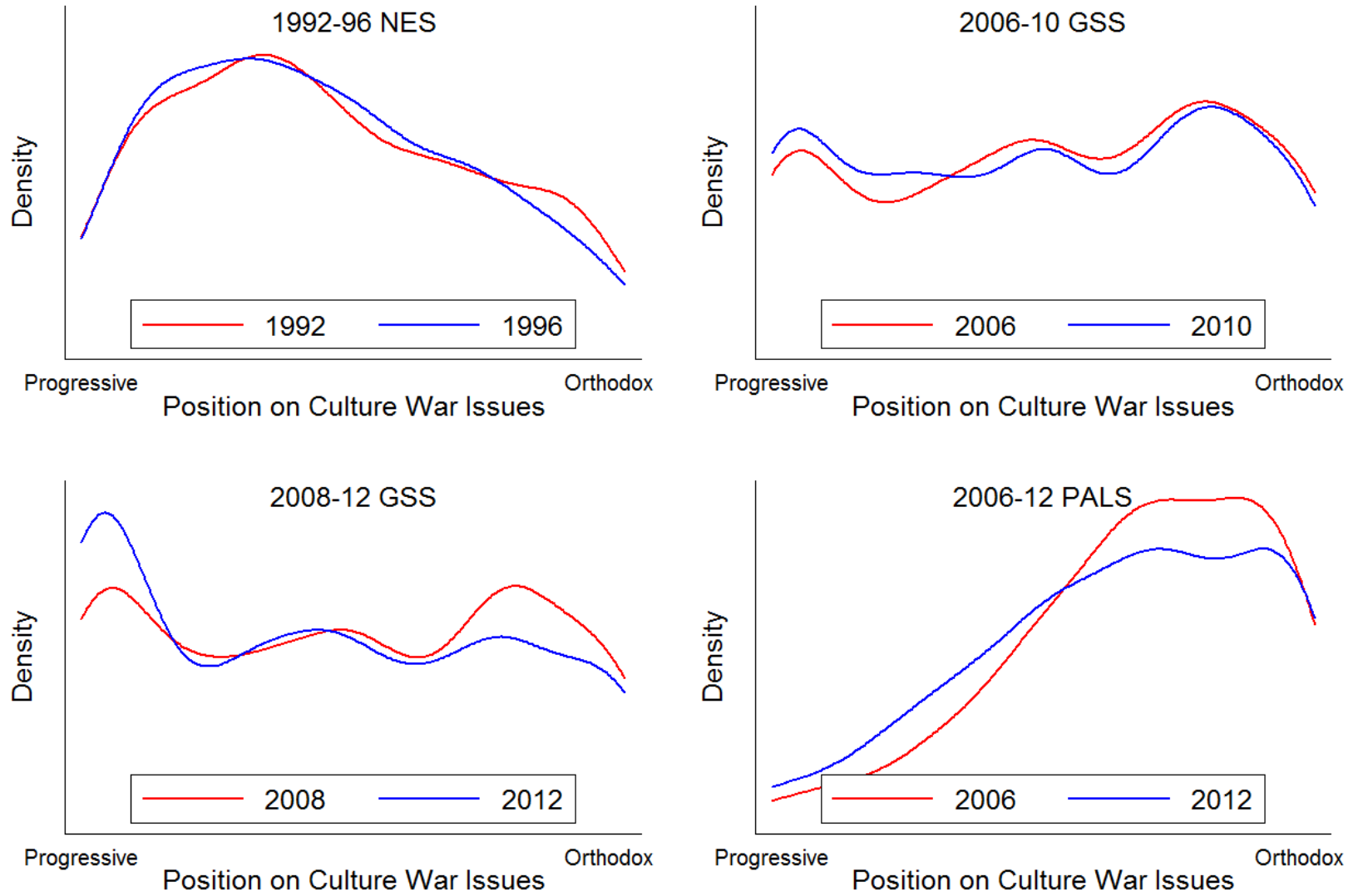


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Figure A: Smoothed Histograms for Culture War Distributions across 4 Panels



**Table A: Sample Descriptions and Descriptive Statistics for Key Variables**

The NES uses combined repeating cross-section and panel-component design. We draw on the 1992-1997 merged file; however, we only examined respondents who completed both the 1992 and 1996 waves. The 1992 pre-election response rate was 74%. The 1996 response rate for panel respondents was 76%.

The GSS panel studies use a combined repeating cross-section and panel-component design. Both the 2006-2010 panel and the 2008-2012 panel contain an additional wave (in 2008 and 2010 respectively) that was not considered in our main analyses (we did use the extra waves in some of the supplemental analyses below). The 2006 cross-section had a response rate of 71.2%. A sub-set of 2,000 respondents from 2006 were selected for 2010 re-interview, and 1,276 successfully completed a survey. The 2008 cross-section had a response rate of 70.4%. Of the 2,023 respondents selected for re-interview, 1,295 completed a survey. The much lower *ns* reported in some of the 2008-12 analyses reflect the fact that not all ballots included all relevant items (i.e., missingness is not a function of item nonresponse).

The PALS survey is a two-wave panel-component design. Following an initial screening, the response rate for selected participants was 58% ( $n=2,610$ ). The 2012 wave aimed to re-interview all of the wave one respondents. Researchers successfully re-interviewed 53% of wave one respondents ( $n=1,314$ ), correcting for respondents who had either died or were otherwise incapable of responding due to mental incapacitation. Wave two also contains a small number of new respondents who were not considered in our analysis. To help ensure representativeness of the broader population, we used sampling weights in the estimation stage. In addition, we used information about the primary sampling units and sampling strata, when available, to generate correct estimates of the standard errors. The sample descriptive statistics appear below.

**Descriptive Statistics for the Key Variables**

	Mean	Std Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
<b>NES 1992</b>				
Culture war issues	.45	.27	0	1
Party ID	.47	.33	0	1
Biblical literalism	.36	-	0	1
Religious commitment	.55	.32	0	1
<b>NES 1996</b>				
Culture war issues	.44	.26	0	1
Party ID	.45	.35	0	1
Biblical literalism	.36	-	0	1
Religious commitment	.56	.32	0	1
<b>GSS 2006</b>				
Culture war issues	.52	.32	0	1
Party ID	.47	.32	0	1
Biblical literalism	.35	-	0	1
Religious commitment	.54	.24	0	1

<b>GSS 2010</b>				
Culture war issues	.50	.32	0	1
Party ID	.46	.34	0	1
Biblical literalism	.32	-	0	1
Religious commitment	.56	.25	0	1
<b>GSS 2008</b>				
Culture war issues	.49	.33	0	1
Party ID	.44	.33	0	1
Biblical literalism	.32	-	0	1
Religious commitment	.53	.24	0	1
<b>GSS 2012</b>				
Culture war issues	.43	.34	0	1
Party ID	.44	.33	0	1
Biblical literalism	.30	-	0	1
Religious commitment	.52	.25	0	1
<b>PALS 2006</b>				
Culture war issues	.69	.22	0	1
Party ID	.40	.32	0	1
Biblical literalism	.68	.27	0	1
Religious commitment	.48	.26	0	1
<b>PALS 2012</b>				
Culture war issues	.65	.26	0	1
Party ID	.39	.34	0	1
Biblical literalism	.69	.28	0	1
Religious commitment	.47	.29	0	1

Note: Higher scores denote stronger traditional culture war positions, GOP identification and religious commitment. Biblical literalism is a dichotomous variable where 1 = belief that Bible is word of God, 0 = otherwise, for the NES and GSS surveys. All variables scored on 0-1 scale.

**Table B: Model Estimates for the 1992-96 NES**

	OLS Culture war positions <sub>96</sub>	OLS Party ID <sub>96</sub>	Logit Biblical literalism <sub>96</sub>	OLS Religious commitment <sub>96</sub>
Culture war positions <sub>92</sub>	0.67* (.04)	0.22* (.03)	2.54* (.62)	0.07* (.04)
Party ID <sub>92</sub>	0.06* (.03)	0.78* (.04)	-0.24 (.51)	0.01 (.02)
Biblical literalism <sub>92</sub>	-0.00 (.02)	-0.03 (.02)	2.11* (.29)	0.03* (.02)
Religious commitment <sub>92</sub>	0.09* (.03)	0.03 (.04)	2.00* (.51)	0.77* (.02)
Age	0.00 (.00)	-0.001* (.000)	-0.02* (.01)	0.00 (.00)
Female	-0.04* (.02)	-0.01 (.02)	0.15 (.24)	0.05* (.02)
African American	-0.06* (.02)	-0.11* (.03)	0.29 (.35)	0.00 (.03)
College graduate	-0.03 (.02)	0.03* (.02)	-1.03* (.25)	0.05* (.01)
Constant	0.08* (.04)	0.05 (.04)	-2.82* (.49)	0.02 (.04)
R <sup>2</sup>	.60	.68	-	.72
F test	128.13	235.82	12.85	150.95
F test <i>p</i> value	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001
Number of observations	506	572	568	572

\*  $p < .05$  (one-tailed test).

Notes: OLS = ordinary least squares estimates. Logit = binary logistic regression estimates. The standard errors are in parentheses. All estimates have been adjusted to account for the complex sample design. The culture war, party, and religiosity variables are coded so that higher scores reflect more orthodox, GOP, and religious positions, respectively. All variables lie on a 0-1 range except age, which is measured in years. These estimates are used to produce Figures 1-6.

**Table C: Model Estimates for the 2006-10 GSS**

	OLS Culture war issues <sub>10</sub>	OLS Party ID <sub>10</sub>	Logit Biblical literalism <sub>10</sub>	OLS Religious commitment <sub>10</sub>
Culture war issues <sub>06</sub>	0.74* (.04)	0.11* (.03)	1.03* (.40)	0.08* (.02)
Party ID <sub>06</sub>	0.04 (.03)	0.72* (.02)	-0.03 (.30)	0.01 (.01)
Biblical literalism <sub>06</sub>	0.05* (.02)	0.02 (.02)	2.39* (.22)	0.01 (.01)
Religious commitment <sub>06</sub>	0.10* (.03)	0.01 (.04)	1.63* (.47)	0.75* (.03)
Age	0.00 (.00)	0.001* (.000)	0.01* (.00)	0.00* (.00)
Female	-0.02* (.01)	-0.00 (.01)	0.04 (.20)	0.03* (.01)
African American	0.01 (.02)	-0.16* (.02)	0.60* (.29)	0.04* (.01)
College graduate	-0.05* (.02)	0.04* (.02)	-0.76* (.15)	-0.00 (.01)
Constant	0.03 (.03)	0.01 (.03)	-3.60* (.35)	0.05* (.02)
R <sup>2</sup>	.70	.63	-	.71
F test	422.06*	236.69*	31.54*	354.11*
F test <i>p</i> -value	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001
Number of observations	749	798	797	802

\* *p* < .05 (one-tailed test).

Notes: OLS = ordinary least squares estimates. Logit = binary logistic regression estimates. The standard errors are in parentheses. All estimates have been adjusted to account for the complex sample design. The culture war, party, and religiosity variables are coded so that higher scores reflect more orthodox, GOP, and religious positions, respectively. All variables lie on a 0-1 range except age, which is measured in years. These estimates are used to produce Figures 1-6.

**Table D: Model Estimates for the 2008-12 GSS**

	OLS Culture war issues <sub>12</sub>	OLS Party ID <sub>12</sub>	Logit Biblical literalism <sub>12</sub>	OLS Religious commitment <sub>12</sub>
Culture war issues <sub>08</sub>	0.75* (.03)	0.08* (.04)	1.65* (.51)	0.04 (.02)
Party ID <sub>08</sub>	0.05* (.02)	0.78* (.03)	-0.01 (.38)	0.02 (.02)
Biblical literalism <sub>08</sub>	0.09* (.02)	0.00 (.02)	2.30* (.26)	-0.00 (.01)
Religious commitment <sub>08</sub>	0.07* (.04)	0.05 (.04)	1.68* (.63)	0.80* (.03)
Age	0.00 (.00)	-0.00 (.00)	0.01 (.01)	0.00 (.00)
Female	-0.03 (.02)	-0.02 (.02)	0.54* (.26)	0.03* (.01)
African American	-0.03 (.03)	-0.11* (.02)	1.10* (.40)	0.04* (.02)
College graduate	-0.02 (.02)	0.00 (.02)	-0.29 (.27)	-0.01 (.01)
Constant	0.04 (.03)	0.11* (.03)	-4.39* (.54)	0.03 (.02)
R <sup>2</sup>	.71	.69	-	.72
F test	213.87*	225.95*	21.33*	201.21*
F test <i>p</i> -value	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001
Number of observations	747	785	778	787

\*  $p < .05$  (one-tailed test).

