

(Small D-Democratic) Vacation, All I Ever Wanted?: The Effect of Democratic Backsliding on
Leisure Travel in the American States

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Abstract: As many American states have considered policies consistent with democratic backsliding in recent years, political elites and scholars have speculated on the consequences of these policies for political behavior. We examine the effect of backsliding policies on Americans' preferences over leisure travel destinations; because vacationing is transitory, this focus allows us to isolate the role of individuals' democratic predispositions and values in preference formation from the implications of these policies on their self-interest that they would experience from living under those policies themselves. Through pre-registered conjoint and vignette survey experiments, we find that Americans, and especially Democrats, express less interest in vacationing in states that recently adopted backsliding policies. Our results spotlight an accountability mechanism by which Americans may sanction states deviating from democratic principles—depriving wayward states of tourism revenue.

Word Count: 3,995

We thank Michael Nelson, Erin Rossiter, and Chris Witko for helpful feedback and guidance on this project. The surveys fielded to facilitate this project received financial support from East Tennessee State University's Honors College and Office of Research & Sponsored Programs. The experiments included in this paper were pre-registered through the Evidence in Governance and Politics (EGAP) Open Science Framework registry (Study 1, https://osf.io/p5x2j/?view_only=465e028fe0524ecbaffc6f2d2a2d8e74; Study 2, https://osf.io/fn5yg/?view_only=6e51e991dec249eaa09298cd672f7d66).

Competing interests: The authors declare none.

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As many American states have recently considered policies that make it more difficult for residents to vote, some political elites, commentators, and business leaders have warned that these laws would negatively impact states' economies by discouraging tourism. Some such harms have manifested through organizers' relocation of events, such as Major League Baseball moving its 2021 All-Star Game from Atlanta, Georgia to Denver, Colorado following Georgia's passage of new voting restrictions—a move estimated to have cost Georgia over \$100 million in economic activity.¹ However, observers also warn that these and other laws perceived to undermine democracy motivate individuals to avoid travel to states that adopt them; for instance, a widely-touted report from The Perryman Group on restrictive voting legislation Texas passed in 2021 warned that the \$6.6 billion it projected the state would lose in tourism revenue by 2025 was partially attributable to “socially conscious consumers” who would vacation elsewhere.² Thus, individual revulsion at backsliding and subsequent decisions to steer tourism dollars elsewhere has been posited as a mechanism by which the public can constrain anti-democratic impulses.

This paper examines whether states' adoption of democratic backsliding policies affects leisure travel preferences consistent with this mechanism. While recent work indicates individuals are less willing to permanently move to states that recently adopted backsliding policies (Nelson and Witko 2022, n.d.), tourists are not personally affected by restrictions on fundamental democratic rights like voting; therefore, tourists' proclivity to boycott backsliding states must rely on affinity for democracy rather than self-interest in living under a democratic government. That consumer behavior can be influenced by corporations' partisan political activities offers some hope

¹ Chen, Natasha, Melissa Alonso, and Alaa Elassar. “MLB's Decision to Move Its All-Star Game Out of Georgia Will Have a \$100 Million Impact on the State, Tourism Official Says.” *CNN*, April 3, 2021, <https://www.cnn.com/2021/04/03/us/mlb-all-star-game-relocation-lost-money-economic-impact/index.html>.

² “The Potential Economic Impact of Legislation Restriction Voter Access on Business Activity in Texas.” *The Perryman Group*, April 2021, <https://www.perrymangroup.com/media/uploads/brief/perryman-the-potential-economic-impact-of-legislation-restricting-voter-access-on-business-activity-in-texas-full-04-09-21.pdf>.

that support for democracy might drive leisure travel preferences (e.g., Kam and Deichert 2020, Panagopoulos et al. 2020), but it is unclear if pro-democracy inclinations are as powerful as partisanship. Consequently, it is unknown if states face consequences through individual-level tourism preferences that might discourage backsliding.

We evaluate this mechanism through two pre-registered survey experiments assessing how information about a state's backsliding conditions respondents' interest in vacationing there. We find that backsliding reduces respondents' interest in traveling to affected states, with this effect driven by Democratic respondents. Our findings suggest individuals' aversion to backsliding not only influences decisions where their self-interest is at stake, but also where their tacit condonement of backsliding entails no personal costs. States should be conscious that backsliding not only discourages organizations from holding events in their jurisdictions, but also deters individuals from traveling there.

Backsliding as a Deterrent to Tourism

Scholars and political observers have expressed alarm at the recent rise in democratic backsliding, or policies or actions that erode the fundamental institutions of democracy, in the United States. While many of these concerns stem from events during Donald Trump's presidency, such as interfering in government investigations and stoking political violence (e.g., Carey et al. 2019; Levitsky and Zibatt 2018), backsliding has manifested in many other contexts. Grumbach (2022) notes marked declines between 2000 and 2018 in the quality of democracy in states under unified Republican control relative to those under unified Democratic control or divided government. Even after Trump's departure from office, many state and local governments

have continued to threaten basic tenets of democracy by considering or passing legislation making it more difficult to vote,³ criminalizing public protests,⁴ and weakening protections for the press.⁵

As backsliding has become salient in the United States, recent studies have endeavored to not only explain these trends (e.g., Carey et al. 2019; Grumbach 2022; Levitsky and Ziblatt 2018), but also to understand backsliding's behavioral consequences for Americans. For instance, Nelson and Witko (2022, n.d.) find that states' adoption of backsliding policies makes people less willing to accept jobs in those states. Differently, Simonson et al. (n.d.) argue that individuals who perceive backsliding and instability increase their gun-buying activity. Additionally, Schneider (2022) demonstrates that when out-partisan incumbents commit backsliding actions when in control of government, Americans are more supportive of co-partisan candidates who pledge to retaliate with backsliding actions of their own.

While these studies help illuminate the (sometimes troubling) implications of backsliding on American political behavior, their ability to identify the mechanisms underlying these behaviors is limited. Principally, in these studies, individuals are assumed to both have predispositions toward democratic principles and themselves be subject to the consequences of the backsliding policies introduced, in hypothetical or real ways. Put differently, individuals' responses to backsliding may be influenced by their personal beliefs and values or by self-interest (Chong 2000). For instance, in Nelson and Witko (2022), respondents may express aversion to accepting a job in a state that adopted backsliding policies because those policies clash with their beliefs and values or because they do not want to be personally subjected to them, respectively. Distinguishing

³ Harte, Julia and Clare Trainor. "Where Voting Has Become More Difficult." *Reuters*, November 1, 2022, <https://www.reuters.com/graphics/USA-ELECTION/VOTING-RESTRICTIONS/zvnbdjbkvl/index.html>.

⁴ Quinton, Sophie. "Eight States Enact Anti-Protest Laws." *Stateline* (an initiative of The Pew Charitable Trusts), June 21, 2021, <https://www.pewtrusts.org/en/research-and-analysis/blogs/stateline/2021/06/21/eight-states-enact-anti-protest-laws>.

⁵ Yang, Angela. "New Florida Bill Aims to Limit Legal Protections for News Media." *NBC News*, February 28, 2023, <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/new-florida-bill-aims-limit-legal-protections-news-media-rcna71957>.

between these mechanisms is important because many of the posited deterrents to backsliding across the United States, such as individuals or organizations boycotting backsliding jurisdictions, depend on persons who are not directly affected by backsliding; for instance, tourists who spend a few days in a backsliding state are not impacted by the state's mail-in voting laws. Thus, the effectiveness of those deterrents relies on the degree to which unaffected persons' democratic predispositions prompt them to sanction backsliding.

Findings from recent studies on a related phenomenon, political consumerism, provide optimism that democratic backsliding can influence tourism. Like basing vacation choices on backsliding, consumers whose purchasing decisions are influenced by companies' political activities do not bear the costs of those activities; rather, individuals engage in political consumerism to align purchasing habits with political predispositions (Newman and Bartels 2011). For instance, Kam and Deichert (2020) find that consumers are more likely to boycott or patronize businesses who treat workers poorly or well, respectively, and that the effect of poor treatment on boycotting overshadows that of positive treatment on patronizing. Relatedly, Panagopoulos et al. (2020) demonstrate that consumers are less (more) likely to patronize companies who donate to non-copartisan (copartisan) candidates of the consumer. Similarly, we expect individuals are less likely to vacation in states that adopt backsliding policies.

