Appendix for Candidate Rhetorical Strategy and Perceptions of Sincerity

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Respondent Demographics

	Study 1	Study 2	Study 3	Study 4
Male	-	47%	43%	55%
Mean Age	-	48	49	35-44
Race				
White	-	62%	73%	76%
Black	-	12%	12%	9%
Other	-	2%	3%	2%
Hispanic	-	17%	8%	5%
Multi	-	3%	2%	-
Asian	-	4%	3%	8%
Education				
No HS diploma	-	4%	2%	<1%
HS graduate	-	17%	28%	9%
Some college	-	44%	34%	28%
BA or above	-	34%	36%	63%
Partisanship				
Democrat	48%	37%	36%	50%
Independent	29%	38%	37%	22%
Republican	23%	25%	27%	27%
Ideology				
Liberal	53%	41%	35%	57%
Moderate/DK	21%	30%	32%	16%
Conservative	26%	30%	33%	27%

Study 1: Experimental Treatments

1. Democratic Candidate on the Environment

Moderate Pragmatic	"We need to adopt tax incentives to encourage companies to shift to clean, renewable energy. We cannot afford to keep paying to clean up after dirty energy."
Extreme Pragmatic	"We need to adopt a timetable that forces companies to transition to 100% clean, renewable energy. We cannot afford to keep paying to clean up after dirty energy."
Moderate Moral	"We need to adopt tax incentives to encourage companies to shift to clean, renewable energy. We have a moral obligation to protect our planet for future generations."
Extreme Moral	"We need to adopt a timetable that forces companies to transition to 100% clean, renewable energy. We have a moral obligation to protect our planet for future generations."

2. Democratic Candidate on Homelessness

Moderate Pragmatic	"We need to provide better resources to help homeless people get off the
	streets. These programs have been shown to reduce the costs of
	homelessness in the long run."
Extreme Pragmatic	"We need to take every homeless person off the streets and provide them
	housing. These programs have been shown to reduce the costs of
	homelessness in the long run."
Moderate Moral	"We need to provide better resources to help homeless people get off the
	streets. We have a moral responsibility to ensure that people have a safe
	place to sleep at night."
Extreme Moral	"We need to take every homeless person off the streets and provide them
	with housing. We have a moral responsibility to ensure that people have a
	safe place to sleep at night."

3. Democratic Candidate on Taxes

Moderate Pragmatic	"My tax plan will make sure that this country's millionaires pay their fair
	share. Our government needs to control its ballooning debt."
Extreme Pragmatic	"It's simple: anyone making more than \$200,000 a year should be paying
	much higher taxes. Our government needs to control its ballooning debt."
Moderate Moral	"My tax plan will make sure that this country's millionaires pay their fair
	share. The extreme inequality in our country is a violation of human
	decency."
Extreme Moral	"It's simple: anyone making more than \$200,000 a year should be paying
	much higher taxes. The extreme inequality in our country is a violation of
	human decency."

4. Democratic Candidate on Immigration

Moderate Pragmatic	"We need to make changes to Immigration and Customs Enforcement
	(ICE). We are pouring money into raids that target only minor immigration
	crimes. This is ineffective and wasteful."
Extreme Pragmatic	"We need to abolish Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE). We are
	pouring money into raids that target only minor immigration crimes. This
	is ineffective and wasteful."
Moderate Moral	"We need to make changes to Immigration and Customs Enforcement
	(ICE). ICE is ripping apart families and forcing people out of the only
	country they have ever known. This is immoral and wrong."
Extreme Moral	"We need to abolish Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE). ICE is
	ripping apart families and forcing people out of the only country they have
	ever known. This is immoral and wrong."

