

Where Motivated Reasoning Withers and Looms Large: Fear and Partisan Reactions to the Covid-19 Pandemic

Supplementary Information
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A Data Collection and Ethics

The panel survey data used in this project was collected in accordance with the American Political Science Association’s standards for professional ethics and principles for human subjects research. Data collection and handling protocols were approved by an Institutional Review Board. This section briefly describes these procedures. Please see the main text for methodological concerns related to data collection.

This survey was programmed in Qualtrics and distributed to members of a respondent pool belonging to Survey Sampling International (SSI). Respondents are all Americans aged 18 years or older. Vulnerable populations (e.g. prisoners, respondents with a direct-dependency relationship with the researchers, decisionally impaired individuals, etc.) were unlikely to be included as respondents.

Prior to beginning the study, all respondents were informed of potential risks (minor emotional distress, embarrassment, and consequences of breach of confidentiality) in a process of informed consent. They were also informed that they had the right to refuse the study, opt out of the study at any time, or withdraw their data after completing the survey with no penalty. The survey was approximately fifteen minutes in length. We paid Qualtrics \$4.50 per respondent per wave, making respondent compensation similar to what they could expect to earn for a similar amount of work at a minimum-wage job in most US cities.

The data set contains no personal identifiers and was anonymized by SSI before being sent to the researchers. A randomly generated identifier with no relation to actual identifiers was provided by SSI and was used to connect participants’ responses across waves. Respondents provided their zip code to facilitate connection with data on Covid-19 cases and deaths per capita, but care was taken to ensure that this geographic data could not be combined with other variables to probabilistically deduce respondent identity.

As discussed in the main text, one of our analyses involved asking respondents to rate the accuracy of four factual statements about Covid-19. To ensure that we did not risk propagating misinformation or casting doubt on scientific information relevant to public health, we debriefed respondents immediately after this survey block and told them that all statements were factually accurate.

B Survey Items

- Fear
 - How concerned are you that you will become seriously ill from the coronavirus outbreak? (Very concerned, Somewhat concerned, Not so concerned, Not at all concerned)
- Anger
 - When I think about the coronavirus in the US, I feel angry. (Strongly agree, Agree, Somewhat agree, Neither agree nor disagree, Somewhat disagree, Disagree, Strongly disagree)
- Policy Positions
 - How much do you support each of the following government measures aimed at stopping the spread of the coronavirus/COVID-19? Some of these are currently in place, while others are not. (Strongly support, Support, Oppose, Strongly oppose)
 - * Ordering people to wear masks that cover the nose and mouth when outside the home
 - * Requiring people to stay at home for non-essential activities
 - * Ordering non-essential businesses to close
 - * Having police officers monitor public spaces such as roads, parks, and beaches and prevent access as necessary
 - * Requiring citizens to submit to coronavirus testing even if they do not themselves have symptoms
- Knowledge (Wave 1 Only)
 - To the best of your knowledge, how accurate are the following statements? (Very accurate, Somewhat accurate, Not so accurate, Not at all accurate)

- * Coronavirus is more deadly than the flu.
- * Coronavirus is more contagious than the flu.
- * You can be infected with coronavirus and not show symptoms for up to 12-14 days.
- * Getting the flu shot does not make you less likely to get the coronavirus.
- Checked Different News Source (Waves 1 and 2 Only)
 - In the last three days, how often have you checked a news source that's different from what you normally read? (Very often, Somewhat often, Not so often, Never)
- COVID Response Thermometers
 - Below, please indicate how you feel toward each group on a thermometer scale—in terms of how they have handled the recent coronavirus outbreak. Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you think they are doing a good job. Ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel the group is doing a very good job. You would rate the group at the 50 degree mark if you don't feel that they are doing a particularly good nor bad job. How would you rate each of the following? Remember: 0 means not a good job, 100 means a very good job. (0-100)
 - * The Center for Disease Control (CDC)
 - * President Trump
- News Source (Waves 1, 2, and 3 Only)
 - If you were choosing a national news source, where would you go for trustworthy information about the coronavirus? (You can choose more than one). (ABC News, NBC News, Breitbart News, CNN News, Fox News, CBS News, PBS News, MSNBC News, New York Times, Wall Street Journal, National Public Radio (NPR), President Trump's daily news briefings)
- Contact
 - In the past month, have you... (learned of someone you know personally that has been infected with the coronavirus/COVID-19 (test confirmed)?, learned of someone you know personally that has passed away due to the coronavirus/COVID-19 (test confirmed)?, been in physical contact with someone that has since tested positive for the coronavirus/COVID-19?)
- Personality (Wave 1 Only)
 - Here are a number of personality traits that may or may not apply to you. Please choose an answer option next to each statement to indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with that statement. You should rate the extent to which the pair of traits applies to you, even if one characteristic applies more strongly than the other. I see myself as: (Strongly agree, Agree, Somewhat agree, Neither agree nor disagree, Somewhat disagree, Disagree, Strongly disagree)
 - * Extraverted, enthusiastic
 - * Critical, quarrelsome
 - * Dependable, self-disciplined
 - * Anxious, easily upset
 - * Open to new experiences, complex
 - * Reserved, quiet
 - * Sympathetic, warm
 - * Disorganized, careless
 - * Calm, emotionally stable
 - * Conventional, uncreative
- Personal Vulnerability to Disease (Wave 2 Only)
 - For the following statements, please indicate your level of agreement. (Strongly agree, Agree, Somewhat agree, Neither agree nor disagree, Somewhat disagree, Disagree, Strongly disagree)

- * In general, I am very susceptible to colds, flus, and other infectious diseases.
- * My immune system protects me from most illnesses that other people get.
- * If an illness is going around, I will get it.
- Racial Resentment
 - How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (Strongly agree, Agree, Somewhat agree, Neither agree nor disagree, Somewhat disagree, Disagree, Strongly disagree)
 - * The Irish, Italians, Jews and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors.
 - * Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for Blacks to work their way out of the lower class.
 - * It is really a matter of not trying hard enough; if Blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as Whites.
 - * Over the past few years, Blacks have gotten less than they deserve.
- Immigration
 - Immigration has received a lot of attention over the last few years. We'd like your opinions about the topic. (Strongly disapprove, Somewhat disapprove, Somewhat approve, Strongly approve)
 - * Do you approve or disapprove of the new federal policy to arrest and send to jail anyone who crosses the border into the United States without proper documentation?
 - * Do you approve or disapprove separating families from each other, including minor children, when the adults are arrested for crossing the border into the United States without proper documentation?
- Economy 1
 - We are interested in how people are getting along financially these days. Would you say that you (and your family living there) are better off or worse off financially than you were a year ago? (Worse off, About the same, Better off)
- Economy 2
 - Now looking ahead—do you think that a year from now you (and your family living there) will be better off financially, or worse off, or just about the same as now? (Worse off, About the same, Better off)
- Economy 3
 - Now turning to business conditions in the country as a whole—do you think that during the next twelve months we'll have good times financially, or bad times, or what? (Bad times, About the same, Good times)
- Gender
 - How would you describe your gender? (Male, Female, Other (specify))
- Age
 - Please select your age. (Under 18, 18 - 24, 25 - 34, 35 - 44, 45 - 54, 55 - 64, 65 - 74, 75 - 84, 85 or older)
- Education
 - What is the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received? (Less than high school degree, High school graduate (high school diploma including GED), Some college but no degree, Associate degree (2-year), Bachelor's degree (4-year), Master's degree, Doctoral degree, Professional degree (JD, MD))