In an era of heightened polarization where Americans increasingly view all objects through a partisan lens, it is important to consider how partisanship might condition reactions to backsliding. While members of both the Democratic and Republican parties embrace basic tenets of American democracy, recent studies indicate that Democrats react more negatively to backsliding. For instance, Nelson and Witko (2022, n.d.) find that a state's adoption of a backsliding policy makes Democrats, but not Republicans, less willing to accept jobs there (see

also Carey et al. 2019; Simonovits et al. 2022). Thus, we expect that the negative effect of backsliding on travel preferences is stronger among Democrats than Republicans.

Research Design and Analysis

Assessing the effect of democratic backsliding on individuals' leisure travel preferences is difficult because natural variation in the quality of democracy in US states is correlated with other factors that may also influence vacation preferences, such geographic region and which political party controls its government (Grumbach 2022). Consequently, any relationship between observed leisure travel states experience and their quality of democracy may be spurious.

Considering this challenge, we conduct two experiments that enable us to isolate the causal effect of backsliding by manipulating the presence or salience of a state's backsliding policies. Our first study utilizes a conjoint experiment, which allows us to observe how respondents utilize information about backsliding when embedded in a multidimensional decision-making context alongside other factors relevant to vacationing. Our second study alters the salience of a backsliding policy—making it more difficult to vote by mail—recently adopted by Florida, which is among the most traveled-to American states; in doing so, we assess how emphasizing this consideration in the real-world political milieu affects behavior. As each design involves tradeoffs, we employ both as complements that address potential internal and external validity concerns in each.

Study 1

Our first study utilizes a conjoint experiment, which allows researchers to mimic multidimensional decision-making contexts respondents face in the real world by prompting them to compare multiple profiles consisting of randomly assigned levels of a fixed set of attributes (Hainmueller et al. 2014). This design is appropriate for our context because individuals consider

a range of destination characteristics when deciding where to vacation, such as the destination's climate and distance from home (Van Nostrand et al. 2013). Through our design, we can not only identify the causal effect of backsliding on vacation preferences, but also determine whether that effect persists in the presence of other considerations and compare its magnitude to those of other factors.

We fielded our experiment in December 2022 using approximately 2,100 respondents recruited through Lucid. Respondents were asked to imagine they had won a two-week, all expenses paid vacation to anywhere in the United States in July 2023.⁶ Then, respondents were presented with 10 conjoint tasks, each containing 3 profiles of potential destinations for their vacation. Our profiles included randomized levels of six destination attributes.⁷ Four attributes were apolitical: community type, average July temperature, travel time from respondent's home, and most popular attraction. A fifth attribute, "recent state news," communicates a recent action by the destination's state legislature.⁸ Two levels of this attribute are consistent with democratic backsliding—that the legislature limited early voting or the right to protest at the state capitol.⁹ Two more levels are associated with enhancing democracy—that the legislature expanded early voting or the right to protest at the state capitol. The fifth level concerns an action not related to the quality of democracy—that the legislature formed a commission to study ways to grow the economy. Our sixth attribute, "state-level 2020 presidential election result," communicates information about the state's partisan character. Including these final two attributes allows respondents to distinguish the destination state's partisan proclivities from any recent backsliding

⁶ Because many respondents' ability to consider a range of destinations is likely limited by personal finances, our design excludes individual financial feasibility and instead focuses on the destinations' characteristics.

⁷ See Supplemental Information Section A1 for a complete list of attributes and levels.

⁸ See Nelson and Witko (2022) for a similar method of signaling backsliding.

⁹ Voting and protest rights correspond with electoral and liberal democracy, respectively, and were chosen as rights whose expansion/contraction are not clearly placed on a left-right ideological scale (Grumbach 2022).

activity, allowing us to isolate the causal effect of the latter from the former.¹⁰ In each task, respondents were asked to indicate their interest in each destination and to select their most preferred destination.¹¹

[FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE]

Figure 1 displays the average marginal component effects (AMCEs) from our choice-based outcome, which reflect the change in the probability that a profile with a given attribute-level will be selected relative to a randomly-generated profile with the baseline level of that attribute (Hainmueller et al. 2014).¹² The left pane presents the AMCEs for all respondents, while the center and right panes show the AMCEs for Democratic and Republican respondents, respectively. In our full sample, we find that respondents were 3 percentage points less likely to choose destinations with our backsliding “recent state news” attribute-levels—that the destination’s state legislature limited early voting or protest rights—relative to profiles with the attribute’s baseline level that the state legislature formed a commission to study economic growth. Additionally, respondents were between 1 and 2 percentage points less likely to choose destinations whose legislatures curtailed early voting or protest rights compared to legislatures that expanded either right.¹³

While these differences may seem substantively small, comparisons with the AMCEs for other attributes typically thought to drive vacation choices reveal that backsliding is consequential.

¹⁰ While backsliding is more common in Republican-controlled states, Democratic-controlled states and those with divided government have also adopted policies independent organizations consider to curtail protest and voting rights (e.g., “US Protest Law Tracker,” *International Center for Non-Profit Law*, February 9, 2023, <https://www.icnl.org/usprotestlawtracker/?location=&status=enacted&issue=&date=&type=legislative#>; “Voting Laws Roundup: October 2022,” *Brennan Center for Justice*, October 6, 2022, <https://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/research-reports/voting-laws-roundup-october-2022>.)

¹¹ We included an abstention option to account for scenarios in which respondents would not select any available profile (Miller and Ziegler, n.d.).

¹² While the causal quantities for Democrats and Republicans are formally average component interaction effects (ACIEs), we refer to all quantities in Figure 1 as AMCEs for ease of exposition. The AMCEs associated with our rating outcome are substantively similar (see Table SI.2).

¹³ The differences between the AMCEs for both expanding early voting and protest rights are statistically distinguishable from each of the AMCEs for limiting early voting and protest rights at the $p < 0.05$ level.

For instance, for every ≈ 2 hour interval increase in travel time (e.g., moving from “Less than 2 hours” to “2-4 hours”), respondents are between 1 and 2 percentage points less likely to choose the more distant destination. Similarly, as the destination’s average July temperature decreases each step from 78°F to 72°F, 67°F, and 64°F, (the 80th, 60th, 40th, and 20th percentile July temperatures among all states, respectively), respondents are between 1 and 2 percentage points less likely to choose the cooler destination. Thus, the effect of a state’s backsliding on respondents’ vacation choices is of similar or larger magnitude than the effect of ≈ 2 additional hours of travel time or a decrease of 3-6°F in temperature.

Turning to the partisan-conditional AMCEs in the center and right panes, we find that Democrats behave similarly to our full sample, though they exhibit more positive effects for expanding early voting and protest rights. However, Republicans express similar levels of distaste for both expansion *and* curtailment of both rights, as any legislative action decreases the probability of a profile’s selection by 3 to 4 percentage points. While Republican respondents’ aversion to destinations where rights have expanded is consistent with other recent work on partisan-conditional attitudes towards quality of democracy policies (Nelson and Witko n.d.), that they are similarly negative towards laws limiting those rights is unexpected. However, we are reticent to place emphasis on these Republican-conditional effects as they largely dissipate when using the rating outcome.¹⁴

Our findings from Study 1 support our expectations: respondents are less likely to prefer destinations that recently experienced backsliding, and this effect manifests among Democrats but not Republicans. However, while our conjoint design allows us to mimic the multidimensional choice context in which individuals make vacation choices and isolate the causal effect of

¹⁴ The rating outcome-based AMCE associated with “Limited right to protest” remains distinguishable, but those for the other three non-baseline attribute-levels do not (see Supplemental Information Section SI.B1a).

backsliding, it faces an inherent external validity limitation: because our destinations are abstracted, they do not incorporate the real-world milieu in which people choose vacation destinations and may omit details, such as respondents' own impression of the destination, that may obviate the effect of backsliding. Consequently, we conduct a vignette-based study featuring Florida, a popular tourist destination whose recent backsliding policies have garnered national attention. This study constitutes a harder test of our expectations because respondents are likely pre-treated by not only their perceptions of Florida tourism, but also contemporary news about Florida's backsliding policies (Gaines et al. 2007).

