spread of the coronavirus?

<0> Strongly disagree; <.3333> Somewhat disagree; <.6667> Somewhat agree;
<1> Strongly agree

Many states and localities have issued rules requiring that residents stay at home to help prevent the spread of the coronavirus. Some say that such stay-at-home orders should be kept in effect until it is certain that the coronavirus will no longer pose a significant public health threat. Others think that the stay at home orders should end as soon as possible to help the economy recover. What do you think?

<0> Strongly support lifting the stay-at-home orders as soon as possible to help the economy; <.3333> Somewhat support lifting the stay-at-home orders as soon as possible to help the economy; <.6667> Somewhat support stay-at-home orders remaining in place until the coronavirus will no longer pose a significant health threat; <1> Strongly support stay-at-home orders remaining in place until the coronavirus will no longer pose a significant health threat

To what extent do you oppose or support local governments fining individuals for violating social distancing rules?

<0> Strongly oppose; <.3333> Somewhat oppose; <.6667> Somewhat support;
<1> Strongly support

The final variable is the mean response to the three items.

Main Independent Variables

- Republican (Pre-Covid-19 Wave)
Generally speaking do you consider yourself a...
<0> Strong Democrat; <0> Weak democrat <0> Independent leans Democrat
<1> Independent leans Republican; <1> Weak Republican; <1> Strong Republican
Pure independents are excluded from the analysis.
- Partisan Animosity (Pre-Covid-19 Wave)
Participants read the following introduction prior to answering the affective polarization questions. “We are next going to ask you a set of questions about ordinary people (e.g.,

voters) who are *[Republicans and Democrats / Democrats and Republicans]*. Please take your time, and do your best to answer the questions about these people.”

The participants were then asked the following questions. Where the word “[CONDITION]” currently is placed, the participants saw one of the following options depending on which randomly assigned (experimental) treatment group they were placed in (as noted below these variations do not affect our results here):

1. [Republicans/Democrats]
2. [Republicans/Democrats] who rarely talk about politics.
3. [Republicans/Democrats] who occasionally talk about politics.
4. [Republicans/Democrats] who frequently talk about politics.
5. Moderate [Republicans/Democrats]
6. Moderate [Republicans/Democrats] who rarely talk about politics.
7. Moderate [Republicans/Democrats] who occasionally talk about politics.
8. Moderate [Republicans/Democrats] who occasionally talk about politics.
9. [Conservative Republicans/Liberal Democrats]
10. [Conservative Republicans/Liberal Democrats] who rarely talk about politics.
11. [Conservative Republicans/Liberal Democrats] who occasionally talk about politics.
12. [Conservative Republicans/Liberal Democrats] who frequently talk about politics.

Respondents were then asked our questions to measure affective polarization both out-party animosity and in-party affect (as follows).

Feeling Thermometer

We’d like you to rate how you feel towards [CONDITION] on a scale of 0 to 100, which we call a “feeling thermometer.” On this feeling thermometer scale, ratings between 0 and 49 degrees mean that you feel unfavorable and cold (with 0 being the most unfavorable/coldest). Ratings between 51 and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm (with 100 being the most favorable/warmest). A rating of 50 means you have no feelings one way or the other. How would you rate your feeling toward these groups? Remember we are asking you to rate ordinary people (e.g., voters) and *not* elected officials or candidates.

It was recoded to a 0 to 1 scale.

(As mentioned in the text, we also asked the feeling thermometer item again in the COVID-19 wave.)

Trait Questions

We’d like to know more about what you think about [CONDITION]. Below, we’ve given a list of words that some people might use to describe them. For each item, please indicate how well you think it applies to [CONDITION]: not at all well; not too well; somewhat well; very well; or extremely well.

Terms: Patriotic, Intelligent, Honest, Open-minded, Generous, Hypocritical, Selfish, Mean

Responses: <0> Not at all well, <.25> Not too well, <.50> Somewhat well, <.75> Very well, <1> Extremely well

Trust

How much of the time do you think you can trust [CONDITION] to do what is right for the country?

Responses: <0> Almost never, <.25> Once in a while, <.50> About half the time, <.75> Most of the time, <1> Almost always

Social Distance

How comfortable are you having close personal friends who are [CONDITION]?

Responses: <0> Not at all comfortable, <.3333> not too comfortable, <.6667> somewhat comfortable, <1> extremely comfortable.

How comfortable are you having neighbors on your street who are [CONDITION]?

Responses: <0> Not at all comfortable, <.3333> not too comfortable, <.6667> somewhat comfortable, <1> extremely comfortable.

Suppose a son or daughter of yours was getting married. How would you feel if he or she married someone who is a [CONDITION]?

Responses: <0> Not at all upset, <.3333> Not too upset, <.6667> Somewhat upset, <1> Extremely upset

The final variable is the mean response to all the items asked about the respondent's out-party. The in-party affect variable is constructed analogously but for answers with regard to one's own party.

The models control for all 12 conditions through dummy variables indicating the frequency of discussion condition and the ideology condition and the interactions for those conditions. *These experimental variations in the measure of affective polarization do not affect the results.*

COVID-19 and Demographic Control Variables

- Household COVID-19 Infection (COVID-19 Wave)
The variable is constructed using the following questions.
Have you personally contracted the coronavirus, as known as COVID-19?
No
I am not sure
Yes, but I have not been tested
Yes, and I have tested positive
I had all the symptoms, but tested negative

(If I am not sure) How unlikely or likely do you think it is that you have caught the coronavirus?

Very unlikely
Somewhat unlikely
Somewhat likely

Very likely

Has someone in your household (i.e., someone that you live with) contracted the coronavirus?

I live alone

No

I am not sure

Yes, but they have not been tested

Yes, and they have been tested positive

They had all the symptoms, but tested negative

(If I am not sure) How unlikely or likely do you think it is that someone in your household has caught the coronavirus?

Very unlikely

Somewhat unlikely

Somewhat likely

Very likely

Variable is coded 1 if the respondent answered they or someone in their house contracted the coronavirus (regardless of the test outcome) or if they said they were not sure, but it was likely that they or someone in their house had the coronavirus. It is coded 0 if they said neither they nor anyone in their house had the coronavirus or said it was unlikely anyone had it.

- Risk of Illness (COVID-19 Wave)

Variable is coded 0 if respondent answered “no” to the following three questions and coded 1 if the respondent answered “yes” to any of the questions.

Do you have children under 4 years old living with you?

Are you or your spouse currently pregnant?

Do you currently have any health conditions that would make the coronavirus especially risk for you, such as asthma, emphysema, or difficulty breathing?

- Work Out of the House (COVID-19 Wave)

Does any of your work currently require you to leave home?

<0> No

<1> Yes, for a little of my work.

<1> Yes, for some of work.

<1> Yes, for all my work.

- Future Income (COVID-19 Wave)

In the coming year, do you think your household income will decrease, stay the same, or increase due to the coronavirus?

<0> Significantly decrease

- <.25> Somewhat decrease
- <.5> Stay the same
- <.75> Somewhat increase
- <1> Significantly increase

- **Difficulty Having No Contact (COVID-19 Wave)**
Has it been enjoyable or difficult for you to have less, or even no, in-person contact with people outside of your household? Please use the following scale from 0 to 100, where 0 indicates you enjoy reduced in-person contact, 50 indicates you are indifferent, and 100 indicates that is extremely difficult to have less in-person contact.
Variable recoded to a 0 to 1 scales.
- **Age (Pre-COVID-19 Wave)**
A series of dummy variables with 18-24 as the reference category.
Categories: 25-34; 35-50; 51-65; Older than 65
- **White (Pre-COVID-19 Wave)**
<1> Respondent's primary race is white; <0> Respondent's primary race is African American, Asian American, Hispanic or Latino, or something else.
- **African American (Pre-COVID-19 Wave)**
<1> Respondent's primary race is African American; <0> Respondent's primary race is White, Asian American, Hispanic or Latino, or something else.
- **Asian American (Pre-COVID-19 Wave)**
<1> Respondent's primary race is Asian American; <0> Respondent's primary race is White, African American, Hispanic or Latino, or something else.
- **Hispanic/Latino (Pre-COVID-19 Wave)**
<1> Respondent's primary race is Hispanic or Latino; <0> Respondent's primary race is White, African American, Asian American, or something else.
- **Education (Pre-COVID-19 Wave)**
<0> Less than High school; <.25> High school graduate; <.50> Some college; <.50> Associates degree/2-year degree; <.75> 4 year college degree; <1> Advanced degree
- **Income (Pre-COVID-19 Wave)**
<0> <\$30,000; <.25> \$30,000 - \$69,999; <.50> \$70,000 - \$99,999; <.75> \$100,000 - \$200,000; <1> >\$200,000

Partisan and Ideological Control Variables

- **Strength of Partisan Identity (Pre-COVID-19 Wave)**
Respondent is asked the following four questions about their own political parties.

Importance of being a [PARTY] to the survey participant

Responses <0> Not at all important; <.25> Not very important; <.5> Somewhat important; <.75> Very important; <1> Extremely important

How well the term [PARTY] describes the survey participant

Responses: <0> Not at all well; <.25> Not very well; <.5> Somewhat well; <.75> Very well; <1> Extremely well

Frequency with which survey participant uses “we” instead of “they”, when referring to [PARTY]

Responses: <0> Never; <.25> Rarely; <.5> Some of the time; <.75> Most of the time; <1> All of the time

The extent to which the survey participant believes themselves to be a [PARTY]

Responses: <0> Not at all; <.25> Not too much; <.5> Somewhat; <.75> A good deal; <1> A great deal

Final variable is the mean of these items.

- Ideology (Pre-COVID-19 Wave)

Respondent’s reported political ideology

<0> Very liberal; <.1667> Mostly liberal; <.3333> Somewhat liberal; <.5> Moderate; <.6667> Somewhat conservative; <.8333> Mostly conservative; <1> Very conservative

- Issue Positions (Pre-COVID-19 Wave))

The respondent is asked the following eight questions.

Belief on if federal spending on Social Security should be changed or kept the same

Responses: <0> Decreased; <.5> Kept about the same; <1> Increased

Belief on whether there should be public government healthcare plans, private healthcare plans, or some combination

Responses: <0> Only private insurance; <.1667> Mostly private insurance; <.3333> Slightly more private insurance; <.5> Half private insurance and half public insurance; <.6667> Slightly public insurance; <.8333> Mostly public insurance; <1> Only public insurance

Belief on whether the government should provide fewer services to cut spending, or increase spending to provide more services

Responses: <0> Definitely reduce spending/cut services; <.16667> Probably reduce spending/cut services; <.3333> Maybe reduce spending/cut services; <.5> Keep services and spending the same; <.6667> Maybe increase services/raise spending; <.8333> Probably increase services/raise spending; <1> Definitely increase services/raise spending

Belief on whether or not the government has a responsibility to ensure job/standing of living for each person

Responses: <0> Government should definitely leave it to each person; <.1667> Government should probably leave it to each person; <.3333> Government should maybe leave it to each person; <.5> Unsure; <.6667> Government should maybe ensure standard of living; <.8333> Government should probably ensure standard of living; <1> Government should definitely ensure standard of living

Views on abortion

Responses: <0> By law, abortion should never be permitted.; <.25> The law should permit abortion only in case of rape, incest, or when the woman's life is in danger.; <.5> The law should permit abortion for reasons other than rape, incest, or danger to the woman's life, but only after the need for the abortion has been clearly established.; <.75> By law, a woman should always be able to obtain an abortion as a matter of personal choice, but only until a certain point in her pregnancy; <1> By law, a woman should always be able to obtain an abortion as a matter of personal choice.

Whether homosexuals should be legally protected against discrimination

Responses: <0> Definitely should not be protected; <.25> Maybe should not be protected; <.5> Unsure; <.75> Maybe should be protected; <1> Definitely should be protected;

Belief of whether rate of immigration into the US should change, or be kept the same

Responses: <0> Definitely decrease; <.1667> Probably decrease; <.3333> Maybe decrease; <.5> Keep at present level; <.6667> Maybe increase; <.8333> Probably increase; <1> Definitely increase

Whether transgender individuals should be legally protected against discrimination

Responses: <0> Definitely should not be protected; <.25> Maybe should not be protected; <.5>— Unsure; <.75> Maybe should be protected; <1> Definitely should be protected

- Political Interest (Pre-COVID-19 Wave)
<0> Not at all interested;<.25> Not too interested; <.5> Somewhat interested; <.75> Very interested; <1> Extremely interested
- Political Knowledge (Pre-COVID-19 Wave)

The respondent was asked the following five questions.

Majority in Senate and House required to override President's Veto

<0> Cannot override; <0> 1/3; <0> 1/2; <1> 2/3; <0> 3/4; <0> Don't know

Party that has the most members in the House of Representatives

<1> Democrats; <0> Republicans; <0> Tie; <0> Don't know

Branch that determines if a law is constitutional

<0> President; <0> Congress; <1> Supreme Court; <0> Don't know

Current U.S. Vice President

<0> Rex Tillerson; <0> James Mattis; <1> Mike Pence; <0> Paul Ryan; <0> Don't know

Party that is more conservative at national level

<0> The Democratic Party; <1> The Republican Party; <0> Neither; <0> Don't know

The final variable is the proportion of correct answers.

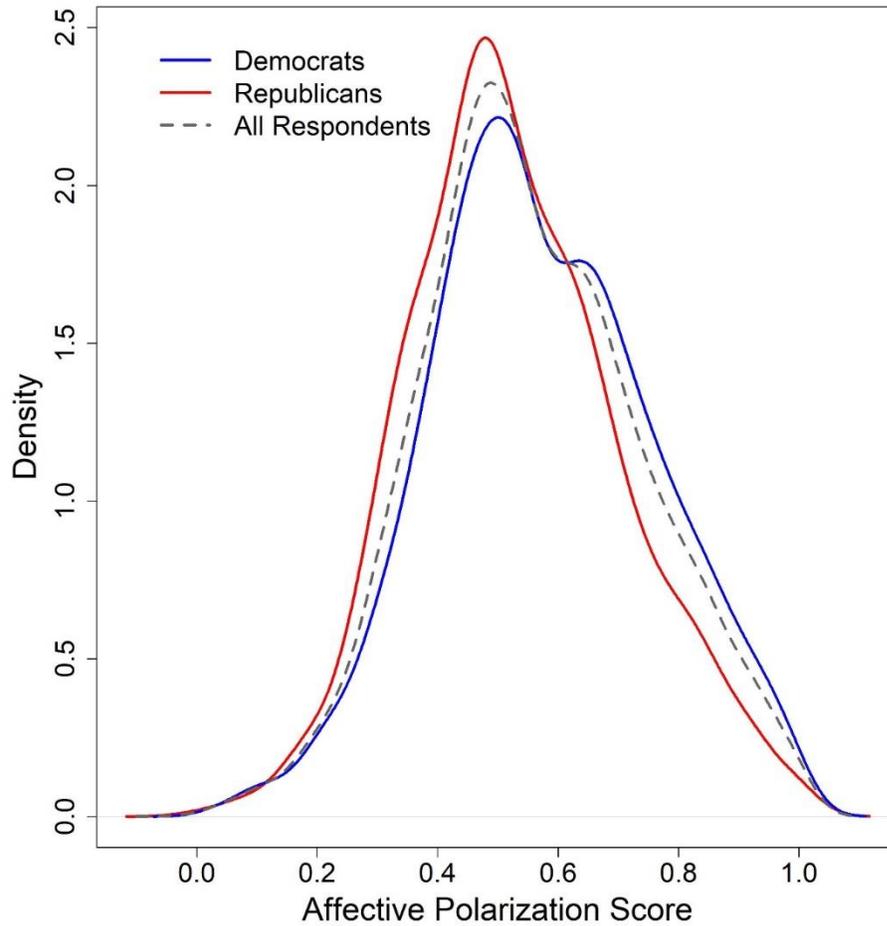
News Source Control Variables

- Media: Fox News (Pre-COVID-19 Wave)
<1> Respondent reports watching Fox News at least once a month; <0> Respondent does not watch Fox News at least once a month
- Media: CNN (Pre-COVID-19 Wave)
<1> Respondent reports watching CNN at least once a month; <0> Respondent does not watch CNN at least once a month
- Media: MSNBC (Pre-COVID-19 Wave)
<1> Respondent reports watching MSNBC at least once a month; <0> Respondent does not watch MSNBC at least once a month
- NY Times or Washington Post (Pre-COVID-19 Wave)
<1> Respondent reports reading either the *New York Times* or the *Washington Post*; <0> Respondent does not read either the *New York Times* or the *Washington Post*
- Network News (Pre-COVID-19 Wave)
<1> Respondent reports watching ABC, CBS, or NBC news at least once a month; <0> Respondent does not watch ABC, CBS, or NBC news at least once a month
- Local News (Pre-COVID-19 Wave)
<1> Respondent reports watching any local newscast at least once a month; <0> Respondent does not watch any local newscast at least once a month
- Social Media Use (Pre-COVID-19 Wave)
<0> Respondent does not use social media; <0> Respondent does not see news related social media content; <.3333> Respondent sees news related social media content once a day; <.6667> Respondent sees news related social media content 2-4 times a day; <1> Respondent sees news related social media content five or more times a day

2. Supplementary Results

2.1 Distribution of the partisan animosity measure by party.

Supplementary Figure 1 Higher values mean more out-party animus



Out-party animus is related both in-party affect and strength of Strength of Partisan Identity. They are not, however, all substitutes for one another as the table below demonstrates.

Supplementary Table 4 Out-party animus across partisan strength

| | Partisan Identity Measure | | |
|------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|
| | Mean out-party animus | % Low out-party animus (≤ 0.3) | % High out-party animus (≥ 0.7) |
| Leaners | 0.54 | 8% | 19% |
| Weak Partisans | 0.51 | 10% | 14% |
| Strong Partisans | 0.59 | 4% | 29% |

| | Identity Strength Measure | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|
| | Mean out-party animus | % Low out-party animus (≤ 0.3) | % High out-party animus (≥ 0.7) |
| Partisan Identity: 0.00-.3499 | 0.521 | 8.8% | 19.0% |
| Partisan Identity: .35-.65 | 0.542 | 6.1% | 20.0% |
| Partisan Identity: .6501-1.00 | 0.605 | 5.9% | 36.2% |

The following OLS model shows that both variables are correlated with out-party animus (controlling for the experimental treatment in Wave 2 of the original survey). However, the R^2 for the model is 0.115 suggesting that a good deal of variation in the dependent variable is explained by other variables.

