How Affective Polarization Undermines Support for Democratic Norms

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Supplemental Appendix for: "How Affective Polarization Undermines Support for Democratic Norms"

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Table of Contents:

Supplementary Information 1: Survey Details

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

The survey took place over two waves.[1] In the first wave (N=5,191), fielded from July 9, 2019 to July 17, 2019, we asked participants about their demographics and political positions. The second wave (N=4,076), fielded from July 16, 2019 to July 25, 2019, contained our measures of out-group affect and support for democratic norms. Out of the 4,076 respondents who finished the second wave, 3,853 answered all the items measuring democratic norms. Because this is the central dependent variable in this study, we compare this sample of 3,853 against Census benchmarks below. It shows a good match – the sample underrepresents older individuals, Hispanics, and those with less than some college. We have no reason to expect these sample differences affect the nature of the key relationships that we find.

Demographics

Age

Age Category	Our Sample (%)	Census Benchmark
18-24	9.42	12.08
25-34	19.88	17.87
35-50	35.19	24.54
51-65	24.60	24.88
Over 65	10.85	20.65

Gender Identity

Gender Identity	Our Sample (%)	Census Benchmark
Female	48.12	50.8
Male	50.90	49.2
Transgender/None	< 1	-- [1]

Primary Racial Group

Primary Race	Our Sample (%)	Census Benchmark
Caucasian (White)	69.22	72.2
African-American	14.56	12.7
Hispanic or Latino	9.60	18.3
Asian-American	4.18	5.6
Native American	< 1	< 1

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[1] There was a third wave that is irrelevant to our study.

Other	1.58	5

Annual Family Income before Taxes

Income Category	Our Sample (%)	Census Benchmark (%)[2]
$30,000 or less	27.39	29.4
$30,000 - $69,999	37.66	30.3
$70,000 - $99,999	17.05	12.5
$100,000 - $200,000	15.54	20.9
Above $200,000	2.36	6.9

Education Level

Educational Attainment	Our Sample (%)	Census Benchmark (%)
Did not complete high school	2.08	12
High school graduate	21.13	27.1
Associates Degree/Some College	52.69	28.9
Bachelor's Degree	9.16	19.7
Advanced Degree	14.95	12.3

[1] The U.S. Census Bureau does not currently ask about transgender identity, so there is no government-provided benchmark for that quantity. Flores et al. (2016) estimate that less than 1 percent of Americans identify as transgender, consistent with our estimates here; see http://bit.ly/2Nj5DZE for more details.

[2] The Census categories for income are slightly different than the ones we use. They record income as: $34,999 or below, $35,00 - $74,999, $75,000 - $99,999, $100,000 - $199,999, and $200,0000 or greater.

Experimental Conditions

In this survey, we randomized the type of partisans people were asked to evaluate on the affective polarization items (for purposes unrelated to this paper).[2] Because this could influence the relationship between affective polarization and support for norms, we created a fixed effect for 12 experimental conditions and ran the same regression model as in the main text of the paper (with these conditions added as fixed effects). As can be seen below, the results are almost identical to those presented in the main text of the paper.

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[2] Specifically, the questions varied whether they mentioned the ideology (i.e., liberal or conservative or none mentioned), and political engagement (i.e., rarely, occasionally, or frequently talk about politics or no mention) of the partisans they rated. The basic condition asked them to rate "Republicans" or "Democrats" while an example of another condition is one that asked them to rate "Moderate Republicans who rarely talk about politics," etc. While these variations affected the absolute levels of affective polarization, they had no effect on the relationships documented in the paper and, to be clear, the core polarization questions are the same as those used in prior work. Moreover, the results are robust if we only use the condition that employs the standard question about "Republicans" and "Democrats."

	Get Things Done	Checks & Balances	Exec. Power	Respect for Institutions	Misinformed Vote	Opponents Get Voice	Political Equality	Prevent Protest
Republican	0.140	0.029	0.592	0.255	-0.033	0.161	0.508	0.366
	(0.194)	(0.142)	(0.190)	(0.147)	(0.194)	(0.158)	(0.201)	(0.201)
	p = 0.471	p = 0.836	p = 0.002	p = 0.084	p = 0.867	p = 0.309	p = 0.012	p = 0.070
Affective Polarization	0.400	0.554	0.610	0.538	0.187	-0.110	0.416	0.618
	(0.211)	(0.154)	(0.207)	(0.160)	(0.211)	(0.172)	(0.218)	(0.219)
	p = 0.058	p = 0.000	p = 0.004	p = 0.001	p = 0.376	p = 0.522	p = 0.057	p = 0.005
Republican *	-0.861	-0.160	-1.741	-0.899	-0.463	-0.235	-1.108	-0.798
Affective Polarization	(0.364)	(0.267)	(0.357)	(0.277)	(0.365)	(0.297)	(0.377)	(0.379)
	p = 0.019	p = 0.549	p = 0.000	p = 0.002	p = 0.206	p = 0.430	p = 0.004	p = 0.036
Political Knowledge	0.102	0.184	0.086	0.093	0.082	0.127	0.176	0.217
	(0.017)	(0.013)	(0.017)	(0.013)	(0.017)	(0.014)	(0.018)	(0.018)
	p = 0.000	p = 0.000	p = 0.000	p = 0.000	p = 0.000	p = 0.000	p = 0.000	p = 0.000
Conservatism	-0.440	-0.638	-0.562	-1.129	-0.260	-0.359	-1.009	-0.858
	(0.141)	(0.103)	(0.138)	(0.107)	(0.141)	(0.115)	(0.146)	(0.147)
	p = 0.002	p = 0.000	p = 0.000	p = 0.000	p = 0.067	p = 0.002	p = 0.000	p = 0.000
Education	0.051	0.018	0.004	0.021	0.047	0.002	-0.013	0.004
	(0.017)	(0.013)	(0.017)	(0.013)	(0.017)	(0.014)	(0.018)	(0.018)
	p = 0.004	p = 0.148	p = 0.833	p = 0.107	p = 0.008	p = 0.895	p = 0.466	p = 0.813
Non-Hispanic White	0.191	0.122	0.156	0.039	0.131	0.198	0.173	0.059
	(0.053)	(0.039)	(0.052)	(0.040)	(0.053)	(0.043)	(0.055)	(0.055)
	p = 0.000	p = 0.002	p = 0.003	p = 0.331	p = 0.015	p = 0.000	p = 0.002	p = 0.286
Female	0.044	-0.008	0.017	-0.005	-0.088	0.003	0.101	0.051
	(0.047)	(0.035)	(0.046)	(0.036)	(0.047)	(0.038)	(0.049)	(0.049)
	p = 0.353	p = 0.825	p = 0.709	p = 0.889	p = 0.065	p = 0.928	p = 0.040	p = 0.301
Religion: Protestant	0.119	0.165	-0.221	0.113	0.146	0.091	0.032	0.092
	(0.070)	(0.052)	(0.069)	(0.053)	(0.071)	(0.057)	(0.073)	(0.073)
	p = 0.091	p = 0.002	p = 0.002	p = 0.035	p = 0.040	p = 0.111	p = 0.659	p = 0.211
Religion: Catholic	-0.097	0.062	-0.142	-0.007	-0.027	-0.013	-0.181	-0.021
	(0.071)	(0.052)	(0.069)	(0.054)	(0.071)	(0.058)	(0.073)	(0.074)
	p = 0.173	p = 0.234	p = 0.042	p = 0.903	p = 0.702	p = 0.818	p = 0.014	p = 0.779
Religion: Jewish	-0.033	0.097	-0.079	-0.096	0.092	-0.136	-0.425	-0.219
	(0.136)	(0.099)	(0.133)	(0.103)	(0.136)	(0.110)	(0.140)	(0.141)
	p = 0.810	p = 0.331	p = 0.553	p = 0.351	p = 0.497	p = 0.218	p = 0.003	p = 0.121
Religion: None	0.161	0.136	0.154	-0.108	-0.151	-0.035	-0.004	0.250
	(0.068)	(0.050)	(0.066)	(0.051)	(0.068)	(0.055)	(0.070)	(0.070)
	p = 0.018	p = 0.007	p = 0.021	p = 0.036	p = 0.026	p = 0.531	p = 0.961	p = 0.000
Condition 2	0.173	-0.079	0.064	-0.048	-0.120	-0.017	-0.045	0.022
	(0.102)	(0.075)	(0.100)	(0.078)	(0.103)	(0.083)	(0.106)	(0.106)
	p = 0.091	p = 0.295	p = 0.527	p = 0.541	p = 0.243	p = 0.834	p = 0.672	p = 0.840
Condition 3	0.177	0.067	0.024	-0.074	-0.027	0.018	-0.059	0.009
	(0.101)	(0.074)	(0.099)	(0.077)	(0.102)	(0.083)	(0.105)	(0.105)
	p = 0.081	p = 0.367	p = 0.813	p = 0.339	p = 0.792	p = 0.831	p = 0.578	p = 0.934

