

Appendices

Online appendices for manuscript:

“Morals Matter, But Not For Everyone: The Conditionality of Moral Foundations in Political Reasoning”

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Appendix A Moral Foundations Dictionary

Sources:

Graham, Haidt, and Nosek (2009), as well as <http://www.moralfoundations.org/>

Note:

Words with (*) indicate that the word stem rather than the exact word was matched in the open-ended survey responses.

Harm:

safe*, peace*, compassion*, empath*, sympath*, care, caring, protect*, shield, shelter, amity, secur*, benefit*, defend*, guard*, preserve, harm*, suffer*, war, wars, warl*, warring, fight*, violent*, hurt*, kill, kills, killer*, killed, killing, endanger*, cruel*, brutal*, abuse*, damage*, ruin*, ravage, detriment*, crush*, attack*, annihilate*, destroy, stomp, abandon*, spurn, impair, exploit, exploits, exploited, exploiting, wound*

Fairness:

fair, fairly, fairness, fair*, fairmind*, fairplay, equal*, justice, justness, justifi*, reciproc*, impartial*, egalitarian*, rights, equity, evenness, equivalent, unbiased*, tolerant, equitable, balance*, homologous, unprejudiced*, reasonable, constant, honest*, unfair*, unequal*, bias*, unjust*, unjust*, bigot*, discriminat*, disproportion*, inequitable, prejud*, dishonest, unscrupulous, dissociate, preference, favoritism, segregat*, exclusion, exclud*

Ingroup:

together, nation*, homeland*, family, families, familial, group, loyal*, patriot*, communal, commune*, community*, communis*, comrad*, cadre, collectiv*, joint, unison, unite*, fellow*, guild, solidarity, devout*, member, cliqu*, cohort, ally, insider, foreign*, enem*, betray*, treason*, traitor*, traitor*, disloyal*, individual*, apostasy, apostate, deserted, deserter*, deserting, deceive*, jilt*, imposter, miscreant, spy, sequester, renegade, terrorism*, immigrat*

Authority:

obey*, obedient*, duty, law, lawful*, legal*, duti*, honor*, respect, respectful*, respected, respects, order*, father*, mother, motherl*, mothering, mothers, tradition*, hierarch*, authorit*, permit, permission, status*, rank*, leader*, class, bourgeoisie, caste*, position, compliant*, command, supremacy, control, submi*, allegian*, serve, abide, defer*, defer, revere*, venerat*, comply, defian*, rebel*, dissent*, subvert*, disrespect*, disobey*, sediti*, agitat*, insubordinat*, illegal*, lawless*, insurgent, mutinous, defy*, dissident, unfaithful, alienate, defector, heretic*, nonconformist, oppose, protest, refuse, denounce, remonstrate, riot*, obstruct

Purity:

piety, pious, purity, pure*, clean*, steril*, sacred*, chaste*, holy, holiness, saint*, wholesome*, celibacy*, abstention, virgin, virgins, virginity, virginal, austerity, integrity, modesty, abstinenc*, abstemiousness, upright, limpid, unadulterated, maiden, virtuous, refined, intemperate, decent*, immaculate, innocent, pristine, humble, disgust*, deprav*, disease*, unclean*, contagio*, indecent*, sin, sinful*, sinner*, sins, sinned, sinning, slut*, whore, dirt*, impiety, impious, profan*, gross, repuls*, sick*, promiscu*, lewd*, adulter*, debauch*, defile*, tramp, prostitut*, unchaste, wanton, profligate, filth*, trashy, obscene*, lax, taint*, stain*, tarnish*, debase*, desecrat*, wicked*, blemish, exploitat*, pervert, wretched*

Table A.1: Sample of open-ended responses in the 2012 American National Election Study. Responses were selected if their length was within 10 words of average responses (~ 75 words) and if they scored high on one of the moral foundations (see first column). The second and third column display the item category and the raw response. The last column displays the processed response highlighting all signal words for the respective foundation.

Foundation	Variable	Raw Response	Processed Response
Harm	Obama (like)	supports ending war, supports affordable health care for all, supports the preservation of medicare and social security, looking into energy conservation to preserve our planet for future generations, initiatives to promote education and job growth and much more.	supports ending <i>war</i> supports affordable health <i>care</i> for all supports the preservation of medicare and social <i>secur</i> looking into energy conservation to <i>preserve</i> our planet for future generations initiatives to promote education and job growth and much more
	Obama (dislike)	imposing a fine if someone does not get a health care plan	imposing a fine if someone does not get a health <i>care</i> plan he supports
	Romney (like)	he supports a strong military	a strong military anti same sex marriage anti women s choice for
	Romney (dislike)	anti same sex marriage, anti women's choice for abortion, not supportive of health care reform act, not sensitive to the needs of the very poor and immigrants	abortion not supportive of health <i>care</i> reform act not sensitive to the needs of the very poor and immigra
	Dems (like)	-1 Inapplicable	
	Dems (dislike)	-1 Inapplicable	
	Reps (like)	-1 Inapplicable	
	Reps (dislike)	-1 Inapplicable	
Fairness	Obama (like)	people rights, economy, taxes for working people, understanding of international problems	people <i>rights</i> economy taxes for working people understanding of international problems abortion
	Obama (dislike)	-1 Inapplicable	<i>rights</i> women <i>rights</i> tax breaks for the rich military hawk rude and
	Romney (like)	-1 Inapplicable	condescending to president obama economy women s <i>rights</i> gay <i>rights</i>
	Romney (dislike)	abortion rights, women rights, tax breaks for the rich, military hawk, rude and condescending to President Obama	health care tax plan for working class international strategy sometimes they do not fight hard enough against the republicans
	Dems (like)	economy, women's rights, gay rights, health care, tax plan for working class, international strategy.	racist elitist trying to enrich the rich even more by hurt working people international relations
	Dems (dislike)	sometimes they do not fight hard enough against the republicans.	health care women <i>rights</i> gay <i>rights</i>
	Reps (like)	-1 Inapplicable	