5. Democratic Candidate on Education

Moderate Pragmatic	"We need to reduce the costs of university, college, apprenticeship, and
	certification programs. We need a well-prepared workforce to ensure
	America's place as a leader in this competitive economy. "
Extreme Pragmatic	"We need to provide every student with free access to university, college,
	apprenticeship, and certification programs. We need a well-prepared
	workforce to ensure America's place as a leader in this competitive
	economy."
Moderate Moral	"We need to reduce the costs of university, college, apprenticeship, and
	certification programs. Education is key to creating a fair and level playing
	field for all Americans."
Extreme Moral	"We need to provide every student with free access to university, college,
	apprenticeship, and certification programs. Education is key to creating a
	fair and level playing field for all Americans."

6. Republican Candidate on Spending

o. Republican Canadatic on Spending		
Moderate Pragmatic	"We need to limit any increases in government spending to get the	
	national debt under control. If debt continues to climb, it will slow our	
	economy and hurt our businesses. "	
Extreme Pragmatic	"We need to eliminate all unneccessary government spending to get the	
	national debt under control. If debt continues to climb, it will slow our	
	economy and hurt our businesses. "	
Moderate Moral	"We need to limit any increases in government spending to get the national	
	debt under control. It would be immoral to saddle future generations with	
	our debt."	
Extreme Moral	"We need to eliminate all unnecessary government spending to get the	
	national debt under control. It would be immoral to saddle future	
	generations with our debt."	

7. Republican Candidate on Welfare

Moderate Pragmatic	"The costs of our welfare programs are unsustainable. We need to place
	stricter limits on who can receive welfare."

Extreme Pragmatic	"The costs of our welfare programs are unsustainable. We need to leave it
	up to local communities and charities to help those who really need it."
Moderate Moral	"It is morally wrong for the government to give our hard-earned tax dollars
	to people who aren't willing to work for themselves. We need to place
	stricter limits on who can receive welfare."
Extreme Moral	"It is morally wrong for the government to give our hard-earned tax dollars
	to people who aren't willing to work for themselves. We need to leave it up
	to local communities and charities to help those who really need it."

8. Republican Candidate on the Environment

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Moderate Pragmatic	"We must oppose attempts to place new environmental regulations on our	
	businesses. These regulations will cost us jobs and hurt our economy."	
Extreme Pragmatic	"We must repeal the environmental regulations placed on our businesses.	
	These regulations will cost us jobs and hurt our economy."	
Moderate Moral	"We must oppose attempts to place new environmental regulations on our	
	businesses. We have a moral obligation to protect American workers."	
Extreme Moral	"We must repeal the environmental regulations placed on our businesses.	
	We have a moral obligation to protect American workers."	

9. Republican Candidate on Guns

3. Republican Canadatte on Gans		
Moderate Pragmatic	"Restrictions on gun ownership are costly and ineffective. We must block	
	any attempts to make purchasing a gun more difficult than it already is."	
Extreme Pragmatic	"Restrictions on gun ownership are costly and ineffective. Instead, we	
	should be pushing for legislation that makes it easier for Americans to	
	purchase and carry their own guns."	
Moderate Moral	"Restrictions on gun ownership are immoral and leave innocent lives	
	unprotected. We must block any attempts to make purchasing a gun more	
	difficult than it already is."	
Extreme Moral	"Restrictions on gun ownership are immoral and leave innocent lives	
	unprotected. Instead, we should be pushing for legislation that makes it	
	easier for Americans to purchase and carry their own guns."	

10. Republican Candidate on Immigration

10. Republican Canadate on miningration	
Moderate Pragmatic	"While those who were brought here as children should be allowed to stay,
	adults who enter the country illegally should be deported. It is too costly to
	continue to provide services to everyone who crosses the border. "
Extreme Pragmatic	"We need to take a zero-tolerance approach to immigration and
	immediately deport anyone who comes here illegally. It is too costly to
	continue to provide services to everyone who crosses the border."

Moderate Moral	"While those who were brought here as children should be allowed to stay, adults who enter the country illegally should be deported. It is wrong to offer services and sanctuary to those who enter illegally when so many law-abiding people are waiting to enter the country through the proper channels."
Extreme Moral	"We need to take a zero-tolerance approach to immigration and immediately deport anyone who comes here illegally. It is wrong to offer services and sanctuary to those who enter illegally when so many lawabiding people are waiting to enter the country through the proper channels."