Study 2

While we randomized the presence or absence of backsliding in Study 1, we are unable to do so when transitioning to natural stimuli as a destination's quality of democracy is fixed. Thus, Study 2 instead leverages our ability to manipulate the salience of Florida's recent backsliding, which enables us to understand how highlighting backsliding influences tourism preferences.

We fielded our vignette experiment in February 2023 using approximately 1,170 respondents recruited through Lucid. Before exposure to our vignette, we asked all respondents to indicate on a five-point scale their interest in vacationing in five states popular for tourism: California, Florida, New York, Nevada, and Illinois. Then, respondents were asked to imagine they are considering vacationing in Florida and that they used an Internet search engine to look for information. Below this prompt, respondents saw a set of five search results. Four results were generic websites about Florida tourism, and one result mentioned a new law passed by the state legislature.¹⁵ While control condition respondents saw a result about Florida's adoption of strawberry shortcake as the state dessert, treatment condition respondents received a result

¹⁵ The four generic results were identical in content and placement across conditions, and our results concerning new laws always appeared second (see Supplemental Information Section A2).

concerning a new law limiting residents' ability to vote by mail—a backsliding policy that erodes electoral democracy (Grumbach 2022). Respondents were then asked to again express their interest in vacationing in the same five states and to indicate if they were interested in receiving more information about vacationing in each state.¹⁶ This first outcome question, when used in conjunction with its pre-treatment analogue, allows us to conduct a pre-post estimation of treatment effects on tourism attitudes (Clifford et al. 2021). Alternatively, the second outcome question, which signals respondents' willingness to move beyond merely expressing a preference and expending effort on information search, provides a more costly behavioral indicator of respondents' tourism choices.

[FIGURE 2 ABOUT HERE]

Figure 2 presents our results for our interest and information outcomes in the left and right panels, respectively. Focusing first on the top-most set of points, we see no evidence that the effects of Florida's backsliding policy are consequential for either outcome in the full sample; while respondents' interest in vacationing in Florida decreases, as expected, this decrease is substantively small (-0.02 on a five-point scale) and not statistically distinguishable, and respondents' desire for more information about Florida unexpectedly increases, though by a small and indistinguishable amount (increase in probability of 0.01). Turning to the middle and bottom-most points relating to Democratic and Republican respondents, respectively, we observe effects for our interest outcome consistent with our findings in Study 1—Democrats are distinguishably less interested in vacationing in Florida when informed of the state's new voting restrictions (-0.08), while the corresponding effect for Republicans is positive but not distinguishable (0.07). However, the effect of backsliding on requesting more information is small and not distinguishable

¹⁶ Respondents who indicated interest were provided with hyperlinks for the tourism agencies of the states selected.

for both Democrats and Republicans (0.02 and -0.01, respectively), suggesting that the treatment did not impact this behavioral outcome in the same way it changed partisans' tourism attitudes.¹⁷

While we our effects are more modest in Study 2 relative to Study 1, it is important to note that Study 2, which moves away from abstract destinations and instead incorporates the real-world political milieu of an American state, constitutes a harder test of our expectations. Therefore, that we recovered similar effects for destination preferences among the subgroup most likely to recoil at backsliding—Democrats—bolsters confidence in the corresponding finding from Study 1.

Conclusion

For many people, vacation destinations are ostensibly apolitical; individuals choose where to vacation in large part based on what they find enjoyable and relaxing. However, our findings indicate that even in this apolitical context, democratic backsliding deter potential tourists—even though they would be unaffected by those policies during their short trips to the affected states. To the extent that states value tourism, these findings suggest that states face economic costs to backsliding and should give policymakers contemplating backsliding policies pause.

Our analysis also reinforces a normatively troubling finding presented in other recent studies on public attitudes towards democracy in the United States: like many other aspects of American life, individuals' preferences regarding democracy itself have polarized along partisan lines. Namely, while Democrats distinguish between policies that expand or contract democracy and reward or punish accordingly, Republicans seemingly fail to respond differentially to democracy-enhancing and -eroding policies in ways that hold governments accountable (e.g., Carey et al. 2019; Nelson and Witko 2022, n.d.; Simonovits et al. 2022). Future work should consider the basis for these differences. That Republican elites are responsible for most

¹⁷ See Supplemental Information Section SI.B2 for more discussion of this null result.

backsliding policies in recent years may cue the public to interpret these policies along partisan lines (Grumbach 2022). Alternatively, differences between Democrats and Republicans may stem from fundamentally different conceptions of democracy (Davis et al. 2022). Uncovering the sources of these dissimilar responses and discerning how to encourage Americans of all partisan stripes to uphold core institutions and norms is essential for preserving democracy.

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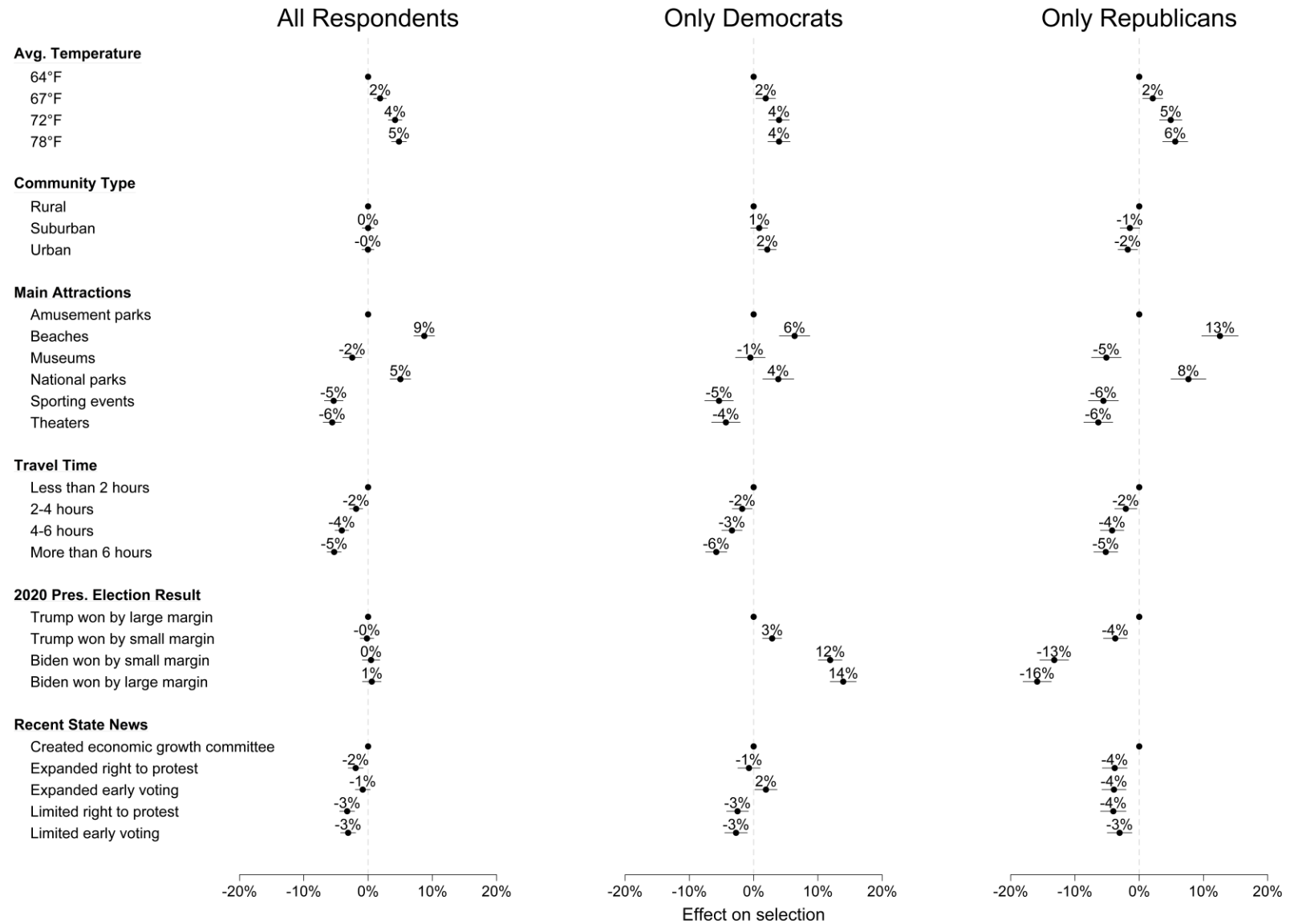


Figure 1: Effect of Democratic Backsliding on Vacation Destination Choice. Points and lines represent the average marginal component effects (AMCEs) and 95% confidence intervals, respectively, for each attribute-level on respondents' choice of destination relative to its respective baseline. Left pane presents AMCEs among all respondents, while center and right panes present AMCEs among Democrats and Republicans, respectively.

