**Religion and Secularism among American Party Activists**

**Online Supporting Information**

This document provides supporting information for the analyses presented in “Religion and Secularism among American Party Activists.” We present the supporting information in the order in which it is referenced in the paper.

**Factor Analyses of Indicators of Religiosity and Secular Beliefs**

Table A1 shows the results of an exploratory factor analysis (using principal components factor extraction) of the indicators of religiosity and secularism in the 2012 CDS. For both parties, the indicators of religiosity and the secular belief indicators load on different factors. For Republicans, there are only two factors (though one of the secular belief items loads more strongly with the religiosity indicators). For Democrats, there are three factors, something we attribute to the non-random measurement error intrinsic to batteries of oppositely worded items (Green and Citrin 1994).

Table A2 shows the results from three confirmatory factor analyses of the secular belief indicators. When we treat the measurement errors for all observed indicators as random (i.e. uncorrelated), a two-factor solution fits the data significantly better than a one-factor solution. However, we then account for the non-random measurement error inherent in oppositely-worded items in survey batteries by allowing the measurement errors for all of the secular belief indicators to be correlated with each other. Now, a single-factor solution fits the data just as well as, if not better than, a two-factor model with random measurement error.

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Table A1:** Exploratory Factor Analysis of Religious and Secular Items | | | |
|  | Factor 1 | Factor 2 | Factor 3 |
| **Democrats (N=625)** |  |  |  |
| Religiosity Variables  Worship Attendance  Biblical Literalism  Religious Guidance | **0.8444**  **0.7467**  **0.9021** | 0.0003  -0.0773  0.1007 | 0.0189  0.1394  0.0191 |
| Secular Beliefs  Factual evidence source of true beliefs  Great works of philosophy and science best source of truth  Hard to live a good life based on reason and facts alone  To understand world, must free minds of old traditions/beliefs  Values more important than factual evidence for moral decisions | 0.0457  0.0965  0.1963  -0.2513  -0.0089 | **0.7636**  **0.8416**  0.0101  **0.5920**  -0.1562 | -0.2318  -0.0924  **0.7155**  0.4514  **0.7597** |
| Eigenvalue  Percentage of Variance Explained | 3.12  39.05 | 1.17  14.54 | 1.07  13.26 |
| **Republicans (N=410)** |  |  |  |
| Religiosity Variables  Worship Attendance  Biblical Literalism  Religious Guidance | **0.8410**  **0.7645**  **0.8160** | 0.0955  -0.0332  -0.0297 |  |
| Secular Beliefs  Factual evidence source of true beliefs  Great works of philosophy and science best source of truth  Hard to live a good life based on reason and facts alone  To understand world, must free minds of old traditions/beliefs  Values more important than factual evidence for moral decisions | -0.1721  -0.2998  -0.1717  -**0.4301**  -0.1035 | **0.6772**  **0.5460**  **-0.6710**  0.2383  **-0.7756** |  |
| Eigenvalue  Percentage of Variance Explained | 3.31  41.39 | 1.02  12.68 |  |
| Source: 2012 Convention Delegate Study  Note: Entries are the principal components factor loadings of each variable on obliquely rotated factors. Only factors with eigenvalues greater than or equal to 1.0 were retained. The loadings in bold indicate the largest loading of the variable on all retained factors. | | | |