Supplementary Table 5 Impact of Strength of Partisan Identity and In-Party Affect

| Variable | Coef. | S.E. | T-Value | P-Value | 95% C.I. | |
|--------------------------------------|--------|-------|---------|---------|----------|--------|
| | | | | | Lower | Upper |
| Strength of Partisan Identity | 0.128 | 0.014 | 9.07 | 0.00 | 0.100 | 0.156 |
| In-Party Affect | 0.060 | 0.025 | 2.40 | 0.02 | 0.011 | 0.109 |
| Experiment (Rarely Talk) | -0.004 | 0.014 | -0.32 | 0.75 | -0.032 | 0.023 |
| Experiment (Occasionally) | 0.016 | 0.014 | 1.13 | 0.26 | -0.012 | 0.044 |
| Experiment (Frequently) | -0.090 | 0.014 | -6.28 | 0.00 | -0.119 | -0.062 |
| Experiment (Moderate) | -0.011 | 0.014 | -0.74 | 0.46 | -0.039 | 0.017 |
| Experiment (Sorted) | 0.045 | 0.014 | 3.19 | 0.00 | 0.017 | 0.072 |
| Experiment (Rarely X Moderate) | -0.040 | 0.022 | -1.82 | 0.07 | -0.082 | 0.003 |
| Experiment (Rarely X Sorted) | -0.029 | 0.022 | -1.33 | 0.18 | -0.072 | 0.014 |
| Experiment (Occasionally X Moderate) | -0.038 | 0.021 | -1.77 | 0.08 | -0.080 | 0.004 |
| Experiment (Occasionally X Sorted) | -0.002 | 0.022 | -0.08 | 0.93 | -0.045 | 0.041 |
| Experiment (Frequently X Moderate) | -0.009 | 0.022 | -0.42 | 0.68 | -0.051 | 0.033 |
| Experiment (Frequently X Sorted) | -0.023 | 0.022 | -1.04 | 0.30 | -0.065 | 0.020 |
| Constant | 0.469 | 0.018 | 25.76 | 0.00 | 0.433 | 0.504 |

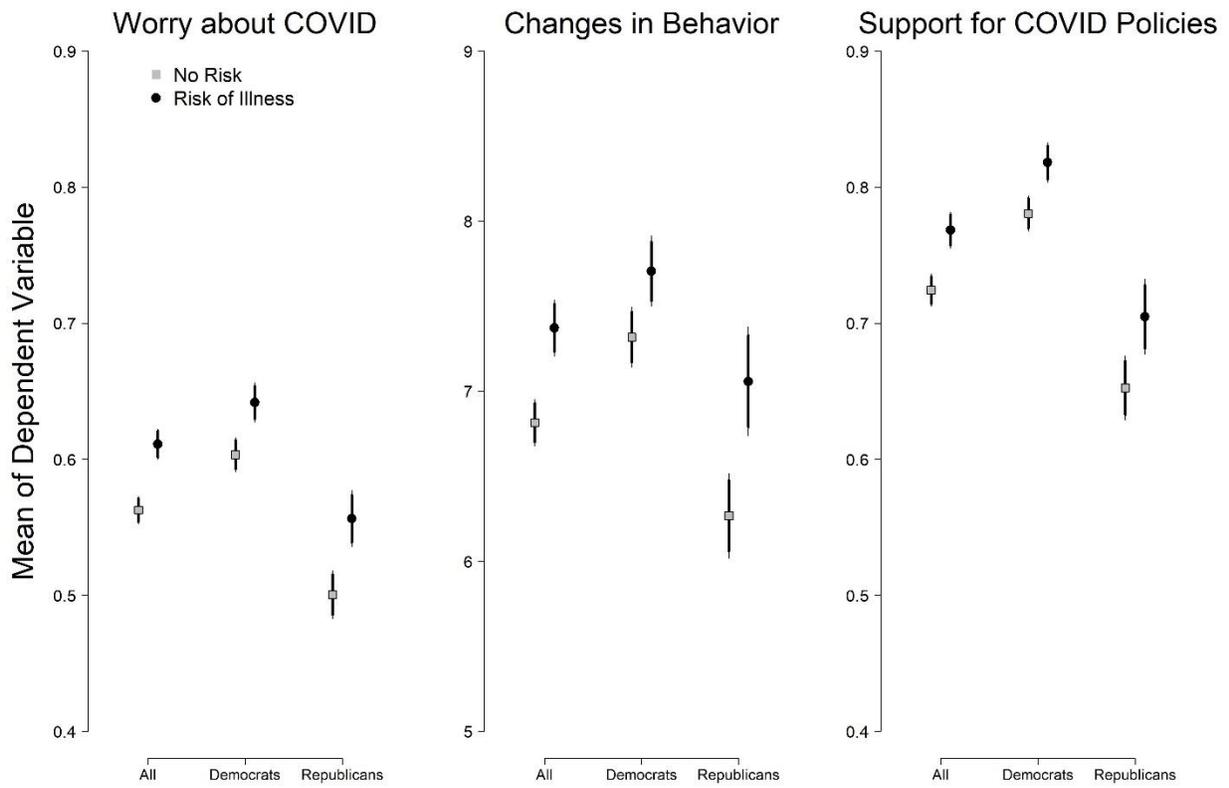
N=2,854; $R^2=0.115$

2.2 Descriptive statistics for all variables.

Supplementary Table 6 Dependent Variables

| Variable | N | Mean | S.D. | Min. | Max. |
|--|-------|-------|-------|------|------|
| <i>All Respondents in all counties</i> | | | | | |
| Worry | 2,970 | 0.582 | 0.209 | 0 | 1 |
| Behavior | 2,979 | 7.033 | 2.954 | 0 | 14 |
| Policy | 2,973 | 0.742 | 0.245 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>Democrats in all counties</i> | | | | | |
| Worry | 1,682 | 0.618 | 0.199 | 0 | 1 |
| Behavior | 1,684 | 7.469 | 2.829 | 0 | 14 |
| Policy | 1,682 | 0.796 | 0.207 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>Republicans in all counties</i> | | | | | |
| Worry | 859 | 0.523 | 0.203 | 0 | 1 |
| Behavior | 863 | 6.577 | 2.981 | 0 | 14 |
| Policy | 861 | 0.673 | 0.270 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>Democrats in counties at the 25th percentile of cases or lower</i> | | | | | |
| Worry | 346 | 0.609 | 0.196 | 0 | 1 |
| Behavior | 346 | 7.087 | 2.567 | 0 | 14 |
| Policy | 346 | 0.793 | 0.206 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>Republicans in counties at the 25th percentile of cases or lower</i> | | | | | |
| Worry | 250 | 0.509 | 0.213 | 0 | 1 |
| Behavior | 250 | 6.024 | 2.743 | 0 | 14 |
| Policy | 250 | 0.629 | 0.281 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>Democrats in counties in the interquartile range of cases</i> | | | | | |
| Worry | 835 | 0.618 | 0.200 | 0 | 1 |
| Behavior | 836 | 7.425 | 2.807 | 0 | 14 |
| Policy | 835 | 0.794 | 0.211 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>Republicans in counties in the interquartile range of cases</i> | | | | | |
| Worry | 408 | 0.517 | 0.201 | 0 | 1 |
| Behavior | 411 | 6.762 | 3.041 | 0 | 14 |
| Policy | 409 | 0.691 | 0.262 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>Democrats in counties at the 75th percentile of cases or higher</i> | | | | | |
| Worry | 501 | 0.626 | 0.200 | 0 | 1 |
| Behavior | 502 | 7.807 | 2.999 | 0 | 14 |
| Policy | 501 | 0.800 | 0.202 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>Republicans in counties at the 75th percentile of cases or higher</i> | | | | | |
| Worry | 201 | 0.552 | 0.195 | 0 | 1 |
| Behavior | 202 | 6.886 | 3.062 | 0 | 14 |
| Policy | 202 | 0.694 | 0.267 | 0 | 1 |

Supplementary Figure 2 Dependent variable by perceived personal risk of illness



Supplementary Table 7 Each item used in the dependent variables

| Worry | | | | | |
|----------------------------|-------|--------|--------|-----|-----|
| Variable | N | Mean | S.D. | Min | Max |
| <i>All Respondents</i> | | | | | |
| Public Health | 2,973 | 0.7418 | 0.2659 | 0 | 1 |
| National Economy | 2,973 | 0.7952 | 0.2616 | 0 | 1 |
| Country's Education | 2,974 | 0.6491 | 0.2994 | 0 | 1 |
| Social Relations | 2,973 | 0.5950 | 0.3047 | 0 | 1 |
| Entertainment/Sports | 2,972 | 0.4757 | 0.3465 | 0 | 1 |
| The 2020 Election | 2,972 | 0.5842 | 0.3340 | 0 | 1 |
| Personal Physical Health | 2,974 | 0.6116 | 0.3043 | 0 | 1 |
| Personal Mental Health | 2,973 | 0.5776 | 0.3261 | 0 | 1 |
| Personal Finances | 2,971 | 0.6663 | 0.3122 | 0 | 1 |
| Personal Education | 2,972 | 0.4485 | 0.3556 | 0 | 1 |
| Personal Friendships | 2,972 | 0.3956 | 0.3266 | 0 | 1 |
| Personal Interests/Hobbies | 2,973 | 0.4461 | 0.3303 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>Democrats</i> | | | | | |
| Public Health | 1,683 | 0.7930 | 0.2419 | 0 | 1 |
| National Economy | 1,683 | 0.8124 | 0.2542 | 0 | 1 |
| Country's Education | 1,683 | 0.6859 | 0.2820 | 0 | 1 |
| Social Relations | 1,683 | 0.6241 | 0.2999 | 0 | 1 |
| Entertainment/Sports | 1,683 | 0.5027 | 0.3445 | 0 | 1 |
| The 2020 Election | 1,683 | 0.6686 | 0.3125 | 0 | 1 |
| Personal Physical Health | 1,683 | 0.6516 | 0.2899 | 0 | 1 |
| Personal Mental Health | 1,683 | 0.6168 | 0.3159 | 0 | 1 |
| Personal Finances | 1,682 | 0.6958 | 0.2998 | 0 | 1 |
| Personal Education | 1,683 | 0.4781 | 0.3565 | 0 | 1 |
| Personal Friendships | 1,683 | 0.4240 | 0.3317 | 0 | 1 |
| Personal Interests/Hobbies | 1,683 | 0.4692 | 0.3322 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>Republicans</i> | | | | | |
| Public Health | 861 | 0.6651 | 0.2728 | 0 | 1 |
| National Economy | 861 | 0.7786 | 0.2627 | 0 | 1 |
| Country's Education | 861 | 0.5881 | 0.3069 | 0 | 1 |
| Social Relations | 861 | 0.5428 | 0.3035 | 0 | 1 |
| Entertainment/Sports | 860 | 0.4407 | 0.3442 | 0 | 1 |
| The 2020 Election | 860 | 0.4872 | 0.3147 | 0 | 1 |
| Personal Physical Health | 861 | 0.5327 | 0.3060 | 0 | 1 |
| Personal Mental Health | 861 | 0.5002 | 0.3245 | 0 | 1 |
| Personal Finances | 860 | 0.6089 | 0.3195 | 0 | 1 |
| Personal Education | 860 | 0.3853 | 0.3395 | 0 | 1 |
| Personal Friendships | 860 | 0.3473 | 0.3065 | 0 | 1 |
| Personal Interests/Hobbies | 861 | 0.4034 | 0.3193 | 0 | 1 |

Behavior

| Variable | N | Mean | S.D. | Min | Max |
|---------------------------------|-------|--------|--------|-----|-----|
| <i>All Respondents</i> | | | | | |
| Washed Hands More | 2,979 | 0.8990 | 0.3014 | 0 | 1 |
| Worked from Home | 2,979 | 0.3347 | 0.4720 | 0 | 1 |
| Used Hand Sanitizer | 2,979 | 0.7123 | 0.4528 | 0 | 1 |
| Canceled Planned Travel | 2,979 | 0.3129 | 0.4637 | 0 | 1 |
| Avoided Gathers of More Than 10 | 2,979 | 0.7825 | 0.4126 | 0 | 1 |
| Stayed 6 Feet Away from Others | 2,979 | 0.8191 | 0.3850 | 0 | 1 |
| Worn a Face Mask | 2,979 | 0.4408 | 0.4966 | 0 | 1 |
| Worn Gloves | 2,979 | 0.3760 | 0.4845 | 0 | 1 |
| Did Not Go to Grocery | 2,979 | 0.3001 | 0.4584 | 0 | 1 |
| Ordered Grocery Delivery | 2,979 | 0.1920 | 0.3939 | 0 | 1 |
| Cooked at Home | 2,979 | 0.5925 | 0.4915 | 0 | 1 |
| Went Outside Less Frequently | 2,979 | 0.4642 | 0.4988 | 0 | 1 |
| Stayed Home Entirely | 2,979 | 0.3135 | 0.4640 | 0 | 1 |
| Bought Extra Food | 2,979 | 0.4931 | 0.5000 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>Democrats</i> | | | | | |
| Washed Hands More | 1,684 | 0.9204 | 0.2707 | 0 | 1 |
| Worked from Home | 1,684 | 0.3593 | 0.4799 | 0 | 1 |
| Used Hand Sanitizer | 1,684 | 0.7375 | 0.4401 | 0 | 1 |
| Canceled Planned Travel | 1,684 | 0.3409 | 0.4741 | 0 | 1 |
| Avoided Gathers of More Than 10 | 1,684 | 0.8124 | 0.3905 | 0 | 1 |
| Stayed 6 Feet Away from Others | 1,684 | 0.8426 | 0.3643 | 0 | 1 |
| Worn a Face Mask | 1,684 | 0.5048 | 0.5001 | 0 | 1 |
| Worn Gloves | 1,684 | 0.4151 | 0.4929 | 0 | 1 |
| Did Not Go to Grocery | 1,684 | 0.3213 | 0.4671 | 0 | 1 |
| Ordered Grocery Delivery | 1,684 | 0.2162 | 0.4117 | 0 | 1 |
| Cooked at Home | 1,684 | 0.6110 | 0.4877 | 0 | 1 |
| Went Outside Less Frequently | 1,684 | 0.5202 | 0.4997 | 0 | 1 |
| Stayed Home Entirely | 1,684 | 0.3468 | 0.4761 | 0 | 1 |
| Bought Extra Food | 1,684 | 0.5208 | 0.4997 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>Republicans</i> | | | | | |
| Washed Hands More | 863 | 0.8795 | 0.3257 | 0 | 1 |
| Worked from Home | 863 | 0.3291 | 0.4702 | 0 | 1 |
| Used Hand Sanitizer | 863 | 0.6871 | 0.4639 | 0 | 1 |
| Canceled Planned Travel | 863 | 0.2920 | 0.4549 | 0 | 1 |
| Avoided Gathers of More Than 10 | 863 | 0.7486 | 0.4341 | 0 | 1 |
| Stayed 6 Feet Away from Others | 863 | 0.8053 | 0.3962 | 0 | 1 |
| Worn a Face Mask | 863 | 0.3627 | 0.4811 | 0 | 1 |
| Worn Gloves | 863 | 0.3279 | 0.4697 | 0 | 1 |
| Did Not Go to Grocery | 863 | 0.2723 | 0.4454 | 0 | 1 |
| Ordered Grocery Delivery | 863 | 0.1703 | 0.3761 | 0 | 1 |
| Cooked at Home | 863 | 0.5724 | 0.4950 | 0 | 1 |
| Went Outside Less Frequently | 863 | 0.3963 | 0.4894 | 0 | 1 |
| Stayed Home Entirely | 863 | 0.2561 | 0.4367 | 0 | 1 |
| Bought Extra Food | 863 | 0.4774 | 0.4998 | 0 | 1 |

Policy

| Variable | N | Mean | S.D. | Min | Max |
|--|------|--------|--------|-----|-----|
| <i>All Respondents</i> | | | | | |
| Close Non-Essential Businesses | 2974 | 0.8263 | 0.2637 | 0 | 1 |
| Lift Stay at Home Orders (Reversed) | 2975 | 0.7658 | 0.3101 | 0 | 1 |
| Fine Individuals Who Don't Social Distance | 2974 | 0.6337 | 0.3356 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>Democrats</i> | | | | | |
| Close Non-Essential Businesses | 1682 | 0.8753 | 0.2262 | 0 | 1 |
| Lift Stay at Home Orders (Reversed) | 1683 | 0.8285 | 0.2694 | 0 | 1 |
| Fine Individuals Who Don't Social Distance | 1683 | 0.6825 | 0.3146 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>Republicans</i> | | | | | |
| Close Non-Essential Businesses | 861 | 0.7696 | 0.2825 | 0 | 1 |
| Lift Stay at Home Orders (Reversed) | 861 | 0.6756 | 0.3396 | 0 | 1 |
| Fine Individuals Who Don't Social Distance | 861 | 0.5749 | 0.3477 | 0 | 1 |

Supplementary Table 8 Independent Variables All Respondents

| Variable | N | Mean | S.D. | Min | Max |
|------------------------------|-------|--------|--------|-----|-----|
| Partisan Animosity | 2,124 | 0.5592 | 0.1835 | 0 | 1 |
| In-Party Affect | 2,131 | 0.6793 | 0.1442 | 0 | 1 |
| Household COVID Infection | 2,189 | 0.0950 | 0.2933 | 0 | 1 |
| Risk of Illness | 2,187 | 0.4001 | 0.4900 | 0 | 1 |
| Out of Work | 2,192 | 0.2746 | 0.4464 | 0 | 1 |
| Future Income | 2,191 | 0.4081 | 0.2242 | 0 | 1 |
| Difficulty Having no Contact | 2,190 | 0.5053 | 0.2648 | 0 | 1 |
| Strength of Party Identity | 2,188 | 0.5248 | 0.2506 | 0 | 1 |
| Ideology | 2,191 | 0.4342 | 0.2782 | 0 | 1 |
| Issue Positions | 2,187 | 0.6404 | 0.2090 | 0 | 1 |
| Political Interest | 2,172 | 0.5671 | 0.2808 | 0 | 1 |
| Political Knowledge | 2,192 | 0.6947 | 0.2883 | 0 | 1 |
| Trump Press Conferences | 2,188 | 0.4557 | 0.4036 | 0 | 1 |
| Media: Fox News | 2,185 | 0.4302 | 0.4952 | 0 | 1 |
| Media: CNN | 2,188 | 0.5005 | 0.5001 | 0 | 1 |
| Media: MSNBC | 2,181 | 0.3806 | 0.4856 | 0 | 1 |
| NY Times or Washington Post | 2,192 | 0.3599 | 0.4801 | 0 | 1 |
| Network News | 2,191 | 0.6728 | 0.4693 | 0 | 1 |
| Local News | 2,190 | 0.7890 | 0.4081 | 0 | 1 |
| Social Media Use | 2,186 | 0.4625 | 0.3635 | 0 | 1 |