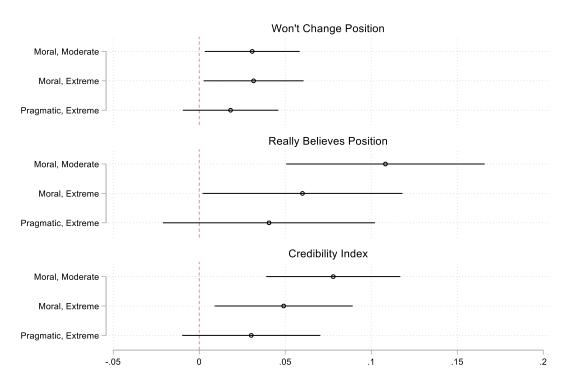
Study 1: Model Results

	Manipulation Check: Moral Stance	Manipulation Check: Represents	DV: Unlikely to Change	DV: Really Believes	DV: Sincerity Index
		Public			
Moral Justification	0.23***	-0.00	0.02^{*}	0.06**	0.05***
	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)
Extreme Stance	0.04	-0.17***	0.01	-0.00	0.00
	(0.02)	(0.04)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)
Constant	0.46***	3.24***	0.67***	0.67***	0.63***
	(0.04)	(0.07)	(0.02)	(0.04)	(0.02)
Respondent Random Effects	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Issue Fixed Effects	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
N	1890	1890	1890	1890	1920

Standard errors in parentheses p < 0.05, p < 0.01, p < 0.001

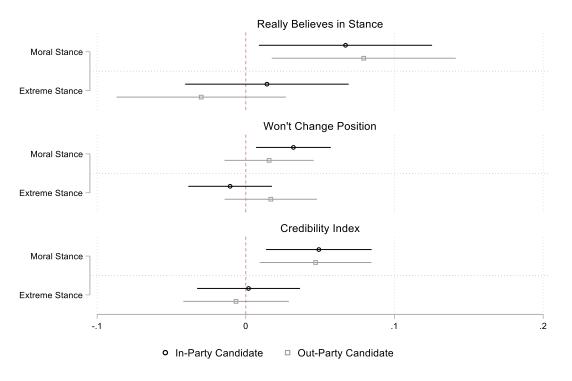
Study 1: Allowing for interactions between treatments

The figure below shows the coefficients for the moral/moderate, moral/extreme, and pragmatic/extreme conditions separately. As is clear, the effects tend to be largest for the moral/moderate condition, but these effects are not significantly different from the moral/extreme condition.



Study 1: Allowing in-party and out-party effects to differ

The figure below shows the coefficients from a model that separately estimates treatment effects for in-party candidates and out-party candidates. As is clear, we find no significant differences in treatment effects by out-party status.



Pilot Study on Measuring Perceptions of Sincerity

To improve our measure of perceptions of the sincerity of politicians' issue stances, we conducted a pilot study on 200 respondents recruited from Mechanical Turk. Our survey included questions about stances taken by two different politicians (Beto O'Rourke and Bernie Sanders) on three different issues (health care, gun control, criminal justice). Respondents were randomly assigned to evaluate two of the six stances. For each stance, respondents were shown a direct quote from one of the politicians taking a stance on one of the issues, then asked nine questions regarding their credibility on the issue. The full text of the questions is shown below:

- 1. Do you think <candidate> truly believes in <stance>, or is just saying what some people want to hear?
 - a. Definitely believes
 - b. Probably believes
 - c. Probably just saying what people want to hear
 - d. Definitely just saying what people want to hear
- 2. How sincere is <candidate>'s stance on <issue>?
 - a. Not sincere at all
 - b. Not too sincere
 - c. Somewhat sincere
 - d. Very sincere
 - e. Completely sincere
- 3. How likely do you think it is that <candidate> will flip-flop on a national buyback program in the future?
 - a. Not likely at all
 - b. Not too likely
 - c. Somewhat likely
 - d. Very likely
 - e. Extremely likely
- 4. How committed do you think <candidate> is to <stance>?
 - a. Not committed at all
 - b. Not too committed
 - c. Somewhat committed
 - d. Very committed
 - e. Extremely committed
- 5. How hard do you think <candidate> will work on achieving <stance>?
 - a. Not hard at all
 - b. Not too hard
 - c. Somewhat hard
 - d. Very hard
 - e. Extremely hard