Continued on next page

Table A.1 – continued from previous page

Foundation	Variable	Raw	Processed
	Reps (dislike)	racist, elitist, trying to enrich the rich even more by hurting working people, international relations, health care, women rights, gay rights	
Ingroup	Obama (like)		he dozen t do enough about keeping us safe from our <i>foreign enem</i> he s too iffy about isle too
	Obama (dislike)	He doesn't do enough about keeping us safe from our foreign enemies; he's too iffy about Isael; too favorable about homosexuality, abortion.	favorable about homosexuality abortion like his close <i>family</i> ties good ideas about keeping us safe from <i>foreign</i> countries strong on israel they support same sex marriage they won t bend i like the people that are their leader i vie
	Romney (like)	Like his close family ties; good ideas about keeping us safe from foreign countries; strong on Israel;	nevier been disappointed in their positions on most things
	Romney (dislike)		
	Dems (like)		
	Dems (dislike)	They support same sex marriage; they won't bend	
	Reps (like)	I like the people that are their leaders; I've never been disappointed in their positions on most things.	
	Reps (dislike)		
Authority	Obama (like)	competent, intelligent, but not strong in protecting US border, seriously dealing with illegal immigrant not rewarding for breaking the law. also, health care bill have me a little concern	competent intelligent but not strong in protect us border seriously dealing with <i>illegal</i> immigra not rewarding for breaking the <i>law</i> also health care bill have me a little concern lack of strong laws dealing with <i>illegal</i> aliens and us borders strong and firm dealing with foreign countries ie middle east china mexico the health care not too comfortable with what i am hearing about it
	Obama (dislike)	lack of strong laws dealing with illegal aliens and US borders, strong and firm dealing with foreign countries ie middle east, china, mexico; the health care—not too comfortable with what I am hearing about it.	
	Romney (like)	-1 Inapplicable	
	Romney (dislike)	-1 Inapplicable	
	Dems (like)	-1 Inapplicable	
	Dems (dislike)	-1 Inapplicable	
	Reps (like)	-1 Inapplicable	
	Reps (dislike)	-1 Inapplicable	

Appendix B Additional Descriptive Information

Table B.1: Missing open-ended responses

	N	Percent
Spanish Interview	228	3.86
No Responses	422	7.14

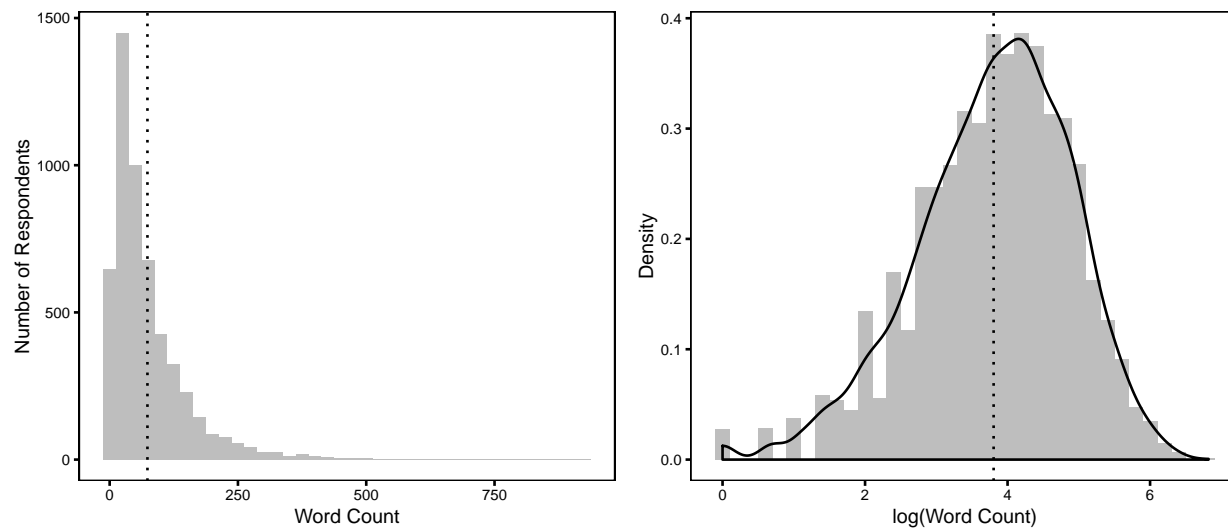


Figure B.1: Histograms displaying the distribution of individual response lengths in number of words for each respective item category. Dotted lines indicate the average response length.

