

# 10 Appendix

## Content

- Deviations from pre-analysis plan
- Balance between experimental groups
- Conjoint experiment
- Tabulated results
- Equivalence tests
- Heterogeneous treatment effects

Further material can be found in the project repository:

- Pre-analysis plan
- Questionnaire
- Treatment videos
- Reproduction material (data, syntax)

## 10.1 Questionnaire

In this appendix, we report the exact question wording for all dimensions of the conjoint experiment and the moderator variables. Moreover, we document how the conjoint experiment was presented visually to the respondents. The entire questionnaire can be found in the project repository.

### Questionnaire wording of moderator variables

#### Source:

Bartels 2020, Hibbing 2020

#### Display:

Matrix

#### Question:

Please indicate your agreement or disagreement with each of these statements.

- Being prepared for threats is the best life motto

[securitarianism]

- Discrimination against whites is as big a problem today as discrimination against blacks and other minorities

[ethnic antagonism]

- Donald Trump is one of the very best presidents in the entire history of our country

[Trump venerator]

#### Responses:

- (1) strongly disagree
- (2) disagree
- (3) tend to disagree
- (4)
- (5) tend to agree
- (6) agree

(7) strongly agree

Conjoint experiment

Tables with three columns comparing the candidate on each attribute. Randomly assign an attribute to each candidate

- Partisanship
  - Republican
  - Republican-leaning independent
  - Independent
  
- Profession
  - Business executive
  - Small business owner
  - Lawyer
  - Farmer
  - Legislative staffer
  - Teacher
  - Served in the military
  
- Issues
  - o Opposed to raising the minimum wage  
[position on minimum wage]
  - o Outspoken opponent of any investment in US space programs  
[position on space, opposition]
  - o Wants to raise the minimum wage  
[position on minimum wage]
  - o Wants to eliminate all taxes on corporations  
[position on taxes, elimination]
  - o Wants to keep taxes on corporations at current levels  
[position on taxes, status quo]
  - o Supports greater investments in US space programs  
[position on space, support]
  
- Background

o Before a close election, this candidate put country over party and publicly condemned the local mayor of the candidate's own party who was taped on video seemingly encouraging others to strike out ballots of the competing candidates

[Democracy – electoral, support]

o Praised members of congress who voted against certifying the 2020 election results

[Democracy – electoral, violation]

o Opposed certifying the 2020 election results and tweeted that “proud Americans will never accept rigged elections even when corrupt courts say they were free and fair”

[Democracy – electoral, violation]

o Was reported to have had multiple extramarital affairs

[Negative valence]

o After supporters of the candidate unprovokedly intimidated and physically attacked members of the other party, the candidate said in a 2020 interview: “What goes around comes around. What can you do when ordinary people are treated so badly? Honestly, I understand every American who is upset about politics and takes it to the street.”

[Democracy – violence, violation]

o Strongly condemned “anybody who entered the U.S. capitol on January 6th or who incited the hate and anger that led to these events”

[Democracy – violence, support]

o Was photographed and later confessed to have illegally entered the buildings on the Capitol after protests against certifying the 2020 election results

[Democracy – violence, violation]

o Was convicted of underpaying income taxes

[Negative valence]

o Was alleged to have used campaign funds for private purposes

[Negative valence]

Radio box

If you had to pick between these candidates, who would you vote for?

- Candidate A

- Candidate B

Some politicians put democratic principles about everything else. The approach of other politicians to democracy is more strategic. To what extent do you think each candidate is committed to democratic principles?


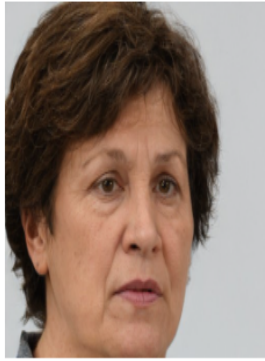
7-point scale

Not committed to democratic principles \* \* \* \* \* Fully committed to democratic principles

To what extent do you think Candidate 2 is committed to democratic principles?

7-point scale

Not committed to democratic principles \* \* \* \* \* Fully committed to democratic principles

	<b>Candidat 1</b> 	<b>Candidat 2</b> 
<b>Partisanship</b>	Republican-leaning independent	Independent
<b>Profession</b>	Business executive	Small business owner
<b>Background</b>	Opposed certifying the 2020 election results and tweeted that “proud Americans will never accept rigged elections even when corrupt courts say they were free and fair”	Before a close election, this candidate put country over party and publicly condemned the local mayor of the candidate’s own party who was taped on video seemingly encouraging others to strike out ballots of the competing candidates
<b>Issues</b>	Opposed raising the minimum wage	Wants to keep taxes on corporations at current levels

If you had to pick between these candidates, who would you vote for?

- Candidat 1
- Candidat 2

Some politicians put democratic principles above everything else. The approach of other politicians to democracy is more strategic. To what extent do you think each candidate is committed to democratic principles?

	Not committed to democratic principles	Fully committed to democratic principles
Candidat 1	<input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>	
Candidat 2	<input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>	

## 10.2 Deviation from pre-analysis plan

As part of the sequential design (Daniel Lakens, Pahlke, and Wassmer 2021), we had pre-registered to collect data from additional 400 respondents if effect estimates were insignificant after a first peak at the data with 660 completed responses. This option was included in the pre-registration as a principled, statistically efficient option for a practical research design that considers budget constraints. It would allow surveying additional respondents in case of borderline insignificant results to increase the precision of the effect estimates. However, because the results from the first peak at the data yielded clear results that were not close to the pre-registered thresholds of statistical significance, we decided against surveying more respondents.

We have pre-registered to exclude respondents who failed both attention check but ultimately only included one attention check. We therefore excluded all respondents who failed this one attention check.

### 10.3 Balance between experimental groups

The randomizer of the survey software program Socsci survey has allocated 361 respondents to the placebo group, 163 to the Schwarzenegger treatment group and 162 to the McConnell treatment group. Hence, the total number of respondents in the experimental condition (325) is lower than in the placebo condition (361). This difference could either be due to 1) chance, 2) differential attrition or 3) errors in the random assignment procedure.

In line with option 2), one explanation for the lower number of respondents in the experimental groups would be that respondents terminated the survey earlier when they were exposed to the treatment videos – either because the treatment videos were slightly longer than the placebo video or because their content generated stronger reactance. However, a t-test on differences between experimental groups on early drop-out shows no significant differences ( $p=0.80$ ) as 96% in the experimental group and 96% in the placebo group completed the survey.

Contradicting explanation 3), the table below shows no evidence of imbalance between the experimental groups. Hence, we conclude that the slightly different numbers of respondents between treatment groups are most likely due to chance.

Table A1: \*\*Balance between experimental groups\*\*

<b>Characteristic</b>	<b>1, N = 361</b>	<b>2, N = 163</b>	<b>3, N = 162</b>	<b>p-value<sup>1</sup></b>
<b>Securitarianism</b>				0.78
Mean	5.13	5.14	5.23	
<b>Ethnocentrism</b>				0.10
Mean	4.51	4.42	4.82	
<b>Trump evaluation</b>				0.19
Mean	4.70	4.34	4.56	
<b>Age</b>				0.92
Mean	40.81	39.82	40.42	
<b>Female, n (%)</b>	152 (42%)	71 (44%)	69 (43%)	0.95

<sup>1</sup>Kruskal-Wallis rank sum test; Pearson's Chi-squared test



## 10.4 Conjoint experiments

This appendix provides supplementary evidence that may help to better interpret the results from the conjoint experiment reported in the main text.