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Table A2:** Results of Confirmatory Factor Analyses of Secular Belief Indicators: Random and Non-Random Measurement Error | | | | |
|  | Models with Random Measurement Error | | | Model with Non-Random Measurement Error |
|  | (1) One factor | (2) Two factors | | (3) One factor |
|  |  | Factor 1 | Factor 2 |  |
| **Democrats (N = 745)** |  |  |  |  |
| Factual evidence source of true beliefs | 1.00a | 1.00a | \_\_\_ | 1.00a |
| Great works of philosophy and science best source of truth | .75\*\*  (.08) | .74\*\*  (.08) | \_\_\_ | .75\*\*  (.07) |
| Hard to live good life based on reason and facts alone | -.58\*\*  (.08) | \_\_\_ | 1.00a | -.95\*\*  (.11) |
| Must free minds from old traditions/beliefs | .48\*\*  (.07) | .49\*\*  (.07) | \_\_\_ | .40\*\*  (.07) |
| Values more important than factual evidence for moral decisions | -.54\*\*  (.07) | \_\_\_ | .96\*\*  (.16) | -.92\*\*  (.10) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Measurement error covariance | 0 | 0 | 0 | .007\*\*  (.001) |
| Correlation between factors | \_\_ | -.51\*\* |  | \_\_ |
| χ2 (df) | 79.95 (5) | 17.78 (4) |  | 3.20 (4) |
| Difference in χ2 from model 1 (df) | \_\_\_ | 62.17 (1) |  | 76.75 (1) |
| CFIb  RMSEAc | .82  .15 | .97  .07 |  | 1.00  .001 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| **Republicans (N = 483)** |  |  |  |  |
| Factual evidence source of true beliefs | 1.00a | 1.00a | \_\_\_ | 1.00a |
| Great works of philosophy and science best source of truth | .94\*\*  (.09) | .91\*\*  (.05) | \_\_\_ | .92\*\*  (.08) |
| Hard to live good life based on reason and facts alone | -.39\*\*  (.08) | \_\_\_ | 1.00a | -.49\*\*  (.09) |
| Must free minds from old traditions/beliefs | .56\*\*  (.07) | .75\*\*  (.05) | \_\_\_ | .56\*\*  (.08) |
| Values more important than factual evidence for moral decisions | -.55\*\*  (.07) | \_\_\_ | 1.21\*\*  (.12) | -.67\*\*  (.09) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Measurement error covariance | 0 | 0 | 0 | .01\*\*  (.001) |
| Correlation between factors | \_\_ | -.65\*\* |  | \_\_ |
| χ2 (df) | 21.33 (5) | 12.30 (4) |  | 15.57 (4) |
| Difference in χ2 from model 1 (df) | \_\_\_ | 9.03 (1) |  | 5.76 (1) |
| CFIb  RMSEAc | .95  .08 | .99  .04 |  | .97  .07 |
| Source: 2012 Convention Delegate Study  Note: Models estimated using full-information maximum likelihood estimation. Top entries are unstandardized confirmatory factor loadings. Standard errors are in parentheses.  a Constrained to equal one for model identification.  b Comparative fit index (Bentler 1990)  c Root mean square error of approximation (Browne and Cudeck 1993)  \*\*p<.001; \*p<.05 | | | | |

**Question wording for indicators of political orientations in Table 1**

In Table A3, we present the wording of the questions and response options for the observed indicators of the dependent variables in the analyses summarized in Table 1 in the paper.

