

SUPPLEMENTAL MATERIAL:

**THE CLASH OF RIGHTS: EXPLAINING ATTITUDES TOWARD A
RELIGIOUS EXEMPTION TO THE HHS CONTRACEPTION
MANDATE**

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ONLINE APPENDIX

Appendix 1. Which Americans are unaware of the issue of the religious exemption to the HHS contraception mandate?

As noted, there is a substantial number of survey respondents ($n = 450$) who report that they know “nothing at all” about the HHS contraception mandate. Who are these individuals, and how do they differ from those who provide a substantive response to the questions about the HHS contraception mandate?

In Appendix Table A1 we report logit results for a model in which we estimate the effects of our core independent variables on whether or not one is in the “nothing at all” category. The dependent variable is coded 1 for those respondents who indicate that they know nothing at all about the HHS contraception mandate, and 0 for those respondents who provide a substantive response (i.e., that they favor or do not favor a religious exemption to the HHS contraception mandate). We include in our model all of the independent variables used in our model of support for the religious exemption. We also add two other variables: (1) folded partisanship: a measure of partisan intensity, coded 2 for strong partisans, 1 for weak partisans, and 0 for pure independents; and (2) folded ideology: a measure of ideological intensity, coded 2 for strong ideologues, 1 for moderate ideologues, and 0 for pure moderates. We suggest that individuals with strong partisan and ideological views will be less likely to be unaware of the issues surrounding the HHS contraception mandate.

Turning first to the religion variables, we find little evidence that these variables have a strong effect on being unaware of the religious exemption to the HHS mandate. Black Protestants and those with high church attendance are modestly more likely to report that they know nothing at all about this issue, while Mormon’s and born again Christians are slightly less likely to know nothing at all. None of the other coefficients approach conventional levels of statistical significance.

On the other hand, we find strong effects of political attitudes on individuals’ propensity to have an opinion on the religious exemption to the HHS mandate. Strong conservatives ($b = -0.187, z = -3.67$), individuals with intense partisan attachments ($b = -0.245, z = -3.36$), and individuals with intense

ideological attachments ($b = -0.243$, $z = -3.82$) are significantly less likely to be unaware of the issues surrounding the religious exemption, as are those who have strong support for government regulation. Partisan identification, Tea Party support, and evaluations of President Obama are not related to the dependent variable, but in general it is clear that individuals with strong political attitudes are more likely to offer an opinion on the religious exemption to the HHS contraception mandate.

Finally, among the demographic attributes, we find some important effects. Gender is positively related to the propensity that individuals will be unaware of the religious exemption issue ($b = 0.419$, $z = 4.79$); simply, women are significantly less likely to offer an opinion about the religious exemption than men, holding constant the effects of other independent variables in the model. This is consistent with the findings from previous research on the general gender gap in political knowledge. In addition, education ($b = -0.177$, $z = -6.34$), family income ($b = -0.154$, $z = -7.30$), and age ($b = -0.033$, $z = -10.86$) are all strongly and negatively associated with being unaware of the religious exemption issue; it would appear that individuals with highly-educated, high income, and who are older are more likely to be able to offer a substantive response to the question about the religious exemption to the HHS contraception mandate.

Appendix Table A1. Logit estimates for model of individuals' lack of awareness of the HHS contraception mandate

Variable	b	z
Religious Orientations		
Mainline Protestant [-]	0.037	0.25
Black Protestant [-]	0.571	2.11*
White evangelical Protestant [-]	0.168	0.79
Catholic [-]	0.057	0.41
Other Christian [-]	0.223	1.20
Jewish [-]	-0.219	-0.54
Mormon [-]	-0.572	-1.72*
Moral conservatism [-]	0.044	0.74
Born-again Christian [-]	-0.286	-1.81*
Church attendance [-]	0.070	1.99*
Political attitudes		
Partisan identification [-]	-0.023	-0.62
Political ideology [-]	-0.187	-3.67***
Folded partisanship [-]	-0.245	-3.36***
Folded ideology [-]	-0.243	-3.82***
Tea Party support [-]	-0.022	-0.27
Evaluation of President Obama [+]	-0.009	-0.16
Support for government regulation [-]	-0.138	-2.77**
Demographic attributes		
Gender [+]	0.419	4.79***
Children in household [+]	0.054	1.32
Hispanic [+]	-0.019	-0.11
Black [+]	0.211	1.12
Asian [+]	-0.044	-0.18
Mixed race [+]	-0.451	-1.31
Other race [+]	0.080	0.43
Education [-]	-0.177	-6.34***
Family income [-]	-0.154	-7.30***
Age [-]	-0.033	-10.86***
Intercept	2.602	10.79***
N	1003	
Pseudo- R ²	0.146	
Prob (χ ²)	5/9.5/	
	0.0000	