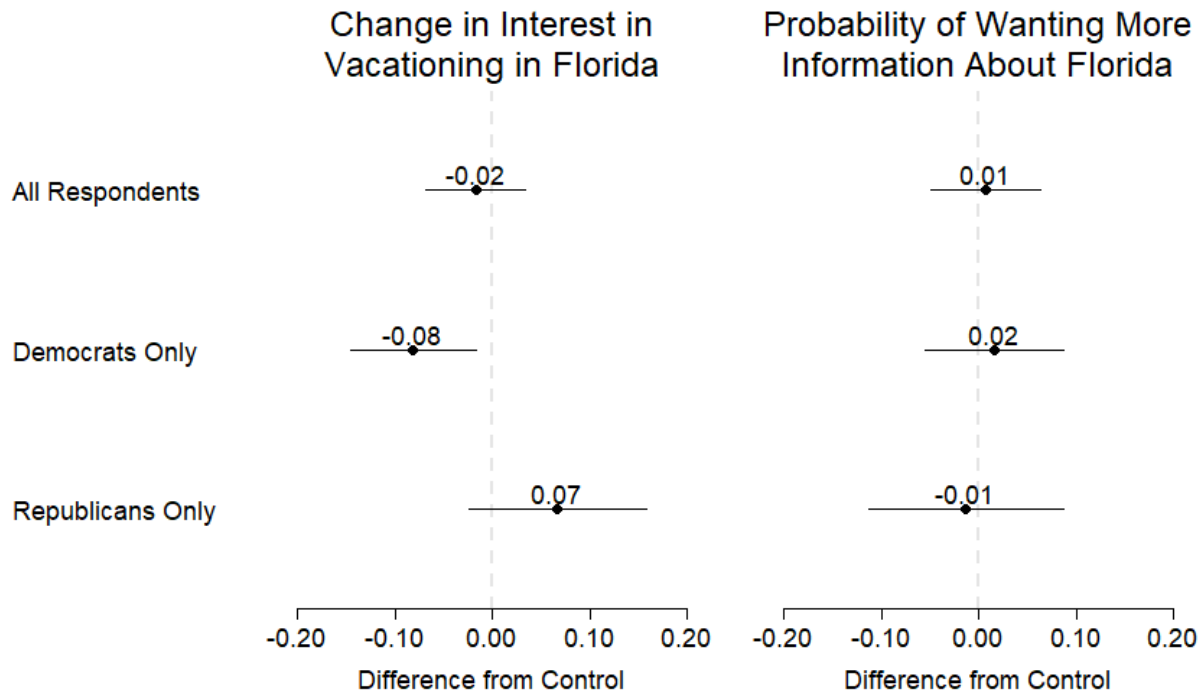


Figure 2: Effect of Democratic Backsliding on Attitudes Towards Leisure Travel in Florida. Points and lines represent the average treatment effects and 95% confidence intervals, respectively, associated with informing respondents that Florida recently restricted early voting relative to the control condition on interest in vacationing in Florida (left pane) and asking for more information about vacationing in Florida (right pane). Top-most points in each pane indicate treatment effects for the full sample, while the middle and bottom-most points relate to effects among Democrats and Republicans, respectively.

Supplemental Information

SI.A: Experimental Protocol

In this section, we describe the protocols and provide the materials and question wordings we used for our experiments.

SI.A1: Study 1—Conjoint Experiment

Our experiment was included in a survey fielded using Lucid Theorem from December 1 to December 3, 2022. Lucid Theorem is a survey respondent recruitment platform commonly used in political science research that provides researchers with survey samples representative of the American public for common demographic characteristics such as race, gender, and party identification (Coppock and McClellan 2019). 2,094 respondents reached the conjoint experiment module in our survey and provided a choice or rating outcome in at least one task. The demographic characteristics of these respondents are presented in SI.A1b.

After providing consent to participate, respondents completed a battery of demographic questions and two attention checks styled after those introduced by Berinsky, Margolis, and Sances (2014).¹ Subsequently, respondents read a short prompt asking them to imagine that they have won a two-week, all expenses paid vacation package to the destination of their choice in the United States during the following July. On the following pages, they would view information about potential vacation destinations and the states in which they are located provided to them by a travel agent helping them book the vacation package.

Each of the following pages presented respondents with one of 10 conjoint tasks² containing 3 destination profiles³ with six pieces of information (i.e., levels of attributes):⁴

- The destination's community type
- The destination's average temperature in July
- The travel time to the destination from the respondent's home

¹ The first attention check question copies directly the example from Berinsky, Margolis, and Sances (2014) concerning news sources. The second attention check question uses the same format but instead prompts respondents to indicate which Taylor Swift songs in the list below they had listened to in the past year, but, later in the prompt, specified two choices they should select to indicate they are paying attention.

² In our pre-registration document, we anticipated providing respondents with 6 conjoint tasks, but the authors decided before fielding the survey to increase this number to 10 the number of observations but neglected to update this number in the pre-registration document before filing it. We apologize for the oversight.

³ While conjoint experiments often only include 2 profiles per task, Jenke et al. (2021) show that the AMCEs recovered when including more than 2 profiles are comparable to those obtained when using only 2 profiles. We utilize 3 profiles per task in order to increase our number of observations without requiring respondents to complete additional tasks.

⁴ Following Hainmueller et al. (2014), we randomized the order in which attributes were presented across respondents but kept constant the order in which they were displayed for all 10 of each respondent's tasks.

- The most popular tourist activity/attraction at the destination
- The 2020 presidential election result for the state in which the destination is located
- Recent news about the state

After reviewing this information in each task, we asked respondents to indicate their level of interest in vacationing at each of the five destinations on a five-point ordinal scale and to indicate which destination they most preferred.⁵

SI.A1a: EXPERIMENTAL MATERIALS

Preface to Conjoint Tasks

Imagine that you entered a contest and won a two-week, all expenses paid vacation package to the destination of your choice in the United States in July 2023. Congratulations!

A travel agent assigned to help you arrange your vacation wants you to first select a destination. To get you started, the travel agent has provided you with several popular vacation destinations to consider.

On each of the following 10 pages, you will be presented with descriptions of 3 potential destinations and the states in which they are located. Once you have reviewed these destinations, you will be asked to indicate your interest in vacationing at them.

Each Conjoint Task

Please review the information about the following 3 vacation destinations and the states in which they are located: *[EACH ATTRIBUTE-LEVEL RANDOMLY DRAWN FROM POTENTIAL VALUES LISTED BELOW]*

	Destination 1	Destination 2	Destination 3
Destination community type			
State-level 2020 presidential election result			
Destination's average July temperature (in degrees Fahrenheit)			
Travel time from your home (by air)			
Most popular tourist attractions			

⁵ Because respondents could plausibly choose to not take a vacation if none of the available destinations are sufficiently desirable, we will also provide respondents the ability to abstain from the choice-based outcome (Miller and Ziegler, n.d.).

