

Moral Individualism in Modern Politics

Online Appendix

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1 Question Wording of Key Variables

Moral Individualism (All Studies)

Most Influential Authority Referent: Think about the choices you make about the best way to live your life and what is best for society. Below is a list of some of the people who might be important to helping you make these decisions. Which of the following is *most important* to you?

Response options (in randomized order):

- My family
- Religion or religious leaders
- Science, scientists, or experts in the field
- A good friend or friends
- Other¹

Moral Individualism Index: Items in bold comprise the short version of the measure. These were used in the 2020 Western States and the 2021 and 2022 UNC surveys. The full 10-item version was fielded on the 2018 and 2020 YouGov surveys.

- MORAL1: The values that come from [MOST INFLUENTIAL AUTHORITY] are really no better than my own personal values.
- MORAL2: My current way of deciding what is right and wrong is better than the way [MOST INFLUENTIAL AUTHORITY] taught me.
- **MORAL3: Only I can decide what is right, I cannot even trust [MOST INFLUENTIAL AUTHORITY] to help me decide.**
- MORAL4: I am **not** the only one who can decide what is right and wrong for me. I can also trust [MOST INFLUENTIAL AUTHORITY] to help me decide.
- MORAL5: I would have found the same truths about life even if [MOST INFLUENTIAL AUTHORITY] had not been there to help.
- **MORAL6: My own judgment is more important than [MOST INFLUENTIAL AUTHORITY]'s judgment.**
- MORAL7: The world has many truths, and whatever I learned from [MOST INFLUENTIAL AUTHORITY] is just one of them.
- **MORAL8: Nobody, not even [MOST INFLUENTIAL AUTHORITY], can decide what is right and wrong, except for me.**
- **MORAL9: When faced with a difficult choice, I think it is more important to follow my heart than to do what [MOST INFLUENTIAL AUTHORITY] thinks is right.**
- MORAL10: It is ok to reject the values [MOST INFLUENTIAL AUTHORITY] teaches.

¹In 2018, the other category was constructed from the following items: teachers, work colleagues, public opinion generally, and well-known media personalities. Because so few respondents chose work colleagues and well-known media personalities, in all subsequent years, the other category included teachers and public opinion generally.

Economic Individualism (2018 and 2020 YouGov Surveys, 2020 Western States Survey)

- ECON1: Any person who is willing to work hard has a good chance of succeeding.
- ECON2: Hard work offers little guarantee of success.
- ECON3: Most people who don't get ahead should not blame the system; they really have only themselves to blame.
- ECON4: Even if people are ambitious, they often cannot succeed.
- ECON5: If people work hard, they almost always get what they want.
- ECON6: Even if people try hard, they often cannot reach their goals.

Horizontal Individualism (2018 and 2020 YouGov Surveys)

- HORIZ1: I'd rather depend on myself than others.
- HORIZ2: I rely on myself most of the time; I rarely rely on others.
- HORIZ3: I often do "my own thing."
- HORIZ4: My personal identity, independent of others, is very important to me.

Vertical Individualism (2018 and 2020 YouGov Surveys)

- VERT1: It is important that I do my job better than others.
- VERT2: Winning is everything.
- VERT3: Competition is the law of nature.
- VERT4: When another person does better than I do, I get tense and aroused.

Authoritarianism (2018 and 2020 YouGov surveys, 2020 Western States Survey)

Although there are a number of qualities that people feel that children should have, every person thinks that some are more important than others. For each pair of desirable qualities below, which one is more important for a child to have?

- Independence vs. Respect for elders
- Curiosity vs. Good manners
- Obedience vs. Self-reliance
- Being considerate vs. Well behaved

COVID Assistance Index (2020 YouGov Survey and 2020 Western States Survey)

2020 YouGov Survey: Please indicate the actions you have taken since COVID-19 started. Check all options that apply.

- Reached out to my neighbors
- Reached out to friends who do not live nearby
- Reached out to family who do not live nearby
- Joined online community groups
- Participated in in-person volunteer activities related to the COVID-19 response
- Made or donated masks for others who needed them
- Donated money to the COVID-19 response
- Donated blood
- Donated time to help others who are at high-risk (e.g., shopped for or delivered groceries, helped with home maintenance, etc.)
- Worn a mask in public

2020 Western States Survey: Which of the following actions have you taken in the past month? (Please check all that apply.)

- Stayed six feet away from people
- Quarantined in your home
- Checked in on neighbors
- Worn a face mask in public

Political Activity Index (2018 and 2020 YouGov surveys and 2020 Western States Survey)

During the past year, did you ... (Check all that apply.)

- Attend local political meetings (such as school board or city council)
- Put up a political sign (such as a lawn sign or bumper sticker)
- Work for a candidate or campaign
- Donate money to a candidate, campaign, or political organization
- Talk to people to try to show them why they should vote for or against any candidates or issues

Expanded Political Activity Index (2020 Western States Survey)

During the past year, did you ... (Check all that apply.)

- Attend local political meetings (such as school board or city council)
- Put up a political sign (such as a lawn sign or bumper sticker)
- Volunteer for a candidate or campaign
- Attend a political protest, march or demonstration
- Contact a public official
- Donate money to a candidate, campaign, or political organization
- Post political content on social media
- Try to persuade someone to vote for or against a candidate

Volunteering Index (2018 and 2020 YouGov surveys and 2020 Western States Survey)

Which of the following activities, if any, do you enjoy or find appealing? Check all that apply.
Volunteering to ...

- Help children or youth
- Serve with a religious organization
- Help seniors
- Help at a hospital or medical facility
- Work with the homeless or poor people
- Help preserve the environment
- Work for a political campaign or cause
- Promote an arts organization or a museum
- Be part of a neighborhood watch
- None of the above

Confidence in Trump (2020 YouGov Survey)

In your opinion, how confident are you in the ability of President Trump to deal with the outbreak?
Response options: Very confident, somewhat confident, not too confident, not at all confident

Prosociality (2020 YouGov Survey)

Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

- I try to help others
- I try to console those who are sad
- I try to be close to and take care of those who are in need

Response options: Strongly agree, somewhat agree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat disagree, strongly disagree

Vaccination (2020 Western States and 2021 and 2022 UNC surveys)

2020 Western States Survey: If a vaccine that protected you from the coronavirus were available for free to everyone who wanted it, how likely would you be to get it? Response options: Definitely get it, probably get it, unsure, probably not get it, definitely not get it

2021 UNC Surveys: You likely heard that a COVID 19 vaccine has been authorized for distribution in the United States. How likely are you to get one of the COVID 19 vaccines? Response options: Definitely will get the vaccine, probably will get the vaccine, probably will NOT get the vaccine, definitely will NOT get the vaccine, I have already received at least one dose

Dichotomous variable coded 1 if the respondent chose “I have already received at least one dose” and 0 otherwise.

2021 UNC Surveys: Have you received one of the three COVID 19 vaccines approved for use in the United States? Response options: No, Yes, I was vaccinated outside of the United States

Dichotomous variable coded 1 if respondent chose “Yes” or “I was vaccinated outside of the United States” and 0 otherwise.

Details of Variable Construction

As explained in the text, the moral individualism measure was created by fitting a graded response model IRT with discrimination and difficulty parameters allowed to vary by referent. This measure turns out to be highly correlated with an IRT model that does not allow the parameters to vary ($r = 0.996$). Later in the 2020 YouGov Survey, we also asked a subset of the moral individualism questions for which the referents were removed and respondents were asked to think about “the way in which you see yourself and the decision you make in relations to others generally.” This referentless indicator was meaningfully but not perfectly correlated with our measure of moral individualism ($r = 0.51$), suggesting that the instruction to focus on the most important authority mattered for respondents.

For the economic, horizontal, and vertical individualism scales, we summed responses items and rescaled the indexes to run from 0-1, as is the typical practice for those measures.²

The measure of authoritarianism is a simple index created by adding the four authoritarian responses to the child-rearing values questions, then rescaling the full scale to run from 0 to 1.

²Other approaches to variable construction, such as standardizing each item in the scale to have a mean of 0 and a variance of 1 before summing and rescaling, produce essentially identical results.

2 Summary Statistics

Table A1: Key Variables: Summary Statistics
YouGov 2018

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Moral Individualism	2,000	0.520	0.175	0.000	1.000
Economic Individualism	2,000	0.521	0.220	0.000	1.000
Horizontal Individualism	2,000	0.756	0.167	0.000	1.000
Vertical Individualism	2,000	0.472	0.175	0.000	1.000
Authoritarianism	2,000	0.458	0.329	0.000	1.000
Ideology	2,000	0.491	0.302	0.000	1.000
Partisanship	2,000	3.679	2.171	1	7
Age	2,000	52.144	16.086	18	93
Female	2,000	0.573	0.495	0	1
Nonwhite	2,000	0.270	0.444	0	1
College Graduate	2,000	0.394	0.489	0	1
Family Income (Quintile)	2,000	2.837	1.364	1	5

Table A2: Key Variables: Summary Statistics
YouGov 2020

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Moral Individualism	1,300	0.504	0.157	0.000	1.000
Economic Individualism	1,300	0.516	0.212	0.000	1.000
Horizontal Individualism	1,300	0.718	0.199	0.000	1.000
Vertical Individualism	1,300	0.470	0.193	0.000	1.000
Authoritarianism	1,300	0.460	0.342	0.000	1.000
Ideology	1,300	0.504	0.301	0.000	1.000
Partisanship	1,300	3.796	2.211	1	7
Age	1,300	48.352	17.945	19	91
Female	1,300	0.512	0.500	0	1
Nonwhite	1,300	0.302	0.459	0	1
College Graduate	1,300	0.302	0.459	0	1
Family Income (Quintile)	1,300	2.748	1.292	1	5

Table A3: Key Variables: Summary Statistics
Western States Survey 2020

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Moral Individualism	3,600	0.567	0.224	0.000	1.000
Economic Individualism	3,600	0.530	0.214	0.000	1.000
Authoritarianism	3,600	0.597	0.207	0.000	1.000
Ideology	3,600	0.492	0.282	0.000	1.000
Partisanship	3,600	3.691	2.107	1	7
Age	3,600	45.547	18.423	18	92
Female	3,600	0.582	0.493	0	1
Nonwhite	3,600	0.474	0.499	0	1
College Graduate	3,600	0.310	0.463	0	1
Family Income (Quintile)	3,600	2.610	1.290	1	5

