**Data Instructions for “How Affective Polarization Shapes Americans’ Political Beliefs:**

**A Study of Response to the COVID-19 Pandemic”**

**File descriptions**

The files included in these replication files are the following:

* *Aff. Pol. Exp. Data.dta:* This is the data file, saved in Stata format.
* *Aff. Pol. Exp.do:* This is the Stata do file that contains the commands used to generate the results presented in the paper and appendix.
* *Aff. Pol. Exp. Results.smcl:* This file is the log file that uses the previous two files and displays the results of the analyses.
* *Computing Figure 1.doc:* This file is the R code used to compute Figure 1.
* *expresults from Stata to generate Figure 1:* These are the predicted values from Stata used by the R code to compute Figure 1.

**Intermediate data files**

The results of the surveys were downloaded from Qualtrics and originally preserved as .csv files. These files were transferred to a Stata format and merged together (as they existed separately across waves). The variables were then given the names that they have in the present version of the dataset. All of these steps were performed by a RA who was blind to the study’s hypotheses.

**Questionnaire and variable names**

**2019 Wave:**

**pid / dem /rep**

Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or what?

*Democrat Republican Independent Some other party*

**[IF D/R:]**

Would you call yourself a strong [**Democrat** / **Republican**] or a not very strong [**Democrat** / **Republican**]?

*Strong Not very strong*

**[IF I/O:]**

If you had to choose, do you think of yourself as closer to the Democratic Party or the Republican Party?

*Closer to Closer to Neither*

*Democratic Party Republican Party*

**ideology**

Which point on the scale below best describes your political views?

*Very Mostly Somewhat Moderate Somewhat Mostly Very*

*liberal liberal liberal conservative conservative conservative*

**education**

What is the highest level of education you have completed?

*Less than High Some 4 year college Advanced*

*High school school graduate college degree degree*

**Income**

What is your estimate of your family’s annual household income (before taxes)?

*< $30,000 $30,000 - $69,999 $70,000-$99,999 $100,000-$200,000 >$200,000*

**race**

Which of the following do you consider to be your primary racial or ethnic group?

*White African American Asian American Hispanic or Latino Native American Other*

**gender**

Which of the following best describes your gender identity?

*Male Female Transgender None of the categories offered*

**Age**

What is your age?

*Under 18 18-24 25-34 35-50 51-65 Over 65*

*Many people don’t know the answers to these questions, so if there are any you don’t know, just check “don’t know.”*

**p\_knowledge\_veto**

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

*Cannot 1/3 1/2 2/3 3/4 Don’t know*

*override*

**p\_knowledge\_hofr**

Do you happen to know which party currently has the most members in the House of Representatives in Washington, D.C.?

*Democrats Republicans Tie Don’t know*

**p\_knowledge\_constitution**

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

*President Congress Supreme Court Don’t know*

**p\_knowledge\_vp**

Who is the current U.S. Vice President?

*Rex Tillerson James Mattis Mike Pence Paul Ryan Don’t know*

**p\_knowledge\_conservative**

Would you say that one of the major parties is more conservative than the other at the national level? If so, which party is more conservative?

*The* *Democratic Party The Republican Party Neither Don’t know*

*We are now going to ask a few more questions about your partisanship.*

**party\_importance**

How important is being a $PARTY to you?

*Not at all Not very Somewhat Very Extremely*

*important important important important important*

**party\_describe**

How well does the term $PARTY describe you?

*Not at all Not very Somewhat Very Extremely*

*well well well well well*

**party\_wethey**

When talking about $PARTYs, how often do you use “we” instead of “they”?

*Never Rarely Some of Most of All of*

*the time the time the time*

**party\_extent**

To what extent do you think of yourself as being a $PARTY?

*Not at all Not too much Somewhat A good deal A great deal*

**feelingtherm\_outgroup**

**feelingtherm\_ingroup**

We’d like you to rate how you feel towards $OUTGROUP /  $INGROUP 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, candidates, media personalities, etc.