Notes: OLS = ordinary least squares estimates. Logit = binary logistic regression estimates. The standard errors are in parentheses. All estimates have been adjusted to account for the complex sample design. The culture war, party, and religiosity variables are coded so that higher scores reflect more orthodox, GOP, and religious positions, respectively. All variables lie on a 0-1 range except age, which is measured in years. These estimates are used to produce Figures 1-6.



**Table E: Model Estimates for the 2006-12 PALS**

	OLS Culture war issues <sub>12</sub>	OLS Party ID <sub>12</sub>	OLS Biblical literalism <sub>12</sub>	OLS Religious commitment <sub>12</sub>
Culture war issues <sub>06</sub>	0.48* (.04)	0.22* (.08)	0.13* (.05)	0.08* (.03)
Party ID <sub>06</sub>	0.06* (.02)	0.74* (.03)	0.03 (.02)	0.01 (.02)
Biblical literalism <sub>06</sub>	0.18* (.03)	0.07 (.06)	0.51* (.05)	0.09* (.04)
Religious commitment <sub>06</sub>	0.13* (.04)	-0.07 (.06)	0.15* (.04)	0.78* (.04)
Age	0.002* (.001)	0.00 (.00)	-0.00 (.00)	0.002* (.000)
Female	-0.01 (.02)	-0.01 (.02)	0.03* (.02)	0.02* (.01)
African American	-0.02 (.02)	-0.13* (.03)	0.01 (.03)	0.09* (.02)
College graduate	-0.05* (.01)	0.05* (.02)	-0.01 (.02)	-0.01 (.01)
Constant	0.08* (.03)	-0.06 (.04)	0.16* (.04)	-0.12* (.02)
R <sup>2</sup>	.47	.59	.39	.68
F test	73.54	245.68	53.11	239.61
F test <i>p</i> -value	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001
Number of observations	1096	1117	1010	1117

\* *p* < .05 (one-tailed test).

Notes: OLS = ordinary least squares estimates. The standard errors are in parentheses. All estimates have been adjusted to account for the complex sample design. The culture war, party, and religiosity variables are coded so that higher scores reflect more orthodox, GOP, and religious positions, respectively. All variables lie on a 0-1 range except age, which is measured in years. These estimates are used to produce Figures 1-6.

**Table F: Predicting 1996 Culture War Positions with 1992 Clinton Evaluations, NES**

	Model 1 (Predictor = Clinton FT <sub>92</sub> )	Model 2 (Predictor = Positive emotions <sub>92</sub> )	Model 3 (Predictor = Negative emotions <sub>92</sub> )	Model 4 (Predictor = Clinton vote <sub>92</sub> )
Culture war positions <sub>92</sub>	0.70*	0.71*	0.71*	0.70*
	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)
Clinton predictor <sub>92</sub>	-0.07	-0.03	0.02	-0.04*
	(.05)	(.03)	(.03)	(.02)
Party ID <sub>92</sub>	0.04	0.05	0.05*	0.03
	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)
Age	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)
Female	-0.03	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02
	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)
African American	-0.04	-0.03	-0.04	-0.03
	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)
College graduate	-0.03	-0.02	-0.03	-0.02
	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)
Constant	0.15*	0.11*	0.09*	0.13*
	(.06)	(.03)	(.03)	(.04)
R <sup>2</sup>	.59	.59	.60	.59
F test	143.54	140.93	142.42	137.38
F test <i>p</i> value	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001
Number of observations	502	508	510	509

\*  $p < .05$  (one-tailed test).

Notes: DV = culture war positions<sub>96</sub> in every model. Ordinary least squares estimates with standard errors in parentheses. All estimates have been adjusted to account for the complex sample design. The culture war variable is coded so higher scores reflect more orthodox positions. The Clinton variables, excepting negativity, are coded so higher scores reflect pro-Clinton sentiments. All variables lie on a 0-1 range except age, which is measured in years. These estimates are used to produce Figure 7.

**Table G: Predicting 1996 Clinton Evaluations with 1992 Culture War Positions, NES**

	Model 1 (DV = Clinton FT <sub>96</sub> )	Model 2 (DV = Positive emotions <sub>96</sub> )	Model 3 (DV = Negative emotions <sub>96</sub> )	Model 4 (DV = Clinton vote <sub>96</sub> )
Clinton predictor <sub>92</sub>	0.41* (.05)	0.24* (.05)	0.24* (.05)	2.05* (.27)
Culture war positions <sub>92</sub>	-0.13* (.04)	-0.18* (.05)	0.11 (.07)	-1.31* (.49)
Party ID <sub>92</sub>	-0.19* (.03)	-0.22* (.05)	0.13* (.06)	-1.50* (.38)
National economy <sub>96</sub>	0.26* (.04)	0.40* (.06)	-0.29* (.06)	2.86* (.75)
U.S. position stronger <sub>96</sub>	0.18* (.02)	0.21* (.05)	-0.29* (.05)	1.14* (.43)
U.S. position same <sub>96</sub>	0.10* (.02)	0.10* (.04)	-0.15* (.03)	0.45* (.26)
Age	0.002* (.00)	0.00 (.00)	-0.003* (.00)	0.02* (.01)
Female	0.05* (.01)	0.07* (.02)	-0.08* (.03)	0.49* (.23)
African American	0.14* (.02)	0.16* (.05)	-0.13* (.04)	1.47* (.53)
College graduate	-0.03* (.02)	-0.03 (.03)	0.03 (.04)	-0.14 (.24)
Constant	0.15* (.06)	0.20* (.09)	0.75* (.08)	-3.29* (.84)
R <sup>2</sup>	.66	.36	.31	-
F test	96.20	36.16	60.99	18.72
F test <i>p</i> value	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001
Number of observations	511	573	575	523

\*  $p < .05$  (one-tailed test).

Notes: Models 1-3 report ordinary least squares estimates with standard errors in parentheses. Model 4 reports logistic regression estimates. All estimates have been adjusted to account for the complex sample design. The culture war variable is coded so higher scores reflect more orthodox positions. The Clinton variables, excepting negativity, are coded so higher scores reflect pro-Clinton sentiments. All variables lie on a 0-1 range except age, which is measured in years. These estimates are used to produce Figure 8.

**Table H: Party ID as a Function of Abortion and Gay Rights Issues, All Panels**

**1992-96 NES**

	Party ID <sub>96</sub>	Party ID <sub>96</sub>	Party ID <sub>96</sub>	Party ID <sub>96</sub>
Culture war <sub>92</sub>	0.22* (.03)			
Abortion <sub>92</sub>		0.09* (.02)		0.06* (.02)
Gay rights <sub>92</sub>			0.18* (.03)	0.17* (.03)
N	572	567	572	559

\* p < .05 (one-tailed test).

Notes: Cell entries are ordinary least squares estimates. The standard errors are in parentheses. The second column reports the coefficient for the 1992 culture war issues scale (4 items) on 1996 party id. The third column reports the coefficient for the 1992 abortion variable (1 item) on 1996 party id. The fourth column reports the coefficient for the 1992 gay rights scale (3 items) on 1996 party id. The fifth column reports the impact that the 1992 abortion variable and the 1992 gay rights variable have on 1996 party id. All estimates have been adjusted to account for the complex sample design. The issue and party variables are coded so that higher scores reflect more conservative positions. All variables lie on a 0-1 range. To preserve space lagged party, biblical literalism, religious commitment and the controls for age, female, African American, and college graduate have been omitted from each model.

**2006-10 GSS**

	Party ID <sub>10</sub>	Party ID <sub>10</sub>	Party ID <sub>10</sub>	Party ID <sub>10</sub>
Culture war <sub>06</sub>	0.11* (.03)			
Abortion <sub>06</sub>		0.07* (.03)		0.07* (.03)
Gay rights <sub>06</sub>			0.06* (.02)	0.04 <sup>+</sup> (.02)
N	798	832	809	798

<sup>+</sup> p < .06 (one-tailed test); \* p < .05 (one-tailed test).

Notes: Cell entries are ordinary least squares estimates. The standard errors are in parentheses. The second column reports the coefficient for the 2006 culture war issues scale (9 items) on 2010 party id. The third column reports the coefficient for the 2006 abortion variable (7 items) on 2010 party id. The fourth column reports the coefficient for the 2006 gay rights scale (2 items) on 2010 party id. The fifth column reports the impact that the 2006 abortion variable and the 2006 gay rights variable have on 2010 party id. All estimates have been adjusted to account for the complex sample design. The issue and party variables are coded so that higher scores reflect more conservative positions. All variables lie on a 0-1 range. To preserve space lagged party, biblical literalism, religious commitment and the controls for age, female, African American, and college graduate have been omitted from each model.

**2008-12 GSS**

	Party ID <sub>12</sub>	Party ID <sub>12</sub>	Party ID <sub>12</sub>	Party ID <sub>12</sub>
Culture war <sub>08</sub>	0.08* (.04)			
Abortion <sub>08</sub>		0.06* (.03)		0.06* (.03)
Gay rights <sub>08</sub>			0.04+ (.03)	0.02 (.03)
N	785	825	794	785

+ p < .07 (one-tailed test); \* p < .05 (one-tailed test).

Notes: Cell entries are ordinary least squares estimates. The standard errors are in parentheses. The second column reports the coefficient for the 2008 culture war issues scale (9 items) on 2012 party id. The third column reports the coefficient for the 2008 abortion variable (7 items) on 2012 party id. The fourth column reports the coefficient for the 2008 gay rights scale (2 items) on 2012 party id. The fifth column reports the impact that the 2008 abortion variable and the 2008 gay rights variable have on 2012 party id. All estimates have been adjusted to account for the complex sample design. The issue and party variables are coded so that higher scores reflect more conservative positions. All variables lie on a 0-1 range. To preserve space lagged party, biblical literalism, religious commitment and the controls for age, female, African American, and college graduate have been omitted from each model.

**2006-12 PALS**

	Party ID <sub>12</sub>	Party ID <sub>12</sub>	Party ID <sub>12</sub>	Party ID <sub>12</sub>
Culture war <sub>06</sub>	0.22* (.08)			
Abortion <sub>06</sub>		0.11+ (.07)		0.09+ (.06)
Gay rights <sub>06</sub>			0.09* (.03)	0.10* (.03)
N	1117	1117	1120	1115

+ p < .08 (one-tailed test); \* p < .05 (one-tailed test).

Notes: Cell entries are ordinary least squares estimates. The standard errors are in parentheses. The second column reports the coefficient for the 2006 culture war issues scale (4 items) on 2012 party id. The third column reports the coefficient for the 2006 abortion variable (3 items) on 2012 party id. The fourth column reports the coefficient for the 2006 gay rights scale (1 item) on 2012 party id. The fifth column reports the impact that the 2006 abortion variable and the 2006 gay rights variable have on 2012 party id. All estimates have been adjusted to account for the complex sample design. The issue and party variables are coded so that higher scores reflect more conservative positions. All variables lie on a 0-1 range. To preserve space lagged party, biblical literalism, religious commitment and the controls for age, female, African American, and college graduate have been omitted from each model.

**Table I: Biblical Literalism as a Function of Abortion and Gay Rights Issues, All Panels**

**1992-96 NES**

	Biblical literalism <sub>96</sub>	Biblical literalism <sub>96</sub>	Biblical literalism <sub>96</sub>	Biblical literalism <sub>96</sub>
Culture war <sub>92</sub>	2.54* (.62)			
Abortion <sub>92</sub>		0.67+ (.41)		0.09 (.54)
Gay rights <sub>92</sub>			2.33* (.56)	2.42* (.64)
N	568	563	568	555

+ p < .06 (one-tailed test); \* p < .05 (one-tailed test).