Independent Variables Democrats

| Variable | N | Mean | S.D. | Min | Max |
|------------------------------|------|--------|--------|--------|-----|
| Partisan Animosity | 1389 | 0.5764 | 0.1870 | 0.0392 | 1 |
| In-Party Affect | 1395 | 0.6889 | 0.1459 | 0 | 1 |
| Household COVID Infection | 1430 | 0.0979 | 0.2973 | 0 | 1 |
| Risk of Illness | 1427 | 0.3938 | 0.4888 | 0 | 1 |
| Out of Work | 1431 | 0.2530 | 0.4349 | 0 | 1 |
| Future Income | 1431 | 0.4050 | 0.2297 | 0 | 1 |
| Difficulty Having no Contact | 1429 | 0.4954 | 0.2666 | 0 | 1 |
| Strength of Party Identity | 1430 | 0.5507 | 0.2540 | 0 | 1 |
| Ideology | 1431 | 0.3090 | 0.2186 | 0 | 1 |
| Issue Positions | 1429 | 0.7230 | 0.1732 | 0.0938 | 1 |
| Political Interest | 1419 | 0.5816 | 0.2829 | 0 | 1 |
| Political Knowledge | 1431 | 0.6861 | 0.2931 | 0 | 1 |
| Trump Press Conferences | 1430 | 0.3667 | 0.3852 | 0 | 1 |
| Media: Fox News | 1427 | 0.3427 | 0.4748 | 0 | 1 |
| Media: CNN | 1429 | 0.5969 | 0.4907 | 0 | 1 |
| Media: MSNBC | 1425 | 0.4428 | 0.4969 | 0 | 1 |
| NY Times or Washington Post | 1431 | 0.4326 | 0.4956 | 0 | 1 |
| Network News | 1431 | 0.7086 | 0.4546 | 0 | 1 |
| Local News | 1431 | 0.7987 | 0.4011 | 0 | 1 |
| Social Media Use | 1426 | 0.4766 | 0.3649 | 0 | 1 |

Independent Variables Republicans

| Variable | N | Mean | S.D. | Min | Max |
|------------------------------|-----|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Partisan Animosity | 735 | 0.5267 | 0.1722 | 0 | 1 |
| In-Party Affect | 736 | 0.6610 | 0.1390 | 0.2008 | 1 |
| Household COVID Infection | 757 | 0.0872 | 0.2823 | 0 | 1 |
| Risk of Illness | 758 | 0.4116 | 0.4925 | 0 | 1 |
| Out of Work | 759 | 0.3149 | 0.4648 | 0 | 1 |
| Future Income | 758 | 0.4146 | 0.2136 | 0 | 1 |
| Difficulty Having no Contact | 759 | 0.5235 | 0.2604 | 0 | 1 |
| Strength of Party Identity | 757 | 0.4760 | 0.2368 | 0 | 1 |
| Ideology | 759 | 0.6708 | 0.2181 | 0 | 1 |
| Issue Positions | 757 | 0.4841 | 0.1795 | 0 | 0.9583 |
| Political Interest | 752 | 0.5396 | 0.2749 | 0 | 1 |
| Political Knowledge | 759 | 0.7115 | 0.2775 | 0 | 1 |
| Trump Press Conferences | 757 | 0.6244 | 0.3833 | 0 | 1 |
| Media: Fox News | 757 | 0.5958 | 0.4911 | 0 | 1 |
| Media: CNN | 758 | 0.3179 | 0.4660 | 0 | 1 |
| Media: MSNBC | 755 | 0.2636 | 0.4409 | 0 | 1 |
| NY Times or Washington Post | 759 | 0.2227 | 0.4163 | 0 | 1 |
| Network News | 759 | 0.6047 | 0.4892 | 0 | 1 |
| Local News | 758 | 0.7704 | 0.4208 | 0 | 1 |
| Social Media Use | 759 | 0.4352 | 0.3594 | 0 | 1 |

County Level Variables (For Respondents in Models Only)

| Variable | N | Mean | S.D. | Min | Max |
|-----------------------------|-----|--------|--------|--------|---------|
| Logged Cases (3 Day Avg.) | 724 | 3.8952 | 1.9713 | 0 | 11.1697 |
| County Population (Million) | 723 | 0.3387 | 0.6843 | 0.0044 | 10 |
| Trump Vote Percentage | 723 | 0.5734 | 0.1686 | 0.0425 | 0.8996 |

Due to the way the New York Times organizes case data, New York City is 1 county in our data instead of 5 counties.

2.3 OLS Models for Worry about COVID-19

Supplementary Table 9 Worry OLS Models

Model 1

| | Coef. | S.E. | T-Value | P-Value | 95% LB | 95% UB |
|--------------------------------------|--------|-------|--------------|---------|----------------------|--------|
| Republican | -0.005 | 0.028 | -0.16 | 0.871 | -0.060 | 0.051 |
| Partisan Animosity | 0.019 | 0.028 | 0.68 | 0.499 | -0.036 | 0.074 |
| Republican X Partisan Animosity | -0.157 | 0.053 | -2.95 | 0.003 | -0.262 | -0.052 |
| Logged Cases (County) | 0.004 | 0.003 | 1.39 | 0.166 | -0.001 | 0.008 |
| County Population (Millions) | 0.002 | 0.002 | 1.09 | 0.275 | -0.002 | 0.006 |
| Experiment (Rarely Talk) | 0.007 | 0.018 | 0.42 | 0.676 | -0.028 | 0.043 |
| Experiment (Occasionally) | 0.003 | 0.019 | 0.14 | 0.888 | -0.035 | 0.040 |
| Experiment (Frequently) | -0.019 | 0.019 | -0.98 | 0.329 | -0.057 | 0.019 |
| Experiment (Moderate) | 0.003 | 0.020 | 0.14 | 0.892 | -0.037 | 0.042 |
| Experiment (Sorted) | -0.014 | 0.019 | -0.76 | 0.445 | -0.052 | 0.023 |
| Experiment (Rarely X Moderate) | 0.017 | 0.029 | 0.60 | 0.548 | -0.039 | 0.073 |
| Experiment (Rarely X Sorted) | 0.043 | 0.027 | 1.63 | 0.103 | -0.009 | 0.096 |
| Experiment (Occasionally X Moderate) | -0.035 | 0.030 | -1.19 | 0.235 | -0.094 | 0.023 |
| Experiment (Occasionally X Sorted) | 0.013 | 0.028 | 0.47 | 0.635 | -0.041 | 0.067 |
| Experiment (Frequently X Moderate) | 0.005 | 0.028 | 0.18 | 0.854 | -0.049 | 0.059 |
| Experiment (Frequently X Sorted) | 0.065 | 0.032 | 2.00 | 0.046 | 0.001 | 0.128 |
| Constant | 0.577 | 0.024 | 24.50 | 0.000 | 0.531 | 0.623 |
| | N=2062 | | Counties=723 | | R ² =0.06 | |

In all models standard errors are adjusted for clustering on counties.

Model 2

| | Coef. | S.E. | T-Value | P-Value | 95% LB | 95% UB |
|--------------------------------------|--------|-------|--------------|---------|----------------------|--------|
| Republican | 0.137 | 0.069 | 1.97 | 0.049 | 0.001 | 0.273 |
| Partisan Animosity | -0.002 | 0.066 | -0.04 | 0.970 | -0.133 | 0.128 |
| Republican X Partisan Animosity | -0.435 | 0.120 | -3.61 | 0.000 | -0.672 | -0.199 |
| Logged Cases (County) | 0.001 | 0.006 | 0.14 | 0.892 | -0.012 | 0.013 |
| Republican X Cases | -0.027 | 0.011 | -2.59 | 0.010 | -0.048 | -0.007 |
| Animosity X Cases | 0.004 | 0.010 | 0.37 | 0.710 | -0.015 | 0.022 |
| Republican X Animosity X Cases | 0.054 | 0.019 | 2.81 | 0.005 | 0.016 | 0.092 |
| County Population (Millions) | 0.002 | 0.002 | 1.03 | 0.302 | -0.002 | 0.006 |
| Experiment (Rarely Talk) | 0.008 | 0.018 | 0.43 | 0.667 | -0.027 | 0.042 |
| Experiment (Occasionally) | 0.002 | 0.019 | 0.12 | 0.903 | -0.035 | 0.039 |
| Experiment (Frequently) | -0.018 | 0.019 | -0.94 | 0.347 | -0.056 | 0.020 |
| Experiment (Moderate) | 0.003 | 0.020 | 0.13 | 0.894 | -0.036 | 0.041 |
| Experiment (Sorted) | -0.016 | 0.019 | -0.83 | 0.405 | -0.054 | 0.022 |
| Experiment (Rarely X Moderate) | 0.016 | 0.028 | 0.58 | 0.562 | -0.039 | 0.071 |
| Experiment (Rarely X Sorted) | 0.046 | 0.027 | 1.74 | 0.083 | -0.006 | 0.098 |
| Experiment (Occasionally X Moderate) | -0.034 | 0.030 | -1.16 | 0.247 | -0.092 | 0.024 |
| Experiment (Occasionally X Sorted) | 0.015 | 0.027 | 0.55 | 0.583 | -0.039 | 0.069 |
| Experiment (Frequently X Moderate) | 0.005 | 0.027 | 0.18 | 0.859 | -0.049 | 0.059 |
| Experiment (Frequently X Sorted) | 0.064 | 0.032 | 1.98 | 0.048 | 0.001 | 0.127 |
| Constant | 0.593 | 0.044 | 13.45 | 0.000 | 0.506 | 0.679 |
| | N=2062 | | Counties=723 | | R ² =0.07 | |

Model 3

| | Coef. | S.E. | T-Value | P-Value | 95% LB | 95% UB |
|--------------------------------------|--------|-------|--------------|---------|----------------------|--------|
| Republican | 0.126 | 0.067 | 1.89 | 0.060 | -0.005 | 0.256 |
| Partisan Animosity | 0.006 | 0.067 | 0.10 | 0.923 | -0.125 | 0.138 |
| Republican X Partisan Animosity | -0.399 | 0.116 | -3.43 | 0.001 | -0.627 | -0.170 |
| Logged Cases (County) | 0.000 | 0.007 | 0.01 | 0.993 | -0.013 | 0.013 |
| Republican X Cases | -0.025 | 0.010 | -2.40 | 0.017 | -0.045 | -0.005 |
| Animosity X Cases | 0.003 | 0.010 | 0.30 | 0.762 | -0.017 | 0.023 |
| Republican X Animosity X Cases | 0.050 | 0.019 | 2.58 | 0.010 | 0.012 | 0.088 |
| County Population (Millions) | 0.002 | 0.002 | 1.05 | 0.295 | -0.002 | 0.006 |
| Household COVID Infection | 0.022 | 0.013 | 1.62 | 0.106 | -0.005 | 0.048 |
| Risk of Illness | 0.037 | 0.008 | 4.49 | 0.000 | 0.021 | 0.053 |
| Out of Work | 0.010 | 0.010 | 0.97 | 0.335 | -0.010 | 0.029 |
| Future Income | -0.101 | 0.020 | -4.94 | 0.000 | -0.141 | -0.061 |
| Difficulty Having No Contact | 0.141 | 0.017 | 8.26 | 0.000 | 0.108 | 0.175 |
| Age (25-34) | 0.016 | 0.018 | 0.88 | 0.379 | -0.019 | 0.051 |
| Age (35-50) | 0.034 | 0.017 | 1.94 | 0.053 | 0.000 | 0.068 |
| Age (51-65) | -0.003 | 0.017 | -0.17 | 0.862 | -0.036 | 0.030 |
| Age (Older than 65) | -0.054 | 0.018 | -2.96 | 0.003 | -0.090 | -0.018 |
| Female | 0.011 | 0.008 | 1.26 | 0.209 | -0.006 | 0.027 |
| White | -0.039 | 0.036 | -1.11 | 0.269 | -0.109 | 0.031 |
| African American | 0.006 | 0.036 | 0.15 | 0.879 | -0.065 | 0.076 |
| Asian American | -0.030 | 0.038 | -0.78 | 0.436 | -0.105 | 0.045 |
| Hispanic/Latino | 0.003 | 0.038 | 0.09 | 0.928 | -0.072 | 0.079 |
| Education | -0.025 | 0.021 | -1.20 | 0.231 | -0.067 | 0.016 |
| Income | -0.015 | 0.017 | -0.86 | 0.390 | -0.049 | 0.019 |
| Republican Governor | -0.006 | 0.009 | -0.64 | 0.525 | -0.023 | 0.012 |
| Experiment (Rarely Talk) | 0.003 | 0.018 | 0.14 | 0.887 | -0.032 | 0.037 |
| Experiment (Occasionally) | -0.002 | 0.018 | -0.14 | 0.892 | -0.038 | 0.033 |
| Experiment (Frequently) | -0.019 | 0.019 | -1.03 | 0.305 | -0.056 | 0.017 |
| Experiment (Moderate) | 0.006 | 0.018 | 0.31 | 0.758 | -0.030 | 0.041 |
| Experiment (Sorted) | -0.017 | 0.019 | -0.91 | 0.361 | -0.054 | 0.020 |
| Experiment (Rarely X Moderate) | 0.023 | 0.027 | 0.84 | 0.400 | -0.030 | 0.076 |
| Experiment (Rarely X Sorted) | 0.054 | 0.027 | 2.02 | 0.044 | 0.001 | 0.106 |
| Experiment (Occasionally X Moderate) | -0.020 | 0.029 | -0.72 | 0.474 | -0.077 | 0.036 |
| Experiment (Occasionally X Sorted) | 0.026 | 0.026 | 0.99 | 0.324 | -0.026 | 0.078 |
| Experiment (Frequently X Moderate) | 0.007 | 0.026 | 0.27 | 0.787 | -0.044 | 0.059 |
| Experiment (Frequently X Sorted) | 0.060 | 0.031 | 1.94 | 0.052 | -0.001 | 0.121 |
| Constant | 0.579 | 0.058 | 9.90 | 0.000 | 0.464 | 0.693 |
| | N=2054 | | Counties=723 | | R ² =0.15 | |

Model 4

| | Coef. | S.E. | T-Value | P-Value | 95% LB | 95% UB |
|----------------------------------|--------|-------|---------|---------|--------|--------|
| Republican | 0.086 | 0.098 | 0.87 | 0.383 | -0.107 | 0.279 |
| Partisan Animosity | -0.014 | 0.068 | -0.21 | 0.834 | -0.148 | 0.119 |
| Republican X Partisan Animosity | -0.325 | 0.116 | -2.80 | 0.005 | -0.552 | -0.097 |
| Logged Cases (County) | -0.003 | 0.006 | -0.41 | 0.680 | -0.015 | 0.010 |
| Republican X Cases | -0.022 | 0.010 | -2.21 | 0.027 | -0.041 | -0.002 |
| Animosity X Cases | 0.001 | 0.011 | 0.12 | 0.905 | -0.020 | 0.022 |
| Republican X Animosity X Cases | 0.048 | 0.019 | 2.54 | 0.011 | 0.011 | 0.086 |
| County Population (Millions) | 0.004 | 0.002 | 1.81 | 0.070 | 0.000 | 0.008 |
| Household COVID Infection | 0.018 | 0.013 | 1.37 | 0.173 | -0.008 | 0.044 |
| Risk of Illness | 0.034 | 0.008 | 4.17 | 0.000 | 0.018 | 0.050 |
| Out of Work | 0.009 | 0.010 | 0.91 | 0.363 | -0.010 | 0.028 |
| Future Income | -0.116 | 0.020 | -5.82 | 0.000 | -0.156 | -0.077 |
| Difficulty Having No Contact | 0.122 | 0.017 | 7.30 | 0.000 | 0.089 | 0.155 |
| Age (25-34) | -0.002 | 0.018 | -0.10 | 0.919 | -0.037 | 0.034 |
| Age (35-50) | 0.018 | 0.017 | 1.04 | 0.300 | -0.016 | 0.052 |
| Age (51-65) | -0.015 | 0.017 | -0.91 | 0.362 | -0.048 | 0.018 |
| Age (Older than 65) | -0.064 | 0.017 | -3.68 | 0.000 | -0.099 | -0.030 |
| Female | 0.003 | 0.008 | 0.35 | 0.727 | -0.014 | 0.020 |
| White | -0.036 | 0.035 | -1.04 | 0.301 | -0.104 | 0.032 |
| African American | -0.017 | 0.036 | -0.46 | 0.643 | -0.087 | 0.054 |
| Asian American | -0.031 | 0.039 | -0.80 | 0.424 | -0.108 | 0.046 |
| Hispanic/Latino | -0.009 | 0.038 | -0.25 | 0.806 | -0.083 | 0.065 |
| Education | -0.012 | 0.022 | -0.55 | 0.580 | -0.054 | 0.030 |
| Income | -0.012 | 0.018 | -0.65 | 0.513 | -0.048 | 0.024 |
| Republican Governor | 0.000 | 0.009 | -0.05 | 0.963 | -0.018 | 0.017 |
| Trump Vote Share (County) | -0.052 | 0.030 | -1.77 | 0.078 | -0.110 | 0.006 |
| Republican X Trump Vote | 0.051 | 0.049 | 1.04 | 0.299 | -0.045 | 0.148 |
| Strength of Partisan Identity | 0.132 | 0.026 | 5.06 | 0.000 | 0.081 | 0.184 |
| Republican X Partisan Identity | -0.018 | 0.042 | -0.42 | 0.675 | -0.100 | 0.065 |
| Ideology | 0.021 | 0.030 | 0.70 | 0.487 | -0.038 | 0.080 |
| Republican X Ideology | -0.107 | 0.051 | -2.09 | 0.037 | -0.206 | -0.007 |
| Issue Positions | 0.027 | 0.039 | 0.69 | 0.490 | -0.050 | 0.103 |
| Republican X Issue Positions | 0.138 | 0.065 | 2.12 | 0.035 | 0.010 | 0.266 |
| Political Interest | 0.077 | 0.026 | 2.90 | 0.004 | 0.025 | 0.128 |
| Republican X Political Interest | -0.031 | 0.041 | -0.74 | 0.461 | -0.112 | 0.051 |
| Political Knowledge | -0.087 | 0.023 | -3.72 | 0.000 | -0.132 | -0.041 |
| Republican X Political Knowledge | 0.000 | 0.038 | 0.00 | 0.999 | -0.075 | 0.074 |

| (Model 4 Continued) | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------|-------|--------------|-------|----------------------|-------|
| Experiment (Rarely Talk) | -0.001 | 0.017 | -0.07 | 0.943 | -0.034 | 0.032 |
| Experiment (Occasionally) | -0.005 | 0.018 | -0.29 | 0.772 | -0.040 | 0.029 |
| Experiment (Frequently) | -0.019 | 0.018 | -1.08 | 0.281 | -0.054 | 0.016 |
| Experiment (Moderate) | 0.006 | 0.018 | 0.37 | 0.713 | -0.028 | 0.041 |
| Experiment (Sorted) | -0.023 | 0.019 | -1.20 | 0.232 | -0.061 | 0.015 |
| Experiment (Rarely X Moderate) | 0.019 | 0.026 | 0.76 | 0.449 | -0.031 | 0.070 |
| Experiment (Rarely X Sorted) | 0.049 | 0.026 | 1.91 | 0.057 | -0.001 | 0.100 |
| Experiment (Occasionally X Moderate) | -0.021 | 0.028 | -0.74 | 0.461 | -0.075 | 0.034 |
| Experiment (Occasionally X Sorted) | 0.024 | 0.027 | 0.90 | 0.370 | -0.029 | 0.077 |
| Experiment (Frequently X Moderate) | 0.001 | 0.025 | 0.04 | 0.971 | -0.048 | 0.050 |
| Experiment (Frequently X Sorted) | 0.055 | 0.030 | 1.82 | 0.069 | -0.004 | 0.114 |
| Constant | 0.583 | 0.069 | 8.44 | 0.000 | 0.447 | 0.719 |
| N=2034 | | | Counties=716 | | R ² =0.21 | |