***prob < 0.001** prob < 0.01 * prob < 0.05

Appendix Table A2. Descriptive statistics

Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Support for religious exemption to HHS mandate	0.535	0.499	0	1
Protestant	0.401	0.490	0	1
Catholic	0.224	0.417	0	1
Other Christian	0.073	0.261	0	1
Jewish	0.023	0.148	0	1
Mormon	0.024	0.153	0	1
Moral conservatism	0.764	0.871	0	3
Born-again Christian	0.310	0.463	0	1
Church attendance	2.535	1.616	0	5
Partisan identification	-0.007	1.705	-2	2
Political ideology	2.221	1.033	0	4
Tea Party support	-0.073	0.765	-1	1
Evaluation of President Obama	1.404	1.141	0	3
Support for government regulation	0.903	0.989	0	2
Gender	0.467	0.499	0	1
Children in household	0.676	1.072	0	6
Hispanic	0.098	0.297	0	1
Black	0.095	0.294	0	1
Asian	0.032	0.175	0	1
Mixed race	0.017	0.128	0	1
Other race	0.061	0.240	0	1
Education	3.858	1.881	0	7
Family income	4.433	2.327	0	8
Age	48.652	16.290	18	91

N = 721

Appendix Table A3. Logit estimates for model of individuals' support for a religion exemption to the HHS contraception mandate, without political attitude variables as independent variables

Variable	b	z
Religious orientations		
Mainline Protestant [+]	-0.081	-0.54
Black Protestant [+]	-0.578	-1.89
White evangelical [+]	0.852	4.94***
Catholic [+]	0.303	2.16*
Other Christian [+]	-0.250	-1.24
Jewish [+]	-1.269	-3.73***
Mormon [+]	2.131	4.35***
Church attendance [+]	0.312	8.99***
Demographic attributes		
Gender [-]	-0.464	-4.95***
Children in household [-]	-0.032	-0.64
Hispanic [-]	0.029	0.15
Black [-]	-0.563	-2.60**
Asian [-]	0.425	1.47
Mixed race [-]	-1.891	-4.38***
Other race [-]	-1.189	-5.04***
Education [-]	0.006	0.21
Family income [+/-]	0.068	2.94**
Age [+]	0.004	1.14
Intercept	-0.955	-4.11
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N	840	
Pseudo- R ²	0.133	
χ^2	430.92	
Prob (χ^2)	0.0000	

***prob < 0.001 ** prob < 0.01 * prob < 0.05

Appendix Table A4. Logit estimates for model of individuals' support for a religion exemption to the HHS contraception mandate, with interactions for religious affiliation and church attendance

Variable	b	z
Religious orientations		
Mainline Protestant [+]	0.265	0.84
Mainline Protestant * church attendance [+]	-0.144	-1.08
Black Protestant [+]	-4.740	-3.45***
Black Protestant * church attendance [+]	1.067	3.16***
White evangelical [+]	-0.008	-0.02
White evangelical * church attendance [+]	0.181	1.14
Catholic [+]	-0.261	-0.83
Catholic * church attendance [+]	0.192	1.56
Other Christian [+]	-1.502	-2.59**
Other Christian * church attendance [+]	0.159	0.91
Jewish [+]	-0.038	-0.05
Jewish * church attendance [+]	-0.206	-0.74
Mormon [+]	1.466	1.37
Mormon * church attendance [+]	0.050	0.15
Moral conservatism [+]	0.569	6.44***
Born-again Christian [+]	-0.620	-2.38*
Church attendance [+]	0.201	2.38**
Political attitudes		
Partisan identification [+]	0.179	3.38***
Political ideology [+]	0.272	3.50***
Tea Party support [+]	0.759	7.02***
Evaluation of President Obama [-]	-0.282	-3.40***
Support for government regulation [-]	-0.078	-1.08
Demographic attributes		
Gender [-]	-0.196	-1.61
Children in household [-]	-0.185	-2.85**
Hispanic [-]	0.976	3.43***
Black [-]	0.121	0.42
Asian [-]	0.728	2.20*
Mixed race [-]	-0.171	-0.32
Other race [-]	-1.272	-4.07***
Education [-]	0.224	5.51***
Family income [+/-]	0.027	0.89
Age [+]	0.009	2.02*
Intercept	-1.851	-5.12***
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N	721	
Pseudo- R ²	0.329	
χ^2	906.69	
Prob (χ^2)	0.0000	

***prob < 0.001** prob < 0.01 * prob < 0.05

Appendix 2. Possible conditional (interaction) effects

We consider here the possibility the effects of our independent variables on support for the religious exemption are conditioned on values of two variables—i.e., church attendance and gender—that we speculate help to frame how Americans think about the clash of values surrounding support for the religious exemption from the HHS contraception mandate. We have observed that church attendance is a strong determinant of attitudes toward the HHS mandate, and we suggest that this variable can shape how other variables are translated into support for a religious exemption to this mandate. While we have not found a significant direct effect of gender on support for religious exemption, it is possible that gender also moderates the effects of other key independent variables on how Americans think about the HHS contraception mandate. In particular, we suggest that the effects of religious tradition and various political attitudes on support for the exemption to the HHS contraception mandate may be filtered through the prisms of individuals' level of religiosity and gender.