- Race
 - How would you describe your race or ethnicity? (White, non-Hispanic, Black or African American, non-Hispanic, Latino, Latinx, or Hispanic, Asian, American Indian, Native American, or Alaska Native, Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander, Other)
- Income
 - Please indicate your yearly household income. (Less than \$10,000, \$10,000 - \$19,999, \$20,000 - \$29,999, \$30,000 - \$39,999, \$40,000 - \$49,999, \$50,000 - \$59,999, \$60,000 - \$69,999, \$70,000 - \$79,999, \$80,000 - \$89,999, \$90,000 - \$99,999, \$100,000 - \$149,999, More than \$150,000)
- Party
 - Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a DEMOCRAT, a REPUBLICAN, an INDEPENDENT, or what? (Democrat, Republican, Independent, No preference, Other party (specify))
- Party Strength
 - Would you call yourself a STRONG [Democrat/Republican] or a NOT VERY STRONG [Democrat/Republican]? (Strong, Not very strong)
- Ideology
 - In general, do you think of yourself as... (Very liberal, Liberal, Moderate, middle of the road, Conservative, Very conservative, I haven't thought much about this)
- Vote (Waves 2, 3, and 4 Only)
 - If the general election were held today, who would you vote for President? (Joe Biden, Donald Trump, Other (write in), Unsure, I do not plan to vote)

C Sample Characteristics and Response Distributions

For each cross-section, our sample was designed to be nationally representative of four key demographics: race, gender, education level, and income. Table 1 in the main text presents sample sizes and field dates for each wave. Below, Figure S1 displays descriptive statistics for all demographic variables and our key dependent and explanatory variables, for both the pooled cross-sectional samples and for the panel sample. Please refer to section S1 for relevant survey item wordings. Note that several variables were not asked in all waves; this information can be found in section S1.

Although each cross-section is nationally representative, differential attrition may cause our panel sample to not be nationally representative. However, the panel sample does not appear to be drastically different from the cross-sections on any key variables, so we are reasonably confident that any bias introduced by the panel sampling procedure is of minimal consequence. Moreover, the benefits of being able to follow the same cohort of individuals, track their behavior and opinions as the pandemic evolves, and calculate within-unit changes outweigh the relatively small bias that may be introduced by a panel sample that does not perfectly match national demographics. Additionally, because we are primarily interested in relative effect sizes, a slightly biased panel sample is less of a concern than if we were aiming to identify and interpret absolute effect sizes.

Additionally, for interpreting some analyses, it is helpful to have a sense of the distribution of fear among partisan groups. Figure S2 displays the proportion of respondents in each wave who were “somewhat” or “very concerned” about becoming seriously ill. These overall proportions are further broken down by party ID. Especially important for our analyses, Republicans express a fair amount of fear in each wave. Although they always express less fear than Democrats, more than 45 percent of Republicans consistently said they were concerned about becoming seriously ill. In all but one wave, the difference between this quantity and independents’ level of fear is not statistically significant.

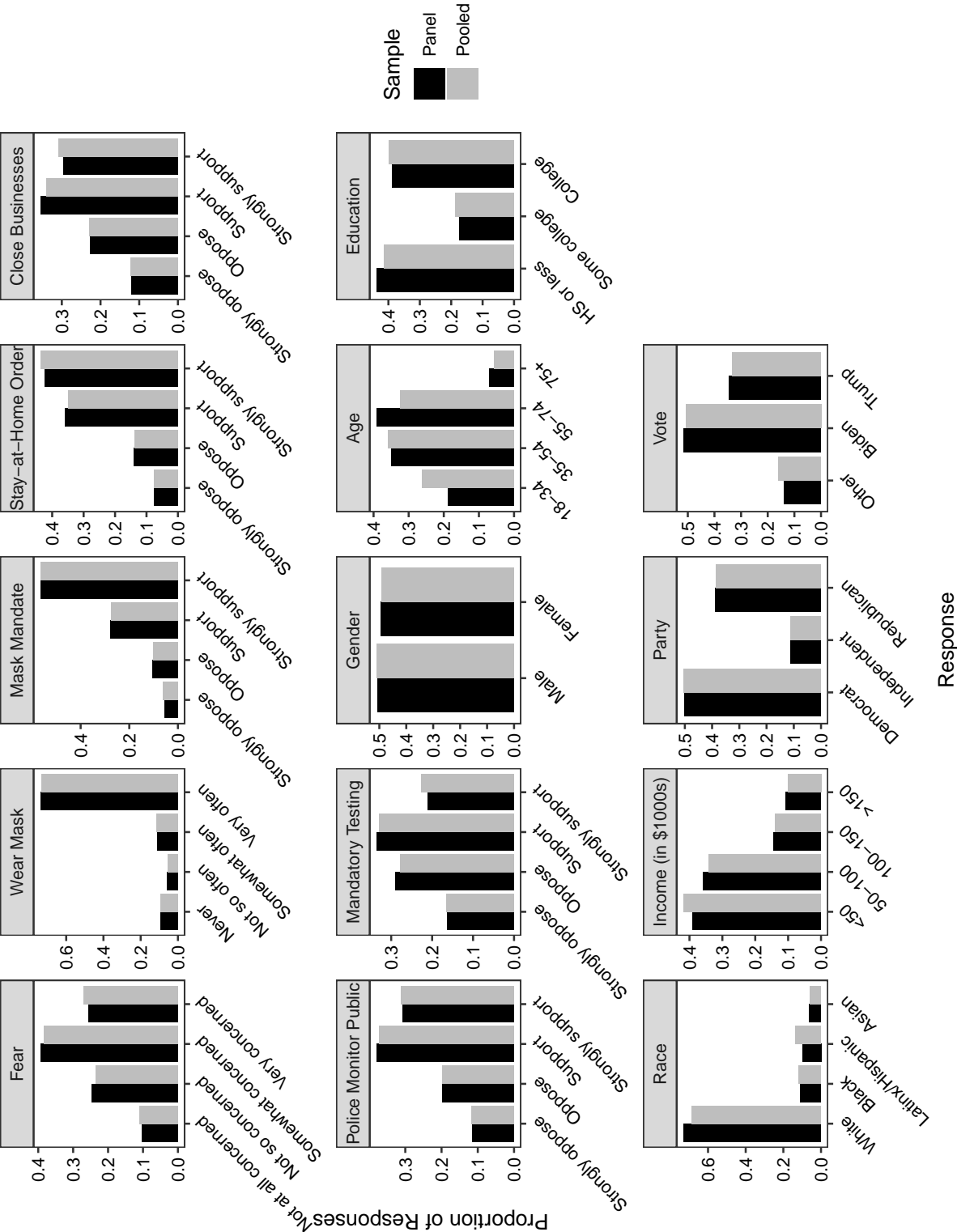


Figure S1: Response Distributions of Pooled Cross-Sections and Panel Sample

Note: Figure displays the proportion of respondents in panel and pooled samples who give each response option to each survey item.