Model 5

| | Coef. | S.E. | T-Value | P-Value | 95% LB | 95% UB |
|----------------------------------|--------|-------|---------|---------|--------|--------|
| Republican | 0.096 | 0.100 | 0.97 | 0.334 | -0.099 | 0.292 |
| Partisan Animosity | -0.002 | 0.069 | -0.03 | 0.977 | -0.138 | 0.134 |
| Republican X Partisan Animosity | -0.315 | 0.116 | -2.73 | 0.007 | -0.542 | -0.088 |
| Logged Cases (County) | -0.004 | 0.006 | -0.68 | 0.494 | -0.017 | 0.008 |
| Republican X Cases | -0.020 | 0.010 | -2.00 | 0.046 | -0.039 | 0.000 |
| Animosity X Cases | 0.002 | 0.011 | 0.22 | 0.827 | -0.019 | 0.024 |
| Republican X Animosity X Cases | 0.045 | 0.019 | 2.33 | 0.020 | 0.007 | 0.082 |
| County Population (Millions) | 0.004 | 0.002 | 2.05 | 0.041 | 0.000 | 0.009 |
| Household COVID Infection | 0.014 | 0.013 | 1.07 | 0.283 | -0.011 | 0.039 |
| Risk of Illness | 0.030 | 0.008 | 3.66 | 0.000 | 0.014 | 0.046 |
| Out of Work | 0.007 | 0.010 | 0.75 | 0.452 | -0.012 | 0.026 |
| Future Income | -0.114 | 0.020 | -5.75 | 0.000 | -0.153 | -0.075 |
| Difficulty Having No Contact | 0.118 | 0.017 | 7.10 | 0.000 | 0.085 | 0.150 |
| Age (25-34) | -0.005 | 0.018 | -0.28 | 0.783 | -0.040 | 0.030 |
| Age (35-50) | 0.012 | 0.017 | 0.68 | 0.496 | -0.022 | 0.046 |
| Age (51-65) | -0.017 | 0.017 | -1.03 | 0.305 | -0.049 | 0.016 |
| Age (Older than 65) | -0.064 | 0.018 | -3.63 | 0.000 | -0.099 | -0.029 |
| Female | 0.004 | 0.008 | 0.42 | 0.674 | -0.013 | 0.020 |
| White | -0.026 | 0.035 | -0.75 | 0.456 | -0.095 | 0.043 |
| African American | -0.015 | 0.036 | -0.41 | 0.685 | -0.086 | 0.057 |
| Asian American | -0.028 | 0.039 | -0.73 | 0.464 | -0.104 | 0.047 |
| Hispanic/Latino | 0.001 | 0.038 | 0.01 | 0.988 | -0.074 | 0.075 |
| Education | -0.003 | 0.022 | -0.15 | 0.881 | -0.046 | 0.039 |
| Income | -0.021 | 0.018 | -1.15 | 0.250 | -0.057 | 0.015 |
| Republican Governor (State) | -0.002 | 0.009 | -0.24 | 0.807 | -0.019 | 0.015 |
| (Model 5 Continued) | | | | | | |
| Trump Vote Share (County) | -0.056 | 0.032 | -1.76 | 0.078 | -0.118 | 0.006 |
| Republican X Trump Vote | 0.049 | 0.049 | 1.01 | 0.312 | -0.046 | 0.145 |
| Strength of Partisan Identity | 0.110 | 0.026 | 4.17 | 0.000 | 0.058 | 0.162 |
| Republican X Partisan Identity | -0.033 | 0.043 | -0.76 | 0.446 | -0.117 | 0.052 |
| Ideology | 0.002 | 0.032 | 0.07 | 0.942 | -0.060 | 0.064 |
| Republican X Ideology | -0.064 | 0.052 | -1.22 | 0.223 | -0.166 | 0.039 |
| Issue Positions | 0.032 | 0.042 | 0.75 | 0.451 | -0.051 | 0.114 |
| Republican X Issue Positions | 0.101 | 0.066 | 1.52 | 0.128 | -0.029 | 0.231 |
| Political Interest | 0.037 | 0.029 | 1.28 | 0.199 | -0.020 | 0.094 |
| Republican X Political Interest | -0.029 | 0.042 | -0.70 | 0.486 | -0.112 | 0.053 |
| Political Knowledge | -0.072 | 0.024 | -3.06 | 0.002 | -0.119 | -0.026 |
| Republican X Political Knowledge | -0.011 | 0.038 | -0.29 | 0.768 | -0.087 | 0.064 |
| Trump Press Conference | 0.021 | 0.016 | 1.27 | 0.206 | -0.011 | 0.053 |
| Republican X Trump Press | -0.014 | 0.025 | -0.58 | 0.563 | -0.063 | 0.034 |

(Model 5 Continued)

| | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------|-------|--------------|-------|----------------------|-------|
| Media: Fox News | 0.017 | 0.010 | 1.67 | 0.095 | -0.003 | 0.037 |
| Media: CNN | 0.019 | 0.010 | 1.80 | 0.072 | -0.002 | 0.039 |
| Media: MSNBC | 0.017 | 0.012 | 1.38 | 0.169 | -0.007 | 0.041 |
| NY Times or Washington Post | -0.012 | 0.010 | -1.18 | 0.237 | -0.032 | 0.008 |
| Network News | 0.010 | 0.012 | 0.85 | 0.398 | -0.013 | 0.033 |
| Local News | 0.014 | 0.014 | 1.01 | 0.311 | -0.013 | 0.041 |
| Social Media Use | 0.042 | 0.014 | 3.09 | 0.002 | 0.015 | 0.069 |
| Experiment (Rarely Talk) | -0.007 | 0.017 | -0.41 | 0.681 | -0.040 | 0.026 |
| Experiment (Occasionally) | -0.006 | 0.018 | -0.31 | 0.755 | -0.040 | 0.029 |
| Experiment (Frequently) | -0.024 | 0.018 | -1.37 | 0.170 | -0.059 | 0.010 |
| Experiment (Moderate) | 0.005 | 0.017 | 0.27 | 0.790 | -0.030 | 0.039 |
| Experiment (Sorted) | -0.024 | 0.019 | -1.24 | 0.215 | -0.062 | 0.014 |
| Experiment (Rarely X Moderate) | 0.033 | 0.026 | 1.27 | 0.203 | -0.018 | 0.083 |
| Experiment (Rarely X Sorted) | 0.058 | 0.026 | 2.22 | 0.027 | 0.007 | 0.108 |
| Experiment (Occasionally X Moderate) | -0.015 | 0.028 | -0.55 | 0.582 | -0.071 | 0.040 |
| Experiment (Occasionally X Sorted) | 0.020 | 0.027 | 0.75 | 0.452 | -0.032 | 0.073 |
| Experiment (Frequently X Moderate) | 0.005 | 0.025 | 0.18 | 0.856 | -0.045 | 0.054 |
| Experiment (Frequently X Sorted) | 0.058 | 0.030 | 1.91 | 0.056 | -0.002 | 0.117 |
| Constant | 0.543 | 0.072 | 7.59 | 0.000 | 0.403 | 0.684 |
| | N=2011 | | Counties=711 | | R ² =0.23 | |

Model 6

| | Coef. | S.E. | T-Value | P-Value | 95% LB | 95% UB |
|--------------------------------------|--------|-------|---------|---------|--------|--------|
| Republican | 0.190 | 0.127 | 1.51 | 0.133 | -0.058 | 0.439 |
| Partisan Animosity | -0.004 | 0.070 | -0.05 | 0.959 | -0.141 | 0.134 |
| Republican X Partisan Animosity | -0.301 | 0.116 | -2.59 | 0.010 | -0.530 | -0.073 |
| Logged Cases (County) | -0.004 | 0.009 | -0.45 | 0.651 | -0.023 | 0.014 |
| Republican X Cases | -0.031 | 0.017 | -1.83 | 0.067 | -0.064 | 0.002 |
| Animosity X Cases | 0.003 | 0.011 | 0.23 | 0.818 | -0.020 | 0.025 |
| Republican X Animosity X Cases | 0.042 | 0.019 | 2.16 | 0.031 | 0.004 | 0.080 |
| In-Party Affect | 0.010 | 0.091 | 0.11 | 0.910 | -0.169 | 0.190 |
| Republican X In-Party Affect | -0.182 | 0.145 | -1.25 | 0.210 | -0.466 | 0.103 |
| In-Party Affect X Cases | -0.001 | 0.012 | -0.05 | 0.964 | -0.024 | 0.023 |
| Republican X In-Party Affect X Cases | 0.020 | 0.023 | 0.90 | 0.366 | -0.024 | 0.065 |
| County Population (Millions) | 0.004 | 0.002 | 2.02 | 0.044 | 0.000 | 0.008 |
| Household COVID Infection | 0.012 | 0.013 | 0.90 | 0.367 | -0.014 | 0.037 |
| Risk of Illness | 0.031 | 0.008 | 3.79 | 0.000 | 0.015 | 0.048 |
| Out of Work | 0.009 | 0.010 | 0.90 | 0.367 | -0.010 | 0.028 |
| Future Income | -0.116 | 0.020 | -5.81 | 0.000 | -0.155 | -0.077 |
| Difficulty Having No Contact | 0.120 | 0.017 | 7.25 | 0.000 | 0.088 | 0.153 |
| Age (25-34) | -0.005 | 0.018 | -0.29 | 0.770 | -0.041 | 0.030 |
| Age (35-50) | 0.011 | 0.017 | 0.63 | 0.530 | -0.023 | 0.045 |
| Age (51-65) | -0.018 | 0.016 | -1.09 | 0.275 | -0.050 | 0.014 |
| Age (Older than 65) | -0.062 | 0.018 | -3.51 | 0.000 | -0.097 | -0.027 |
| Female | 0.003 | 0.009 | 0.29 | 0.772 | -0.015 | 0.020 |
| White | -0.027 | 0.035 | -0.76 | 0.445 | -0.096 | 0.042 |
| African American | -0.015 | 0.037 | -0.42 | 0.673 | -0.087 | 0.056 |
| Asian American | -0.029 | 0.039 | -0.76 | 0.448 | -0.105 | 0.046 |
| Hispanic/Latino | 0.000 | 0.038 | -0.01 | 0.990 | -0.075 | 0.074 |
| Education | -0.005 | 0.022 | -0.24 | 0.810 | -0.048 | 0.038 |
| Income | -0.022 | 0.018 | -1.22 | 0.223 | -0.059 | 0.014 |
| Republican Governor (State) | -0.004 | 0.009 | -0.42 | 0.674 | -0.021 | 0.013 |
| Trump Vote Share (County) | -0.056 | 0.030 | -1.85 | 0.065 | -0.116 | 0.004 |
| Republican X Trump Vote | 0.052 | 0.049 | 1.07 | 0.286 | -0.044 | 0.148 |
| Strength of Partisan Identity | 0.109 | 0.029 | 3.74 | 0.000 | 0.052 | 0.166 |
| Republican X Partisan Identity | -0.017 | 0.047 | -0.36 | 0.717 | -0.109 | 0.075 |
| Ideology | 0.001 | 0.031 | 0.04 | 0.967 | -0.059 | 0.062 |
| Republican X Ideology | -0.058 | 0.053 | -1.11 | 0.269 | -0.162 | 0.045 |
| Issue Positions | 0.029 | 0.043 | 0.67 | 0.505 | -0.055 | 0.113 |
| Republican X Issue Positions | 0.105 | 0.067 | 1.55 | 0.121 | -0.028 | 0.237 |
| Political Interest | 0.034 | 0.029 | 1.17 | 0.243 | -0.023 | 0.092 |
| Republican X Political Interest | -0.029 | 0.042 | -0.68 | 0.498 | -0.112 | 0.055 |
| Political Knowledge | -0.069 | 0.024 | -2.88 | 0.004 | -0.116 | -0.022 |

(Model 6 Continued)

| | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------|-------|--------------|-------|----------------------|-------|
| Republican X Political Knowledge | -0.011 | 0.039 | -0.29 | 0.774 | -0.087 | 0.065 |
| Trump Press Conference | 0.022 | 0.017 | 1.30 | 0.192 | -0.011 | 0.054 |
| Republican X Trump Press | -0.014 | 0.025 | -0.58 | 0.565 | -0.063 | 0.034 |
| Media: Fox News | 0.016 | 0.010 | 1.58 | 0.114 | -0.004 | 0.036 |
| Media: CNN | 0.019 | 0.011 | 1.80 | 0.072 | -0.002 | 0.040 |
| Media: MSNBC | 0.016 | 0.012 | 1.34 | 0.179 | -0.008 | 0.040 |
| NY Times or Washington Post | -0.012 | 0.010 | -1.17 | 0.243 | -0.032 | 0.008 |
| Network News | 0.010 | 0.012 | 0.84 | 0.403 | -0.013 | 0.033 |
| Local News | 0.014 | 0.014 | 1.01 | 0.313 | -0.013 | 0.042 |
| Social Media Use | 0.043 | 0.014 | 3.17 | 0.002 | 0.017 | 0.070 |
| Experiment (Rarely Talk) | -0.009 | 0.017 | -0.52 | 0.605 | -0.042 | 0.024 |
| Experiment (Occasionally) | -0.008 | 0.018 | -0.43 | 0.670 | -0.042 | 0.027 |
| Experiment (Frequently) | -0.026 | 0.018 | -1.44 | 0.151 | -0.061 | 0.009 |
| Experiment (Moderate) | 0.004 | 0.017 | 0.24 | 0.811 | -0.030 | 0.038 |
| Experiment (Sorted) | -0.025 | 0.020 | -1.26 | 0.207 | -0.063 | 0.014 |
| Experiment (Rarely X Moderate) | 0.034 | 0.026 | 1.33 | 0.185 | -0.016 | 0.084 |
| Experiment (Rarely X Sorted) | 0.056 | 0.026 | 2.20 | 0.028 | 0.006 | 0.107 |
| Experiment (Occasionally X Moderate) | -0.017 | 0.028 | -0.60 | 0.547 | -0.072 | 0.038 |
| Experiment (Occasionally X Sorted) | 0.021 | 0.027 | 0.79 | 0.432 | -0.032 | 0.074 |
| Experiment (Frequently X Moderate) | 0.005 | 0.025 | 0.19 | 0.852 | -0.045 | 0.055 |
| Experiment (Frequently X Sorted) | 0.058 | 0.030 | 1.93 | 0.055 | -0.001 | 0.118 |
| Constant | 0.544 | 0.081 | 6.69 | 0.000 | 0.385 | 0.704 |
| | N=2003 | | Counties=710 | | R ² =0.23 | |

2.4 OLS Models for Changes in Behavior DV

Supplementary Table 10 Changes in Behavior OLS Models

Model 1

| | Coef. | S.E. | T-Value | P-Value | 95% LB | 95% UB |
|--------------------------------------|--------|-------|--------------|---------|----------------------|--------|
| Republican | 0.372 | 0.447 | 0.83 | 0.405 | -0.506 | 1.250 |
| Partisan Animosity | 1.454 | 0.461 | 3.16 | 0.002 | 0.549 | 2.358 |
| Republican X Partisan Animosity | -1.916 | 0.763 | -2.51 | 0.012 | -3.415 | -0.418 |
| Logged Cases (County) | 0.172 | 0.033 | 5.24 | 0.000 | 0.107 | 0.236 |
| County Population (Millions) | -0.032 | 0.031 | -1.02 | 0.308 | -0.093 | 0.029 |
| Experiment (Rarely Talk) | 0.581 | 0.288 | 2.02 | 0.044 | 0.015 | 1.147 |
| Experiment (Occasionally) | -0.010 | 0.277 | -0.04 | 0.970 | -0.555 | 0.534 |
| Experiment (Frequently) | 0.599 | 0.248 | 2.41 | 0.016 | 0.111 | 1.086 |
| Experiment (Moderate) | 0.336 | 0.285 | 1.18 | 0.238 | -0.223 | 0.895 |
| Experiment (Sorted) | -0.198 | 0.292 | -0.68 | 0.498 | -0.770 | 0.375 |
| Experiment (Rarely X Moderate) | -0.863 | 0.403 | -2.14 | 0.033 | -1.655 | -0.072 |
| Experiment (Rarely X Sorted) | -0.780 | 0.444 | -1.76 | 0.080 | -1.653 | 0.092 |
| Experiment (Occasionally X Moderate) | -0.725 | 0.394 | -1.84 | 0.066 | -1.498 | 0.048 |
| Experiment (Occasionally X Sorted) | 0.155 | 0.426 | 0.36 | 0.716 | -0.681 | 0.991 |
| Experiment (Frequently X Moderate) | -0.914 | 0.393 | -2.32 | 0.020 | -1.686 | -0.142 |
| Experiment (Frequently X Sorted) | -0.084 | 0.405 | -0.21 | 0.836 | -0.879 | 0.711 |
| Constant | 5.579 | 0.382 | 14.61 | 0.000 | 4.829 | 6.329 |
| | N=2066 | | Counties=723 | | R ² =0.05 | |

Model 2

| | Coef. | S.E. | T-Value | P-Value | 95% LB | 95% UB |
|--------------------------------------|--------|-------|--------------|---------|----------------------|--------|
| Republican | -0.009 | 1.014 | -0.01 | 0.993 | -2.000 | 1.981 |
| Partisan Animosity | 2.177 | 1.205 | 1.81 | 0.071 | -0.189 | 4.543 |
| Republican X Partisan Animosity | -1.455 | 1.660 | -0.88 | 0.381 | -4.713 | 1.803 |
| Logged Cases (County) | 0.230 | 0.136 | 1.69 | 0.092 | -0.037 | 0.497 |
| Republican X Cases | 0.079 | 0.164 | 0.48 | 0.631 | -0.243 | 0.400 |
| Animosity X Cases | -0.122 | 0.216 | -0.57 | 0.571 | -0.546 | 0.301 |
| Republican X Animosity X Cases | -0.102 | 0.260 | -0.39 | 0.695 | -0.613 | 0.409 |
| County Population (Millions) | -0.028 | 0.032 | -0.89 | 0.372 | -0.091 | 0.034 |
| Experiment (Rarely Talk) | 0.580 | 0.291 | 1.99 | 0.047 | 0.008 | 1.151 |
| Experiment (Occasionally) | -0.007 | 0.279 | -0.03 | 0.980 | -0.555 | 0.541 |
| Experiment (Frequently) | 0.595 | 0.248 | 2.40 | 0.016 | 0.109 | 1.082 |
| Experiment (Moderate) | 0.337 | 0.284 | 1.18 | 0.237 | -0.221 | 0.895 |
| Experiment (Sorted) | -0.194 | 0.292 | -0.66 | 0.508 | -0.767 | 0.380 |
| Experiment (Rarely X Moderate) | -0.864 | 0.407 | -2.12 | 0.034 | -1.663 | -0.065 |
| Experiment (Rarely X Sorted) | -0.793 | 0.447 | -1.77 | 0.077 | -1.672 | 0.085 |
| Experiment (Occasionally X Moderate) | -0.736 | 0.394 | -1.87 | 0.062 | -1.510 | 0.037 |
| Experiment (Occasionally X Sorted) | 0.136 | 0.427 | 0.32 | 0.751 | -0.703 | 0.974 |
| Experiment (Frequently X Moderate) | -0.921 | 0.392 | -2.35 | 0.019 | -1.690 | -0.152 |
| Experiment (Frequently X Sorted) | -0.075 | 0.407 | -0.18 | 0.854 | -0.874 | 0.724 |
| Constant | 5.231 | 0.740 | 7.07 | 0.000 | 3.778 | 6.684 |
| | N=2066 | | Counties=723 | | R ² =0.05 | |