Recent state news			
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ATTRIBUTES/LEVELS

COMMUNITY TYPE

- *Urban*
- *Suburban*
- *Rural*

STATE-LEVEL 2020 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION RESULT

- *Donald Trump won by a large margin*
- *Donald Trump won by a small margin*
- *Joe Biden won by a small margin*
- *Joe Biden won by a large margin*

AVERAGE JULY TEMPERATURE (IN DEGREES FAHRENHEIT)⁶

- *64*
- *67*
- *72*
- *78*

TRAVEL TIME FROM YOUR HOME (BY AIR)

- *Less than 2 hours*
- *2-4 hours*
- *4-6 hours*
- *More than 6 hours*

MOST POPULAR TOURIST ATTRACTIONS

- *Beaches*
- *National parks*
- *Museums*
- *Theaters*
- *Amusement parks*
- *Sporting events*

RECENT STATE NEWS

- *State legislature enacted a law to expand voters' ability to vote early in elections*

⁶ Temperature values based on 20th, 40th, 60th, and 80th percentile values for statewide temperature in July 2021 (obtained from the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration's Climate Monitoring web site, <https://www.ncei.noaa.gov/access/monitoring/climate-at-a-glance/national/rankings>). Because statewide temperature data is not kept for Hawaii, that for the Honolulu International Airport is used.

- *State legislature enacted a law to limit voters' ability to vote early in elections*
- *State legislature enacted a law to expand the right to protest at the state capitol building*
- *State legislature enacted a law to limit the right to protest at the state capitol building*
- *State legislature formed a commission to study ways to stimulate economic growth*

Conjoint Task Outcome Questions

How interested are you in vacationing at each destination? [1-5 SCALE, NOT AT ALL INTERESTED TO EXTREMELY INTERESTED]

- Destination 1
- Destination 2
- Destination 3

At which of these destinations are you most interested in vacationing?

- Destination 1
- Destination 2
- Destination 3
- None of these destinations

SI.A1b: DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

Characteristic	Percentage (Number) of Respondents
<u>Gender</u>	
Female	52.2% (1094)
Male	47.8% (1000)
NA	0.0% (0)
<u>Age</u>	
18-29	22.8% (477)
30-49	37.6% (787)
50-64	22.6% (474)
65 and older	17.0% (356)
NA	0.0% (0)
<u>Ethnicity/Race</u>	
Asian	6.1% (128)
Black, Hispanic	2.0% (42)
Black, Non-Hispanic	10.6% (223)
White, Hispanic	5.1% (106)
White, Non-Hispanic	67.0% (1402)
Other	8.6% (181)
NA	0.6% (12)
<u>Education</u>	
Less than high school degree	3.2% (68)

High school degree	25.9% (543)
Some college, no 4-year degree	29.8% (625)
Bachelor's degree	23.0% (482)
Post-graduate degree	16.9% (354)
NA	1.1% (22)
<hr/>	
<u>Annual Household Income</u>	
Less than \$25,000	31.4% (658)
\$25,000-\$49,999	24.6% (516)
\$50,000-\$74,999	18.8% (393)
\$75,000-\$99,999	9.4% (196)
\$100,000-\$149,999	8.4% (175)
\$150,000-\$199,000	3.4% (71)
More than \$200,000	2.2% (46)
NA	1.9% (39)
<hr/>	
<u>Party Identification</u>	
Democrat	44.2% (925)
Republican	35.1% (734)
Independent	14.2% (297)
Other	6.6% (138)
NA	0.0% (0)
<hr/>	
<u>Ideology</u>	
Very liberal	14.5% (303)
Somewhat liberal	13.6% (285)
Slightly liberal	8.4% (175)
Moderate	38.4% (801)
Slightly conservative	6.8% (143)
Somewhat conservative	10.0% (210)
Very conservative	7.9% (166)
NA	0.5% (11)

SI.A2: Study 2—Vignette Experiment

Our experiment was included in a survey fielded between February 24 and 28, 2023, using CloudResearch Connect. Connect is a survey respondent recruitment platform maintained by CloudResearch (formerly MTurk Prime) that provides researchers with survey samples representative of the American public for common demographic characteristics such as race, ethnicity, gender, and age. 1,170 respondents reached the vignette experiment module in our survey and provided a response to at least one of our outcome measures.

After providing consent to participate, respondents completed a battery of demographic questions and the same attention check questions used in Study 1. Subsequently, we asked respondents to indicate their level of interest on a five-point scale in vacationing in each of the states indicated as

the top five vacation destinations by WalletHub: California, Florida, New York, Nevada, and Illinois.⁷

Then, respondents were asked to imagine that they are considering taking a vacation to Florida and looked for more information about traveling there using their favorite search engine.⁸ Below this prompt, respondents were presented a set of five search results stylized after those which appear when searching for “vacation to Florida” using Google. In both the control and treatment conditions, the first, third, fourth, and fifth results were generic links about vacationing in Florida. In the control condition, the second result was a story attributed to the Tampa Bay Times—one of Florida’s major newspapers that is deemed “center” by AllSides’ media bias rating⁹—concerning the Florida state legislature’s adoption of strawberry shortcake as the official state dessert last year.¹⁰ For respondents in the treatment condition, the second result was a story attributed to the Tampa Bay Times concerning a recent law passed by the Florida legislature that limits residents’ ability to vote by mail.¹¹

After viewing the search results for their assigned condition, respondents were again asked to indicate their level of interest in vacationing in each of the states featured in the pre-treatment question. Finally, respondents were also asked if they would like to receive additional information about vacationing in each of these five states; if respondents elected to receive additional information, they were provided with links to the official state tourism agencies for the selected states on the next page.

SI.A2a EXPERIMENTAL MATERIALS

Pre-Treatment Questions

⁷ A June 2022 report from WalletHub ranks all 50 states by their level of “fun” using information about 26 indicators of each state’s recreation, entertainment, and nightlife amenities (McCann, Adam. “Most Fun States in America.” WalletHub, June 13, 2022, <https://wallethub.com/edu/most-fun-states/34665/>). While the degree to which a state is fun does not necessarily reflect its desirability as a vacation destination, this ranking is more recent than the few other rankings of states by vacation desirability that we could locate and Florida places in the top five of both the WalletHub ranking and those surveys whose concepts of interest better mirrored our own (e.g., Polland, Jennifer. “A Detailed Look at How Americans Travel Within The US.” *Business Insider*, October 30, 2014, <https://www.businessinsider.com/the-most-popular-us-states-for-tourism-2014-10>; Statz, Augusta. “Survey Finds America’s Most And Least Favorite States To Visit On Vacation.” *Simplemost*, July 28, 2017, <https://www.simplemost.com/most-least-favorite-us-states-vacation/>).

⁸ We chose Florida because it is in the top five states for vacation travel and because it has enacted several backsliding policies in recent years—including restrictions on vote-by-mail, which we use as the stimulus in our treatment condition.

⁹ “Tampa Bay Times,” *AllSides*, <https://www.allsides.com/news-source/tampa-bay-times-media-bias>.

¹⁰ “Governor Ron DeSantis Signs Bill to Officially Designate Strawberry Shortcake as the State Dessert,” March 7, 2022, <https://www.flgov.com/2022/03/07/governor-ron-desantis-signs-bill-to-officially-designate-strawberry-shortcake-as-the-state-dessert/>.

¹¹ Bridges, C.A. “Election 2022: How to vote in Florida under DeSantis’ new law. What’s changed?” *Tallahassee Democrat*, July 20, 2022, <https://www.tallahassee.com/story/news/politics/elections/2022/07/20/florida-elections-what-you-need-know-how-vote-under-new-desantis-election-law/10086583002/>.

We would like to learn about your preferences for vacationing in different parts of the United States.

Please indicate your level of interest in taking a vacation in each of the following states:

[FIVE-POINT RESPONSE SCALE: NOT AT ALL INTERESTED, SLIGHTLY INTERESTED, SOMEWHAT INTERESTED, VERY INTERESTED, EXTREMELY INTERESTED]

[PRESENT THE FOLLOWING FIVE STATES: CALIFORNIA, FLORIDA, NEW YORK, NEVADA, AND ILLINOIS]

Vignette

Imagine you are considering taking a vacation to the state of Florida. To learn more, you used your favorite Internet search engine to look for information about vacationing in Florida. Below are some of the results you received through your search. Please take a moment to review these results.