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Condition 4	0.111	-0.059	0.190	-0.0003	0.015	-0.021	0.064	0.036
	(0.099)	(0.072)	(0.097)	(0.075)	(0.099)	(0.080)	(0.102)	(0.103)
	p = 0.260	p = 0.416	p = 0.051	p = 0.997	p = 0.883	p = 0.793	p = 0.530	p = 0.729
Condition 5	0.086	0.049	0.096	0.062	-0.112	0.004	0.025	-0.075
	(0.102)	(0.075)	(0.100)	(0.077)	(0.102)	(0.083)	(0.105)	(0.106)
	p = 0.397	p = 0.514	p = 0.336	p = 0.423	p = 0.273	p = 0.964	p = 0.814	p = 0.481
Condition 6	0.076	0.178	-0.136	0.134	-0.152	0.039	-0.092	-0.144
	(0.103)	(0.075)	(0.101)	(0.078)	(0.103)	(0.084)	(0.106)	(0.107)
	p = 0.458	p = 0.019	p = 0.179	p = 0.086	p = 0.141	p = 0.645	p = 0.386	p = 0.177
Condition 7	0.177	0.047	0.195	0.001	-0.094	0.063	0.052	0.291
	(0.103)	(0.075)	(0.101)	(0.078)	(0.103)	(0.084)	(0.106)	(0.107)
	p = 0.085	p = 0.532	p = 0.054	p = 0.990	p = 0.363	p = 0.448	p = 0.622	p = 0.007
Condition 8	0.139	-0.067	0.172	-0.064	-0.093	0.001	0.118	0.196
	(0.099)	(0.073)	(0.097)	(0.075)	(0.099)	(0.081)	(0.103)	(0.103)
	p = 0.162	p = 0.360	p = 0.078	p = 0.396	p = 0.351	p = 0.991	p = 0.249	p = 0.058
Condition 9	0.043	-0.043	0.106	-0.023	-0.056	0.099	-0.088	-0.043
	(0.100)	(0.074)	(0.098)	(0.076)	(0.101)	(0.082)	(0.104)	(0.104)
	p = 0.667	p = 0.556	p = 0.284	p = 0.761	p = 0.578	p = 0.226	p = 0.399	p = 0.680
Condition 10	0.066	0.041	0.127	0.075	-0.089	0.055	0.040	0.124
	(0.100)	(0.073)	(0.098)	(0.076)	(0.100)	(0.081)	(0.103)	(0.104)
	p = 0.511	p = 0.579	p = 0.196	p = 0.323	p = 0.374	p = 0.498	p = 0.700	p = 0.234
Condition 11	0.098	-0.023	0.076	-0.010	-0.062	0.181	0.142	-0.082
	(0.100)	(0.073)	(0.098)	(0.076)	(0.100)	(0.082)	(0.104)	(0.104)
	p = 0.328	p = 0.753	p = 0.440	p = 0.901	p = 0.539	p = 0.027	p = 0.172	p = 0.431
Condition 12	0.166	-0.091	0.052	0.017	-0.067	0.049	0.145	0.077
	(0.103)	(0.075)	(0.101)	(0.078)	(0.103)	(0.084)	(0.106)	(0.107)
	p = 0.107	p = 0.228	p = 0.609	p = 0.824	p = 0.513	p = 0.563	p = 0.173	p = 0.470
Constant	2.043	3.357	2.298	3.982	3.192	3.643	2.637	2.641
	(0.182)	(0.133)	(0.179)	(0.138)	(0.183)	(0.148)	(0.189)	(0.189)
	p = 0.000	p = 0.000	p = 0.000	p = 0.000	p = 0.000	p = 0.000	p = 0.000	p = 0.000
Observations	2,800	2,800	2,800	2,800	2,800	2,800	2,800	2,800
R^2	0.076	0.160	0.098	0.143	0.042	0.061	0.103	0.125

Table A1: Effects of Affective Polarization on Support for Each Democratic Norm Measure, with Fixed Effects for Experimental Condition

Note: Cell entries are OLS regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. p-values are two-tailed tests.

Supplementary Information 2: Question Wording

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

Democrat	*Republican*	*Independent*	*Some other party*

IF ANSWERED DEMOCRAT OR REPUBLICAN, ASK, PUTTING IN THE APPROPRIATE PARTY:

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

Strong	*Not very strong*

IF ANSWERED INDEPENDENT OR SOME OTHER PARTY, ASK:

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

Closer to	*Closer to*	*Neither*
Democratic Party	*Republican Party*	

What is the highest level of education you have completed?

Less than	*High*	*Some*	*4 year college*	*Advanced*
High school	*school graduate*	*college*	*degree*	*degree*

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

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

Which of the following best describes your religion?

Protestant	_Catholic_	_Jewish_	_Muslim_	_Hindu_	_Other_	_Not Religious_

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

White	_African American_	_Asian American_	_Hispanic or Latino_	_Native American_	_Other_

Which of the following best describes your gender identity?

Male	_Female_	_Transgender_	_None of the categories offered_

What is your age?

Under 18	_18-24_	_25-34_	_35-50_	_51-65_	_Over 65_

If you had a say in making up the federal budget this year, should federal spending on social security be decreased, kept about the same, or increased?

Decreased	_Kept about the same_	_Increased_

There is a lot of concern about the rapid rise in medical and hospital costs. Some people think that medical expenses should be paid by individuals, and through private insurance like Blue Cross. Others think there should be a government insurance plan, which would cover all medical and hospital expenses. Where would you place yourself on this scale?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Only private insurance	_Mostly private insurance_	_Slightly more private insurance_	_Half private insurance and half public insurance_	_Slightly more public insurance_	_Mostly public insurance_	_Only public insurance_

Some people think the government should provide fewer services, even in areas such as health and education, in order to reduce spending. Others think that it is important for the government to provide many more services even if it means an increase in spending. Where would you place yourself on this scale?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Definitely reduce spending/ cut services	*Probably reduce spending/ cut services*	*Maybe reduce spending/ cut services*	*Keep services and spending the same*	*Maybe increase services/ raise spending*	*Probably increase services/ raise spending*	*Definitely increase services/ raise spending*

Some people think that the government in Washington should let each person get ahead on his/her own. Others think the government should ensure every person has a job and a good standard of living. Where would you place yourself on this scale?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Government should DEFINITLY leave it to each person	*Government should PROBABLY leave it to each person*	*Government should MAYBE leave it to each person*	*Unsure*	*Government should MAYBE ensure standard of living*	*Government should PROBABLY ensure standard of living*	*Government should DEFINITELY ensure standard of living*

There has been some discussion about abortion during recent years. Which one of the following options comes closest to your view on this issue?

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

To what extent do you believe homosexuals should be legally protected against job discrimination?

Definitely Not Should be Protected	*Maybe Should Not be Protected*	*Unsure*	*Maybe Should be Protected*	*Definitely Should be Protected*

Thinking now about immigrants – that is, people who come from other countries to live here in the United States – in your view, should immigration be kept at its present level, increased or decreased?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Definitely decrease	*Probably decrease*	*Maybe decrease*	*Keep at present level*	*Maybe increase*	*Probably increase*	*Definitely increase*

To what extent do you believe transgender individuals should be legally protected against job discrimination?

Definitely Should Not be	*Maybe Should Not be*	*Unsure*	*Maybe Should be*	*Definitely Should be*

Many people don't know the answers to these questions, so if there are any you don't know, just check "don't know."

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

| *Cannot override* | *1/3* | *1/2* | *2/3* | *3/4* | *Don't know* |

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

| *Democrats* | *Republicans* | *Tie* | *Don't know* |

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

| *President* | *Congress* | *Supreme Court* | *Don't know* |

Who is the current U.S. Vice President?

