

Online Appendix for “Binding Moral Foundations and the Narrowing of Ideological Conflict to the Traditional Morality Domain” by Ariel Malka, Danny Osborne, Christopher J. Soto, Lara M. Greaves, Chris G. Sibley, and Yphtach Lelkes

Study 1 Moral Relevance Items

Instructions: “When you decide whether something is right or wrong, to what extent are the following considerations relevant to your thinking?” Items rated on a scale from 1 (“Never Relevant”) to 6 (“Always Relevant”).

Harm Items:

“Whether or not someone was harmed”

“Whether or not someone suffered emotionally”

“Whether or not someone used violence”

“Whether or not someone cared for someone weak or vulnerable”

Fairness Items:

“Whether or not some people were treated differently than others”

“Whether or not someone was denied his or her rights”

“Whether or not someone acted unfairly”

“Whether or not someone ended up profiting more than others”

Group Loyalty Items:

“Whether or not someone did something to betray his or her group”

“Whether or not the action was done by a friend or relative of yours”

“Whether or not someone showed a lack of loyalty”

“Whether or not the action affected your group”

“Whether or not someone put the interests of the group above his/her own”

Authority Items:

“Whether or not the people involved were of the same rank or status”

“Whether or not someone failed to fulfill the duties of his or her role”

“Whether or not someone showed a lack of respect for legitimate authority”

“Whether or not an authority failed to protect his/her subordinates”

“Whether or not someone respected the traditions of society”

Purity Items:

“Whether or not someone did something disgusting”

“Whether or not someone violated standards of purity and decency”

“Whether or not someone did something unnatural or degrading”

“Whether or not someone acted in a virtuous or uplifting way”

“Whether or not someone was able to control his or her desires”

Study 1 Taboo Trade-Offs Items

Instructions: “Try to imagine actually doing the following things, and indicate how much money someone would have to pay you (anonymously and secretly) to be willing to do each thing. For each action, assume that nothing bad would happen to you afterwards.

Also assume that you cannot use the money to make up for your action. If you prefer to think about Euros or any other currency, please do. The exact amounts are not very important.” Response options: “\$0 (I’d do it for free)”, “\$10”, “\$100”, “\$1,000”,

“\$10,000”, “\$100,000”, “A million dollars”, “Never for any amount of money”.

Harm Items:

“Kick a dog in the head, hard”

“Shoot and kill an animal that is a member of an endangered species”

“Make cruel remarks to an overweight person about his or her appearance”

“Step on an ant hill, killing thousands of ants”

“Stick a pin into the palm of a child you don't know”

Fairness Items:

“Cheat in a game of cards played for money with some people you don't know well”

“Steal from a poor person and use the money to buy a gift for a rich person”

“Say no to a friend's request to help him move into a new apartment, after he helped you move the month before”

“Throw out a box of ballots, during an election, to help your favored candidate win”

“Sign a secret-but-binding pledge to only hire people of your race in your company”

Group Loyalty Items:

“Publicly bet against your favorite sports team (so that lots of people know)”

“Burn your country's flag, in private (nobody else sees you)”

“Say something bad about your nation (which you don't believe to be true) while calling in, anonymously, to a talk-radio show in a foreign nation”

“Break off all communications with your immediate and extended family for 1 year”

“Renounce your citizenship and become a citizen of another country”

“Leave the social group, club, or team that you most value”

Authority Items:

“Curse your parents, to their face (you can apologize and explain 1 year later)”

“Curse the founders or early heroes of your country (in private, nobody hears you)”

“Make a disrespectful hand gesture to your boss, teacher, or professor”

“Throw a rotten tomato at a political leader you dislike (remember, you will not get caught)”

“Slap your father in the face (with his permission) as part of a comedy skit”

Purity Items:

“Sign a piece of paper that says "I hereby sell my soul, after my death, to whoever has this piece of paper"

“Cook and eat your dog, after it dies of natural causes”

“Get plastic surgery that adds a 2-inch tail on to the end of your spine”

“Get a blood transfusion of 1 pint of disease-free, compatible blood from a convicted child molester”

“Attend a performance art piece in which all participants (including you) have to act like animals for 30 minutes, including crawling around naked and urinating on stage”

Disgust Sensitivity Scale Version 2 Items

Part 1 Instructions: “Please indicate how much you agree with each of the following statements, or how true it is about you.” Items rated on a scale from 1 (“Strongly Disagree (very untrue about me)”) to 4 (“Strongly Agree (very true about me)”).