The plot on the Conjoint experiment in the main text only reported the difference in marginal effects of the candidate attributes. To supplement the evidence, the plot below shows the main effects of each attribute on vote choice. Most relevant for this study is the “background” dimension depicted in the top of the plot. It shows the relevance of candidate attributes relative (!) to the the scenario that a candidate “*was alleged to have used campaign funds for private purposes*”. The electoral punishment for misuse of campaign funds is a severe as for extramarital affairs or participation in the riots at the Capitol (*non-violence, violation 2*). Candidates who justified political violence in an interview also face electoral punishment but it is slightly less severe. In contrast, candidates who publicly condemned the Capitol riots can expect vote share that is about 30 percentage higher compared to candidates who misused campaign funds. And while a candidate who stood up against voter fraud (*election norms, support*) is also very popular in this hypothetical election, it is also worth noting that candidates who opposed the certification of the 2020 elections (*election norms, violation 1&2*) receive higher vote shares than candidates who misused campaign funds or had extramarital affairs. Altogether, these findings show that violations of democratic norms mattered for the choice in this hypothetical elections. Yet, although also constitution a violation of a democratic norm, opposing the certification of the 2020 elections faced less severe punishment than misuse of campaign funds or extramarital affairs.

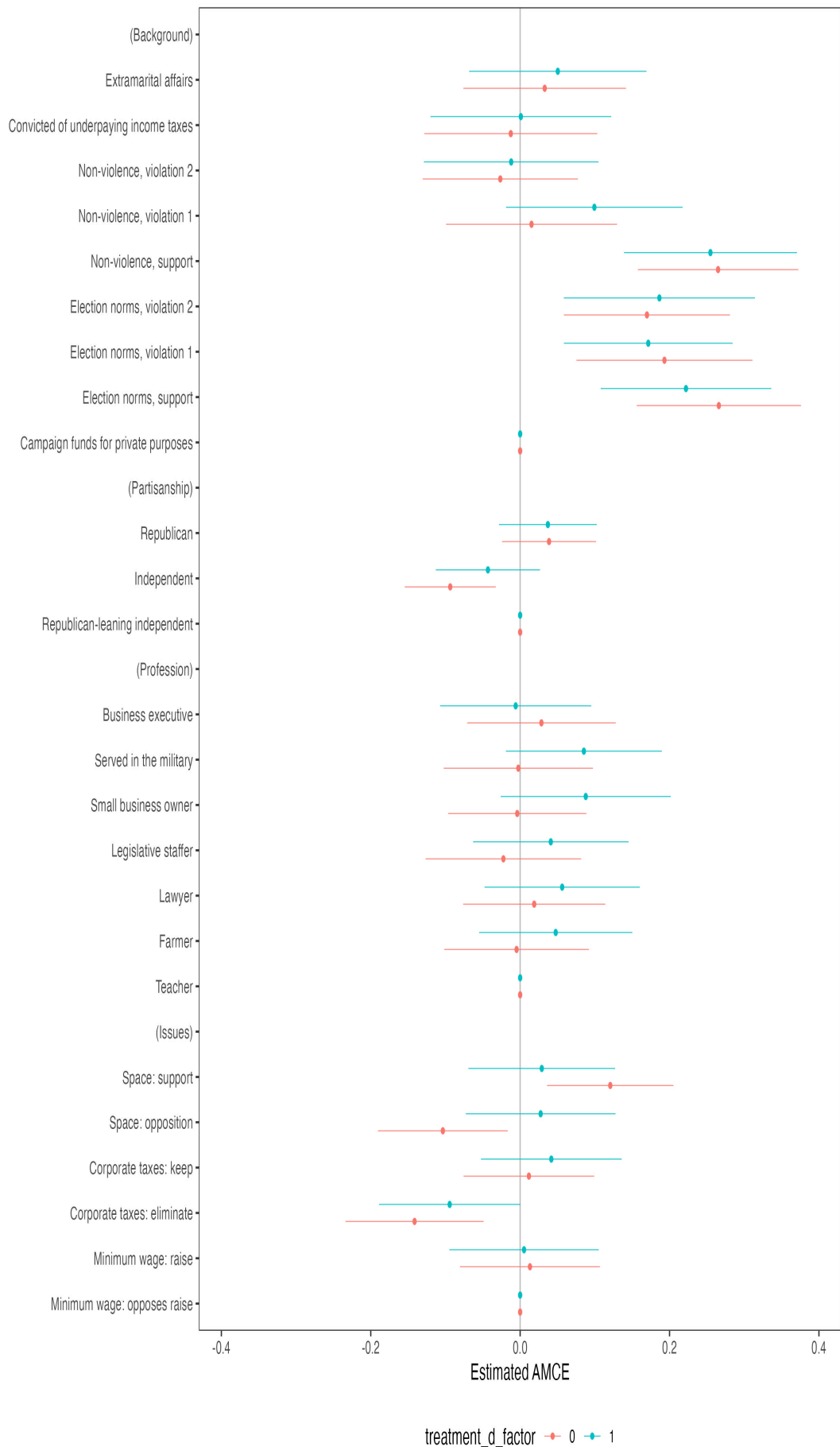


Figure A5: Relevance of candidate characteristics for vote  
31

The main text provides results for models in which the several dimensions with similar conceptual content were collapsed for greater efficiency of the statistical estimates. For the sake of completeness, below we report the disaggregated results on each dimension. The substantive interpretation of the results does not change.