Table A4: Key Variables: Summary Statistics
UNC 2021

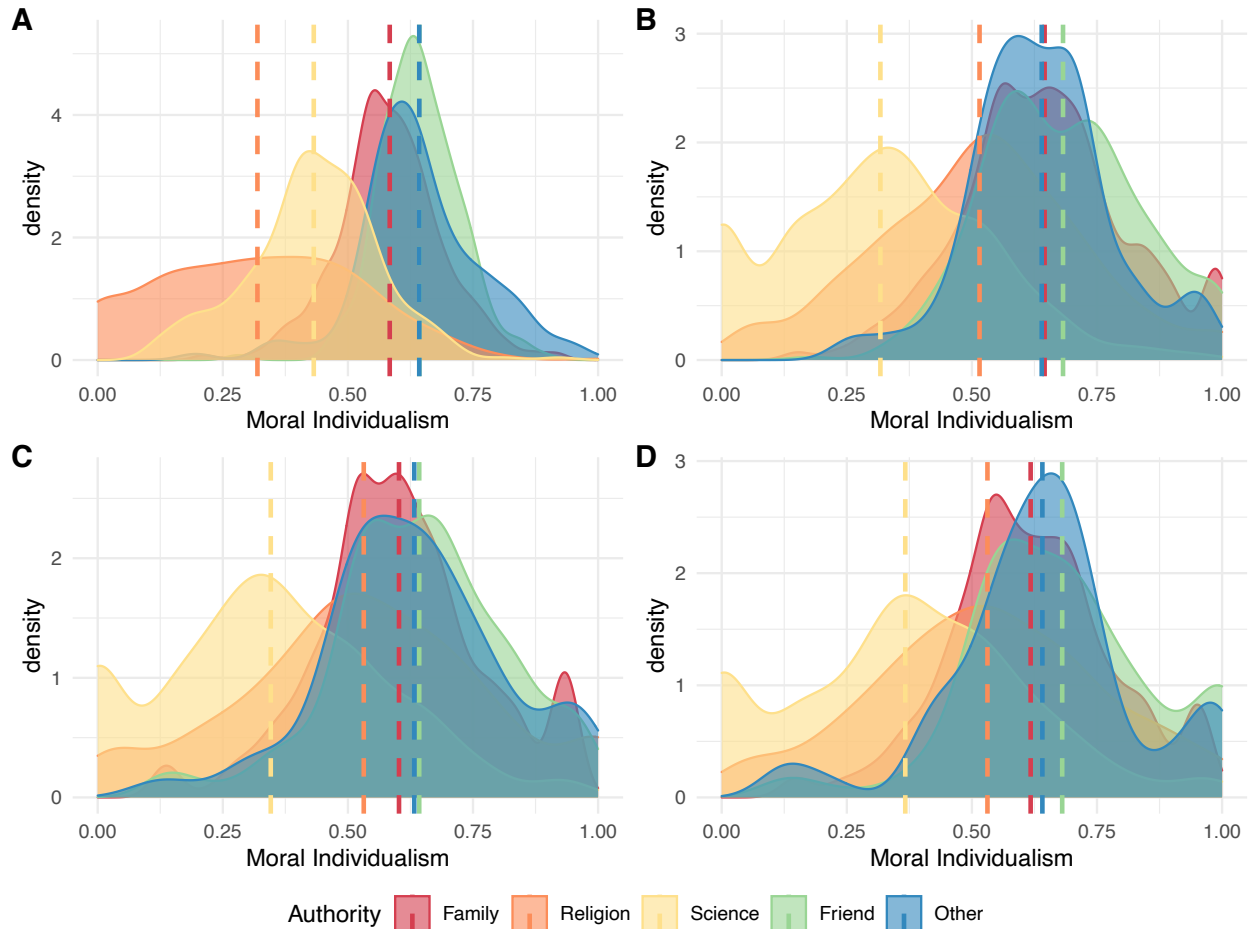
Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Moral Individualism	2,858	0.553	0.215	0.000	1.000
Ideology	2,424	0.504	0.260	0.000	1.000
Partisanship	2,812	3.779	2.147	1	7
Age	2,794	0.518	0.500	0	1
Female	2,813	0.389	0.488	0	1
Nonwhite	2,813	0.319	0.466	0	1
College Graduate	2,858	2.653	1.529	1	5

Table A5: Key Variables: Summary Statistics
UNC 2022

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Moral Individualism	2,417	0.558	0.222	0.000	1.000
Ideology	2,417	0.520	0.331	0.000	1.000
Partisanship	2,417	0.507	0.258	0.000	1.000
Age	2,122	3.560	2.283	1	7
Female	2,417	0.489	0.500	0	1
Nonwhite	2,417	0.381	0.486	0	1
College Graduate	2,417	0.308	0.462	0	1
Family Income (Quintile)	2,417	2.775	1.479	1	5

3 Supporting Tables and Figures

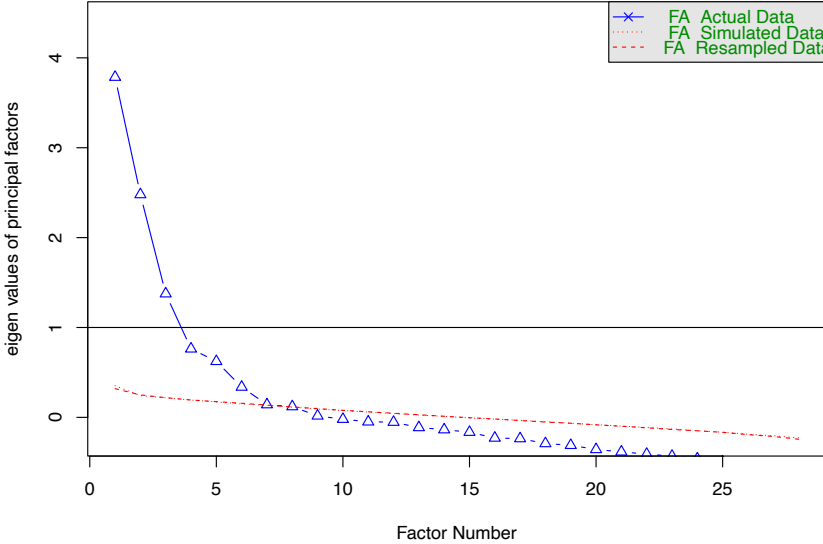
Figure A1: Moral Individualism Distributions by Referent



Note: Each panel represents the distribution of moral individualism by referent for a separate survey. A: 2018 YouGov Survey, B: 2020 Western States Survey, C: 2021 UNC Survey, D: 2022 UNC Survey.

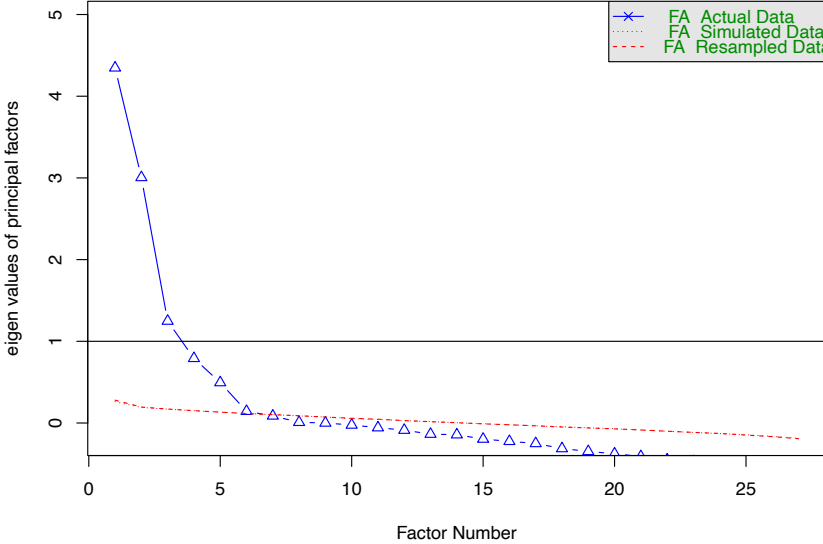
Figure A2: Exploratory Factor Analysis
Scree Plots

Parallel Analysis Scree Plots



(a) YouGov 2020

Parallel Analysis Scree Plots



(b) YouGov 2018

Note: In both 2018 and 2020, scree plots suggest that a five factor solution would be appropriate. In a six-factor solution, the only difference is that the measure of economic individualism separates into two distinct factors by direction of the statement. Beyond six factors, no factor explains more than 2 percent of additional variance.

Table A6: Stability of Referent Choices
UNC 2021 and UNC 2022

		<i>UNC 2022 Referent Choice</i>				
		Family	Religion	Science	Friend	Other
<i>UNC 2021 Referent Choice</i>	Family (<i>N</i> = 315)	71.43	4.76	17.78	5.08	0.95
	Religion (<i>N</i> = 61)	32.79	50.82	14.75	1.64	0.00
	Science (<i>N</i> = 135)	29.63	2.22	64.44	2.96	0.74
	Friend (<i>N</i> = 53)	39.62	11.32	24.53	22.64	1.89
	Other (<i>N</i> = 11)	27.27	0.00	36.36	18.18	18.18

Note: Cell entries are row percentages, with rows indicating the respondent's choice of referents in 2021 and columns indicating the referent chosen in 2022. *N* = 575.

Table A7: Demographic Characteristics of Individualists
YouGov 2020

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>			
	Moral (1)	Economic (2)	Horizontal (3)	Vertical (4)
Age	-0.001** (0.0002)	0.0003 (0.0003)	0.001*** (0.0003)	-0.002*** (0.0003)
Female	0.010 (0.009)	0.013 (0.012)	0.007 (0.011)	-0.069*** (0.010)
Nonwhite	0.041*** (0.009)	-0.002 (0.013)	-0.003 (0.012)	0.006 (0.011)
College Graduate	-0.032*** (0.010)	-0.039*** (0.013)	-0.003 (0.013)	0.005 (0.012)
Family Income	-0.006 (0.004)	0.005 (0.005)	0.002 (0.005)	0.014*** (0.004)
Constant	0.543*** (0.018)	0.493*** (0.024)	0.660*** (0.023)	0.536*** (0.021)
Survey Weights	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1,300	1,300	1,300	1,300
Adjusted R ²	0.040	0.004	0.006	0.061

Note: Cell entries are OLS regression coefficients, with standard errors in parentheses. Dependent variables are the various measures of individualism, all of which are coded to run from 0-1. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.10$.

