

# The Moral Agenda and the Glass Ceiling: How Elite Rhetoric Reflects Gendered Perspectives

## Supplementary Materials

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## A Revised MFD Categories

### A.1 Total $n$ features by category in original and revised MFD

Table A.1: Total  $n$  features by category in original and revised MFD

	Original	Revised
Authority	82	431
Loyalty (Ingroup)	52	192
Purity	89	660
Fairness	44	351
Care (Harm)	51	470
$k$	359	2104

## B Additional robustness tests of manuscript regression models

### B.1 Replicating analyses w/ measures of moral rhetoric from the revised MFD

### B.1.1 All tweets w/ majority party, no ideology

Table B.1: OLS regression of MC average use of foundation-specific language within their moral rhetoric (all MCs, by Congress w/ majority party, no ideology)

	Authority (1)	Loyalty (2)	Purity (3)	Fairness (4)	Care (5)
Woman	-0.018*** (0.003)	-0.008** (0.004)	-0.003 (0.003)	-0.002 (0.003)	0.031*** (0.004)
Republican	0.031*** (0.004)	0.019*** (0.004)	0.013*** (0.003)	-0.027*** (0.003)	-0.036*** (0.005)
MC of Color	-0.001 (0.004)	0.007* (0.004)	-0.001 (0.003)	0.013*** (0.003)	-0.018*** (0.005)
Age	0.0002 (0.0001)	-0.001*** (0.0001)	0.0002* (0.0001)	0.0003*** (0.0001)	0.00003 (0.0002)
Leadership	0.007 (0.011)	-0.013 (0.011)	-0.017** (0.009)	0.010 (0.008)	0.014 (0.014)
Majority Party	0.006** (0.003)	-0.006* (0.003)	0.002 (0.002)	0.001 (0.002)	-0.004 (0.004)
Constant	0.251*** (0.012)	0.232*** (0.013)	0.081*** (0.010)	0.104*** (0.009)	0.333*** (0.015)
Observations	1,569	1,569	1,569	1,569	1,569
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.299	0.102	0.102	0.209	0.207

Note: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01  
Models include congress and state fixed effects. Revised MFD scores.

### B.1.2 All tweets w/ majority party + ideology

Table B.2: OLS regression of MC average use of foundation-specific language within their moral rhetoric (all MCs, by Congress w/ majority party + ideology)

	Authority (1)	Loyalty (2)	Purity (3)	Fairness (4)	Care (5)
Woman	-0.016*** (0.003)	-0.008** (0.004)	-0.002 (0.003)	-0.002 (0.003)	0.029*** (0.004)
Republican	0.006 (0.004)	0.006 (0.004)	0.0003 (0.003)	0.013*** (0.003)	-0.025*** (0.005)
MC of Color	0.044*** (0.004)	0.016*** (0.005)	0.014*** (0.003)	-0.026*** (0.003)	-0.048*** (0.006)
Ideology	0.0003*** (0.0001)	-0.001*** (0.0001)	0.0002** (0.0001)	0.0002** (0.0001)	-0.0001 (0.0002)
Age	0.008 (0.010)	-0.012 (0.011)	-0.016* (0.009)	0.008 (0.008)	0.012 (0.014)
Leadership	0.005* (0.003)	-0.003 (0.003)	0.003 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.003 (0.004)
Majority Party	0.253*** (0.011)	0.240*** (0.013)	0.085*** (0.009)	0.094*** (0.009)	0.328*** (0.015)
Observations	1,569	1,569	1,569	1,569	1,569
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.317	0.096	0.100	0.197	0.217

Note: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01  
Models include congress and state fixed effects. Revised MFD scores.