[INSERT “CONTROL” OR “TREATMENT” INTERNET SEARCH RESULTS HERE]

CONTROL

<https://www.taylorstravels.com> > must-see-summer... ⋮

Must-See Summer Attractions in **Florida** – Taylor’s Travels

In my many trips to Florida, I’ve found them unparalleled ...

<https://www.tampabay.com> > Florida-legislature... ⋮

Florida Legislature Makes Strawberry Shortcake State Dessert – Tampa Bay Times

Last year, the **Florida** legislature passed a law designating strawberry shortcake as the official state dessert...

<https://www.smithtravelagency.com> > top-ten-places-to... ⋮

The Top 10 Places to Visit in **Florida** – Smith Travel Agency

Florida is home to many well-known tourist attractions, so today we’re counting down our top ten favorite places to visit...

<https://www.foodnetwork.com> > best-restaurants-in-major... ⋮

The Best Restaurants in Florida - Food Network

Florida hosts a wide variety of restaurants to suit anyone’s palate...

<https://www.travelbookings.com> > **Florida**-hotels-for... ⋮

Florida Hotels For Every Budget - Bookings Now

Search for **Florida** hotels by nightly rates, amenities, and ratings, starting at...

TREATMENT

<https://www.taylorstravels.com> > must-see-summer... ⋮

Must-See Summer Attractions in **Florida** – Taylor’s Travels

In my many trips to Florida, I’ve found them unparalleled ...

<https://www.tampabay.com> > Florida-legislature... ⋮

Florida Legislature Enacts New Law Limiting Voting by Mail – Tampa Bay Times

Ahead of the 2022 midterm elections, the **Florida** legislature enacted a law that limits residents’ ability to vote by mail in future elections...

<https://www.smithtravelagency.com> > top-ten-places-to... ⋮

The Top 10 Places to Visit in **Florida** – Smith Travel Agency

Florida is home to many well-known tourist attractions, so today we’re counting down our top ten favorite places to visit...

<https://www.foodnetwork.com> > best-restaurants-in-major... ⋮

The Best Restaurants in Florida - Food Network

Florida hosts a wide variety of restaurants to suit anyone’s palate...

<https://www.travelbookings.com> > **Florida**-hotels-for... ⋮

Florida Hotels For Every Budget - Bookings Now

Search for **Florida** hotels by nightly rates, amenities, and ratings, starting at...

Post-Treatment Questions

We would like to learn about your preferences for vacationing in different parts of the United States.

Please indicate your level of interest in taking a vacation in each of the following states:

[FIVE-POINT RESPONSE SCALE: NOT AT ALL INTERESTED, SLIGHTLY INTERESTED, SOMEWHAT INTERESTED, VERY INTERESTED, EXTREMELY INTERESTED]

[PRESENT THE FOLLOWING FIVE STATES: CALIFORNIA, FLORIDA, NEW YORK, NEVADA, AND ILLINOIS]

We can provide you with more information on vacationing in these five states. Please indicate if you would like to receive more information about each state:

[OFFER BINARY RESPONSE CHOICE FOR EACH OF THE FIVE STATES IN RANDOM ORDER; FOR ANY STATES SELECTED, PROVIDE LINK TO STATE'S TOURISM BUREAU ON NEXT PAGE]

SI.A2b: DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

Characteristic	Percentage (Number) of Respondents
<u>Gender</u>	
Female	49.6% (580)
Male	50.0% (585)
Other	0.3% (4)
NA	0.1% (1)
<u>Age</u>	
18-29	22.1% (259)
30-49	39.0% (456)
50-64	27.7% (324)
65 and older	11.1% (130)
NA	0.1% (1)
<u>Ethnicity/Race</u>	
Asian	5.4% (63)
Black, Hispanic	1.6% (19)
Black, Non-Hispanic	9.3% (109)
White, Hispanic	8.4% (98)
White, Non-Hispanic	72.0% (842)
Other	3.2% (37)
NA	0.2% (2)
<u>Education</u>	
Less than high school degree	0.4% (5)
High school degree	10.5% (123)
Some college, no 4-year degree	30.1% (352)
Bachelor's degree	42.2% (494)
Post-graduate degree	16.6% (194)
NA	0.2% (2)
<u>Annual Household Income</u>	
Less than \$25,000	14.4% (168)
\$25,000-\$49,999	25.8% (302)
\$50,000-\$74,999	22.2% (260)
\$75,000-\$99,999	15.0% (176)
\$100,000-\$199,999	18.3% (214)
More than \$200,000	4.3% (50)
NA	0.0% (0)
<u>Party Identification</u>	
Democrat	57.3% (670)

Republican	28.9% (338)
Independent	11.5% (135)
Other	2.2% (26)
NA	0.1% (1)
<hr/>	
<u>Ideology</u>	
Very liberal	13.8% (162)
Somewhat liberal	24.3% (284)
Slightly liberal	14.2% (166)
Moderate	20.9% (244)
Slightly conservative	9.4% (110)
Somewhat conservative	12.9% (151)
Very conservative	4.5% (53)
NA	0.0% (0)

SI.B: Empirical Analysis

In this section, we present the data and models used to create Figures 1 and 2 in the main paper. All analyses include all respondents irrespective of attention check passage. The substantive interpretation of our findings is consistent across both experiments when we use information about attention check passage to calculate complier average treatment effects.

SI.B1: Study 1—Conjoint Experiment

We estimate average marginal component effects (AMCEs) for both our choice and rating outcomes among all respondents and average component interaction effects (ACIEs) among Democrats and Republicans using linear regression (Hainmueller et al. 2014). To account for non-independence of observations, we cluster our standard errors by respondent.

SI.B1a: CHOICE AND RATING OUTCOMES

The AMCEs obtained using the choice and rating outcomes are presented in tabular form in Tables SI.1 and SI.2, respectively. Following our pre-registration document, we focus on our choice outcome in the main paper, as the choice outcome better mirrors the real-world context we wish to study—how respondents decide where to vacation—and provide the AMCEs associated with the rating outcome here.

When focusing on the AMCEs among all respondents, the substantive conclusions drawn for our “Recent state news” attribute are substantively similar across the choice and rating outcomes with a few minor differences:

- Whereas the AMCE associated with “Expanded early voting” was not statistically distinguishable from zero when using the choice outcome, it is distinguishable when using

the rating outcome, though its magnitude is substantively small (-0.04 on a five-point scale); however, the AMCE associated with “Expanded early voting” remains distinguishable from those for “Limited early voting” and “Limited right to protest” when using the rating outcome.

- Whereas the AMCE associated with “Expanded right to protest” was statistically distinguishable from the AMCE for “Limited right to protest” when using the choice outcome, it is no longer statistically distinguishable when using the rating outcome; however, the AMCE for “Expanded right to protest” remains statistically distinguishable from that for “Limited early voting.”

However, even with these minor differences, the AMCEs emerging from the rating outcome among all respondents communicate the same substantive point: respondents are less interested in vacationing at destinations located in states that have recently enacted backsliding policies.

The comparisons of the choice and rating ACIEs when considering Democrats and Republicans, separately, are more nuanced. For Democrats, the only distinction is that the ACIEs for “Expanded protest rights” and “Limited protest rights” are nearly identical and no longer statistically distinguishable when using the rating outcome rather than the choice outcome. For Republicans, the ACIEs when using the choice outcome for all non-baseline “Recent state news” attribute-levels are of similar magnitude and statistically distinguishable from the baseline attribute-level, only one ACIE—that for “Limited right to protest”—remains distinguishable from the baseline attribute-level, and that ACIE is roughly twice as large as the others. Further, the ACIE among Republicans for “Limited right to protest” when using the rating outcome is distinguishably more negative than that for “Expanded right to protest,” whereas no such difference emerged under the choice outcome.