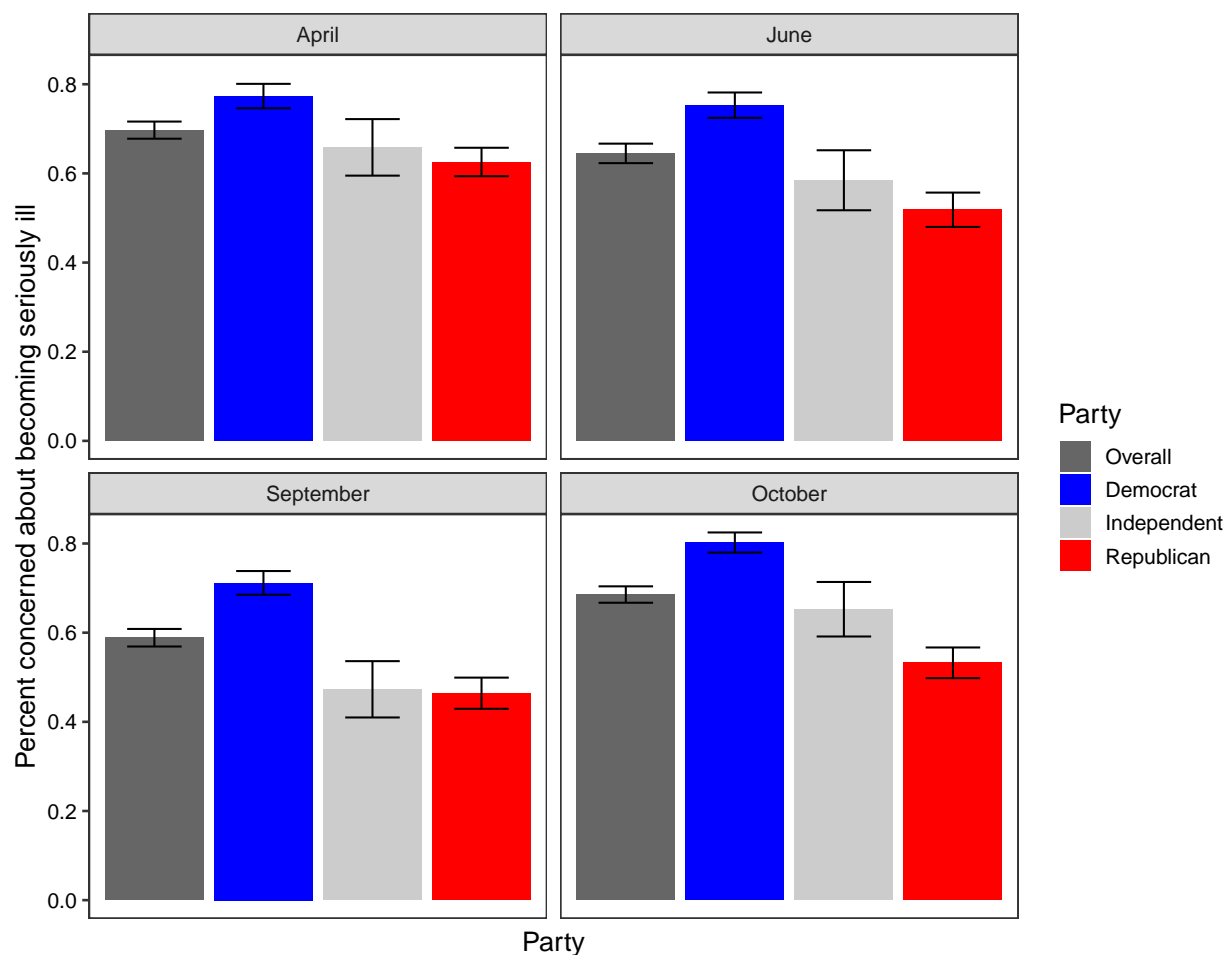


Figure S2: Proportion of Respondents Concerned about Becoming Seriously Ill by Party and Wave

Note: Figure displays the proportion of respondents in each wave who report being concerned about becoming seriously ill, with results broken down by party.

D Fixed Effects Model Results

D.1 Continuous Dependent Variables

This section presents full model results from panel models treating the dependent variables as continuous. Tables S1 - S5 present results of two-way fixed effects models with the “within” estimator. Note that all real-valued variables, including dependent variables, are scaled to be $\sim N(0, 1)$. Because coefficients cannot be estimated for time-invariant variables such as party ID, we estimate separate models on each subpopulation.

Table S1: Support Mask Mandate: Two-Way Fixed Effects with Within Estimator

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
	Support Mask Mandate		
	Democrats (1)	Independents (2)	Republicans (3)
Fear	0.071** (0.024)	0.152* (0.060)	0.137** (0.033)
Contact	0.006 (0.036)	0.152 (0.097)	0.086 (0.058)
Cases per capita	0.030 (0.020)	0.010 (0.040)	0.043 (0.031)
Deaths per capita	-0.013 (0.018)	0.031 (0.040)	-0.051 [†] (0.027)
Observations	3,592	792	2,732
F Statistic	2.833* (df = 4; 1548)	2.548* (df = 4; 322)	5.880** (df = 4; 1223)

Note: [†]p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01, standard errors in parentheses. Table entries give results of fixed effects models testing the effect of fear on support for Covid-19 mitigation measures within each party.