- 6. In your opinion, how likely is it that <candidate> would back down from his position on <issue> if pressured by party leadership?
 - a. Not likely at all
 - b. Not too likely
 - c. Somewhat likely
 - d. Very likely
 - e. Extremely likely
- 7. How likely is it that <candidate> would be a leader on <issue>?
 - a. Not likely at all
 - b. Not too likely
 - c. Somewhat likely
 - d. Very likely
 - e. Extremely likely
- 8. How likely do you think it is that <candidate> would accept donations from an organization **opposed** to <stance>?
 - a. Not likely at all
 - b. Not too likely
 - c. Somewhat likely
 - d. Very likely
 - e. Extremely likely
- 9. How likely is it that <candidate> can actually achieve <stance>?
 - a. Not likely at all
 - b. Not too likely
 - c. Somewhat likely
 - d. Very likely
 - e. Extremely likely

We stacked the data and conducted a factor analysis to test the structure of the data. There was a clear single factor solution. The rotated factor loadings of a single-factor model are displayed below. In selecting the final four items, we first excluded two items that did not load as well on the latent factor – a question about accepting donations and a question about achieving policy goals. The remaining seven items all loaded well on the latent factor, so we selected four items that would maintain diversity in the content of the questions and avoid pairs of items that are mostly redundant (e.g., truly believes and sincerity of the stance). Thus, we picked the top four items, shown in bold, which cover the politician's beliefs, their motivation, and their likely behavior.

Table A1: Factor Loadings of Potential Outcome Measures, Pilot Study

Outcome	Factor Loading
Truly believes position	.86
Committed to the stance	.88
Likely to be a leader on the issue	.79
Likely to flip-flop in the future (R)	.70

Sincerity of the stance	.86
Likelihood of backing down if pressured by party leadership (R)	.68
Likelihood of accepting donations from groups opposed to stance	.53
(R)	
Likelihood politician can achieve policy goals	.51
How hard politician will work on the issue	.88

Bolded, italicized items are included in Study 2. (R)=reverse coded.

We were also interested in how perceptions of sincerity vary across candidates and across issues. To examine this variation, we estimated sincerity as a function of a candidate dummy variable (Bernie vs. Beto), an issue indicator (health, guns, criminal justice), and an interaction between the two. Additionally, we included respondent random effects and clustered standard errors on the respondent. Our results show that perceived sincerity varies both between and within candidates. Respondents viewed Bernie as significantly more sincere than Beto across all issues (ps < .01). However, this effect was significantly larger for health care (b = 1.06, p < .001) than for gun control (b = 0.48, p = .001). Thus, while there are trait-like differences between candidates, there are also clear differences across issues as well.

Study 2: Candidate Vignettes and Experimental Treatments

Vignette 1

We are interested in how people evaluate politicians. Below is the profile of a <Democratic/Republican> U.S. House candidate who will appear on the 2020 November General Election Ballot. Please read the information provided and then answer the questions that follow.