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

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

| *The Democratic Party* | *The Republican Party* | *Neither* | *Don't know* |

We'd like you to rate how you feel towards $OUTGROUP on a scale of 0 to 100, which we call a "feeling thermometer." On this feeling thermometer scale, ratings between 0 and 49 degrees mean that you feel unfavorable and cold (with 0 being the most unfavorable/coldest). Ratings between 51 and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm (with 100 being the most favorable/warmest). A rating of 50 means you have no feelings one way or the other. How would you rate your feeling toward these groups? Remember we are asking you to rate ordinary people (e.g., voters) and *not* elected officials, candidates, media personalities, etc. **[Use sliders from 0 to 100; SET IT TO HAVE NO DEFAULT IN QUALTRICS SO WOULD NOT BE AT A VALUE:]**

$OUTGROUP

We are next going to ask more questions about ordinary people (e.g., voters) who are *[Republicans and Democrats / Democrats and Republicans].* Remember for *all* of these questions, we are asking about ordinary people (e.g., voters) and *not* elected officials, candidates, media personalities, etc.

We'd like to know more about what you think about $OUTGROUP. Below, we've given a list of words that some people might use to describe them.

For each item, please indicate how well you think it applies to $OUTGROUP: not at all well; not too well; somewhat well; very well; or extremely well.

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

We'd like to know more about what you think about $INGROUP. Below, we've given a list of words that some people might use to describe them.

For each item, please indicate how well you think it applies to $INGROUP: not at all well; not too well; somewhat well; very well; or extremely well.

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

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

Almost never	Once in a while	About half the time	Most of the time	Almost always

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

_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Almost never	*Once in a while*	*About half the time*	*Most of the time*	*Almost always*

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

_____	_____	_____	_____
Not at all comfortable	*Not too comfortable*	*Somewhat comfortable*	*Extremely comfortable*

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

_____	_____	_____	_____
Not at all comfortable	*Not too comfortable*	*Somewhat comfortable*	*Extremely comfortable*

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

_____	_____	_____	_____
Not at all upset	*Not too upset*	*Somewhat upset*	*Extremely upset*

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

_____	_____	_____	_____
Not at all comfortable	*Not too comfortable*	*Somewhat comfortable*	*Extremely comfortable*

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

_____	_____	_____	_____
Not at all comfortable	*Not too comfortable*	*Somewhat comfortable*	*Extremely comfortable*

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

_____	_____	_____	_____
Not at all upset	*Not too upset*	*Somewhat upset*	*Extremely upset*

For each item below, please choose the response that is closest to your view.

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
I do not mind a politician's methods if he or she manages to get the right things done.					
The executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government					

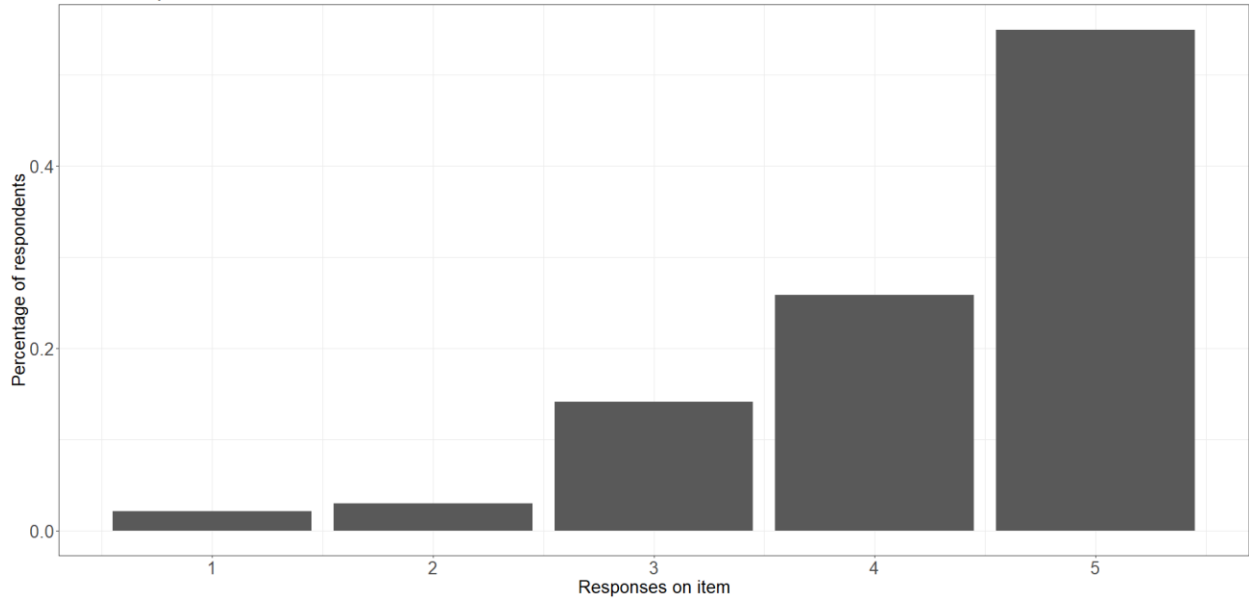|					
should keep one another from having too much power.					
When the country is in great danger, it is often necessary for political leaders to act boldly, even if this means overstepping the usual processes of government decision-making.					
It is important that the government treats other institutions with respect, such as news organizations, religious communities, scientific groups, or business associations.					
People should be allowed to vote even if they are badly misinformed on basic facts about politics.					
People who hate my way of life should still have a chance to talk in a public forum.					
We have to teach children that all people are created equal but almost everyone knows that some are inherently better than others.					
Some protests need to be prevented or stopped, even if they are completely peaceful.					

Supplementary Information 3: Other Norm Treatments, Distribution of Answers on Our Norm Items, And Correlations between Norm Items

Our norm items differ slightly from two recent notable treatments. First, Graham and Svolik (2020) study three types of democratic principles: electoral fairness, checks and balances, and civil liberties. Our constructs resemble theirs, but we focus less on electoral fairness, especially ideas like gerrymandering. Second, our political tolerance norm differs from Levitsky and Ziblatt's (2018) "mutual toleration," which is an understanding that the opposing party is a legitimate rival. While an important component of our political tolerance, ours is distinct. It is more specific in focusing on equal political rights, but broader in emphasizing rights for *all*, not just opposing partisans. In this sense, it closely aligns with existing research on political tolerance in the United States (see Sullivan and Transue 1999).

The below figures show the distribution of answers on our norms items in our partisan sample after we had coded all items such that 5 indicates strongest support for the norm while 1 indicates the lowest level of support for the norm. This means that 5 sometimes indicates "Strong agreement" while it sometimes indicates "Strong disagreement," depending on whether agreement or disagreement indicates support for the norm.

Item: 'I do not mind a politician's methods if he or she manages to get the right things done.'
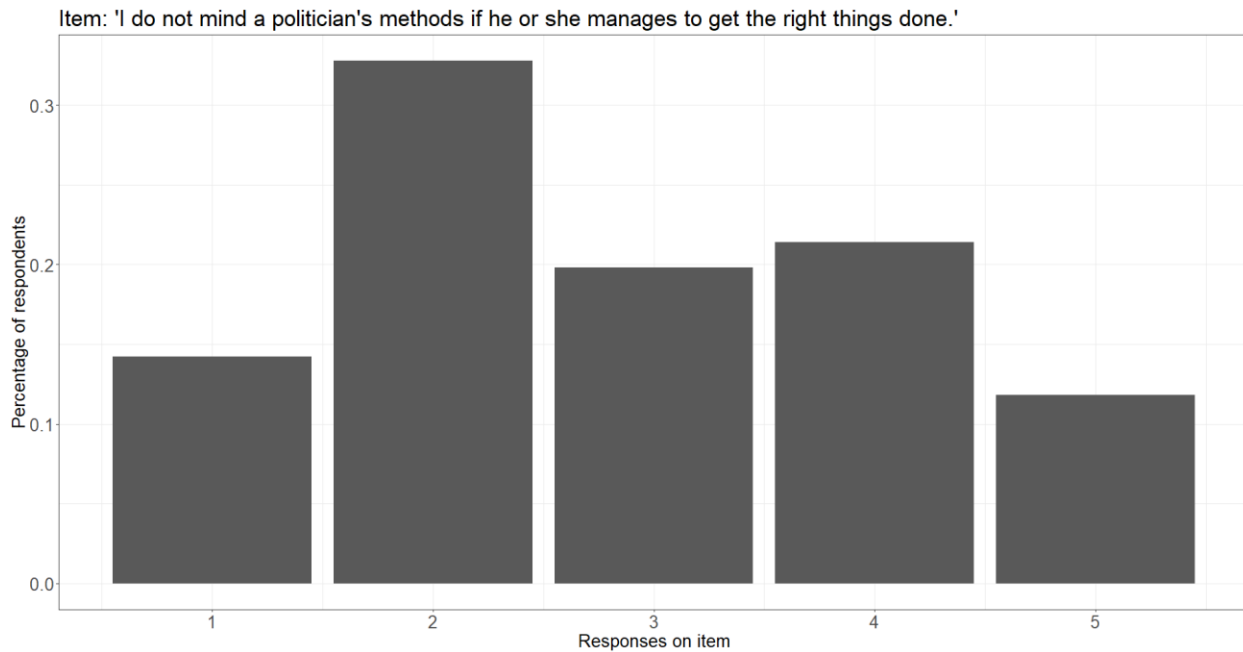
Item: 'The executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government should keep one another from having too much power.'