Figure A3: Factor Loadings
2018 YouGov Survey

2018 Factor Loadings

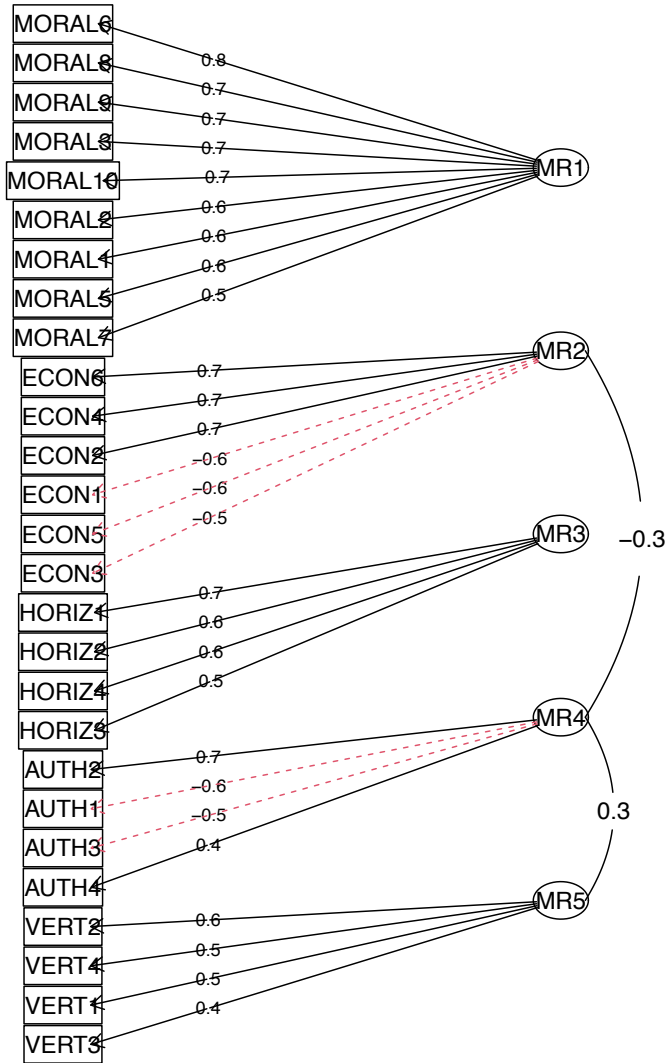


Figure A4: Correlations between Key Measures
2018 YouGov Survey

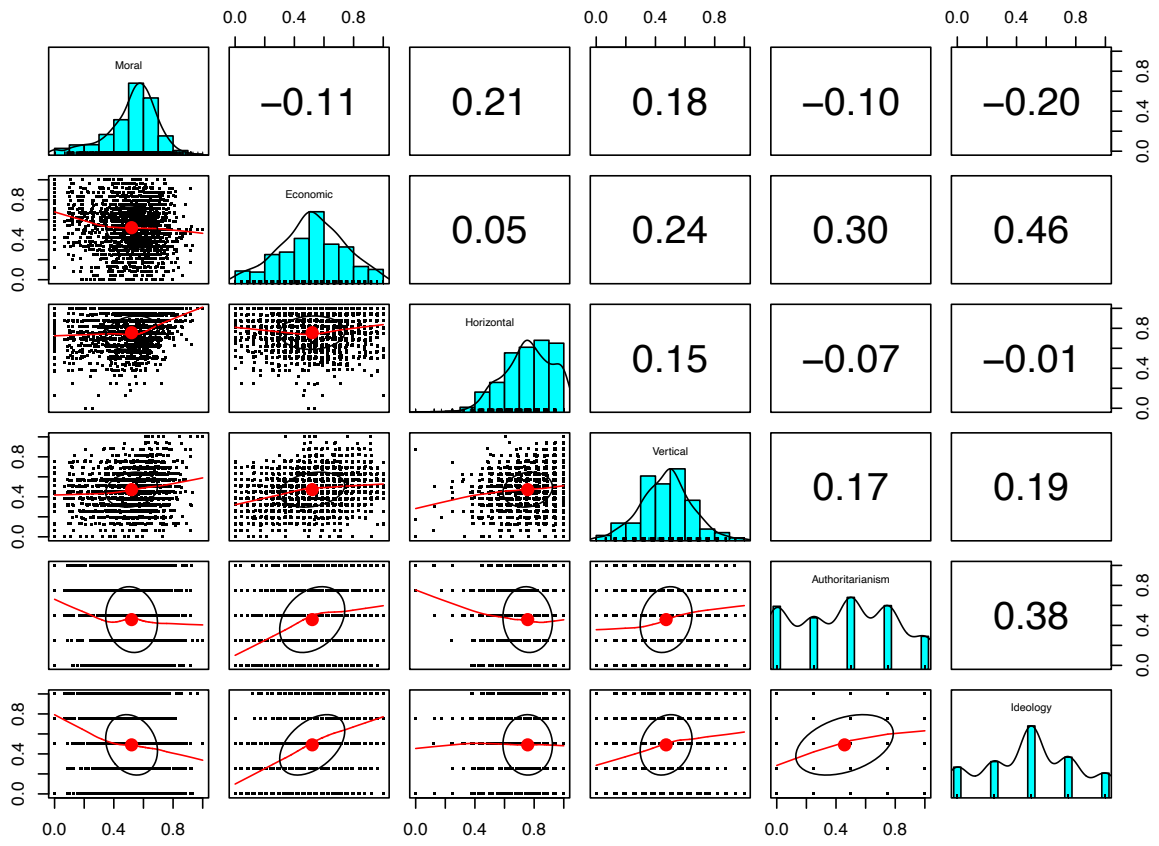


Figure A5: Correlations between Key Measures
2020 Western States Survey

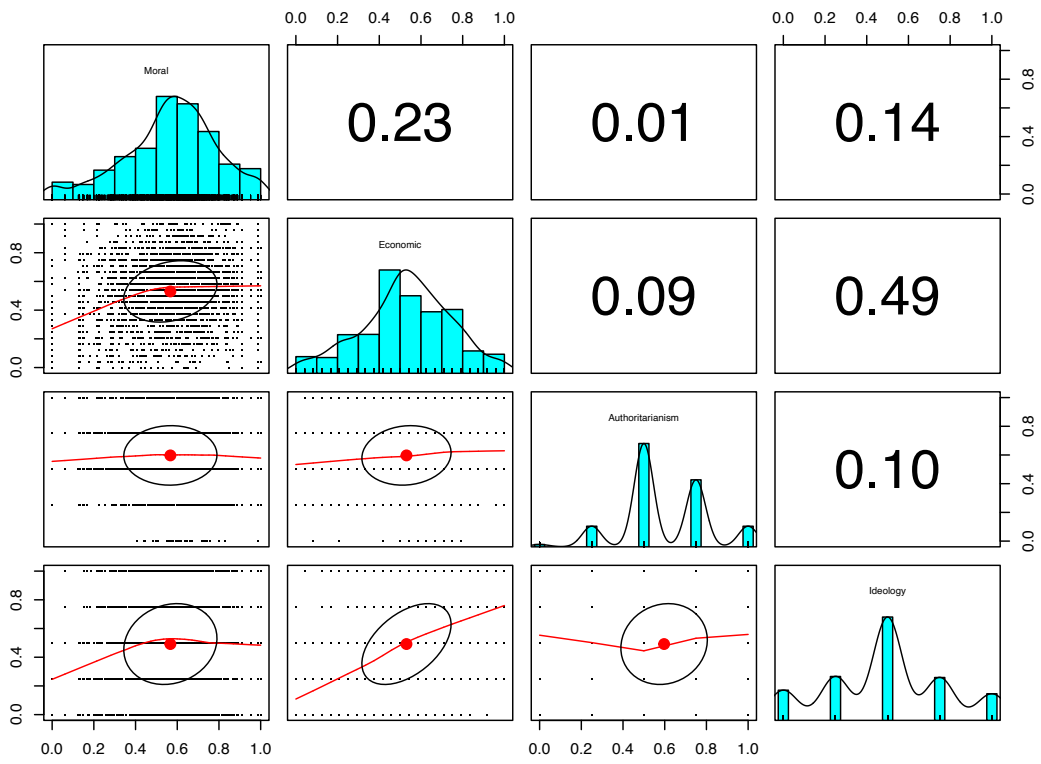


Table A8: Demographic Characteristics of Individualists
YouGov 2018

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>			
	Moral (1)	Economic (2)	Horizontal (3)	Vertical (4)
Age	-0.001*** (0.0002)	0.002*** (0.0003)	0.001*** (0.0002)	-0.0002 (0.0002)
Female	0.019** (0.008)	-0.002 (0.010)	0.008 (0.008)	-0.040*** (0.008)
Nonwhite	0.015* (0.008)	0.039*** (0.010)	-0.020** (0.009)	0.044*** (0.008)
College Graduate	-0.016* (0.009)	-0.062*** (0.011)	-0.012 (0.009)	-0.009 (0.009)
Family Income	-0.002 (0.003)	0.019*** (0.004)	0.004 (0.003)	0.008*** (0.003)
Constant	0.548*** (0.016)	0.398*** (0.019)	0.669*** (0.016)	0.472*** (0.016)
Survey Weights	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000
Adjusted R ²	0.013	0.042	0.026	0.028

Note: Cell entries are OLS regression coefficients, with standard errors in parentheses. Dependent variables are the various measures of individualism, all of which are coded to run from 0-1. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10.

Table A9: Demographic Characteristics of Individualists
Western States 2020 and UNC 2021 and 2022 Surveys

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>			
	Moral Western 2020 (1)	Economic Western 2020 (2)	Moral UNC 2021 (3)	Moral UNC 2022 (4)
Age	−0.0002 (0.0002)	0.001*** (0.0002)	−0.0001 (0.003)	−0.012*** (0.003)
Female	0.019** (0.007)	−0.016** (0.007)	0.019** (0.009)	0.006 (0.009)
Nonwhite	0.055*** (0.008)	0.026*** (0.008)	0.047*** (0.009)	0.009 (0.009)
College Graduate	−0.056*** (0.009)	−0.070*** (0.008)	−0.040*** (0.010)	−0.038*** (0.011)
Family Income	−0.013*** (0.003)	0.006* (0.003)	−0.011*** (0.003)	−0.002 (0.003)
Constant	0.591*** (0.014)	0.489*** (0.013)	0.566*** (0.016)	0.615*** (0.015)
Survey Weights	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	3,600	3,600	2,752	2,417
Adjusted R ²	0.050	0.032	0.037	0.019

Note: Cell entries are OLS regression coefficients, with standard errors in parentheses. Dependent variables are the various measures of individualism, all of which are coded to run from 0-1. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10.

Table A10: Attitudes about Freedom: Full Results with Demographic Controls

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>			
	Liberty vs. Security		Freedom vs. Death	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Moral Individualism	0.95*** (0.22)	0.99*** (0.22)	1.32*** (0.22)	1.44*** (0.23)
Economic Individualism	0.95*** (0.18)	0.92*** (0.18)	0.86*** (0.18)	0.91*** (0.18)
Horizontal Individualism	0.44*** (0.17)	0.35** (0.17)	-0.17 (0.17)	-0.15 (0.17)
Vertical Individualism	0.15 (0.18)	0.33* (0.18)	0.70*** (0.18)	0.83*** (0.18)
Authoritarianism	-0.24** (0.11)	-0.22** (0.11)	-0.08 (0.11)	-0.11 (0.11)
Ideology	0.79*** (0.15)	0.85*** (0.16)	1.12*** (0.15)	0.99*** (0.16)
Strong Democrat	-0.18* (0.11)	-0.23** (0.11)	-0.22** (0.11)	-0.27** (0.11)
Not very strong Democrat	-0.18 (0.13)	-0.21 (0.13)	-0.38*** (0.13)	-0.39*** (0.13)
Lean Democrat	-0.25* (0.14)	-0.28** (0.14)	-0.19 (0.14)	-0.26* (0.14)
Lean Republican	0.56*** (0.14)	0.53*** (0.14)	0.63*** (0.14)	0.61*** (0.14)
Not very strong Republican	0.18 (0.14)	0.20 (0.14)	0.28** (0.14)	0.24* (0.14)
Strong Republican	0.50*** (0.12)	0.43*** (0.12)	0.61*** (0.12)	0.55*** (0.12)
Age	0.01*** (0.002)	0.004* (0.002)	-0.003* (0.002)	-0.005** (0.002)
Female	-0.24*** (0.07)	-0.27*** (0.07)	-0.16** (0.07)	-0.22*** (0.07)
Nonwhite	0.21*** (0.07)	0.12 (0.08)	0.13* (0.08)	0.10 (0.08)
College Graduate	-0.18** (0.08)	-0.18** (0.08)	-0.10 (0.08)	-0.11 (0.08)
Family Income	-0.05* (0.03)	-0.05* (0.03)	-0.05* (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)
Constant	1.46*** (0.23)	1.53*** (0.23)	1.03*** (0.23)	1.10*** (0.24)
Survey Weights	Yes	No	Yes	No
Adjusted R ²	0.24		0.31	
Pseudo R ²			0.25	0.33
Observations	1,300	1,300	1,300	1,300

Note: Cell entries are OLS regression coefficients (columns 1 and 3) and random effects coefficients (columns 2 and 4), with standard errors in parentheses. The random effect is the referent ranked first by the respondent. Dependent variables are 5-point indicators, with higher scores representing greater agreement. Excluded category of partisanship variable is independents. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10.