Table S2: Support Stay-at-Home Order: Two-Way Fixed Effects with Within Estimator

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
	Support Stay-at-Home Order		
	Democrats (1)	Independents (2)	Republicans (3)
Fear	0.089** (0.026)	0.128* (0.058)	0.122** (0.031)
Contact	-0.024 (0.040)	-0.207* (0.095)	0.040 (0.054)
Cases per capita	0.025 (0.022)	0.071 [†] (0.039)	0.011 (0.029)
Deaths per capita	-0.021 (0.020)	-0.015 (0.039)	-0.014 (0.026)
Observations	3,592	792	2,732
F Statistic	3.220* (df = 4; 1548)	3.420** (df = 4; 322)	4.139** (df = 4; 1223)

Note: [†]p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01, standard errors in parentheses. Table entries give results of fixed effects models testing the effect of fear on support for Covid-19 mitigation measures within each party.

Table S3: Support Closing Businesses: Two-Way Fixed Effects with Within Estimator

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
	Support Closing Businesses		
	Democrats (1)	Independents (2)	Republicans (3)
Fear	0.093** (0.026)	0.169** (0.061)	0.128** (0.029)
Contact	-0.047 (0.040)	-0.148 (0.099)	0.037 (0.051)
Cases per capita	0.038 [†] (0.022)	0.054 (0.041)	0.016 (0.028)
Deaths per capita	-0.022 (0.020)	0.001 (0.040)	-0.018 (0.024)
Observations	3,592	792	2,732
F Statistic	4.018** (df = 4; 1548)	3.188* (df = 4; 322)	5.192** (df = 4; 1223)

Note: [†]p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01, standard errors in parentheses. Table entries give results of fixed effects models testing the effect of fear on support for Covid-19 mitigation measures within each party.

Table S4: Support Monitoring Public Spaces: Two-Way Fixed Effects with Within Estimator

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
	Support Monitoring Public Spaces		
	Democrats (1)	Independents (2)	Republicans (3)
Fear	0.026 (0.029)	0.077 (0.063)	0.125** (0.031)
Contact	-0.111* (0.044)	-0.097 (0.101)	0.085 (0.054)
Cases per capita	-0.018 (0.024)	-0.073 [†] (0.042)	0.039 (0.029)
Deaths per capita	-0.012 (0.022)	0.111** (0.041)	-0.047 [†] (0.026)
Observations	3,592	792	2,732
F Statistic	2.196 [†] (df = 4; 1548)	2.417* (df = 4; 322)	5.749** (df = 4; 1223)

Note: [†]p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01, standard errors in parentheses. Table entries give results of fixed effects models testing the effect of fear on support for Covid-19 mitigation measures within each party.

Table S5: Support Mandatory Testing: Two-Way Fixed Effects with Within Estimator

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
	Support Mandatory Testing		
	Democrats	Independents	Republicans
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Fear	0.054 [†] (0.031)	0.137* (0.066)	0.082** (0.030)
Contact	0.012 (0.047)	0.040 (0.106)	0.010 (0.053)
Cases per capita	0.061* (0.026)	-0.087 [†] (0.044)	-0.019 (0.029)
Deaths per capita	-0.038 [†] (0.023)	0.067 (0.043)	-0.025 (0.025)
Observations	3,592	792	2,732
F Statistic	2.172 [†] (df = 4; 1548)	2.057 [†] (df = 4; 322)	2.739* (df = 4; 1223)

Note: [†]p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01, standard errors in parentheses. Table entries give results of fixed effects models testing the effect of fear on support for Covid-19 mitigation measures within each party.

D.2 Binary Dependent Variables

Tables S6 - S10 present the results of models estimated using conditional logits with robust standard errors clustered by respondent, where the dependent variable has been coerced to binary (Chamberlain 1980). We code the dependent variables as 0 if the respondent answers “strongly oppose” or “oppose” and 1 if the respondent answers “support” or “strongly support.” Note that all real-valued explanatory variables are scaled to be $\sim N(0, 1)$.

Table S6: Support Mask Mandate: Conditional Logit

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
	Support Mask Mandate		
	Democrats	Independents	Republicans
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Fear	0.150** (0.020)	0.384** (0.040)	0.485** (0.022)
Contact	-0.048* (0.035)	0.024 (0.081)	0.086* (0.046)
Cases per capita	-0.007 (0.023)	-0.021 (0.040)	0.021 (0.028)
Deaths per capita	0.008 (0.020)	0.035 [†] (0.041)	-0.013 (0.023)
Observations	3,592	792	2,732
Wald Test (df = 4)	63.390**	89.130**	501.970**
LR Test (df = 4)	61.391**	102.562**	521.220**
Score (Logrank) Test (df = 4)	60.140**	101.022**	522.217**

Note: [†]p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01, standard errors in parentheses. Table entries give results of fixed effects models testing the effect of fear on support for Covid-19 mitigation measures within each party.

Table S7: Support Stay-at-Home Order: Conditional Logit

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
	Support Stay-at-Home Order		
	Democrats	Independents	Republicans
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Fear	0.163** (0.020)	0.371** (0.042)	0.492** (0.024)
Contact	0.092** (0.036)	0.200** (0.085)	0.346** (0.050)
Cases per capita	-0.030 [†] (0.024)	0.0002 (0.041)	-0.194** (0.035)
Deaths per capita	0.028* (0.020)	0.020 (0.040)	0.094** (0.024)
Observations	3,592	792	2,732
Wald Test (df = 4)	82.090**	94.940**	541.070**
LR Test (df = 4)	84.253**	96.118**	598.363**
Score (Logrank) Test (df = 4)	82.488**	94.457**	593.162**

Note: [†]p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01, standard errors in parentheses. Table entries give results of fixed effects models testing the effect of fear on support for Covid-19 mitigation measures within each party.

Table S8: Support Closing Businesses: Conditional Logit

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
	Support Closing Businesses		
	Democrats (1)	Independents (2)	Republicans (3)
Fear	0.183** (0.022)	0.429** (0.049)	0.558** (0.029)
Contact	0.117** (0.038)	0.295** (0.095)	0.472** (0.058)
Cases per capita	-0.113** (0.027)	-0.010 (0.045)	-0.275** (0.043)
Deaths per capita	0.110** (0.019)	0.030 (0.042)	0.133** (0.026)
Observations	3,592	792	2,732
Wald Test (df = 4)	148.220**	100.140**	510.290**
LR Test (df = 4)	124.240**	105.209**	608.538**
Score (Logrank) Test (df = 4)	125.241**	102.833**	594.908**

Note: †p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01, standard errors in parentheses. Table entries give results of fixed effects models testing the effect of fear on support for Covid-19 mitigation measures within each party.

Table S9: Support Monitoring Public Spaces: Conditional Logit

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
	Support Monitoring Public Spaces		
	Democrats (1)	Independents (2)	Republicans (3)
Fear	0.199** (0.022)	0.438** (0.046)	0.556** (0.027)
Contact	0.036 (0.038)	0.238** (0.090)	0.264** (0.054)
Cases per capita	-0.099** (0.027)	-0.074† (0.046)	-0.195** (0.038)
Deaths per capita	0.094** (0.020)	0.109** (0.040)	0.116** (0.025)
Observations	3,592	792	2,732
Wald Test (df = 4)	126.170**	133.210**	518.020**
LR Test (df = 4)	114.877**	122.670**	586.026**
Score (Logrank) Test (df = 4)	113.484**	122.091**	579.057**

Note: †p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01, standard errors in parentheses. Table entries give results of fixed effects models testing the effect of fear on support for Covid-19 mitigation measures within each party.