Model 3

| | Coef. | S.E. | T-Value | P-Value | 95% LB | 95% UB |
|--------------------------------------|--------|-------|--------------|---------|----------------------|--------|
| Republican | -0.221 | 1.061 | -0.21 | 0.835 | -2.305 | 1.862 |
| Partisan Animosity | 2.265 | 1.392 | 1.63 | 0.104 | -0.467 | 4.997 |
| Republican X Partisan Animosity | -0.856 | 1.745 | -0.49 | 0.624 | -4.283 | 2.570 |
| Logged Cases (County) | 0.202 | 0.159 | 1.27 | 0.205 | -0.111 | 0.515 |
| Republican X Cases | 0.103 | 0.181 | 0.57 | 0.567 | -0.251 | 0.458 |
| Animosity X Cases | -0.113 | 0.265 | -0.43 | 0.670 | -0.634 | 0.408 |
| Republican X Animosity X Cases | -0.198 | 0.289 | -0.68 | 0.495 | -0.765 | 0.370 |
| County Population (Millions) | -0.008 | 0.027 | -0.32 | 0.752 | -0.061 | 0.044 |
| Household COVID Infection | -0.514 | 0.233 | -2.21 | 0.028 | -0.971 | -0.056 |
| Risk of Illness | 0.493 | 0.116 | 4.25 | 0.000 | 0.265 | 0.720 |
| Out of Work | -0.353 | 0.137 | -2.57 | 0.010 | -0.623 | -0.083 |
| Future Income | -1.484 | 0.262 | -5.67 | 0.000 | -1.998 | -0.971 |
| Difficulty Having No Contact | 0.108 | 0.233 | 0.46 | 0.642 | -0.350 | 0.567 |
| Age (25-34) | 0.164 | 0.266 | 0.62 | 0.536 | -0.357 | 0.686 |
| Age (35-50) | 0.802 | 0.262 | 3.05 | 0.002 | 0.286 | 1.317 |
| Age (51-65) | 0.739 | 0.260 | 2.85 | 0.005 | 0.229 | 1.249 |
| Age (Older than 65) | 0.950 | 0.272 | 3.50 | 0.000 | 0.417 | 1.483 |
| Female | 0.500 | 0.121 | 4.13 | 0.000 | 0.262 | 0.739 |
| White | -0.578 | 0.529 | -1.09 | 0.275 | -1.617 | 0.461 |
| African American | -0.558 | 0.537 | -1.04 | 0.299 | -1.612 | 0.496 |
| Asian American | -0.191 | 0.596 | -0.32 | 0.749 | -1.361 | 0.979 |
| Hispanic/Latino | 0.021 | 0.551 | 0.04 | 0.970 | -1.062 | 1.103 |
| Education | 1.123 | 0.307 | 3.65 | 0.000 | 0.520 | 1.727 |
| Income | 1.077 | 0.254 | 4.23 | 0.000 | 0.577 | 1.576 |
| Republican Governor | 0.168 | 0.132 | 1.28 | 0.201 | -0.090 | 0.427 |
| Experiment (Rarely Talk) | 0.613 | 0.298 | 2.06 | 0.040 | 0.028 | 1.197 |
| Experiment (Occasionally) | -0.135 | 0.278 | -0.48 | 0.628 | -0.681 | 0.412 |
| Experiment (Frequently) | 0.469 | 0.246 | 1.91 | 0.057 | -0.014 | 0.953 |
| Experiment (Moderate) | 0.351 | 0.268 | 1.31 | 0.191 | -0.176 | 0.878 |
| Experiment (Sorted) | -0.110 | 0.281 | -0.39 | 0.695 | -0.661 | 0.441 |
| Experiment (Rarely X Moderate) | -0.740 | 0.391 | -1.89 | 0.059 | -1.509 | 0.028 |
| Experiment (Rarely X Sorted) | -0.878 | 0.445 | -1.97 | 0.049 | -1.752 | -0.004 |
| Experiment (Occasionally X Moderate) | -0.542 | 0.380 | -1.42 | 0.155 | -1.288 | 0.205 |
| Experiment (Occasionally X Sorted) | 0.312 | 0.409 | 0.76 | 0.446 | -0.491 | 1.115 |
| Experiment (Frequently X Moderate) | -0.835 | 0.363 | -2.30 | 0.022 | -1.547 | -0.124 |
| Experiment (Frequently X Sorted) | -0.064 | 0.391 | -0.16 | 0.871 | -0.832 | 0.704 |
| Constant | 4.359 | 1.015 | 4.29 | 0.000 | 2.366 | 6.352 |
| | N=2057 | | Counties=723 | | R ² =0.12 | |

Model 4

| | Coef. | S.E. | T-Value | P-Value | 95% LB | 95% UB |
|----------------------------------|--------|-------|---------|---------|--------|--------|
| Republican | -0.374 | 1.416 | -0.26 | 0.792 | -3.154 | 2.406 |
| Partisan Animosity | 1.802 | 1.417 | 1.27 | 0.204 | -0.979 | 4.584 |
| Republican X Partisan Animosity | -1.227 | 1.726 | -0.71 | 0.477 | -4.616 | 2.162 |
| Logged Cases (County) | 0.202 | 0.151 | 1.34 | 0.180 | -0.094 | 0.499 |
| Republican X Cases | 0.083 | 0.170 | 0.49 | 0.625 | -0.250 | 0.416 |
| Animosity X Cases | -0.142 | 0.270 | -0.52 | 0.600 | -0.671 | 0.388 |
| Republican X Animosity X Cases | -0.099 | 0.279 | -0.36 | 0.721 | -0.646 | 0.448 |
| County Population (Millions) | -0.006 | 0.025 | -0.22 | 0.824 | -0.056 | 0.044 |
| Household COVID Infection | -0.505 | 0.226 | -2.24 | 0.026 | -0.949 | -0.062 |
| Risk of Illness | 0.480 | 0.117 | 4.11 | 0.000 | 0.251 | 0.709 |
| Out of Work | -0.302 | 0.138 | -2.19 | 0.029 | -0.572 | -0.031 |
| Future Income | -1.494 | 0.269 | -5.55 | 0.000 | -2.022 | -0.966 |
| Difficulty Having No Contact | 0.038 | 0.230 | 0.17 | 0.868 | -0.412 | 0.489 |
| Age (25-34) | 0.160 | 0.265 | 0.60 | 0.546 | -0.359 | 0.679 |
| Age (35-50) | 0.680 | 0.256 | 2.66 | 0.008 | 0.178 | 1.183 |
| Age (51-65) | 0.455 | 0.255 | 1.78 | 0.075 | -0.046 | 0.956 |
| Age (Older than 65) | 0.628 | 0.270 | 2.32 | 0.020 | 0.097 | 1.158 |
| Female | 0.568 | 0.127 | 4.46 | 0.000 | 0.318 | 0.818 |
| White | -0.530 | 0.515 | -1.03 | 0.303 | -1.541 | 0.480 |
| African American | -0.449 | 0.522 | -0.86 | 0.390 | -1.474 | 0.576 |
| Asian American | 0.016 | 0.574 | 0.03 | 0.978 | -1.111 | 1.142 |
| Hispanic/Latino | 0.071 | 0.545 | 0.13 | 0.897 | -1.000 | 1.141 |
| Education | 0.698 | 0.311 | 2.24 | 0.025 | 0.087 | 1.308 |
| Income | 0.934 | 0.252 | 3.70 | 0.000 | 0.439 | 1.430 |
| Republican Governor | 0.194 | 0.129 | 1.50 | 0.133 | -0.059 | 0.446 |
| Trump Vote Share (County) | -0.460 | 0.417 | -1.10 | 0.271 | -1.279 | 0.359 |
| Republican X Trump Vote | 0.570 | 0.776 | 0.73 | 0.463 | -0.953 | 2.093 |
| Strength of Partisan Identity | 0.526 | 0.343 | 1.54 | 0.125 | -0.146 | 1.199 |
| Republican X Partisan Identity | 1.100 | 0.624 | 1.76 | 0.078 | -0.126 | 2.326 |
| Ideology | 0.362 | 0.434 | 0.83 | 0.404 | -0.490 | 1.214 |
| Republican X Ideology | 0.068 | 0.721 | 0.09 | 0.925 | -1.347 | 1.482 |
| Issue Positions | 0.921 | 0.602 | 1.53 | 0.126 | -0.260 | 2.102 |
| Republican X Issue Positions | 0.274 | 0.920 | 0.30 | 0.766 | -1.533 | 2.081 |
| Political Interest | 0.774 | 0.414 | 1.87 | 0.062 | -0.038 | 1.586 |
| Republican X Political Interest | -0.996 | 0.603 | -1.65 | 0.099 | -2.180 | 0.188 |
| Political Knowledge | 0.962 | 0.411 | 2.34 | 0.019 | 0.155 | 1.768 |
| Republican X Political Knowledge | -0.138 | 0.603 | -0.23 | 0.819 | -1.323 | 1.046 |

| (Model 4 Continued) | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------|--------|--------------|-------|----------------------|--------|
| Experiment (Rarely Talk) | 0.496 | 0.296 | 1.67 | 0.095 | -0.086 | 1.077 |
| Experiment (Occasionally) | -0.241 | 0.285 | -0.85 | 0.397 | -0.801 | 0.318 |
| Experiment (Frequently) | 0.459 | 0.248 | 1.85 | 0.065 | -0.028 | 0.946 |
| Experiment (Moderate) | 0.364 | 0.266 | 1.37 | 0.172 | -0.158 | 0.885 |
| Experiment (Sorted) | -0.032 | 0.284 | -0.11 | 0.911 | -0.589 | 0.526 |
| Experiment (Rarely X Moderate) | -0.773 | 0.387 | -2.00 | 0.046 | -1.533 | -0.013 |
| Experiment (Rarely X Sorted) | -0.933 | 0.435 | -2.15 | 0.032 | -1.786 | -0.079 |
| Experiment (Occasionally X Moderate) | -0.497 | 0.379 | -1.31 | 0.190 | -1.241 | 0.247 |
| Experiment (Occasionally X Sorted) | 0.293 | 0.424 | 0.69 | 0.489 | -0.538 | 1.125 |
| Experiment (Frequently X Moderate) | -0.828 | 0.347 | -2.38 | 0.017 | -1.511 | -0.146 |
| Experiment (Frequently X Sorted) | -0.188 | 0.400 | -0.47 | 0.639 | -0.973 | 0.597 |
| Constant | 3.148 | 1.083 | 2.91 | 0.004 | 1.021 | 5.275 |
| | | N=2037 | Counties=716 | | R ² =0.15 | |

Model 5

| | Coef. | S.E. | T-Value | P-Value | 95% LB | 95% UB |
|----------------------------------|--------|-------|---------|---------|--------|--------|
| Republican | -0.361 | 1.377 | -0.26 | 0.793 | -3.064 | 2.343 |
| Partisan Animosity | 1.979 | 1.416 | 1.40 | 0.163 | -0.801 | 4.758 |
| Republican X Partisan Animosity | -1.043 | 1.723 | -0.61 | 0.545 | -4.425 | 2.339 |
| Logged Cases (County) | 0.175 | 0.149 | 1.18 | 0.240 | -0.117 | 0.468 |
| Republican X Cases | 0.108 | 0.160 | 0.67 | 0.501 | -0.207 | 0.423 |
| Animosity X Cases | -0.124 | 0.271 | -0.46 | 0.647 | -0.655 | 0.407 |
| Republican X Animosity X Cases | -0.160 | 0.270 | -0.59 | 0.553 | -0.690 | 0.370 |
| County Population (Millions) | -0.001 | 0.026 | -0.04 | 0.971 | -0.053 | 0.051 |
| Household COVID Infection | -0.548 | 0.231 | -2.37 | 0.018 | -1.001 | -0.095 |
| Risk of Illness | 0.448 | 0.114 | 3.92 | 0.000 | 0.224 | 0.673 |
| Out of Work | -0.318 | 0.139 | -2.28 | 0.023 | -0.591 | -0.044 |
| Future Income | -1.432 | 0.263 | -5.44 | 0.000 | -1.949 | -0.915 |
| Difficulty Having No Contact | -0.035 | 0.234 | -0.15 | 0.880 | -0.495 | 0.424 |
| Age (25-34) | 0.183 | 0.266 | 0.69 | 0.493 | -0.340 | 0.706 |
| Age (35-50) | 0.711 | 0.263 | 2.70 | 0.007 | 0.194 | 1.228 |
| Age (51-65) | 0.557 | 0.263 | 2.12 | 0.035 | 0.041 | 1.072 |
| Age (Older than 65) | 0.807 | 0.276 | 2.92 | 0.004 | 0.265 | 1.348 |
| Female | 0.562 | 0.126 | 4.46 | 0.000 | 0.314 | 0.809 |
| White | -0.320 | 0.515 | -0.62 | 0.535 | -1.332 | 0.692 |
| African American | -0.340 | 0.521 | -0.65 | 0.514 | -1.363 | 0.683 |
| Asian American | 0.081 | 0.550 | 0.15 | 0.883 | -0.999 | 1.161 |
| Hispanic/Latino | 0.244 | 0.535 | 0.46 | 0.648 | -0.805 | 1.294 |
| Education | 0.736 | 0.308 | 2.39 | 0.017 | 0.131 | 1.340 |
| Income | 0.705 | 0.253 | 2.79 | 0.005 | 0.209 | 1.202 |
| Republican Governor (State) | 0.151 | 0.130 | 1.16 | 0.246 | -0.104 | 0.406 |
| Trump Vote Share (County) | -0.507 | 0.428 | -1.18 | 0.237 | -1.348 | 0.334 |
| Republican X Trump Vote | 0.642 | 0.768 | 0.84 | 0.403 | -0.866 | 2.150 |
| Strength of Partisan Identity | 0.333 | 0.345 | 0.97 | 0.335 | -0.344 | 1.011 |
| Republican X Partisan Identity | 0.727 | 0.632 | 1.15 | 0.250 | -0.513 | 1.967 |
| Ideology | 0.269 | 0.447 | 0.60 | 0.547 | -0.609 | 1.147 |
| Republican X Ideology | 0.658 | 0.724 | 0.91 | 0.364 | -0.764 | 2.080 |
| Issue Positions | 0.923 | 0.629 | 1.47 | 0.143 | -0.312 | 2.158 |
| Republican X Issue Positions | -0.291 | 0.934 | -0.31 | 0.756 | -2.124 | 1.542 |
| Political Interest | -0.006 | 0.452 | -0.01 | 0.989 | -0.893 | 0.881 |
| Republican X Political Interest | -0.946 | 0.621 | -1.52 | 0.128 | -2.165 | 0.272 |
| Political Knowledge | 1.025 | 0.417 | 2.46 | 0.014 | 0.207 | 1.844 |
| Republican X Political Knowledge | -0.285 | 0.601 | -0.47 | 0.636 | -1.464 | 0.895 |
| Trump Press Conference | 0.235 | 0.180 | 1.30 | 0.193 | -0.119 | 0.588 |
| Republican X Trump Press | 0.214 | 0.353 | 0.61 | 0.544 | -0.480 | 0.908 |
| Media: Fox News | 0.068 | 0.142 | 0.48 | 0.634 | -0.212 | 0.347 |

(Model 5 Continued)

| | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------|-------|--------------|-------|----------------------|--------|
| Media: CNN | 0.329 | 0.168 | 1.96 | 0.051 | -0.001 | 0.659 |
| Media: MSNBC | -0.078 | 0.160 | -0.49 | 0.624 | -0.393 | 0.236 |
| NY Times or Washington Post | 0.437 | 0.137 | 3.18 | 0.002 | 0.167 | 0.707 |
| Network News | 0.281 | 0.163 | 1.73 | 0.085 | -0.039 | 0.600 |
| Local News | 0.320 | 0.178 | 1.80 | 0.072 | -0.029 | 0.668 |
| Social Media Use | 0.446 | 0.174 | 2.56 | 0.011 | 0.103 | 0.788 |
| Experiment (Rarely Talk) | 0.396 | 0.290 | 1.37 | 0.172 | -0.173 | 0.964 |
| Experiment (Occasionally) | -0.294 | 0.282 | -1.04 | 0.298 | -0.848 | 0.260 |
| Experiment (Frequently) | 0.347 | 0.249 | 1.39 | 0.164 | -0.142 | 0.837 |
| Experiment (Moderate) | 0.335 | 0.273 | 1.23 | 0.221 | -0.202 | 0.872 |
| Experiment (Sorted) | -0.104 | 0.283 | -0.37 | 0.715 | -0.659 | 0.452 |
| Experiment (Rarely X Moderate) | -0.616 | 0.389 | -1.58 | 0.114 | -1.379 | 0.148 |
| Experiment (Rarely X Sorted) | -0.755 | 0.421 | -1.79 | 0.074 | -1.582 | 0.072 |
| Experiment (Occasionally X Moderate) | -0.369 | 0.380 | -0.97 | 0.332 | -1.116 | 0.378 |
| Experiment (Occasionally X Sorted) | 0.326 | 0.418 | 0.78 | 0.436 | -0.495 | 1.148 |
| Experiment (Frequently X Moderate) | -0.752 | 0.356 | -2.11 | 0.035 | -1.451 | -0.054 |
| Experiment (Frequently X Sorted) | -0.113 | 0.400 | -0.28 | 0.777 | -0.899 | 0.672 |
| Constant | 2.492 | 1.066 | 2.34 | 0.020 | 0.399 | 4.584 |
| | N=2014 | | Counties=711 | | R ² =0.17 | |