“I might be willing to try eating monkey meat, under some circumstances”

“If I see someone vomit, it makes me sick to my stomach”

“Seeing a cockroach in someone else's house does not bother me”

“Even if I was hungry, I would not drink a bowl of my favorite soup if it had been stirred by a used but thoroughly washed fly swatter”

Part 2 Instructions: “How disgusting would you find each of the following experiences?”

Items rated on a scale from 1 (“Not Disgusting at all”) to 4 (“Very Disgusting”).

“You see maggots on a piece of meat in an outdoor garbage pail”

“While you are walking through a tunnel under a railroad track, you smell urine”

“A friend offers you a piece of chocolate shaped like dog-doo”

“You see a bowel movement left unflushed in a public toilet”

Study 1 Three-Domain Disgust Scale Items

Instructions: “Please rate the degree to which you feel each of the following is disgusting.” Items rated on a scale from 0 (“Not Disgusting at all”) to 6 (“Extremely Disgusting”).

“Accidentally touching someone's bloody cut”

“Sitting next to someone with open red sores on their arm”

“Shaking hands with a stranger who has sweaty palms”

“Stepping in a large pile of dog poop”

“Standing next to someone on the bus who has strong body odor”

“Seeing mold on some leftovers in your refrigerator”

“Seeing someone pick their nose”

“Seeing someone's bone sticking out of their leg”

“Bringing someone you just met back to your room to have sex knowing you will never see them again”

“Watching pornography”

“An opposite-sex stranger touching your thigh in an elevator”

“Hearing two strangers having sex”

“Walking into a changing room and accidentally seeing someone your age of the opposite sex naked”

“Having anal sex with someone of the opposite sex”

“Going to a nude beach”

“Stealing bank account information online”

“Forging another person's signature on a legal document”

“A mechanic overcharging elderly people”

“Cutting to the front of the line to purchase the last four tickets of a show”

“A student cheating to get good grades”

“Selling illegal drugs”

“Intentionally lying during a business transaction”

“A business owner making a very high salary but keeping his employees at minimum wage”

“A member of a work group choosing not to contribute anything but sharing equally in all the benefits”

“Stealing from a neighbor”

“Someone who is addicted to pill drugs”

“Someone who is addicted to IV drugs”

Study 1 Conservative vs. Liberal Identity Items

Ideological Self-Placement: “Would you say that you are politically conservative or politically liberal?” Item rated on a scale from 1 (“Extremely Liberal”) to 7 (“Extremely Conservative”).

Party Identification: “Would you say that you are a Republican or a Democrat?” Item rated on a scale from 1 (“Strong Democrat”) to 7 (“Strong Republican”).

Study 1 Political Attitude Items

Abortion: “There has been some discussion about abortion during recent years. Which one of the opinions below best agrees with your view?” Item rated on a scale from 1 (“By law, abortion should never be permitted”) to 4 (“By law, a woman should always be able to obtain an abortion as a matter of personal choice”)

Same-sex marriage: Should same-sex couples be allowed to marry, or do you think they should not be allowed to marry? (1 = Should be allowed, 2 = Should not be allowed to marry but should be allowed to legally form a civil union, 3 = Should NOT be allowed)

Spending/services: “Some people think the government should provide fewer services even in areas such as health and education in order to reduce spending. Other people feel it is important for the government to provide many more services even if it means an increase in spending. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between. Where would you place yourself on this scale?” Item rated on a scale from 1 (“Far fewer services”) to 7 (“Far more services”)

Health care: “Some people feel there should be a government insurance plan which would cover all medical and hospital expenses for everyone. Others feel that all medical expenses should be paid by individuals through private insurance. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between. Where would you place yourself on this scale?” Item rated on a scale from 1 (“Strongly favor government insurance”) to 7 (“Strongly favor private insurance”)

Defense spending: “Some people believe that we should spend much less money for defense. Others feel that defense spending should be greatly increased. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between. Where would you place yourself on this scale?” Item rated on a scale from 1 (“Greatly decrease defense spending”) to 7 (“Greatly increase defense spending”)

Military/diplomacy: “Some people believe the United States should solve international problems by using diplomacy and other forms of international pressure and use military force only if absolutely necessary. Others believe diplomacy and pressure often fail and the US must be ready to use military force. And of course others fall in positions in between. Where would you place yourself on this scale?” Item rated on a scale from 1 (“Strongly favor diplomacy”) 7 (“Strongly favor readiness to use military force”)

Death penalty: “Do you favor or oppose the death penalty for persons convicted of murder?” Item rated on a scale from 1 (“Strongly favor”) to 5 (“Strongly oppose”)

Torture: “Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the U.S. government torturing people, who are suspected of being terrorists, to try to get information to prevent future attacks?” Item rated on a scale from 1 (“Strongly favor”) to 5 (“Strongly oppose”)