<Democratic/Republican> Candidate for the U.S. House

(+) Expand (-) Collapse

- Biography:

Gender: Male

Age: 63

Family: Wife, 1 child

Education: JD, University of Chicago Law School

- Political Experience:

City council

State legislature

- Issue Positions

- + Economy
- + Defense
- < Manipulated Issue Domain>

<Manipulated issue stance>

Full Vignette Details

Vignette	1	2	3	4	5
Gender	Male	Female	Female	Male	Male
Age	63	54	61	49	71
Family	Wife, 1 child	Husband, 2 children	Divorced, 1 child	Wife, 3 children	Wife, 2 children
Education	JD, University of Chicago Law School	MBA, University of Pennsylvania	PhD, Harvard University	MD, Johns Hopkins University	MA, Georgetown University
Experience	City council, state legislature	City Comptroller	None	School Board	City Council, Mayor

Study 2: Candidate Issue Stances

Domain: Democrat, Environment

Extreme & Pragmatic

"We need to adopt a timetable that forces companies to transition to 100% clean, renewable energy. We cannot afford to keep paying to clean up after dirty energy."

Moderate & Pragmatic

"We need to adopt tax incentives to encourage companies to shift to clean, renewable energy. We cannot afford to keep paying to clean up after dirty energy."

Moderate & Moral

"We need to adopt tax incentives to encourage companies to shift to clean, renewable energy. We have a moral obligation to protect our planet for future generations."

Extreme & Moral

"We need to adopt a timetable that forces companies to transition to 100% clean, renewable energy. We have a moral obligation to protect our planet for future generations."

Domain: Democrat, Homelessness

Extreme & Pragmatic

"We need to take every homeless person off the streets and provide them housing. These programs have been shown to reduce the costs of homelessness in the long run."

Extreme & Moral

"We need to take every homeless person off the streets and provide them with housing. We have a moral responsibility to ensure that people have a safe place to sleep at night."

Moderate & Pragmatic

"We need to provide better resources to help homeless people get off the streets. These programs have been shown to reduce the costs of homelessness in the long run."

Moderate & Moral

"We need to provide better resources to help homeless people get off the streets. We have a moral responsibility to ensure that people have a safe place to sleep at night."

Domain: Democrat, Taxes

Extreme & Pragmatic

"It's simple: anyone making more than \$200,000 a year should be paying much higher taxes. Our government needs to control its ballooning debt."

Extreme & Moral

"It's simple: anyone making more than \$200,000 a year should be paying much higher taxes. The extreme inequality in our country is a violation of human decency."

Moderate & Pragmatic

"My tax plan will make sure that this country's millionaires pay their fair share. Our government needs to control its ballooning debt."

Moderate & Moral

"My tax plan will make sure that this country's millionaires pay their fair share. The extreme inequality in our country is a violation of human decency."

Domain: Democrat, Immigration

Extreme & Pragmatic

"We need to abolish Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE). We are pouring money into raids that target only minor immigration crimes. This is ineffective and wasteful."

Extreme & Moral

"We need to abolish Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE). ICE is ripping apart families and forcing people out of the only country they have ever known. This is immoral and wrong."

Moderate & Moral

"We need to make changes to Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE). ICE is ripping apart families and forcing people out of the only country they have ever known. This is immoral and wrong."

Moderate & Pragmatic

"We need to make changes to Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE). We are pouring money into raids that target only minor immigration crimes. This is ineffective and wasteful."

Domain: Democrat, Education

Extreme & Moral

"We need to provide every student with free access to university, college, apprenticeship, and certification programs. Education is key to creating a fair and level playing field for all Americans."

Moderate & Pragmatic

"We need to reduce the costs of university, college, apprenticeship, and certification programs. We need a well-prepared workforce to ensure America's place as a leader in this competitive economy."

Extreme & Pragmatic

"We need to provide every student with free access to university, college, apprenticeship, and certification programs. We need a well-prepared workforce to ensure America's place as a leader in this competitive economy."

Moderate & Moral

"We need to reduce the costs of university, college, apprenticeship, and certification programs. Education is key to creating a fair and level playing field for all Americans."

Domain: Republican, Spending

Extreme & Pragmatic

"We need to eliminate all unnecessary government spending to get the national debt under control. If debt continues to climb, it will slow our economy and hurt our businesses."

Extreme & Moral

"We need to eliminate all unnecessary government spending to get the national debt under control. It would be immoral to saddle future generations with our debt."