### B.1.3 Democrats only

Table B.3: OLS regression of Democrats' average use of foundation-specific language within their moral rhetoric (all MCs, by Congress w/ majority party + ideology)

	Authority (1)	Loyalty (2)	Purity (3)	Fairness (4)	Care (5)
Woman	-0.021*** (0.004)	-0.011*** (0.004)	-0.002 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.003)	0.036*** (0.005)
MC of Color	0.002 (0.004)	0.016*** (0.004)	0.0005 (0.003)	0.003 (0.003)	-0.022*** (0.005)
Ideology	0.024 (0.015)	0.094*** (0.015)	-0.018* (0.010)	-0.098*** (0.012)	-0.002 (0.019)
Age	0.0002 (0.0002)	-0.0004** (0.0002)	-0.0001 (0.0001)	0.0001 (0.0001)	0.0002 (0.0002)
Leadership	0.015 (0.017)	-0.006 (0.018)	-0.006 (0.012)	0.023 (0.014)	-0.027 (0.023)
Majority Party	-0.001 (0.015)	-0.022 (0.015)	0.018* (0.010)	0.023* (0.012)	-0.018 (0.020)
Constant	0.237*** (0.022)	0.232*** (0.022)	0.089*** (0.015)	0.157*** (0.018)	0.285*** (0.029)
Observations	724	724	724	724	724
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.118	0.238	0.164	0.228	0.300

Note: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01  
Models include congress and state fixed effects. Revised MFD scores.

### B.1.4 Republicans only

Table B.4: OLS regression of Republicans' average use of foundation-specific language within their moral rhetoric (all MCs, by Congress w/ majority party + ideology)

	Authority (1)	Loyalty (2)	Purity (3)	Fairness (4)	Care (5)
Woman	-0.002 (0.007)	0.001 (0.007)	-0.006 (0.006)	-0.009* (0.005)	0.015* (0.008)
MC of Color	0.009 (0.009)	-0.004 (0.010)	-0.011 (0.008)	0.003 (0.006)	0.003 (0.012)
Ideology	0.084*** (0.013)	-0.076*** (0.014)	0.010 (0.011)	0.065*** (0.009)	-0.083*** (0.016)
Age	0.0004** (0.0002)	-0.001*** (0.0002)	0.0005*** (0.0002)	0.0001 (0.0001)	-0.0002 (0.0002)
Leadership	0.008 (0.015)	-0.017 (0.016)	-0.021 (0.013)	-0.004 (0.010)	0.034* (0.018)
Majority Party	-0.127*** (0.023)	0.057** (0.026)	0.046** (0.021)	0.0005 (0.016)	0.024 (0.029)
Constant	0.364*** (0.027)	0.237*** (0.030)	0.029 (0.024)	0.040** (0.019)	0.329*** (0.034)
Observations	859	859	859	859	859
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.266	0.122	0.097	0.119	0.121

Note: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01  
Models include congress and state fixed effects. Revised MFD scores.

### B.1.5 Gender + Race Interaction

Table B.5: OLS regression of MC average use of foundation-specific language within their moral rhetoric (all MCs, by Congress w/ majority party, ideology, + interaction)

	Authority (1)	Loyalty (2)	Purity (3)	Fairness (4)	Care (5)
Woman	-0.017*** (0.004)	-0.005 (0.005)	-0.001 (0.003)	-0.003 (0.003)	0.026*** (0.005)
MC of Color	0.004 (0.004)	0.009* (0.005)	0.002 (0.004)	0.012*** (0.003)	-0.027*** (0.006)
Republican	0.044*** (0.004)	0.017*** (0.005)	0.014*** (0.003)	-0.026*** (0.003)	-0.048*** (0.006)
Ideology	0.0003*** (0.0001)	-0.001*** (0.0001)	0.0002** (0.0001)	0.0002** (0.0001)	-0.0001 (0.0002)
Age	0.008 (0.010)	-0.013 (0.011)	-0.017* (0.009)	0.008 (0.008)	0.013 (0.014)
Leadership	0.005* (0.003)	-0.003 (0.003)	0.003 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.003 (0.004)
Majority Party	0.003 (0.007)	-0.009 (0.007)	-0.005 (0.006)	0.003 (0.005)	0.008 (0.009)
Woman x MC of Color	0.253*** (0.011)	0.239*** (0.013)	0.084*** (0.009)	0.095*** (0.009)	0.329*** (0.015)
Observations	1,569	1,569	1,569	1,569	1,569
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.316	0.096	0.100	0.196	0.217

Note:

\*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

Models include congress and state fixed effects. Revised MFD scores.