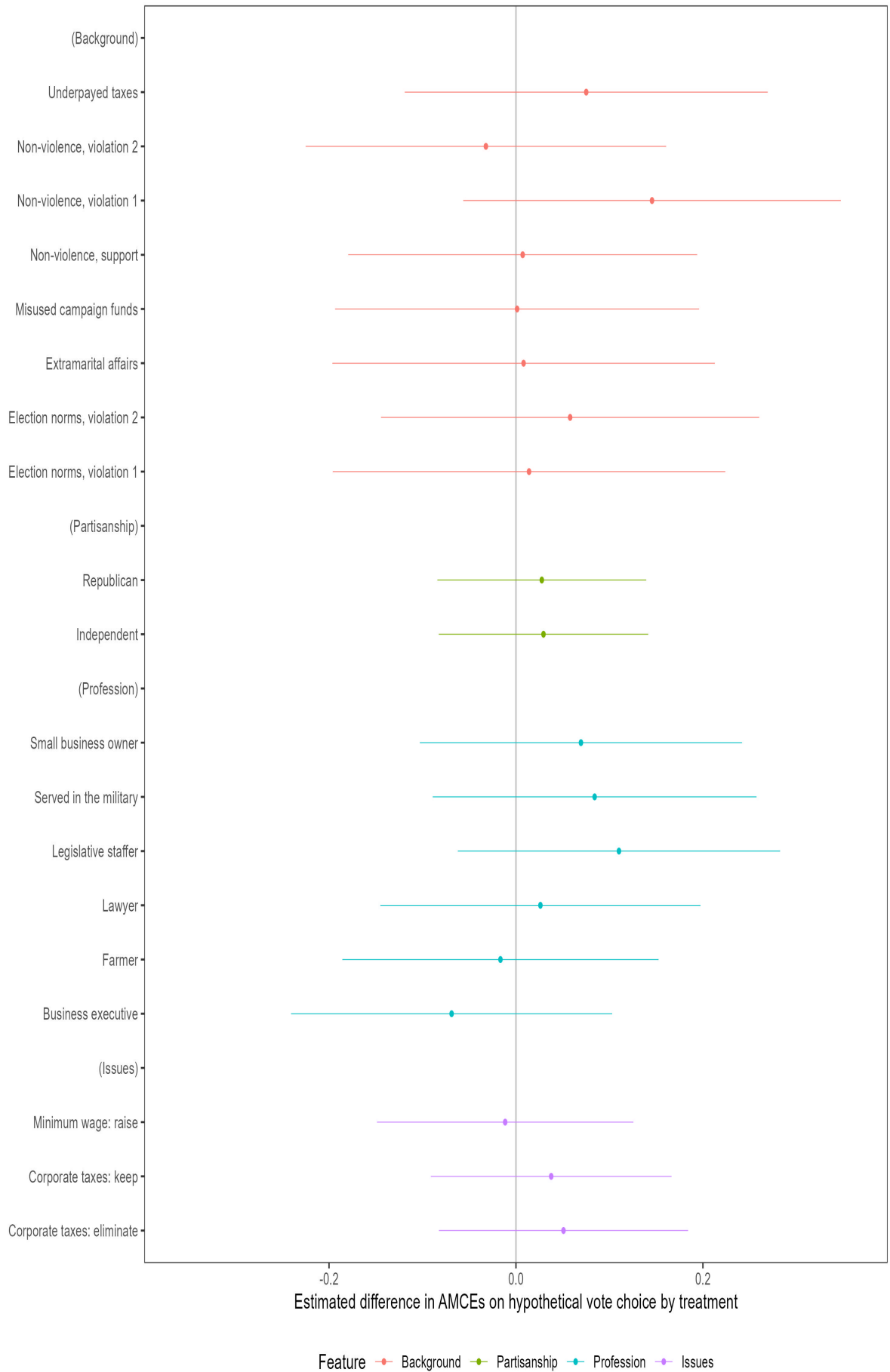


Figure A6: Reproduction of Figure 3 (Main Text), disaggregated

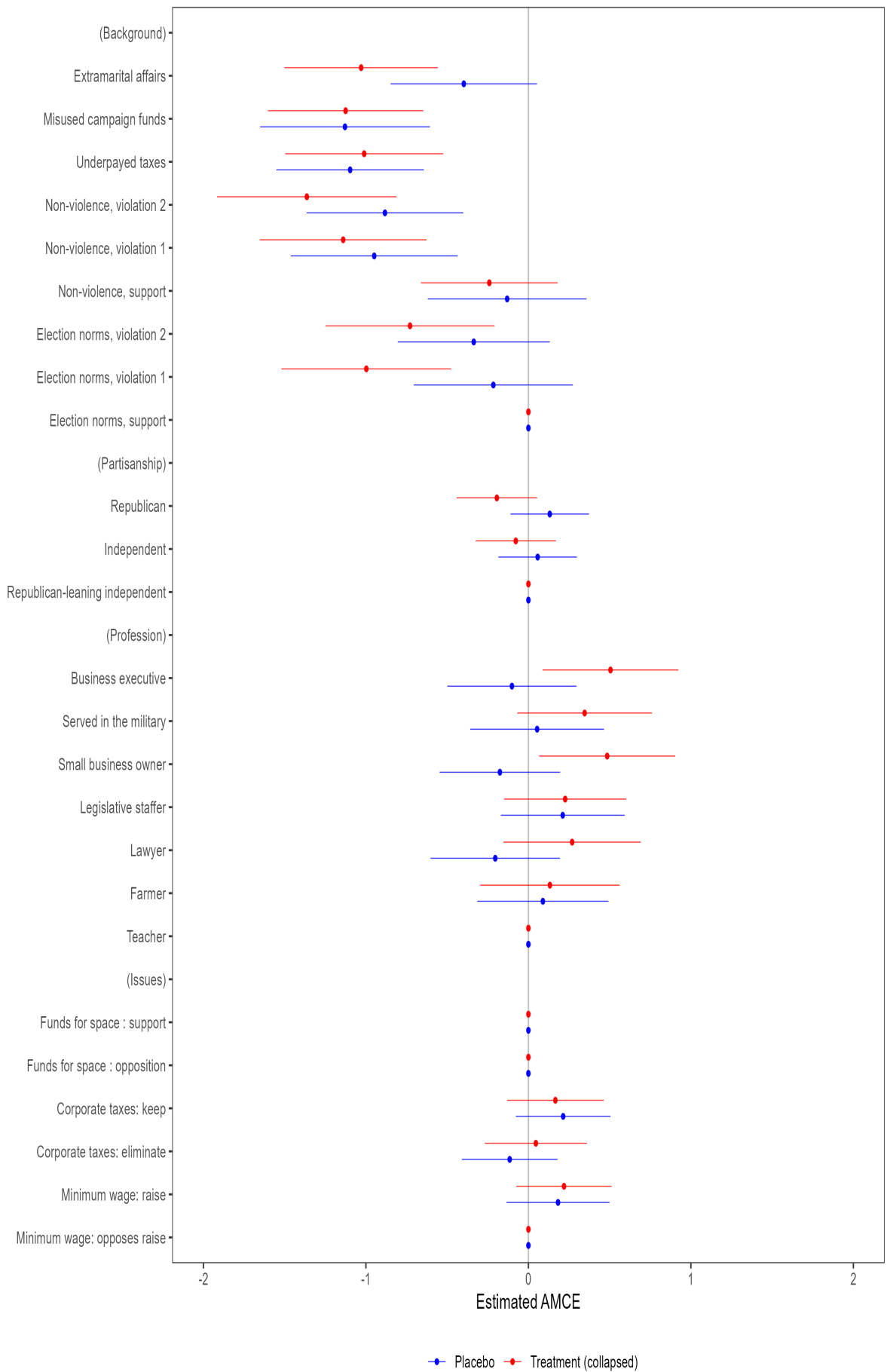


Figure A7: Reproduction of Figure 4 (Main Text), disaggregated

## 10.5 Tabulated results

The manuscript reports effects on the self-reported outcomes in visual form. In this appendix, we provide regression results in a tabulated form. In this appendix, we report results for the pre-registered model specification with covariates and results for the unadjusted model without covariates.

Table A2: Effects on Churchill sentiment

	Pre-registered	Unadjusted
(Intercept)	5.817*** (0.071)	5.828*** (0.072)
Treatment	-0.018 (0.104)	-0.040 (0.105)
Securitarianism	0.057 (0.054)	
Ethnocentrism	0.017 (0.044)	
Trump Evaluation	-0.002 (0.043)	
Age	0.021*** (0.005)	
Female	-0.144 (0.152)	
Country of Birth	-0.112 (0.277)	
Country of Residence	0.045 (0.295)	
Employment: Full time	-0.154 (0.189)	
Employment: MV	0.070 (0.203)	
Prolific: # Approvals	0.000 (0.000)	
Prolific: # Rejections	-0.045* (0.018)	
T#Securitarianism	-0.072 (0.078)	
T#Ethnocentrism	-0.035 (0.065)	
T#Trump Evaluation	-0.002 (0.063)	
T#Age	0.004 (0.008)	
T#Female	-0.167 (0.214)	
T#Country of Birth	0.239 (0.775)	
T#Country of Residence	-1.125* (0.570)	
T#Employment: Full time	0.273 (0.271)	
T#Employment: MV	0.262 (0.289)	
T#Prolific: # Approvals	0.000 (0.000)	
T#Prolific: # Rejections	0.065** (0.024)	
Num.Obs.	665	665
R2	0.083	0.000
AIC	2275.6	2289.3
BIC	2388.1	2302.8
RMSE	1.29	1.35