|  |
| --- |
| **Table A3**: Question Wording of Observed Indicators in Models of Policy Attitudes, Ideology, and Political Norms |
| **Cultural Issues** |
| Abortion: Which one of the opinions expressed below best agrees with your view on the abortion issue?  (1) By law, abortion should never be permitted.  (2) The law should permit abortion only in cases of rape, incest or when the woman’s life is in danger.  (3) The law should permit abortion for reasons other than rape, incest, or danger to the woman’s life, but only after the need for the abortion has been clearly established.  (4) By law, a woman should always be able to obtain an abortion as a matter of personal choice. |
| Same-Sex Marriage: Recently, there has been a good deal of discussion about marriages and other legal relationships between same-sex couples. Which of the following statements comes closest to your view of the proper legal status of marriage?  (1) The law should define marriage only as a union between one man and one woman.  (2) The law should define marriage as a union between one man and one woman, but recognize legal  agreements between same-sex couples.  (3) The law should define marriage as a union between two people regardless of their gender. |
| **Role of Government Issues** |
| Government Services and Spending: Some people think the government should provide fewer services, even in areas such as health and education in order to reduce spending. Other people feel it is important for the government to provide many more services even if it means an increase in spending. Where would you place yourself on this scale? (Respondents asked to place themselves on a scale ranging from 1 for “Government provide many fewer services, reduce spending a lot” to 7 for “Government provide many more services, increase spending a lot.” |
| Government providing health insurance: Some people think the government should provide a public health insurance plan for all Americans. Other people think Americans should be responsible for their own health insurance plans. (Respondents asked to place themselves on a scale ranging from 1 for “The government should provide a public health insurance plan for all Americans” to 7 for “All Americans should be responsible for their own health insurance plans.”) |
| Government Help for African Americans: Some people feel that the government in Washington should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of Blacks. Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help Blacks because they should help themselves. (Respondents asked to place themselves on a scale ranging from 1 for “Government should help Blacks” to 7 for “Blacks should help themselves.”) |
| **National Defense Issues** |
| Defense Spending: Some people believe that we should spend much more money for defense. Others feel that defense spending should be greatly decreased. Where would you place yourself on this scale? (Respondents asked to place themselves on a scale ranging from 1 for “Greatly increase defense spending” to 7 “Greatly decrease defense spending.”) |
| Government Monitoring of Electronic Communications: Please tell us how much you agree or disagree with the following statement: Government monitoring of electronic communications by private U.S. citizens is necessary to gain information about terrorist plans and to protect American lives. (Response options ranged from 1 for “disagree strongly” to 5 for “agree strongly.”) |
| **Ideology** |
| Respondents asked to place themselves on a seven-point scale ranging from “extremely liberal” to “extremely conservative.” |

|  |
| --- |
| **Norms about Political Compromise** |
| Intra-Party Compromise: All of you have attended at least one national presidential nominating convention. In thinking about decisions made at conventions, how do feel about the following statements? (Response options ranged from 1 for “disagree strongly” to 4 for “agree strongly.”)  (1) One should stand firm for a position even if it means resigning from the party.  (2) The party should play down some issues if it will improve the chances of winning.  (3) It is best to minimize disagreement within the party. |
| Inter-Party Compromise: Next, we would like to know how you feel about the decisions made by your party’s elected officials. Please place yourself on the scale between the two opposing positions: Elected officials should stand up for their principles no matter what (1)…….Elected officials should compromise with their opponents in order to get things done for the country (7). |
| Note: All indicators were recoded to range from 0 for the most liberal or least compromising position to 1 for the most conservative or most compromising position. |