Table S10: Support Mandatory Testing: Conditional Logit

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
	Support Mandatory Testing		
	Democrats	Independents	Republicans
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Fear	0.251** (0.025)	0.388** (0.051)	0.550** (0.031)
Contact	0.082* (0.042)	0.279** (0.100)	0.286** (0.061)
Cases per capita	−0.060* (0.029)	−0.050 (0.049)	−0.189** (0.044)
Deaths per capita	0.070** (0.022)	0.092** (0.044)	0.099** (0.029)
Observations	3,592	792	2,732
Wald Test (df = 4)	113.790**	83.200**	388.030**
LR Test (df = 4)	129.360**	83.828**	439.814**
Score (Logrank) Test (df = 4)	126.058**	83.175**	428.092**

Note: †p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01, standard errors in parentheses. Table entries give results of fixed effects models testing the effect of fear on support for Covid-19 mitigation measures within each party.

D.3 Ordinal Dependent Variables

This section presents the results of models where the dependent variable is treated as an ordered discrete variable and fixed effects ordered logits are estimated using the “blow-up-and-cluster” estimator (Baetschmann, Staub, and Winkelmann 2015; Muris 2017; Riedl and Geishecker 2014). This estimation strategy “blows up” the sample by duplicating each observation $K - 1$ times, where K is the number of response categories. The categorical dependent variable is then converted to a binary indicator, the value of which takes a 1 if the respondent chose the response option corresponding with that row and a 0 otherwise. A consistent estimator can then be derived by fitting a conditional logit to this expanded data set and estimating cluster-robust standard errors at the level of the respondent, since observations are now dependent by design. All variables are coded such that “strongly supporting” policies are coded as the highest category. Note that all real-valued explanatory variables are scaled to be $\sim N(0, 1)$.

Table S11: Support Mask Mandate: Conditional Logit with Blow-Up-and-Cluster Estimator

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
	Support Mask Mandate		
	Democrats (1)	Independents (2)	Republicans (3)
Fear	0.161** (0.012)	0.351** (0.024)	0.419** (0.013)
Contact	-0.071** (0.021)	-0.012 (0.049)	0.073** (0.028)
Cases per capita	0.020 [†] (0.013)	-0.014 (0.024)	0.018 (0.017)
Deaths per capita	-0.018 [†] (0.012)	-0.007 (0.026)	-0.013 (0.014)
Observations	10,776	2,376	8,196
Wald Test (df = 4)	195.710**	181.430**	851.560**
LR Test (df = 4)	199.287**	223.293**	1,079.168**
Score (Logrank) Test (df = 4)	195.319**	218.612**	1,073.783**

Note: [†]p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01, standard errors in parentheses. Table entries give results of fixed effects models testing the effect of fear on support for Covid-19 mitigation measures within each party.

Table S12: Support Stay-at-Home Order: Conditional Logit with Blow-Up-and-Cluster Estimator

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
	Support Stay-at-Home Order		
	Democrats (1)	Independents (2)	Republicans (3)
Fear	0.168** (0.013)	0.335** (0.025)	0.412** (0.014)
Contact	0.114** (0.022)	0.163** (0.051)	0.300** (0.030)
Cases per capita	-0.043** (0.015)	-0.015 (0.025)	-0.115** (0.020)
Deaths per capita	0.050** (0.012)	-0.004 (0.026)	0.074** (0.014)
Observations	10,776	2,376	8,196
Wald Test (df = 4)	243.430**	173.790**	985.890**
LR Test (df = 4)	256.656**	210.679**	1,181.105**
Score (Logrank) Test (df = 4)	252.783**	206.772**	1,172.495**

Note: [†]p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01, standard errors in parentheses. Table entries give results of fixed effects models testing the effect of fear on support for Covid-19 mitigation measures within each party.

Table S13: Support Closing Businesses: Conditional Logit with Blow-Up-and-Cluster Estimator

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
	Support Closing Businesses		
	Democrats (1)	Independents (2)	Republicans (3)
Fear	0.180** (0.013)	0.355** (0.028)	0.465** (0.016)
Contact	0.113** (0.023)	0.199** (0.056)	0.344** (0.033)
Cases per capita	-0.062** (0.016)	-0.006 (0.026)	-0.155** (0.023)
Deaths per capita	0.070** (0.012)	0.030 (0.026)	0.082** (0.015)
Observations	10,776	2,376	8,196
Wald Test (df = 4)	225.280**	172.660**	936.170**
LR Test (df = 4)	265.108**	204.044**	1,196.679**
Score (Logrank) Test (df = 4)	262.928**	199.599**	1,175.926**

Note: [†]p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01, standard errors in parentheses. Table entries give results of fixed effects models testing the effect of fear on support for Covid-19 mitigation measures within each party.

Table S14: Support Monitoring Public Spaces: Conditional Logit with Blow-Up-and-Cluster Estimator

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
	Support Monitoring Public Spaces		
	Democrats (1)	Independents (2)	Republicans (3)
Fear	0.170** (0.013)	0.340** (0.027)	0.441** (0.015)
Contact	0.050* (0.023)	0.169** (0.054)	0.217** (0.031)
Cases per capita	-0.065** (0.016)	-0.029 (0.026)	-0.130** (0.021)
Deaths per capita	0.067** (0.012)	0.066** (0.025)	0.089** (0.015)
Observations	10,776	2,376	8,196
Wald Test (df = 4)	180.280**	167.180**	886.520**
LR Test (df = 4)	208.428**	201.194**	1,090.051**
Score (Logrank) Test (df = 4)	205.621**	198.384**	1,079.071**

Note: [†]p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01, standard errors in parentheses. Table entries give results of fixed effects models testing the effect of fear on support for Covid-19 mitigation measures within each party.

Table S15: Support Mandatory Testing: Conditional Logit with Blow-Up-and-Cluster Estimator

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
	Support Mandatory Testing		
	Democrats	Independents	Republicans
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Fear	0.206** (0.015)	0.307** (0.029)	0.423** (0.017)
Contact	0.084** (0.025)	0.212** (0.059)	0.238** (0.035)
Cases per capita	-0.031 [†] (0.017)	-0.024 (0.028)	-0.112** (0.024)
Deaths per capita	0.042** (0.013)	0.069** (0.026)	0.063** (0.017)
Observations	10,776	2,376	8,196
Wald Test (df = 4)	183.650**	130.800**	652.240**
LR Test (df = 4)	243.367**	153.304**	820.787**
Score (Logrank) Test (df = 4)	237.265**	152.074**	804.828**

Note: [†]p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01, standard errors in parentheses. Table entries give results of fixed effects models testing the effect of fear on support for Covid-19 mitigation measures within each party.