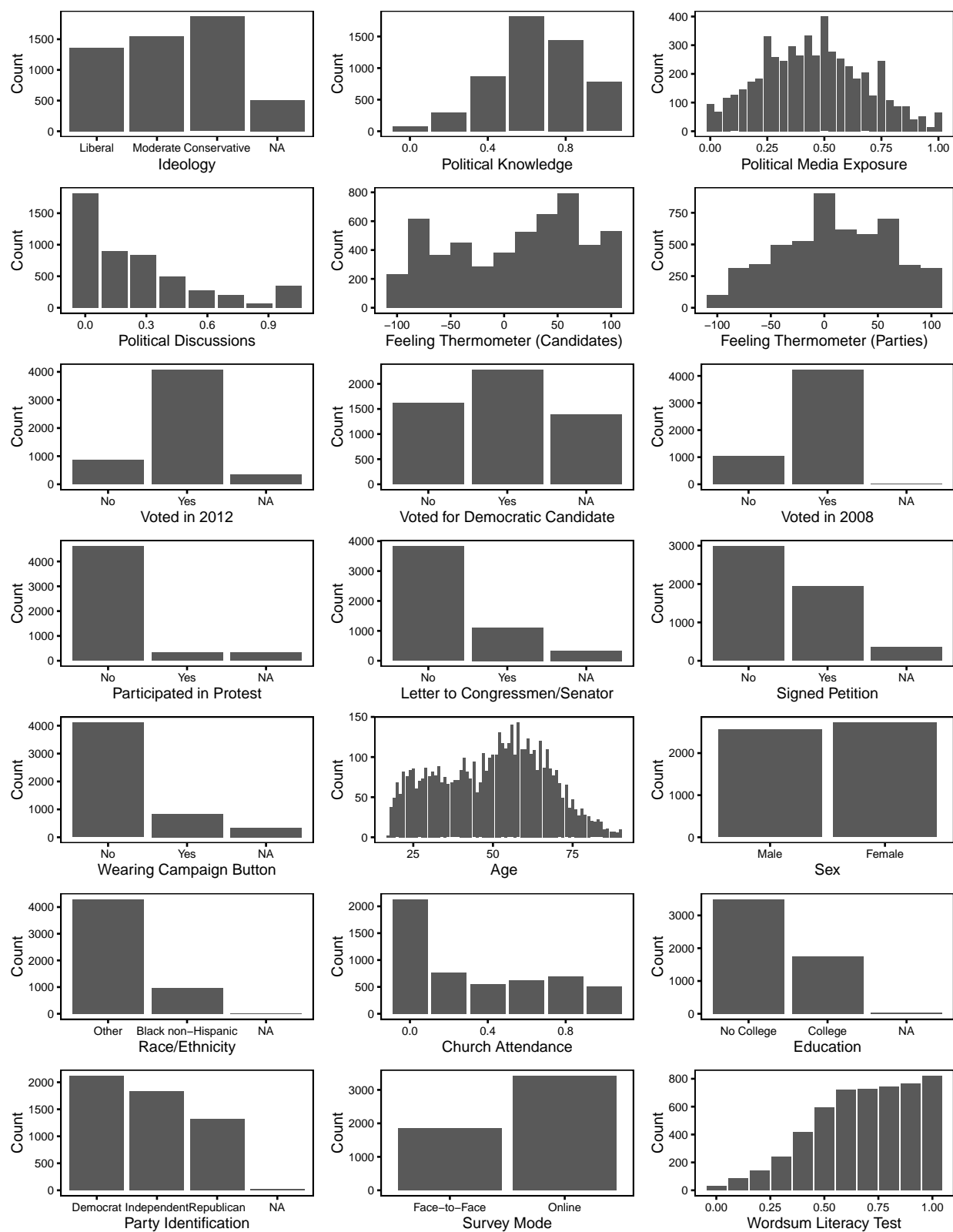


Figure B.2: Histograms for variables included in analyses.

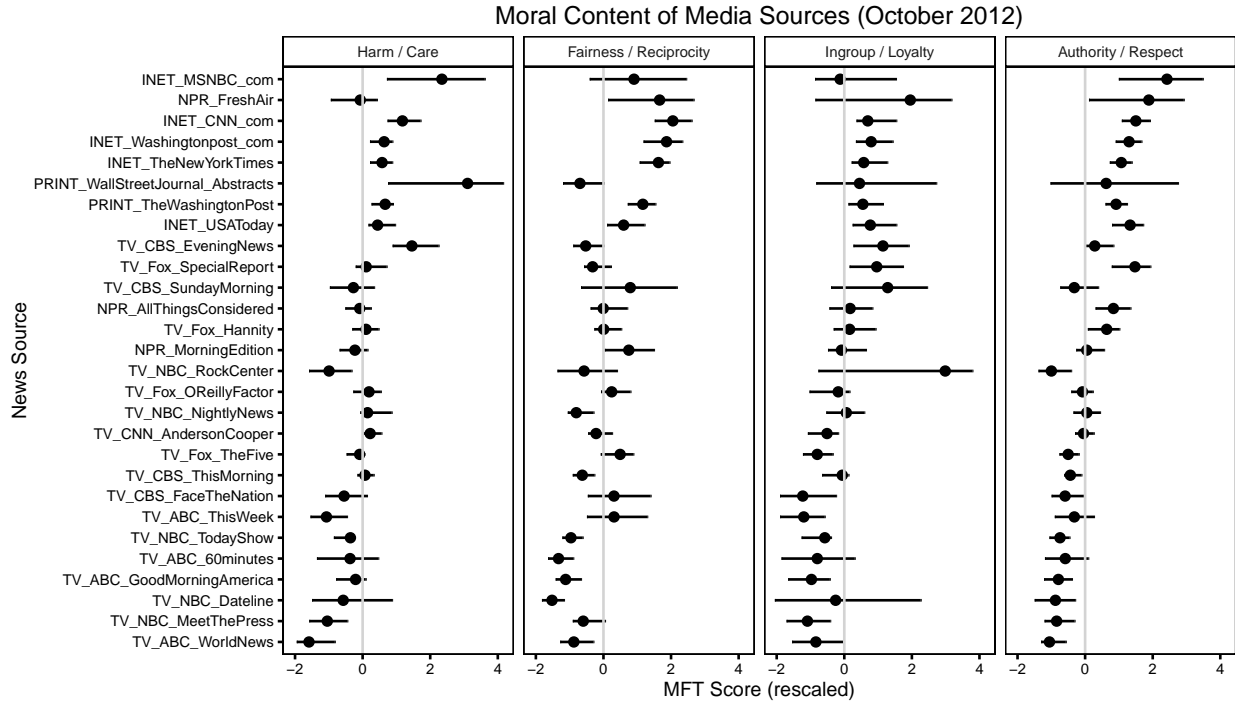


Figure B.3: MFT scores for media sources during 2012 U.S. Presidential campaign. Articles and scripts were selected if they mentioned either presidential candidate during the last month of the campaign (October). Contents were retrieved in full text from Lexis-Nexis (except for the Wall Street Journal, which only provided abstracts). Each media source was analyzed using the same procedure described for open-ended responses (weighted proportion of signal word occurrence for each foundation, c.f., equation [2]). Scores were median-centered and rescaled to unit variance. The figure also displays 95% confidence intervals, which are based on parametric bootstraps of the document feature matrix of the entire corpus (500 iterations).

