**Online Appendix**

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| Pages | Content |
| 1-2  | Treatments |
| 3-4 | Variable coding |
| 5 | Examining the effect of treatments on least-liked group selections (Table A1) |
| 6 | Tolerance levels on specific items in the battery by the nature of the group prompt (Figure A1) |
| 7 | Treatment Effects on Political Tolerance Levels in the Total Sample, for the Non-Religious, and for Evangelicals (Table A2) |
| 8 | Marginal effects of least-liked group selection on tolerance conditional on the treatments(Table A3) |
| 9 | Tolerance Estimates for Clergy \* Religious Liberty \* Christian Fundamentalists/ Homosexuals as LLG (Figure A2) |

**Online Appendix – Treatments**

**Treatments**

All treatments began with the instruction, “Please read the following passage from a recent news article; there will be questions about it afterwards.”

All candidate conditions began with, “During the 2014 campaign for election to the U.S. House of Representatives, a local candidate was asked at a town hall meeting about a case being considered by the Supreme Court that addresses whether photographers must provide their services for same-sex weddings.”

All clergy conditions began with, “During the 2014 campaign for election to the U.S. House of Representatives, a local pastor held a press conference about a case being considered by the Supreme Court that addresses whether photographers must provide services for same-sex weddings.”

Morality, candidate – The candidate responded by saying: “We need to protect the moral foundations of our society. It is morally wrong to force businesses to provide services that go against their beliefs. Therefore, I believe that the businesses should be able to express their moral opposition to gay marriage by refusing service.”

Morality, clergy – The pastor opened the event by saying: “We need to protect the moral foundations of our society. It is morally wrong to force businesses to provide services that go against their beliefs. Therefore, I believe that the businesses should be able to express their moral opposition to gay marriage.”

Free Speech, candidate – The candidate responded by saying: “We need to protect the right to free speech in this country. In this case, the business was merely expressing its constitutional right to free speech. Forcing the owners to violate their views on same-sex marriage stifles their speech. Therefore, I believe that the businesses should be permitted to exercise their right to free speech to refuse to provide the photography services.”

Free Speech, clergy – The pastor opened the event by saying: “We need to protect the right to free speech in this country. In this case, the business was merely expressing its constitutional right to free speech. Forcing the owners to violate their views on same-sex marriage stifles their speech. Therefore, I believe that the businesses should be permitted to exercise their right to free speech to refuse to provide the photography services.”

Religious Liberty, candidate – The candidate responded by saying: “We need to protect the right to religious freedom in this country. In this case, the business owners were faithful Christians merely expressing their religious opposition to participating in activities that violated their religious consciences. Therefore, I believe that the companies should be permitted to exercise their right to religious freedom to refuse to provide the photography services.”

Religious Liberty, clergy – The pastor opened the event by saying: “We need to protect the right to religious freedom in this country. In this case, the business owners were faithful Christians merely expressing their religious opposition to participating in activities that violated their religious consciences. Therefore, I believe that the companies should be permitted to exercise their right to religious freedom to refuse to provide the photography services.”

Control, candidate – The candidate responded by saying: “I support the companies in refusing to provide the photography services.”

Control, clergy – The pastor opened the event by saying: “I support the companies in refusing to provide the photography services.”

**Online Appendix – Variable Coding**

Business refusal support – “Given what you know, do you support small business owners like photographers refusing to serve gays and lesbians getting married? Pick a response toward the left [=0] if you strongly support their ability to refuse service and toward the right [=10] if you strongly oppose their ability to refuse service.” The scale runs from 0-10.

Female – 1=female, 0=male.

Age – In years.

Political interest – “How interested are you in politics, campaigns, and elections?” 1=Not interested 2=Somewhat interested, and 3=Very interested.

Ideology – “Where would you place yourself on the following scale ideologically?” 1=Strong Liberal, 2=Liberal, 3=Not so strong Liberal, 4=Moderate, 5=Not so strong Conservative, 6=Conservative, 7=Strong Conservative.

Education – “What is the highest level of education you have received?” 1=Less than a high school/GED, 2=High School graduate/GED, 3=Some college/associates degree, 4=Four year college degree (BA, BS, BFA, etc), 5=More than 4 year college degree (e.g., classes toward a master's), 6=Master's or doctoral degree.

Democratic Norms – Is the average score on 4 variables all coded 1=strongly disagree to 4=strongly agree: It's very important that politicians air their differences of opinion publicly; You can't have democracy without political opposition; You can't be sure an opinion is correct unless people are free to argue against it; Unless many views are presented, there is little chance that the truth can ever be known.