In order to consider these possible conditional effects, we estimate our core model separately for those with high and low levels of church attendance (Appendix Table A5), with those attending religious services at least once or twice a month classified as having high church attendance and others classified as having low church attendance. This is equivalent to estimating an interaction model that includes a complete set of interactions for church attendance with each of the other independent variables in the model. The primary difference is that there is not an explicit test of the difference between coefficients for the two models. In order to explore whether there are interaction effects between church attendance and other independent variables we also estimate a full interaction model that includes interactions for church attendance and all independent variables (Appendix Table A6). We also conduct similar analyses using gender as a moderating variable. We estimate our models separately for men and women (Appendix Table 7), and we also estimate a model that includes interactions for gender and all independent variables (Appendix Table A8). The results for our interaction models are the basis for statistical tests reported in this section.

Moderating effects of church attendance. In Appendix Table A5 we present our model estimates separately for those with high and low levels of church attendance. As one can see, there are some of the normal fluctuations in coefficients that one would expect to see in models estimated separate for two groups, and many of our key independent variables (e.g., moral conservatism, partisan identification, Tea Party support, evaluations of President Obama, education) have similar effects for high and low church attenders. However, there are also some interesting differences for high and low church attenders. Among the religious tradition variables, we see that Catholics who are high church attenders are significantly more likely to support the religious exemption to the HHS contraception mandate, while Catholics with spotty or nonexistent church attendance are not; indeed, in Appendix Table A6 we see that the coefficient for the interaction for church attendance and Catholic identification is statistically significant ($b = 0.335$, $z = 2.25$). As one might expect, these results suggest that high church-attending Catholics—presumably, the most active Catholics who are most likely to follow Church teachings closely—are more supportive of the religious exemption than similarly-situated Catholics with low levels of church attendance. Second, we find that political ideology has a much stronger positive effect on support for the religious exemption to the HHS contraception mandate among those with high church attendance; the effect is strong and significant for high church attenders but is statistically non-significant for low church attenders, and the interaction coefficient for church attendance and political ideology is positive and statistically significant ($b = 0.338$, $z = 2.70$). It appears that church attendance activates the effects of political ideology on how Americans think about the religious exemption to the HHS contraception mandate; church-attending liberals are significantly less likely to support the religious exemption to the contraception mandate, while church-attending conservatives are considerably more likely to support this exemption. Among those who rarely attend church services, ideology matters little, with both liberals and conservatives exhibiting similar attitudes toward the religious exemption to the HHS contraception mandate.

Moderating effects of gender. In Appendix Table A7 we report separate model estimates for women and men. Although (surprisingly) gender does not have a direct effect on support for a religious exemption to the HHS contraception mandate (Table 1), we speculate that gender may moderate the effects of other key variables on the dependent variable. We find that the coefficients exhibit some of the normal fluctuations that one would expect to see for different subpopulations, and there are several key independent variables (notably, church attendance, some religious tradition variables, political ideology, Tea Party support, and Hispanic status) that have similar effects for men and women. But there are some noticeable differences for men and women in the effects of some independent variables. First, among men white evangelical Protestants are significantly more likely to support the religious exemption to the HHS contraception mandate, but among women there is no significant effect of being a white evangelical Protestant; this gender difference is confirmed in a full interaction model (see Appendix Table A8), where the coefficient for the interaction between gender and the white evangelical Protestant variable is negative and significant ($b = -1.289$, $z = -1.92$). Second, the effect of moral conservatism on support for the religious exemption to the HHS contraception mandate is significantly smaller for women than it is for men, and the interaction for gender and moral traditionalism is negative ($b = -0.434$, $z = -2.35$), indicating that the strong effect of moral traditionalism observed for men is attenuated for women.

The gender gap in the determinants of attitudes toward the religious exemption to the HHS contraception mandate also extends to political attitudes. For one thing, we find that the effects of partisan identification on support for the religious exemption to the HHS mandate is smaller for women than men; the coefficient for partisanship is positive and statistically significant for men but does not reach conventional levels of statistical significance for women. Among men, Republicans and Democrats are differentiated in their support for the religious exemption, but for women there is no such differentiation, and this finding of a gender difference is confirmed by the negative interaction coefficient for gender and partisanship ($b = -0.207$, $z = -1.91$). Moreover, how Americans view President

Obama has different effects on support for the religious exemption for men and women. For men, how they perceive President Obama has no effect on how they perceive the religious exemption to the HHS mandate; on the other hand, for women how they perceive President Obama has a major effect on the dependent variable, with women who support President Obama being much less favorable in their views toward the religious exemption. This difference is confirmed by the significant coefficient for the interaction for gender and presidential support ($b = -0.312$, $z = -1.78$), indicating that gender activates a stronger negative effect of presidential evaluations on support for the religious exemption.

Finally, we find that there are strong gender differences in the effects of education on support for the religious exemption to the HHS contraception mandate. As noted, we find that education has a strong positive effect on support for the religious exemption, controlling for the effects of other independent variables in the model; simply, those with higher levels of education are much more likely to support the religious exemption. However, from Appendix Table A7 we see that for men the effect of education is very strong, while for women the effect is much more muted; this difference is confirmed by the interaction coefficient for gender and education ($b = -0.189$, $z = -2.28$). Here again, it appears that women are fairly stable in their opposition to the religious exemption across education levels, but men are more variable in their attitudes toward the religious exemption in part as a function of their education levels.