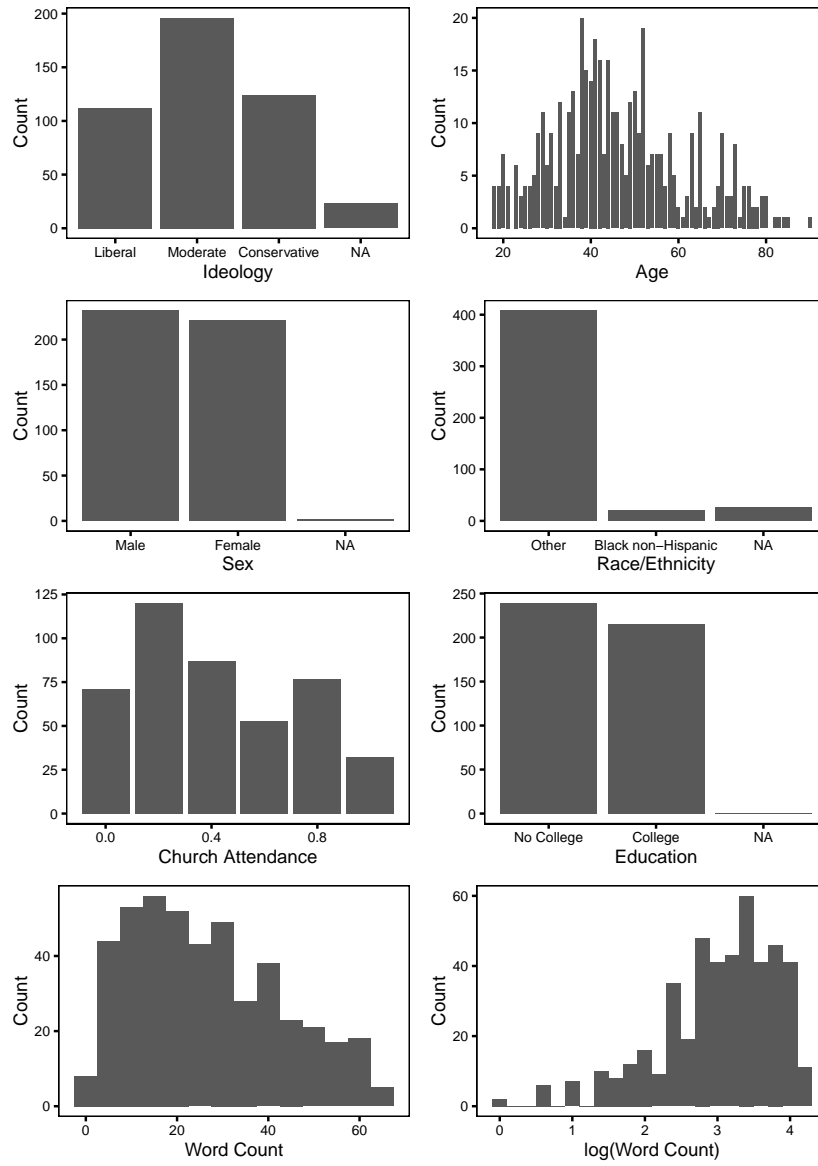


Figure B.4: Histograms for variables included in replication survey.

Appendix C Additional Model Results and Robustness Checks

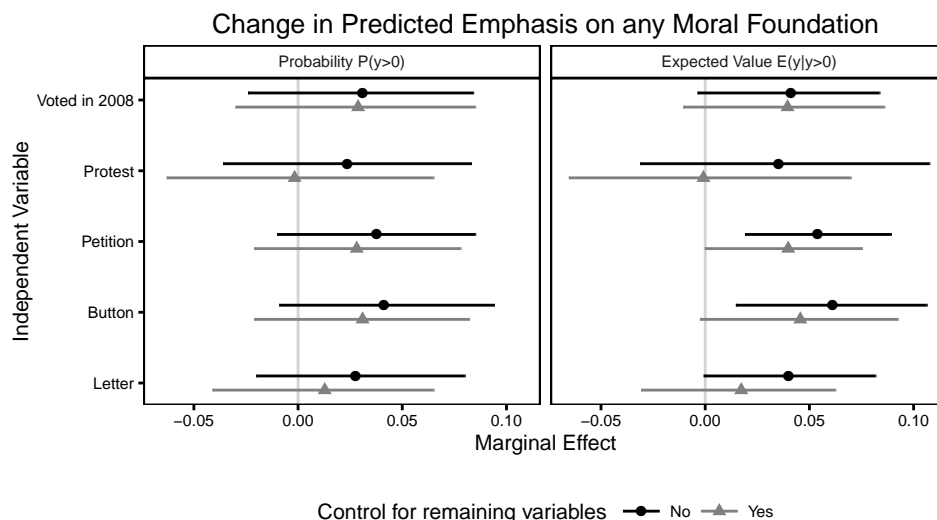


Figure C.1: Change in predicted overall reliance on moral foundations depending on previous turnout and non-conventional forms of participation (protest, petitions, campaign buttons, letter to congressmen/senator). The plot shows differences in predicted probabilities of mentioning any moral foundation (left panel) as well as in the summed MFT scores given that any foundation was mentioned (right panel), if a respondent engaged in the respective form of participation (vs. not) holding all other variables constant at their respective means (along with 95% confidence intervals). Positive values indicate higher probability of mentioning, or stronger emphasis on moral foundations. Estimates are based on Tobit models and gray triangles indicate estimates while additionally controlling for the remaining variables presented in the figure. Full model results are displayed in the appendix, Table D.10.