Government effort to help blacks: “Do you believe that the government should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks, or do you believe the government should not make any special effort to help blacks in particular?” Item rated on a scale from 1 (“Strongly believe government should make special effort to help blacks”) to 5 (“Strongly believe government should NOT make special effort to help blacks”)

Affirmative action for blacks: “Some people say that because of past discrimination, blacks should be given preference in hiring and promotion. Others say that such preference in hiring and promotion of blacks is wrong because it gives blacks advantages they haven't earned. Where would you place yourself on this scale?” Item rated on a scale from 1 (“Strongly favor preferential hiring and promotion of blacks”) to 5 (“Strongly oppose preferential hiring and promotion of blacks”)

Gun Control: “Do you think the federal government should make it more difficult for people to buy a gun than it is now, make it easier for people to buy a gun, or keep these rules about the same as they are now?” Item rated on a scale from 1 (“Much more difficult”) to 5 (“Much easier”)

Immigration: “Do you think the number of immigrants from foreign countries who are permitted to come to the United States to live should be increased, decreased or kept the same?” Item rated on a scale from 1 (“Increased a lot”) to 5 (“Decreased a lot”)

Global Warming: “Do you think the federal government should do more than it's doing now to try to deal with global warming, should do less than it's doing now, or is it doing about the right amount?” Item rated on a scale from 1 (“Much more”) to 5 (“Much less”)

The general conservatism scale was formed as a composite of economic, foreign policy, punitiveness, racial policy, immigration, gun control, and global warming conservatism indicators. These subscales were measured and computed as follows.

Economic Conservatism was formed by averaging government spending preference and government health care preference (MR: $M = .45$, $SD = .25$, $r = .52$, $p < .001$; TTO: $M = .44$, $SD = .26$, $r = .53$, $p < .001$; Disgust: $M = .45$, $SD = .25$, $r = .54$, $p < .001$). Foreign Policy Conservatism was formed by averaging defense spending preference and

preference for military action (MR: $M = .36$, $SD = .21$, $r = .49$, $p < .001$; TTO $M = .37$, $SD = .22$, $r = .50$, $p < .001$; Disgust: $M = .38$, $SD = .21$, $r = .48$, $p < .001$). Punitiveness Conservatism was formed by averaging attitudes toward torture and the death penalty (MR: $M = .45$, $SD = .28$, $r = .48$, $p < .001$; $M =$ TTO: $.46$, $SD = .27$, $r = .40$, $p < .001$; Disgust: $M = .48$, $SD = .28$, $r = .49$, $p < .001$). Racial Policy Conservatism was formed by averaging attitudes about government intervention to help blacks and attitudes about affirmative action (MR: $M = .59$, $SD = .27$, $r = .64$, $p < .001$; TTO: $M = .59$, $SD = .26$, $r = .61$, $p < .001$; Disgust $M = .59$, $SD = .26$, $r = .63$, $p < .001$). Finally, single items assessed Immigration (MR: $M = .51$, $SD = .27$; TTO: $M = .51$, $SD = .27$; Disgust: $M = .53$, $SD = .27$), Gun Control (MR: $M = .31$, $SD = .25$; TTO: $M = .33$, $SD = .26$; Disgust: $M = .32$, $SD = .27$), and Global Warming (MR: $M = .28$, $SD = .28$; TTO: $M = .28$, $SD = .29$; Disgust: $M = .29$, $SD = .28$) Conservatism.

Study 1 Political Engagement Items

Follow Politics: “How often do you follow what is going on in government and public affairs?” Item rated on a scale from 1 (“Hardly at all”) to 4 (“Most of the time”)

Political Interest: “Overall, how interested are you in politics?” Item rated on a scale from 1 (“Not at all interested”) to 4 (“Very interested”)

Discuss Politics: “How many days in the past week did you talk about politics with family or friends?” Item rated on a scale from 1 (“0 days”) to 8 (“7 days”)

Political Knowledge: “How much do you feel you know about politics?” Item rated on a scale from 1 (“Nothing”) to 4 (“A lot”).

Study 2 Sample Information

The Time 3 (2011) NZAVS wave contained responses from 6,886 participants. Of

these participants, 3,927 had been randomly selected from the New Zealand electoral roll (a national voter registry) to participate in the Time 1 (2009) NZAVS wave, and were retained for the Time 3 wave (60.3% retention rate over two years). To boost the sample size of the NZAVS at Time 3, an additional 2,959 participants were recruited by postal mail and email after they responded to an unrelated survey on the website of a major New Zealand newspaper. Both of these subsamples were given the choice of completing the NZAVS either by postal mail or online.