Item: 'When the country is in great danger, it is often necessary for political leaders to act boldly, even if this means overstepping the usual processes of government decision-making'
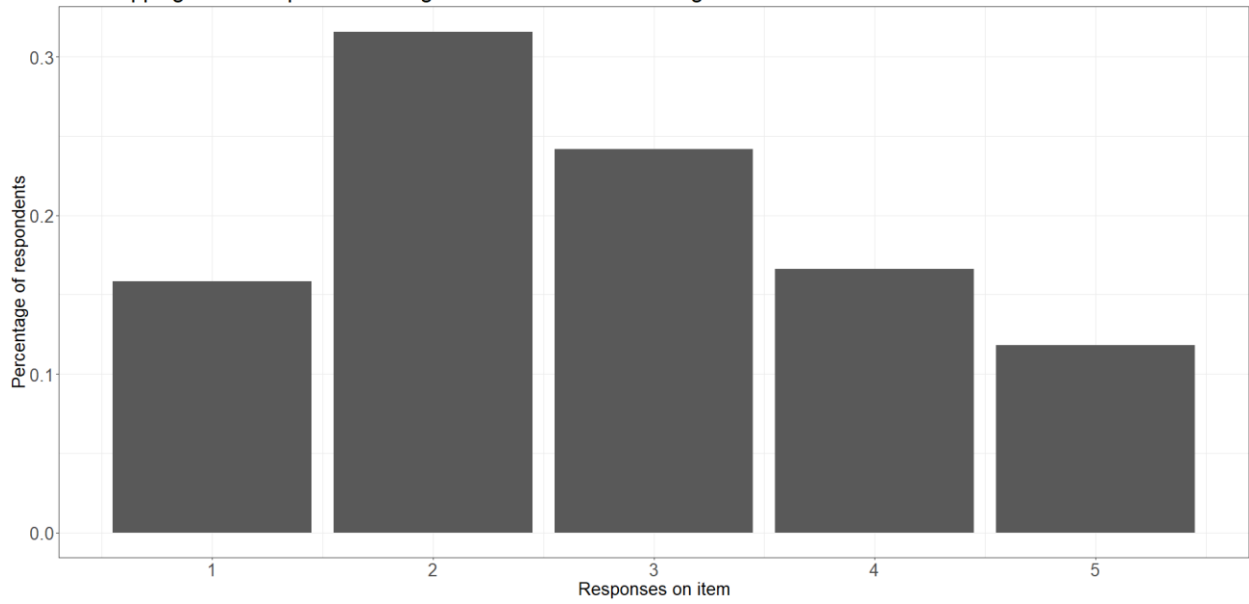
Item: 'It is important that the government treats other institutions with respect, such as news organizations, religious communities, scientific groups, or business associations.'
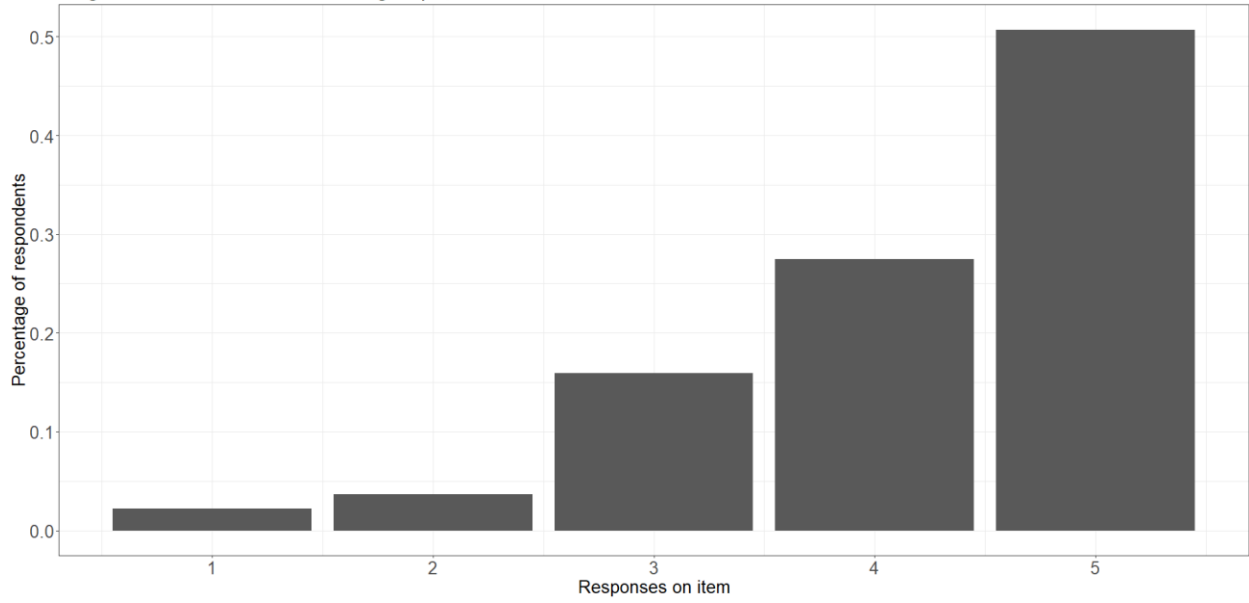