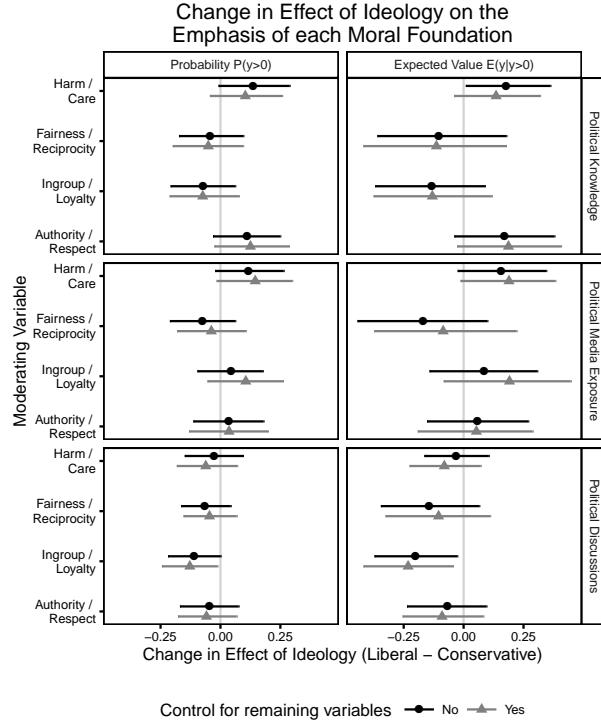


Figure C.2: Change in effect of ideology on emphasis of each moral foundation moderated by political knowledge, media exposure, and frequency of political discussions (difference-in-difference). The plot shows how the difference between liberals and conservatives in predicted probabilities to mention each moral foundation, as well as the respective MFT scores, change if each of the independent variables is increased from its minimum to its maximum value holding control variables constant at their respective means (along with 95% confidence intervals). Positive values indicate that liberals are more likely to mention a specific moral foundation if they score high on the moderating variable (knowledge, exposure, discussions, previous turnout, protest behavior), and vice versa. Estimates are based on individual Tobit models for each foundation and gray triangles indicate estimates while controlling for all remaining variables displayed in the figure. Full model results are displayed in Tables D.5, D.6, D.7, and D.11.

Appendix D Tables of Model Estimates

Ideological Differences in Moral Reasoning

Table D.1: Tobit models predicting MFT score for each foundation based on ideology. Positive coefficients indicate stronger emphasis on the respective foundation. Standard errors in parentheses. Estimates are used for Figure 2 in the main text.

Variable	Harm	Fairness	Ingroup	Authority
Ideology (Conservative)	-0.244 (0.075)	-0.697 (0.143)	0.366 (0.115)	-0.135 (0.091)
Ideology (Moderate)	-0.136 (0.075)	-0.511 (0.146)	0.101 (0.121)	-0.060 (0.093)
Church Attendance	-0.044 (0.086)	0.110 (0.167)	0.248 (0.132)	-0.124 (0.105)
Education (College Degree)	-0.063 (0.065)	0.236 (0.125)	0.307 (0.099)	0.104 (0.079)
Age	-0.002 (0.002)	0.001 (0.004)	-0.007 (0.003)	0.003 (0.002)
Sex (Female)	0.168 (0.059)	0.077 (0.114)	-0.246 (0.091)	-0.096 (0.072)
Race (African American)	0.026 (0.084)	-0.124 (0.166)	-0.217 (0.135)	0.339 (0.101)
Word Count (log)	0.314 (0.031)	0.527 (0.061)	0.775 (0.051)	0.585 (0.039)
Wordsum Score	0.553 (0.154)	0.662 (0.302)	0.601 (0.241)	0.323 (0.188)
Survey Mode (Online)	-0.102 (0.07)	0.206 (0.138)	0.149 (0.11)	0.301 (0.087)
Intercept	-2.004 (0.177)	-4.746 (0.363)	-4.867 (0.298)	-3.624 (0.227)
log(Sigma)	0.501 (0.02)	1.025 (0.027)	0.868 (0.023)	0.685 (0.02)
N	4684	4684	4684	4684
Log-Likelihood	-5113	-3960	-4568	-5044

The Political Relevance of Moral Reasoning

Table D.2: OLS models predicting feeling thermometer differentials based on MFT score for each foundation. Positive coefficients indicate more favorable evaluation of Democratic candidate/party than the Republican candidate/party, and vice versa. Standard errors in parentheses. Estimates are used for Figure 3 in the main text.

Variable	Party (1)	Party (2)	Cand. (1)	Cand. (2)
Harm	2.454 (0.716)	0.874 (0.5)	2.632 (0.857)	0.955 (0.643)
Fairness	1.831 (0.623)	0.691 (0.435)	3.091 (0.748)	1.790 (0.56)
Ingroup	-2.911 (0.646)	-0.899 (0.452)	-4.006 (0.777)	-1.771 (0.583)
Authority	2.249 (0.669)	0.524 (0.467)	2.251 (0.795)	0.366 (0.596)
PID (Democrat)		44.597 (1.073)		47.207 (1.375)
PID (Republican)		-44.710 (1.189)		-52.277 (1.527)
Church Attendance	-27.678 (1.821)	-11.450 (1.296)	-35.906 (2.181)	-17.641 (1.665)
Education (College Degree)	0.284 (1.464)	1.300 (1.023)	1.335 (1.757)	2.515 (1.317)
Age	-0.107 (0.039)	-0.119 (0.028)	-0.306 (0.047)	-0.315 (0.035)
Sex (Female)	7.461 (1.28)	2.926 (0.897)	9.270 (1.532)	4.373 (1.152)
Race (African American)	52.954 (1.739)	20.981 (1.294)	63.129 (2.08)	28.209 (1.659)
Word Count (log)	2.317 (0.637)	1.111 (0.445)	1.757 (0.763)	0.350 (0.572)
Wordsum Score	-0.851 (3.298)	2.547 (2.309)	0.580 (3.956)	4.105 (2.971)
Survey Mode (Online)	-5.828 (1.511)	-1.975 (1.06)	-8.689 (1.809)	-4.460 (1.362)
Intercept	8.129 (3.352)	4.584 (2.389)	21.428 (4.009)	19.166 (3.061)
N	5135	5123	5151	5140
R-squared (adj.)	0.211	0.617	0.224	0.565

Table D.3: Logit models predicting democratic vote choice based on MFT score for each foundation. Positive coefficients indicate higher likelihood to vote for the Democratic candidate than the Republican candidate. Standard errors in parentheses. Estimates are used for Figure 4 in the main text.