Because the partisan-conditional effects are not consistent across the choice and rating outcomes, we prefer to take a conservative approach and only place emphasis on the finding that *is* consistent across outcomes: that Democrats are less interested in vacationing in states that recently enacted backsliding policies as compared to states that recently expanded early voting or created a committee to study economic growth. However, the distinctions that emerge highlight an important avenue for future research—that partisans may react to different types of “quality of democracy” policies differently. In our case, respondents in general and Democrats seem to place more importance on voting rights relative to the right to protest, which may be associated with the common wisdom that enhancing voting rights tends to benefit the Democratic Party (Biggers and Hanmer 2015). Differently, Republicans seem to place more emphasis on the right to protest rather than voting rights,¹² which may be associated with Republicans’ perception that free speech rights are both particularly important and under threat (Armaly and Enders 2023). We encourage future researchers to focus more attention on how partisanship influences perceptions of policies thought to relate to the quality of democracy.

Table SI.1: Effect of Destination Characteristics on Destination Choice

Attribute/Level	All Respondents	Democrats Only	Republicans Only
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¹² While this does not manifest using the choice outcome, it does in the rating outcome, where the AMCE for “Limited right to protest” is 0.06 to 0.07 smaller than each of the AMCEs for the other non-baseline attribute levels, and each of those differences are or approach statistical distinguishability (different from “Expanded right to protest” at the $p < 0.05$ level, different from “Expanded early voting” and “Limited early voting” at the $p < 0.10$ level).

<u>Temperature</u>			
<i>64°F (baseline)</i>	-	-	-
<i>67°F</i>	0.02* [0.01,0.03]	0.02* [0.00,0.03]	0.02* [0.01,0.04]
<i>72°F</i>	0.04* [0.03,0.05]	0.04* [0.02,0.06]	0.05* [0.03,0.07]
<i>78°F</i>	0.05* [0.04,0.06]	0.04* [0.02,0.06]	0.06* [0.04,0.08]
<u>Community Type</u>			
<i>Rural (baseline)</i>	-	-	-
<i>Suburban</i>	0.00 [-0.01,0.01]	0.01* [0.00,0.02]	-0.01 [-0.03,0.00]
<i>Urban</i>	0.00 [-0.01,0.01]	0.02* [0.01,0.04]	-0.02 [-0.03,0.00]
<u>Main Attractions</u>			
<i>Amusement parks (baseline)</i>	-	-	-
<i>Beaches</i>	0.09* [0.07,0.10]	0.06* [0.04,0.09]	0.13* [0.10,0.15]
<i>Museums</i>	-0.02* [-0.04,-0.01]	-0.01 [-0.03,0.02]	-0.05* [-0.07,-0.03]
<i>National parks</i>	0.05* [0.03,0.07]	0.04* [0.01,0.06]	0.08* [0.05,0.10]
<i>Sporting events</i>	-0.05* [-0.07,-0.04]	-0.05* [-0.08,-0.03]	-0.06* [-0.08,-0.03]
<i>Theaters</i>	-0.06* [-0.07,-0.04]	-0.04* [-0.07,-0.02]	-0.06* [-0.09,-0.04]
<u>Travel Time</u>			
<i>Less than 2 hours (baseline)</i>	-	-	-
<i>2-4 hours</i>	-0.02* [-0.03,-0.01]	-0.02 [-0.03,0.00]	-0.02 [-0.04,0.00]
<i>4-6 hours</i>	-0.04* [-0.05,-0.03]	-0.03* [-0.05,-0.02]	-0.04* [-0.06,-0.02]
<i>More than 6 hours</i>	-0.05* [-0.06,-0.04]	-0.06* [-0.07,-0.04]	-0.05* [-0.07,-0.03]
<u>2020 Presidential Election Result</u>			
<i>Trump won by large margin (baseline)</i>	-	-	-
<i>Trump won by small margin</i>	0.00 [-0.01,0.01]	0.03* [0.01,0.04]	-0.04* [-0.06,-0.02]
<i>Biden won by small margin</i>	0.00 [-0.01,0.02]	0.12* [0.10,0.14]	-0.13* [-0.15,-0.11]
<i>Biden won by large margin</i>	0.01 [-0.01,0.02]	0.14* [0.12,0.16]	-0.16* [-0.18,-0.14]

<u>Recent State News</u>			
<i>Created economic growth committee (baseline)</i>	-	-	-
<i>Expanded right to protest</i>	-0.02* [-0.03,-0.01]	-0.01 [-0.02,0.01]	-0.04* [-0.06,-0.02]
<i>Expanded early voting</i>	-0.01 [-0.02,0.00]	0.02* [0.00,0.04]	-0.04* [-0.06,-0.02]
<i>Limited right to protest</i>	-0.03* [-0.04,-0.02]	-0.03* [-0.04,-0.01]	-0.04* [-0.06,-0.02]
<i>Limited early voting</i>	-0.03* [-0.04,-0.02]	-0.03* [-0.05,-0.01]	-0.03* [-0.05,-0.01]
Number of observations	59,619	26,427	20,895
Number of respondents	2,093	925	733

This table presents the average marginal component effects (AMCEs, first column) and the average component interaction effects (ACIEs, second and third columns) used to construct Figure 1 in the main text, which represent the effect of each attribute-level on the probability of a profile's selection relative to its respective baseline. Cell entries provide the estimated causal quantity of interest and the corresponding 95% confidence intervals. The AMCEs in the first column are estimated using all respondents, while the ACIEs in the second and third columns are estimated using only respondents who identify as Democrats or Republicans, respectively. All causal quantities of interest are estimated using ordinary least squares regression and cluster robust standard errors (clustered on respondent); the AMCEs in the first column are estimated in their own model, while the ACIEs in the second and third columns are estimated using the same model that interacted every non-baseline attribute-level with a binary indicator for party identification. * indicate $p < 0.05$.

Table SI.2: Effect of Destination Characteristics on Destination Rating

<u>Attribute/Level</u>	<u>All Respondents</u>	<u>Democrats Only</u>	<u>Republicans Only</u>
<u>Temperature</u>			
<i>64°F (baseline)</i>	-	-	-
<i>67°F</i>	0.03* [0.00,0.06]	0.02 [-0.02,0.07]	0.03 [-0.02,0.08]
<i>72°F</i>	0.08* [0.05,0.12]	0.07* [0.02,0.11]	0.12* [0.07,0.17]
<i>78°F</i>	0.09* [0.06,0.12]	0.07* [0.02,0.12]	0.10* [0.04,0.16]
<u>Community Type</u>			
<i>Rural (baseline)</i>	-	-	-
<i>Suburban</i>	0.02 [-0.01,0.05]	0.04* [0.00,0.08]	0.00 [-0.05,0.04]
<i>Urban</i>	0.02 [-0.01,0.05]	0.07* [0.03,0.11]	-0.02 [-0.07,0.03]
<u>Main Attractions</u>			
<i>Amusement parks (baseline)</i>	-	-	-
<i>Beaches</i>	0.19* [0.14,0.23]	0.12* [0.05,0.19]	0.29* [0.21,0.37]

<i>Museums</i>	-0.08* [-0.12,-0.03]	0.00 [-0.07,0.07]	-0.14 [-0.22,-0.07]
<i>National parks</i>	0.10* [0.05,0.14]	0.10* [0.03,0.17]	0.13* [0.05,0.20]
<i>Sporting events</i>	-0.17* [-0.22,-0.13]	-0.18* [-0.25,-0.12]	-0.19* [-0.27,-0.11]
<i>Theaters</i>	-0.15* [-0.19,-0.10]	-0.11* [-0.18,-0.05]	-0.18* [-0.26,-0.11]
<u>Travel Time</u>			
<i>Less than 2 hours (baseline)</i>	-	-	-
<i>2-4 hours</i>	-0.02 [-0.05,0.01]	-0.02 [-0.06,0.03]	-0.02 [-0.07,0.03]
<i>4-6 hours</i>	-0.06* [-0.09,-0.03]	-0.04 [-0.08,0.01]	-0.07 [-0.12,-0.02]
<i>More than 6 hours</i>	-0.11* [-0.14,-0.08]	-0.10* [-0.15,-0.06]	-0.12 [-0.17,-0.06]
<u>2020 Presidential Election Result</u>			
<i>Trump won by large margin (baseline)</i>	-	-	-
<i>Trump won by small margin</i>	0.00 [-0.03,0.03]	0.05* [0.00,0.09]	-0.04 [-0.09,0.01]
<i>Biden won by small margin</i>	0.00 [-0.04,0.05]	0.34* [0.28,0.41]	-0.42* [-0.50,-0.34]
<i>Biden won by large margin</i>	0.03 [-0.02,0.08]	0.43* [0.37,0.50]	-0.46* [-0.53,-0.38]
<u>Recent State News</u>			
<i>Created economic growth committee (baseline)</i>	-	-	-
<i>Expanded right to protest</i>	-0.06* [-0.10,-0.03]	-0.07* [-0.12,-0.02]	-0.04 [-0.10,0.01]
<i>Expanded early voting</i>	-0.04 [-0.07,0.00]	0.00 [-0.05,0.05]	-0.05 [-0.11,0.00]
<i>Limited right to protest</i>	-0.09* [-0.12,-0.05]	-0.07* [-0.13,-0.02]	-0.11* [-0.16,-0.05]
<i>Limited early voting</i>	-0.10* [-0.13,-0.06]	-0.13* [-0.18,-0.08]	-0.05 [-0.11,0.01]
Number of observations	59,585	26,551	20,791
Number of respondents	2,093	925	733