E Anger Robustness Check

Table S16 reports the results of two-way random effects models analogous to that presented in Table 3 in the main text. Explanatory variable reference categories take the following values:

- Party: Democrat
- Age: 18-34
- Education: College Degree

These models also include a measure of pandemic-related anger to test the possibility that the results presented in Table 3 in the main text are driven by anger instead of fear. Note that all non-categorical variables, including dependent variables, are scaled to be $\sim N(0, 1)$.

Table S16: Two-Way Random Effects Model Results

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>				
	Mask	Stay-at-Home	Close	Monitor	Mandatory
	Mandate	Order	Businesses	Public Spaces	Testing
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Fear	0.151** (0.017)	0.180** (0.017)	0.182** (0.017)	0.159** (0.018)	0.186** (0.018)
Anger	0.044** (0.015)	0.057** (0.015)	0.058** (0.015)	0.047** (0.015)	0.054** (0.016)
Independent	-0.335** (0.040)	-0.312** (0.039)	-0.349** (0.040)	-0.225** (0.042)	-0.205** (0.044)
Republican	-0.537** (0.027)	-0.553** (0.026)	-0.551** (0.027)	-0.404** (0.028)	-0.404** (0.029)
Contact	0.086** (0.023)	0.033 (0.023)	-0.028 (0.023)	-0.006 (0.024)	0.034 (0.025)
Cases per capita	0.005 (0.012)	0.008 (0.012)	0.021 [†] (0.012)	-0.020 (0.013)	-0.009 (0.013)
Deaths per capita	0.002 (0.011)	-0.004 (0.011)	-0.014 (0.011)	0.020 [†] (0.011)	0.004 (0.012)
Female	0.087** (0.025)	0.138** (0.025)	0.085** (0.025)	0.124** (0.026)	-0.016 (0.027)
Age: 35-54	-0.002 (0.031)	-0.027 (0.030)	0.011 (0.031)	0.066* (0.032)	-0.065 [†] (0.034)
Age: 55-74	0.199** (0.032)	0.072* (0.031)	0.110** (0.032)	0.142** (0.033)	0.024 (0.035)
Age: 75+	0.345** (0.054)	0.153** (0.054)	0.120* (0.054)	0.235** (0.057)	0.151* (0.059)
HS or less	-0.111** (0.028)	-0.070* (0.027)	-0.072** (0.028)	-0.045 (0.029)	-0.071* (0.030)
Some college	-0.125** (0.032)	-0.082* (0.032)	-0.077* (0.032)	-0.106** (0.034)	-0.109** (0.035)
Fear*Independent	0.246** (0.034)	0.166** (0.034)	0.158** (0.034)	0.178** (0.036)	0.100** (0.037)
Fear*Republican	0.341** (0.023)	0.265** (0.023)	0.227** (0.023)	0.255** (0.024)	0.146** (0.025)
Anger*Independent	-0.035 (0.034)	-0.029 (0.033)	-0.075* (0.033)	-0.067 [†] (0.035)	-0.055 (0.037)
Anger*Republican	-0.086** (0.021)	-0.106** (0.021)	-0.107** (0.021)	-0.075** (0.022)	-0.067** (0.023)
Constant	0.084 [†] (0.043)	0.628** (0.043)	0.760** (0.043)	0.428** (0.046)	0.501** (0.047)
Observations	7,094	7,094	7,094	7,094	7,094
F Statistic	2,268.037**	3,027.288**	3,204.490**	1,953.875**	1,389.230**

Note: [†]p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01, standard errors in parentheses. Democrat is baseline category for party, 18-34 is baseline category for age, college degree is baseline category for education. All non-categorical variables, including all dependent variables and the key explanatory variable, fear, are scaled to be distributed standard normal. Table entries give the results of random effects models testing the effect of anger on support for Covid-19 mitigation measures.

F Knowledge and Information-Seeking Model Results

Tables S17 and S18 present full model results corresponding to Table 4 in the main text. Model 1 is an ordered logit with wave 1 data only. Model 2 is a random effects models with data from waves 1 and 2.

Table S17: Anxiety Influences Information-Seeking and Knowledge Accuracy (1 of 2)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
	Knowledge Accuracy	Checked Different News Source
	(1)	(2)
Fear	0.389** (0.102)	0.147** (0.028)
Independent	-0.434* (0.191)	0.074 (0.063)
Republican	-0.412** (0.150)	0.076 (0.048)
ABC	0.222 (0.145)	0.017 (0.040)
NBC	0.159 (0.155)	-0.064 (0.042)
Breitbart	-0.017 (0.316)	0.438** (0.102)
CNN	0.463** (0.148)	0.081* (0.040)
Fox	-0.104 (0.126)	0.128** (0.040)
CBS	0.042 (0.157)	0.002 (0.043)
PBS	0.272 (0.201)	-0.015 (0.050)
MSNBC	-0.131 (0.194)	0.016 (0.052)
New York Times	0.169 (0.183)	0.139** (0.050)
Wall Street Journal	-0.240 (0.189)	0.140** (0.054)
NPR	0.161 (0.184)	0.089 [†] (0.051)
Trump briefings	-0.163 (0.133)	0.017 (0.049)
Asian	-0.061 (0.262)	-0.056 (0.078)
Black	-0.054 (0.251)	-0.003 (0.064)
Latinx/Hispanic	-0.509* (0.224)	0.041 (0.065)
Female	0.313* (0.128)	-0.105** (0.040)
Age: 35-54	0.227 (0.161)	-0.060 (0.052)

Table S18: Anxiety Influences Information-Seeking and Knowledge Accuracy (2 of 2)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
	Knowledge Accuracy	Checked Different News Source
	(1)	(2)
Age: 55-74	0.459** (0.178)	-0.348** (0.055)
Age: 75+	0.568* (0.274)	-0.333** (0.086)
HS or less	-0.294 [†] (0.157)	-0.215** (0.048)
Some college	-0.505** (0.165)	-0.033 (0.054)
Fear x Independent	0.018 (0.180)	-0.099 [†] (0.056)
Fear x Republican	0.264* (0.129)	-0.017 (0.038)
Intercept		0.159* (0.063)
Observations	1,933	3,381
F Statistic		374.767**

Note: [†]p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01, standard errors in parentheses. Table entries give the results of random effects and ordered logit models testing the effect of fear on respondents' likelihood of checking different news sources, respondents' approval of the CDC's and Trump's performance during the Covid-19 pandemic, and the accuracy of respondents' pandemic-related knowledge. All non-categorical variables are unit normalized.