### B.1.6 Governing period tweets

Table B.6: OLS regression of MC average use of foundation-specific language within their moral rhetoric during governing (all MCs, by Congress w/ majority party + ideology)

	Authority (1)	Loyalty (2)	Purity (3)	Fairness (4)	Care (5)
Woman	-0.012** (0.005)	-0.009** (0.005)	-0.003 (0.004)	-0.004 (0.003)	0.029*** (0.006)
Republican	0.010* (0.005)	0.010** (0.005)	0.0004 (0.004)	0.010*** (0.003)	-0.031*** (0.006)
MC of Color	0.054*** (0.006)	0.018*** (0.006)	0.016*** (0.005)	-0.027*** (0.004)	-0.061*** (0.007)
Ideology	0.0003* (0.0002)	-0.001*** (0.0002)	0.0002 (0.0001)	0.0003*** (0.0001)	-0.00001 (0.0002)
Age	0.023 (0.016)	-0.020 (0.014)	-0.025** (0.012)	0.012 (0.010)	0.011 (0.018)
Leadership	0.005 (0.004)	-0.007* (0.004)	-0.001 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.003)	0.005 (0.005)
Majority Party	0.248*** (0.017)	0.243*** (0.015)	0.090*** (0.013)	0.093*** (0.011)	0.326*** (0.019)
Observations	1,529	1,529	1,529	1,529	1,529
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.203	0.067	0.049	0.170	0.247

Note: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01  
Models include congress and state fixed effects. Revised MFD scores.



### B.1.7 Campaign period tweets

Table B.7: OLS regression of MC average use of foundation-specific language within their moral rhetoric during campaigning (all MCs, by Congress w/ majority party + ideology)

	Authority (1)	Loyalty (2)	Purity (3)	Fairness (4)	Care (5)
Woman	-0.016*** (0.004)	-0.009** (0.004)	-0.003 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.004)	0.030*** (0.005)
Republican	0.004 (0.004)	0.006 (0.005)	-0.001 (0.003)	0.013*** (0.004)	-0.022*** (0.006)
MC of Color	0.036*** (0.005)	0.014*** (0.005)	0.011*** (0.004)	-0.024*** (0.004)	-0.038*** (0.006)
Ideology	0.0003* (0.0001)	-0.001*** (0.0001)	0.0003*** (0.0001)	0.0003** (0.0001)	-0.0003 (0.0002)
Age	-0.0001 (0.012)	-0.004 (0.013)	-0.013 (0.009)	0.005 (0.011)	0.013 (0.016)
Leadership	0.006* (0.003)	-0.001 (0.004)	0.007*** (0.003)	-0.005 (0.003)	-0.007* (0.004)
Majority Party	0.258*** (0.014)	0.237*** (0.014)	0.079*** (0.010)	0.091*** (0.012)	0.335*** (0.017)
Observations	1,560	1,560	1,560	1,560	1,560
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.238	0.140	0.118	0.104	0.177

Note: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01  
 Models include congress and state fixed effects. Revised MFD scores.

## **B.2 Replicating analyses excluding tweets containing governing offices & programs related words**

We also ran separate models after excluding tweets containing any of the following words: “department”; “agency”; “administration”; “bureau”; “center”; “division”; “council”; “command”; and “commission”. When creating the list of exclusion words, the default was to not require exact and fixed matches so “bureau” and “bureaus”, for example, would both be captured. After manually reviewing a random sample of the excluded tweets, we chose to require a fixed match for “command” to avoid picking up variations such as “commander” and “commanding”, which are fairly common words appearing in political tweets.