Model 6

| | Coef. | S.E. | T-Value | P-Value | 95% LB | 95% UB |
|--------------------------------------|--------|-------|---------|---------|--------|--------|
| Republican | 0.670 | 1.784 | 0.38 | 0.707 | -2.833 | 4.173 |
| Partisan Animosity | 2.118 | 1.437 | 1.47 | 0.141 | -0.703 | 4.940 |
| Republican X Partisan Animosity | -0.933 | 1.728 | -0.54 | 0.590 | -4.326 | 2.461 |
| Logged Cases (County) | 0.074 | 0.168 | 0.44 | 0.658 | -0.255 | 0.404 |
| Republican X Cases | -0.078 | 0.259 | -0.30 | 0.762 | -0.586 | 0.430 |
| Animosity X Cases | -0.150 | 0.275 | -0.54 | 0.587 | -0.690 | 0.390 |
| Republican X Animosity X Cases | -0.172 | 0.274 | -0.63 | 0.530 | -0.709 | 0.365 |
| In-Party Affect | -0.277 | 1.274 | -0.22 | 0.828 | -2.778 | 2.223 |
| Republican X In-Party Affect | -1.881 | 2.069 | -0.91 | 0.363 | -5.943 | 2.180 |
| In-Party Affect X Cases | 0.161 | 0.212 | 0.76 | 0.449 | -0.256 | 0.578 |
| Republican X In-Party Affect X Cases | 0.299 | 0.342 | 0.87 | 0.383 | -0.373 | 0.971 |
| County Population (Millions) | 0.002 | 0.026 | 0.09 | 0.928 | -0.048 | 0.053 |
| Household COVID Infection | -0.534 | 0.235 | -2.27 | 0.024 | -0.996 | -0.072 |
| Risk of Illness | 0.445 | 0.114 | 3.92 | 0.000 | 0.222 | 0.668 |
| Out of Work | -0.320 | 0.138 | -2.32 | 0.021 | -0.591 | -0.049 |
| Future Income | -1.443 | 0.266 | -5.42 | 0.000 | -1.966 | -0.920 |
| Difficulty Having No Contact | -0.059 | 0.233 | -0.25 | 0.800 | -0.517 | 0.399 |
| Age (25-34) | 0.184 | 0.268 | 0.69 | 0.493 | -0.343 | 0.710 |
| Age (35-50) | 0.720 | 0.263 | 2.73 | 0.006 | 0.203 | 1.236 |
| Age (51-65) | 0.556 | 0.262 | 2.12 | 0.034 | 0.041 | 1.071 |
| Age (Older than 65) | 0.819 | 0.275 | 2.98 | 0.003 | 0.279 | 1.358 |
| Female | 0.561 | 0.124 | 4.51 | 0.000 | 0.317 | 0.805 |
| White | -0.310 | 0.514 | -0.60 | 0.546 | -1.319 | 0.698 |
| African American | -0.341 | 0.518 | -0.66 | 0.510 | -1.359 | 0.676 |
| Asian American | 0.082 | 0.547 | 0.15 | 0.882 | -0.993 | 1.156 |
| Hispanic/Latino | 0.262 | 0.532 | 0.49 | 0.622 | -0.781 | 1.306 |
| Education | 0.755 | 0.307 | 2.46 | 0.014 | 0.153 | 1.358 |
| Income | 0.713 | 0.255 | 2.80 | 0.005 | 0.213 | 1.213 |
| Republican Governor (State) | 0.151 | 0.129 | 1.17 | 0.243 | -0.103 | 0.405 |
| Trump Vote Share (County) | -0.563 | 0.431 | -1.31 | 0.191 | -1.409 | 0.282 |
| Republican X Trump Vote | 0.675 | 0.769 | 0.88 | 0.381 | -0.836 | 2.186 |
| Strength of Partisan Identity | 0.176 | 0.387 | 0.45 | 0.650 | -0.584 | 0.936 |
| Republican X Partisan Identity | 0.854 | 0.675 | 1.27 | 0.206 | -0.470 | 2.179 |
| Ideology | 0.263 | 0.450 | 0.58 | 0.559 | -0.621 | 1.147 |
| Republican X Ideology | 0.663 | 0.724 | 0.92 | 0.360 | -0.758 | 2.085 |
| Issue Positions | 0.830 | 0.628 | 1.32 | 0.187 | -0.404 | 2.064 |
| Republican X Issue Positions | -0.168 | 0.937 | -0.18 | 0.857 | -2.008 | 1.671 |
| Political Interest | -0.016 | 0.460 | -0.03 | 0.973 | -0.918 | 0.887 |
| Republican X Political Interest | -0.965 | 0.625 | -1.54 | 0.123 | -2.192 | 0.263 |
| Political Knowledge | 1.014 | 0.424 | 2.39 | 0.017 | 0.181 | 1.847 |

(Model 6 Continued)

| | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------|-------|--------------|-------|----------------------|--------|
| Republican X Political Knowledge | -0.300 | 0.607 | -0.49 | 0.622 | -1.491 | 0.892 |
| Trump Press Conference | 0.245 | 0.181 | 1.36 | 0.176 | -0.110 | 0.600 |
| Republican X Trump Press | 0.229 | 0.354 | 0.65 | 0.518 | -0.467 | 0.925 |
| Media: Fox News | 0.066 | 0.146 | 0.45 | 0.652 | -0.221 | 0.352 |
| Media: CNN | 0.348 | 0.168 | 2.07 | 0.038 | 0.018 | 0.677 |
| Media: MSNBC | -0.073 | 0.161 | -0.45 | 0.651 | -0.388 | 0.243 |
| NY Times or Washington Post | 0.450 | 0.139 | 3.23 | 0.001 | 0.177 | 0.723 |
| Network News | 0.268 | 0.162 | 1.65 | 0.099 | -0.051 | 0.586 |
| Local News | 0.331 | 0.179 | 1.85 | 0.064 | -0.020 | 0.681 |
| Social Media Use | 0.461 | 0.177 | 2.60 | 0.009 | 0.114 | 0.808 |
| Experiment (Rarely Talk) | 0.408 | 0.287 | 1.42 | 0.155 | -0.154 | 0.971 |
| Experiment (Occasionally) | -0.266 | 0.284 | -0.94 | 0.349 | -0.823 | 0.291 |
| Experiment (Frequently) | 0.377 | 0.255 | 1.48 | 0.140 | -0.124 | 0.878 |
| Experiment (Moderate) | 0.342 | 0.275 | 1.25 | 0.213 | -0.197 | 0.881 |
| Experiment (Sorted) | -0.109 | 0.283 | -0.38 | 0.701 | -0.665 | 0.447 |
| Experiment (Rarely X Moderate) | -0.620 | 0.389 | -1.60 | 0.111 | -1.383 | 0.143 |
| Experiment (Rarely X Sorted) | -0.734 | 0.421 | -1.74 | 0.082 | -1.560 | 0.093 |
| Experiment (Occasionally X Moderate) | -0.355 | 0.381 | -0.93 | 0.352 | -1.104 | 0.393 |
| Experiment (Occasionally X Sorted) | 0.309 | 0.420 | 0.74 | 0.462 | -0.516 | 1.134 |
| Experiment (Frequently X Moderate) | -0.777 | 0.358 | -2.17 | 0.030 | -1.480 | -0.074 |
| Experiment (Frequently X Sorted) | -0.115 | 0.406 | -0.28 | 0.776 | -0.912 | 0.681 |
| Constant | 2.766 | 1.369 | 2.02 | 0.044 | 0.078 | 5.454 |
| | N=2006 | | Counties=710 | | R ² =0.17 | |

2.5 OLS Models for Policy Support

Supplementary Table 11 Policy Support OLS Models

Model 1

| | Coef. | S.E. | T-Value | P-Value | 95% LB | 95% UB |
|--------------------------------------|--------|-------|--------------|---------|----------------------|--------|
| Republican | 0.020 | 0.038 | 0.53 | 0.598 | -0.054 | 0.094 |
| Partisan Animosity | 0.066 | 0.030 | 2.19 | 0.029 | 0.007 | 0.126 |
| Republican X Partisan Animosity | -0.248 | 0.072 | -3.46 | 0.001 | -0.388 | -0.107 |
| Logged Cases (County) | 0.008 | 0.003 | 2.53 | 0.012 | 0.002 | 0.015 |
| County Population (Millions) | -0.002 | 0.004 | -0.59 | 0.559 | -0.010 | 0.005 |
| Experiment (Rarely Talk) | -0.021 | 0.025 | -0.85 | 0.397 | -0.071 | 0.028 |
| Experiment (Occasionally) | -0.009 | 0.020 | -0.44 | 0.661 | -0.049 | 0.031 |
| Experiment (Frequently) | 0.012 | 0.019 | 0.63 | 0.531 | -0.026 | 0.050 |
| Experiment (Moderate) | -0.015 | 0.021 | -0.71 | 0.478 | -0.057 | 0.027 |
| Experiment (Sorted) | -0.044 | 0.023 | -1.95 | 0.051 | -0.088 | 0.000 |
| Experiment (Rarely X Moderate) | 0.051 | 0.035 | 1.44 | 0.150 | -0.018 | 0.120 |
| Experiment (Rarely X Sorted) | 0.064 | 0.035 | 1.84 | 0.066 | -0.004 | 0.133 |
| Experiment (Occasionally X Moderate) | -0.030 | 0.033 | -0.89 | 0.373 | -0.094 | 0.035 |
| Experiment (Occasionally X Sorted) | 0.054 | 0.033 | 1.66 | 0.096 | -0.010 | 0.118 |
| Experiment (Frequently X Moderate) | -0.030 | 0.033 | -0.91 | 0.363 | -0.094 | 0.034 |
| Experiment (Frequently X Sorted) | 0.068 | 0.031 | 2.19 | 0.029 | 0.007 | 0.129 |
| Constant | 0.725 | 0.026 | 27.44 | 0.000 | 0.673 | 0.777 |
| | N=2064 | | Counties=723 | | R ² =0.08 | |

Model 2

| | Coef. | S.E. | T-Value | P-Value | 95% LB | 95% UB |
|--------------------------------------|--------|-------|--------------|---------|----------------------|--------|
| Republican | 0.162 | 0.091 | 1.78 | 0.076 | -0.017 | 0.340 |
| Partisan Animosity | 0.013 | 0.076 | 0.17 | 0.863 | -0.137 | 0.163 |
| Republican X Partisan Animosity | -0.636 | 0.160 | -3.98 | 0.000 | -0.950 | -0.323 |
| Logged Cases (County) | -0.002 | 0.008 | -0.21 | 0.835 | -0.017 | 0.014 |
| Republican X Cases | -0.029 | 0.016 | -1.84 | 0.066 | -0.060 | 0.002 |
| Animosity X Cases | 0.009 | 0.011 | 0.78 | 0.433 | -0.013 | 0.031 |
| Republican X Animosity X Cases | 0.078 | 0.027 | 2.86 | 0.004 | 0.024 | 0.131 |
| County Population (Millions) | -0.001 | 0.004 | -0.34 | 0.732 | -0.009 | 0.006 |
| Experiment (Rarely Talk) | -0.021 | 0.024 | -0.86 | 0.392 | -0.069 | 0.027 |
| Experiment (Occasionally) | -0.010 | 0.020 | -0.51 | 0.611 | -0.050 | 0.029 |
| Experiment (Frequently) | 0.013 | 0.019 | 0.66 | 0.508 | -0.025 | 0.050 |
| Experiment (Moderate) | -0.016 | 0.021 | -0.76 | 0.448 | -0.056 | 0.025 |
| Experiment (Sorted) | -0.047 | 0.022 | -2.08 | 0.038 | -0.091 | -0.003 |
| Experiment (Rarely X Moderate) | 0.048 | 0.034 | 1.41 | 0.158 | -0.019 | 0.115 |
| Experiment (Rarely X Sorted) | 0.068 | 0.034 | 1.97 | 0.049 | 0.000 | 0.136 |
| Experiment (Occasionally X Moderate) | -0.027 | 0.033 | -0.82 | 0.413 | -0.092 | 0.038 |
| Experiment (Occasionally X Sorted) | 0.057 | 0.032 | 1.76 | 0.079 | -0.007 | 0.120 |
| Experiment (Frequently X Moderate) | -0.030 | 0.032 | -0.92 | 0.356 | -0.094 | 0.034 |
| Experiment (Frequently X Sorted) | 0.067 | 0.031 | 2.19 | 0.029 | 0.007 | 0.127 |
| Constant | 0.783 | 0.051 | 15.42 | 0.000 | 0.684 | 0.883 |
| | N=2064 | | Counties=723 | | R ² =0.09 | |

Model 3

| | Coef. | S.E. | T-Value | P-Value | 95% LB | 95% UB |
|--------------------------------------|--------|-------|--------------|---------|----------------------|--------|
| Republican | 0.153 | 0.093 | 1.64 | 0.101 | -0.030 | 0.335 |
| Partisan Animosity | 0.026 | 0.080 | 0.32 | 0.748 | -0.131 | 0.182 |
| Republican X Partisan Animosity | -0.608 | 0.162 | -3.77 | 0.000 | -0.926 | -0.291 |
| Logged Cases (County) | -0.001 | 0.008 | -0.07 | 0.942 | -0.017 | 0.016 |
| Republican X Cases | -0.027 | 0.016 | -1.65 | 0.099 | -0.059 | 0.005 |
| Animosity X Cases | 0.008 | 0.012 | 0.69 | 0.490 | -0.015 | 0.032 |
| Republican X Animosity X Cases | 0.071 | 0.028 | 2.54 | 0.011 | 0.016 | 0.125 |
| County Population (Millions) | -0.001 | 0.003 | -0.32 | 0.753 | -0.008 | 0.006 |
| Household COVID Infection | -0.022 | 0.016 | -1.37 | 0.171 | -0.053 | 0.009 |
| Risk of Illness | 0.040 | 0.010 | 4.10 | 0.000 | 0.021 | 0.058 |
| Out of Work | -0.017 | 0.013 | -1.37 | 0.172 | -0.042 | 0.008 |
| Future Income | 0.012 | 0.022 | 0.56 | 0.575 | -0.031 | 0.056 |
| Difficulty Having No Contact | -0.028 | 0.017 | -1.62 | 0.105 | -0.062 | 0.006 |
| Age (25-34) | -0.007 | 0.020 | -0.33 | 0.739 | -0.047 | 0.033 |
| Age (35-50) | 0.038 | 0.020 | 1.92 | 0.055 | -0.001 | 0.076 |
| Age (51-65) | 0.045 | 0.020 | 2.27 | 0.024 | 0.006 | 0.085 |
| Age (Older than 65) | 0.035 | 0.022 | 1.60 | 0.110 | -0.008 | 0.078 |
| Female | 0.047 | 0.011 | 4.37 | 0.000 | 0.026 | 0.068 |
| White | 0.019 | 0.046 | 0.40 | 0.689 | -0.072 | 0.110 |
| African American | -0.007 | 0.048 | -0.14 | 0.887 | -0.100 | 0.087 |
| Asian American | 0.070 | 0.048 | 1.46 | 0.143 | -0.024 | 0.164 |
| Hispanic/Latino | 0.036 | 0.051 | 0.70 | 0.482 | -0.064 | 0.135 |
| Education | 0.011 | 0.023 | 0.50 | 0.619 | -0.034 | 0.056 |
| Income | 0.023 | 0.019 | 1.21 | 0.228 | -0.015 | 0.061 |
| Republican Governor | -0.002 | 0.012 | -0.18 | 0.858 | -0.025 | 0.021 |
| Experiment (Rarely Talk) | -0.017 | 0.024 | -0.73 | 0.468 | -0.065 | 0.030 |
| Experiment (Occasionally) | -0.010 | 0.021 | -0.46 | 0.645 | -0.050 | 0.031 |
| Experiment (Frequently) | 0.008 | 0.019 | 0.41 | 0.679 | -0.029 | 0.045 |
| Experiment (Moderate) | -0.015 | 0.021 | -0.73 | 0.465 | -0.056 | 0.025 |
| Experiment (Sorted) | -0.043 | 0.023 | -1.90 | 0.058 | -0.088 | 0.001 |
| Experiment (Rarely X Moderate) | 0.044 | 0.034 | 1.31 | 0.191 | -0.022 | 0.110 |
| Experiment (Rarely X Sorted) | 0.062 | 0.034 | 1.83 | 0.067 | -0.004 | 0.129 |
| Experiment (Occasionally X Moderate) | -0.021 | 0.034 | -0.63 | 0.528 | -0.087 | 0.045 |
| Experiment (Occasionally X Sorted) | 0.051 | 0.033 | 1.56 | 0.120 | -0.013 | 0.115 |
| Experiment (Frequently X Moderate) | -0.028 | 0.031 | -0.89 | 0.375 | -0.089 | 0.034 |
| Experiment (Frequently X Sorted) | 0.067 | 0.031 | 2.20 | 0.028 | 0.007 | 0.127 |
| Constant | 0.690 | 0.078 | 8.82 | 0.000 | 0.536 | 0.843 |
| | N=2056 | | Counties=723 | | R ² =0.12 | |