**Full Structural and Measurement Estimates for the Models in Table 1**

In Tables A4, A5, and A6, we present the full set of structural and measurement estimates for the models of the impact of religiosity and secularism on activists’ policy attitudes, ideologies, and norms about political compromise. The results of these models are summarized in Table 1 in the paper. Our tables here include the effects of the demographic control variables on political orientations and the estimates of confirmatory factor models for religiosity, secularism, policy attitudes, and support for political compromise.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Table A4:** The Impact of Secular Beliefs and Religiosity on Policy Attitudes, Full Structural and Measurement Model Estimates | | | | |
|  | Democrats | | Republicans | |
|  | Coefficient | Std. Error | Coefficient | Std. Error |
| **Structural Model** |  |  |  |  |
| Secular Belief → Cultural Attitudes | -.148 | .050 | .016\* | .113 |
| Secular Belief → Role of Government Attitudes | -.459 | .081 | -.030\* | .064 |
| Secular Belief → National Defense Attitudes | -.541 | .102 | -.351 | .122 |
| Religiosity → Cultural Attitudes | .151 | .034 | .951 | .125 |
| Religiosity → Role of Government Attitudes | -.124 | .048 | .034\* | .058 |
| Religiosity → National Defense Attitudes | -.101\* | .062 | -.066\* | .107 |
| Age → Cultural Attitudes | .026\* | .019 | .103 | .057 |
| Age → Role of Government Attitudes | -.056 | .026 | -.193 | .035 |
| Age → National Defense Attitudes | .018\* | .035 | .329 | .063 |
| Education → Cultural Attitudes | -.029 | .013 | -.082 | .036 |
| Education → Role of Government Attitudes | .030\* | .019 | -.050 | .021 |
| Education → National Defense Attitudes | .015\* | .025 | .081 | .039 |
| Income → Cultural Attitudes | -.024\* | .015 | -.183 | .044 |
| Income → Role of Government Attitudes | .027\* | .020 | -.033\* | .026 |
| Income → National Defense Attitudes | .063 | .028 | .182 | .047 |
| Gender (female) → Cultural Attitudes | -.019 | .008 | -.034\* | .023 |
| Gender (female) → Role of Government Attitudes | -.022 | .011 | .019\* | .014 |
| Gender (female) → National Defense Attitudes | .020\* | .014 | .006\* | .025 |
| Race (white) → Cultural Attitudes | -.014\* | .016 | .020\* | .028 |
| Race (white) → Role of Government Attitudes | -.005\* | .012 | .001\* | .015 |
| Race (white) → National Defense Attitudes | -.037\* | .009 | -.018\* | .026 |
| **Measurement Model** |  |  |  |  |
| Secular Belief → Factual evidence | 1.000 | \_\_\_a | 1.000 | \_\_\_a |
| Secular Belief → Great works of philo/science | .792 | .065 | .988 | .081 |
| Secular Belief → Hard to live good life | -1.022 | .100 | -.499 | .087 |
| Secular Belief → Must free minds | .529 | .071 | .712 | .079 |
| Secular Belief → Values more important | -.900 | .090 | -.701 | .083 |
| Religiosity → Worship Attendance | 1.000 | \_\_\_a | 1.000 | \_\_\_ a |
| Religiosity → Biblical Literalism | .927 | .050 | 1.016 | .081 |
| Religiosity → Religious Guidance | 1.039 | .057 | 1.216 | .085 |
| Cultural Attitudes → Gay Marriage | 1.724 | .186 | 1.224 | .102 |
| Cultural Attitudes → Abortion | 1.000 | \_\_\_a | 1.000 | \_\_\_ a |
| Role of Government → Gov’t services/spending | 1.000 | \_\_\_a | 1.000 | \_\_\_ a |
| Role of Government → Health Insurance | .813 | .101 | 1.081 | .120 |
| Role of Government → Help for Blacks | 1.173 | .136 | 1.281 | .139 |
| Defense Attitudes → Defense Spending | 1.000 | \_\_\_a | 1.000 | \_\_\_ a |
| Defense Attitudes → Government Monitoring | 1.102 | .196 | .909 | .144 |
| χ2 (df = 132)  CFIb  RMSEAc | 369.82  .90  .05 |  | 431.57  .85  .07 |  |
| Source: 2012 Convention Delegate Study  Note: Models estimated with full-information maximum likelihood estimation. The measurement model for secular beliefs included correlations between the measurement errors for each item. Models include controls for age, education, income, gender, and race. All variables range from 0 to 1. Higher scores on policy issues represent more conservative attitudes.  a Constrained to equal one for model identification.  b Comparative fit index (Bentler 1990)  c Root mean square error of approximation (Browne and Cudeck 1993)  \* Coefficient not statistically significant at p<.10. All other coefficients are statistically significant. | | | | |