A total of 47066 tweets were detected to have at least one word related to governing offices and programs. After these tweets were removed from the data, we were left with a total of 2182048 tweets. We then recalculated the foundation-specific proportion measures for each MC using this revised tweet sample. There were the same number of rows/ unique MCs in the resulting aggregate data as there were from the full sample (i.e., 1575).

### **B.2.1 All tweets w/ majority party, no ideology**

Table B.8: OLS regression of MC average use of foundation-specific language within their moral rhetoric (all MCs, by Congress w/ majority party, no ideology)

	Authority	Loyalty	Purity	Fairness	Care
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Woman	-0.012*** (0.003)	-0.011** (0.005)	-0.0003 (0.001)	0.004 (0.003)	0.019*** (0.005)
Republican	0.042*** (0.004)	0.033*** (0.005)	-0.003** (0.002)	-0.049*** (0.003)	-0.023*** (0.005)
MC of Color	0.0005 (0.004)	0.019*** (0.005)	0.00004 (0.002)	0.018*** (0.003)	-0.037*** (0.005)
Age	-0.0001 (0.0001)	-0.0003** (0.0002)	0.0001* (0.00005)	0.0003*** (0.0001)	0.0001 (0.0002)
Leadership	0.002 (0.011)	-0.013 (0.014)	-0.005 (0.004)	0.005 (0.008)	0.011 (0.015)
Majority Party	-0.003 (0.003)	-0.008** (0.004)	-0.005*** (0.001)	0.0004 (0.002)	0.015*** (0.004)
Constant	0.254*** (0.012)	0.313*** (0.016)	0.025*** (0.005)	0.110*** (0.009)	0.298*** (0.016)
Observations	1,568	1,568	1,568	1,568	1,568
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.319	0.099	0.077	0.411	0.143

Note: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01  
Models include congress and state fixed effects. Original MFD scores.

## B.2.2 All tweets w/ majority party + ideology

Table B.9: OLS regression of MC average use of foundation-specific language within their moral rhetoric (all MCs, by Congress w/ majority party + ideology)

	Authority	Loyalty	Purity	Fairness	Care
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Woman	-0.010*** (0.003)	-0.012** (0.005)	-0.001 (0.001)	0.004 (0.003)	0.018*** (0.005)
Republican	-0.003 (0.009)	0.048*** (0.011)	0.007* (0.004)	-0.046*** (0.007)	-0.006 (0.012)
MC of Color	0.008** (0.004)	0.016*** (0.005)	-0.002 (0.002)	0.017*** (0.003)	-0.040*** (0.005)
Ideology	0.057*** (0.010)	-0.019 (0.013)	-0.013*** (0.004)	-0.003 (0.008)	-0.022* (0.013)
Age	0.00002 (0.0001)	-0.0004** (0.0002)	0.0001 (0.0001)	0.0003*** (0.0001)	0.0001 (0.0002)
Leadership	0.004 (0.011)	-0.014 (0.014)	-0.005 (0.004)	0.005 (0.008)	0.010 (0.015)
Majority Party	-0.003 (0.003)	-0.008** (0.004)	-0.005*** (0.001)	0.0003 (0.002)	0.015*** (0.004)
Constant	0.262*** (0.012)	0.311*** (0.016)	0.023*** (0.005)	0.109*** (0.009)	0.295*** (0.016)
Observations	1,568	1,568	1,568	1,568	1,568
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.334	0.100	0.083	0.411	0.144

Note: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01  
Models include congress and state fixed effects. Original MFD scores.