This table presents the average marginal component effects (AMCEs, first column) and the average component interaction effects (ACIEs, second and third columns) which represent the effect of each attribute-level on the probability of a profile's rating relative to its respective baseline. Cell entries provide the estimated causal quantity of interest and the corresponding 95% confidence intervals. The AMCEs in the first column are estimated using all

respondents, while the ACIEs in the second and third columns are estimated using only respondents who identify as Democrats or Republicans, respectively. All causal quantities of interest are estimated using ordinary least squares regression and cluster robust standard errors (clustered on respondent); the AMCEs in the first column are estimated in their own model, while the ACIEs in the second and third columns are estimated using the same model that interacted every non-baseline attribute-level with a binary indicator for party identification. * indicate $p < 0.05$.

SI.B2: Study 2—Vignette Experiment

We estimate average treatment effects (ATEs) among all respondents and conditional average treatment effects (CATEs) among Democrats and Republicans using linear regression. For our interest in vacationing in Florida outcome, we use as our measure the difference between respondents' pre-treatment level of interest in vacationing in Florida on a five-point scale and their post-treatment level of interest (Clifford et al. 2021). For our request for more information about vacationing in Florida outcome, we code respondents as 0 if they did not indicate that they wanted more information about Florida post-treatment, and 1 if they did request additional information. Thus, the coefficients for our change in interest outcome reflect movement on the five-point interest scale, and the coefficients for our request for more information outcome reflect the change in probability that a respondent requests more information.

While the ATE for the level of interest in vacationing in Florida among all respondents is negative, as expected, though not statistically distinguishable, and CATE for the level of interest in vacationing in Florida among Democrats is negative and statistically distinguishable, the corresponding ATE and CATE for our behavioral outcome—whether respondents expressed interest in receiving more information about vacationing in Florida—are instead positively signed, though small in magnitude and not statistically distinguishable. While a null result represents an inability to reject the null hypothesis (that increasing the salience of backsliding discourages respondents from seeking more information) does *not* provide support for the null hypothesis, it is important to consider why this null result may manifest.

On the one hand, this null result may represent a truly null effect, such that information about backsliding affects people's preferences about vacation destinations but not their subsequent behaviors. However, given that preferences are causally prior to and motivate behaviors and that many studies of political consumerism, a related phenomenon in which individuals' purchasing habits are influenced by businesses' political activities, have demonstrated strong effects of the (mis-)alignment of consumers' and businesses' political positions on behavioral outcomes (e.g., Kam and Deichert 2020; Panagopoulos et al. 2020), it is plausible that backsliding has behavioral implications for leisure travel that our design merely did not detect. A few potential explanations for our inability to detect a true effect of backsliding on information-seeking behavior (besides random chance) are:

- **Unresponsive behavioral outcome**—Our measure of behavior is whether respondents indicate that they would like to receive more information about vacationing in Florida. While this survey question was meant to capture a behavioral outcome in that it represents respondents' willingness to expend effort on information search about Florida tourism, it is possible that this particular behavioral measure is unlikely to respond to changes in textual vignettes in online surveys. Principally, because information about most anything,

including leisure travel to Florida, is easily available on demand in an increasingly digitized world, respondents may have been uniformly disinterested in receiving information from the survey administrators when they could search for that information (likely in a more personalized way) on their own at a later time. Were we able to feasibly incorporate an outcome that is more costly than the first stage of information search and comes closer to measuring the ultimate vacation destination choice of interest, such as offering respondents the opportunity to enter a lottery for an all-expenses paid trip to one of a set of destinations (similar to our Study 1), we may be able to recover behavioral effects of backsliding that better reflect the effects of backsliding on preferences that we recovered in our Studies 1 and 2.

- **Small magnitude of true effect**—If the magnitude of the true effect of backsliding on our information-seeking behavioral outcome is small, our design may not have had sufficient power to detect it. For instance, when assessing the effect of backsliding among all 1,170 respondents, the effect size for which the probability that we will detect an effect in a given trial of the experiment is $p=0.80$ is approximately 0.16 (i.e., respondents apprised of Florida’s restriction of vote-by-mail would be 16 percentage points less likely to indicate that they want more information about vacationing in Florida relative to those in the control condition).¹³ Given the small (albeit differently-scaled) effects of backsliding on destination choice in Study 1 and interest in vacationing in Florida in Study 2, it is possible that increasing the salience of Florida’s backsliding does have negative effects on interest in receiving information about vacationing there, but that those effects are too small for our design to reliably recover them.¹⁴

Ultimately, while the effects we recover of backsliding on respondents’ leisure travel preferences encourage optimism that these policies also affect Americans’ ultimate choices of destinations for leisure travel, we are unable to discern in the present study the extent to which backsliding prompts behavioral changes with respect to leisure travel. We encourage future work to probe how backsliding influences Americans’ ultimate behavior concerning vacationing, relocating for work (Nelson and Witko, 2022, n.d.), and other ostensibly non-political activities.

Table SI.3: Effect of Backsliding Policies on the Change in Interest in Vacationing in Florida

	All Respondents	Democrats and Republicans Only
Intercept	0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.03)
Treatment	-0.02 (0.03)	0.07 (0.05)
Democrat	-	0.05 (0.04)
Democrat*Treatment	-	-0.15*

¹³ Effect size calculation obtained using the `pwr.2p2n.test` function in the `pwr` R package with sample sizes of 571 and 599, significance level of 0.05, and power of 0.80.

¹⁴ It is also important to note that the conjoint design used in Study 1 and the pre-post analysis used for the preference outcome in Study 2 both naturally offer more precise estimates of treatment effects than the post-only analysis used for the information search outcome (Clifford et al. 2021; Hainmueller et al. 2014).

		(0.06)
Number of observations	1,164	1,003

This table presents summaries of the linear regressions used to calculate the average treatment effects (ATEs, first column) and conditional average treatment effects (CATEs, second column) for respondents in our experiment on vacationing in Florida presented in Figure 2. Cell entries provide coefficient estimates and standard errors. The model summarized by the first column includes all respondents, while the model summarized by the second column includes only respondents who identified as Democrats or Republicans. * indicate $p < 0.05$.

Table SI.4: Effect of Backsliding Policies on Requesting More Information About Vacationing in Florida

	All Respondents	Democrats and Republicans Only
Intercept	0.39 (0.02)	0.60 (0.04)
Treatment	0.01 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.05)
Democrat	-	-0.32* (0.05)
Democrat*Treatment	-	0.03 (0.06)
Number of observations	1,170	1,008

This table presents summaries of the linear regressions used to calculate the average treatment effects (ATEs, first column) and conditional average treatment effects (CATEs, second column) for respondents in our experiment on vacationing in Florida presented in Figure 2. Cell entries provide coefficient estimates and standard errors. The model summarized by the first column includes all respondents, while the model summarized by the second column includes only respondents who identified as Democrats or Republicans. * indicate $p < 0.05$.

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