Table A11: Forced Choice Probit/Random Effects

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Support Officials		Reopen Economy		Price Gouging	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Moral Individualism	-0.94*** (0.28)	-0.84*** (0.31)	0.89*** (0.29)	0.84*** (0.31)	2.00*** (0.35)	2.28*** (0.36)
Economic Individualism	-0.50** (0.24)	-0.52** (0.24)	0.52** (0.24)	0.67*** (0.24)	0.79*** (0.28)	1.14*** (0.29)
Horizontal Individualism	0.02 (0.21)	-0.08 (0.21)	-0.64*** (0.21)	-0.50** (0.22)	-1.00*** (0.23)	-1.13*** (0.24)
Vertical Individualism	0.12 (0.23)	0.12 (0.23)	0.27 (0.23)	0.31 (0.23)	-0.23 (0.26)	0.07 (0.26)
Authoritarianism	0.27** (0.13)	0.43*** (0.14)	0.003 (0.13)	-0.18 (0.14)	-0.44*** (0.16)	-0.34** (0.16)
Ideology	-0.73*** (0.19)	-0.97*** (0.21)	0.76*** (0.19)	0.97*** (0.20)	0.72*** (0.22)	0.51** (0.22)
Strong Democrat	0.86*** (0.15)	0.77*** (0.15)	-0.67*** (0.14)	-0.73*** (0.14)	0.26 (0.17)	0.05 (0.17)
Not very strong Democrat	0.53*** (0.16)	0.56*** (0.17)	-0.66*** (0.17)	-0.54*** (0.16)	0.05 (0.21)	-0.01 (0.20)
Lean Democrat	0.62*** (0.19)	0.38** (0.18)	-0.39** (0.18)	-0.32* (0.17)	0.28 (0.22)	0.27 (0.21)
Lean Republican	-0.26 (0.16)	-0.22 (0.16)	0.93*** (0.16)	0.83*** (0.17)	0.72*** (0.19)	0.67*** (0.18)
Not very strong Republican	0.26 (0.16)	0.23 (0.17)	0.46*** (0.16)	0.28* (0.16)	0.38* (0.20)	0.28 (0.20)
Strong Republican	-0.41*** (0.14)	-0.33** (0.14)	0.96*** (0.14)	0.80*** (0.14)	0.39** (0.17)	0.25 (0.17)
Age	0.004 (0.003)	0.003 (0.003)	0.004 (0.003)	0.001 (0.003)	-0.01*** (0.003)	-0.01*** (0.003)
Female	0.14* (0.09)	0.18** (0.09)	-0.18** (0.09)	-0.26*** (0.09)	-0.51*** (0.10)	-0.50*** (0.10)
Nonwhite	-0.002 (0.10)	-0.01 (0.10)	0.01 (0.09)	-0.06 (0.10)	0.04 (0.11)	0.09 (0.11)
College Graduate	0.28*** (0.10)	0.25** (0.10)	-0.13 (0.10)	-0.12 (0.10)	0.16 (0.11)	0.18 (0.11)
Family Income	0.03 (0.04)	0.03 (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)	0.03 (0.04)	0.04 (0.04)
Constant	1.00*** (0.31)	1.00*** (0.34)	-1.31*** (0.30)	-1.08*** (0.34)	-1.76*** (0.35)	-1.95*** (0.36)
Survey Weights	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Pseudo R ²	0.30	0.38	0.46	0.50	0.20	0.32
Observations	1,300	1,300	1,300	1,300	1,300	1,300

Note: Supporting table for Figure 4. Cell entries are probit coefficients (columns 1, 3, and 5) and random effects probit coefficients (columns 2, 4, and 6), with standard errors in parentheses. The random effect is the referent ranked first by the respondent. Dependent variables are dichotomous indicators of whether respondents chose the forced choice option described. Excluded category of partisanship variable is independents. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

Table A12: Support for Official Decisions (OLS/Random Effects)
Full Results with Demographic Controls

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Stay-at-Home Orders		Close Schools		Close Businesses	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Moral Individualism	-0.61*** (0.17)	-0.60*** (0.19)	-0.55*** (0.17)	-0.45** (0.18)	-0.72*** (0.17)	-0.74*** (0.18)
Economic Individualism	-0.47*** (0.14)	-0.60*** (0.14)	-0.60*** (0.14)	-0.65*** (0.14)	-0.72*** (0.14)	-0.75*** (0.14)
Horizontal Individualism	-0.11 (0.13)	-0.04 (0.13)	-0.10 (0.13)	-0.06 (0.13)	0.24* (0.13)	0.20 (0.13)
Vertical Individualism	0.26* (0.14)	0.10 (0.14)	0.09 (0.14)	-0.05 (0.14)	0.09 (0.14)	-0.02 (0.14)
Authoritarianism	0.23*** (0.08)	0.24*** (0.09)	0.24*** (0.08)	0.20** (0.08)	0.26*** (0.08)	0.27*** (0.08)
Ideology	-0.82*** (0.12)	-0.74*** (0.13)	-0.77*** (0.12)	-0.59*** (0.12)	-0.82*** (0.12)	-0.83*** (0.12)
Strong Democrat	0.34*** (0.09)	0.41*** (0.09)	0.24*** (0.09)	0.30*** (0.09)	0.37*** (0.08)	0.38*** (0.08)
Not very strong Democrat	0.27*** (0.10)	0.32*** (0.10)	0.26*** (0.10)	0.27*** (0.10)	0.29*** (0.10)	0.27*** (0.10)
Lean Democrat	0.18* (0.11)	0.21** (0.11)	0.19* (0.11)	0.18* (0.11)	0.24** (0.11)	0.21** (0.10)
Lean Republican	-0.76*** (0.11)	-0.67*** (0.11)	-0.53*** (0.11)	-0.56*** (0.11)	-0.65*** (0.11)	-0.62*** (0.11)
Not very strong Republican	-0.37*** (0.11)	-0.18 (0.11)	-0.11 (0.11)	-0.10 (0.11)	-0.30*** (0.11)	-0.25** (0.11)
Strong Republican	-0.60*** (0.10)	-0.48*** (0.09)	-0.44*** (0.09)	-0.41*** (0.09)	-0.57*** (0.09)	-0.48*** (0.09)
Age	0.001 (0.002)	0.002 (0.002)	0.002 (0.002)	0.001 (0.002)	0.0000 (0.002)	0.001 (0.002)
Female	0.27*** (0.05)	0.30*** (0.05)	0.20*** (0.05)	0.22*** (0.05)	0.23*** (0.05)	0.26*** (0.05)
Nonwhite	-0.12** (0.06)	-0.01 (0.06)	-0.12** (0.06)	-0.09 (0.06)	-0.11* (0.06)	-0.04 (0.06)
College Graduate	0.13** (0.06)	0.11* (0.06)	0.01 (0.06)	0.01 (0.06)	0.11* (0.06)	0.09 (0.06)
Family Income	0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.004 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.002 (0.02)
Constant	3.66*** (0.18)	3.49*** (0.20)	3.94*** (0.18)	3.84*** (0.19)	3.58*** (0.18)	3.60*** (0.18)
Survey Weights	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Adjusted R ²	0.32		0.25		0.35	
Pseudo R ²	0.34		0.26		0.36	
Observations	1,298	1,298	1,297	1,297	1,299	1,299

Note: Cell entries are OLS coefficients (columns 1, 3, and 5) and random effects coefficients (columns 2, 4, and 6), with standard errors in parentheses. The random effect is the referent ranked first by the respondent. Dependent variables are 4-point indicators of support for each of the official decisions. Excluded category of partisanship variable is independents. This table reports only the key independent variables of substantive interest. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A13: Vignettes (OLS/Random Effects)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Donate Masks		Hand Sanitizer		Homeless Donation	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Moral Individualism	-1.77*** (0.49)	-1.47*** (0.50)	-1.69*** (0.46)	-1.52*** (0.47)	-0.47** (0.22)	-0.46* (0.23)
Economic Individualism	-0.23 (0.41)	-0.21 (0.41)	-0.15 (0.39)	-0.37 (0.39)	0.21 (0.19)	0.23 (0.18)
Horizontal Individualism	-0.07 (0.38)	0.19 (0.39)	-0.56 (0.36)	-0.38 (0.36)	-0.54*** (0.17)	-0.43** (0.17)
Vertical Individualism	-1.37*** (0.41)	-1.32*** (0.41)	-1.48*** (0.39)	-1.42*** (0.39)	-0.03 (0.19)	-0.04 (0.19)
Authoritarianism	-0.40 (0.24)	-0.47* (0.25)	-0.07 (0.23)	-0.27 (0.23)	0.34*** (0.11)	0.35*** (0.11)
Ideology	0.15 (0.35)	0.06 (0.37)	0.14 (0.33)	0.51 (0.34)	0.21 (0.16)	-0.11 (0.16)
Strong Democrat	1.21*** (0.25)	1.07*** (0.25)	0.78*** (0.24)	0.71*** (0.24)	0.39*** (0.11)	0.34*** (0.11)
Not very strong Democrat	0.75** (0.29)	0.58** (0.29)	0.14 (0.28)	0.14 (0.27)	0.05 (0.13)	0.05 (0.13)
Lean Democrat	1.22*** (0.31)	1.01*** (0.31)	0.85*** (0.30)	0.78*** (0.29)	0.17 (0.14)	0.15 (0.14)
Lean Republican	0.94*** (0.32)	0.59* (0.32)	0.98*** (0.30)	0.64** (0.30)	-0.29** (0.14)	-0.20 (0.14)
Not very strong Republican	0.84*** (0.32)	0.75** (0.32)	0.47 (0.30)	0.45 (0.31)	-0.09 (0.15)	0.01 (0.15)
Strong Republican	0.53* (0.27)	0.47* (0.27)	0.62** (0.26)	0.47* (0.26)	-0.21* (0.12)	-0.12 (0.12)
Age	0.02*** (0.005)	0.01*** (0.005)	0.02*** (0.004)	0.01*** (0.004)	0.01*** (0.002)	0.01*** (0.002)
Female	0.35** (0.15)	0.27* (0.15)	0.31** (0.14)	0.31** (0.14)	0.36*** (0.07)	0.33*** (0.07)
Nonwhite	-0.15 (0.17)	-0.29 (0.18)	-0.25 (0.16)	-0.35** (0.17)	-0.04 (0.08)	0.01 (0.08)
College Graduate	0.13 (0.18)	0.14 (0.18)	0.12 (0.17)	0.11 (0.17)	0.11 (0.08)	0.06 (0.08)
Family Income	0.10 (0.06)	0.06 (0.06)	0.05 (0.06)	0.01 (0.06)	0.04 (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)
Constant	6.61*** (0.53)	6.70*** (0.52)	7.01*** (0.50)	7.03*** (0.50)	2.86*** (0.24)	2.88*** (0.24)
Survey Weights	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Adjusted R ²	0.08		0.07		0.07	
Pseudo R ²	0.08		0.08		0.08	
Observations	1,299	1,299	1,300	1,300	1,300	1,300