Notes: Cell entries are logistic regression estimates. The standard errors are in parentheses. The second column reports the coefficient for the 1992 culture war issues scale (4 items) on 1996 biblical literalism. The third column reports the coefficient for the 1992 abortion variable (1 item) on 1996 biblical literalism. The fourth column reports the coefficient for the 1992 gay rights scale (3 items) on 1996 biblical literalism. The fifth column reports the impact that the 1992 abortion variable and the 1992 gay rights variable have on 1996 biblical literalism. All estimates have been adjusted to account for the complex sample design. The issue and biblical literalism variables are coded so that higher scores reflect more conservative positions. All variables lie on a 0-1 range. To preserve space lagged party, biblical literalism, religious commitment and the controls for age, female, African American, and college graduate have been omitted from each model.

**2006-10 GSS**

	Biblical literalism <sub>10</sub>	Biblical literalism <sub>10</sub>	Biblical literalism <sub>10</sub>	Biblical literalism <sub>10</sub>
Culture war <sub>06</sub>	1.03* (.40)			
Abortion <sub>06</sub>		0.58+ (.36)		0.54+ (.38)
Gay rights <sub>06</sub>			0.75* (.27)	0.49* (.29)
N	797	831	808	797

+ p < .09 (one-tailed test); \* p < .05 (one-tailed test).

Notes: Cell entries are logistic regression estimates. The standard errors are in parentheses. The second column reports the coefficient for the 2006 culture war issues scale (9 items) on 2010 biblical literalism. The third column reports the coefficient for the 2006 abortion variable (7 items) on 2010 biblical literalism. The fourth column reports the coefficient for the 2006 gay rights scale (2 items) on 2010 biblical literalism. The fifth column reports the impact that the 2006 abortion variable and the 2006 gay rights variable have on 2010 biblical literalism. All estimates have been adjusted to account for the complex sample design. The issue and biblical literalism variables are coded so that higher scores reflect more conservative positions. All variables lie on a 0-1 range. To preserve space lagged party, biblical literalism, religious commitment and the controls for age, female, African American, and college graduate have been omitted from each model.

**2008-12 GSS**

	Biblical literalism <sub>12</sub>	Biblical literalism <sub>12</sub>	Biblical literalism <sub>12</sub>	Biblical literalism <sub>12</sub>
Culture war <sub>08</sub>	1.65* (.51)			
Abortion <sub>08</sub>		1.01* (.39)		0.56+ (.41)
Gay rights <sub>08</sub>			1.31* (.41)	1.09* (.44)
N	778	819	787	778

+ p < .09 (one-tailed test); \* p < .05 (one-tailed test).

Notes: Cell entries are logistic regression estimates. The standard errors are in parentheses. The second column reports the coefficient for the 2008 culture war issues scale (9 items) on 2012 biblical literalism. The third column reports the coefficient for the 2008 abortion variable (7 items) on 2012 biblical literalism. The fourth column reports the coefficient for the 2008 gay rights scale (2 items) on 2012 biblical literalism. The fifth column reports the impact that the 2008 abortion variable and the 2008 gay rights variable have on 2012 biblical literalism. All estimates have been adjusted to account for the complex sample design. The issue and biblical literalism variables are coded so that higher scores reflect more right conservative. All variables lie on a 0-1 range. To preserve space lagged party, biblical literalism, religious commitment and the controls for age, female, African American, and college graduate have been omitted from each model.

**2006-12 PALS**

	Biblical literalism <sub>12</sub>	Biblical literalism <sub>12</sub>	Biblical literalism <sub>12</sub>	Biblical literalism <sub>12</sub>
Culture war <sub>06</sub>	0.13* (.05)			
Abortion <sub>06</sub>		0.11* (.05)		0.11* (.06)
Gay rights <sub>06</sub>			0.03+ (.02)	0.03 (.02)
N	1010	1010	1013	1008

+ p < .10 (one-tailed test); \* p < .05 (one-tailed test).

Notes: Cell entries are ordinary least squares estimates. The standard errors are in parentheses. The second column reports the coefficient for the 2008 culture war issues scale (4 items) on 2012 biblical literalism. The third column reports the coefficient for the 2008 abortion variable (3 items) on 2012 biblical literalism. The fourth column reports the coefficient for the 2008 gay rights scale (1 item) on 2012 biblical literalism. The fifth column reports the impact that the 2008 abortion variable and the 2008 gay rights variable have on 2012 biblical literalism. All estimates have been adjusted to account for the complex sample design. The issue and biblical literalism variables are coded so that higher scores reflect more conservative positions. All variables lie on a 0-1 range. To preserve space lagged party, biblical literalism, religious commitment and the controls for age, female, African American, and college graduate have been omitted from each model.



**Table J: Religious Commitment as a Function of Abortion and Gay Rights Issues, All Panels**

**1992-96 NES**

	Religious commitment <sub>96</sub>	Religious commitment <sub>96</sub>	Religious commitment <sub>96</sub>	Religious commitment <sub>96</sub>
Culture war <sub>92</sub>	0.07* (.04)			
Abortion <sub>92</sub>		0.01 (.03)		-0.00 (.03)
Gay rights <sub>92</sub>			0.06* (.02)	0.07* (.02)
N	572	567	572	559

+ p < .06 (one-tailed test); \* p < .05 (one-tailed test).

Notes: Cell entries are logistic regression estimates. The standard errors are in parentheses. The second column reports the coefficient for the 1992 culture war issues scale (4 items) on 1996 religious commitment. The third column reports the coefficient for the 1992 abortion variable (1 item) on 1996 religious commitment. The fourth column reports the coefficient for the 1992 gay rights scale (3 items) on 1996 religious commitment. The fifth column reports the impact that the 1992 abortion variable and the 1992 gay rights variable have on 1996 religious commitment. All estimates have been adjusted to account for the complex sample design. The issue and religious commitment variables are coded so that higher scores reflect more conservative positions. All variables lie on a 0-1 range. To preserve space lagged party, biblical literalism, religious commitment and the controls for age, female, African American, and college graduate have been omitted from each model.

**2006-10 GSS**

	Religious commitment <sub>10</sub>	Religious commitment <sub>10</sub>	Religious commitment <sub>10</sub>	Religious commitment <sub>10</sub>
Culture war <sub>06</sub>	0.08* (.02)			
Abortion <sub>06</sub>		0.06* (.02)		0.05* (.01)
Gay rights <sub>06</sub>			0.05* (.02)	0.03* (.01)
N	802	836	813	802

+ p < .06 (one-tailed test); \* p < .05 (one-tailed test).

Notes: Cell entries are logistic regression estimates. The standard errors are in parentheses. The second column reports the coefficient for the 2006 culture war issues scale (9 items) on 2010 religious commitment. The third column reports the coefficient for the 2006 abortion variable (7 items) on 2010 religious commitment. The fourth column reports the coefficient for the 2006 gay rights scale (2 items) on 2010 religious commitment. The fifth column reports the impact that the 2006 abortion variable and the 2006 gay rights variable have on 2010 religious commitment. All estimates have been adjusted to account for the complex sample design. The issue and religious commitment variables are coded so that higher scores reflect more conservative positions. All variables lie on a 0-1 range. To preserve space lagged party, biblical literalism, religious commitment and the controls for age, female, African American, and college graduate have been omitted from each model.

**2008-12 GSS**

	Religious commitment <sub>12</sub>	Religious commitment <sub>12</sub>	Religious commitment <sub>12</sub>	Religious commitment <sub>12</sub>
Culture war <sub>08</sub>	0.04 <sup>+</sup> (.02)			
Abortion <sub>08</sub>		0.03 <sup>+</sup> (.02)		0.04* (.02)
Gay rights <sub>08</sub>			0.02 (.02)	0.00 (.02)
N	787	828	796	787

<sup>+</sup> p < .09 (one-tailed test); \* p < .05 (one-tailed test).

Notes: Cell entries are logistic regression estimates. The standard errors are in parentheses. The second column reports the coefficient for the 2008 culture war issues scale (9 items) on 2012 religious commitment. The third column reports the coefficient for the 2008 abortion variable (7 items) on 2012 religious commitment. The fourth column reports the coefficient for the 2008 gay rights scale (2 items) on 2012 religious commitment. The fifth column reports the impact that the 2008 abortion variable and the 2008 gay rights variable have on 2012 religious commitment. All estimates have been adjusted to account for the complex sample design. The issue and religious commitment variables are coded so that higher scores reflect more conservative positions. All variables lie on a 0-1 range. To preserve space lagged party, biblical literalism, religious commitment and the controls for age, female, African American, and college graduate have been omitted from each model.

**2006-12 PALS**

	Religious commitment <sub>12</sub>	Religious commitment <sub>12</sub>	Religious commitment <sub>12</sub>	Religious commitment <sub>12</sub>
Culture war <sub>06</sub>	0.08* (.03)			
Abortion <sub>06</sub>		0.08* (.04)		0.08* (.04)
Gay rights <sub>06</sub>			0.02 (.02)	0.01 (.02)
N	1017	1117	1120	1115

\* p < .05 (one-tailed test).

Notes: Cell entries are ordinary least squares estimates. The standard errors are in parentheses. The second column reports the coefficient for the 2008 culture war issues scale (4 items) on 2012 religious commitment. The third column reports the coefficient for the 2008 abortion variable (3 items) on 2012 religious commitment. The fourth column reports the coefficient for the 2008 gay rights scale (1 item) on 2012 religious commitment. The fifth column reports the impact that the 2008 abortion variable and the 2008 gay rights variable have on 2012 religious commitment. All estimates have been adjusted to account for the complex sample design. The issue and religious commitment variables are coded so that higher scores reflect more conservative positions. All variables lie on a 0-1 range. To preserve space lagged party, biblical literalism, religious commitment and the controls for age, female, African American, and college graduate have been omitted from each model.

**Table K: Robustness Check controlling for Aid to Blacks, 1992-96 NES**

	OLS Culture War Issues <sub>96</sub>	OLS Party ID <sub>96</sub>	Logit Biblical Literalism <sub>96</sub>	OLS Religious Commitment <sub>96</sub>
Culture war issues <sub>92</sub>	0.67* (.04)	0.20* (.04)	2.59* (.62)	0.06* (.04)
Aid to blacks <sub>92</sub>	0.03 (.03)	0.07* (.03)	0.08 (.54)	0.02 (.03)
N	498	562	558	562

\* p < .05 (one-tailed test).

Notes: OLS = ordinary least squares estimates. Logit = binary logistic regression estimates. The standard errors are in parentheses. All estimates have been adjusted to account for the complex sample design. The culture war, aid to blacks, party, and religiosity variables are coded so that higher scores reflect more conservative positions. All variables lie on a 0-1 range. To preserve space lagged party, biblical literalism, religious commitment and the controls for age, female, African American, and college graduate have been omitted from each model. When we re-estimate the models without the culture war issues<sub>92</sub> variable, the effect of the aid to blacks<sub>92</sub> variable on the respective dependent variables is as follows: b = 0.09 (p < .01) for culture war issues<sub>96</sub>; b = 0.09 (p < .01) for party id<sub>96</sub>; b = 0.16 (p = .37) for biblical literalism<sub>96</sub>; b = 0.03 (p = .20) for religious commitment<sub>96</sub>.

**Table L: Robustness Check controlling for Social Welfare, 1992-96 NES**

	OLS Culture War Issues <sub>96</sub>	OLS Party ID <sub>96</sub>	Logit Biblical Literalism <sub>96</sub>	OLS Religious Commitment <sub>96</sub>
Culture war issues <sub>92</sub>	0.66* (.04)	0.21* (.04)	2.13* (.69)	0.07* (.04)
Social welfare <sub>92</sub>	0.06 (.06)	0.11* (.04)	0.89 (.80)	-0.05+ (.03)
N	464	524	521	524

+ p < .10, \* p < .05 (one-tailed test).

Notes: OLS = ordinary least squares estimates. Logit = binary logistic regression estimates. The standard errors are in parentheses. All estimates have been adjusted to account for the complex sample design. The culture war, social welfare, party, and religiosity variables are coded so that higher scores reflect more conservative positions. All variables lie on a 0-1 range. To preserve space, lagged party, biblical literalism, religious commitment and the controls for age, black, sex, and college graduate have been omitted. When we re-estimate the models without the culture war issues<sub>92</sub> variable, the effect of social welfare<sub>92</sub> variable on the respective dependent variables is as follows: b = 0.21 (p < .01) for culture war issues<sub>96</sub>; b = 0.14 (p < .01) for party id<sub>96</sub>; b = 1.06 (p = .11) for biblical literalism<sub>96</sub>; b = -0.03 (p = .17) for religious commitment<sub>96</sub>.