Variable	(1)	(2)
Harm	0.263 (0.064)	0.242 (0.091)
Fairness	0.198 (0.055)	0.170 (0.07)
Ingroup	-0.176 (0.042)	-0.072 (0.05)
Authority	0.071 (0.041)	0.013 (0.056)
PID (Democrat)		2.570 (0.133)
PID (Republican)		-2.636 (0.15)
Church Attendance	-1.637 (0.112)	-1.390 (0.155)
Education (College Degree)	0.175 (0.084)	0.374 (0.117)
Age	-0.009 (0.002)	-0.016 (0.003)
Sex (Female)	0.259 (0.077)	0.131 (0.105)
Race (African American)	4.239 (0.262)	3.261 (0.286)
Word Count (log)	0.108 (0.039)	0.049 (0.053)
Wordsum Score	-0.038 (0.206)	0.070 (0.282)
Survey Mode (Online)	-0.361 (0.094)	-0.382 (0.128)
Intercept	0.537 (0.217)	0.855 (0.294)
N	3827	3819
Log-Likelihood	-2023	-1192

The Conditionality of Moral Reasoning

Table D.4: Tobit models predicting overall reliance on moral foundations (sum of MFT scores) based on political knowledge, media exposure, and frequency of political discussions. Positive coefficients indicate stronger emphasis on any foundation. Standard errors in parentheses. Estimates are used for Figure 5 in the main text.

Variable	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Political Knowledge	0.260 (0.098)			0.236 (0.103)
Political Media Exposure		0.369 (0.088)		0.272 (0.095)
Political Discussions			0.263 (0.068)	0.202 (0.07)
Church Attendance	-0.020 (0.052)	-0.022 (0.053)	-0.006 (0.055)	-0.010 (0.055)
Education (College Degree)	0.079 (0.043)	0.079 (0.042)	0.097 (0.044)	0.070 (0.044)
Age	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.002 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	-0.002 (0.001)
Sex (Female)	0.018 (0.037)	0.016 (0.037)	0.017 (0.038)	0.041 (0.039)
Race (African American)	0.109 (0.05)	0.088 (0.05)	0.082 (0.052)	0.091 (0.052)
Word Count (log)	0.099 (0.019)	0.097 (0.018)	0.090 (0.019)	0.080 (0.02)
Wordsum Score	0.281 (0.1)	0.353 (0.096)	0.323 (0.1)	0.257 (0.104)
Survey Mode (Online)	0.042 (0.044)	0.043 (0.044)	0.099 (0.046)	0.061 (0.047)
Intercept	-0.401 (0.1)	-0.380 (0.097)	-0.356 (0.101)	-0.446 (0.105)
log(Sigma)	0.209 (0.014)	0.209 (0.014)	0.213 (0.014)	0.212 (0.014)
N	5173	5164	4834	4827
Log-Likelihood	-7132	-7117	-6687	-6672

Table D.5: Tobit models predicting MFT score for each foundation based on political knowledge (mean-centered) and ideology. Positive coefficients indicate stronger emphasis on the respective foundation. Standard errors in parentheses. Estimates are used for Figure 6 in the main text.

Variable	Harm	Fairness	Ingroup	Authority
Political Knowledge	0.690 (0.251)	0.003 (0.469)	0.025 (0.399)	0.904 (0.31)
Ideology (Conservative)	-0.206 (0.077)	-0.742 (0.151)	0.324 (0.121)	-0.094 (0.095)
Knowledge * Conservative	-0.609 (0.324)	0.543 (0.625)	0.523 (0.502)	-0.619 (0.398)
Ideology (Moderate)	-0.111 (0.076)	-0.511 (0.147)	0.089 (0.122)	-0.015 (0.094)
Knowledge * Moderate	-0.398 (0.335)	-0.385 (0.645)	0.285 (0.539)	-1.066 (0.413)
Church Attendance	-0.039 (0.086)	0.107 (0.167)	0.247 (0.132)	-0.120 (0.105)
Education (College Degree)	-0.088 (0.066)	0.228 (0.126)	0.288 (0.1)	0.072 (0.08)
Age	-0.002 (0.002)	0.001 (0.004)	-0.008 (0.003)	0.002 (0.002)
Sex (Female)	0.187 (0.06)	0.083 (0.116)	-0.222 (0.093)	-0.078 (0.073)
Race (African American)	0.048 (0.085)	-0.123 (0.167)	-0.202 (0.136)	0.360 (0.102)
Word Count (log)	0.303 (0.031)	0.526 (0.061)	0.767 (0.051)	0.575 (0.039)
Wordsum Score	0.451 (0.16)	0.649 (0.313)	0.520 (0.251)	0.231 (0.195)
Survey Mode (Online)	-0.125 (0.071)	0.197 (0.139)	0.131 (0.111)	0.273 (0.088)
Intercept	-1.885 (0.186)	-4.715 (0.38)	-4.744 (0.31)	-3.524 (0.237)
log(Sigma)	0.499 (0.02)	1.024 (0.027)	0.868 (0.023)	0.683 (0.02)
N	4684	4684	4684	4684
Log-Likelihood	-5109	-3959	-4566	-5039

Table D.6: Tobit models predicting MFT score for each foundation based on political media exposure (mean-centered) and ideology. Positive coefficients indicate stronger emphasis on the respective foundation. Standard errors in parentheses. Estimates are used for Figure 7 in the main text.