Appendix Table A5. Logit estimates for model of individuals' support for a religion exemption to the HHS contraception mandate, by church attendance

Variable	High Church Attendance		Low Church Attendance	
	b	t	b	t
Religious orientations				
Mainline Protestant [+]	-0.154	-0.36	-0.020	-0.08
Black Protestant [+]	-1.123	-2.24*	---	---
White evangelical [+]	0.720	1.54	-0.315	-0.45
Catholic [+]	0.677	1.87*	-0.264	-1.09
Other Christian [+]	-0.933	-2.04*	-1.928	-3.22***
Jewish [+]	-0.215	-0.30	-0.820	-1.66
Mormon [+]	1.741	1.97*	0.784	0.97
Moral conservatism [+]	0.565	4.43***	0.512	3.77***
Born-again Christian [+]	-0.824	-2.61**	0.328	0.54
Church attendance [+]	0.418	3.09***	0.239	1.86*
Political attitudes				
Partisan identification [+]	0.212	2.72**	0.132	1.65*
Political ideology [+]	0.580	4.73***	0.028	0.25
Tea Party support [+]	0.914	5.54***	0.682	4.23***
Evaluation of President Obama [-]	-0.417	-3.49***	-0.288	-2.21*
Support for government regulation [-]	-0.067	-0.61	0.026	0.26
Demographic attributes				
Gender [-]	-0.129	-0.67	-0.531	-3.14***
Children in household [-]	-0.187	-1.68*	-0.185	-1.95*
Hispanic [-]	1.218	2.78**	0.902	2.08*
Black [-]	1.265	3.01**	---	---
Asian [-]	1.212	2.21*	0.410	0.91
Mixed race [-]	0.897	1.02	-0.945	-1.24
Other race [-]	-1.585	-3.29***	-0.878	-1.83*
Education [-]	0.235	3.73***	0.204	3.46***
Family income [+/-]	0.074	1.57	-0.021	-0.48
Age [+]	0.011	1.50	0.017	2.75***
Intercept	-3.615	-4.42***	-1.320	-2.72**
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N	392		317	
Pseudo- R ²	0.401		0.218	
χ^2	544.66		268.63	
Prob (χ^2)	0.0000		0.0000	

***prob < 0.001 ** prob < 0.01 * prob < 0.05

Appendix Table A6. Logit estimates for model of individuals' support for a religion exemption to the HHS contraception mandate, with interactions for church attendance and all independent variables

Variable	b	z
Religious orientations		
Mainline Protestant [+]	-0.196	-0.56
Mainline Protestant * church attendance [+]	0.072	0.46
Black Protestant [+]	-3.537	-1.71
Black Protestant * church attendance [+]	0.656	1.25
White evangelical [+]	-1.077	-1.11
White evangelical * church attendance [+]	0.578	1.88*
Catholic [+]	-0.551	-1.54
Catholic * church attendance [+]	0.335	2.25*
Other Christian [+]	-1.646	-2.11*
Other Christian * church attendance [+]	0.190	0.76
Jewish [+]	0.051	0.08
Jewish * church attendance [+]	-0.355	-1.24
Mormon [+]	0.748	0.65
Mormon * church attendance [+]	0.266	0.72
Moral conservatism [+]	0.393	2.24*
Moral conservatism * church attendance [+]	0.054	0.91
Born again [+]	0.658	0.77
Born again * church attendance [+]	-0.475	-1.84
Church attendance [+]	0.009	0.03
Church attendance * church attendance [+]	-0.055	-1.43
Political attitudes		
Partisan identification [+]	0.151	1.46
Partisan identification * church attendance [+]	0.019	0.51
Political ideology [+]	-0.028	-0.20
Political ideology * church attendance [+]	0.138	2.70**
Tea Party support [+]	0.707	3.39***
Tea Party support * church attendance [+]	0.028	0.38
Evaluation of President Obama [-]	-0.147	-0.85
Evaluation of President Obama * church attendance [+]	-0.083	-1.36
Support for government regulation [-]	0.104	0.79
Support for government regulation * church attendance [+]	-0.071	-1.44

Appendix Table A6 (continued).

Variable	b	z
Demographic attributes		
Gender [-]	-0.554	-2.48**
Gender * church attendance [+]	0.071	0.85
Children in household [-]	-0.309	-2.35**
Children in household * church attendance [+]	0.060	1.25
Hispanic [+/-]	0.768	1.15
Hispanic * church attendance [+]	0.116	0.48
Black [-]	-4.592	-3.46***
Black * church attendance [+]	1.548	4.39***
Asian [-]	0.360	0.56
Asian * church attendance [+]	0.155	0.64
Mixed race [-]	-0.803	-0.90
Mixed race * church attendance [+]	0.387	0.89
Other race [-]	-1.051	-1.25
Other race * church attendance [+]	-0.051	-0.17
Education [-]	0.186	2.48**
Education * church attendance [+]	0.019	0.69
Family income [+/-]	-0.070	-1.23
Family income * church attendance [+]	0.032	1.55
Age [+]	0.015	1.87*
Age * church attendance [+]	-0.001	-0.22
Intercept	-1.053	-1.71
N	721	
Pseudo- R ²	0.357	
χ^2	984.21	
Prob (χ^2)	0.0000	