**Table M: Robustness Check controlling for Symbolic Ideology, All Panels****1992-96 NES**

	OLS Culture War Issues <sub>96</sub>	OLS Party ID <sub>96</sub>	Logit Biblical Literalism <sub>96</sub>	OLS Religious Commitment <sub>96</sub>
Culture war issues <sub>92</sub>	0.63* (.05)	0.18* (.04)	2.47* (.70)	0.06+ (.04)
Symbolic ideology <sub>92</sub>	0.15* (.04)	0.15* (.06)	0.36 (.80)	0.04 (.04)
N	484	547	544	547

+ p < .08 (one-tailed test); \* p < .05 (one-tailed test).

Notes: OLS = ordinary least squares estimates. Logit = logistic regression estimates. The standard errors are in parentheses. All estimates have been adjusted to account for the complex sample design. The culture war, party, religiosity, and ideology variables are coded so that higher scores reflect more orthodox, GOP, religious, and conservative positions. All variables lie on a 0-1 range. To preserve space lagged party, biblical literalism, religious commitment and the controls for age, female, African American, and college graduate have been omitted from each model.

**2006-10 GSS**

	OLS Culture War Issues <sub>10</sub>	OLS Party ID <sub>10</sub>	Logit Biblical Literalism <sub>10</sub>	OLS Religious Commitment <sub>10</sub>
Culture war issues <sub>06</sub>	0.74* (.04)	0.10* (.03)	1.01* (.42)	0.08* (.02)
Symbolic ideology <sub>06</sub>	0.03 (.03)	0.09* (.03)	0.27 (.42)	0.03 (.02)
N	736	786	785	789

\* p < .05 (one-tailed test).

Notes: OLS = ordinary least squares estimates. Logit = logistic regression estimates. The standard errors are in parentheses. All estimates have been adjusted to account for the complex sample design. The culture war, party, religiosity, and ideology variables are coded so that higher scores reflect more orthodox, GOP, religious, and conservative positions. All variables lie on a 0-1 range. To preserve space lagged party, biblical literalism, religious commitment and the controls for age, female, African American, and college graduate have been omitted from each model.

### 2008-12 GSS Panel

	OLS Culture War Issues <sub>12</sub>	OLS Party ID <sub>12</sub>	Logit Biblical Literalism <sub>12</sub>	OLS Religious Commitment <sub>12</sub>
Culture war issues <sub>08</sub>	0.73* (.03)	0.06+ (.04)	1.66* (.55)	0.04* (.02)
Symbolic ideology <sub>08</sub>	0.05 (.05)	0.12* (.05)	0.17 (.73)	-0.02 (.03)
N	729	763	757	765

+ p < .08 (one-tailed test); \* p < .05 (one-tailed test).

Notes: OLS = ordinary least squares estimates. Logit = logistic regression estimates. The standard errors are in parentheses. All estimates have been adjusted to account for the complex sample design. The culture war, party, religiosity, and ideology variables are coded so that higher scores reflect more orthodox, GOP, religious, and conservative positions. All variables lie on a 0-1 range. To preserve space lagged party, biblical literalism, religious commitment and the controls for age, female, African American, and college graduate have been omitted from each model.

### 2006-12 PALS Panel

	OLS Culture War Issues <sub>12</sub>	OLS Party ID <sub>12</sub>	OLS Biblical Literalism <sub>12</sub>	OLS Religious Commitment <sub>12</sub>
Culture war issues <sub>06</sub>	0.49* (.04)	0.25* (.09)	0.06 (.06)	0.07* (.04)
Symbolic ideology <sub>06</sub>	0.10* (.03)	0.16* (.06)	0.11+ (.07)	0.06+ (.04)
N	803	819	732	819

+ p < .07 (one-tailed test); \* p < .05 (one-tailed test).

Notes: OLS = ordinary least squares estimates. The standard errors are in parentheses. All estimates have been adjusted to account for the complex sample design. The culture war, party, religiosity, and ideology variables are coded so that higher scores reflect more orthodox, GOP, religious, and conservative positions. All variables lie on a 0-1 range. To preserve space, lagged party biblical literalism, religious commitment and the controls for age, female, African American, and college graduate have been omitted from each model.

**Table N: Robust Check controlling for Religious Ideology, 2006-12 PALS**

	OLS Culture War Issues <sub>12</sub>	OLS Party ID <sub>12</sub>	OLS Biblical Literalism <sub>12</sub>	OLS Religious Commitment <sub>12</sub>
Culture war issues <sub>06</sub>	0.46* (.04)	0.22* (.09)	0.08* (.05)	0.06* (.03)
Religious ideology <sub>06</sub>	0.08* (.03)	0.03 (.04)	0.13* (.04)	0.06* (.03)
N	1062	1084	981	1083

+ p < .09 (one-tailed test); \* p < .05 (one-tailed test).

Notes: OLS = ordinary least squares estimates. The standard errors are in parentheses. All estimates have been adjusted to account for the complex sample design. The culture war, party, religiosity, and ideology variables are coded so that higher scores reflect more orthodox, GOP, religious, and conservative positions. All variables lie on a 0-1 range. To preserve space lagged party, biblical literalism, religious commitment and the controls for age, female, African American, and college graduate have been omitted from each model.

**Table O: Robustness Check controlling for Authoritarianism, All Panels****1992-96 NES**

	OLS Culture War Issues <sub>96</sub>	OLS Party ID <sub>96</sub>	Logit Biblical Literalism <sub>96</sub>	OLS Religious Commitment <sub>96</sub>
Culture war issues <sub>92</sub>	0.66* (.04)	0.22* (.04)	2.52* (.64)	0.07* (.04)
Authoritarianism <sub>92</sub>	0.03 (.03)	0.00 (.04)	0.15 (.59)	-0.03 (.02)
N	500	564	561	564

\* p < .05 (one-tailed test).

Notes: OLS = ordinary least squares estimates. Logit = binary logistic regression estimates. The standard errors are in parentheses. All estimates have been adjusted to account for the complex sample design. The culture war, authoritarianism, party, and religiosity variables are coded so that higher scores reflect more conservative positions. All variables lie on a 0-1 range. To preserve space lagged party, biblical literalism, religious commitment and the controls for age, female, African American, and college graduate have been omitted from each model.

**2006-10 GSS**

	OLS Culture War Issues <sub>10</sub>	OLS Party ID <sub>10</sub>	Logit Biblical Literalism <sub>10</sub>	OLS Religious Commitment <sub>10</sub>
Culture war issues <sub>06</sub>	0.84* (.06)	0.15* (.06)	1.52* (.61)	0.09* (.04)
Authoritarianism <sub>06</sub>	0.01 (.06)	-0.16+ (.10)	1.26* (.55)	0.10* (.06)
N	187	203	203	203

+ p < .10 (one-tailed test); \* p < .05 (one-tailed test).

Notes: OLS = ordinary least squares estimates. Logit = binary logistic regression estimates. The standard errors are in parentheses. All estimates have been adjusted to account for the complex sample design. The culture war, authoritarianism, party, and religiosity variables are coded so that higher scores reflect more conservative positions. All variables lie on a 0-1 range. To preserve space lagged party, biblical literalism, religious commitment and the controls for age, female, African American, and college graduate have been omitted from each model.



**2008-12 GSS**

	OLS Culture War Issues <sub>12</sub>	OLS Party ID <sub>12</sub>	Logit Biblical Literalism <sub>12</sub>	OLS Religious Commitment <sub>12</sub>
Culture war issues <sub>08</sub>	0.78* (.04)	0.02 (.05)	1.00+ (.69)	0.06* (.04)
Authoritarianism <sub>08</sub>	0.02 (.04)	0.00 (.05)	1.11* (.63)	0.00 (.04)
N	380	399	398	400

+ p < .08 (one-tailed test); \* p < .05 (one-tailed test).

Notes: OLS = ordinary least squares estimates. Logit = binary logistic regression estimates. The standard errors are in parentheses. All estimates have been adjusted to account for the complex sample design. The culture war, authoritarianism, party, and religiosity variables are coded so that higher scores reflect more conservative positions. All variables lie on a 0-1 range. To preserve space lagged party, biblical literalism, religious commitment and the controls for age, female, African American, and college graduate have been omitted from each model.

**2006-12 PALS**

	OLS Culture War Issues <sub>12</sub>	OLS Party ID <sub>12</sub>	OLS Biblical Literalism <sub>12</sub>	OLS Religious Commitment <sub>12</sub>
Culture war issues <sub>06</sub>	0.47* (.04)	0.23* (.08)	0.13* (.04)	0.07* (.03)
Authoritarianism <sub>06</sub>	0.06+ (.04)	0.01 (.04)	0.08* (.04)	0.07* (.03)
N	1096	1116	1009	1116

\* p < .05 (one-tailed test).

Notes: OLS = ordinary least squares estimates. The standard errors are in parentheses. All estimates have been adjusted to account for the complex sample design. The culture war, authoritarianism, party, and religiosity variables are coded so that higher scores reflect more conservative positions. All variables lie on a 0-1 range. To preserve space lagged party, biblical literalism, religious commitment and the controls for age, female, African American, and college graduate have been omitted from each model.

**Table P: Robustness Check controlling for Basic Human Values, 2008-12 GSS**

	OLS Culture War Issues <sub>12</sub>	OLS Party ID <sub>12</sub>	Logit Biblical Literalism <sub>12</sub>	OLS Religious Commitment <sub>12</sub>
Culture war issues <sub>08</sub>	0.73* (.04)	0.08* (.04)	1.58* (.52)	0.03+ (.02)
Openness <sub>12</sub>	-0.12* (.01)	0.00 (.05)	-0.18 (.73)	-0.04 (.04)
Conservation <sub>12</sub>	0.13* (.06)	0.00 (.05)	1.09 (.92)	0.07* (.04)
N	742	780	773	782

+ p < .10 (one-tailed test); \* p < .05 (one-tailed test).

Notes: OLS = ordinary least squares estimates. Logit = binary logistic regression estimates. The standard errors are in parentheses. All estimates have been adjusted to account for the complex sample design. The culture war, conservation, party, and religiosity variables are coded so that higher scores reflect more conservative positions. The openness variable is coded so higher scores reflect a greater commitment to openness. All variables lie on a 0-1 range. To preserve space lagged party, biblical literalism, religious commitment and the controls for age, female, African American, and college graduate have been omitted from each model.

**Table Q: Robustness Check controlling for Openness Disposition, 2006-12 PALS**

	OLS Culture War Issues <sub>12</sub>	OLS Party ID <sub>12</sub>	OLS Biblical Literalism <sub>12</sub>	OLS Religious Commitment <sub>12</sub>
Culture war issues <sub>06</sub>	0.47* (.04)	0.22* (.08)	0.13* (.05)	0.08* (.03)
Openness <sub>06</sub>	0.06* (.03)	0.00 (.04)	0.06+ (.04)	0.04 (.03)
N	1093	1114	1007	1114

+ p < .10 (one-tailed test); \* p < .05 (one-tailed test).

Notes: OLS = ordinary least squares estimates. The standard errors are in parentheses. All estimates have been adjusted to account for the complex sample design. The culture war, party, and religiosity variables are coded so that higher scores reflect more conservative positions. The openness variable is coded so higher scores reflect a greater commitment to openness. All variables lie on a 0-1 range. To preserve space lagged party, biblical literalism, religious commitment and the controls for age, female, African American, and college graduate have been omitted from each model.

**Table R: Moderator Test Results for Age, Party ID, and College Degree**

	<b>Party ID</b>			
	NES Party ID <sub>96</sub>	GSS Party ID <sub>10</sub>	GSS Party ID <sub>12</sub>	PALS Party ID <sub>12</sub>
Culture war issues <sub>t-1</sub> x age <sub>t-1</sub>	1.03	-0.01	-0.96	0.15
Culture war issues <sub>t-1</sub> x pid <sub>t-1</sub>	-0.75	1.15	-0.79	-1.36 <sup>+</sup>
Culture war issues <sub>t-1</sub> x college <sub>t-1</sub>	0.64	1.03	1.95 <sup>+</sup>	0.84

<sup>+</sup> p < .10 (one-tailed test); \* p < .05 (one-tailed test).

Notes: Cell entries are *t* values for the interaction term added to our main model specification. All interactive models were estimated using a single interaction term (i.e., we ran one model with the culture war issues x age term, a second model with the culture war issues x pid term, and a third model with a culture war issues x college term). All estimates have been adjusted to account for the complex sample design.