The Time 3.5 (2012 mid-year) NZAVS wave contained responses from 4,515 participants who completed a follow-up online-only questionnaire administered roughly six months following the Time 3 questionnaire. This sample included 1,972 retained participants from the initial Time 1 (2009) NZAVS electoral roll sample, 2,356 participants retained from the Time 3 (2011) NZAVS booster sample, and 187 additional Pacific Island New Zealanders recruited via informal Pacifica networks.

The usable sample for Study 2 ($N = 3,429$) consisted of respondents who completed the relevant items from the Time 3 and Time 3.5 Waves.

Study 2 Moral Foundations Questionnaire Items

Part 1 Instructions: The statements below reflect different opinions and points of view. Please indicate how strongly you disagree or agree with each statement. Items rated on a scale from 1 (“Strongly Disagree”) to 7 (“Strongly Agree”).

Harm Items:

“Compassion for those who are suffering is the most crucial virtue.”

“One of the worst things a person could do is hurt a defenseless animal.”

“It can never be right to kill a human being.”

Fairness Items:

“When the government makes laws, the number one principle should be ensuring that everyone is treated fairly.”

“Justice is the most important requirement for a society.”

“I think it’s morally wrong that rich children inherit a lot of money while poor children inherit nothing.”

Ingroup Items:

“I am proud of my country’s history.”

“People should be loyal to their family members, even when they have done something wrong.”

“It is more important to be a team player than to express oneself.”

Authority Items:

“Respect for authority is something all children need to learn.”

“Men and women each have different roles to play in society.”

“If I were a soldier and disagreed with my commanding officer’s orders, I would obey anyway because that is my duty.”

Purity Items:

“People should not do things that are disgusting, even if no one is harmed.”

“I would call some acts wrong on the grounds that they are unnatural.”

“Chastity is an important and valuable virtue.”

Part 2 Instructions: “When you decide whether something is right or wrong, to what extent are the following considerations relevant to your thinking?”

If the consideration has nothing to do with your judgments of whether something is right and wrong you would rate a point on the left-hand side of the scale (irrelevant). If the consideration is one of the most important factors when you judge whether something is right and wrong you would rate a point on the right-hand side of the scale (relevant).

When I am judging right and wrong, the following consideration is..."

Harm Items:

"Whether or not someone suffered emotionally"

"Whether or not someone cared for someone weak or vulnerable"

"Whether or not someone was cruel"

Fairness Items:

"Whether or not some people were treated differently from others"

"Whether or not someone acted unfairly"

"Whether or not someone was denied his or her rights"

Ingroup Items:

"Whether or not someone's action showed love for his or her country"

"Whether or not someone did something to betray his or her group"

"Whether or not someone showed a lack of loyalty"

Authority Items:

"Whether or not someone showed a lack of respect for authority"

"Whether or not someone conformed to the traditions of society"

"Whether or not an action caused chaos or disorder"

Purity Items:

“Whether or not someone violated standards of purity and decency”

“Whether or not someone did something disgusting”

“Whether or not someone acted in a way that God would approve of”

Study 2 Conservative vs. Liberal Identity Items

Conservative vs. liberal self-placement: “Please rate how politically liberal versus conservative you see yourself as being.” Item rated on a scale from 1 (“Extremely liberal”) to 7 (“Extremely conservative”).

Right vs. left self-placement: “Please rate how politically left-wing versus right-wing you see yourself as being.” Item rated on a scale from 1 (“Extremely left-wing”) to 7 (“Extremely right-wing”).

Study 2 Political Attitude Items

Abortion: “Legalized abortion for women, regardless of the reason.” Item rated on a scale from 1 (“Strongly oppose”) to 7 (“Strongly support”)

Civil unions for same-sex couples: “The Civil Union Act.” Item rated on a scale from 1 (“Strongly oppose”) to 7 (Strongly support)

Right Wing Authoritarianism: Items rated on a scale from 1 (“Strongly disagree”) to 7 (“Strongly agree”)

“It is always better to trust the judgment of the proper authorities in government and religion than to listen to the noisy rabble-rousers in our society who are trying to create doubt in people's minds.”

“It would be best for everyone if the proper authorities censored magazines so that people could not get their hands on trashy and disgusting material.”

“Our country will be destroyed some day if we do not smash the perversions eating away at our moral fibre and traditional beliefs.”

“People should pay less attention to The Bible and other old traditional forms of religious guidance, and instead develop their own personal standards of what is moral and immoral.”

“Atheists and others who have rebelled against established religions are no doubt every bit as good and virtuous as those who attend church regularly.”