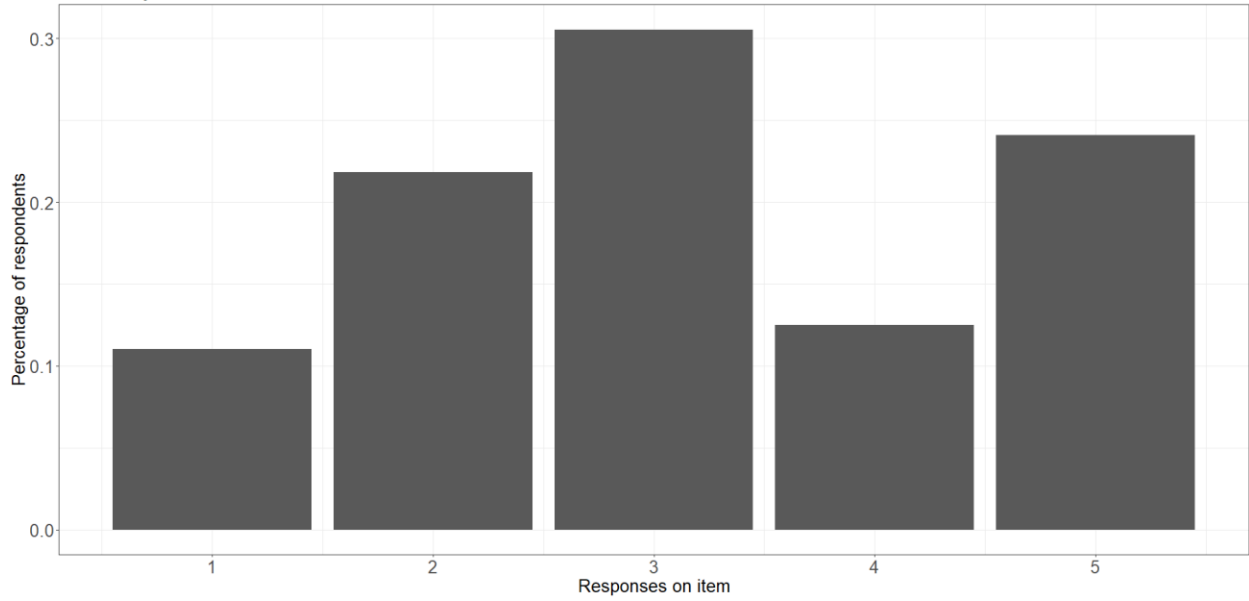Item: 'People should be allowed to vote even if they are badly misinformed on basic facts about politics.'
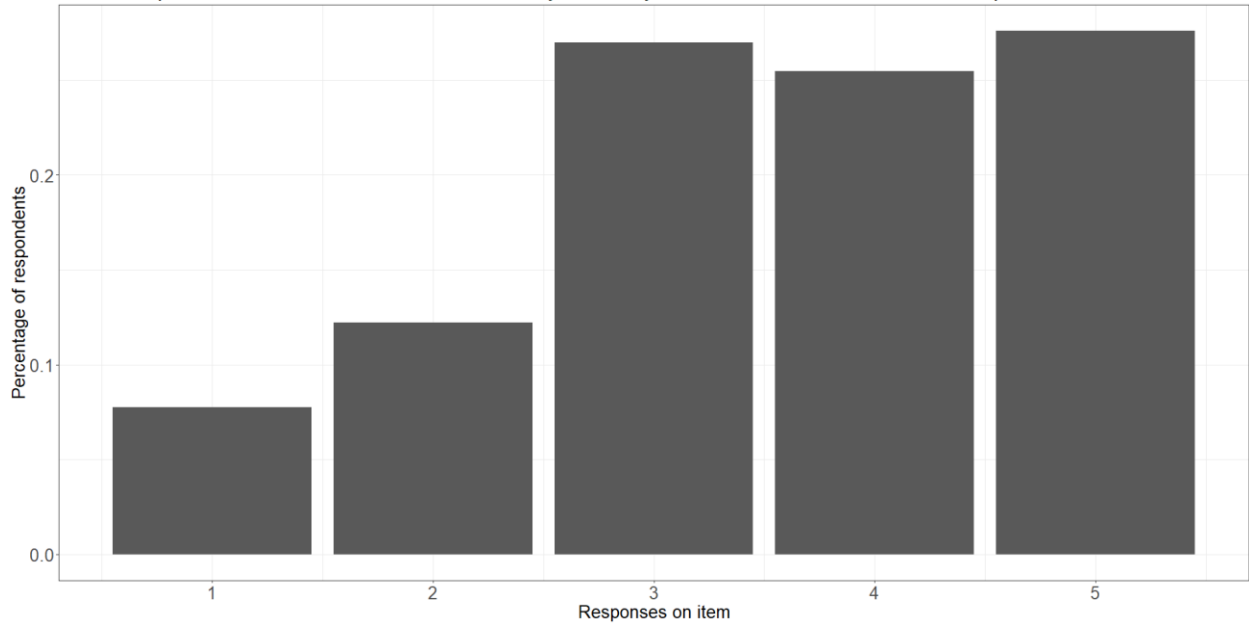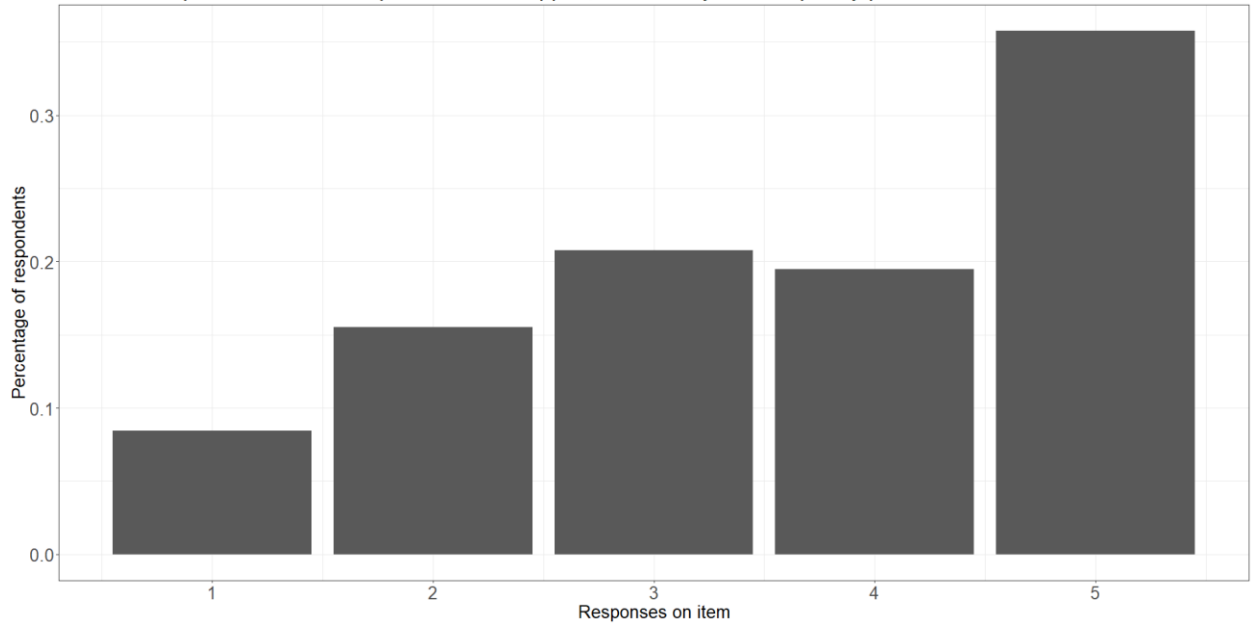
Item: 'People who hate my way of life should still have a chance to talk in a public forum.'
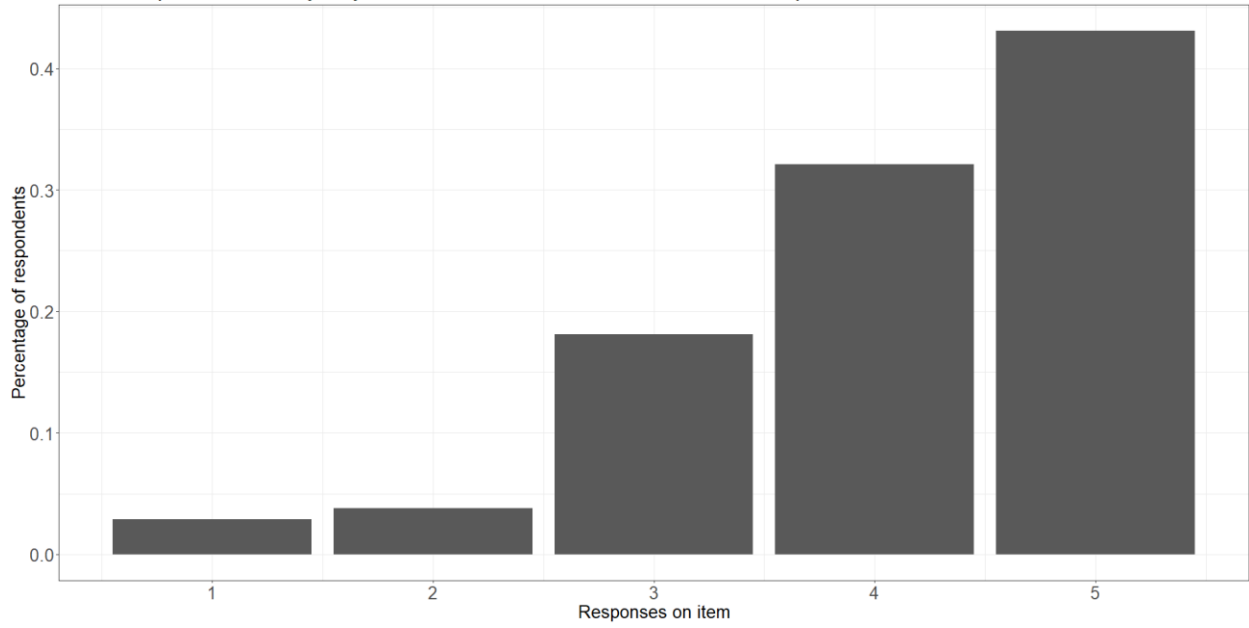
Item: 'We have to teach children that all people are created equal but almost everyone knows that some are inherently better than others.'