Note: Supporting table for Figure 5. Cell entries are OLS (columns 1, 3, and 5) and random effects (columns 2, 4, and 6) regression coefficients, with standard errors in parentheses. Dependent variables are 5-point indicators, with higher scores indicating greater likelihood of sacrificing for the collective good. Excluded category of partisanship variable is independents. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A14: Pandemic Actions (Probit)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>									
	Neighbors (1)	Friends (2)	Family (3)	Online Groups (4)	Made Mask (5)	Donate Money (6)	Donate Blood (7)	Donate Time (8)	Wore Mask (9)	In-Person (10)
Moral Individualism	-0.97*** (0.25)	-0.64*** (0.24)	-0.93*** (0.24)	-0.35 (0.30)	-0.27 (0.30)	-0.40 (0.31)	-0.13 (0.47)	-0.66** (0.30)	-1.13*** (0.28)	0.77* (0.43)
Economic Individualism	0.35* (0.21)	0.002 (0.20)	-0.33 (0.20)	-0.02 (0.25)	-0.34 (0.26)	0.24 (0.26)	0.18 (0.39)	0.20 (0.25)	-0.18 (0.23)	0.63* (0.37)
Horizontal Individualism	-0.11 (0.20)	0.05 (0.19)	0.43** (0.19)	0.23 (0.25)	-0.62*** (0.23)	-0.20 (0.25)	-0.46 (0.34)	-0.26 (0.23)	0.88*** (0.20)	-0.74** (0.31)
Vertical Individualism	-0.17 (0.21)	0.03 (0.20)	0.07 (0.20)	0.29 (0.25)	0.07 (0.26)	0.12 (0.27)	0.38 (0.39)	0.18 (0.25)	-0.40* (0.22)	0.49 (0.35)
Authoritarianism	0.13 (0.12)	-0.29** (0.12)	0.02 (0.12)	-0.18 (0.15)	0.02 (0.15)	-0.32** (0.16)	0.18 (0.23)	-0.14 (0.15)	-0.14 (0.13)	-0.03 (0.21)
Ideology	-0.13 (0.18)	-0.44*** (0.17)	-0.02 (0.17)	-0.30 (0.21)	-0.45** (0.22)	-0.53** (0.23)	0.07 (0.33)	-0.04 (0.21)	-0.35* (0.19)	-0.39 (0.28)
Strong Democrat	0.34*** (0.13)	0.03 (0.12)	0.26** (0.12)	0.38** (0.16)	-0.30* (0.16)	0.19 (0.16)	0.52* (0.27)	0.17 (0.15)	0.26* (0.13)	0.40* (0.23)
Not very strong Democrat	0.07 (0.15)	-0.03 (0.14)	0.01 (0.14)	0.05 (0.19)	-0.18 (0.18)	-0.02 (0.19)	0.77*** (0.27)	-0.51** (0.22)	0.22 (0.16)	0.20 (0.27)
Lean Democrat	0.41** (0.16)	-0.05 (0.15)	0.50*** (0.15)	-0.18 (0.21)	-0.14 (0.19)	0.14 (0.19)	0.67** (0.30)	-0.12 (0.20)	0.47** (0.19)	0.18 (0.30)
Lean Republican	0.15 (0.16)	0.04 (0.15)	0.40** (0.16)	-0.004 (0.21)	0.05 (0.19)	-0.22 (0.22)	0.61** (0.30)	0.45** (0.18)	-0.08 (0.17)	0.25 (0.29)
Not very strong Republican	0.18 (0.16)	0.04 (0.16)	0.15 (0.16)	0.06 (0.21)	-0.10 (0.20)	0.16 (0.20)	0.31 (0.33)	0.24 (0.19)	0.09 (0.17)	0.20 (0.30)
Strong Republican	0.05 (0.14)	0.04 (0.13)	-0.04 (0.13)	0.29 (0.18)	0.08 (0.17)	-0.13 (0.19)	-0.21 (0.35)	0.05 (0.17)	-0.26* (0.14)	0.50** (0.24)
Age	0.02*** (0.002)	0.01*** (0.002)	0.01*** (0.002)	0.001 (0.003)	0.01** (0.003)	0.004 (0.003)	-0.01 (0.004)	0.0003 (0.003)	0.02*** (0.003)	-0.002 (0.004)
Female	0.12 (0.08)	0.22*** (0.07)	0.21*** (0.07)	0.13 (0.09)	0.30*** (0.09)	0.04 (0.10)	-0.25* (0.14)	0.22** (0.09)	0.20** (0.08)	-0.03 (0.13)
Nonwhite	-0.05 (0.09)	0.01 (0.08)	0.01 (0.08)	0.09 (0.11)	0.07 (0.11)	-0.18* (0.11)	0.10 (0.15)	0.03 (0.11)	0.02 (0.09)	0.25* (0.14)
College Graduate	0.30*** (0.09)	0.40*** (0.09)	0.28*** (0.09)	0.08 (0.11)	0.04 (0.11)	0.34*** (0.10)	0.03 (0.16)	0.08 (0.11)	0.25** (0.10)	0.25* (0.14)
Family Income	0.08** (0.03)	0.07** (0.03)	0.07** (0.03)	0.08** (0.04)	0.10*** (0.04)	0.12*** (0.04)	0.07 (0.06)	0.06 (0.04)	0.12*** (0.04)	0.13** (0.05)
Constant	-1.31*** (0.27)	-0.37 (0.26)	-0.90*** (0.26)	-1.62*** (0.33)	-0.97*** (0.33)	-1.26*** (0.33)	-2.07*** (0.50)	-1.11*** (0.32)	-0.09 (0.29)	-2.67*** (0.47)
Survey Weights	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1,300	1,300	1,300	1,300	1,300	1,300	1,300	1,300	1,300	1,300

Note: Supporting table for Figure 6. Cell entries are probit coefficients, with standard errors in parentheses. Dependent variables are dichotomous indicators of each action. Excluded category of partisanship variable is independents. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A15: Pandemic Actions (Random Effects)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>									
	Neighbors	Friends	Family	Online	Made	Donate	Donate	Donate	Wore	In-Person
	(1)	(2)	(3)	Groups (4)	Mask (5)	Money (6)	Blood (7)	Time (8)	Mask (9)	(10)
Moral Individualism	-0.79*** (0.25)	-0.52** (0.24)	-0.76*** (0.24)	-0.11 (0.30)	-0.22 (0.30)	0.07 (0.34)	-0.04 (0.46)	-0.45 (0.29)	-1.36*** (0.30)	0.87** (0.43)
Economic Individualism	0.33 (0.20)	-0.03 (0.20)	-0.24 (0.20)	0.0001 (0.25)	-0.39 (0.25)	0.20 (0.26)	0.03 (0.38)	0.11 (0.25)	-0.21 (0.23)	0.49 (0.36)
Horizontal Individualism	-0.03 (0.20)	0.14 (0.19)	0.36* (0.19)	0.24 (0.24)	-0.44* (0.23)	-0.24 (0.25)	-0.24 (0.35)	-0.29 (0.23)	0.82*** (0.20)	-0.68** (0.30)
Vertical Individualism	-0.23 (0.21)	-0.05 (0.20)	-0.01 (0.20)	0.26 (0.26)	0.0000 (0.26)	0.16 (0.26)	0.38 (0.37)	0.21 (0.25)	-0.38* (0.22)	0.43 (0.35)
Authoritarianism	0.14 (0.12)	-0.34*** (0.12)	-0.04 (0.12)	-0.15 (0.15)	0.08 (0.15)	-0.29* (0.16)	0.18 (0.23)	-0.19 (0.15)	-0.16 (0.14)	-0.04 (0.21)
Ideology	-0.11 (0.19)	-0.34* (0.18)	0.09 (0.18)	-0.39* (0.22)	-0.46** (0.22)	-0.47** (0.23)	0.11 (0.33)	0.01 (0.22)	-0.42** (0.20)	-0.51* (0.28)
Strong Democrat	0.31** (0.13)	0.05 (0.12)	0.26** (0.12)	0.37** (0.16)	-0.28* (0.16)	0.14 (0.16)	0.59** (0.26)	0.15 (0.15)	0.18 (0.14)	0.30 (0.22)
Not very strong Democrat	0.09 (0.15)	-0.01 (0.14)	0.01 (0.14)	0.09 (0.19)	-0.12 (0.18)	-0.04 (0.19)	0.74*** (0.27)	-0.42** (0.21)	0.28* (0.16)	0.13 (0.26)
Lean Democrat	0.35** (0.16)	-0.06 (0.15)	0.47*** (0.15)	-0.11 (0.21)	-0.05 (0.19)	0.14 (0.19)	0.59** (0.30)	-0.03 (0.19)	0.39** (0.19)	0.18 (0.28)
Lean Republican	0.14 (0.16)	0.10 (0.15)	0.42*** (0.15)	0.11 (0.21)	-0.04 (0.20)	-0.17 (0.21)	0.57* (0.30)	0.36** (0.18)	-0.05 (0.17)	0.29 (0.27)
Not very strong Republican	0.26 (0.16)	0.14 (0.16)	0.05 (0.16)	0.17 (0.21)	0.01 (0.20)	0.20 (0.20)	0.36 (0.32)	0.23 (0.19)	0.13 (0.17)	0.15 (0.30)
Strong Republican	0.06 (0.14)	0.06 (0.13)	-0.08 (0.13)	0.36** (0.17)	0.17 (0.16)	-0.07 (0.18)	-0.16 (0.33)	0.03 (0.17)	-0.17 (0.14)	0.46** (0.23)
Age	0.02*** (0.002)	0.01*** (0.002)	0.01*** (0.002)	0.002 (0.003)	0.01** (0.003)	0.005* (0.003)	-0.01 (0.004)	-0.0002 (0.003)	0.02*** (0.003)	0.0004 (0.004)
Female	0.16** (0.08)	0.23*** (0.07)	0.16** (0.07)	0.15 (0.09)	0.29*** (0.09)	0.02 (0.10)	-0.25* (0.14)	0.25*** (0.09)	0.19** (0.08)	-0.05 (0.13)
Nonwhite	-0.02 (0.09)	0.03 (0.09)	0.01 (0.09)	0.06 (0.11)	0.08 (0.11)	-0.13 (0.11)	0.14 (0.15)	0.05 (0.11)	-0.01 (0.10)	0.32** (0.14)
College Graduate	0.31*** (0.09)	0.41*** (0.08)	0.28*** (0.09)	0.11 (0.11)	0.06 (0.11)	0.33*** (0.10)	-0.0000 (0.16)	0.09 (0.10)	0.31*** (0.10)	0.23 (0.14)
Family Income	0.08** (0.03)	0.07** (0.03)	0.06** (0.03)	0.07* (0.04)	0.11*** (0.04)	0.13*** (0.04)	0.09 (0.06)	0.05 (0.04)	0.11*** (0.04)	0.12** (0.05)
Constant	-1.42*** (0.27)	-0.45* (0.25)	-0.82*** (0.25)	-1.75*** (0.32)	-1.11*** (0.32)	-1.56*** (0.35)	-2.23*** (0.47)	-1.14*** (0.31)	0.06 (0.31)	-2.62*** (0.45)
Survey Weights	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Pseudo R ²	0.17	0.13	0.14	0.07	0.08	0.15	0.14	0.07	0.28	0.12
Observations	1,300	1,300	1,300	1,300	1,300	1,300	1,300	1,300	1,300	1,300

Note: Cell entries are random effects probit coefficients, with standard errors in parentheses. Dependent variables are dichotomous indicators of each action. Excluded category of partisanship variable is independents. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A16: Collective Action (OLS/Random Effects)
Full Results with Demographic Controls