Variable	Harm	Fairness	Ingroup	Authority
Political Media Exposure	0.498 (0.245)	0.114 (0.46)	0.684 (0.394)	0.772 (0.302)
Ideology (Conservative)	-0.223 (0.075)	-0.732 (0.146)	0.379 (0.117)	-0.126 (0.093)
Media * Conservative	-0.514 (0.317)	0.810 (0.606)	-0.388 (0.491)	-0.166 (0.387)
Ideology (Moderate)	-0.125 (0.076)	-0.507 (0.146)	0.123 (0.122)	-0.034 (0.093)
Media * Moderate	-0.280 (0.326)	0.038 (0.629)	-0.512 (0.525)	-0.691 (0.402)
Church Attendance	-0.048 (0.086)	0.113 (0.167)	0.250 (0.132)	-0.125 (0.105)
Education (College Degree)	-0.078 (0.066)	0.225 (0.126)	0.292 (0.1)	0.077 (0.079)
Age	-0.003 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.004)	-0.009 (0.003)	0.000 (0.002)
Sex (Female)	0.175 (0.059)	0.101 (0.115)	-0.233 (0.092)	-0.070 (0.072)
Race (African American)	0.014 (0.085)	-0.120 (0.167)	-0.219 (0.135)	0.322 (0.102)
Word Count (log)	0.309 (0.031)	0.520 (0.061)	0.766 (0.051)	0.577 (0.039)
Wordsum Score	0.553 (0.154)	0.651 (0.302)	0.620 (0.241)	0.320 (0.188)
Survey Mode (Online)	-0.112 (0.071)	0.190 (0.139)	0.133 (0.11)	0.284 (0.087)
Intercept	-1.937 (0.182)	-4.621 (0.372)	-4.769 (0.305)	-3.485 (0.232)
log(Sigma)	0.500 (0.02)	1.024 (0.027)	0.867 (0.023)	0.684 (0.02)
N	4678	4678	4678	4678
Log-Likelihood	-5106	-3955	-4561	-5033

Table D.7: Tobit models predicting MFT score for each foundation based on political discussion frequency (mean-centered) and ideology. Positive coefficients indicate stronger emphasis on the respective foundation. Standard errors in parentheses. Estimates are used for Figure 8 in the main text.

Variable	Harm	Fairness	Ingroup	Authority
Political Discussion	0.149 (0.182)	0.182 (0.341)	0.178 (0.282)	0.222 (0.216)
Ideology (Conservative)	-0.283 (0.079)	-0.727 (0.153)	0.276 (0.12)	-0.122 (0.094)
Discussion * Conservative	0.132 (0.238)	0.683 (0.45)	0.717 (0.356)	0.242 (0.28)
Ideology (Moderate)	-0.157 (0.079)	-0.497 (0.153)	0.090 (0.124)	-0.090 (0.094)
Discussion * Moderate	-0.356 (0.27)	0.729 (0.507)	0.576 (0.41)	-0.547 (0.322)
Church Attendance	0.001 (0.09)	0.126 (0.174)	0.265 (0.135)	-0.149 (0.106)
Education (College Degree)	-0.074 (0.068)	0.222 (0.13)	0.308 (0.101)	0.119 (0.08)
Age	-0.002 (0.002)	0.000 (0.004)	-0.007 (0.003)	0.003 (0.002)
Sex (Female)	0.158 (0.061)	0.124 (0.119)	-0.240 (0.093)	-0.070 (0.073)
Race (African American)	0.003 (0.088)	-0.135 (0.173)	-0.228 (0.138)	0.338 (0.103)
Word Count (log)	0.311 (0.033)	0.474 (0.064)	0.730 (0.053)	0.557 (0.04)
Wordsum Score	0.530 (0.162)	0.698 (0.317)	0.550 (0.249)	0.342 (0.192)
Survey Mode (Online)	-0.079 (0.074)	0.251 (0.145)	0.219 (0.113)	0.283 (0.089)
Intercept	-1.972 (0.188)	-4.605 (0.383)	-4.670 (0.308)	-3.526 (0.234)
log(Sigma)	0.509 (0.021)	1.033 (0.028)	0.856 (0.023)	0.665 (0.021)
N	4377	4377	4377	4377
Log-Likelihood	-4812	-3727	-4271	-4726

Table D.8: Tobit models predicting MFT score for each foundation based on moral content of individual media environments. Positive coefficients indicate stronger emphasis on the respective foundation. Standard errors in parentheses. Estimates are used for Figure 9 in the main text.

Variable	Harm	Fairness	Ingroup	Authority
Media MFT score (harm)	0.030 (0.016)			
Media MFT score (fairness)		0.051 (0.024)		
Media MFT score (ingroup)			0.001 (0.029)	
Media MFT score (authority)				0.001 (0.017)
Church Attendance	-0.128 (0.078)	-0.029 (0.152)	0.357 (0.124)	-0.115 (0.097)
Education (College Degree)	-0.063 (0.063)	0.239 (0.122)	0.345 (0.099)	0.110 (0.079)
Age	-0.002 (0.002)	0.002 (0.003)	-0.004 (0.003)	0.001 (0.002)
Sex (Female)	0.196 (0.055)	0.153 (0.109)	-0.308 (0.088)	-0.092 (0.069)
Race (African American)	0.161 (0.073)	-0.020 (0.15)	-0.272 (0.123)	0.383 (0.092)
Word Count (log)	0.304 (0.028)	0.560 (0.058)	0.798 (0.049)	0.588 (0.037)
Wordsum Score	0.519 (0.143)	0.679 (0.288)	0.452 (0.233)	0.255 (0.181)
Survey Mode (Online)	-0.117 (0.064)	0.322 (0.128)	0.248 (0.104)	0.268 (0.081)
Intercept	-2.025 (0.152)	-5.414 (0.331)	-4.945 (0.269)	-3.535 (0.201)
log(Sigma)	0.481 (0.019)	1.011 (0.026)	0.879 (0.022)	0.691 (0.019)
N	5173	5173	5173	5173
Log-Likelihood	-5650	-4222	-4936	-5581

Examining Alternative Explanations

Table D.9: Tobit models predicting MFT score for each foundation based on ideology (telephone survey replication). Positive coefficients indicate stronger emphasis on the respective foundation. Standard errors in parentheses. Estimates are used for Figure 10 in the main text.