G Vote Choice Model Results

This section presents the results of vote choice models fitted using multinomial, binomial, and ordered logits. All real-valued variables are scaled to be $\sim N(0, 1)$. Categorical variable reference categories take the following values:

- Party: Democrat
- Age: 18-34
- Education: College Degree
- Income: < 50 (in thousands of dollars)
- Race: White

G.1 Multinomial and Ordered Logits

Tables S19 and S20 present the results of multinomial and ordered logits, respectively, on vote choice. In the multinomial model, response categories "Other," "Unsure," and "Abstain" are combined into one category and Biden is the reference category. For the ordered model, the dependent variable is coded Trump \rightarrow Other \rightarrow Biden, with Biden therefore coded as the highest category and Trump as the lowest.

Table S19: Vote Choice: Multinomial Logit

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
	Other (1)	Trump (2)
Fear	-0.264 (0.169)	-0.072 (0.173)
Independent	2.678** (0.262)	2.481** (0.302)
Republican	2.086** (0.291)	3.938** (0.266)
Ideology	0.173 (0.135)	0.489** (0.121)
Racial resentment	0.350* (0.137)	0.709** (0.137)
Immigration	0.349** (0.133)	1.200** (0.126)
Economic evaluation	0.074 (0.109)	0.534** (0.102)
Female	0.384† (0.219)	0.694** (0.213)
Age: 35-54	-0.403 (0.255)	0.311 (0.262)
Age: 55-74	-1.055** (0.286)	-0.194 (0.276)
Age: 75+	-1.232* (0.488)	-0.861† (0.448)
HS or less	0.011 (0.262)	0.068 (0.253)
Some college	0.397 (0.287)	0.818** (0.295)
Income: 150+	0.181 (0.393)	-0.640† (0.386)
Income: 100-150	-0.335 (0.347)	-0.777* (0.331)
Income: 50-100	0.214 (0.245)	-0.048 (0.239)
Asian	-0.272 (0.419)	-0.784† (0.405)
Black	-0.702† (0.360)	-0.711* (0.356)
Latinx/Hispanic	-0.264 (0.274)	-0.614* (0.290)
South	0.246 (0.218)	-0.097 (0.218)
Fear*Independent	-0.154 (0.263)	-0.563† (0.292)
Fear*Republican	0.094 (0.270)	-0.366 (0.242)
Intercept	-2.282** (0.361)	-2.990** (0.374)
Akaike Inf. Crit.	1,604.133	1,604.133

Note: †p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01, standard errors in parentheses. Table entries give the results of a multinomial logit testing the effect of fear on vote choice.

Table S20: Vote Choice: Ordered Logit

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>
	Vote Choice
Fear	0.182 (0.127)
Independent	-2.224** (0.204)
Republican	-3.429** (0.203)
Ideology	-0.307** (0.093)
Racial resentment	-0.499** (0.101)
Immigration	-0.909** (0.092)
Economic evaluation	-0.398** (0.077)
Female	-0.509** (0.157)
Age: 35-54	-0.135 (0.193)
Age: 55-74	0.219 (0.203)
Age: 75+	0.779* (0.330)
HS or less	-0.104 (0.187)
Some college	-0.577** (0.214)
Income: 150+	0.435 (0.288)
Income: 100-150	0.540* (0.245)
Income: 50-100	-0.012 (0.177)
Asian	0.600† (0.307)
Black	0.712** (0.259)
Latinx/Hispanic	0.346 (0.210)
South	0.012 (0.160)
Fear*Independent	0.123 (0.196)
Fear*Republican	0.188 (0.174)
Observations	1,875

Note: †p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01, standard errors in parentheses. Table entries give the results of an ordered logit testing the effect of fear on vote choice.

G.2 Binomial Logits

Table S21 presents the results of a series of binomial logits on vote choice. The dependent variables in the binomial models take the value of 1 if the respondent indicates intent to vote for Trump. Figure 3 in the main text was produced using model 4. Analogous plots are presented in Figure S3 for models 1, 2, and 3.

Table S21: Vote Choice: Binomial Logit

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>			
	Vote for Trump			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Fear	−0.239 (0.165)	−0.215 (0.168)	−0.139 (0.173)	−0.048 (0.175)
Independent	2.741** (0.252)	2.428** (0.263)	2.333** (0.306)	2.420** (0.312)
Republican	4.886** (0.214)	4.240** (0.231)	3.822** (0.262)	3.868** (0.269)
Ideology		0.807** (0.117)	0.577** (0.130)	0.571** (0.132)
Racial resentment			0.685** (0.143)	0.659** (0.146)
Immigration			1.165** (0.132)	1.097** (0.133)
Economic evaluation				0.527** (0.109)
Female	0.240 (0.187)	0.304 (0.195)	0.579** (0.223)	0.647** (0.228)
Age: 35-54	0.590* (0.242)	0.476† (0.258)	0.218 (0.282)	0.348 (0.289)
Age: 55-74	0.056 (0.246)	−0.186 (0.264)	−0.336 (0.292)	−0.217 (0.299)
Age: 75+	−0.202 (0.390)	−0.580 (0.422)	−0.726 (0.483)	−0.712 (0.496)
HS or less	0.448* (0.228)	0.378 (0.237)	0.069 (0.269)	−0.021 (0.276)
Some college	0.677** (0.255)	0.643* (0.269)	0.831** (0.317)	0.856** (0.324)
Income: 150+	−0.309 (0.346)	−0.403 (0.360)	−0.410 (0.417)	−0.616 (0.424)
Income: 100-150	−0.480† (0.284)	−0.496† (0.297)	−0.568† (0.340)	−0.809* (0.355)
Income: 50-100	0.092 (0.212)	0.016 (0.223)	0.089 (0.254)	0.007 (0.258)
Asian	−0.520 (0.371)	−0.321 (0.370)	−0.945* (0.423)	−0.904* (0.424)
Black	−0.853** (0.294)	−0.896** (0.315)	−0.470 (0.356)	−0.736* (0.372)
Latinx/Hispanic	−0.596* (0.257)	−0.548* (0.269)	−0.540† (0.305)	−0.661* (0.313)
South	0.028 (0.190)	0.021 (0.200)	−0.015 (0.233)	−0.008 (0.238)
Fear*Independent	−0.551* (0.257)	−0.610* (0.267)	−0.573† (0.305)	−0.573† (0.312)
Fear*Republican	−0.379† (0.215)	−0.339 (0.223)	−0.331 (0.241)	−0.341 (0.245)
Intercept	−3.218** (0.332)	−2.855** (0.355)	−2.869** (0.397)	−2.886** (0.407)
Observations	1,776	1,721	1,721	1,721
Akaike Inf. Crit.	984.712	901.835	718.477	696.068

Note: †p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01, standard errors in parentheses. Table entries give the results of binomial logits testing the effect of fear on vote choice.