+ p < 0.1, \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001

Table A3: Effects on Attitudes Towards Violence

	Pre-registered	Unadjusted
(Intercept)	4.528*** (0.052)	4.543*** (0.051)
Treatment	0.002 (0.076)	-0.009 (0.077)
Securitarianism	-0.049 (0.031)	
Ethnocentrism	-0.097*** (0.029)	
Trump Evaluation	-0.025 (0.029)	
Age	0.005 (0.004)	
Female	0.036 (0.102)	
Country of Birth	-0.381+ (0.195)	
Country of Residence	-0.056 (0.262)	
Employment: Full time	0.035 (0.125)	
Employment: MV	-0.058 (0.131)	
Prolific: # Approvals	0.000* (0.000)	
Prolific: # Rejections	-0.038* (0.018)	
T#Securitarianism	0.063 (0.048)	
T#Ethnocentrism	0.045 (0.042)	
T#Trump Evaluation	-0.028 (0.043)	
T#Age	0.008 (0.006)	
T#Female	0.182 (0.151)	
T#Country of Birth	0.664 (0.456)	
T#Country of Residence	1.197+ (0.682)	
T#Employment: Full time	0.133 (0.186)	
T#Employment: MV	0.014 (0.204)	
T#Prolific: # Approvals	0.000 (0.000)	
T#Prolific: # Rejections	0.014 (0.022)	
Num.Obs.	662	662
R2	0.113	0.000
AIC	1825.3	1860.7
BIC	1937.7	1874.2
RMSE	0.92	0.98

+ p < 0.1, \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001



Table A4: Effects on Perceived Importance

	Pre-registered	Unadjusted
(Intercept)	8.679*** (0.094)	8.704*** (0.096)
Treatment	-0.010 (0.138)	-0.039 (0.140)
Securitarianism	0.015 (0.072)	
Ethnocentrism	0.014 (0.056)	
Trump Evaluation	-0.010 (0.058)	
Age	0.038*** (0.006)	
Female	-0.097 (0.188)	
Country of Birth	-0.691+ (0.368)	
Country of Residence	-0.006 (0.423)	
Employment: Full time	-0.064 (0.248)	
Employment: MV	0.204 (0.261)	
Prolific: # Approvals	0.000 (0.000)	
Prolific: # Rejections	-0.066* (0.028)	
T#Securitarianism	0.109 (0.108)	
T#Ethnocentrism	-0.051 (0.088)	
T#Trump Evaluation	-0.034 (0.082)	
T#Age	-0.005 (0.010)	
T#Female	-0.336 (0.274)	
T#Country of Birth	1.202 (0.874)	
T#Country of Residence	-0.928 (0.665)	
T#Employment: Full time	0.366 (0.368)	
T#Employment: MV	0.090 (0.383)	
T#Prolific: # Approvals	0.000 (0.000)	
T#Prolific: # Rejections	0.070+ (0.038)	
Num.Obs.	664	664
R2	0.106	0.000
AIC	2638.9	2669.0
BIC	2751.3	2682.4
RMSE	1.70	1.80

+ p < 0.1, \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001

Table A5: Effects on Willingness to Concede Lost Election

	Pre-registered	Unadjusted
(Intercept)	0.574*** (0.026)	0.572*** (0.027)
Treatment	0.035 (0.037)	0.038 (0.038)
Securitarianism	0.013 (0.019)	
Ethnocentrism	-0.016 (0.016)	
Trump Evaluation	-0.065*** (0.015)	
Age	0.006** (0.002)	
Female	-0.060 (0.053)	
Country of Birth	0.081 (0.121)	
Country of Residence	-0.319+ (0.177)	
Employment: Full time	0.086 (0.068)	
Employment: MV	0.067 (0.069)	
Prolific: # Approvals	0.000 (0.000)	
Prolific: # Rejections	-0.014* (0.006)	
T#Securitarianism	-0.012 (0.028)	
T#Ethnocentrism	-0.017 (0.022)	
T#Trump Evaluation	-0.003 (0.021)	
T#Age	-0.002 (0.003)	
T#Female	-0.110 (0.078)	
T#Country of Birth	-0.253 (0.247)	
T#Country of Residence	0.573* (0.289)	
T#Employment: Full time	-0.112 (0.098)	
T#Employment: MV	-0.197+ (0.102)	
T#Prolific: # Approvals	0.000 (0.000)	
T#Prolific: # Rejections	0.004 (0.009)	
Num.Obs.	661	661
R2	0.131	0.002
AIC	895.2	942.7
BIC	1007.5	956.2
RMSE	0.46	0.49

+ p < 0.1, \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001

## 10.6 Equivalence tests

The main text reported treatment effects on democracy-related outcomes that were mostly statistically insignificant. Yet, the absence of statistical significance does not show the absence of any effects. One reason for the absence of statistically significant effects could be a lack of power.

To engage with this concern we conducted equivalence tests (Daniël Lakens 2017). Equivalence tests allows discerning whether whether a null effect is either inconclusive (because it was estimated with low precision) or too small to make a substantial difference. In other words, it allows us to rule out effects that are larger than a smallest effect size of interest (SESOI). Before fielding the survey, we pre-registered that effects smaller than Cohen's  $d=0.25$  might be considered irrelevant for practical purposes.

Equivalence tests show that for all self-reported outcome variables the treatment effects do not exceed the smallest effect size of interest and can thus be considered practically equivalent to zero.