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| **Table A1** – Selection of Least-Liked Groups Do Not Shift Significantly Across Argument Style Treatments at the Sample Level |
|  | *Least-Liked Group Selection* |
|  | Immi-grants | Muslims | Tea Party | Homo-sexuals | Christian Funda-mentalists | Atheists | Total |
| Morality | 5.0 | 18.1 | 23.5 | 5.4 | 35.8 | 12.2 | 100 |
| Free Speech | 2.7 | 20.9 | 21.3 | 4.9 | 39.1 | 11.1 | 100 |
| Religious Liberty | 2.8 | 19.4 | 19.8 | 6.5 | 42.4 | 9.2 | 100 |
| Control | 2.2 | 19.7 | 22.4 | 8.1 | 32.3 | 15.3 | 100 |
| Total | 3.2 | 19.5 | 21.8 | 6.2 | 37.4 | 12.0 | 100 |
| χ2=13.38, *p*=.57 |

Note: We also tried a more robust test at the sample level – a hierarchical logit model that compared selection of the least liked group by treatment, given individual-level controls to even out very mild differences in cell composition. Using 3 treatment dummies in the level 2 equation made the model fail to converge. Using a single, interval-level treatment measure allowed the model to converge, though there were no (even near) significant individual-level variables and the treatment variable failed to produce a significant amount of variation in the level 2 (group/cell) means. That is to say, these results reached the same result as the simple cross-tabulation and chi-square test.

**Figure A1** – Tolerance levels on specific items in the battery by the nature of the group prompt



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| **Table A2** – Treatment Effects on Political Tolerance Levels in the Total Sample, for the Non-Religious, and for Evangelicals |
|  | *Total Sample* | *Non-Religious* | *Evangelicals* |
|  | B | *p* | B | *p* | B | *p* |
| Clergy treatment | -0.03 | 0.27 | -0.03 | 0.51 | -0.06 | 0.47 |
|  *Treatment frames* |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Morality  | 0.02 | 0.41 | 0.04 | 0.34 | 0.10 | 0.34 |
| Free Speech  | 0.00 | 1.00 | 0.04 | 0.27 | -0.01 | 0.96 |
| Religious liberty  | 0.00 | 1.00 | 0.00 | 0.95 | -0.04 | 0.66 |
|  *Treatment interactions* |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Clergy \* Morality | 0.00 | 0.94 | -0.06 | 0.29 | -0.04 | 0.74 |
| Clergy \* Free Speech | 0.04 | 0.29 | -0.02 | 0.76 | 0.10 | 0.48 |
| Clergy \* Rel. Liberty | 0.06 | 0.13 | 0.06 | 0.28 | 0.22 | 0.09 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Business refusal support | 0.00 | 0.66 | -0.01 | 0.03 | 0.00 | 0.63 |
| Female | -0.02 | 0.14 | -0.04 | 0.06 | -0.05 | 0.34 |
| Age | 0.00 | 0.43 | 0.00 | 0.17 | 0.00 | 0.69 |
| Political interest | 0.05 | 0.00 | 0.05 | 0.00 | 0.05 | 0.19 |
| Ideology | -0.01 | 0.04 | -0.02 | 0.06 | 0.02 | 0.35 |
| Education | 0.02 | 0.00 | 0.01 | 0.21 | 0.05 | 0.02 |
| Democratic norms | -0.11 | 0.00 | -0.10 | 0.00 | -0.13 | 0.00 |
| Evangelical | -0.02 | 0.42 |  –  |  |  –  |  |
| Constant | 0.74 | 0.00 | 0.82 | 0.00 | 0.50 | 0.06 |
| Model statistics | N=855Adj. R2=.14 RMSE=.21 | N=423Adj. R2=.15 RMSE=.20 | N=107Adj. R2=.13 RMSE=.23 |
| Note: Least-liked group dummies omitted.  |

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| **Table A3** – Marginal Effects of Least Liked Group Selection on Tolerance Conditional on the Treatments for Evangelicals and the Non-religious (see note) |
|  | Treatments |  |  |  |  |
| Group | Elite | Argument | Effect | SE | *p* | |----90% CI----| |
| Evan-gelicals | Candidate | Other | -0.10 | 0.10 | 0.30 | -0.27 | 0.06 |
| Rel. freedom | 0.13 | 0.15 | 0.39 | -0.12 | 0.37 |
| Clergy | Other | -0.07 | 0.10 | 0.51 | -0.24 | 0.10 |
| Rel. freedom | -0.05 | 0.18 | 0.79 | -0.34 | 0.25 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Non-religious | Candidate | Other | -0.02 | 0.03 | 0.51 | -0.07 | 0.03 |
| Rel. freedom | -0.01 | 0.06 | 0.85 | -0.11 | 0.08 |
| Clergy | Other | 0.02 | 0.03 | 0.47 | -0.03 | 0.08 |
| Rel. freedom | -0.03 | 0.06 | 0.61 | -0.12 | 0.06 |
| Note: The results from come nearly identical specifications to that in Table A2. To reduce the size of the model, we condensed the treatments to the religious liberty treatment (or not) and simply checked if selection of “homosexuals” for evangelicals and “Christian fundamentalists” for the non-religious changed the estimates (thus, triple interactions). If this group selection mattered, then the marginal effect (the difference induced by choosing this least-liked group) at any one of these interaction points would be significantly different. Notably, none of the marginal effects are significant, or the estimates for this suspect least-liked group selection are not distinguishable from choosing other least-liked groups. We say ‘suspect’ since these LLG selections are consistent with the treatment story, thus would not technically constitute the extension of tolerance to other groups. Statistically, it does not matter whether they are included in the analysis or not. |

**Figure A2** – Tolerance Estimates for Clergy \* Religious Liberty \* Christian Fundamentalists/ Homosexuals as LLG