	<b>Biblical Literalism</b>			
	NES Biblical Literalism <sub>96</sub>	GSS Biblical Literalism <sub>10</sub>	GSS Biblical Literalism <sub>12</sub>	PALS Biblical Literalism <sub>12</sub>
Culture war issues <sub>t-1</sub> x age <sub>t-1</sub>	0.53	0.41	0.39	-0.92
Culture war issues <sub>t-1</sub> x pid <sub>t-1</sub>	0.62	-0.25	0.69	-2.29 <sup>*</sup>
Culture war issues <sub>t-1</sub> x college <sub>t-1</sub>	3.00 <sup>*</sup>	0.75	0.59	0.77

<sup>+</sup> p < .10 (one-tailed test); \* p < .05 (one-tailed test).

Notes: Cell entries are *t* values for the interaction term added to our main model specification. All interactive models were estimated using a single interaction term (i.e., we ran one model with the culture war issues x age term, a second model with the culture war issues x pid term, and a third model with a culture war issues x college term). All estimates have been adjusted to account for the complex sample design. All variables lie on a 0-1 range.

**Religious Commitment**

	NES Religious Commit <sub>96</sub>	GSS Religious Commit <sub>10</sub>	GSS Religious Commit <sub>12</sub>	PALS Religious Commit <sub>12</sub>
Culture war issues <sub>t-1</sub> x age <sub>t-1</sub>	-0.65	-0.05	0.53	1.88*
Culture war issues <sub>t-1</sub> x pid <sub>t-1</sub>	-0.27	-0.74	0.86	2.56*
Culture war issues <sub>t-1</sub> x college <sub>t-1</sub>	2.36*	0.41	-0.04	2.35*

+ p < .10 (one-tailed test); \* p < .05 (one-tailed test).

Notes: Cell entries are *t* values for the interaction term added to our main model specification. All interactive models were estimated using a single interaction term (i.e., we ran one model with the culture war issues x age term, a second model with the culture war issues x pid term, and a third model with a culture war issues x college term). All estimates have been adjusted to account for the complex sample design.

**Table S: Model Estimates for Evangelical Protestants, 2006-12 PALS**

	OLS Culture war issues <sub>12</sub>	OLS Party ID <sub>12</sub>	OLS Biblical literalism <sub>12</sub>	OLS Religious commitment <sub>12</sub>
Culture war issues <sub>06</sub>	0.36* (.09)	0.14* (.08)	0.20* (.09)	0.20* (.06)
Party ID <sub>06</sub>	0.05 (.03)	0.69* (.06)	0.02 (.04)	0.03 (.03)
Biblical literalism <sub>06</sub>	0.19* (.05)	0.13* (.08)	0.54* (.09)	0.17* (.06)
Religious commitment <sub>06</sub>	0.15* (.05)	0.06 (.08)	0.12 (.07)	0.73* (.06)
Age	0.00 (.00)	0.00 (.00)	-0.00 (.00)	0.002* (.001)
Female	-0.02 (.02)	-0.03 (.03)	0.02 (.03)	-0.03 (.02)
African American	-0.02 (.03)	-0.21* (.03)	0.02 (.03)	0.10* (.04)
College graduate	-0.06* (.02)	0.04* (.02)	-0.03 (.03)	-0.02 (.02)
Constant	0.19* (.08)	-0.07 (.08)	0.16* (.08)	-0.22* (.05)
R <sup>2</sup>	.38	.62	.42	.73
F test	12.87	68.11	19.70	72.70
F test <i>p</i> -value	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001
Number observations	273	275	266	276

\* *p* < .05 (one-tailed test).

Notes: OLS = ordinary least squares estimates. The standard errors are in parentheses. All estimates have been adjusted to account for the complex sample design. The culture war, party, and religiosity variables are coded so that higher score reflect more orthodox, GOP, and religious positions, respectively. All variables lie on a 0-1 range except age, which is measured in years.

Source: 2006-12 PALS panel.

**Table T: Model Estimates for Catholics, 2006-12 PALS**

	OLS Culture war issues <sub>12</sub>	OLS Party ID <sub>12</sub>	OLS Biblical literalism <sub>12</sub>	OLS Religious commitment <sub>12</sub>
Culture war issues <sub>06</sub>	0.47* (.08)	0.13 (.09)	0.17* (.09)	0.07 (.07)
Party ID <sub>06</sub>	0.09* (.04)	0.70* (.06)	-0.04 (.04)	0.01 (.04)
Biblical literalism <sub>06</sub>	0.19* (.05)	-0.09 (.08)	0.42* (.08)	0.11 (.06)
Religious commitment <sub>06</sub>	0.13* (.06)	0.15 (.10)	0.11 (.09)	0.70* (.07)
Age	0.002* (.001)	0.00 (.00)	0.00 (.00)	0.002* (.001)
Female	0.00 (.03)	-0.02 (.03)	0.03 (.04)	0.04* (.02)
African American	-0.00 (.04)	-0.05 (.07)	-0.02 (.09)	0.07 (.07)
College graduate	-0.05* (.03)	0.07* (.03)	-0.01 (.04)	0.02 (.02)
Constant	0.07 (.06)	-0.08 (.08)	0.20* (.10)	-0.08 (.05)
R <sup>2</sup>	.46	.50	.26	.55
F test	29.28	47.62	4.96	59.70
F test <i>p</i> -value	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001
Number observations	310	317	291	317

\*  $p < .05$  (one-tailed test).

Notes: OLS = ordinary least squares estimates. The standard errors are in parentheses. All estimates have been adjusted to account for the complex sample design. The culture war, party, and religiosity variables are coded so that higher score reflect more orthodox, GOP, and religious positions, respectively. All variables lie on a 0-1 range except age, which is measured in years.

Source: 2006-12 PALS panel.

**Table U: EIV Model Estimates for the 1992-96 NES**

	Culture war positions <sub>96</sub>	Party ID <sub>96</sub>	Biblical literalism <sub>96</sub>	Religious commitment <sub>96</sub>
Culture war positions <sub>92</sub>	0.90* (.04)	0.23* (.05)	0.38* (.10)	0.04 (.04)
Party ID <sub>92</sub>	0.01 (.03)	0.89* (.03)	-0.05 (.06)	-0.00 (.03)
Biblical literalism <sub>92</sub>	-0.04* (.02)	-0.02 (.02)	0.46* (.04)	-0.00 (.02)
Religious commitment <sub>92</sub>	0.07* (.03)	0.00 (.04)	0.24* (.07)	0.90* (.03)
Age	0.00 (.00)	-0.001* (.000)	-0.001* (.001)	0.00 (.00)
Female	0.00 (.02)	-0.00 (.02)	0.04 (.03)	0.03* (.01)
African American	-0.02 (.02)	-0.07* (.02)	0.00 (.05)	0.01 (.02)
College graduate	-0.00 (.02)	0.02 (.02)	-0.09* (.03)	0.04* (.01)
Constant	-0.01 (.03)	-0.01 (.03)	-0.01 (.06)	0.01 (.03)
R <sup>2</sup>	.69	.75	.48	.78
F test	113.59	191.56	63.07	226.97
F test <i>p</i> value	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001
Number observations	506	572	568	572

\* *p* < .05 (one-tailed test).

Notes: EIV = errors-in-variables regression estimates. The standard errors are in parentheses. All estimates have been adjusted to account for the complex sample design. The culture war, party, and religiosity variables are coded so that higher scores reflect more orthodox, GOP, and religious positions, respectively. All variables lie on a 0-1 range except age, which is measured in years.



**Table V: EIV Model Estimates for the 2006-10 GSS**

	Culture war issues <sub>10</sub>	Party ID <sub>10</sub>	Biblical literalism <sub>10</sub>	Religious commitment <sub>10</sub>
Culture war issues <sub>06</sub>	0.77* (.03)	0.04 (.03)	0.13* (.06)	0.04* (.02)
Party ID <sub>06</sub>	0.04* (.02)	0.86* (.03)	0.01 (.05)	-0.00 (.02)
Biblical literalism <sub>06</sub>	0.04* (.02)	0.03* (.02)	0.46* (.03)	-0.00 (.01)
Religious commitment <sub>06</sub>	0.10* (.05)	0.01 (.05)	0.23* (.10)	0.89* (.03)
Age	0.00 (.00)	0.00 (.00)	0.00 (.00)	0.00 (.00)
Female	-0.03* (.01)	-0.01 (.01)	0.00 (.03)	0.01 (.01)
African American	0.01 (.02)	-0.12* (.02)	0.08* (.04)	0.05* (.01)
College graduate	-0.05* (.01)	0.00 (.02)	-0.09* (.03)	-0.02* (.01)
Constant	0.03 (.02)	0.02 (.03)	-0.07 (.05)	0.03 (.02)
R <sup>2</sup>	.73	.71	-	.77
F test	237.52	224.20	59.38	309.49
F test <i>p</i> -value	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001
Number observations	749	798	797	802

\*  $p < .05$  (one-tailed test).

Notes: EIV = errors-in-variables regression estimates. The standard errors are in parentheses. All estimates have been adjusted to account for the complex sample design. The culture war, party, and religiosity variables are coded so that higher scores reflect more orthodox, GOP, and religious positions, respectively. All variables lie on a 0-1 range except age, which is measured in years.

**Table W: EIV Model Estimates for the 2008-12 GSS**

	Culture war issues <sub>12</sub>	Party ID <sub>12</sub>	Biblical literalism <sub>12</sub>	Religious commitment <sub>12</sub>
Culture war issues <sub>08</sub>	0.82 (.03)	0.05* (.03)	0.15* (.06)	0.03 (.02)
Party ID <sub>08</sub>	0.02 (.02)	0.90* (.02)	0.02 (.05)	0.01 (.02)
Biblical literalism <sub>08</sub>	0.06* (.02)	-0.00 (.02)	0.48* (.03)	-0.01 (.01)
Religious commitment <sub>08</sub>	0.05 (.04)	0.07* (.04)	0.19* (.09)	0.90* (.03)
Age	0.00 (.00)	-0.00 (.00)	0.00 (.00)	0.001* (.00)
Female	-0.01 (.01)	-0.00 (.01)	0.06* (.03)	0.02* (.01)
African American	-0.03 (.02)	-0.07* (.02)	0.16* (.04)	0.04* (.01)
College graduate	-0.01 (.01)	-0.01 (.01)	-0.04 (.03)	0.00 (.01)
Constant	0.00 (.03)	0.04* (.02)	-0.12* (.05)	-0.01 (.02)
R <sup>2</sup>	.75	.77	.43	.78
F test	262.01	298.47	70.96	317.17
F test <i>p</i> -value	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001
Number observations	747	785	778	787

\*  $p < .05$  (one-tailed test).

Notes: EIV = errors-in-variables regression estimates. The standard errors are in parentheses. All estimates have been adjusted to account for the complex sample design. The culture war, party, and religiosity variables are coded so that higher scores reflect more orthodox, GOP, and religious positions, respectively. All variables lie on a 0-1 range except age, which is measured in years.

**Table X: EIV Model Estimates for the 2006-12 PALS**

	Culture war issues <sub>12</sub>	Party ID <sub>12</sub>	Biblical literalism <sub>12</sub>	Religious commitment <sub>12</sub>
Culture war issues <sub>06</sub>	0.87* (.05)	0.17* (.07)	0.15* (.07)	0.11* (.05)
Party ID <sub>06</sub>	0.05* (.02)	0.85* (.02)	0.03 (.03)	-0.01 (.02)
Biblical literalism <sub>06</sub>	0.17* (.03)	0.03 (.04)	0.62* (.04)	0.09* (.03)
Religious commitment <sub>06</sub>	0.00 (.03)	-0.03 (.04)	0.14* (.05)	0.85* (.03)
Age	0.001* (.000)	0.00 (.00)	-0.001 (.00)	0.001* (.00)
Female	-0.01 (.01)	-0.01 (.01)	0.02* (.01)	0.01* (.01)
African American	-0.02* (.01)	-0.08* (.02)	-0.01 (.02)	0.05* (.01)
College graduate	-0.00 (.01)	0.03* (.01)	0.01 (.02)	-0.00 (.01)
Constant	-0.10* (.03)	-0.07* (.04)	0.09* (.04)	-0.12* (.03)
R <sup>2</sup>	.56	.67	.46	.72
F test	140.68	257.91	95.28	334.70
F test <i>p</i> -value	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001
Number observations	1096	1117	1010	1117

\* *p* < .05 (one-tailed test).