Model 4

| | Coef. | S.E. | T-Value | P-Value | 95% LB | 95% UB |
|----------------------------------|--------|-------|---------|---------|--------|--------|
| Republican | 0.136 | 0.110 | 1.25 | 0.213 | -0.079 | 0.351 |
| Partisan Animosity | -0.043 | 0.076 | -0.56 | 0.577 | -0.193 | 0.107 |
| Republican X Partisan Animosity | -0.436 | 0.159 | -2.75 | 0.006 | -0.748 | -0.124 |
| Logged Cases (County) | 0.000 | 0.008 | 0.00 | 0.998 | -0.016 | 0.016 |
| Republican X Cases | -0.027 | 0.015 | -1.76 | 0.078 | -0.057 | 0.003 |
| Animosity X Cases | 0.007 | 0.012 | 0.58 | 0.563 | -0.016 | 0.030 |
| Republican X Animosity X Cases | 0.068 | 0.027 | 2.56 | 0.011 | 0.016 | 0.120 |
| County Population (Millions) | -0.002 | 0.003 | -0.51 | 0.609 | -0.008 | 0.005 |
| Household COVID Infection | -0.031 | 0.016 | -1.92 | 0.056 | -0.062 | 0.001 |
| Risk of Illness | 0.041 | 0.009 | 4.39 | 0.000 | 0.023 | 0.059 |
| Out of Work | -0.014 | 0.012 | -1.19 | 0.235 | -0.037 | 0.009 |
| Future Income | 0.022 | 0.022 | 1.00 | 0.319 | -0.021 | 0.066 |
| Difficulty Having No Contact | -0.029 | 0.018 | -1.67 | 0.096 | -0.064 | 0.005 |
| Age (25-34) | -0.006 | 0.019 | -0.31 | 0.754 | -0.044 | 0.032 |
| Age (35-50) | 0.035 | 0.019 | 1.86 | 0.064 | -0.002 | 0.072 |
| Age (51-65) | 0.045 | 0.020 | 2.27 | 0.023 | 0.006 | 0.083 |
| Age (Older than 65) | 0.041 | 0.022 | 1.90 | 0.058 | -0.001 | 0.084 |
| Female | 0.041 | 0.011 | 3.71 | 0.000 | 0.019 | 0.063 |
| White | 0.008 | 0.046 | 0.18 | 0.857 | -0.082 | 0.098 |
| African American | -0.006 | 0.046 | -0.13 | 0.895 | -0.097 | 0.085 |
| Asian American | 0.076 | 0.047 | 1.61 | 0.109 | -0.017 | 0.169 |
| Hispanic/Latino | 0.030 | 0.050 | 0.60 | 0.550 | -0.068 | 0.127 |
| Education | -0.010 | 0.025 | -0.42 | 0.675 | -0.059 | 0.038 |
| Income | 0.034 | 0.020 | 1.74 | 0.083 | -0.004 | 0.072 |
| Republican Governor | 0.000 | 0.011 | 0.02 | 0.981 | -0.022 | 0.022 |
| Trump Vote Share (County) | 0.007 | 0.024 | 0.29 | 0.774 | -0.041 | 0.055 |
| Republican X Trump Vote | -0.043 | 0.063 | -0.69 | 0.491 | -0.166 | 0.080 |
| Strength of Partisan Identity | 0.049 | 0.027 | 1.82 | 0.069 | -0.004 | 0.101 |
| Republican X Partisan Identity | 0.081 | 0.057 | 1.43 | 0.154 | -0.030 | 0.193 |
| Ideology | -0.070 | 0.033 | -2.11 | 0.035 | -0.136 | -0.005 |
| Republican X Ideology | -0.033 | 0.061 | -0.54 | 0.592 | -0.153 | 0.087 |
| Issue Positions | 0.149 | 0.040 | 3.73 | 0.000 | 0.070 | 0.227 |
| Republican X Issue Positions | 0.142 | 0.072 | 1.99 | 0.047 | 0.002 | 0.283 |
| Political Interest | 0.005 | 0.023 | 0.21 | 0.834 | -0.040 | 0.049 |
| Republican X Political Interest | -0.111 | 0.046 | -2.43 | 0.016 | -0.201 | -0.021 |
| Political Knowledge | 0.050 | 0.026 | 1.89 | 0.059 | -0.002 | 0.101 |
| Republican X Political Knowledge | -0.013 | 0.044 | -0.30 | 0.767 | -0.099 | 0.073 |

| (Model 4 Continued) | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------|-------|--------------|-------|------------|-------|
| Experiment (Rarely Talk) | -0.021 | 0.023 | -0.88 | 0.379 | -0.067 | 0.025 |
| Experiment (Occasionally) | -0.023 | 0.020 | -1.15 | 0.249 | -0.062 | 0.016 |
| Experiment (Frequently) | 0.005 | 0.019 | 0.24 | 0.807 | -0.032 | 0.042 |
| Experiment (Moderate) | -0.015 | 0.020 | -0.73 | 0.465 | -0.055 | 0.025 |
| Experiment (Sorted) | -0.042 | 0.023 | -1.83 | 0.068 | -0.088 | 0.003 |
| Experiment (Rarely X Moderate) | 0.033 | 0.033 | 1.01 | 0.314 | -0.031 | 0.097 |
| Experiment (Rarely X Sorted) | 0.055 | 0.034 | 1.63 | 0.105 | -0.012 | 0.122 |
| Experiment (Occasionally X Moderate) | -0.010 | 0.032 | -0.32 | 0.749 | -0.073 | 0.053 |
| Experiment (Occasionally X Sorted) | 0.055 | 0.032 | 1.72 | 0.086 | -0.008 | 0.119 |
| Experiment (Frequently X Moderate) | -0.029 | 0.031 | -0.92 | 0.357 | -0.090 | 0.032 |
| Experiment (Frequently X Sorted) | 0.061 | 0.031 | 1.96 | 0.050 | 0.000 | 0.122 |
| Constant | 0.599 | 0.082 | 7.31 | 0.000 | 0.438 | 0.760 |
| N=2036 | | | Counties=716 | | $R^2=0.17$ | |

Model 5

| | Coef. | S.E. | T-Value | P-Value | 95% LB | 95% UB |
|----------------------------------|--------|-------|---------|---------|--------|--------|
| Republican | 0.130 | 0.112 | 1.16 | 0.245 | -0.089 | 0.350 |
| Partisan Animosity | -0.037 | 0.078 | -0.48 | 0.633 | -0.190 | 0.116 |
| Republican X Partisan Animosity | -0.409 | 0.159 | -2.57 | 0.010 | -0.721 | -0.097 |
| Logged Cases (County) | 0.000 | 0.008 | 0.04 | 0.970 | -0.016 | 0.016 |
| Republican X Cases | -0.025 | 0.015 | -1.66 | 0.097 | -0.055 | 0.005 |
| Animosity X Cases | 0.007 | 0.012 | 0.58 | 0.563 | -0.017 | 0.030 |
| Republican X Animosity X Cases | 0.064 | 0.027 | 2.40 | 0.017 | 0.012 | 0.116 |
| County Population (Millions) | -0.001 | 0.003 | -0.45 | 0.656 | -0.008 | 0.005 |
| Household COVID Infection | -0.034 | 0.017 | -2.03 | 0.043 | -0.067 | -0.001 |
| Risk of Illness | 0.041 | 0.010 | 4.31 | 0.000 | 0.022 | 0.060 |
| Out of Work | -0.016 | 0.012 | -1.30 | 0.192 | -0.039 | 0.008 |
| Future Income | 0.020 | 0.022 | 0.94 | 0.350 | -0.022 | 0.063 |
| Difficulty Having No Contact | -0.031 | 0.018 | -1.71 | 0.088 | -0.066 | 0.005 |
| Age (25-34) | -0.007 | 0.019 | -0.36 | 0.717 | -0.045 | 0.031 |
| Age (35-50) | 0.035 | 0.019 | 1.85 | 0.064 | -0.002 | 0.071 |
| Age (51-65) | 0.039 | 0.020 | 1.93 | 0.054 | -0.001 | 0.078 |
| Age (Older than 65) | 0.037 | 0.023 | 1.65 | 0.099 | -0.007 | 0.081 |
| Female | 0.038 | 0.011 | 3.32 | 0.001 | 0.015 | 0.060 |
| White | 0.013 | 0.045 | 0.30 | 0.767 | -0.075 | 0.102 |
| African American | -0.003 | 0.046 | -0.06 | 0.955 | -0.094 | 0.088 |
| Asian American | 0.083 | 0.048 | 1.71 | 0.087 | -0.012 | 0.177 |
| Hispanic/Latino | 0.035 | 0.049 | 0.73 | 0.465 | -0.060 | 0.131 |
| Education | -0.002 | 0.025 | -0.10 | 0.921 | -0.051 | 0.046 |
| Income | 0.031 | 0.020 | 1.56 | 0.119 | -0.008 | 0.070 |
| Republican Governor (State) | 0.002 | 0.011 | 0.15 | 0.879 | -0.020 | 0.023 |
| Trump Vote Share (County) | 0.004 | 0.025 | 0.16 | 0.871 | -0.044 | 0.052 |
| Republican X Trump Vote | -0.030 | 0.062 | -0.48 | 0.629 | -0.152 | 0.092 |
| Strength of Partisan Identity | 0.055 | 0.027 | 2.02 | 0.044 | 0.001 | 0.108 |
| Republican X Partisan Identity | 0.045 | 0.058 | 0.76 | 0.445 | -0.070 | 0.159 |
| Ideology | -0.073 | 0.034 | -2.12 | 0.034 | -0.140 | -0.005 |
| Republican X Ideology | -0.021 | 0.062 | -0.34 | 0.735 | -0.144 | 0.102 |
| Issue Positions | 0.138 | 0.041 | 3.33 | 0.001 | 0.057 | 0.219 |
| Republican X Issue Positions | 0.127 | 0.073 | 1.73 | 0.085 | -0.017 | 0.271 |
| Political Interest | -0.010 | 0.025 | -0.40 | 0.688 | -0.059 | 0.039 |
| Republican X Political Interest | -0.105 | 0.047 | -2.24 | 0.025 | -0.198 | -0.013 |
| Political Knowledge | 0.048 | 0.027 | 1.78 | 0.076 | -0.005 | 0.102 |
| Republican X Political Knowledge | -0.026 | 0.044 | -0.60 | 0.546 | -0.112 | 0.060 |
| Trump Press Conference | 0.020 | 0.016 | 1.21 | 0.226 | -0.012 | 0.051 |
| Republican X Trump Press | 0.025 | 0.031 | 0.82 | 0.410 | -0.035 | 0.086 |
| Media: Fox News | -0.033 | 0.013 | -2.56 | 0.011 | -0.058 | -0.008 |

(Model 5 Continued)

| | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------|-------|--------------|-------|----------------------|-------|
| Media: CNN | -0.009 | 0.012 | -0.73 | 0.466 | -0.033 | 0.015 |
| Media: MSNBC | -0.020 | 0.012 | -1.68 | 0.094 | -0.043 | 0.003 |
| NY Times or Washington Post | 0.014 | 0.011 | 1.24 | 0.214 | -0.008 | 0.036 |
| Network News | 0.031 | 0.014 | 2.20 | 0.028 | 0.003 | 0.058 |
| Local News | 0.020 | 0.015 | 1.28 | 0.200 | -0.010 | 0.050 |
| Social Media Use | 0.012 | 0.016 | 0.76 | 0.447 | -0.019 | 0.044 |
| Experiment (Rarely Talk) | -0.016 | 0.024 | -0.69 | 0.488 | -0.063 | 0.030 |
| Experiment (Occasionally) | -0.020 | 0.021 | -0.96 | 0.340 | -0.060 | 0.021 |
| Experiment (Frequently) | 0.001 | 0.019 | 0.08 | 0.938 | -0.036 | 0.039 |
| Experiment (Moderate) | -0.012 | 0.021 | -0.56 | 0.576 | -0.053 | 0.029 |
| Experiment (Sorted) | -0.043 | 0.024 | -1.80 | 0.073 | -0.089 | 0.004 |
| Experiment (Rarely X Moderate) | 0.028 | 0.033 | 0.84 | 0.403 | -0.037 | 0.092 |
| Experiment (Rarely X Sorted) | 0.054 | 0.035 | 1.56 | 0.120 | -0.014 | 0.123 |
| Experiment (Occasionally X Moderate) | -0.015 | 0.033 | -0.46 | 0.646 | -0.079 | 0.049 |
| Experiment (Occasionally X Sorted) | 0.055 | 0.033 | 1.66 | 0.097 | -0.010 | 0.120 |
| Experiment (Frequently X Moderate) | -0.027 | 0.031 | -0.87 | 0.384 | -0.089 | 0.034 |
| Experiment (Frequently X Sorted) | 0.061 | 0.031 | 1.98 | 0.048 | 0.000 | 0.122 |
| Constant | 0.574 | 0.085 | 6.79 | 0.000 | 0.408 | 0.739 |
| | N=2013 | | Counties=711 | | R ² =0.18 | |

Model 6

| | Coef. | S.E. | T-Value | P-Value | 95% LB | 95% UB |
|--------------------------------------|--------|-------|---------|---------|--------|--------|
| Republican | 0.123 | 0.172 | 0.71 | 0.476 | -0.215 | 0.460 |
| Partisan Animosity | -0.027 | 0.078 | -0.34 | 0.733 | -0.180 | 0.127 |
| Republican X Partisan Animosity | -0.415 | 0.159 | -2.60 | 0.009 | -0.728 | -0.102 |
| Logged Cases (County) | -0.003 | 0.014 | -0.21 | 0.837 | -0.030 | 0.024 |
| Republican X Cases | -0.029 | 0.026 | -1.10 | 0.273 | -0.081 | 0.023 |
| Animosity X Cases | 0.005 | 0.012 | 0.40 | 0.686 | -0.019 | 0.028 |
| Republican X Animosity X Cases | 0.067 | 0.027 | 2.51 | 0.012 | 0.014 | 0.119 |
| In-Party Affect | 0.050 | 0.109 | 0.45 | 0.649 | -0.164 | 0.264 |
| Republican X In-Party Affect | 0.015 | 0.192 | 0.08 | 0.936 | -0.361 | 0.392 |
| In-Party Affect X Cases | 0.006 | 0.017 | 0.34 | 0.734 | -0.027 | 0.038 |
| Republican X In-Party Affect X Cases | 0.003 | 0.032 | 0.10 | 0.921 | -0.059 | 0.065 |
| County Population (Millions) | -0.001 | 0.003 | -0.36 | 0.721 | -0.007 | 0.005 |
| Household COVID Infection | -0.030 | 0.017 | -1.76 | 0.078 | -0.064 | 0.003 |
| Risk of Illness | 0.040 | 0.010 | 4.19 | 0.000 | 0.021 | 0.059 |
| Out of Work | -0.016 | 0.012 | -1.31 | 0.189 | -0.039 | 0.008 |
| Future Income | 0.018 | 0.022 | 0.84 | 0.400 | -0.024 | 0.061 |
| Difficulty Having No Contact | -0.032 | 0.018 | -1.77 | 0.077 | -0.067 | 0.003 |
| Age (25-34) | -0.006 | 0.019 | -0.33 | 0.743 | -0.045 | 0.032 |
| Age (35-50) | 0.035 | 0.019 | 1.84 | 0.066 | -0.002 | 0.071 |
| Age (51-65) | 0.036 | 0.020 | 1.80 | 0.073 | -0.003 | 0.075 |
| Age (Older than 65) | 0.036 | 0.023 | 1.59 | 0.113 | -0.009 | 0.081 |
| Female | 0.037 | 0.011 | 3.25 | 0.001 | 0.014 | 0.059 |
| White | 0.015 | 0.045 | 0.33 | 0.742 | -0.073 | 0.103 |
| African American | -0.002 | 0.046 | -0.04 | 0.969 | -0.092 | 0.088 |
| Asian American | 0.084 | 0.048 | 1.76 | 0.079 | -0.010 | 0.178 |
| Hispanic/Latino | 0.036 | 0.049 | 0.74 | 0.457 | -0.059 | 0.131 |
| Education | 0.001 | 0.025 | 0.02 | 0.983 | -0.048 | 0.049 |
| Income | 0.030 | 0.020 | 1.53 | 0.128 | -0.009 | 0.069 |
| Republican Governor (State) | 0.001 | 0.011 | 0.13 | 0.900 | -0.020 | 0.023 |
| Trump Vote Share (County) | -0.001 | 0.025 | -0.06 | 0.952 | -0.051 | 0.048 |
| Republican X Trump Vote | -0.030 | 0.064 | -0.47 | 0.636 | -0.157 | 0.096 |
| Strength of Partisan Identity | 0.036 | 0.029 | 1.22 | 0.222 | -0.022 | 0.094 |
| Republican X Partisan Identity | 0.048 | 0.061 | 0.78 | 0.438 | -0.073 | 0.168 |
| Ideology | -0.069 | 0.034 | -2.00 | 0.046 | -0.137 | -0.001 |
| Republican X Ideology | -0.031 | 0.063 | -0.50 | 0.620 | -0.154 | 0.092 |
| Issue Positions | 0.128 | 0.041 | 3.15 | 0.002 | 0.048 | 0.208 |
| Republican X Issue Positions | 0.135 | 0.073 | 1.85 | 0.065 | -0.008 | 0.278 |
| Political Interest | -0.012 | 0.025 | -0.45 | 0.650 | -0.061 | 0.038 |
| Republican X Political Interest | -0.105 | 0.047 | -2.21 | 0.027 | -0.197 | -0.012 |
| Political Knowledge | 0.047 | 0.027 | 1.70 | 0.090 | -0.007 | 0.101 |

(Model 6 Continued)

| | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------|-------|--------------|-------|----------------------|--------|
| Republican X Political Knowledge | -0.025 | 0.044 | -0.56 | 0.573 | -0.111 | 0.061 |
| Trump Press Conference | 0.021 | 0.016 | 1.29 | 0.197 | -0.011 | 0.053 |
| Republican X Trump Press | 0.021 | 0.031 | 0.67 | 0.503 | -0.040 | 0.082 |
| Media: Fox News | -0.035 | 0.013 | -2.69 | 0.007 | -0.060 | -0.009 |
| Media: CNN | -0.008 | 0.013 | -0.62 | 0.535 | -0.032 | 0.017 |
| Media: MSNBC | -0.019 | 0.012 | -1.59 | 0.113 | -0.043 | 0.005 |
| NY Times or Washington Post | 0.014 | 0.011 | 1.25 | 0.213 | -0.008 | 0.036 |
| Network News | 0.031 | 0.014 | 2.24 | 0.025 | 0.004 | 0.058 |
| Local News | 0.019 | 0.015 | 1.22 | 0.224 | -0.011 | 0.049 |
| Social Media Use | 0.013 | 0.016 | 0.82 | 0.410 | -0.019 | 0.046 |
| Experiment (Rarely Talk) | -0.010 | 0.024 | -0.44 | 0.663 | -0.057 | 0.036 |
| Experiment (Occasionally) | -0.014 | 0.021 | -0.67 | 0.504 | -0.055 | 0.027 |
| Experiment (Frequently) | 0.009 | 0.020 | 0.48 | 0.631 | -0.029 | 0.048 |
| Experiment (Moderate) | -0.009 | 0.021 | -0.42 | 0.674 | -0.049 | 0.032 |
| Experiment (Sorted) | -0.040 | 0.024 | -1.69 | 0.092 | -0.087 | 0.007 |
| Experiment (Rarely X Moderate) | 0.023 | 0.033 | 0.70 | 0.487 | -0.042 | 0.087 |
| Experiment (Rarely X Sorted) | 0.050 | 0.035 | 1.42 | 0.156 | -0.019 | 0.119 |
| Experiment (Occasionally X Moderate) | -0.017 | 0.033 | -0.52 | 0.602 | -0.083 | 0.048 |
| Experiment (Occasionally X Sorted) | 0.052 | 0.033 | 1.56 | 0.120 | -0.014 | 0.117 |
| Experiment (Frequently X Moderate) | -0.032 | 0.031 | -1.02 | 0.309 | -0.094 | 0.030 |
| Experiment (Frequently X Sorted) | 0.057 | 0.031 | 1.80 | 0.072 | -0.005 | 0.118 |
| Constant | 0.551 | 0.115 | 4.79 | 0.000 | 0.325 | 0.777 |
| | N=2005 | | Counties=710 | | R ² =0.19 | |