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Covid Assistance		Political Activity		Volunteering	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Moral Individualism	-1.44*** (0.31)	-1.20*** (0.32)	-0.55** (0.22)	-0.39 (0.24)	-1.88*** (0.38)	-1.77*** (0.42)
Economic Individualism	0.03 (0.26)	-0.01 (0.26)	-0.05 (0.19)	-0.08 (0.19)	0.15 (0.32)	0.12 (0.33)
Horizontal Individualism	0.15 (0.25)	0.20 (0.25)	-0.11 (0.17)	-0.04 (0.17)	0.82*** (0.30)	0.83*** (0.31)
Vertical Individualism	0.06 (0.26)	-0.002 (0.27)	0.38** (0.19)	0.44** (0.19)	0.06 (0.32)	-0.12 (0.33)
Authoritarianism	-0.22 (0.16)	-0.27* (0.16)	-0.72*** (0.11)	-0.70*** (0.11)	-0.05 (0.19)	-0.26 (0.20)
Ideology	-0.60*** (0.22)	-0.57** (0.23)	-0.04 (0.16)	-0.08 (0.17)	-0.24 (0.27)	-0.16 (0.29)
Strong Democrat	0.44*** (0.16)	0.41** (0.16)	0.81*** (0.11)	0.74*** (0.11)	0.81*** (0.19)	0.73*** (0.20)
Not very strong Democrat	0.03 (0.19)	0.08 (0.19)	0.20 (0.13)	0.22* (0.13)	0.33 (0.23)	0.28 (0.23)
Lean Democrat	0.40** (0.20)	0.40** (0.20)	0.41*** (0.14)	0.41*** (0.14)	0.28 (0.25)	0.31 (0.25)
Lean Republican	0.34* (0.20)	0.35* (0.20)	0.59*** (0.14)	0.52*** (0.14)	0.35 (0.25)	0.22 (0.25)
Not very strong Republican	0.25 (0.21)	0.33 (0.21)	0.33** (0.15)	0.44*** (0.15)	0.61** (0.25)	0.56** (0.26)
Strong Republican	0.02 (0.18)	0.07 (0.17)	0.57*** (0.12)	0.61*** (0.12)	0.26 (0.21)	0.19 (0.22)
Age	0.02*** (0.003)	0.02*** (0.003)	0.01*** (0.002)	0.01*** (0.002)	0.01*** (0.004)	0.01*** (0.004)
Female	0.37*** (0.10)	0.37*** (0.10)	-0.19*** (0.07)	-0.19*** (0.07)	0.43*** (0.12)	0.45*** (0.12)
Nonwhite	0.04 (0.11)	0.05 (0.12)	-0.02 (0.08)	0.02 (0.08)	0.23* (0.13)	0.28** (0.14)
College Graduate	0.58*** (0.11)	0.61*** (0.11)	0.26*** (0.08)	0.25*** (0.08)	0.45*** (0.14)	0.42*** (0.14)
Family Income	0.20*** (0.04)	0.20*** (0.04)	0.07** (0.03)	0.07** (0.03)	0.06 (0.05)	0.05 (0.05)
Constant	1.52*** (0.34)	1.44*** (0.34)	0.45* (0.24)	0.38 (0.25)	1.87*** (0.41)	2.04*** (0.43)
Survey Weights	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Adjusted R ²	0.16		0.16		0.07	
Pseudo R ²	0.17		0.17		0.09	
Observations	1,300	1,300	1,300	1,300	1,300	1,300

Note: Cell entries are OLS (columns 1, 3, and 5) and random effects (columns 2, 4, and 6) regression coefficients, with standard errors in parentheses. Dependent variables are summary indicators of self-reported behavior. Excluded category of partisanship variable is independents. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A17: Pandemic Collective Action (OLS/Random Effects)
 Controls for Trump Support and Prosociality

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>							
	Covid Assistance				Wore Mask			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Moral Individualism	-1.38*** (0.32)	-1.11*** (0.32)	-0.96*** (0.31)	-0.80** (0.31)	-0.99*** (0.28)	-1.22*** (0.29)	-0.82*** (0.29)	-1.11*** (0.30)
Economic Individualism	0.11 (0.27)	0.10 (0.27)	-0.17 (0.26)	-0.19 (0.26)	-0.02 (0.23)	-0.02 (0.24)	-0.16 (0.24)	-0.16 (0.24)
Horizontal Individualism	0.13 (0.25)	0.19 (0.25)	-0.28 (0.24)	-0.27 (0.24)	0.88*** (0.21)	0.83*** (0.21)	0.69*** (0.21)	0.61*** (0.21)
Vertical Individualism	0.09 (0.26)	0.02 (0.27)	0.04 (0.25)	0.16 (0.26)	-0.34 (0.22)	-0.35 (0.23)	-0.39* (0.23)	-0.32 (0.23)
Authoritarianism	-0.20 (0.16)	-0.24 (0.16)	-0.24 (0.15)	-0.26* (0.15)	-0.10 (0.13)	-0.12 (0.14)	-0.12 (0.14)	-0.14 (0.14)
Ideology	-0.51** (0.23)	-0.46* (0.24)	-0.34 (0.22)	-0.37 (0.23)	-0.15 (0.19)	-0.24 (0.20)	-0.07 (0.20)	-0.19 (0.20)
Strong Democrat	0.37** (0.16)	0.33** (0.17)	0.35** (0.16)	0.26* (0.16)	0.12 (0.14)	0.06 (0.14)	0.12 (0.14)	0.04 (0.14)
Not very strong Democrat	-0.03 (0.19)	0.02 (0.19)	-0.09 (0.18)	-0.05 (0.18)	0.12 (0.16)	0.20 (0.16)	0.08 (0.16)	0.16 (0.16)
Lean Democrat	0.34* (0.20)	0.33 (0.20)	0.35* (0.20)	0.34* (0.19)	0.38* (0.20)	0.31* (0.19)	0.40** (0.20)	0.33* (0.19)
Lean Republican	0.44** (0.21)	0.45** (0.21)	0.42** (0.20)	0.41** (0.20)	0.10 (0.17)	0.09 (0.17)	0.09 (0.17)	0.07 (0.17)
Not very strong Republican	0.32 (0.21)	0.40* (0.21)	0.23 (0.20)	0.31 (0.20)	0.21 (0.17)	0.22 (0.17)	0.18 (0.17)	0.18 (0.17)
Strong Republican	0.14 (0.19)	0.20 (0.18)	0.07 (0.18)	0.10 (0.18)	-0.06 (0.15)	0.01 (0.15)	-0.08 (0.15)	-0.04 (0.15)
Age	0.02*** (0.003)	0.02*** (0.003)	0.02*** (0.003)	0.01*** (0.003)	0.02*** (0.003)	0.02*** (0.003)	0.01*** (0.003)	0.02*** (0.003)
Female	0.36*** (0.10)	0.36*** (0.10)	0.24** (0.09)	0.23** (0.10)	0.20** (0.08)	0.18** (0.09)	0.15* (0.09)	0.13 (0.09)
Nonwhite	0.02 (0.11)	0.04 (0.12)	0.02 (0.10)	0.02 (0.11)	-0.02 (0.09)	-0.03 (0.10)	-0.02 (0.09)	-0.04 (0.10)
College Graduate	0.58*** (0.11)	0.61*** (0.11)	0.55*** (0.11)	0.58*** (0.11)	0.26** (0.10)	0.32*** (0.10)	0.25** (0.10)	0.31*** (0.11)
Family Income	0.20*** (0.04)	0.19*** (0.04)	0.20*** (0.04)	0.20*** (0.04)	0.12*** (0.04)	0.10*** (0.04)	0.12*** (0.04)	0.11*** (0.04)
Confidence in Trump	-0.35** (0.17)	-0.39** (0.17)	-0.33** (0.17)	-0.33** (0.17)	-0.68*** (0.14)	-0.62*** (0.14)	-0.68*** (0.15)	-0.60*** (0.14)
Prosociality			2.29*** (0.23)	2.37*** (0.23)			1.01*** (0.20)	1.12*** (0.20)
Constant	1.52*** (0.34)	1.45*** (0.34)	0.24 (0.35)	0.15 (0.35)	-0.14 (0.29)	0.03 (0.30)	-0.67** (0.32)	-0.52* (0.32)
Survey Weights	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Adjusted R ²	0.16		0.22		0.15		0.33	
Pseudo R ²	0.17		0.23		0.30		0.17	
Observations	1,299		1,299		1,299		1,299	

Note: Cell entries are OLS (columns 1 and 3) and random effects (columns 2 and 4) and probit (columns 5 and 7) and random effects probit (columns 6 and 7) regression coefficients, with standard errors in parentheses. Dependent variables are indicators of self-reported behavior. Covid Assistance is the 10-item summary measure described in the text, and Wore Mask is a dichotomous indicator of the respondent's self-report of mask wearing. Excluded category of partisanship variable is independents. This table reports only the key independent variables of substantive interest. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A18: Collective Action Pre-Covid
2018 YouGov Survey

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>			
	Political Activity		Volunteering	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Moral Individualism	-0.99*** (0.16)	-0.90*** (0.19)	-1.98*** (0.29)	-1.83*** (0.35)
Economic Individualism	-0.57*** (0.14)	-0.52*** (0.14)	-0.21 (0.26)	-0.20 (0.26)
Horizontal Individualism	0.11 (0.15)	0.07 (0.15)	1.49*** (0.28)	1.45*** (0.28)
Vertical Individualism	0.38** (0.16)	0.37** (0.16)	-1.01*** (0.29)	-1.01*** (0.29)
Authoritarianism	-0.60*** (0.09)	-0.54*** (0.09)	-0.42** (0.16)	-0.41** (0.17)
Ideology	-0.58*** (0.13)	-0.53*** (0.13)	-0.86*** (0.24)	-0.87*** (0.24)
Strong Democrat	0.40*** (0.08)	0.41*** (0.08)	0.39** (0.15)	0.39** (0.15)
Not very strong Democrat	-0.06 (0.10)	-0.04 (0.10)	0.33* (0.18)	0.34* (0.18)
Lean Democrat	-0.16 (0.11)	-0.16 (0.11)	0.22 (0.20)	0.21 (0.20)
Lean Republican	0.50*** (0.11)	0.50*** (0.10)	0.84*** (0.19)	0.84*** (0.19)
Not very strong Republican	-0.01 (0.11)	0.003 (0.11)	0.39* (0.20)	0.40** (0.20)
Strong Republican	0.58*** (0.09)	0.59*** (0.09)	0.72*** (0.17)	0.72*** (0.17)
Age	0.01*** (0.002)	0.01*** (0.002)	-0.001 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.003)
Female	-0.27*** (0.05)	-0.25*** (0.05)	0.23** (0.10)	0.22** (0.10)
Nonwhite	-0.12** (0.06)	-0.11* (0.06)	0.12 (0.11)	0.12 (0.11)
College Graduate	0.36*** (0.06)	0.36*** (0.06)	0.42*** (0.12)	0.43*** (0.12)
Family Income	0.06*** (0.02)	0.06*** (0.02)	0.03 (0.04)	0.03 (0.04)
Constant	1.42*** (0.17)	1.35*** (0.19)	3.15*** (0.32)	3.12*** (0.34)
Survey Weights	Yes	No	Yes	No
Adjusted R ²	0.20		0.08	
Pseudo R ²		0.19		0.09
Observations	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000

Note: Cell entries are OLS (columns 1 and 3) and random effects (columns 2 and 4) regression coefficients, with standard errors in parentheses. Dependent variables are indicators of self-reported behavior. Excluded category of partisanship variable is independents. This table reports only the key independent variables of substantive interest. Source: 2018 YouGov survey. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A19: Collective Action
2020 Western States Survey

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Covid Assistance		Political Activity		Expanded Political Activity	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Moral Individualism	-0.32*** (0.08)	-0.28*** (0.09)	-0.44*** (0.09)	-0.31*** (0.10)	-0.77*** (0.14)	-0.54*** (0.16)
Economic Individualism	-0.04 (0.09)	-0.04 (0.09)	-0.21** (0.11)	-0.20* (0.11)	-0.71*** (0.17)	-0.70*** (0.17)
Authoritarianism	0.15* (0.08)	0.13* (0.08)	-0.12 (0.09)	-0.11 (0.09)	-0.23 (0.14)	-0.21 (0.14)
Ideology	-0.35*** (0.08)	-0.34*** (0.08)	-0.45*** (0.09)	-0.47*** (0.10)	-0.74*** (0.14)	-0.78*** (0.15)
Strong Democrat	0.16*** (0.05)	0.15*** (0.05)	0.46*** (0.06)	0.46*** (0.06)	0.72*** (0.10)	0.71*** (0.10)
Not very strong Democrat	0.08 (0.06)	0.07 (0.06)	0.14* (0.07)	0.14* (0.07)	0.21* (0.11)	0.20* (0.11)
Lean Democrat	0.32*** (0.06)	0.31*** (0.06)	0.37*** (0.07)	0.37*** (0.07)	0.65*** (0.11)	0.65*** (0.11)
Lean Republican	-0.11* (0.07)	-0.12* (0.07)	0.33*** (0.08)	0.32*** (0.08)	0.62*** (0.12)	0.61*** (0.12)
Not very strong Republican	-0.05 (0.07)	-0.04 (0.07)	0.09 (0.08)	0.08 (0.08)	0.07 (0.12)	0.06 (0.12)
Strong Republican	-0.22*** (0.06)	-0.23*** (0.06)	0.59*** (0.07)	0.59*** (0.07)	0.95*** (0.10)	0.94*** (0.10)
Age	0.01*** (0.001)	0.01*** (0.001)	0.003*** (0.001)	0.003*** (0.001)	0.005*** (0.002)	0.005*** (0.002)
Female	0.18*** (0.03)	0.18*** (0.03)	-0.08** (0.04)	-0.08** (0.04)	-0.09 (0.06)	-0.08 (0.06)
Nonwhite	-0.08** (0.04)	-0.08** (0.04)	-0.24*** (0.04)	-0.23*** (0.04)	-0.42*** (0.06)	-0.41*** (0.06)
College Graduate	0.18*** (0.04)	0.18*** (0.04)	0.39*** (0.04)	0.38*** (0.04)	0.58*** (0.07)	0.57*** (0.07)
Family Income	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.12*** (0.02)	0.12*** (0.02)	0.18*** (0.02)	0.18*** (0.02)
Constant	2.32*** (0.10)	2.21*** (0.14)	0.86*** (0.11)	0.80*** (0.13)	1.81*** (0.17)	1.70*** (0.21)
Survey Weights	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Adjusted R ²	0.10		0.16		0.18	
Pseudo R ²		0.13		0.17		0.19
Observations	3,600	3,600	3,600	3,600	3,600	3,600