***prob < 0.001** prob < 0.01 * prob < 0.05

Appendix Table A7. Logit estimates for model of individuals' support for a religion exemption to the HHS contraception mandate, by gender

Variable	Women		Men	
	b	t	b	t
Religious orientations				
Mainline Protestant [+]	-0.201	-0.66	-0.269	-0.97
Black Protestant [+]	-1.268	-2.13*	-1.048	-1.66
White evangelical [+]	-0.280	-0.56	1.009	2.26*
Catholic [+]	0.199	0.69	0.049	0.19
Other Christian [+]	-1.418	-2.93**	-1.102	-2.76**
Jewish [+]	-1.060	-1.89	0.024	0.04
Mormon [+]	0.750	1.02	---	---
Moral conservatism [+]	0.379	2.98**	0.813	6.06***
Born-again Christian [+]	-0.131	-0.33	-0.977	-2.75**
Church attendance [+]	0.305	4.23***	0.211	3.01**
Political attitudes				
Partisan identification [+]	0.089	1.24	0.296	3.63***
Political ideology [+]	0.202	1.71*	0.225	1.98*
Tea Party support [+]	0.701	3.99***	0.793	5.56***
Evaluation of President Obama [-]	-0.453	-3.68***	-0.141	-1.13
Support for government regulation [-]	0.058	0.56	-0.178	-1.63
Demographic attributes				
Children in household [-]	-0.107	-1.16	-0.202	-2.13*
Hispanic [+/-]	0.880	2.07*	1.088	2.61**
Black [-]	0.695	1.39	-0.172	-0.46
Asian [-]	1.655	2.72**	0.119	0.26
Mixed race [-]	-0.810	-1.12	0.288	0.33
Other race [-]	-1.386	-2.87**	-1.188	-2.64**
Education [-]	0.109	1.92	0.297	4.97***
Family income [+/-]	0.052	1.14	-0.023	-0.51
Age [+]	0.016	2.35**	0.009	1.41
Intercept	-1.898	-3.49***	-1.906	-3.76***
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N	348		365	
Pseudo- R ²	0.294		0.352	
χ^2	379.90		497.18	
Prob (χ^2)	0.0000		0.0000	

***prob < 0.001 ** prob < 0.01 * prob < 0.05

Appendix Table A8. Logit estimates for model of individuals' support for a religion exemption to the HHS contraception mandate, with interactions for gender and all independent variables

Variable	b	z
Religious orientations		
Mainline Protestant [+]	-0.269	-0.97
Mainline Protestant * gender [-]	0.068	0.17
Black Protestant [+]	-1.048	-1.66
Black Protestant * gender [-]	-0.220	-0.25
White evangelical [+]	1.009	2.26*
White evangelical * gender [-]	-1.289	-1.92*
Catholic [+]	0.049	0.19
Catholic * gender [-]	0.149	0.39
Other Christian [+]	-1.102	-2.76**
Other Christian * gender [-]	-0.316	-0.50
Jewish [+]	0.024	0.04
Jewish * gender [-]	-1.084	-1.30
Mormon [+]	15.663	0.02
Mormon * gender [-]	-14.913	-0.02
Moral conservatism [+]	0.813	6.06***
Moral conservatism * gender [-]	-0.434	-2.35**
Born again [+]	-0.977	-2.75**
Born again * gender [-]	0.845	1.58
Church attendance [+]	0.211	3.01**
Church attendance * gender [-]	0.094	0.93
Political attitudes		
Partisan identification [+]	0.296	3.62***
Partisan identification * gender [-]	-0.207	-1.91*
Political ideology [+]	0.225	1.98*
Political ideology * gender [-]	-0.024	-0.14
Tea Party support [+]	0.793	5.56***
Tea Party support * gender [-]	-0.092	-0.41
Evaluation of President Obama [-]	-0.141	-1.13
Evaluation of President Obama * gender [-]	-0.312	-1.78*
Support for government regulation [-]	-0.178	-1.63
Support for government regulation * gender [-]	0.236	1.57

Appendix Table A8 (continued).

Variable	b	z
Demographic attributes		
Gender [-]	0.008	0.01
Children in household [-]	-0.202	-2.13*
Children in household * gender [-]	0.095	0.71
Hispanic [+/-]	1.088	2.61**
Hispanic * gender [-]	-0.208	-0.35
Black [-]	-0.172	-0.46
Black * gender [-]	0.867	1.38
Asian [-]	0.119	0.26
Asian * gender [-]	1.535	2.03*
Mixed race [-]	0.288	0.33
Mixed race * gender [-]	-1.099	-0.97
Other race [-]	-1.188	-2.64**
Other race * gender [-]	-0.199	-0.30
Education [-]	0.297	4.97***
Education * gender [-]	-0.189	-2.29*
Family income [+/-]	-0.023	-0.51
Family income * gender [-]	0.075	1.17
Age [+]	0.009	1.41
Age * gender [-]	0.007	0.74
Intercept	-1.906	-3.76
N	721	
Pseudo- R ²	0.338	
χ^2	932.09	
Prob (χ^2)	0.0000	