Item: 'Some protests need to be prevented or stopped, even if they are completely peaceful.'

Next, we provide pairwise correlations between our norm items.

	Get Things Done	Checks and Balances	Exec. Power	Respect for Institutions	Misinformed Vote	Political Equality	Opponents Get Voice	Prevent Protest
Get Things Done	1							
Checks and Balances	0.01	1						
Exec. Power	0.37	-0.01	1					
Respect for Institutions	-0.01	0.41	0	1				
Misinformed Vote	-0.02	0.17	-0.01	0.21	1			
Political Equality	0.27	0.13	0.28	0.11	0.03	1		
Opponents Get Voice	-0.03	0.38	-0.05	0.33	0.3	0.07	1	
Prevent Protest	0.23	0.2	0.26	0.11	0.03	0.33	0.19	1

Table A2: Correlation Matrix of Democratic Norms Items

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Supplemental Information 4: Main Model Results When Interacting Partisanship and Conservatism

In general, the contrasting results among the political tolerance items may reflect elite cues on issues that had been on the political agenda during the time period; indeed, equality, especially racial equality, and protests such as the Women's March had been subject to considerable debate (in 2016-19), whereas the right to vote and freedom of speech had not.

Additionally, below, we further explore policy conservatism by interacting it with partisanship – so as to compare those interactions with our interactions between partisanship and affective polarization. We find with these added interactions, the results slightly change on three items – "get things done," "political equality," and "prevent protest" items. We see on these three that cue-taking remains strong among affectively polarized Republicans but not Democrats. This likely reflects more proactive cues on norms by Republicans during this time period. Those results also show, interestingly, that sorted partisan are generally more supportive of democratic norms. This may reflect a socialization process such that sorted partisans are socialized to the norms of the system. It also shows that conservative Republicans are quite distinctive from affective polarized Republicans with the former being more supportive of norms and the latter less so.

	Get Things Done	Checks & Balances	Exec. Power	Respect for Institutions	Misinformed Vote	Opponents Get Voice	Political Equality	Prevent Protest
Republican	-0.725	-0.441	0.021	0.255	-0.006	0.023	-0.101	-0.397
	(0.226)	(0.166)	(0.223)	(0.173)	(0.228)	(0.186)	(0.235)	(0.236)
	p = 0.002	p = 0.009	p = 0.926	p = 0.142	p = 0.981	p = 0.900	p = 0.668	p = 0.093
Affective Polarization	0.053	0.327	0.435	0.502	0.256	-0.154	0.240	0.332
	(0.209)	(0.154)	(0.206)	(0.160)	(0.211)	(0.172)	(0.217)	(0.218)
	p = 0.799	p = 0.034	p = 0.035	p = 0.002	p = 0.226	p = 0.371	p = 0.270	p = 0.129
Republican * Affective Polarization	-0.918	-0.146	-1.820	-0.878	-0.478	-0.245	-1.196	-0.828
	(0.360)	(0.265)	(0.355)	(0.276)	(0.364)	(0.296)	(0.375)	(0.376)
	p = 0.011	p = 0.582	p = 0.000	p = 0.002	p = 0.190	p = 0.408	p = 0.002	p = 0.028
Political Knowledge	0.069	0.168	0.060	0.093	0.082	0.120	0.149	0.188
	(0.018)	(0.013)	(0.017)	(0.014)	(0.018)	(0.015)	(0.018)	(0.018)
	p = 0.000	p = 0.000	p = 0.001	p = 0.000	p = 0.000	p = 0.000	p = 0.000	p = 0.000
Conservatism	-1.333	-1.104	-1.157	-1.125	-0.233	-0.498	-1.650	-1.637
	(0.185)	(0.136)	(0.182)	(0.142)	(0.187)	(0.152)	(0.192)	(0.193)
	p = 0.000	p = 0.000	p = 0.000	p = 0.000	p = 0.214	p = 0.002	p = 0.000	p = 0.000
Republican * Conservatism	2.106	1.083	1.440	-0.028	-0.042	0.333	1.543	1.842
	(0.289)	(0.213)	(0.285)	(0.222)	(0.292)	(0.238)	(0.301)	(0.302)
	p = 0.000	p = 0.000	p = 0.000	p = 0.901	p = 0.886	p = 0.162	p = 0.000	p = 0.000
Education	0.048	0.017	0.001	0.021	0.047	0.0001	-0.017	0.001
	(0.017)	(0.013)	(0.017)	(0.013)	(0.017)	(0.014)	(0.018)	(0.018)
	p = 0.006	p = 0.178	p = 0.960	p = 0.111	p = 0.008	p = 0.995	p = 0.332	p = 0.953
Non-Hispanic White	0.182	0.114	0.159	0.041	0.131	0.200	0.176	0.056
	(0.052)	(0.039)	(0.052)	(0.040)	(0.053)	(0.043)	(0.054)	(0.055)
	p = 0.001	p = 0.004	p = 0.003	p = 0.307	p = 0.014	p = 0.000	p = 0.002	p = 0.304
Female	0.036	-0.016	0.013	-0.007	-0.083	-0.0005	0.096	0.042
	(0.047)	(0.034)	(0.046)	(0.036)	(0.047)	(0.038)	(0.049)	(0.049)
	p = 0.439	p = 0.653	p = 0.773	p = 0.855	p = 0.079	p = 0.990	p = 0.049	p = 0.392
Religion: Protestant	0.108	0.156	-0.225	0.117	0.148	0.098	0.035	0.076
	(0.069)	(0.051)	(0.069)	(0.053)	(0.070)	(0.057)	(0.072)	(0.073)
	p = 0.121	p = 0.003	p = 0.002	p = 0.029	p = 0.035	p = 0.088	p = 0.631	p = 0.293
Religion: Catholic	-0.076	0.065	-0.123	-0.007	-0.022	-0.004	-0.152	0.001
	(0.070)	(0.052)	(0.069)	(0.054)	(0.071)	(0.057)	(0.073)	(0.073)
	p = 0.276	p = 0.210	p = 0.074	p = 0.901	p = 0.752	p = 0.940	p = 0.037	p = 0.985
Religion: Jewish	-0.040	0.081	-0.073	-0.095	0.095	-0.127	-0.410	-0.221
	(0.134)	(0.099)	(0.132)	(0.103)	(0.135)	(0.110)	(0.139)	(0.140)
	p = 0.767	p = 0.413	p = 0.582	p = 0.355	p = 0.481	p = 0.248	p = 0.004	p = 0.115
Religion: None	0.150	0.124	0.147	-0.108	-0.151	-0.034	-0.004	0.240
	(0.067)	(0.049)	(0.066)	(0.051)	(0.068)	(0.055)	(0.070)	(0.070)
	p = 0.025	p = 0.012	p = 0.027	p = 0.036	p = 0.026	p = 0.540	p = 0.951	p = 0.001
Constant	2.727	3.693	2.733	4.008	3.075	3.772	3.040	3.173
	(0.184)	(0.136)	(0.182)	(0.142)	(0.186)	(0.152)	(0.192)	(0.193)
	p = 0.000	p = 0.000	p = 0.000	p = 0.000	p = 0.000	p = 0.000	p = 0.000	p = 0.000
Observations	2,800	2,800	2,800	2,800	2,800	2,800	2,800	2,800

R^2	0.091	0.162	0.101	0.140	0.041	0.059	0.108	0.129

Table A3: Effects of Affective Polarization on Support for Each Democratic Norm Measure, with an Interaction between Party and Conservatism

Note: Cell entries are OLS regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. p-values are two-tailed tests.

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Supplemental Information 5: Model Results from Interaction with Political Knowledge

Below we present the interactions with political knowledge, used to generate Figure 1.

One finding of note, not discussed in the text, concerns the opponents get voice item. Highly knowledgeable partisans are more likely to support tolerating partisan opponents at low levels of affective polarization, likely reflecting norms being learned along with basic facts about politics. However, knowledgeable partisans' levels of support for this norm substantially decrease as affective polarization increases (for both parties), demonstrating how affective polarization can erase the benefits of high political knowledge when it comes to support for democratic norms.