Note Cell entries are OLS (columns 1, 3, and 5) and random effects (columns 2, 4, and 6) regression coefficients, with standard errors in parentheses. Dependent variables are summary indicators of self-reported behavior. The Political Activity Index includes the same items found on the 2018 and 2020 YouGov surveys (attending meetings, posting a political yard sign, campaigning, donating money to a campaign, and persuading others about which candidate to support), and the Expanded Political Activity Index adds the following to the count: protesting, contacting officials, and posting about politics online. Covid Assistance is a count of how many of the following activities the respondent reported: social distancing when in public, quarantining at home, checking in on neighbors, and wearing a mask. Excluded category of partisanship variable is independents. Source: 2020 Western States Survey, which included samples of residents in Arizona, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, and Utah. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A20: Probability of Getting Vaccinated
2020 Western States Survey

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>			
	Self-Reported Probability of Getting Vaccinated			
	OLS (1)	Random Effects lme4 (2)	Random Effects p1m (3)	Random Effects Stata xtreg (4)
Moral Individualism	-0.30*** (0.11)	-0.12 (0.12)	-0.14 (0.12)	-0.28*** (0.11)
Economic Individualism	-0.50*** (0.13)	-0.47*** (0.13)	-0.47*** (0.13)	-0.51*** (0.13)
Authoritarianism	-0.0002 (0.11)	0.01 (0.11)	0.01 (0.11)	-0.10 (0.11)
Ideology	-0.52*** (0.11)	-0.47*** (0.11)	-0.47*** (0.11)	-0.48*** (0.11)
Strong Democrat	0.49*** (0.08)	0.48*** (0.08)	0.48*** (0.08)	0.51*** (0.07)
Not very strong Democrat	0.49*** (0.09)	0.48*** (0.09)	0.44*** (0.09)	0.48*** (0.08)
Lean Democrat	0.49*** (0.09)	0.46*** (0.09)	0.46*** (0.09)	0.42*** (0.08)
Lean Republican	-0.06 (0.09)	-0.06 (0.09)	-0.06 (0.09)	-0.11 (0.10)
Not very strong Republican	-0.001 (0.09)	0.001 (0.09)	0.001 (0.09)	-0.05 (0.10)
Strong Republican	0.22*** (0.08)	0.22*** (0.08)	0.22*** (0.08)	0.18* (0.08)
Age	0.002* (0.001)	0.002 (0.001)	0.002 (0.001)	0.003* (0.001)
Female	-0.39*** (0.05)	-0.39*** (0.05)	-0.40*** (0.05)	-0.32*** (0.05)
Nonwhite	-0.18*** (0.05)	-0.18*** (0.05)	-0.18*** (0.05)	-0.15** (0.05)
College Graduate	0.24*** (0.05)	0.23*** (0.05)	0.23*** (0.05)	0.25*** (0.05)
Family Income	0.05** (0.02)	0.05** (0.02)	0.05** (0.02)	0.02** (0.01)
Constant	3.85*** (0.14)	3.66*** (0.16)	3.64*** (0.15)	3.84*** (0.14)
Survey Weights	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Adjusted R ²	0.12		0.15	0.12
Pseudo R ²		0.12		
Observations	3,600	3,600	3,600	3,600

Note: Cell entries are OLS and random effects coefficients, with standard errors in parentheses. Dependent variables are self-reports of likelihood of getting vaccinated on a five-point scale from "Definitely get it" to "Definitely not get it," with "Unsure" as the middle category. Excluded category of partisanship variable is independents. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A21: Self-Reported Vaccination Status
2021 and 2022 UNC Survey

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>			
	2021 Vaccination Status		2022 Vaccination Status	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Moral Individualism	-1.14*** (0.14)	-1.03*** (0.15)	-0.76*** (0.16)	-0.94*** (0.32)
Ideology	-0.35*** (0.13)	-0.30** (0.13)	-0.21 (0.15)	-0.14 (0.37)
Strong Democrat	0.12 (0.09)	0.12 (0.09)	0.31*** (0.11)	0.31 (0.26)
Not very strong Democrat	0.40*** (0.10)	0.40*** (0.10)	0.39*** (0.13)	0.59** (0.28)
Lean Democrat	0.21** (0.11)	0.19* (0.11)	0.04 (0.14)	0.10 (0.30)
Lean Republican	-0.35*** (0.12)	-0.34*** (0.12)	-0.32** (0.14)	-0.49 (0.31)
Not very strong Republican	-0.02 (0.11)	-0.01 (0.11)	-0.08 (0.13)	0.05 (0.28)
Strong Republican	-0.28*** (0.10)	-0.24** (0.10)	-0.34*** (0.12)	-0.29 (0.25)
Age	0.15*** (0.02)	0.15*** (0.02)	0.22*** (0.02)	0.25*** (0.05)
Female	-0.17*** (0.06)	-0.16*** (0.06)	-0.05 (0.07)	-0.26* (0.15)
Nonwhite	-0.28*** (0.06)	-0.26*** (0.06)	0.04 (0.07)	0.22 (0.18)
College Graduate	0.25*** (0.07)	0.24*** (0.07)	0.31*** (0.08)	0.40** (0.19)
Family Income	0.08*** (0.02)	0.08*** (0.02)	0.11*** (0.03)	0.08 (0.06)
Constant	-0.003 (0.16)	-0.13 (0.18)	0.04 (0.17)	0.06 (0.37)
Pseudo R ²	0.14	0.27	0.16	0.34
Observations	2,325	2,325	2,119	526

Note: Supporting Table for Figure 7. Cell entries are probit (columns 1 and 3) and random effects probit (columns 2 and 4) regression coefficients, with standard errors in parentheses. Dependent variables are dichotomous indicators of self-reported vaccination status. Excluded category of partisanship variable is independents. Source: 2021 and 2022 UNC Surveys. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

4 Moral Individualism and the Schwartz Inventory of Values

Shalom Schwartz has developed a theory of basic human values and measures of those values (Schwartz 2012), including the well-tested Schwartz Value Inventory (Schwartz, Breyer, and Danner 2015). Schwartz identifies ten distinct values and the structure of relationships between them (Schwartz 2012). For example, values like “conformity” and “tradition” are united by the motivation of *conservation*, which contrasts with *openness to change* and the values of “stimulation” and “self-direction.”

Several Schwartz values are summarized below, including the relevant measures from the European Social Survey’s Human Values Scale, a standard measure of the Schwartz values. Unfortunately, none of our datasets includes the full Schwartz Value Inventory in its typical form. However, our 2018 YouGov survey includes several items that could be used as close proxies, and these are indicated below. In addition, we show the relationship between our indicator of moral individualism and the Schwartz values for which we have proxy measures. We find strong evidence that, as expected, moral individualism correlates positively with the value of “self-direction” and negatively with “conformity.” Correlations with “benevolence,” “tradition,” and “universalism,” are low. See Figure A6 for details.

In addition, adding controls for self-direction and conformity, the values with which moral individualism is correlated, does not eliminate the effect of moral individualism on both political participation and volunteering. Table A22 summarizes these results. While self-direction also exerts a large and negative effect on those dependent variables, the effects of moral individualism persist.

We do not have sufficient measures for proxy indexes of the values of “power,” “achievement,” “hedonism,” “security,” or “stimulation,” though we expect that some of those may also be related to moral individualism. For this reason, we strongly encourage future research that explores the relationship between moral individualism and the full Schwartz Value Inventory.

Appendix References

Schwartz, Shalom H. 2012. “An Overview of the Schwartz Theory of Basic Values.” *Online Readings in Psychology and Culture* 2(1).

Schwartz, Shalom H., Bianca Breyer, and Daniel Danner. 2015. “Human Values Scale (ESS).” *Zusammenstellung sozialwissenschaftlicher Items und Skalen (ZIS)*: Forthcoming.

Schwartz Value Concepts

Self-Direction

- **Defining goal:** independent thought and action — choosing, creating, exploring.
- ESS Value Inventory Measures³
 - Thinking up new ideas and being creative is important to him/her. He/she likes to do things in his/her own original way.
 - It is important to him/her to make his/her own decisions about what he/she does. He/she likes to be free and not depend on others.
- Proxy Measures ($\alpha = 0.58$)
 - I made myself who I am with little or no help from the history and traditions into which I was born.
 - Relying on yourself is better than relying on the opinions of others.
 - People who are truly free always make decisions on their own.
 - I rely on myself most of the time; I rarely rely on others.⁴

Conformity

- **Defining goal:** restraint of actions, inclinations, and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations or norms.
- ESS Value Inventory Measures
 - He/she believes that people should do what they're told. He/she thinks people should follow rules at all times, even when no-one is watching.
 - It is important to him/her always to behave properly. He/she wants to avoid doing anything people would say is wrong.
- Proxy Measures ($\alpha = 0.55$)
 - What is morally true for me may not be true for someone else. (Reverse coded)
 - Only a moral truth that I say is a truth can limit what I want to do. (Reverse coded)
 - My freedom is more important than obeying a moral truth. (Reverse coded)

³All items listed in this section are taken from the European Social Survey's Human Values Scale. As described by [Schwartz, Breyer, and Danner \(2015\)](#), the scale "consists of 21 short verbal portraits of different people describing the importance of different values to them." For each item, respondents indicate how similar or different the person described in the item is to themselves on a scale from 1-6, where one end of the scale indicates "Very Much Like Me" and the other end of scale represents "Not Like Me at All." There are separate versions of the scale for male and female respondents.

⁴This item is part of the horizontal individualism scale.

Tradition

- **Defining goal:** respect, commitment, and acceptance of the customs and ideas that one's culture or religion provides.
- ESS Value Inventory Measures
 - It is important to him/her to be humble and modest. He/she tries not to draw attention to himself/herself.
 - Tradition is important to him/her. He/she tries to follow the customs handed down by his/her religion or his/her family.
- Proxy Measures ($\alpha = 0.71$)
 - I am proud of my heritage and traditions.
 - Being true to yourself usually means rejecting the traditions of the past. (Reverse coded)
 - When you decide whether something is right or wrong, to what extent are the following considerations relevant to your thinking? Whether or not someone showed a lack of respect for authority.⁵
 - I am proud of my country's history.
 - Respect for authority is something that all children need to learn.
 - People should be loyal to their family members, even when they have done something wrong.