***prob < 0.001** prob < 0.01 * prob < 0.05

Appendix Table A9. Logit estimates for model of individuals' support for a religion exemption to the HHS contraception mandate, without Tea Party support as an independent variable

Variable	b	z
Religious orientations		
Mainline Protestant [+]	-0.143	-0.77
Black Protestant [+]	-0.535	-1.38
White evangelical [+]	0.387	1.31
Catholic [+]	0.111	0.63
Other Christian [+]	-0.977	-3.52***
Jewish [+]	-0.764	-1.98*
Mormon [+]	1.556	2.79**
Moral conservatism [+]	0.594	7.01***
Born-again Christian [+]	-0.512	-2.19*
Church attendance [+]	0.244	5.43***
Political attitudes		
Partisan identification [+]	0.302	6.18***
Political ideology [+]	0.338	4.59***
Evaluation of President Obama [-]	-0.312	-3.96***
Support for government regulation [-]	-0.148	-2.14*
Demographic attributes		
Gender [-]	-0.266	-2.29*
Children in household [-]	-0.168	-2.72**
Hispanic [-]	0.714	2.77**
Black [-]	0.057	0.21
Asian [-]	0.627	1.95*
Mixed race [-]	-0.505	-1.02
Other race [-]	-0.967	-3.41***
Education [-]	0.190	4.98***
Family income [+/-]	0.023	0.78
Age [+]	0.009	2.15*
Intercept	-1.874	-5.48***
<hr/>		
N	734	
Pseudo- R ²	0.303	
χ^2	855.90	
Prob (χ^2)	0.0000	

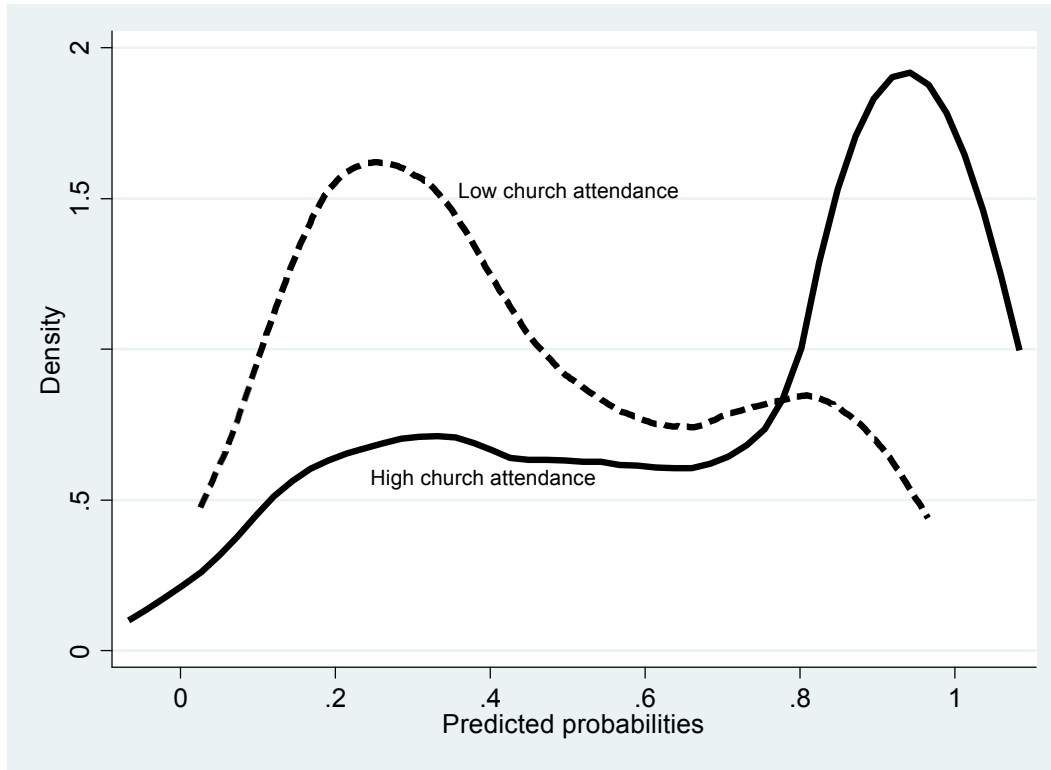
***prob < 0.001** prob < 0.01 * prob < 0.05

Appendix 3. Additional figures illustrating effects of key independent variables.