	Get Things Done	Checks & Balances	Exec. Power	Respect for Institutions	Misinformed Vote	Opponents Get Voice	Political Equality	Prevent Protest
Republican	-0.872	0.157	0.294	0.302	0.064	-0.403	0.861	-0.051
	(0.505)	(0.372)	(0.497)	(0.385)	(0.508)	(0.413)	(0.526)	(0.529)
	p = 0.085	p = 0.674	p = 0.554	p = 0.433	p = 0.900	p = 0.330	p = 0.102	p = 0.923
Affective Polarization	-1.600	1.538	-0.769	1.194	-0.062	0.578	0.093	0.271
	(0.504)	(0.372)	(0.496)	(0.384)	(0.507)	(0.413)	(0.525)	(0.528)
	p = 0.002	p = 0.000	p = 0.122	p = 0.002	p = 0.904	p = 0.162	p = 0.861	p = 0.608
Republican * Affective Polarization	1.793	-0.400	-0.391	-0.290	-0.013	0.792	-1.507	-0.371
	(0.959)	(0.707)	(0.943)	(0.730)	(0.965)	(0.785)	(0.999)	(1.005)
	p = 0.062	p = 0.572	p = 0.679	p = 0.692	p = 0.990	p = 0.313	p = 0.132	p = 0.712
Political Knowledge	-0.160	0.347	-0.090	0.239	0.071	0.224	0.134	0.143
	(0.075)	(0.055)	(0.074)	(0.057)	(0.076)	(0.062)	(0.078)	(0.079)
	p = 0.034	p = 0.000	p = 0.225	p = 0.000	p = 0.351	p = 0.000	p = 0.088	p = 0.070
Republican * Political Knowledge	0.278	-0.047	0.078	-0.038	-0.039	0.157	-0.096	0.129
	(0.134)	(0.099)	(0.132)	(0.102)	(0.135)	(0.109)	(0.139)	(0.140)
	p = 0.038	p = 0.632	p = 0.554	p = 0.712	p = 0.771	p = 0.152	p = 0.489	p = 0.359
Affective Polarization * Knowledge	0.562	-0.300	0.404	-0.201	0.086	-0.193	0.106	0.099
	(0.132)	(0.097)	(0.130)	(0.101)	(0.133)	(0.108)	(0.138)	(0.139)
	p = 0.000	p = 0.003	p = 0.002	p = 0.046	p = 0.517	p = 0.075	p = 0.441	p = 0.477
Republican * Political Knowledge * Affective Polarization	-0.748	0.087	-0.389	-0.148	-0.123	-0.283	0.098	-0.124
	(0.250)	(0.184)	(0.246)	(0.190)	(0.251)	(0.204)	(0.260)	(0.262)
	p = 0.003	p = 0.639	p = 0.114	p = 0.436	p = 0.626	p = 0.167	p = 0.706	p = 0.636
Conservatism	-0.282	-0.657	-0.388	-1.009	-0.129	-0.364	-0.952	-0.926
	(0.146)	(0.107)	(0.143)	(0.111)	(0.147)	(0.119)	(0.152)	(0.153)
	p = 0.054	p = 0.000	p = 0.007	p = 0.000	p = 0.380	p = 0.003	p = 0.000	p = 0.000
Education	0.053	0.019	0.004	0.021	0.047	0.001	-0.014	0.005
	(0.017)	(0.013)	(0.017)	(0.013)	(0.017)	(0.014)	(0.018)	(0.018)
	p = 0.003	p = 0.130	p = 0.806	p = 0.110	p = 0.008	p = 0.952	p = 0.431	p = 0.781
Non-Hispanic White	0.174	0.121	0.153	0.037	0.125	0.201	0.180	0.063
	(0.053)	(0.039)	(0.052)	(0.040)	(0.053)	(0.043)	(0.055)	(0.055)
	p = 0.001	p = 0.002	p = 0.004	p = 0.356	p = 0.019	p = 0.000	p = 0.002	p = 0.253
Female	0.048	-0.014	0.021	-0.008	-0.083	-0.0003	0.102	0.049
	(0.047)	(0.035)	(0.046)	(0.036)	(0.047)	(0.038)	(0.049)	(0.049)
	p = 0.305	p = 0.683	p = 0.642	p = 0.827	p = 0.081	p = 0.994	p = 0.038	p = 0.321
Religion: Protestant	0.126	0.162	-0.208	0.131	0.159	0.100	0.044	0.076
	(0.070)	(0.051)	(0.069)	(0.053)	(0.070)	(0.057)	(0.073)	(0.073)
	p = 0.071	p = 0.002	p = 0.003	p = 0.014	p = 0.024	p = 0.082	p = 0.541	p = 0.301

Religion: Catholic	-0.099	0.053	-0.141	-0.003	-0.021	-0.003	-0.174	-0.021
	(0.070)	(0.052)	(0.069)	(0.053)	(0.071)	(0.057)	(0.073)	(0.073)
	$p = 0.159$	$p = 0.309$	$p = 0.042$	$p = 0.956$	$p = 0.763$	$p = 0.955$	$p = 0.018$	$p = 0.775$
Religion: Jewish	-0.045	0.096	-0.087	-0.091	0.084	-0.104	-0.418	-0.208
	(0.134)	(0.099)	(0.132)	(0.102)	(0.135)	(0.110)	(0.140)	(0.141)
	$p = 0.740$	$p = 0.331$	$p = 0.512$	$p = 0.373$	$p = 0.533$	$p = 0.343$	$p = 0.003$	$p = 0.141$
Religion: None	0.166	0.134	0.155	-0.105	-0.152	-0.025	0.003	0.253
	(0.067)	(0.049)	(0.066)	(0.051)	(0.068)	(0.055)	(0.070)	(0.070)
	$p = 0.014$	$p = 0.007$	$p = 0.020$	$p = 0.041$	$p = 0.025$	$p = 0.648$	$p = 0.970$	$p = 0.000$
Constant	3.026	2.846	2.906	3.482	3.099	3.336	2.756	2.943
	(0.302)	(0.223)	(0.297)	(0.230)	(0.304)	(0.247)	(0.315)	(0.317)
	$p = 0.000$	$p = 0.000$	$p = 0.000$	$p = 0.000$	$p = 0.000$	$p = 0.000$	$p = 0.000$	$p = 0.000$
Observations	2,800	2,800	2,800	2,800	2,800	2,800	2,800	2,800
R^2	0.084	0.158	0.101	0.147	0.044	0.062	0.101	0.118

Table A4: Effects of Affective Polarization on Support for Each Democratic Norm Measure, with an Interaction Added with Political Knowledge

Note: Cell entries are OLS regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. p-values are two-tailed tests.

Supplemental Information 6: Information and Analysis Using The American Panel Survey

To test whether the relationship (with constitutional protections) we find in 2019 holds during a different administration (thereby flipping the partisan directional findings), we use data gathered in 2012 by The American Panel Survey (TAPS), during the Obama administration. In this year of the survey, respondents were asked whether they agree or disagree, on a 5-point scale, with the following statement: "The government should have some ability to bend the law in order to solve pressing social and political problems." This item is analogous to our "Get Things Done" and "Executive Power" items. Indeed, all three items are written such that disagreement indicates support for the norm. And like our "Executive Power" item, this statement cues people into thinking about whether they support upholding legal procedures even given "pressing" or "dangerous" circumstances, respectively, making it a relatively difficult item for respondents to support the norm. We coded the TAPS item such that higher values indicate greater support for the norm.

Unfortunately, TAPS did not ask any items that directly measure affective polarization until several years after the 2012 data were gathered (when they added a version of the feeling thermometer question). We thus instead use partisan identity strength as it strongly correlates with affective polarization (Klar, Krupnikov, and Ryan 2018). Party leaners are coded as a 0, people who identify with the Democratic or Republican party, but who do not identify strongly with the party are coded as a 1, and people who strongly identify with a major party are coded as a 2.

Additionally, the TAPS data allowed us to create a series of controls nearly identical to those we use in the 2019 model. The slight exception to this is that TAPS asked different policy questions to respondents. We used a similar procedure – principal components analysis – to create an aggregate measure of conservatism, but it should be noted that different individual policy items went into creating this variable in the 2019 data and the TAPS data.

Here is the exact text of each TAPS survey item we used in this analysis. Response options can be found in any of the codebooks listed here: https://wc.wustl.edu/taps-data-archive.[3]

[GIBRLAW4S6] Indicate your level of agreement with the following. The government should have some ability to bend the law in order to solve pressing social and political problems.

[PARTYID1S5] Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an independent, or what?

[PARTYID3S5] Do you think of yourself as CLOSER to the Republican Party or to the Democratic Party?

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[3] AAPOR Disclosure Information: TAPS is a panel data set. We used survey items from five different TAPS surveys, including the initial recruitment ("profile") survey, the January 2012 survey, the February 2012 survey, the April 2012 survey, and the May 2012 survey. Initial recruitment took place from November 1, 2011, through November 30, 2011, and all other surveys were fielded in the respective months listed above. Among eligible respondents, the response rate for the respective survey waves were as follows: 14.2% for initial recruitment, 9.8% for January 2012 (or 77.4% completion rate), 9.9% for February 2012 (or 78.5% completion rate), 11.4% for April 2012 (or 89.8% completion rate), and 11.0% for May 2012 (or 87.2% completion rate).