Benevolence

- **Defining goal:** preserving and enhancing the welfare of those with whom one is in frequent personal contact (the in-group).
- ESS Value Inventory Measures
 - It's very important to him/her to help the people around him/her. He/she wants to care for their well-being.
 - It is important to him/her to be loyal to his/her friends. He/she wants to devote himself/herself to people close to him/her.
- Proxy Measures ($\alpha = 0.70$)
 - When you decide whether something is right or wrong, to what extent are the following considerations relevant to your thinking? Whether or not someone cared for someone weak or vulnerable.⁶
 - Compassion for those who are suffering is the most crucial virtue.
 - How important a role does the following value play in your life? Helping others

⁵This item and the next three are taken from Haidt's Moral Foundations Questionnaire (MFQ30).

⁶This item and the following item are taken from Haidt's Moral Foundations Questionnaire (MFQ30).

- How important a role does the following value play in your life? Contributing to the community
- One thing that many think that is distinctive to the United States is the idea of the American Dream. Please indicate how important each of the following are to the American Dream? Making a difference in the community.

Universalism

- **Defining goal:** understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature.
- ESS Value Inventory Measures
 - He/she thinks it is important that every person in the world should be treated equally. He/she believes everyone should have equal opportunities in life.
 - It is important to him/her to listen to people who are different from him/her. Even when he/she disagrees with them, he/she still wants to understand them.
 - He/she strongly believes that people should care for nature. Looking after the environment is important to him/her.
 -
- Proxy Measures ($\alpha = 0.52$)
 - It is important to listen to groups with different opinions.
 - Society shouldn't have to put up with those who have political ideas that are extremely different from the views of the majority. (Reverse coded)
 - When the country is in great danger we may have to force people to testify against themselves even if it violates their rights. (Reverse coded)
 - Free speech ought to be allowed for all political groups even if some of the things these groups believe in are highly insulting and threatening to particular segments of society.

Figure A6: Correlations between Moral Individualism and Proxy Measures of Schwartz Values
2018 YouGov Survey

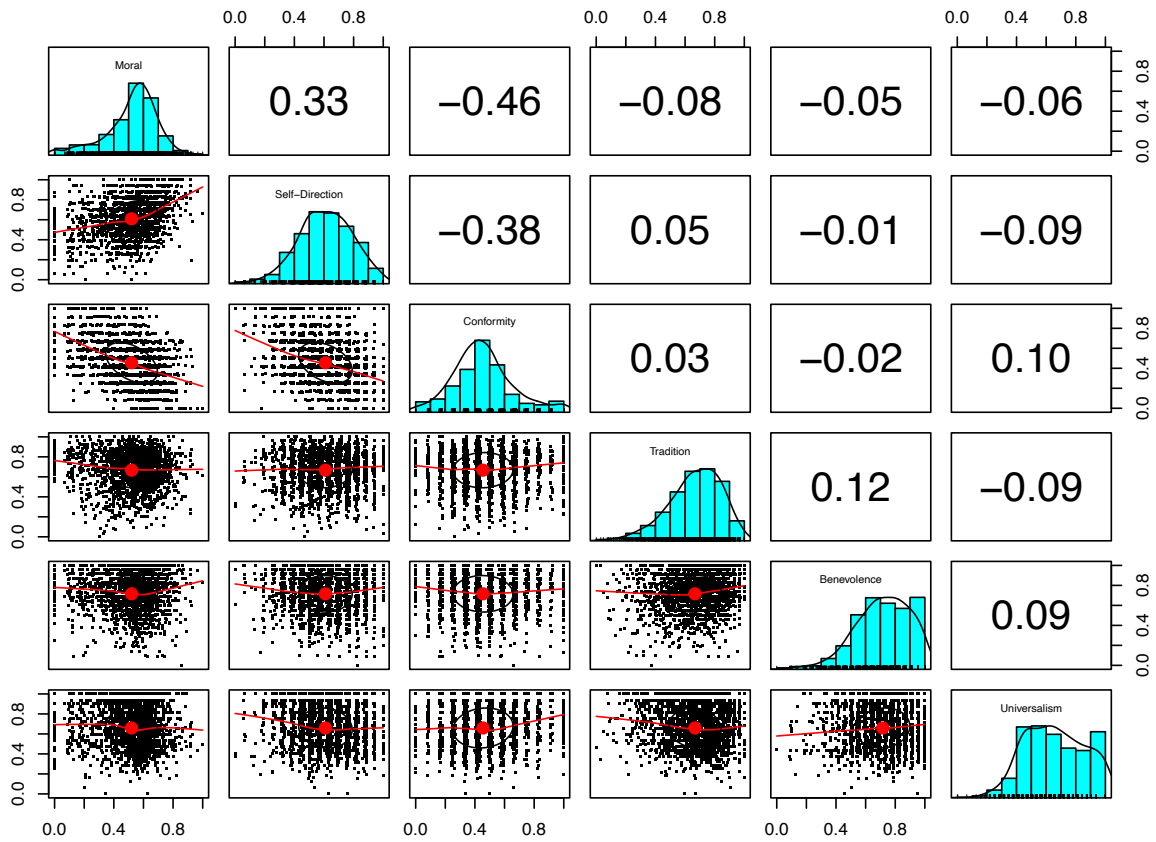


Table A22: 2018 Political Activity and Volunteering
With Controls for Proxy Measures of Schwartz Values

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>			
	Political Activity		Volunteering	
	OLS (1)	Random Effects (2)	OLS (3)	Random Effects (4)
Moral Individualism	-0.68*** (0.17)	-0.55*** (0.21)	-1.65*** (0.32)	-1.48*** (0.37)
Economic Individualism	-0.56*** (0.14)	-0.48*** (0.14)	-0.14 (0.26)	-0.13 (0.26)
Horizontal Individualism	0.57*** (0.18)	0.55*** (0.18)	2.25*** (0.33)	2.22*** (0.33)
Vertical Individualism	0.49*** (0.16)	0.49*** (0.16)	-0.87*** (0.29)	-0.87*** (0.29)
Authoritarianism	-0.54*** (0.09)	-0.46*** (0.09)	-0.31* (0.16)	-0.30* (0.17)
Self-Direction	-0.83*** (0.19)	-0.86*** (0.19)	-1.62*** (0.34)	-1.63*** (0.34)
Conformity	0.17 (0.15)	0.21 (0.15)	-0.26 (0.28)	-0.25 (0.28)
Ideology	-0.70*** (0.11)	-0.67*** (0.11)	-1.08*** (0.21)	-1.07*** (0.21)
Strong Democrat	0.28*** (0.09)	0.29*** (0.09)	0.19 (0.16)	0.19 (0.16)
Not very strong Democrat	-0.18* (0.10)	-0.16 (0.10)	0.12 (0.18)	0.13 (0.18)
Lean Democrat	-0.25** (0.11)	-0.24** (0.11)	0.07 (0.20)	0.06 (0.20)
Lean Republican	0.35*** (0.10)	0.37*** (0.10)	0.64*** (0.19)	0.64*** (0.19)
Not very strong Republican	-0.12 (0.11)	-0.09 (0.11)	0.23 (0.20)	0.23 (0.20)
Strong Republican	0.44*** (0.09)	0.46*** (0.09)	0.51*** (0.16)	0.52*** (0.16)
Age	0.01*** (0.002)	0.01*** (0.002)	-0.001 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.003)
Female	-0.26*** (0.05)	-0.23*** (0.05)	0.25*** (0.10)	0.25*** (0.10)
Nonwhite	-0.09 (0.06)	-0.08 (0.06)	0.16 (0.11)	0.16 (0.11)
College Graduate	0.31*** (0.06)	0.30*** (0.06)	0.35*** (0.12)	0.35*** (0.12)
Family Income	0.05** (0.02)	0.05** (0.02)	0.02 (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)
Constant	1.41*** (0.22)	1.29*** (0.23)	3.61*** (0.41)	3.55*** (0.42)
Survey Weights	Yes	No	Yes	No
Adjusted R ²	0.21		0.10	
Pseudo R ²		0.2		0.1
Observations	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000

Note: Cell entries are OLS (columns 1 and 3) and random effects (columns 2 and 4) regression coefficients, with standard errors in parentheses. Dependent variables are summary indicators of self-reported behavior. Source: 2018 YouGov Survey. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

5 State-Level Indicators of Moral Individualism and Pandemic Outcomes

Previous readers have encouraged us to validate self-reports of pandemic actions by using the Western States data to create state-level measures of moral individualism, then correlating those with state-level indicators of pandemic outcomes. Though we are limited to the five states included in the Western States Survey, we followed this advice and created a state-level indicator of average levels of moral individualism, incorporating the population weights provided by YouGov for each state. We then correlated those measures with two measures that were available for the time when the Western States Survey was in the field — cumulative deaths by state (per 100,000) and hospital beds in use (per 100,000) on November 1, 2020. (The WSS was fielded in the last week of October and first week of November.)

This analysis is highly preliminary and extremely limited in statistical power, given that it is based on only 5 observations. Differences between the states in aggregate state-level moral individualism in this one region of the country (known for its individualism) are fairly small. In addition, the analysis includes no controls for other state-level features (average age or ethnic diversity, for example) that might affect these results. Nonetheless, we find a strong correlation between state-level indicators of moral individualism and both hospital bed usage ($r = 0.75$) and cumulative deaths ($r = 0.53$). States with lower levels of moral individualism tended to have less strain on hospitals and fewer cumulative deaths. Though we again emphasize their preliminary nature and our exceptionally low levels of statistical power, the key results are summarized in Table A23.

Table A23: State-Level Moral Individualism and Pandemic Outcomes
2020 Western States Survey

State	Aggregate Moral Individualism	Hospital Beds in Use per 100,000 on November 1	Cumulative Reported Deaths per 100,000 on November 1
Utah	0.54	11.95	19.52
Colorado	0.54	15.37	42.76
Arizona	0.57	12.57	80.95
New Mexico	0.59	19.20	46.96
Nevada	0.59	19.68	56.99

Sources: 2020 Western States Survey and the Institute for Health Metrics and Evaluation at the University of Washington (covid19.healthdata.org).

6 Ethics Appendix

Data collection fully complied with the APSA's Principles and Guidance for Human Subjects Research and was approved by the IRB at Brigham Young University, # IRB2020-142.

The 2020 survey that is the heart of the analysis presented in this manuscript was fielded by YouGov, and participants were chosen from their pool of regular survey respondents. Participants

in the YouGov panel are compensated by points for taking each survey. Respondents can exchange accumulated points with giftcards and other prizes.

YouGov provided the following description of data collection procedures and the equitable selection of subjects:

YouGov interviewed 1,753 respondents who were then matched down to a sample of 1,300 to produce the final dataset. The respondents were matched to a sampling frame on gender, age, race, and education. The frame was constructed by stratified sampling from the full 2018 American Community Survey (ACS) 1-year sample with selection within strata by weighted sampling (using the person weights on the public use file).

The matched cases were weighted to the sampling frame using propensity scores. The matched cases and the frame were combined and a logistic regression was estimated for inclusion in the frame. The propensity score function included age, gender, race/ethnicity, years of education, and region. The propensity scores were grouped into deciles of the estimated propensity score in the frame and post-stratified according to these deciles.

The weights were then post-stratified on 2016 Presidential vote choice, and a four-way stratification of gender, age (4-categories), race (4-categories), and education (4-categories), to produce the final weight.

The 2018 data reported in the manuscript was also collected by YouGov and followed similar procedures. Data collection for the 2018 study followed all APSA guidelines for human subjects research and was approved by the IRB at Brigham Young University, #E17323.

Conflicts of Interest and Funding

We declare no conflicts of interest that would compromise or appear to compromise professional judgment or integrity in the conduct or reporting of research. All research funding came in the form of internal grants from Brigham Young University.