Moderate & Pragmatic

"We need to limit any increases in government spending to get the national debt under control. If debt continues to climb, it will slow our economy and hurt our businesses."

Moderate & Moral

"We need to limit any increases in government spending to get the national debt under control. It would be immoral to saddle future generations with our debt."

Domain: Republican, Welfare

Extreme & Moral

"It is morally wrong for the government to give our hard-earned tax dollars to people who aren't willing to work for themselves. We need to leave it up to local communities and charities to help those who really need it."

Extreme & Pragmatic

"The costs of our welfare programs are unsustainable. We need to leave it up to local communities and charities to help those who really need it."

Moderate & Moral

"It is morally wrong for the government to give our hard-earned tax dollars to people who aren't willing to work for themselves. We need to place stricter limits on who can receive welfare."

Moderate & Pragmatic

"The costs of our welfare programs are unsustainable. We need to place stricter limits on who can receive welfare."

Domain: Republican, Environment

Extreme & Moral

"We must repeal the environmental regulations placed on our businesses. We have a moral obligation to protect American workers."

Extreme & Pragmatic

"We must repeal the environmental regulations placed on our businesses. These regulations will cost us jobs and hurt our economy."

Moderate & Moral

"We must oppose attempts to place new environmental regulations on our businesses. We have a moral obligation to protect American workers."

Moderate & Pragmatic

"We must oppose attempts to place new environmental regulations on our businesses. These regulations will cost us jobs and hurt our economy."

Domain: Republican, Guns

Extreme & Pragmatic

"Restrictions on gun ownership are costly and ineffective. Instead, we should be pushing for legislation that makes it easier for Americans to purchase and carry their own guns."

Extreme & Moral

"Restrictions on gun ownership are immoral and leave innocent lives unprotected. Instead, we should be pushing for legislation that makes it easier for Americans to purchase and carry their own guns."

Moderate & Pragmatic

"Restrictions on gun ownership are costly and ineffective. We must block any attempts to make purchasing a gun more difficult than it already is."

Moderate & Moral

"Restrictions on gun ownership are immoral and leave innocent lives unprotected. We must block any attempts to make purchasing a gun more difficult than it already is."

Domain: Republican, Immigration

Extreme & Pragmatic

"We need to take a zero-tolerance approach to immigration and immediately deport anyone who comes here illegally. It is too costly to continue to provide services to everyone who crosses the border."

Extreme & Moral

"We need to take a zero-tolerance approach to immigration and immediately deport anyone who comes here illegally. It is wrong to offer services and sanctuary to those who enter illegally when so many law-abiding people are waiting to enter the country through the proper channels."

Moderate & Pragmatic

"While those who were brought here as children should be allowed to stay, adults who enter the country illegally should be deported. It is too costly to continue to provide services to everyone who crosses the border."

Moderate & Moral

"While those who were brought here as children should be allowed to stay, adults who enter the country illegally should be deported. It is wrong to offer services and sanctuary to those who enter illegally when so many law-abiding people are waiting to enter the country through the proper channels."

Study 2: Model Results

	Manipulation Check: Moral Stance	Manipulation Check: Represents Public	DV: Sincerity Index	DV: Sincerity Index
Moral Justification	0.24*** (0.02)	-0.04 (0.03)	0.02** (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)
Extreme Stance	-0.00 (0.02)	0.08** (0.03)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Partisan Strength	-	-	-	0.03*** (0.00)
Trust in Government	-	-	-	0.02* (0.01)
Constant	0.21*** (0.03)	3.12*** (0.04)	0.52*** (0.01)	0.43*** (0.02)
Respondent Random Effects	Y	Y	Y	Y
Issue Fixed Effects	Y	Y	Y	Y
Respondents	768	768	768	768
Observations	2,292	2,299	2,269	2,269

Standard errors in parentheses. Note: the "represents public" manipulation check is coded such that high values indicate poor representation of the American public. p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Study 3 Model Results