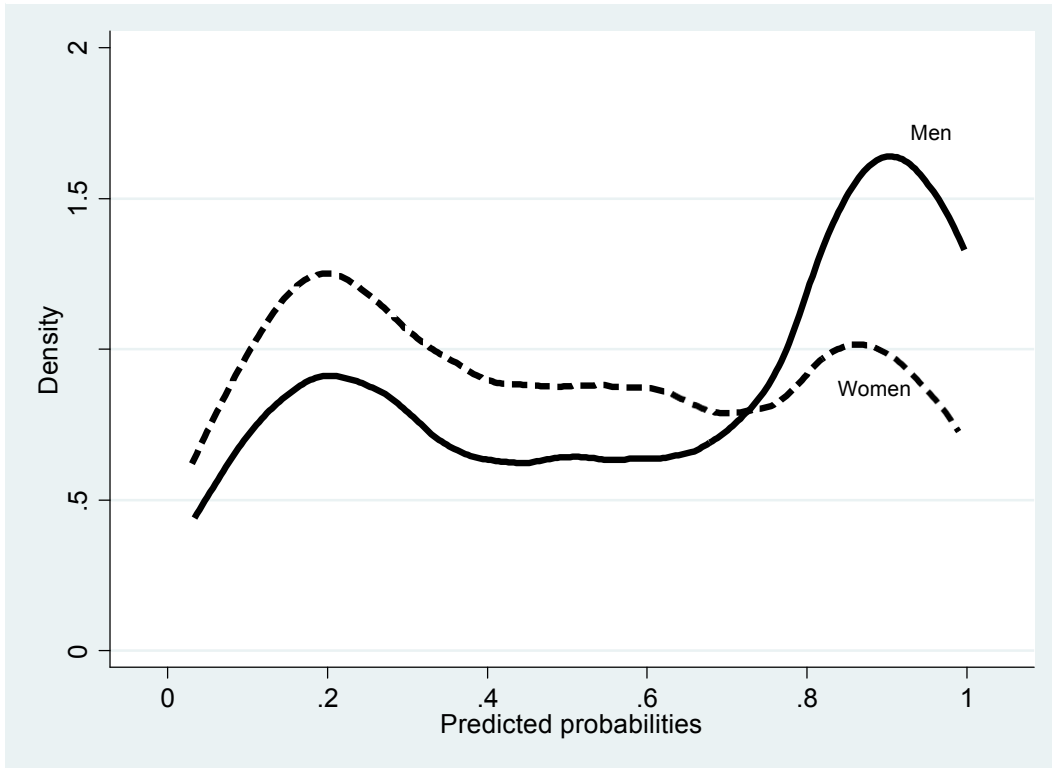
To illustrate the effects of some of our key independent variables, in Figures 1-5 we present kernel density plots of the predicted probabilities of supporting the religious exemption to the HHS mandate, generated separately for different values on a select group of key independent variables. These predicted probabilities are based on the model estimates reported in Table 1. In Figure 1 we highlight the distributions of predicted probabilities for those who have high and low levels of attendance at religious services. As expected, individuals who attend religious services at least once a week are heavily skewed in the direction of having a high probability of supporting the religious exemption, while others who attend services less than once a week are strongly balanced toward a lower probability of supporting the religious exemption. High and low attenders of religious services clearly differ in their support for the HHS contraception mandate. Turning to Figure 2, we note that the distribution of predicted probabilities for men and women are somewhat different, though gender does not have a statistically-significant effect on the dependent variable (Table 1). It is noteworthy that men are somewhat more likely than women to have a predicted probability in excess of 0.70, while women are marginally more likely than men to have a predicted probability below that value. The effects of political attitudes are quite strong. In Figure 3 we show the distribution of predicted probabilities for Democratic and Republican identifiers. As one can see, Republicans are highly skewed toward a high probability of supporting the religious exemption, while Democrats are highly skewed in the opposite direction. The same pattern is observed in Figure 4, where we present the distribution of predicted probabilities for liberals and conservatives. Clearly, conservatives are, on balance, strongly supportive of the religious exemption, while liberals are strongly opposed. Finally, when we turn to the distribution of predicted probabilities for those who support and oppose President Obama (Figure 5), we find that those who support the president are distributed on the left side of the distribution, while those who oppose the president are distributed on the right side; hence those who oppose the president have a higher probability of supporting the religious exemption to the HHS contraception mandate, while those who

support the president have only a low probability of supporting this exemption. These distributions of predicted probabilities provide confirmation of the relationships between these independent variables and the probability that individuals support (or oppose) the religious exemption to the HHS contraception mandate.