Notes: EIV = errors-in-variables regression estimates. The standard errors are in parentheses. The culture war, party, and religiosity variables are coded so that higher scores reflect more orthodox, GOP, and religious positions, respectively. All variables lie on a 0-1 range except age, which is measured in years.

**Table Y: 2SLS Model Estimates for the 1992-96 NES**

	2SLS Culture war <sub>96</sub>	2SLS Party ID <sub>96</sub>	2SLS Culture war <sub>96</sub>	IV Probit Biblical literalism <sub>96</sub>	2SLS Culture war <sub>96</sub>	2SLS Rel commit <sub>96</sub>
Culture war <sub>96</sub>		0.29* (.05)		2.30* (.49)		0.08 (.05)
Party ID <sub>96</sub>	0.07* (.03)					
Bible literalism <sub>96</sub>			-0.01 (.04)			
Relig commit <sub>96</sub>					0.12* (.03)	
Culture war <sub>92</sub>	0.65* (.05)		0.68* (.05)		0.67* (.04)	
Party ID <sub>92</sub>		0.79* (.04)	0.06* (.03)	-0.27 (.32)	0.05* (.03)	0.00 (.02)
Bible literalism <sub>92</sub>	-0.00 (.02)	-0.01 (.02)		1.30* (.20)	-0.01 (.02)	0.03* (.02)
Relig commit <sub>92</sub>	0.09* (.03)	0.00 (.04)	0.10* (.03)	0.88* (.28)		0.79* (.02)
Age	0.00 (.00)	-0.001* (.00)	0.00 (.00)	-0.02* (.00)	0.00 (.00)	0.00 (.00)
Female	-0.03 (.02)	0.00 (.02)	-0.03* (.02)	0.15 (.16)	-0.04* (.02)	0.04* (.02)
African Amer.	-0.05* (.02)	-0.08* (.03)	-0.06* (.02)	0.33 (.21)	-0.06* (.02)	0.00 (.03)
College graduate	-0.03 (.02)	0.03 (.02)	-0.03 (.02)	-0.54* (.13)	-0.04* (.02)	0.05* (.01)
Constant	0.08* (.03)	0.03 (.04)	0.08* (.04)	-1.76* (.27)	0.07* (.04)	0.04 (.04)
R <sup>2</sup>	.60	.70	.60	-	.60	.75

F test	135.90	427.93	132.58	497.62	135.33	245.47
F test <i>p</i> value	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001
N observations	505	505	501	501	505	505

\*  $p < .05$  (one-tailed test).

Notes: 2SLS = two-stage least squares estimates. IV probit = instrumental variables probit regression estimates. The standard errors are in parentheses. All estimates have been adjusted to account for the complex sample design. The culture war, party, and religiosity variables are coded so that higher scores reflect more orthodox, GOP, and religious positions, respectively. All variables lie on a 0-1 range except age, which is measured in years.

**Table Z: 2SLS Model Estimates for the 2006-10 GSS**

	2SLS Culture war <sub>10</sub>	2SLS Party ID <sub>10</sub>	2SLS Culture war <sub>10</sub>	IV Probit Biblical literalism <sub>10</sub>	2SLS Culture war <sub>10</sub>	2SLS Rel commit <sub>10</sub>
Culture war <sub>10</sub>		0.15* (.05)		0.63* (.31)		0.12* (.03)
Party ID <sub>10</sub>	0.05 (.04)					
Bible literalism <sub>10</sub>			0.10* (.03)			
Relig commit <sub>10</sub>					0.14* (.05)	
Culture war <sub>06</sub>	0.73* (.04)		0.72* (.04)		0.73* (.04)	
Party ID <sub>06</sub>		0.72* (.03)	0.03 (.02)	-0.10 (.17)	0.03 (.03)	0.01 (.01)
Bible literalism <sub>06</sub>	0.05* (.02)	0.01 (.02)		1.47* (.14)	0.05* (.02)	0.00 (.01)
Relig commit <sub>06</sub>	0.11* (.04)	-0.01 (.05)	0.09* (.04)	1.00* (.28)		0.73* (.03)
Age	0.00 (.00)	0.00 (.00)	0.00 (.00)	0.00 (.00)	0.00 (.00)	0.00 (.00)
Female	-0.03* (.01)	0.00 (.02)	-0.03* (.01)	0.00 (.11)	-0.03* (.01)	0.03* (.01)
African Amer.	0.02 (.03)	-0.15* (.03)	0.00 (.02)	0.36* (.17)	0.00 (.02)	0.05* (.01)
College graduate	-0.05* (.02)	0.04* (.02)	-0.04* (.02)	-0.39* (.09)	-0.05* (.02)	0.00 (.01)
Constant	0.03 (.03)	0.01 (.03)	0.04 (.03)	-2.08* (.19)	0.02 (.03)	0.05* (.02)
R <sup>2</sup>	.70	.64	.71	-	.71	.71

F test	412.35	226.92	445.35	35.57	435.01	320.55
F test <i>p</i> value	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001
N observations	744	744	747	747	749	749

\*  $p < .05$  (one-tailed test).

Notes: 2SLS = two-stage least squares estimates. IV probit = instrumental variables probit regression estimates. The standard errors are in parentheses. All estimates have been adjusted to account for the complex sample design. The culture war, party, and religiosity variables are coded so that higher scores reflect more orthodox, GOP, and religious positions, respectively. All variables lie on a 0-1 range except age, which is measured in years.

**Table AA: 2SLS Model Estimates for the 2008-12 GSS**

	2SLS Culture war <sub>12</sub>	2SLS Party ID <sub>12</sub>	2SLS Culture war <sub>12</sub>	IV Probit Biblical literalism <sub>12</sub>	2SLS Culture war <sub>12</sub>	2SLS Rel commit <sub>12</sub>
Culture war <sub>12</sub>		0.10* (.05)		1.37* (.39)		0.07* (.03)
Party ID <sub>12</sub>	0.07* (.03)					
Bible literalism <sub>12</sub>			0.18* (.06)			
Relig commit <sub>12</sub>					0.09* (.05)	
Culture war <sub>08</sub>	0.74* (.03)		0.70* (.04)		0.74* (.03)	
Party ID <sub>08</sub>		0.78* (.03)	0.06* (.03)	-0.20 (.22)	0.05* (.02)	0.02 (.02)
Bible literalism <sub>08</sub>	0.09* (.02)	0.00 (.02)		1.26* (.19)	0.09* (.02)	-0.00 (.01)
Relig commit <sub>08</sub>	0.06 (.04)	0.06 (.05)	0.05 (.04)	0.86* (.37)		0.78* (.03)
Age	0.00 (.00)	-0.00 (.00)	-0.00 (.00)	0.01 (.00)	0.00 (.00)	0.00 (.00)
Female	-0.03* (.02)	-0.01 (.02)	-0.05* (.02)	0.34* (.15)	-0.03* (.02)	0.04* (.01)
African Amer.	-0.02 (.03)	-0.12* (.01)	-0.06* (.03)	0.61* (.22)	-0.03 (.03)	0.04* (.02)
College graduate	-0.02 (.02)	0.01 (.02)	-0.02 (.02)	-0.15 (.16)	-0.02 (.02)	0.00 (.01)
Constant	0.03 (.03)	0.09* (.03)	0.05 (.03)	-2.59* (.30)	0.04 (.03)	0.02 (.02)
R <sup>2</sup>	.72	.71	.71	-	.72	.75



F test	228.27	255.56	203.68	25.54	224.09	212.81
F test <i>p</i> value	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001
N observations	743	743	739	739	745	745

\*  $p < .05$  (one-tailed test).

Notes: 2SLS = two-stage least squares estimates. IV probit = instrumental variables probit regression estimates. The standard errors are in parentheses. All estimates have been adjusted to account for the complex sample design. The culture war, party, and religiosity variables are coded so that higher scores reflect more orthodox, GOP, and religious positions, respectively. All variables lie on a 0-1 range except age, which is measured in years.

**Table BB: 2SLS Model Estimates for the 2006-12 PALS**

	2SLS Culture war <sub>12</sub>	2SLS Party ID <sub>12</sub>	2SLS Culture war <sub>12</sub>	2SLS Biblical literalism <sub>12</sub>	2SLS Culture war <sub>12</sub>	2SLS Rel commit <sub>12</sub>
Culture war <sub>12</sub>		0.48*		0.30*		0.17*
		(.18)		(.09)		(.07)
Party ID <sub>12</sub>	0.07*					
	(.03)					
Bible literalism <sub>12</sub>			0.33*			
			(.07)			
Relig commit <sub>12</sub>					0.17*	
					(.04)	
Culture war <sub>06</sub>	0.46*		0.42*		0.46*	
	(.05)		(.05)		(.04)	
Party ID <sub>06</sub>		0.72*	0.04*	0.01	0.05*	-0.00
		(.04)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)
Bible literalism <sub>06</sub>	0.18*	-0.03		0.45*	0.17*	0.06
	(.03)	(.08)		(.06)	(.03)	(.04)
Relig commit <sub>06</sub>	0.14*	-0.13	0.10*	0.11*		0.76*
	(.04)	(.08)	(.04)	(.04)		(.04)
Age	0.001*	-0.00	0.001*	-0.00	0.001*	0.001*
	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)	(.02)	(.00)	(.00)
Female	-0.01	-0.00	-0.03*	0.02	-0.02	0.03*
	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.01)
African Amer.	-0.01	-0.12*	-0.03	0.01	-0.03*	0.09*
	(.02)	(.03)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)
College graduate	-0.05*	0.07*	-0.05*	-0.00	-0.05*	-0.01
	(.02)	(.03)	(.01)	(.02)	(.01)	(.01)
Constant	0.9	-0.10*	0.09*	0.11*	0.10*	-0.13*
	(.03)	(.05)	(.03)	(.04)	(.03)	(.03)
R <sup>2</sup>	.47	.57	.42	.41	.50	.70

F test	70.86	202.38	94.82	72.24	80.56	276.00
F test <i>p</i> value	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001
N observations	1093	1093	992	992	1095	1095

\*  $p < .05$  (one-tailed test).

Notes: 2SLS = two-stage least squares estimates. The standard errors are in parentheses. All estimates have been adjusted to account for the complex sample design. The culture war, party, and religiosity variables are coded so that higher scores reflect more orthodox, GOP, and religious positions, respectively. All variables lie on a 0-1 range except age, which is measured in years.

**Table CC: SEM Fit for Common Factor and Cross-lagged Models for 3-Wave GSS Panels**

	<b>2006-08-10 GSS</b>		<b>2008-10-12 GSS</b>	
	Common Factor Model	Cross-lagged Model	Common Factor Model	Cross-lagged Model
Model fit:				
Satorra-Bentler robust $\chi^2$	420.32	149.03	473.84	98.83
Degrees of freedom	3	6	3	6
$\chi^2$ /degrees of freedom	140.11	24.84	157.95	16.47
CFI	.87	.96	.86	.97
NNFI	.37	.89	.31	.93
SRMR	.13	.04	.12	.03
Number of cases	737	737	727	727

Notes: Robust maximum likelihood estimates based on raw data input matrix. CFI = comparative fit index; NNFI = non-normed fit index; SRMR = standardized root residual.

Source: GSS 2006-08-10 panel and GSS 2008-10-12 panel studies.

**Table DD: Probit Selection Equations for Endogenous Treatment Effects, GSS Panels**

	2006-10		2008-2012	
	Culture war treatment 1 measure	Culture war treatment 2 measure	Culture war treatment 1 measure	Culture war treatment 2 measure
Age	0.01*	0.01*	0.01*	0.01*
	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)
College graduate	-0.31*	-0.39*	-0.78*	-0.80*
	(.08)	(.09)	(.13)	(.14)
Married	0.29*	0.32*	0.26*	0.29*
	(.08)	(.07)	(.12)	(.13)
# of kids 18 or under	0.12*	0.09*	0.01	0.00
	(.05)	(.05)	(.07)	(.07)
# kids ever had	0.13*	0.13*	0.12*	0.16*
	(.03)	(.04)	(.05)	(.05)
Southerner	0.56*	0.59*	0.46*	0.59*
	(.10)	(.12)	(.18)	(.17)
Southerner age 16	0.23*	0.25*	0.31*	0.20
	(.10)	(.12)	(.18)	(.18)
Religious “none” age 16	-0.42*	-0.42*	-0.04	-0.03
	(.13)	(.13)	(.20)	(.21)
Constant	-0.89*	-0.91*	-1.00*	-1.10*
	(.17)	(.20)	(.21)	(.23)
F test	17.52	18.87	13.67	14.98
p value	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001
Cox Snell R <sup>2</sup>	.15	.17	.20	.20
McKelvey & Zavonia R <sup>2</sup>	.23	.26	.30	.30
N observations	777	644	751	643

\* p < .05 (one-tailed test).