	Biden Sincerity	Biden Sincerity
	Base Model	Full Model
Moral Justification	.07	04
	(.08)	(.06)
Issue: Criminal Justice	22	31***
	(.08)	(.06)
Biden Favorability		.02***
•		(.00)
Partisanship		05*
		(.02)
Ideology		01
		(.02)
Constant	2.85***	2.12***
	(.07)	(.16)
R^2	.01	.50
N	999	942

Partisanship and ideology coded in the Republican/conservative direction Standard errors in parentheses * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Study 4 Model Results

	Ideology	Favorability	Character	Anger	Enthusiasm
Moral Justification	0.02	-0.01	-0.01	0.00	0.03
	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Extreme Stance	0.11^{***}	0.05^{**}	0.06^{***}	0.06^{**}	0.03
	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Constant	0.51***	0.43***	0.33***	0.40***	0.37***
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Respondent Randon	m Effects	Y	Y	Y	Y
Issue Fixed Effects		Y	Y	Y	Y
Respondents	865	865	865	863	864
Observations	1728	1726	1724	1720	1726

Study 4 In-Party Evaluations

	In-Party	In-Party	In-Party	In-Party
	Favorability	Character	Anger	Enthusiasm
Moral Justification	0.01	0.03**	-0.02	0.02
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Extreme Stance	-0.02	0.02	0.02^{*}	-0.00
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Constant	0.75***	0.68***	0.12***	0.57***
	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)
R^2	865	865	864	864
N	1726	1727	1723	1727

Standard errors in parentheses p < 0.05, p < 0.01, p < 0.001

Standard errors in parentheses p < 0.05, p < 0.01, p < 0.001

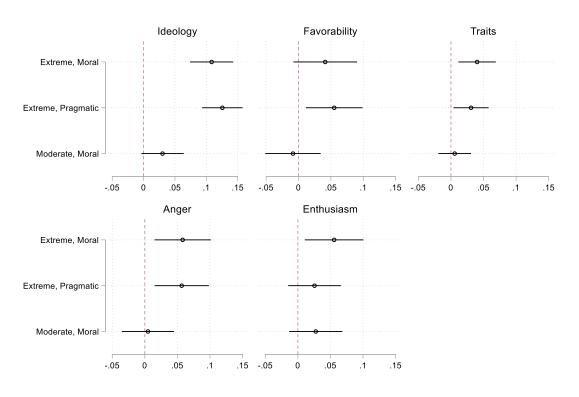
Study 4 Out-Party Evaluations

	Out-Party Favorability	Out-Party Character	Out-Party Anger	Out-Party Enthusiasm
Moral Justification	0.02	0.04**	-0.01	-0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Extreme Stance	-0.07***	-0.04***	0.07***	-0.03**
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
	0.22***	0.05***	0.71***	0.20***
Constant	0.32***	0.35***	0.51***	0.20^{***}
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.03)
R^2	865	865	863	865
N	1730	1727	1724	1728

Standard errors in parentheses p < 0.05, p < 0.01, p < 0.001

Alternative Analysis of Study 4

In the main text of the manuscript, we reported results from a model including dummy variables for the extreme and moral conditions. Here we present results from a model in which we dummy out each combination of treatments with the moderate pragmatic condition as the omitted baseline. As is clear, polarizing effects are limited to the extreme issue stances.



Ethical Statement

For all studies reported in the manuscript, we obtained voluntary and informed consent virtually prior to participating in the survey. None of our studies involved deception and all were approved by our university's institutional review board. In Study 1, we paid respondents \$0.75 if they completed the survey. The median respondent spent 5.5 minutes on the survey, for an estimated hourly rate of approximately \$8.10, which is above the US federal minimum wage of \$7.25 an hour. In Study 2, respondents were compensated by the survey vendor (NORC). In Study 3, we paid respondents \$1.00 if they completed the survey. The median respondent spent 5.4 minutes on the survey, for an estimated hourly rate of approximately \$11. In Study 4 (reported in the conclusion), respondents were compensated by the survey vendor (YouGov).