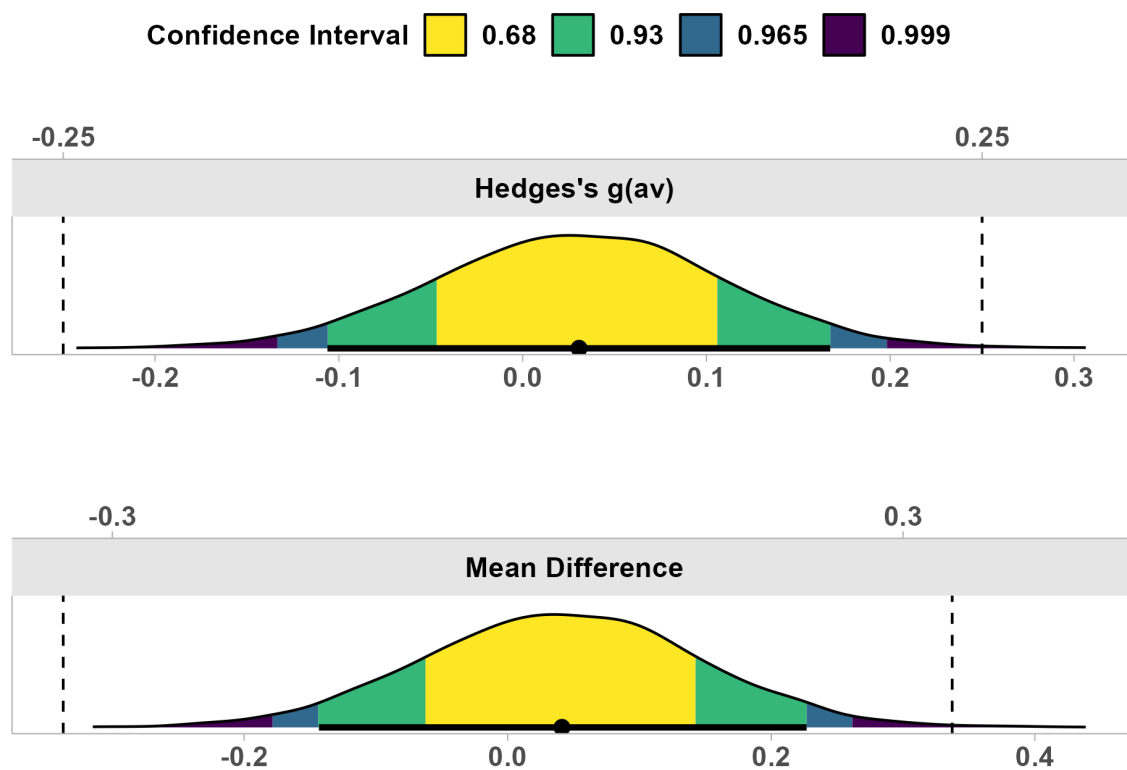


Figure A8: Equivalence test: Churchill sentiment

Confidence Interval  0.68  0.93  0.965  0.999

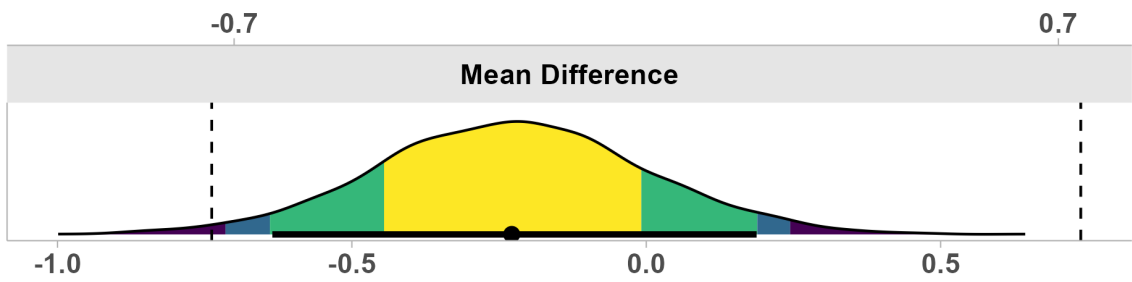
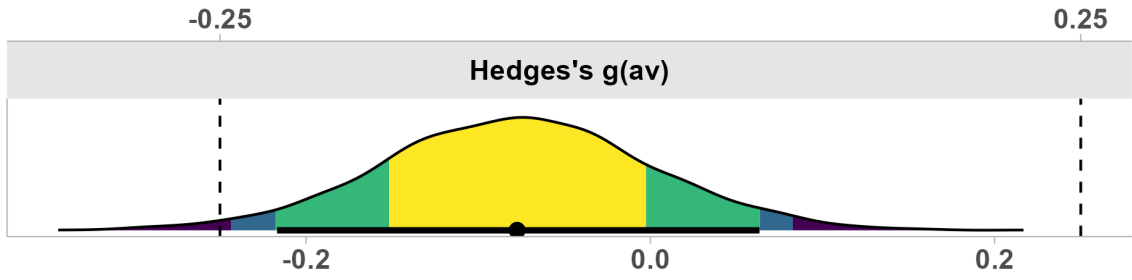


Figure A9: Equivalence test: Elections

Confidence Interval  0.68  0.93  0.965  0.999

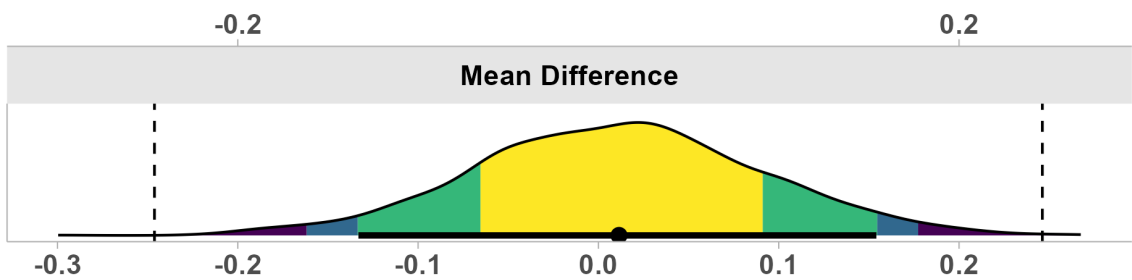
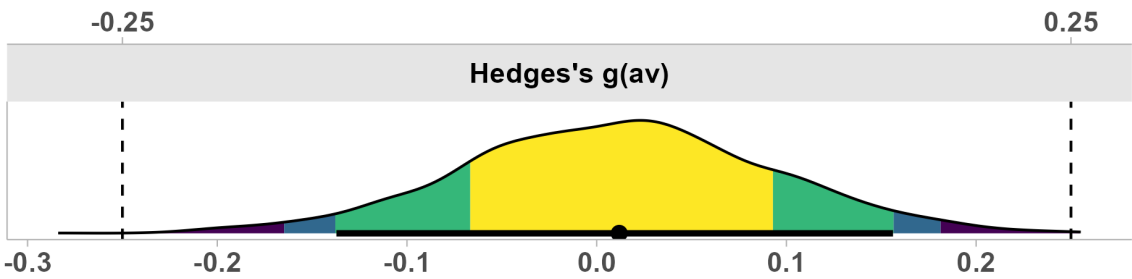


Figure A10: Equivalence test: Violence

Confidence Interval  0.68  0.93  0.965  0.999

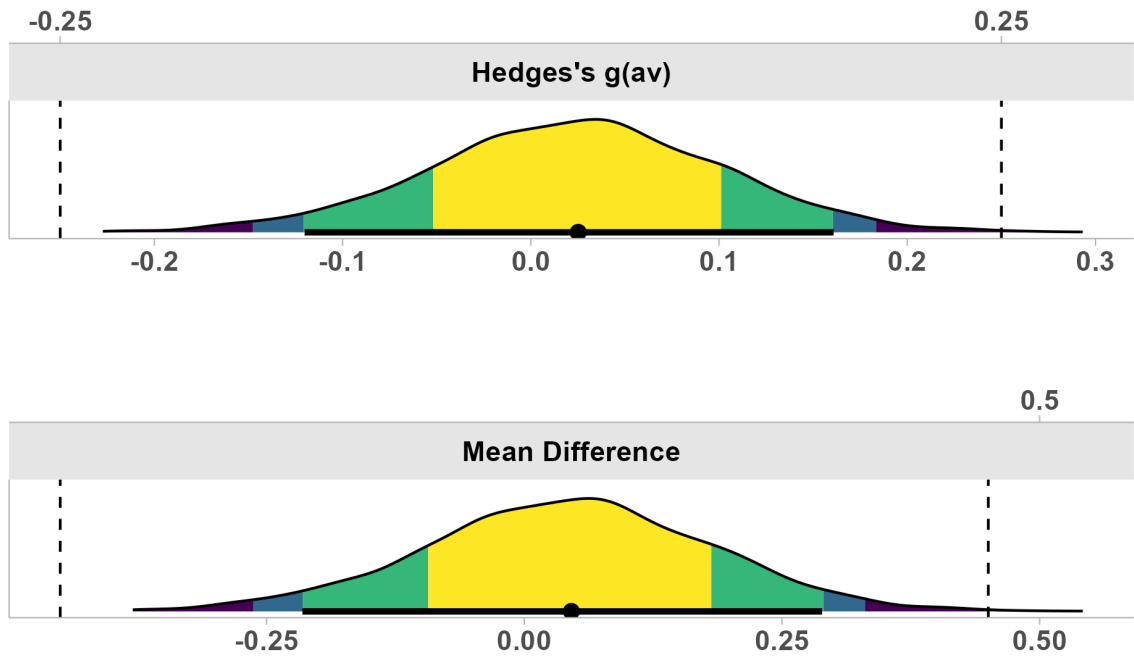
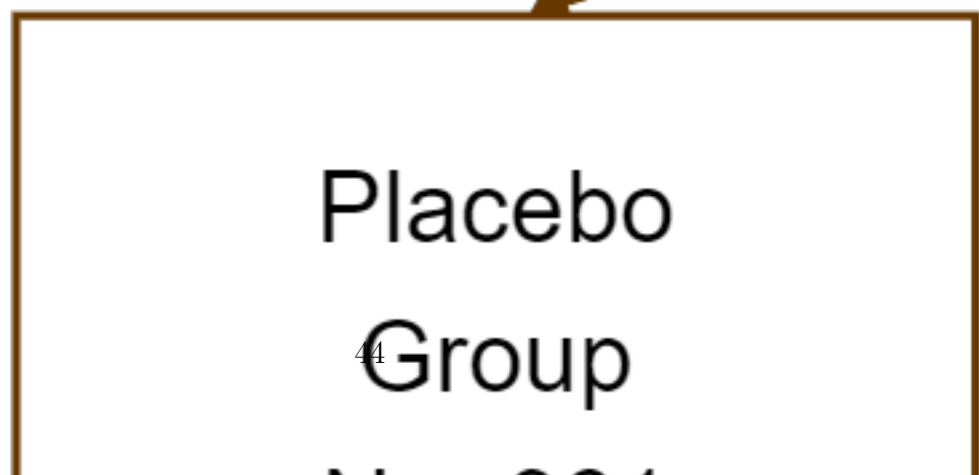