Notes: Cell entries are probit parameter estimates. The standard errors are in parentheses. All estimates have been adjusted to account for the complex sample design. The culture war treatment variable is coded 1 = orthodox preference (treated) and 0 = progressive preference (not treated). To create the treatments, the

original interval-level culture war variable was recoded according to the following rules: 0/.499=0, .5=missing, .501/1=1 for the “treatment 1” measure and 0/.399=0, .4/.6=missing, .601/1=1 for the “treatment 2” measure. The predictors are coded as follows: age (in years), college graduate (1 = four year degree, 0 otherwise), married (1 = currently married, 0 = otherwise), # of kids 18 or under (0-8), # kids respondent had (0-8), southern resident (1 = southerner, 0 = non-southerner), southern resident at age 16 (1 = southerner at age 16, 0 = non-southerner at age 16), and religious none at age 16 (1 = no denomination at 16, 0 = had a denomination at 16).

**Table EE: Model Estimates for Endogenous Treatment Effects, 2006-10 GSS**

	Treatment 1 Party ID <sub>10</sub>	Treatment 2 Party ID <sub>10</sub>	Treatment 1 Biblical literalism <sub>10</sub>	Treatment 2 Biblical literalism <sub>10</sub>	Treatment 1 Religious Commitment <sub>10</sub>	Treatment 1 Religious Commitment <sub>10</sub>
Culture war treatment <sub>06</sub>	0.13* (.04)	0.16* (.05)	0.17* (.07)	0.28* (.12)	0.10* (.05)	0.15* (.07)
Party ID <sub>06</sub>	0.74* (.03)	0.75* (.03)				
Biblical literalism <sub>06</sub>			0.54* (.04)	0.56* (.05)		
Religious commitment <sub>06</sub>					0.78* (.03)	0.74* (.03)
Age	0.00 (.00)	0.00 (.00)	0.00 (.00)	-0.00 (.00)	0.00 (.00)	0.00 (.00)
Female	0.00 (.02)	-0.01 (.02)	0.03 (.02)	0.03 (.02)	0.02* (.01)	0.03* (.01)
African American	-0.14* (.03)	-0.17* (.03)	0.10* (.03)	0.09* (.04)	0.05* (.01)	0.05* (.02)
College graduate	0.05* (.02)	0.07* (.02)	-0.05* (.03)	-0.03 (.03)	-0.00 (.01)	0.01 (.02)
Constant	0.02 (.03)	0.01 (.03)	0.14* (.05)	0.09* (.06)	0.05* (.03)	0.03 (.03)
Wald test $\beta = 0$	1229.48	1417.01	353.33	366.73	1450.52	1160.03
<i>p</i> value	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001
Wald test $\rho = 0$	3.31	4.36	1.22	2.76	1.77	2.20
<i>p</i> value	< .07	< .04	< .27	< .10	< .19	< .14
N observations	769	638	738	613	772	641

\*  $p < .05$  (one-tailed test).

Notes: Cell entries are maximum likelihood estimates adjusted for selection effects on the culture war “treatment” variable. The standard errors are in parentheses. All estimates have been estimated using sample weights. The culture war treatment variable is coded 1 = orthodox preference (treated) and 0 =

progressive preference (not treated). To create the treatments the interval level culture war variable was recoded according to the following rules: 0/.499=0, .5=missing, .501/1=1 for the “treatment 1” measure and 0/.399=0, .4/.6=missing, .601/1=1 for the “treatment 2” measure. The party and religiosity variables are coded so that higher score reflect more GOP, orthodox, and religious positions. All variables lie on a 0-1 range except age, which is measured in years. The selection equation is omitted to preserve clarity.



**Table FF: Model Estimates for Endogenous Treatment Effects, 2008-12 GSS**

	Treatment 1 Party ID <sub>12</sub>	Treatment 2 Party ID <sub>12</sub>	Treatment 1 Biblical literalism <sub>12</sub>	Treatment 2 Biblical literalism <sub>12</sub>	Treatment 1 Religious Commitment <sub>12</sub>	Treatment 1 Religious Commitment <sub>12</sub>
Culture war treatment <sub>08</sub>	0.12* (.06)	0.16* (.07)	0.31* (.11)	0.31* (.09)	-0.01 (.04)	-0.01* (.04)
Party ID <sub>08</sub>	0.79* (.03)	0.80* (.03)				
Biblical literalism <sub>08</sub>			0.56* (.04)	0.56* (.04)		
Religious commitment <sub>08</sub>					0.82* (.03)	0.82* (.03)
Age	-0.00 (.00)	-0.00 (.00)	0.00 (.00)	0.00 (.00)	0.00 (.00)	0.00 (.00)
Female	-0.00 (.02)	0.02 (.02)	0.06* (.02)	0.07* (.02)	0.02* (.01)	0.03* (.01)
African American	-0.12* (.02)	-0.12* (.03)	0.08* (.04)	0.10* (.05)	0.03* (.02)	0.03 (.02)
College graduate	0.01 (.02)	0.02* (.03)	0.02 (.04)	0.02 (.03)	-0.02 (.02)	-0.02 (.02)
Constant	0.11* (.03)	0.07* (.03)	0.02 (.04)	0.02 (.04)	0.05* (.02)	0.05* (.02)
Wald test $\beta = 0$	1574.89	1453.29	651.31	610.60	1327.27	1087.75
<i>p</i> value	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001
Wald test $\rho = 0$	1.73	3.21	3.06	5.37	1.70	1.04
<i>p</i> value	< .19	< .08	< .09	< .03	< .20	< .31
N observations	769	636	714	616	747	639

\*  $p < .05$  (one-tailed test).

Notes: Cell entries are maximum likelihood estimates adjusted for selection effects on the culture war “treatment” variable. The standard errors are in parentheses. All estimates have been estimated using sample weights. The culture war treatment variable is coded 1 = orthodox preference (treated) and 0 = progressive preference (not treated). To create the treatments the interval level culture war variable was recoded according to the following rules: 0/.499=0,

.5=missing, .501/1=1 for the “treatment 1” measure and 0/.399=0, .4/.6=missing, .601/1=1 for the “treatment 2” measure. The party and religiosity variables are coded so that higher score reflect more GOP, orthodox, and religious positions. All variables lie on a 0-1 range except age, which is measured in years. The selection equation is omitted to preserve clarity.

## Summary of Alternative Estimator Results for Tables U-GG

The key results we report in the main paper appear in Figures 1-6. They come from the ordinary least squares (OLS) parameter estimates summarized in Tables B-E in the online appendices. Like any statistical model, OLS regression has a number of built in assumptions that cannot be directly tested with the data. In light of this, we have employed several alternative estimators and modeling strategies to determine if our most novel and intriguing result—that culture war opinions systematically affect partisan and religious orientations—holds. So far as it holds, we can place more confidence in our conclusions. We replicated our OLS results using errors-in-variables (EIV) regression (see Tables U-X above); two-stage least squares (2SLS) estimators with a synchronous model specification (Tables Y-BB); the structural equation modeling (SEM) estimator (Table CC); and the Heckit endogenous treatment effect model (Tables DD-FF). In what follows we describe the choices we made and summarize the results for each of the alternative modeling approaches.

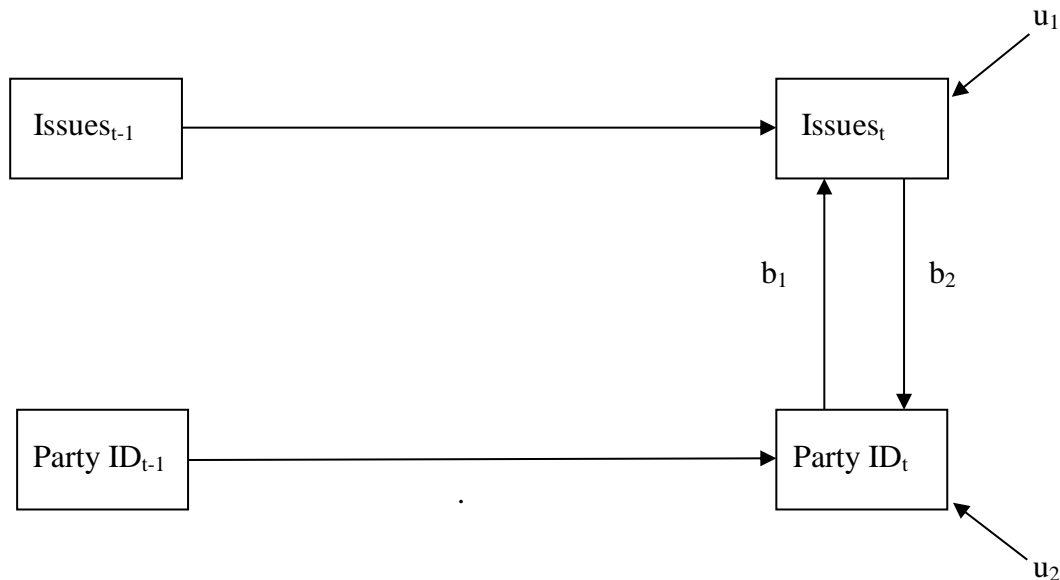
*EIV Results:* Green and Palmquist (1990) show that the failure to account for random measurement error in predictors can lead to erroneous inferences because the parameter estimates for error-laden predictors are biased and inconsistent. Building on this insight, some scholars apply error correction techniques to cross-lagged regression models (Goren 2005; Carsey and Layman 2006; Highton and Kam 2011). However, this approach is controversial. Critics of the error correction approach argue that if unexplained variation in survey responses results from faulty respondents who lack crystallized attitudes rather than from faulty questions, then error correction techniques “overcorrect” the parameters estimates and convey a misleading impression about the stability of political attitudes and orientations (Converse 1980; Luskin 1987; Levendusky 2009; Zaller 2012). To take one example, Achen (1975) uses 1956-58 NES panel data and reports an uncorrected continuity correlation estimate of .48 for the “aid to education” item and a corrected continuity correlation of 1.00. The error corrected result suggests that the relative distance between the most liberal and most conservative respondents on this item did not change at all over the two year period.

Similar outcomes can easily result in multivariate statistical models that correct for random measurement error. To illustrate with the 1992-96 NES data, when we use OLS to model culture war issues<sub>96</sub> as a function of all the predictors, the cross-lagged estimate for pid<sub>92</sub> = 0.06 ( $t = 2.19$ ; see Table B above) and the stability estimate for moral issues<sub>92</sub> = 0.67 ( $t = 15.30$ ). You can see these estimates in Figures 1 and 2 of our paper. Now, when we purge all random measurement error from the independent variables using EIV regression, the corrected parameter estimate for pid<sub>92</sub> drops from 0.06 to 0.01 ( $t = 0.25$ ) and the stability estimate for moral issues<sub>92</sub> rises from 0.67 to 0.94 ( $t = 20.70$ ). If we are willing to assume that all of the noise in survey responses arises from faulty questions, the error corrected estimates imply that lagged party id no longer influences current culture war issues. This is at odds with convincing experimental evidence showing that party cues lead partisans to alter, albeit marginally, beliefs about moral standards (Goren, Federico, and Kittilson 2009) and field experimental work showing that partisans change their candidate preferences over extended periods of time to fit their partisan priors (Gerber, Huber, and Washington 2010). So far as we have overcorrected for measurement error, we may draw misleading inferences that culture war attitudes are almost perfectly stable and that party id does not shape culture war opinions at the margins over time.