### B.2.3 Democrats only

Table B.10: OLS regression of Democrats' average use of foundation-specific language within their moral rhetoric (all MCs, by Congress w/ majority party + ideology)

	Authority (1)	Loyalty (2)	Purity (3)	Fairness (4)	Care (5)
Woman	-0.014*** (0.004)	-0.011** (0.005)	0.001 (0.002)	0.005 (0.004)	0.020*** (0.005)
MC of Color	0.009** (0.004)	0.036*** (0.005)	-0.004** (0.002)	0.007* (0.004)	-0.048*** (0.005)
Ideology	0.081*** (0.015)	0.133*** (0.018)	-0.034*** (0.007)	-0.091*** (0.014)	-0.089*** (0.019)
Age	0.0001 (0.0002)	-0.0004* (0.0002)	-0.00004 (0.0001)	0.0002 (0.0001)	0.0001 (0.0002)
Leadership	0.034** (0.018)	0.008 (0.022)	-0.016** (0.008)	0.016 (0.016)	-0.043* (0.023)
Majority Party	-0.019 (0.015)	-0.032* (0.019)	0.022*** (0.007)	0.027* (0.014)	0.002 (0.020)
Constant	0.271*** (0.022)	0.302*** (0.028)	0.039*** (0.010)	0.175*** (0.021)	0.212*** (0.030)
Observations	723	723	723	723	723
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.275	0.201	0.084	0.283	0.361

Note: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01  
Models include congress and state fixed effects. Original MFD scores.

## B.2.4 Republicans only

Table B.11: OLS regression of Republicans' average use of foundation-specific language within their moral rhetoric (all MCs, by Congress w/ majority party + ideology)

	Authority	Loyalty	Purity	Fairness	Care
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Woman	0.008 (0.007)	-0.013 (0.009)	-0.0003 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.004)	0.007 (0.009)
MC of Color	0.012 (0.010)	0.007 (0.013)	-0.003 (0.004)	0.006 (0.006)	-0.023* (0.013)
Ideology	0.066*** (0.014)	-0.120*** (0.018)	0.005 (0.005)	0.050*** (0.008)	-0.002 (0.018)
Age	0.0001 (0.0002)	-0.0001 (0.0003)	0.0001 (0.0001)	0.0001 (0.0001)	-0.0002 (0.0003)
Leadership	-0.009 (0.016)	-0.014 (0.020)	0.001 (0.006)	-0.005 (0.010)	0.026 (0.021)
Majority Party	-0.159*** (0.025)	0.074** (0.032)	0.020** (0.009)	-0.0004 (0.015)	0.066** (0.032)
Constant	0.401*** (0.030)	0.315*** (0.038)	-0.010 (0.011)	0.031* (0.018)	0.264*** (0.038)
Observations	859	859	859	859	859
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.172	0.130	0.090	0.116	0.051

Note: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01  
Models include congress and state fixed effects. Original MFD scores.

## B.2.5 Gender + Race Interaction

Table B.12: OLS regression of MC average use of foundation-specific language within their moral rhetoric (all MCs, by Congress w/ majority party, ideology, + interaction)

	Authority (1)	Loyalty (2)	Purity (3)	Fairness (4)	Care (5)
Woman	-0.011*** (0.004)	-0.005 (0.006)	-0.002 (0.002)	0.004 (0.003)	0.015*** (0.006)
MC of Color	0.007 (0.004)	0.024*** (0.006)	-0.003 (0.002)	0.015*** (0.003)	-0.043*** (0.006)
Republican	0.055*** (0.004)	0.031*** (0.006)	-0.006*** (0.002)	-0.050*** (0.003)	-0.029*** (0.006)
Ideology	0.00002 (0.0001)	-0.0003* (0.0002)	0.0001 (0.0001)	0.0002** (0.0001)	0.00003 (0.0002)
Age	0.004 (0.011)	-0.012 (0.014)	-0.005 (0.004)	0.003 (0.008)	0.010 (0.015)
Leadership	-0.003 (0.003)	-0.004 (0.004)	-0.004*** (0.001)	-0.004 (0.002)	0.015*** (0.004)
Majority Party	0.003 (0.007)	-0.016* (0.009)	0.004 (0.003)	0.0002 (0.006)	0.009 (0.009)
Woman x MC of Color	0.261*** (0.012)	0.325*** (0.016)	0.026*** (0.005)	0.094*** (0.009)	0.294*** (0.016)
Observations	1,568	1,568	1,568	1,568	1,568
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.334	0.091	0.082	0.392	0.144

Note:

\*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01  
Models include congress and state fixed effects. Original MFD scores.