Figure A11: Equivalence test: Importance



## 10.7 Consort diagram



## 10.8 Heterogeneous treatment effects

It is possible that the null results reported in the main text hide meaningful treatment effects among subgroups. Although not sufficiently powered to detect all relevant effects within subgroups, we pre-registered to conduct exploratory analysis to uncover heterogeneous treatment effects with three pre-treatment variables: ethnocentrism, securitarianism, Trump support.

The table below shows the results from five regression models with different outcome measures. For each model the treatment indicator was multiplied with each pre-treatment variable. If treatment effects differed to a substantial degree for individuals higher vs lower on these variables, then these interaction effects should be statistically significant. Yet, none of these regression coefficients are statistically significant, providing no evidence for treatment heterogeneity.

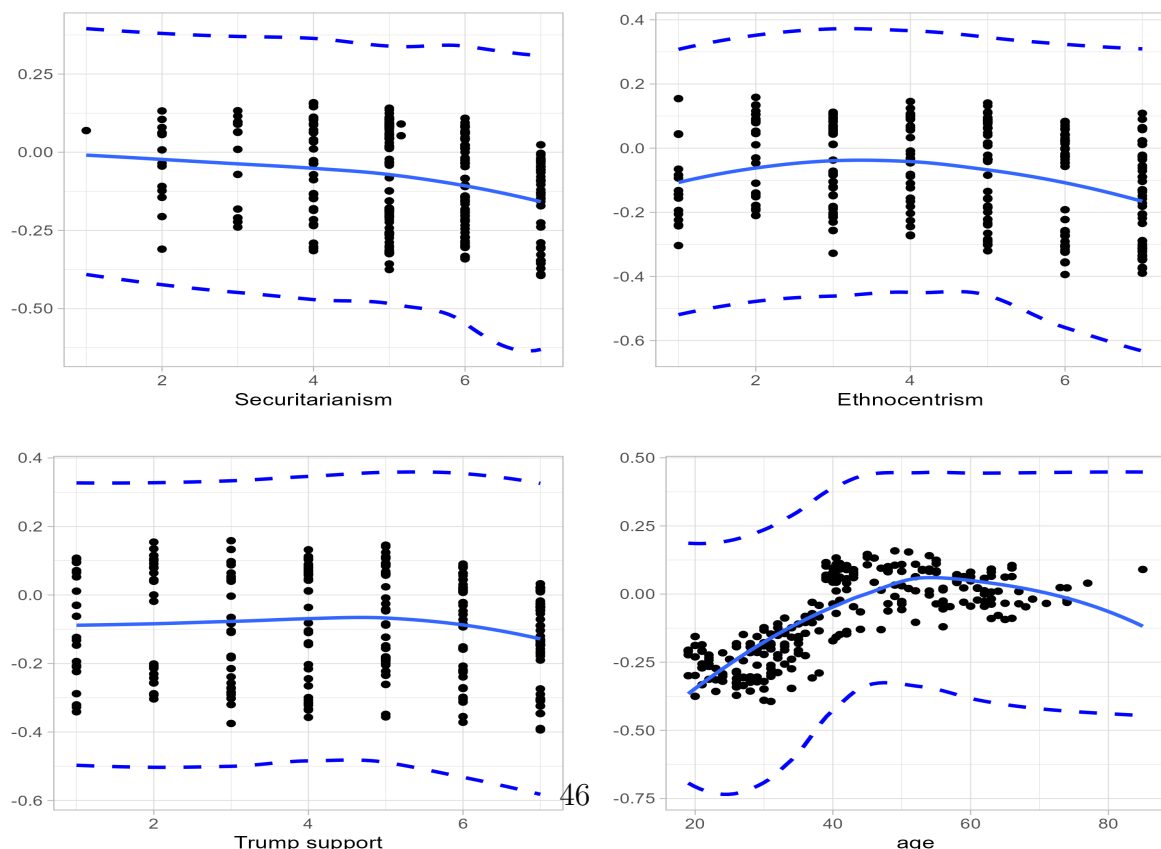
To make more efficient use of the available data, we employ a machine-learning algorithm that was specifically developed to detect effect heterogeneity in experimental settings (Wager and Athey 2018). One of its advantages is the ability to uncover non-linear relationships. Using this technique, the figures below show estimates treatment effects for individual observations at different values of the moderators. The plots show no evidence of substantial treatment effects for any subpopulation.



	Churchill	Violence	Imp. of democracy	Respect elections	Expl. of Space
(Intercept)	5.279*** (0.328)	5.315*** (0.187)	8.185*** (0.439)	6.133*** (0.673)	3.984*** (0.386)
Treatment	0.355 (0.464)	-0.337 (0.311)	-0.210 (0.624)	0.850 (0.937)	-0.735 (0.530)
Securitarianism	0.073 (0.054)	-0.052 (0.031)	0.050 (0.074)	0.093 (0.116)	0.221*** (0.058)
Ethnocentrism	0.028 (0.044)	-0.094** (0.029)	0.037 (0.059)	-0.080 (0.093)	-0.005 (0.046)
Trump support	0.010 (0.041)	-0.018 (0.030)	0.020 (0.057)	-0.388*** (0.088)	-0.004 (0.046)
Trmtn x Secur.	-0.052 (0.078)	0.028 (0.048)	0.102 (0.111)	-0.060 (0.166)	-0.077 (0.087)
Trmtn x Ethnoc.	-0.032 (0.065)	0.042 (0.042)	-0.045 (0.089)	-0.082 (0.132)	0.050 (0.075)
Trmtn x Trump	0.005 (0.063)	-0.001 (0.043)	-0.035 (0.082)	-0.004 (0.124)	0.016 (0.069)
Num.Obs.	665	662	664	661	665
R2	0.006	0.034	0.009	0.080	0.101
R2 Adj.	-0.005	0.024	-0.001	0.070	0.091
AIC	2297.6	1849.8	2674.9	3269.3	2428.5
BIC	2338.0	1890.3	2715.4	3309.8	2469.0
RMSE	1.34	0.97	1.79	2.83	1.48