[PARTYID4S5] Do you lean more toward the Democrats or the Republicans?

[PARTYID2S5] Would you call yourself a strong [Republican/Democrat] or a not very strong [Democrat/Republican]?

[educsp] What is the highest level of school you have completed?

[HISPAN1SP] This question is about Hispanic ethnicity. Are you of Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino Origin?

[RACE1SP] Please check one or more categories below to indicate what race(s) you consider yourself to be.

[POLKNOW1S2] Which party holds a majority of seats in the U.S. House of Representatives in Washington?

[POLKNOW2S2] How many votes are required in Congress to override a presidential veto?

[POLKNOW3S2] How long is one term for a member of the U.S. Senate?

[POLKNOW5S2] The ability of a minority of senators to prevent a vote on a bill is known as

[POLKNOW6S2] Who is the Vice President of the United States?

[POLINT2S2] How interested would you say you are in politics and current affairs?

[gendersp] What is your gender?

[RLGN1S2] Do you consider yourself Christian, Jewish, Muslim, Buddhist, Hindu, another religion, or not religious?

[RLGN2AS2] Do you consider yourself Protestant, or not?

[RLGN2S2] What is your Christian church or denomination?

[PR1S3] Should the government give greater priority to cutting the federal deficit or creating more jobs?

[PR2S3] Should the government give greater priority to curbing inflation or reducing unemployment?

[PR3S3] Should the government give greater priority to reducing poverty or increasing economic growth?

[PR4S3] Should the government give greater priority to, reducing taxes or creating more jobs?

[PR5S3] Should the government give priority to protecting the environment or reducing the costs of business?

[JENNOEX4] Please indicate how much you support or oppose the policy: Making it easier for immigrants to come to the United States.

Below, we present the regression results that our analogous to those presented in Table 2 of the paper, except using the TAPS data. As can be seen, in this case party strength increases support for the norm among Republicans – the opposite of what we find in our data using similar items. And party strength tends to decrease support for the norm among Democrats, though this result is statistically insignificant.

	Bend the Law Norm

Republican	0.151
	(0.116)
	p = 0.196
Partisanship Strength	-0.045
	(0.055)
	p = 0.414
Rep.* Partisanship Strength	0.219
	(0.082)
	p = 0.008
Political Knowledge	0.100
	(0.028)
	p = 0.001
Conservatism	0.304
	(0.160)
	p = 0.059
Education	0.035
	(0.033)
	p = 0.302
Non-Hispanic White	0.157
	(0.087)
	p = 0.072
Female	0.027
	(0.071)
	p = 0.706
Religion: Protestant	-0.093
	(0.125)
	p = 0.460
Religion: Catholic	-0.046
	(0.090)
	p = 0.615
Religion: Jewish	-0.114
	(0.234)
	p = 0.628
Religion: None	0.005
	(0.101)
	p = 0.959

Constant	2.675
	(0.168)
	p = 0.000
Observations	997
R^2	0.098

Table A5: Effects of Partisanship Strength on Support for Constitutional Protection Norm Using TAPS Data

Note: Cell entries are OLS regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. p-values are two-tailed tests.

Supplemental Information 7: Information and Analysis Replicating Lelkes and Westwood (2017)

To test whether the relationship (with political tolerance) we find in 2019 holds during a different administration, we use data collected in 2013, during the Obama administration, by Lelkes and Westwood (2017: 493-495).[4] The authors examine whether affective polarization influences the propensity for partisans to endorse the use of tear gas on people – specifically students – belonging to the opposing party who are peacefully protesting. Participants first read a fabricated news article describing the peaceful protesting. The full text of the article read:

Riot police broke up a group of Young [Republican/Democratic] protesting a tuition increase at a college north of New York yesterday, using what appeared to be tear gas. Students had been told earlier that "all necessary force" would be used to ensure the protests did not interfere with the administration, in line with a recent court injunction requested and received by 53 of the school's students. Witnesses reported that 30 police officers deployed to confront the 80 peaceful protesters. After some jostling and use of what appeared to be tear gas by police, the crowd blocking the doors broke and moved away. Alan Krenshaw, a spokesperson for the Young [Republican/Democratic], complained that "The brutality was absolutely designed to chill the movement and literally try to beat and terrorize our right to criticize, to think critically and to act on that criticism."

Participants were then asked, "Do you "agree or disagree with the decision to use tear gas on the protesters?"

This item is similar to one of our political tolerance norms items in which we ask respondents if "some protests need to be prevented or stopped, even if they are completely peaceful." We consider punishing protesters by endorsing the use of tear gas to be a bit more of an extreme violation of norms than endorsing our item, which more vaguely asks if protests ought to be stopped. Another difference is that in Lelkes and Westwood's study, partisans were explicitly told it was Democrats or Republicans who were protesting, while our item does not explicitly cue the partisan out-group. However, these items are roughly analogous to each other, and offer a reasonable test of whether the dynamics we uncovered in 2019 are similar or different under a different presidential administration. This is especially true because Lelkes and Westwood utilize a similar measure of affective polarization, by taking the difference in the feeling thermometer score for a respondent's own party and the feeling thermometer score for the opposition party.

We re-analyze the data from Lelkes and Westwood (2017) with a major change: we interact partisanship with affective polarization because we are interested in whether affective polarization has a different effect on support for democratic norms among Democrats and Republicans. Lelkes and Westwood pooled Democrats and Republicans together in their study and find that the relationship between affective polarization and endorsing the use of tear gas is null (to be clear, their analyses followed the goals of their study which are distinct from ours).

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[4] AAPOR Disclosure Information: Funding came from a Google Research Gift to Sean Westwood. The study population included Americans over the age of 18 who were residing in the United States. The sample design was an opt-in Internet sample provided by Survey Sampling International. Because it was an opt-in sample, response rates are not applicable.

Besides this change, we made one other change to their model, which is that we flip endorsement of using tear gas such that higher values indicate opposing the use of tear gas – this makes higher values indicate greater support for the norm. (We also only look at the condition in which participants read an article in which their partisan out-group was protesting, not co-partisans.) We use the same set of controls as Lelkes and Westwood. Here is the exact text of the survey questions we used for our replication.

Party ID:
Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or some other party? (Democrat, Republican, Independent, Other)
(If Independent or Other selected) Do you consider yourself to be closer to the Democratic Party or Republican Party? (Democratic Party, Republican Party, Neither)
(If Democrat) Would you say that you are a...
Strong Democrat
Not a Strong Democrat
(If Republican) Would you say that you are a...
Strong Republican
Not a Strong Republican

Feeling Thermometers: On a scale from 0 (coldest) to 100 (warmest) how do you feel about the following people and groups? (Republicans, Democrats)

Race: What is your race? (White/Caucasian; African American; Hispanic; Asian; Native American; Pacific Island; Other)

Gender: What is your gender? (Male; Female)

Education: What is the highest level of education you have completed?
Less than High School; High School/GED; Some College; 2-year College Degree; 4-year College Degree; Masters Degree; Doctoral Degree; Professional Degree (JD, MD)

Below, we present regression results from this replication. Though the main effect of affective polarization on support for this norm is insignificant, there is a strong interaction effect with Republican partisan identification such that affective polarization decreases support for this norm among Republicans – a similar finding from our data from 2019.

	Support for Tolerating Protest
Republican	0.275
	(0.177)

	p = 0.123
Affective Polarization	0.224
	(0.153)
	p = 0.146
Rep. * Affective Polarization	-0.665
	(0.235)
	p = 0.006
Female	0.181
	(0.040)
	p = 0.000
Non-Hispanic White	-0.034
	(0.053)
	p = 0.514
College Education	-0.048
	(0.055)
	p = 0.388
Some College	-0.041
	(0.052)
	p = 0.436
Income: 30,000 - 59,999	0.079
	(0.053)
	p = 0.142
Income: 60,000 - 79,999	0.101
	(0.057)
	p = 0.081
Income: 80,000 or more	0.022
	(0.057)
	p = 0.702
Constant	0.487
	(0.133)
	p = 0.000
Observations	186
R^2	0.298

Table A6: Effects of Affective Polarization on Support for Norm of Tolerating Out-party Protesting Using Data from Lelkes and Westwood (2017)

Note: Cell entries are OLS regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. p-values are two-tailed tests.

Supplementary Material References

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