## B.2.6 Governing period tweets

Table B.13: OLS regression of MC average use of foundation-specific language within their moral rhetoric during governing (all MCs, by Congress w/ majority party + ideology)

	Authority (1)	Loyalty (2)	Purity (3)	Fairness (4)	Care (5)
Woman	-0.003 (0.005)	-0.013** (0.006)	-0.001 (0.002)	0.0001 (0.003)	0.017*** (0.006)
Republican	0.014** (0.006)	0.016*** (0.006)	0.001 (0.002)	0.013*** (0.004)	-0.043*** (0.006)
MC of Color	0.060*** (0.006)	0.022*** (0.007)	-0.008*** (0.002)	-0.043*** (0.004)	-0.032*** (0.007)
Ideology	-0.0001 (0.0002)	-0.001*** (0.0002)	0.00000 (0.0001)	0.0002* (0.0001)	0.0004* (0.0002)
Age	0.002 (0.016)	-0.013 (0.018)	-0.002 (0.006)	0.016 (0.011)	-0.003 (0.019)
Leadership	-0.002 (0.004)	-0.002 (0.005)	-0.004*** (0.002)	-0.002 (0.003)	0.011** (0.005)
Majority Party	0.240*** (0.017)	0.347*** (0.019)	0.028*** (0.006)	0.094*** (0.011)	0.290*** (0.020)
Observations	1,527	1,527	1,527	1,527	1,527
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.196	0.048	0.072	0.277	0.132

Note: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01  
Models include congress and state fixed effects. Original MFD scores.



## B.2.7 Campaign period tweets

Table B.14: OLS regression of MC average use of foundation-specific language within their moral rhetoric during campaigning (all MCs, by Congress w/ majority party + ideology)

	Authority (1)	Loyalty (2)	Purity (3)	Fairness (4)	Care (5)
Woman	-0.012*** (0.004)	-0.010* (0.005)	-0.001 (0.002)	0.006* (0.003)	0.017*** (0.006)
Republican	0.002 (0.005)	0.021*** (0.006)	-0.001 (0.002)	0.016*** (0.004)	-0.038*** (0.006)
MC of Color	0.047*** (0.006)	0.034*** (0.007)	-0.003 (0.002)	-0.057*** (0.004)	-0.021*** (0.007)
Ideology	-0.0001 (0.0002)	-0.0002 (0.0002)	0.0001** (0.0001)	0.0003** (0.0001)	-0.0001 (0.0002)
Age	0.001 (0.014)	-0.001 (0.016)	-0.009* (0.006)	-0.005 (0.010)	0.013 (0.018)
Leadership	-0.002 (0.004)	-0.006 (0.005)	-0.005*** (0.002)	-0.005* (0.003)	0.017*** (0.005)
Majority Party	0.285*** (0.015)	0.314*** (0.018)	0.022*** (0.006)	0.087*** (0.011)	0.293*** (0.019)
Observations	1,560	1,560	1,560	1,560	1,560
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.253	0.113	0.059	0.352	0.100

Note: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01  
Models include congress and state fixed effects. Original MFD scores.