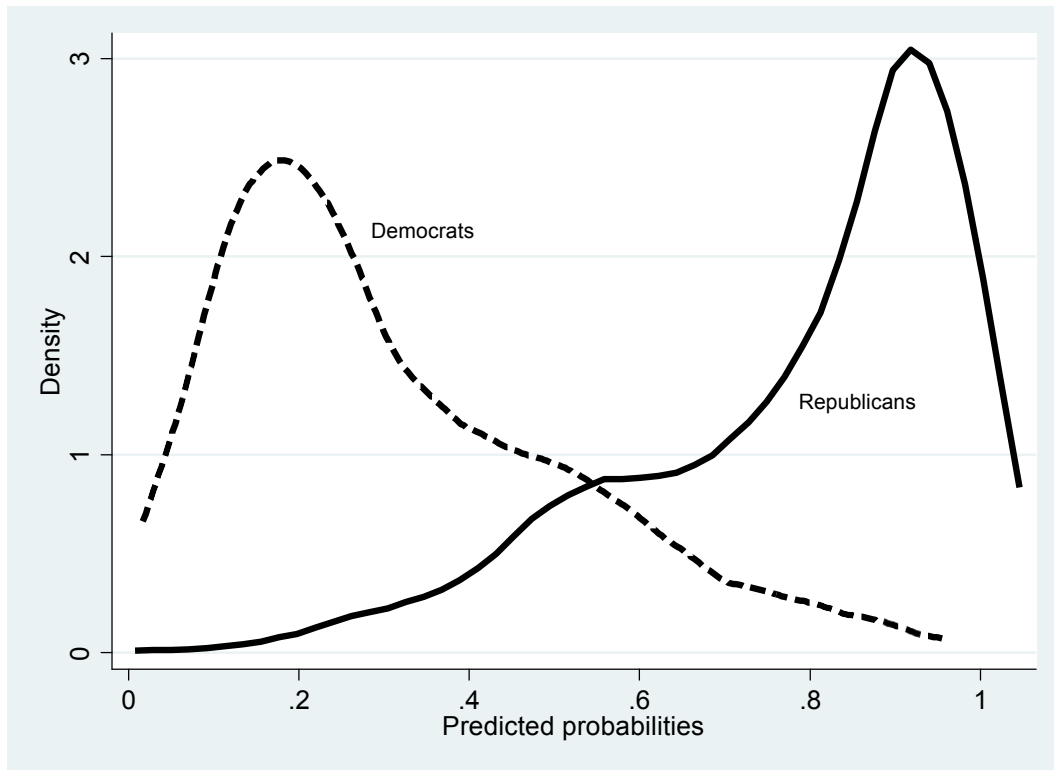
Appendix Figure 1. Kernel density plot of distribution of predicted probabilities from logit model of support for a religion exemption to the HHS contraception mandate, by church attendance



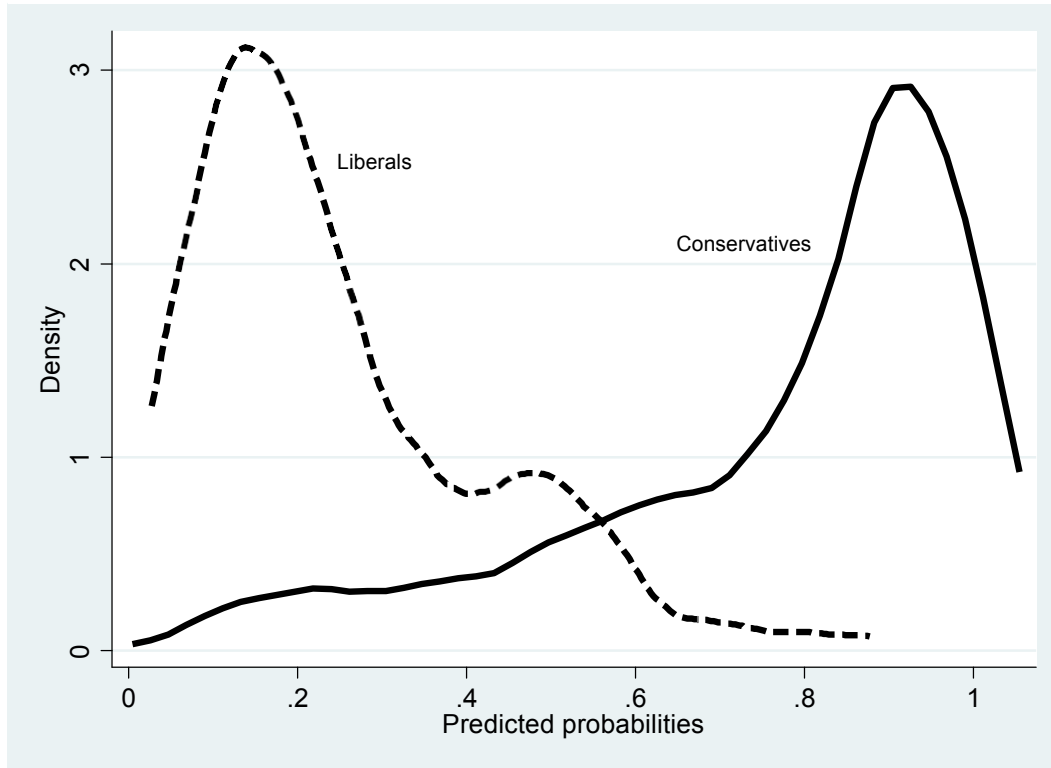
Appendix Figure 2. Kernel density plot of distribution of predicted probabilities from logit model of support for a religion exemption to the HHS contraception mandate, by gender



Appendix Figure 3. Kernel density plot of distribution of predicted probabilities from logit model of support for a religion exemption to the HHS contraception mandate, by partisan identification



Appendix Figure 4. Kernel density plot of distribution of predicted probabilities from logit model of support for a religion exemption to the HHS contraception mandate, by political ideology



Appendix Figure 5. Kernel density plot of distribution of predicted probabilities from logit model of support for a religion exemption to the HHS contraception mandate, by Obama approval / disapproval