$OUTGROUP[[1]](#footnote-1)

$INGROUP

**patriotic\_outgroup / intelligent\_outgroup / honest\_outgroup / openminded\_outgroup / generous\_outgroup / hypocritical\_outgroup / selfish\_outgroup / mean\_outgroup**

**patriotic\_ingroup / intelligent\_ingroup / honest\_ingroup / openminded\_ingroup / generous\_ingroup / hypocritical\_ingroup / selfish\_ingroup / mean\_ingroup**

We’d like to know more about what you think about $OUTGROUP / $INGROUP. 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 $OUTGROUP / $INGROUP: not at all well; not too well; somewhat well; very well; or extremely well.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Not at all well | Not too well | Somewhat well | Very well | Extremely well |
| Patriotic |  |  |  |  |  |
| Intelligent |  |  |  |  |  |
| Honest |  |  |  |  |  |
| Open-minded |  |  |  |  |  |
| Generous |  |  |  |  |  |
| Hypocritical |  |  |  |  |  |
| Selfish |  |  |  |  |  |
| Mean |  |  |  |  |  |

**trust\_outgroup**

**trust\_ingroup**

How much of the time do you think you can trust $OUTGROUP/$INGROUP to do what is right for the country?

*Almost Once in a About half Most of the Almost*

*never while the time time always*

**friends\_outgroup**

How comfortable are you having close personal friends who are $OUTGROUP?

*Not at all Not too Somewhat Extremely*

*comfortable comfortable comfortable comfortable*

**neighbors\_outgroup**

How comfortable are you having neighbors on your street who are $OUTGROUP?

*Not at all Not too Somewhat Extremely*

*comfortable comfortable comfortable comfortable*

**marry\_outgroup**

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

*Not at all Not too Somewhat Extremely*

*upset upset upset upset*

**friends\_ingroup**

How comfortable are you having close personal friends who are $INGROUP?

*Not at all Not too Somewhat Extremely*

*comfortable comfortable comfortable comfortable*

**neighbors\_ingroup**

How comfortable are you having neighbors on your street who are $INGROUP?

*Not at all Not too Somewhat Extremely*

*comfortable comfortable comfortable comfortable*

**marry\_ingroup**

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

*Not at all Not too Somewhat Extremely*

*upset upset upset upset*

**allout** is the aggregated out-party scores across the affective polarization items.

**2020 Wave:**

**covfeelingtherm\_outgroup**

**covfeelingtherm\_ingroup**

We’d like you to rate how you feel towards $OUTGROUP /  $INGROUP 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, candidates, media personalities, etc.

$OUTGROUP[[2]](#footnote-2)

$INGROUP

[RANDOMLY ASSIGN SUBJECTS TO SEE EITHER “THE TRUMP ADMINISTRATION” OR “THE UNITED STATES” BELOW. TREATMENT ASSIGNMENT IS HELD CONSTANT ACROSS ITEMS, SO SUBJECTS SEE THE SAME WORDING IN ALL ITEMS.] **exptrump** signifies assignment to the Trump condition.

**expconf**

How confident are you that the [Trump administration/United States] can limit the impact of the coronavirus in the next month?

1. Not confident at all
2. A little confident
3. Pretty confident
4. Very confident

**expprep**

Do you disagree or agree that [President Trump/the United States] should have done more to prepare for the coronavirus outbreak we are currently experiencing?

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

**expfuture**

Do you disagree or agree that [President Trump/the United States] should be doing more right now to prepare for the possibility of a new outbreak of the coronavirus in the fall?

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

**tvnews\_fox**

How often have you relied Fox News for information about the coronavirus outbreak?

1. Never
2. Rarely
3. Sometimes
4. Frequently
5. Every Day

**workleavehome**

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

1. No
2. Yes, for a little of my work.
3. Yes, for some of work.
4. Yes, for all my work.

**househealhcare**

Do you, or does anyone in your household, work in health care?

1. No
2. Yes

**childunder4**

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

1. No
2. Yes

**pregnant**

Are you or your spouse currently pregnant?

1. No
2. Yes

**riskhealth**

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

1. No
2. Yes

*\*We obtained each respondent’s county of residence from the data vendor to match for COVID-19 case data (per capita) from The New York Times.* We created a raw case count, a raw death count, lagged case and death counts (by one or two days), and three day averages:

**cases / deaths / cases\_lag / cases\_lag2 / deaths\_lag / deaths\_lag2 /day3\_avg\_cases / day3\_avg\_deaths**

We also obtained county population: **countypop**

1. Here, $OUTGROUP corresponds to the other party (and $INGROUP corresponds to the respondent’s party). [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Here, $OUTGROUP corresponds to the other party (and $INGROUP corresponds to the respondent’s party). [↑](#footnote-ref-2)