“Some of the best people in our country are those who are challenging our government, criticizing religion, and ignoring the "normal way" things are supposed to be done.”

(For all items RWA items, 1 = Strongly disagree, 7 = Strongly agree)

Social Dominance Orientation: Items rated on a scale from 1 (“Strongly disagree”) to 7 (“Strongly agree”)

“It is OK if some groups have more of a chance in life than others.”

“Inferior groups should stay in their place.”

“To get ahead in life, it is sometimes okay to step on other groups.”

“We should have increased social equality.”

“It would be good if groups could be equal.”

“We should do what we can to equalise conditions for different groups.”

Flat tax: “A “flat” tax rate (everyone pays the same percentage of tax on their income).”

Item rated on a scale from 1 (“Strongly oppose”) to 7 (“Strongly support”)

Māori demonstrations: “Protest marches and public demonstrations supporting the rights of Maori.” Item rated on a scale from 1 (“Strongly oppose”) to 7 (“Strongly support”)

Māori demonstrations: “Maori have too much political power and influence in decisions affecting NZ.” Item rated on a scale from 1 (“Strongly disagree”) to 7 (“Strongly agree”)

Immigration from China: “Policies promoting more immigration from China to New Zealand.” Item rated on a scale from 1 (“Strongly oppose”) to 7 (“Strongly support”)

Immigration from India: “Policies promoting more immigration from India to New Zealand.” Item rated on a scale from 1 (“Strongly oppose”) to 7 (“Strongly support”)

Sustainable business growth by women: “Introducing a programme to enhance sustainable business growth among businesses owned and operated by women.” Item rated on a scale from 1 (“Strongly oppose”) to 7 (“Strongly support”)

Promote women’s workplace participation: “Incentives to increase women's participation in the paid workforce (paid for by government).” Item rated on a scale from 1 (“Strongly oppose”) to 7 (“Strongly support”)

The General Conservatism measure was computed as a composite of five subscales. The first of these was a six-item version of Sidanius and Pratto’s (1999) Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) scale ($M = .23$, $SD = .16$, $\alpha = .78$), which measures preferences for group-based dominance and opposition to equality (e.g., Ho et al., 2012). The second measure, Flat Tax Conservatism, was comprised of a single item assessing support for a flat tax rate on income ($M = .43$, $SD = .34$). Māori Policy Conservatism, was a composite of attitudes toward demonstrations supporting Māori rights and attitudes regarding Māori power and influence ($M = .49$, $SD = .27$, $r = .61$, $p < .001$). Immigration Conservatism was formed by averaging attitudes toward immigration from China and immigration from India ($M = .60$, $SD = .22$, $r = .80$, $p < .001$). Social Incentives in the Economy Conservatism was formed by averaging attitudes toward programs promoting

sustainable growth of businesses owned by women and attitudes toward incentives to increase women's participation in the workforce ($M = .47$, $SD = .23$, $r = .53$, $p < .001$).

Political Engagement Questions

Instructions: The questions on this page are part of a short 'political quiz.' This short quiz is designed to measure what you know 'off the top of your head', so please try to answer the questions without chatting to other people about the answers, and without checking for any of the answers online.

- 1) Which party won the SECOND LARGEST number of seats in Parliament at the 2011 election?
 - a. Labour (correct)
 - b. National
 - c. Green
 - d. NZ First
 - e. ACT
 - f. United Future
 - g. Won Party
 - h. Maori Party
 - i. Don't know

- 2) Which of these persons is the current Minister of Finance for New Zealand?
 - a. Simon Power

- b. Bill English (correct)
- c. Tony Ryall
- d. Nick Smith
- e. Don't know

3) Under MMP, party votes are used to allocate seats in parliament for all parties that cross the threshold. Which of the following does a party have to do to cross that threshold?

- a. Win 5% of all party votes OR win at least one electorate (correct)
- b. Win 5% of all party votes AND win at least one electorate
- c. Don't know

4) What is the current unemployment rate in New Zealand?

- a. ~4.7%
- b. ~6.7% (correct)
- c. ~8.7%
- d. ~10.7%
- e. Don't know

5) Who is the current Secretary General of the United Nations?

- a. Kofi Annan
- b. Kurt Waldheim
- c. Ban Ki-Moon (correct)

d. Boutros Boutros-Gali

e. Don't know

6) Who is currently New Zealand's Deputy Prime Minister?

a. John Key

b. Michael Cullen

c. Bill English (correct)

d. Winston Peters

e. Don't Know

7) How many political parties are currently represented in parliament?

a. Five

b. Six

c. Seven

d. Eight (correct)

e. Don't know