In light of criticisms directed against the use of measurement error-correcting models and our own data explorations that seemed to confirm these suspicions, we did not feel comfortable purging all error from the OLS parameter estimates. Instead, we constrained the EIV estimates to ensure that no lagged variable in the models could achieve a stability estimate  $> 0.90$  (which, of course, remains substantial). We were able to calculate reliability estimates to input into the EIV models because we have multiple indicator measures of culture war issues and religious commitment. For party id, we were able to estimate the reliability using the 3-wave Wiley-Wiley model for the NES and GSS panels. We also used the GSS Wiley-Wiley estimates to serve as the input into the PALS data. Finally, we treated the dichotomous measure of Biblical literalism as error free.

Tables U-X contain the model results. Generally speaking, the EIV estimates reinforce our key results. In the 12 models predicting party id, biblical literalism, and religious commitment reported in the main paper, culture war opinion is significant at  $p < .05$  in 11 models and approaches significance at  $p < .06$  in the twelfth model (see Figures 1-6 in the main body of the paper and Tables B-E in the online appendix). In the 12 EIV models the culture war variable manifests significant effects in nine models and approaches significance in a tenth model ( $p < .08$ ).

*2SLS Results:* We estimated a series of cross-lagged models in which current culture war variables are shaped by lagged partisan and lagged religious predispositions, lagged culture war positions, and some demographic factors. These models assume the absence of synchronous (i.e., contemporaneous) effects. However, it may be that culture war opinions shape—and are shaped by—partisan/religious orientations at the same point in time. To illustrate, we present a simplified path diagram for the synchronous effects model for culture war issues and party id.



$b_1$  estimates the synchronous effect of party id<sub>t</sub> on issues<sub>t</sub>, controlling for lagged issues. Likewise,  $b_2$  represents the synchronous effect of issues<sub>t</sub> on party id<sub>t</sub>, holding lagged party id constant. This is a reasonable specification, but there is a problem using OLS to estimate  $b_1$  and  $b_2$ . OLS cannot provide an unbiased estimate of  $b_2$  because issues<sub>t</sub> is necessarily correlated with

$u_2$  and therefore violates the assumption that the independent variable is uncorrelated with the disturbance. The correlation arises because  $u_2$  shapes party  $id_t$  which in turn manifests a synchronous effect, captured by  $b_1$ , on issues $_t$ . We have the same problem for  $b_1$ . Fortunately, we can use 2SLS to recover unbiased estimates of  $b_1$  and  $b_2$ . We do so by using party  $id_{t-1}$  to instrument party  $id_t$  and issues $_{t-1}$  to instrument issues $_t$ . The use of 2SLS assumes no cross-lagged-effects and no auto-correlation between the disturbances (Finkel 1995).

Tables Y-BB contains our 2SLS estimates. Note that we use the instrumental variable probit estimator for the models predicting biblical literalism in the NES and GSS data. For the PALS data, we use 2SLS since we have a multi-point measure of religious belief. Once again, we find that our conclusions about the impact culture war issues have on partisan and religious predispositions do not change when we use an alternative estimator. In the nine OLS and three probit models predicting party, biblical literalism, and religious commitment reported in the main paper, culture war opinion is significant at  $p < .05$  in 11 models and approaches significance at  $p < .06$  in the twelfth. In the 12 2SLS/IV probit models the culture war variables manifests significant effects in 11 models and approaches significance in a twelfth model ( $p < .07$ ).

*Common Factor Model Results:* Recent research by Friesen and Ksiazkiewicz (2015) argues that responses to religiosity and moral issue items derive from a common underlying predisposition that is ultimately shaped by genetic and environmental forces. The data necessary to tap the latent genetic and environmental factors are not available in the panel studies we use. Finkel (1995) and Newsom (2015) delineate a modeling strategy we can use to test if responses to the culture war and religious commitment items derive from a common latent factor. This strategy uses SEM techniques to estimate a multi-wave, common factor model that accounts for the relationships between the observed variances and covariances across panel waves. After estimating the common factor model, we can then estimate the cross-lagged model and compare model fit between the alternative specifications. If the common factor model fits the data as well as or better than the cross-lagged model, we can conclude responses to the religiosity and culture war items derive from the same latent disposition. If that is the case, our claim that they function as distinct constructs that shape one another in a dynamic sequence over time will fall.

We specified the common factor model using a standard two-indicator, three wave model. To illustrate using the 2006-08-10 GSS, we specified a model in which the observed culture war scale $_{06}$  and observed religious commitment scale $_{06}$  load onto a latent common factor $_{06}$ , the observed culture war scale $_{08}$  and observed religious commitment scale $_{08}$  load onto a latent factor $_{08}$ , and the observed culture war $_{10}$  and observed religious commitment $_{10}$  scales load onto a latent factor $_{10}$ . We estimated the model and assessed global fit using the measures described below. We then used SEM to estimate a three-wave cross-lagged regression model without latent common factors. Model fit was assessed using the chi-square/degrees of freedom ratio, in which values of 5.00 or less indicate acceptable fit; the robust comparative fit index (CFI) where values of .90 or more reflect good fit; and the standardized root mean squared residual (SRMR) with values less than .10 denoting good fit (Hu and Bentler 1995; Kline 1998; Wheaton et al. 1977). The estimates reported in Table CC show that the cross-lagged model fits the data far better than the common factor model in both the 2006-08-10 and 2008-10-12 GSS data sets on all four measures of fit. Moreover, the cross-lagged model fit statistics surpass the good fit benchmarks for the CFI, NNFI, and SRMR in both data sets.

A final point: although we do not report the cross-lagged coefficients in Table CC, we note that in every test lagged culture war issues manifest a significant effect on current religious

commitment ( $p < .05$ ), holding lagged commitment constant. Likewise, we found that lagged religious commitment significantly affects current culture war opinion in every model ( $p < .05$ ).

*Endogenous Treatment Effects Model:* We performed a final test of the hypothesis that culture war opinions constrain partisan and religious predispositions. The test is the endogenous treatment effect model identified originally by Roy (1951) and elaborated by Maddala (1983). This model is also referred to as a Heckit treatment effect model in the econometrics literature (Cameron and Tridvidi 2005; Guo and Fraser 2015). In this model, we use a dichotomous treatment variable to predict an outcome variable, controlling for other covariates. However, in contrast to OLS regression, which assumes that there is no self-selection into the treatment, the endogenous treatment effect takes selection bias into account during the estimation stage. It does so by estimating a selection equation and an outcome equation via maximum likelihood.

In the selection equation the dichotomous treatment variable is modeled as a function of theoretically specified predictors of selection into the treatment. In the outcome equation we use the dichotomous treatment variable and a series of covariates to predict the outcome of interest. The key to this procedure is that the selection equation estimates are used to control for selection bias in the outcome equation via a switching regression approach (Guo and Fraser 2015: 105-107). This modeling strategy returns unbiased and consistent estimates of the treatment effect. The approach rests on strong assumptions, the most important of which is the dependent variable is normally distributed and the selection equation and outcome equation disturbances are bivariate normally distributed and correlated.

We treat culture war opinions<sub>t-1</sub> as the treatment and party id<sub>t</sub>, biblical literalism<sub>t</sub>, and religious commitment<sub>t</sub> at the outcome variables. Because the model assumes a dichotomous treatment, we recoded the interval-level culture war scale (recall that this scale varies from 0 to 1) into dichotomous treatment variables. We did the recode in two ways to assess the robustness of the culture war treatment effect. In the first treatment we recoded culture war positions according to the following rule: 0/.499=0, .5=missing, .501/1=1. In the second treatment recode, we used this rule: 0/.399=0, .4/.6=missing, .601/1=1. We defined the culture war treatment as follows: 1 = orthodox preference (treated), 0 = progressive preference (not treated).

To apply the endogenous treatment effect to our data, we had to do three things. First, we specified a plausible model of selection into the treatment. Second, we examined the distribution of the outcome variable. Third, we determined whether the estimates of the selection equation disturbance and the outcome equation disturbances were correlated. To begin with the selection equation, we modeled selection into the orthodox treatment as a function of current social background characteristics, reflecting who the respondents are, and pre-adult social background characteristics reflecting where and how they were raised. To capture current social background characteristics, we used (1) respondent age; (2) college graduate (1 = BA/BS degree, 0 = otherwise); (3) marital status (1 = married; 0 = otherwise); (4) the number of people aged 18 or under that are part of the respondent's household; (5) the number of children the respondent has had in their lifetime; and (6) southern resident (1 = lived in southern state at time of interview, 0 = otherwise). With respect to the pre-adult social background variables, we used (7) southerner at age 16 (1 = lived in a southern state at age 16, 0 = lived in a non-southern state at age 16) and (8) religious "none" at age 16 (1 = no religious denomination at age 16, 0 = any religious denomination at age 16).

We hypothesized that these factors should influence whether respondents selected into the orthodox treatment condition. To test these expectations, we turn to the first wave of the

2006-10 and 2008-12 GSS panels.<sup>1</sup> Table EE above presents our probit selection model estimates. As we can see, the covariates perform well. In terms of the current social background variables, we found that older people, married people, people with more children currently in the household, people who have had more children over their lifetimes, and southerners are more likely to select orthodox culture war opinions than younger people, unmarried people, people with fewer children currently in the household, people who have had fewer children, and non-southerners, respectively. We also find that college graduates are less likely to select into orthodox treatments than people without a BA/BS degree. With respect to pre-adult background characteristics, we found that respondents who lived in the south at age 16 are more likely to select into the orthodox treatment condition than people who did not reside in the south at age 16. We also found that religious “nones” at age 16 are less likely to select orthodox culture war positions compared to respondents that had a religious denomination at age 16. Note that this holds for the 2006-10 GSS data only. Finally, we see that all model fit statistics return acceptable values. In short, the estimates in Table EE suggest that we have done a fairly effective job modeling selection into the treatment condition (i.e., the adoption of orthodox culture war positions in 2006).

The next step requires modeling the outcome variable. We report our estimates in Tables FF and GG where we modeled a given outcome (e.g., party id<sub>10</sub>) as a function of its lagged value (party id<sub>06</sub>), the culture war treatment<sub>06</sub> (1 = orthodox position, 0 = progressive position), and the social demographic covariates we used in the main models in the body of the paper (i.e., age, female, African American, and college graduate). By controlling for the lagged values of the outcome variable and selection bias into the culture war treatment effect, we believe we have another set of plausible estimates of the effects culture war opinion have on change in partisan and religious predispositions over time.

We turn to the results. Recall that the endogenous treatment effects model assumes that the selection equation and outcome equation disturbances are correlated. The bottom rows report the  $p$  values for the Wald test that evaluates the null hypothesis that the population correlation equals 0. As we can see, we can reject this null in a number of equations, though by no means all of them. Even among the latter, some of the  $p$  values are not especially high.<sup>2</sup> Moving onto the outcome equations, we find that the culture war treatment variable predicts party-based updating in all four models across the two GSS data sets, (the  $\hat{b}$  range from 0.12 to 0.16, all  $p < .05$ ); it predicts revisions in beliefs about the Bible across all four models ( $\hat{b}$  varies from 0.17 to 0.31); and it predicts revision in religious commitment in the 2006-10 GSS ( $\hat{b}$  varies from 0.10 to 0.15,  $p < .05$ ). Said otherwise, when we use the endogenous treatment effect estimator to control for selection bias, the statistical evidence continues to indicate that culture war opinions lead people to update partisan identities, religious beliefs, and religious commitments. Indeed, our Heckit results closely mimic our OLS results

We stress that these are tentative results. Heckit models are sensitive to model misspecification in the selection equation, and we have only weak evidence of correlated

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<sup>1</sup> Neither the NES nor the PALS data contain measures of pre-adult socialization.

<sup>2</sup> As noted above, we need to assume that the outcome variables are normally distributed. We assessed the distribution of the outcome variables using histograms. We found that the religious commitment variables closely approximate a normal distribution and that the party id variables are somewhat normal. However, the dichotomous biblical literalism variables were, as would be expected, non-normal. In light of this, we used to the original three-category coding on the biblical literalism variable because these do a better job approximating normality. That is, the three-point scale serves as the dependent variable in Tables FF-GG.

disturbances across several equation pairs. Nevertheless, we think it is telling that lagged culture war opinions predict contemporaneous party and religious predispositions, holding lagged predispositions constant, in most of the OLS, EIV, 2SLS, SEM, and Heckit models. While we cannot use observational data to establish definitively that culture war attitudes exert a causal effect on partisan and religious predispositions, we can say that these converging streams of evidence suggest the hypothesis deserves very serious consideration.



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