\*  $p < 0.0354$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

### att\_dem\_churchill



# att\_dem\_elections

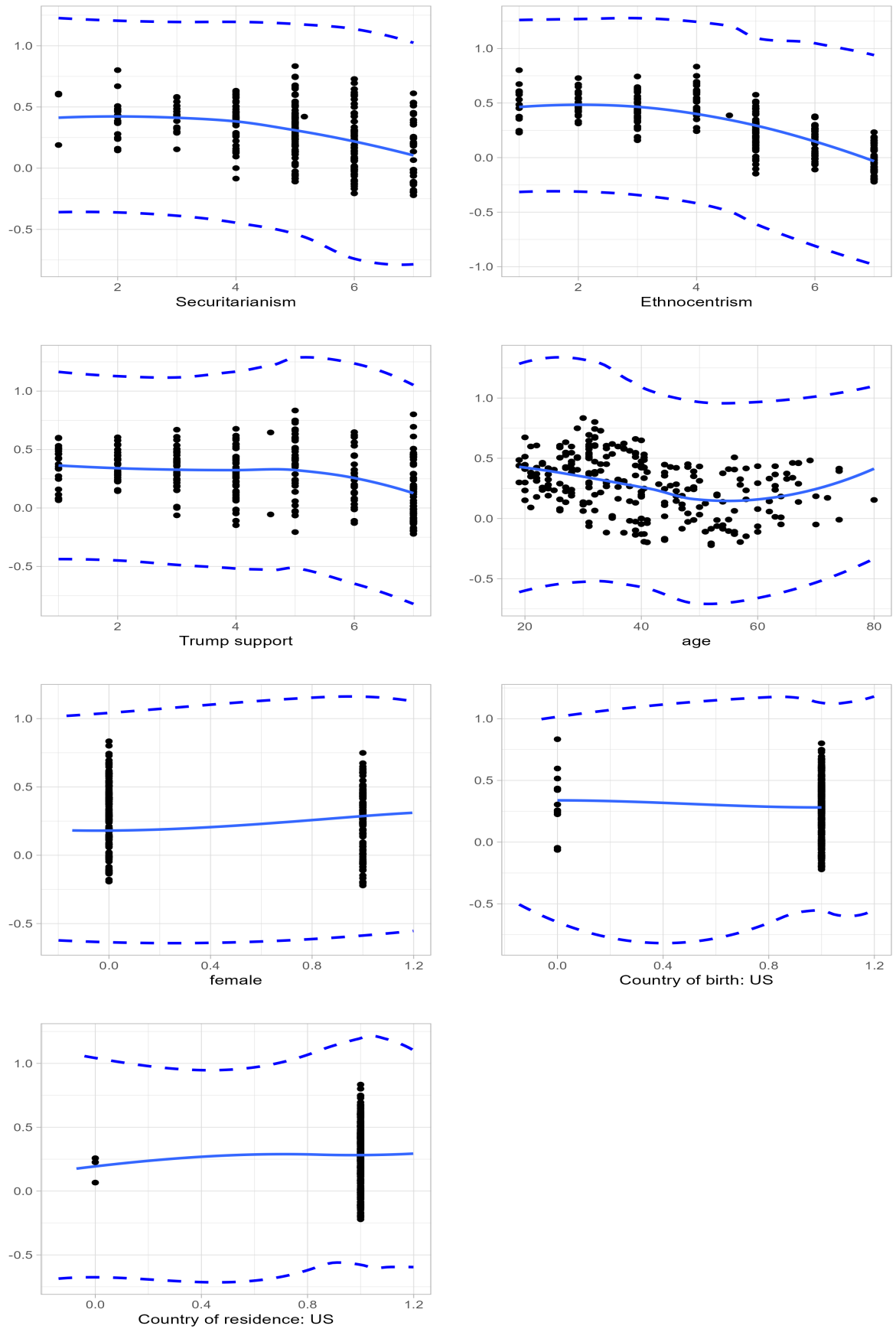


Figure A14: Heterogeneous treatment effects: Elections

# att\_dem\_importance

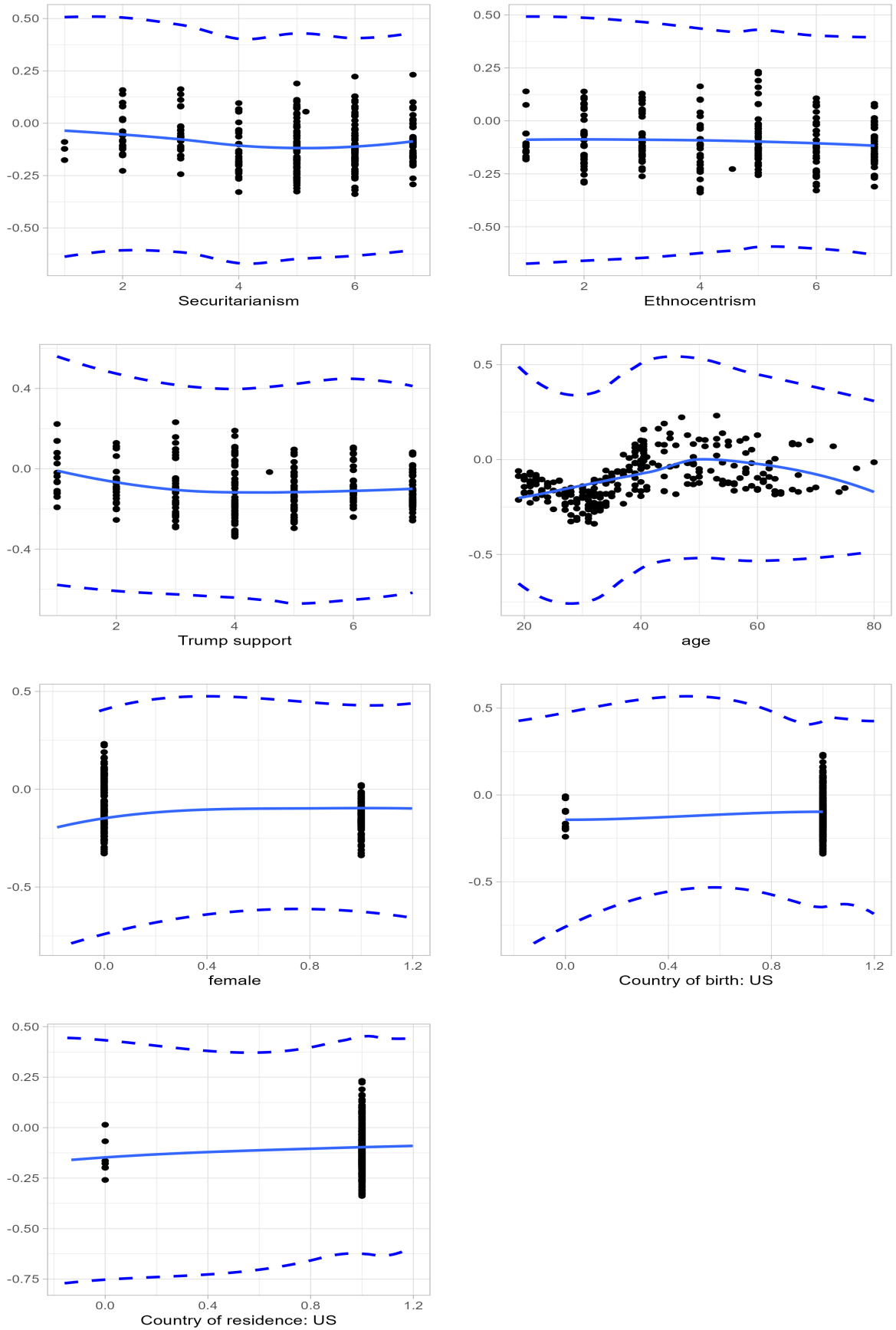