## C Regressions of partisan use of moral rhetoric subset by period

### C.1 Democrats' average use of foundation-specific language within their moral rhetoric

#### C.1.1 Governing period tweets

Table C.1: OLS regression of Democrats' average use of foundation-specific language within their moral rhetoric during governing (all MCs, by Congress)

	Authority (1)	Loyalty (2)	Purity (3)	Fairness (4)	Care (5)
Woman	-0.008 (0.005)	-0.009 (0.007)	0.001 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.004)	0.017*** (0.006)
MC of Color	0.014** (0.006)	0.037*** (0.007)	-0.004 (0.002)	0.006 (0.005)	-0.052*** (0.006)
Ideology	0.082*** (0.022)	0.182*** (0.028)	-0.030*** (0.009)	-0.104*** (0.019)	-0.129*** (0.025)
Age	0.0001 (0.0002)	-0.0002 (0.0003)	-0.0001 (0.0001)	0.0002 (0.0002)	0.0001 (0.0003)
Leadership	0.036 (0.026)	0.040 (0.033)	-0.014 (0.011)	0.023 (0.022)	-0.085*** (0.030)
Majority Party	0.029 (0.025)	-0.128*** (0.031)	0.011 (0.011)	0.045** (0.021)	0.043 (0.029)
Constant	0.260*** (0.030)	0.323*** (0.038)	0.044*** (0.013)	0.161*** (0.026)	0.212*** (0.035)
Observations	704	704	704	704	704
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.131	0.158	0.089	0.223	0.375

Note: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01  
Models include congress and state fixed effects. Original MFD scores.

### C.1.2 Campaign period tweets

Table C.2: OLS regression of Democrats' average use of foundation-specific language within their moral rhetoric during campaigning (all MCs, by Congress)

	Authority	Loyalty	Purity	Fairness	Care
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Woman	-0.013** (0.005)	-0.010* (0.006)	-0.0005 (0.002)	0.009** (0.004)	0.015** (0.006)
MC of Color	0.003 (0.005)	0.038*** (0.006)	-0.004* (0.002)	0.007 (0.004)	-0.044*** (0.006)
Ideology	0.096*** (0.020)	0.119*** (0.021)	-0.040*** (0.009)	-0.092*** (0.016)	-0.083*** (0.024)
Age	0.0001 (0.0002)	-0.0003 (0.0002)	0.00001 (0.0001)	0.0002 (0.0002)	0.00004 (0.0003)
Leadership	0.034 (0.024)	-0.003 (0.026)	-0.018* (0.011)	0.015 (0.020)	-0.029 (0.028)
Majority Party	-0.040* (0.021)	-0.001 (0.023)	0.029*** (0.009)	0.022 (0.017)	-0.010 (0.025)
Constant	0.288*** (0.030)	0.287*** (0.033)	0.035*** (0.013)	0.183*** (0.025)	0.208*** (0.036)
Observations	721	721	721	721	721
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.220	0.160	0.047	0.240	0.265

Note: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01  
Models include congress and state fixed effects. Original MFD scores.

## C.2 Republicans' average use of foundation-specific language within their moral rhetoric

### C.2.1 Governing period tweets

Table C.3: OLS regression of Republicans' average use of foundation-specific language within their moral rhetoric during governing (all MCs, by Congress)

	Authority (1)	Loyalty (2)	Purity (3)	Fairness (4)	Care (5)
Woman	0.012 (0.011)	-0.016 (0.011)	-0.0005 (0.003)	-0.0003 (0.006)	0.005 (0.012)
MC of Color	0.014 (0.015)	0.003 (0.015)	-0.0004 (0.005)	0.007 (0.008)	-0.023 (0.017)
Ideology	0.058*** (0.021)	-0.145*** (0.021)	0.008 (0.007)	0.054*** (0.011)	0.025 (0.023)
Age	-0.0001 (0.0003)	-0.0005* (0.0003)	0.00002 (0.0001)	0.0001 (0.0002)	0.0004 (0.0003)
Leadership	-0.020 (0.024)	-0.022 (0.024)	0.003 (0.008)	0.004 (0.012)	0.036 (0.027)
Majority Party	-0.049 (0.047)	0.069 (0.047)	0.001 (0.015)	-0.041* (0.024)	0.020 (0.053)
Constant	0.279*** (0.051)	0.358*** (0.050)	0.010 (0.016)	0.079*** (0.026)	0.273*** (0.057)
Observations	832	832	832	832	832
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.070	0.070	0.051	0.118	0.035

Note: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01  
Models include congress and state fixed effects. Original MFD scores.