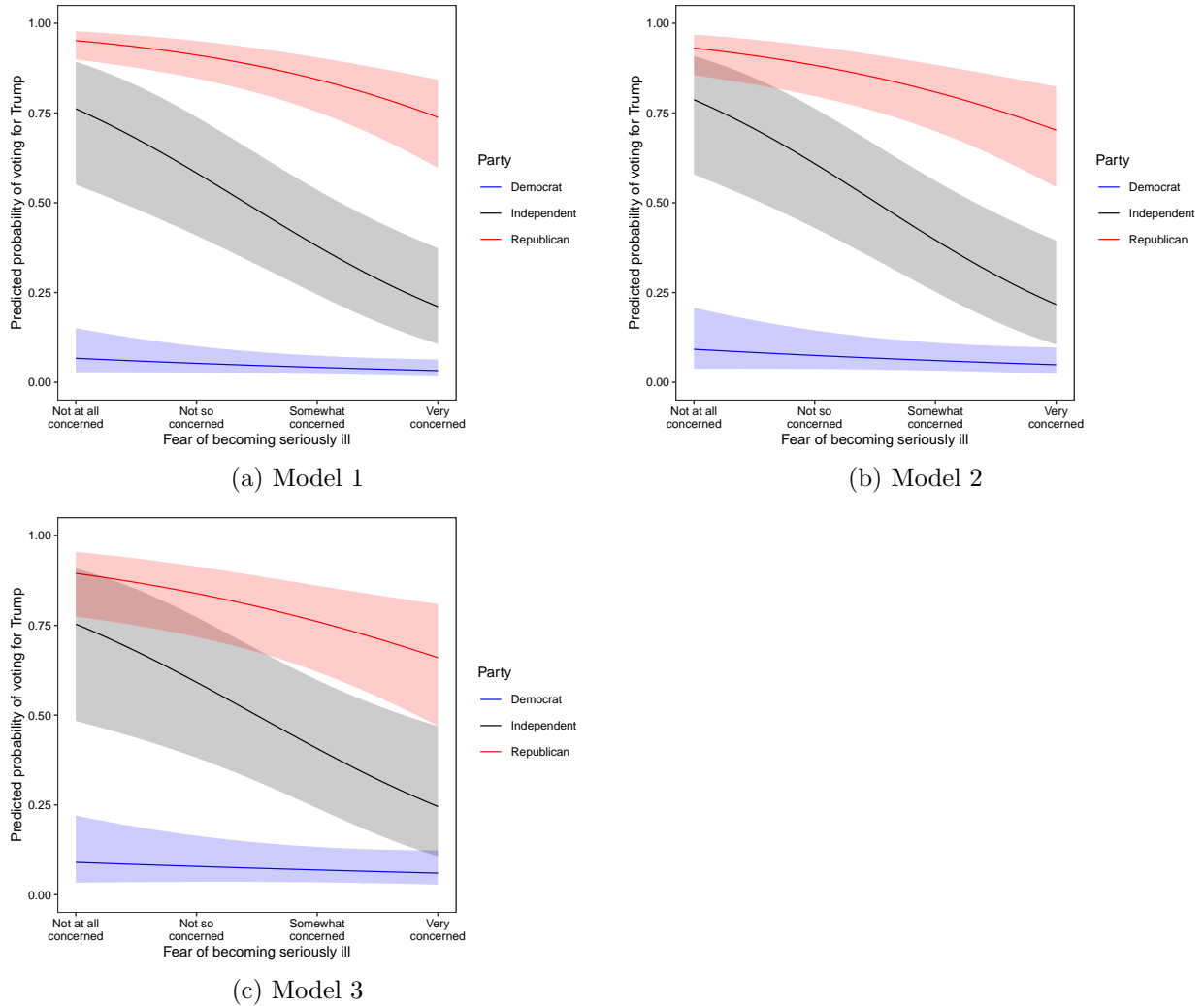


Figure S3: Predicted probabilities estimated from binomial logit model of vote choice between Trump and Biden. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. Estimates calculated using wave 4 sample targeted to meet Census benchmarks. Full model results are presented in Table S21.

G.3 Weight Placed on Predispositions by Level of Fear

Table S22 presents the results of an analysis designed to capture the degree to which Republicans rely on their predispositions in making their vote choice and, more importantly, how the degree to which they rely on predispositions changes depending on whether they were concerned about becoming seriously ill from Covid-19. The models in Table S22 include only attitudes and attributes that could plausibly be considered predispositions, and they are estimated among only Republicans in wave 4, with the first column showing results among those who were fearful and the second column showing results among those who were not fearful. Results suggest that fearful Republicans were significantly less likely to rely on their predispositions when making their decision in the voting booth; the R-squared value for these respondents is 0.266, compared to 0.481 for Republicans who were not fearful—indicating a substantial decrease in the explanatory value of predispositions.

Table S22: Effect of Predispositions on Vote Choice

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
	Vote for Trump	
	Fearful	Not Fearful
	(1)	(2)
Intercept	3.207*	7.297*
	(1.425)	(3.163)
Strength of party ID	0.432 [†]	0.789
	(0.230)	(0.627)
Racial resentment	1.110**	1.416**
	(0.246)	(0.529)
Immigration	0.463	1.272
	(0.377)	(1.018)
Female	0.137	0.824
	(0.521)	(1.030)
Age: 35-54	0.068	0.482
	(0.515)	(1.082)
Age: 55-74	-1.061	15.870
	(0.698)	(4,182.420)
Age: 75+	0.396	-0.095
	(0.444)	(0.883)
HS or less	0.851	17.539
	(0.569)	(1,764.961)
Some college	-0.979	0.443
	(0.602)	(1.261)
Income: 150+	-0.774	-0.501
	(0.526)	(1.172)
Income: 100-150	0.123	0.702
	(0.454)	(0.907)
Income: 50-100	-0.694	-3.427 [†]
	(0.618)	(2.009)
Asian	0.181	-2.491
	(0.789)	(1.591)
Black	-0.541	-1.109
	(0.488)	(1.478)
Latinx/Hispanic	-0.160	-0.455
	(0.374)	(0.778)
South	-1.899	-4.537 [†]
	(1.423)	(2.570)
R-sq.	0.266	0.481
Observations	347	315
Log Likelihood	-117.330	-29.719
Akaike Inf. Crit.	268.660	93.438

Note: [†]p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01, standard errors in parentheses. Table entries give the results of binomial logits examining the explanatory value of predispositions in respondents who were fearful and not fearful.

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