Variable	Harm	Fairness	Ingroup	Authority
Ideology (Conservative)	-2.451 (1.102)	-3.497 (1.196)	1.786 (1.123)	-0.993 (0.808)
Ideology (Moderate)	-1.374 (0.876)	-1.917 (0.859)	-1.394 (1.096)	-1.030 (0.687)
Church Attendance	-0.918 (1.282)	1.363 (1.25)	1.015 (1.375)	1.455 (0.977)
Education (College Degree)	0.810 (0.787)	0.482 (0.762)	1.197 (0.885)	1.100 (0.606)
Age	-0.002 (0.026)	0.044 (0.025)	-0.031 (0.029)	-0.058 (0.022)
Sex (Female)	-0.777 (0.774)	-0.097 (0.753)	-0.706 (0.853)	-0.400 (0.587)
Race (African American)	0.591 (1.731)	1.563 (1.598)	-0.038 (2.107)	0.385 (1.305)
Word Count (log)	2.517 (0.671)	0.269 (0.481)	1.562 (0.645)	0.728 (0.399)
Intercept	-11.759 (2.794)	-7.623 (2.249)	-10.262 (2.803)	-3.802 (1.652)
log(Sigma)	1.507 (0.121)	1.433 (0.139)	1.595 (0.127)	1.325 (0.108)
N	395	395	395	395
Log-Likelihood	-224	-192	-219	-266

Additional Models and Robustness Checks in Appendix

Table D.10: Tobit models predicting overall reliance on moral foundations (sum of MFT scores) based on political participation. Positive coefficients indicate stronger emphasis on any foundation. Standard errors in parentheses. Estimates are used for Figure C.1 in the appendix.

Variable	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Voted in 2008	0.096 (0.052)					0.091 (0.054)
Protest		0.076 (0.076)				-0.002 (0.08)
Petition			0.122 (0.041)			0.091 (0.044)
Button				0.135 (0.051)		0.106 (0.052)
Letter					0.090 (0.048)	0.040 (0.051)
Church Attendance	-0.032 (0.053)	0.001 (0.055)	0.001 (0.055)	-0.007 (0.055)	-0.004 (0.055)	-0.023 (0.055)
Education (College Degree)	0.085 (0.043)	0.103 (0.044)	0.095 (0.044)	0.108 (0.044)	0.095 (0.044)	0.086 (0.045)
Age	-0.001 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)
Sex (Female)	0.002 (0.037)	0.011 (0.038)	0.010 (0.038)	0.010 (0.038)	0.015 (0.038)	0.014 (0.039)
Race (African American)	0.089 (0.05)	0.088 (0.052)	0.090 (0.052)	0.069 (0.052)	0.092 (0.052)	0.071 (0.053)
Word Count (log)	0.103 (0.018)	0.105 (0.019)	0.097 (0.019)	0.103 (0.019)	0.101 (0.019)	0.091 (0.02)
Wordsum Score	0.339 (0.096)	0.349 (0.1)	0.312 (0.101)	0.350 (0.1)	0.338 (0.1)	0.299 (0.101)
Survey Mode (Online)	0.053 (0.044)	0.080 (0.045)	0.070 (0.046)	0.073 (0.045)	0.069 (0.046)	0.056 (0.046)
Intercept	-0.353 (0.097)	-0.385 (0.101)	-0.362 (0.102)	-0.376 (0.101)	-0.358 (0.102)	-0.364 (0.103)
log(Sigma)	0.209 (0.014)	0.215 (0.014)	0.215 (0.014)	0.214 (0.014)	0.214 (0.014)	0.213 (0.014)
N	5157	4846	4833	4849	4847	4816
Log-Likelihood	-7108	-6709	-6688	-6709	-6709	-6657

Table D.11: Tobit models predicting MFT score for each foundation based on political knowledge, media exposure, and discussion frequency (all mean-centered) as well as ideology. Positive coefficients indicate stronger emphasis on the respective foundation. Standard errors in parentheses. Estimates are used for Figure C.2 in the appendix.

Variable	Harm	Fairness	Ingroup	Authority
Political Knowledge	0.668 (0.262)	-0.191 (0.492)	-0.096 (0.407)	0.789 (0.315)
Political Media Exposure	0.412 (0.266)	-0.032 (0.502)	0.604 (0.417)	0.586 (0.32)
Political Discussion	0.034 (0.19)	0.200 (0.356)	0.059 (0.295)	0.078 (0.226)
Ideology (Conservative)	-0.241 (0.082)	-0.774 (0.16)	0.260 (0.125)	-0.069 (0.098)
Knowledge * Conservative	-0.468 (0.348)	0.526 (0.671)	0.514 (0.524)	-0.701 (0.413)
Media * Conservative	-0.657 (0.353)	0.429 (0.675)	-0.777 (0.534)	-0.160 (0.418)
Discussion * Conservative	0.307 (0.25)	0.537 (0.474)	0.853 (0.375)	0.303 (0.294)
Ideology (Moderate)	-0.133 (0.08)	-0.495 (0.154)	0.077 (0.126)	-0.038 (0.096)
Knowledge * Moderate	-0.406 (0.355)	-0.365 (0.685)	0.782 (0.561)	-0.948 (0.425)
Media * Moderate	-0.077 (0.356)	0.013 (0.69)	-0.594 (0.562)	-0.352 (0.427)
Discussion * Moderate	-0.304 (0.28)	0.737 (0.526)	0.659 (0.426)	-0.417 (0.334)
Church Attendance	0.000 (0.09)	0.124 (0.174)	0.256 (0.135)	-0.146 (0.106)
Education (College Degree)	-0.112 (0.069)	0.227 (0.132)	0.287 (0.103)	0.074 (0.081)
Age	-0.003 (0.002)	0.000 (0.004)	-0.008 (0.003)	0.001 (0.002)
Sex (Female)	0.179 (0.063)	0.126 (0.121)	-0.213 (0.095)	-0.041 (0.074)
Race (African American)	0.020 (0.089)	-0.136 (0.175)	-0.213 (0.139)	0.347 (0.103)
Word Count (log)	0.298 (0.033)	0.478 (0.065)	0.720 (0.053)	0.547 (0.04)
Wordsum Score	0.431 (0.168)	0.740 (0.33)	0.476 (0.258)	0.287 (0.199)
Survey Mode (Online)	-0.116 (0.075)	0.248 (0.148)	0.184 (0.115)	0.243 (0.09)
Intercept	-1.800 (0.199)	-4.629 (0.406)	-4.505 (0.324)	-3.366 (0.247)
log(Sigma)	0.507 (0.021)	1.033 (0.028)	0.855 (0.023)	0.664 (0.021)
N	4372	4372	4372	4372
Log-Likelihood	-4801	-3722	-4267	-4713