2.6 Alternative Models for Behavior and Policy

Supplementary Table 12 Negative Binomial Regression for Behavior

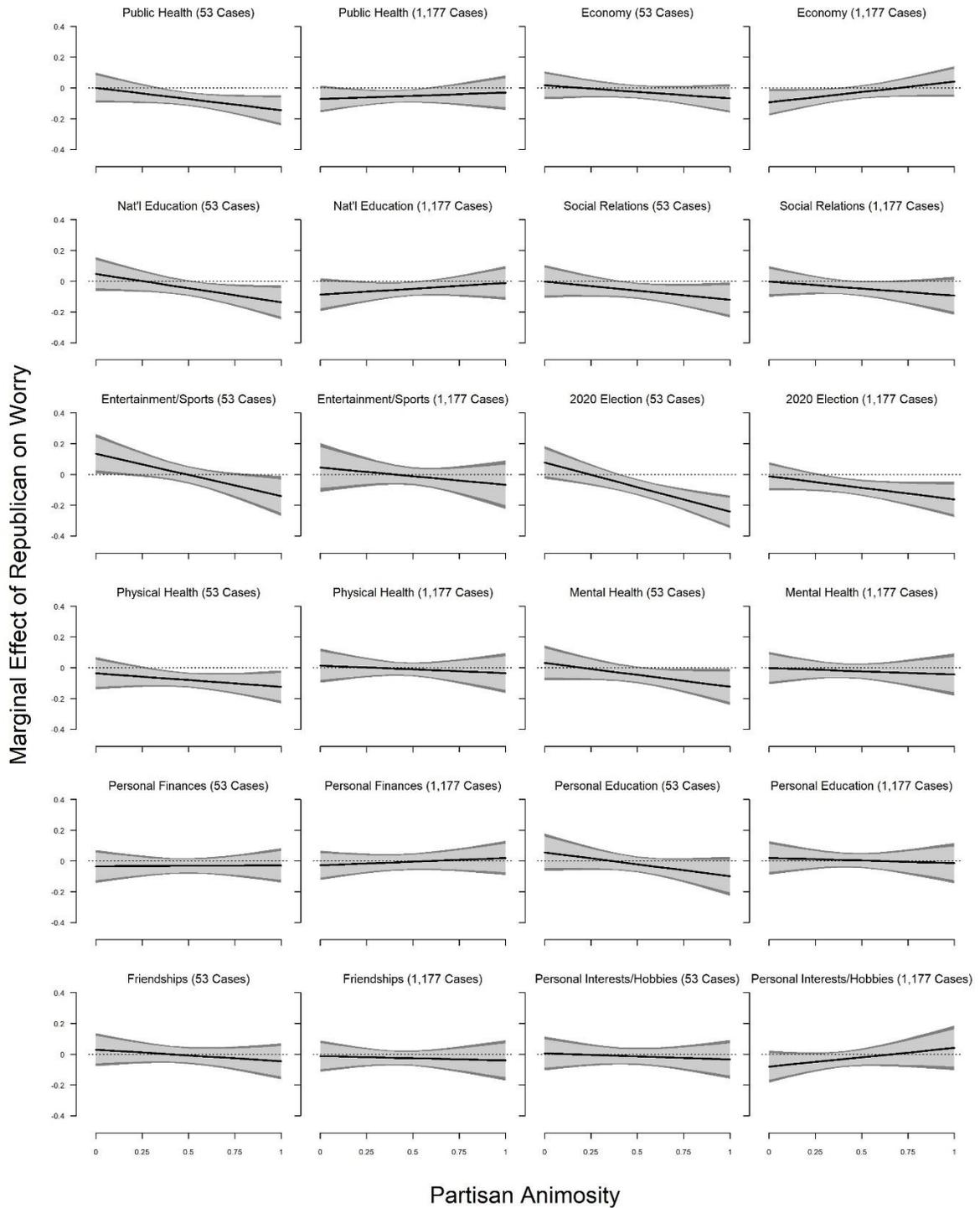
| | Coef. | S.E. | T-Value | P-Value | 95% LB | 95% UB |
|--------------------------------------|--------|-------|--------------|---------|--------|--------|
| Republican | -0.011 | 0.151 | -0.07 | 0.943 | -0.307 | 0.285 |
| Partisan Animosity | 0.318 | 0.166 | 1.92 | 0.055 | -0.007 | 0.643 |
| Republican X Partisan Animosity | -0.214 | 0.247 | -0.87 | 0.386 | -0.699 | 0.270 |
| Logged Cases (County) | 0.034 | 0.018 | 1.83 | 0.067 | -0.002 | 0.070 |
| Republican X Cases | 0.012 | 0.023 | 0.51 | 0.612 | -0.034 | 0.057 |
| Animosity X Cases | -0.021 | 0.029 | -0.72 | 0.474 | -0.077 | 0.036 |
| Republican X Animosity X Cases | -0.011 | 0.037 | -0.30 | 0.762 | -0.084 | 0.062 |
| County Population (Millions) | -0.004 | 0.004 | -0.99 | 0.322 | -0.013 | 0.004 |
| Experiment (Rarely Talk) | 0.079 | 0.039 | 2.04 | 0.041 | 0.003 | 0.154 |
| Experiment (Occasionally) | -0.001 | 0.039 | -0.03 | 0.979 | -0.077 | 0.075 |
| Experiment (Frequently) | 0.081 | 0.033 | 2.44 | 0.015 | 0.016 | 0.146 |
| Experiment (Moderate) | 0.046 | 0.039 | 1.19 | 0.235 | -0.030 | 0.122 |
| Experiment (Sorted) | -0.027 | 0.042 | -0.66 | 0.511 | -0.109 | 0.054 |
| Experiment (Rarely X Moderate) | -0.118 | 0.055 | -2.14 | 0.032 | -0.226 | -0.010 |
| Experiment (Rarely X Sorted) | -0.110 | 0.063 | -1.75 | 0.080 | -0.233 | 0.013 |
| Experiment (Occasionally X Moderate) | -0.105 | 0.056 | -1.88 | 0.061 | -0.214 | 0.005 |
| Experiment (Occasionally X Sorted) | 0.020 | 0.060 | 0.32 | 0.746 | -0.099 | 0.138 |
| Experiment (Frequently X Moderate) | -0.126 | 0.053 | -2.37 | 0.018 | -0.230 | -0.022 |
| Experiment (Frequently X Sorted) | -0.009 | 0.056 | -0.16 | 0.875 | -0.118 | 0.100 |
| Constant | 1.691 | 0.104 | 16.21 | 0.000 | 1.487 | 1.896 |
| | N=2064 | | Counties=723 | | | |

Supplementary Table 13 Tobit Model for Policy

| | Coef. | S.E. | T-Value | P-Value | 95% LB | 95% UB |
|--------------------------------------|--------|-------|--------------|---------|--------|--------|
| Republican | 0.193 | 0.114 | 1.69 | 0.09 | -0.031 | 0.417 |
| Partisan Animosity | 0.012 | 0.117 | 0.10 | 0.92 | -0.218 | 0.241 |
| Republican X Partisan Animosity | -0.760 | 0.196 | -3.88 | 0.00 | -1.144 | -0.376 |
| Logged Cases (County) | -0.005 | 0.011 | -0.47 | 0.64 | -0.028 | 0.017 |
| Republican X Cases | -0.036 | 0.019 | -1.88 | 0.06 | -0.073 | 0.002 |
| Animosity X Cases | 0.017 | 0.018 | 0.94 | 0.35 | -0.019 | 0.053 |
| Republican X Animosity X Cases | 0.095 | 0.033 | 2.88 | 0.00 | 0.030 | 0.160 |
| County Population (Millions) | -0.001 | 0.004 | -0.30 | 0.76 | -0.009 | 0.007 |
| Experiment (Rarely Talk) | -0.026 | 0.030 | -0.86 | 0.39 | -0.084 | 0.033 |
| Experiment (Occasionally) | -0.021 | 0.029 | -0.73 | 0.47 | -0.078 | 0.036 |
| Experiment (Frequently) | -0.008 | 0.029 | -0.28 | 0.78 | -0.064 | 0.048 |
| Experiment (Moderate) | -0.035 | 0.029 | -1.20 | 0.23 | -0.092 | 0.022 |
| Experiment (Sorted) | -0.058 | 0.029 | -2.01 | 0.04 | -0.115 | -0.001 |
| Experiment (Rarely X Moderate) | 0.077 | 0.045 | 1.70 | 0.09 | -0.012 | 0.166 |
| Experiment (Rarely X Sorted) | 0.081 | 0.044 | 1.82 | 0.07 | -0.006 | 0.168 |
| Experiment (Occasionally X Moderate) | -0.019 | 0.045 | -0.42 | 0.68 | -0.108 | 0.070 |
| Experiment (Occasionally X Sorted) | 0.064 | 0.044 | 1.46 | 0.15 | -0.022 | 0.150 |
| Experiment (Frequently X Moderate) | 0.000 | 0.044 | 0.01 | 0.99 | -0.086 | 0.086 |
| Experiment (Frequently X Sorted) | 0.111 | 0.046 | 2.40 | 0.02 | 0.020 | 0.201 |
| Constant | 0.844 | 0.074 | 11.44 | 0.00 | 0.699 | 0.988 |
| | N=2064 | | Counties=723 | | | |

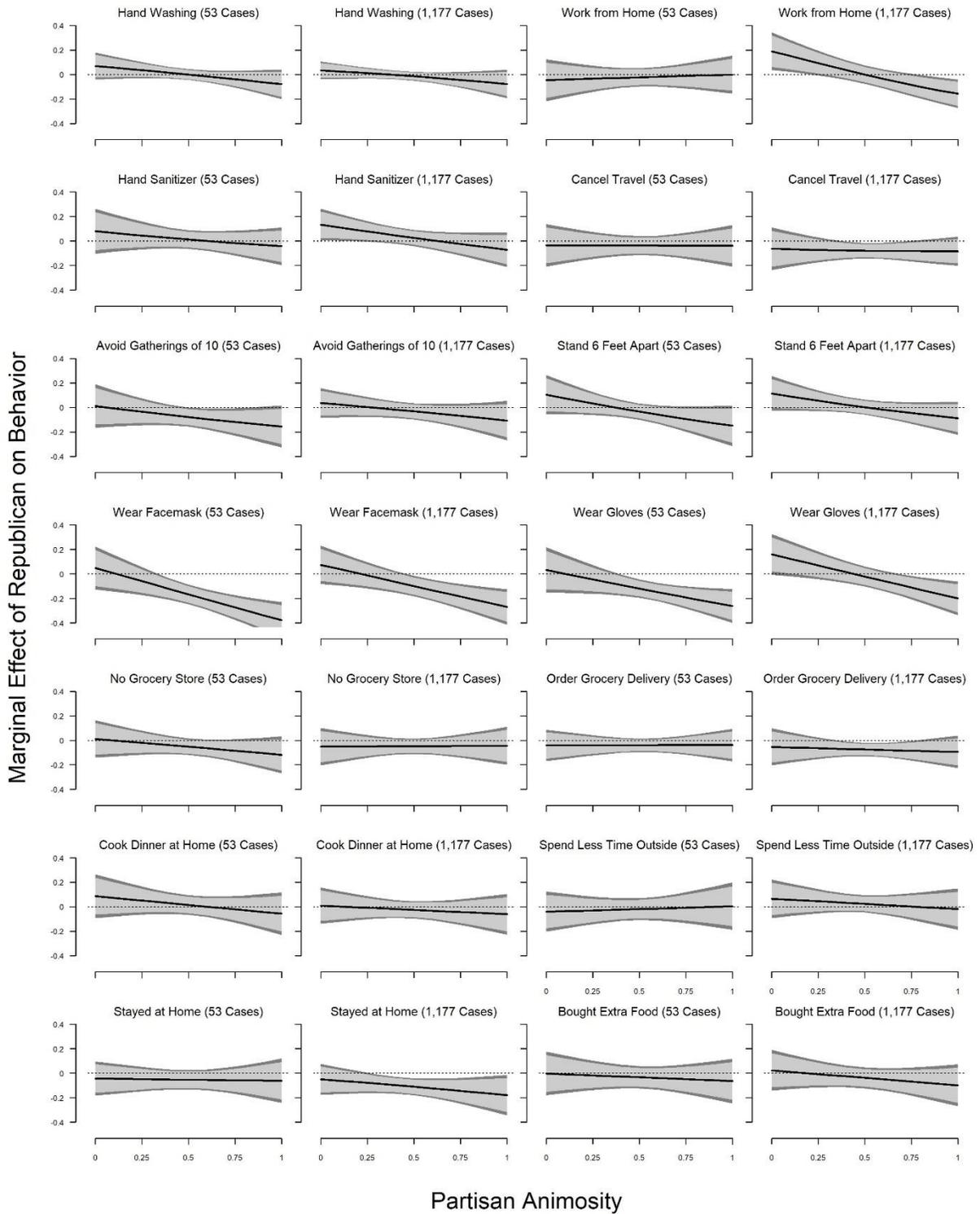
2.7 Partisan gap for each of the worry variables

Supplementary Figure 3 Partisan gap for individual worry variables



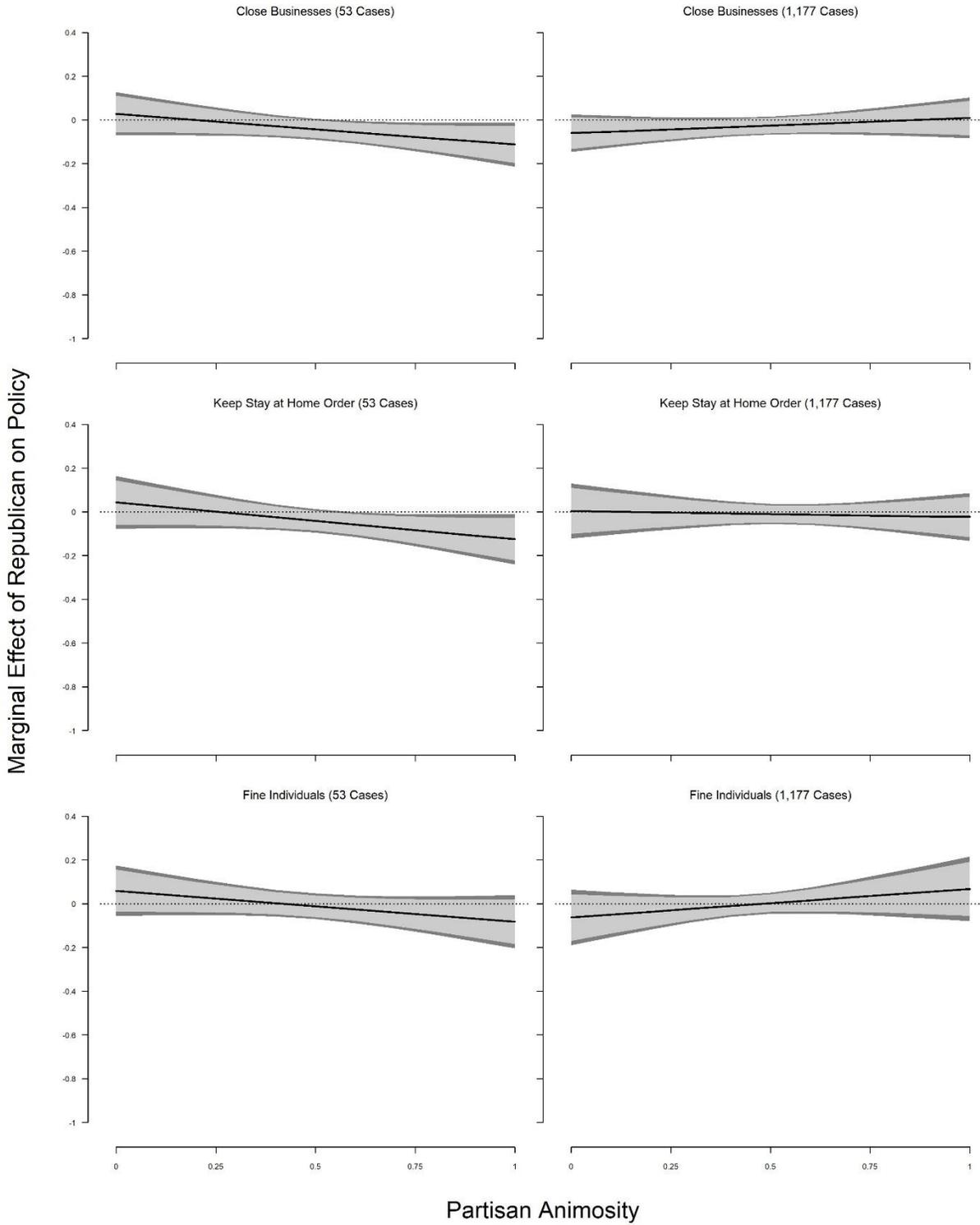
2.8 Partisan gap for each of the behavior variables

Supplementary Figure 4 Partisan gap for individual behavior variables



2.9 Partisan gap for each of the policy questions

Supplementary Figure 5 Partisan gap for individual policy variables



2.10 Sensitivity Analysis

Because the key variables in the analysis are not randomly assigned, there always remains the possibility the findings are the result of unmeasured confounding variables. To conduct sensitivity analyses to determine the likelihood of this, we relied on statistical software in Linden et al. (2020) and consulted VanderWeele and Ding (2017) for interpretation.

The main difficulty in conducting the sensitivity analysis is that the key variable of interest, affective polarization, is not continuous and the e-value method, as well as the Imbens (2003) method, requires a dichotomous independent variable. We address this in two ways. First, we examine whether the party gaps are likely robust to confounders because the partisanship variable is dichotomous. Second, we dichotomize the partisan animosity variable – the variable is coded 0 if the respondents is below the 75th percentile in partisan animosity and 1 if the respondent is at or above the 75th percentile (the cutoff value is 0.679). The decision to dichotomize at this point is obviously somewhat arbitrary, but we see the largest effects at the highest values of partisan animosity.

We see partisan gaps in four situations in Figures 4 through 6. We note these four situations below with the calculated e-values for the partisan effect. (E-values calculated with the method suggested by Linden et al. (2020) for standardized mean differences.)

- Worry (DV) in low case counties among those high on animosity: 2.492
- Behavior (DV) in low case counties among those high on animosity: 2.395
- Behavior (DV) in high case counties among those high on animosity: 2.513
- Policy (DV) in low case counties among those high on animosity: 2.317

We see an effect of partisan animosity in three situations in Figure 7. Those three situations and the calculated e-values for those situations are as follows.

- Worry (DV) among Republicans in low case counties: 2.880
- Behavior (DV) among Democrats: 1.599*
- Policy (DV) among Republicans in low case counties: 2.025

*In Figure 7, we only see the statistically significant effect in the low case counties but the post-regression analysis suggests that the effect of partisan animosity among Democrats is not conditioned on the number of cases. For this reason, in the sensitivity analysis, we did not include the interaction with cases. As you can see, even with this change the e-value produced is the smallest.

VanderWeele and Ding (2017) write, “E-value is the minimum strength of association, on the risk ratio scale, that an unmeasured confounder would need to have with both the treatment and outcome, conditional on the measured covariates, to explain away a treatment-outcome association.” This raises the question of how large of an e-value is needed to feel confident that our results are robust and that it is unlikely that our results are spurious. They continue, “In the context of biomedical and social sciences research, effect sizes ≥ 2 - or 3-fold occasionally occur but are not particularly common; a variable that affects both treatment and outcome each by 2- or 3-fold would likely be even less common.”

Hence, perhaps we should be confident that the contexts with e-values greater than 2 suggest are likely robust. But what of the case where the e-value is 1.6? We do not have guidance with this value. In Appendix A4 of Bonica, Chilton, and Sen (2020), the authors calculate e-values of 1.4 and 1.5 for their variable of interest which they say suggests that it is “unlikely” that an unmeasured confounder exists.

In sum, we think the calculated e-values suggest that the statistically significant results we observe are robust. Though, because of the novel nature of the e-value method, we encourage the reader to remain careful and not assume causality.

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