## C.2.2 Campaign period tweets

Table C.4: OLS regression of Republicans' average use of foundation-specific language within their moral rhetoric during campaigning (all MCs, by Congress)

	Authority	Loyalty	Purity	Fairness	Care
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Woman	0.004 (0.009)	-0.013 (0.011)	0.0001 (0.003)	0.001 (0.005)	0.009 (0.011)
MC of Color	0.018 (0.013)	0.008 (0.015)	-0.004 (0.005)	0.009 (0.007)	-0.032* (0.016)
Ideology	0.063*** (0.017)	-0.101*** (0.020)	0.009 (0.006)	0.057*** (0.010)	-0.028 (0.022)
Age	0.0001 (0.0003)	0.00003 (0.0003)	0.0002* (0.0001)	0.0002 (0.0001)	-0.0005 (0.0003)
Leadership	-0.004 (0.020)	0.001 (0.024)	-0.004 (0.007)	-0.008 (0.011)	0.015 (0.025)
Majority Party	-0.172*** (0.031)	0.055 (0.037)	0.021* (0.011)	0.001 (0.018)	0.095** (0.040)
Constant	0.439*** (0.037)	0.309*** (0.043)	-0.015 (0.013)	0.004 (0.021)	0.263*** (0.047)
Observations	853	853	853	853	853
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.153	0.149	0.077	0.064	0.042

Note: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01  
Models include congress and state fixed effects. Original MFD scores.

## **D Additional test of differences between governing and campaign periods**

### **D.1 MCs' average use of foundation-specific moral language by Congress + period**

To formally test for differences between governing and campaigning periods in representatives' average use of moral rhetoric, we run an additional multivariate regression that includes an explanatory factor variable for the congressional period (i.e., governing/ campaign), as well as an interaction term for the gender and congressional period.

Table D.1: OLS regression of MC average use of foundation-specific language within their moral rhetoric (all MCs by congressional period; w/ gender \* period interaction)

	Authority	Loyalty	Purity	Fairness	Care
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Woman	-0.005 (0.004)	-0.012*** (0.004)	-0.001 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.003)	0.020*** (0.005)
Campaign	-0.002 (0.003)	-0.002 (0.003)	0.0001 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.002)	0.005* (0.003)
MC of Color	0.008** (0.004)	0.016*** (0.004)	-0.001 (0.001)	0.017*** (0.003)	-0.040*** (0.004)
Republican	-0.005 (0.008)	0.047*** (0.010)	0.005* (0.003)	-0.047*** (0.005)	-0.0001 (0.010)
Ideology	0.059*** (0.009)	-0.022* (0.012)	-0.011*** (0.003)	-0.001 (0.007)	-0.026** (0.012)
Age	-0.00005 (0.0001)	-0.0005*** (0.0001)	0.0001 (0.00005)	0.0003*** (0.0001)	0.0001 (0.0001)
Leadership	0.001 (0.009)	-0.009 (0.008)	-0.006** (0.002)	0.008 (0.006)	0.006 (0.012)
Majority Party	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.008*** (0.003)	-0.005*** (0.001)	0.0001 (0.002)	0.015*** (0.003)
Woman x Period	-0.005 (0.005)	0.0001 (0.006)	-0.001 (0.002)	0.011*** (0.004)	-0.006 (0.006)
Constant	0.266*** (0.010)	0.317*** (0.013)	0.023*** (0.004)	0.106*** (0.009)	0.288*** (0.013)
Observations	3,087	3,087	3,087	3,087	3,087
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.216	0.069	0.061	0.327	0.109

Note: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01  
 Models include congress and state fixed effects. SEs are clustered by MC.