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Table A5:** The Impact of Secular Beliefs and Religiosity on Ideological Identification, Full Structural and Measurement Model Estimates | | | | |
|  | Democrats | | Republicans | |
|  | Coefficient | Std. Error | Coefficient | Std. Error |
| **Structural Model** |  |  |  |  |
| Secular Belief → Ideology | -.404 | .090 | -.118 | .069 |
| Religiosity → Ideology | .057\* | .056 | .109 | .064 |
| Age → Ideology | -.020\* | .033 | -.012\* | .037 |
| Education → Ideology | -.015\* | .024 | -.097 | .023 |
| Income → Ideology | .032\* | .026 | -.056 | .028 |
| Gender (female) → Ideology | -.047 | .013 | -.032 | .015 |
| Race (white) → Ideology | -.040 | .015 | .037 | .017 |
| **Measurement Model** |  |  |  |  |
| Secular Belief → Factual evidence | 1.000 | \_\_\_ a | 1.000 | \_\_\_ a |
| Secular Belief → Great works of philo/science | .781 | .065 | 1.012 | .082 |
| Secular Belief → Hard to live good life | -1.043 | .102 | -.496 | .087 |
| Secular Belief → Must free minds | .518 | .071 | .686 | .079 |
| Secular Belief → Values more important | -.900 | .091 | -.682 | .083 |
| Religiosity → Worship Attendance | 1.000 | \_\_\_ a | 1.000 | \_\_\_ a |
| Religiosity → Biblical Literalism | .912 | .051 | .989 | .084 |
| Religiosity → Religious Guidance | 1.051 | .058 | 1.296 | .096 |
| χ2 (df = 54)  CFIb  RMSEAc | 159.50  .94  .05 |  | 207.98  .86  .07 |  |
| Source: 2012 Convention Delegate Study  Note: Models estimated with full-information maximum likelihood estimation. The measurement model for secular beliefs included correlations between the measurement errors for each item. Models include controls for age, education, income, gender, and race. All variables range from 0 to 1. Higher scores on ideology represent greater conservatism.  a Constrained to equal one for model identification.  b Comparative fit index (Bentler 1990)  c Root mean square error of approximation (Browne and Cudeck 1993)  \* Coefficient not statistically significant at p<.05. All other coefficients are statistically significant. | | | | |

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Table A6:** The Impact of Secular Beliefs and Religiosity on Norms about Political Compromise, Full Structural and Measurement Model Estimates | | | | |
|  | Democrats | | Republicans | |
|  | Coefficient | Std. Error | Coefficient | Std. Error |
| **Structural Model** |  |  |  |  |
| Secular Belief → Support for Compromise | -.108 | .057 | -.180 | .103 |
| Religiosity → Support for Compromise | .009\* | .034 | -.256 | .099 |
| Age → Support for Compromise | .009\* | .021 | .210 | .057 |
| Education → Support for Compromise | .014\* | .015 | .083 | .035 |
| Income → Support for Compromise | .027 | .017 | .188 | .043 |
| Gender (female) → Support for Compromise | -.038 | .012 | .0001\* | .023 |
| Race (white) → Support for Compromise | .014\* | .010 | .026\* | .025 |
| **Measurement Model** |  |  |  |  |
| Secular Belief → Factual evidence | 1.000 | \_\_\_a | 1.000 | \_\_\_a |
| Secular Belief → Great works of philo/science | .777 | .066 | .985 | .079 |
| Secular Belief → Hard to live good life | -1.028 | .102 | -.501 | .085 |
| Secular Belief → Must free minds | .488 | .071 | .653 | .077 |
| Secular Belief → Values more important | -.903 | .092 | -.683 | .081 |
| Religiosity → Worship Attendance | 1.000 | \_\_\_a | 1.000 | \_\_\_a |
| Religiosity → Biblical Literalism | .899 | .051 | .995 | .085 |
| Religiosity → Religious Guidance | 1.046 | .058 | 1.309 | .098 |
| Support for Compromise → Stand firm even if resign from party | -.888 | .297 | -.991 | .094 |
| Support for Compromise → Stand up for principles no matter what | 1.000 | \_\_\_a | 1.000 | \_\_\_a |
| Support for Compromise → Play down issues if improve chances of winning | 1.696 | .483 | .991 | .093 |
| Support for Compromise → Best to minimize disagreement within party | 1.198 | .361 | 1.004 | .097 |
| χ2 (df = 95)  CFIb  RMSEAc | 257.29  .90  .05 |  | 305.19  .86  .07 |  |
| Source: 2012 Convention Delegate Study  Note: Models estimated with full-information maximum likelihood estimation. The measurement model for secular beliefs included correlations between the measurement errors for each item. Models include controls for age, education, income, gender, and race. All variables range from 0 to 1. Higher scores on norms represent greater support for compromise.  a Constrained to equal one for model identification.  b Comparative fit index (Bentler 1990)  c Root mean square error of approximation (Browne and Cudeck 1993)  \* Coefficient not statistically significant at p<.10. All other coefficients are statistically significant. | | | | |