Figure A15: Heterogeneous treatment effects: Importance of democracy

att\_dem\_violence

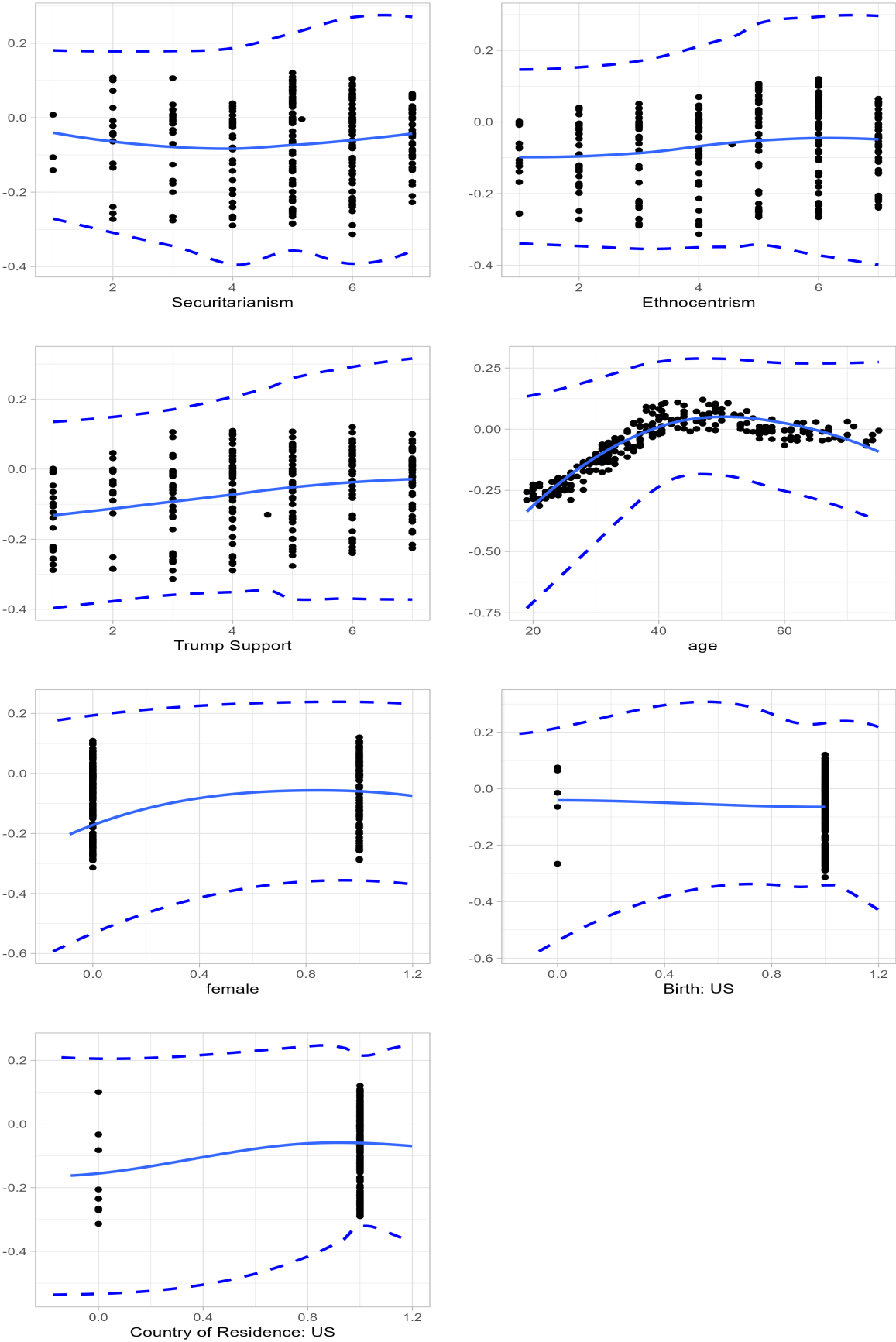


Figure A16: Heterogeneous treatment effects: Violence

# att\_space

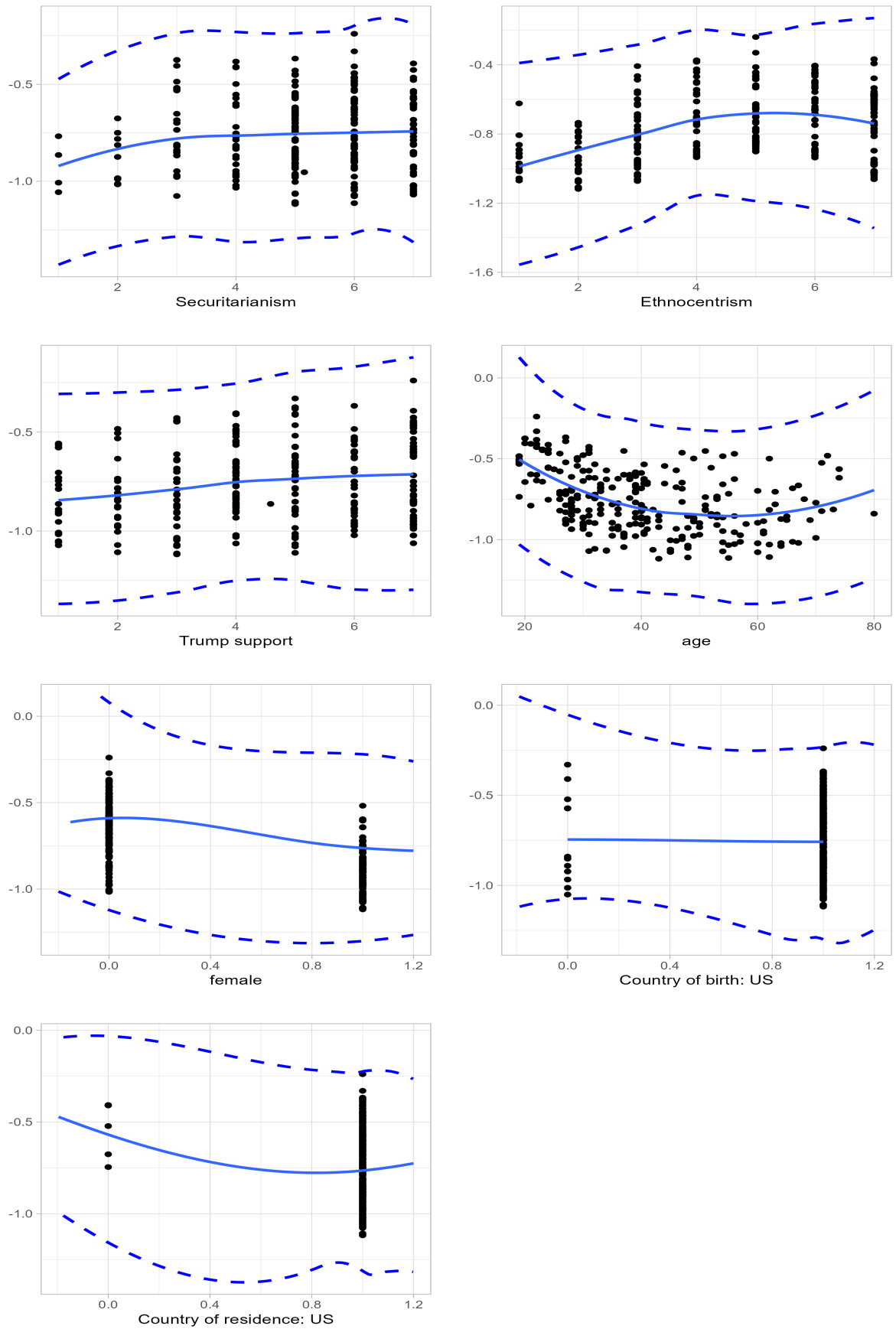


Figure A17: Heterogeneous treatment effects: Exploration of space