# Appendix

## Thresholds for the measurement models

Table 5: Treshold parameters for the measurement of political secularism by five items

|  | **West 2016** | **East 2016** | **West 2012** | **East 2012** |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Threshold 1: Symbols | − 0.23\*\*\* | − 1.12\*\*\* | − 0.36\*\*\* | − 1.13\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.06) | (0.03) | (0.05) |
| Threshold 2: Symbols | 0.34\*\*\* | − 0.63\*\*\* | 0.52\*\*\* | − 0.36\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Threshold 3: Symbols | 0.70\*\*\* | − 0.18\*\*\* | 1.06\*\*\* | 0.17\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Threshold 4: Symbols | 1.12\*\*\* | 0.30\*\*\* |  |  |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) |  |  |
| Threshold 1: Science | − 1.19\*\*\* | − 1.47\*\*\* | − 1.09\*\*\* | − 1.39\*\*\* |
|  | (0.05) | (0.07) | (0.03) | (0.05) |
| Threshold 2: Science | − 0.52\*\*\* | − 0.94\*\*\* | − 0.17\*\*\* | − 0.56\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.06) | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Threshold 3: Science | − 0.19\*\*\* | − 0.60\*\*\* | 0.65\*\*\* | 0.19\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Threshold 4: Science | 0.53\*\*\* | 0.13\*\* |  |  |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) |  |  |
| Threshold 1: Education | − 0.57\*\*\* | − 1.28\*\*\* | − 0.82\*\*\* | − 1.50\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.06) | (0.03) | (0.06) |
| Threshold 2: Education | 0.13\*\*\* | − 0.65\*\*\* | 0.14\*\*\* | − 0.59\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Threshold 3: Education | 0.40\*\*\* | − 0.30\*\*\* | 0.76\*\*\* | − 0.02 |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Threshold 4: Education | 0.87\*\*\* | 0.17\*\*\* |  |  |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) |  |  |
| Threshold 1: Debates | − 1.03\*\*\* | − 1.22\*\*\* | − 1.12\*\*\* | − 1.29\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.06) | (0.03) | (0.05) |
| Threshold 2: Debates | − 0.25\*\*\* | − 0.50\*\*\* | 0.01 | − 0.19\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Threshold 3: Debates | 0.12\*\* | − 0.15\*\* | 0.79\*\*\* | 0.49\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Threshold 4: Debates | 0.68\*\*\* | 0.40\*\*\* |  |  |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) |  |  |
| Threshold 1: God EU | − 1.53\*\*\* | − 1.40\*\*\* | − 1.38\*\*\* | − 1.59\*\*\* |
|  | (0.06) | (0.07) | (0.04) | (0.06) |
| Threshold 2: God EU | − 0.91\*\*\* | − 1.06\*\*\* | − 0.79\*\*\* | − 1.10\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.06) | (0.03) | (0.05) |
| Threshold 3: God EU | − 0.47\*\*\* | − 0.62\*\*\* | 0.15\*\*\* | − 0.29\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Threshold 4: God EU | 0.16\*\*\* | − 0.14\*\* |  |  |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) |  |  |
| Observations | 1269 | 739 | 2334 | 1121 |
| \*\*\*p < 0.001; \*\*p < 0.01; \*p < 0.05. This table shows the threshold parameters that were omitted from Table [1](#measurement-5-items-loadings) | | | | |

Table 6: Treshold parameters for the measurement of political secularism by four items

|  | **West 2016** | **East 2016** | **West 2012** | **East 2012** |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Threshold 1: Science | − 1.19\*\*\* | − 1.47\*\*\* | − 1.09\*\*\* | − 1.39\*\*\* |
|  | (0.05) | (0.07) | (0.03) | (0.05) |
| Threshold 2: Science | − 0.52\*\*\* | − 0.94\*\*\* | − 0.17\*\*\* | − 0.56\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.06) | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Threshold 3: Science | − 0.19\*\*\* | − 0.60\*\*\* | 0.65\*\*\* | 0.19\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Threshold 4: Science | 0.53\*\*\* | 0.13\*\* |  |  |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) |  |  |
| Threshold 1: Education | − 0.57\*\*\* | − 1.28\*\*\* | − 0.82\*\*\* | − 1.50\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.06) | (0.03) | (0.06) |
| Threshold 2: Education | 0.13\*\*\* | − 0.65\*\*\* | 0.14\*\*\* | − 0.59\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Threshold 3: Education | 0.40\*\*\* | − 0.30\*\*\* | 0.76\*\*\* | − 0.02 |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Threshold 4: Education | 0.87\*\*\* | 0.17\*\*\* |  |  |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) |  |  |
| Threshold 1: Debates | − 1.03\*\*\* | − 1.22\*\*\* | − 1.12\*\*\* | − 1.29\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.06) | (0.03) | (0.05) |
| Threshold 2: Debates | − 0.25\*\*\* | − 0.50\*\*\* | 0.01 | − 0.19\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Threshold 3: Debates | 0.12\*\* | − 0.15\*\* | 0.79\*\*\* | 0.49\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Threshold 4: Debates | 0.68\*\*\* | 0.40\*\*\* |  |  |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) |  |  |
| Threshold 1: God EU | − 1.53\*\*\* | − 1.40\*\*\* | − 1.38\*\*\* | − 1.59\*\*\* |
|  | (0.06) | (0.07) | (0.04) | (0.06) |
| Threshold 2: God EU | − 0.91\*\*\* | − 1.06\*\*\* | − 0.79\*\*\* | − 1.10\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.06) | (0.03) | (0.05) |
| Threshold 3: God EU | − 0.47\*\*\* | − 0.62\*\*\* | 0.15\*\*\* | − 0.29\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Threshold 4: God EU | 0.16\*\*\* | − 0.14\*\* |  |  |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) |  |  |
| Observations | 1269 | 739 | 2330 | 1121 |
| \*\*\*p < 0.001; \*\*p < 0.01; \*p < 0.05. This table shows the threshold parameters that were omitted from Table [2](#measurement-4-items-loadings) | | | | |

## Measurement model for attitudes on abortion

The ALLBUS 2012 included several items that tapped into attitudes on abortion. One of them confronted respondents with a whole battery of vignettes and asked them whether abortion should be legal under these circumstances. Four of these questions were replicated in the PRDB study. Should abortion be legal …

1. … if there was a high probability that the baby would suffer from a serious birth defect (Birth Defect)
2. … if the pregnancy posed a serious health risk to the mother (Health)
3. … if the pregnancy was the result of rape (Rape)
4. … if the woman wanted an abortion, whatever her reasons (Choice)

A slight complication arises from a split-half experiment in the 2012 ALLBUS that varied the situations. As a result, about 50 per cent of the respondents were not presented with the Rape item. Because their answers are missing completely at random (MCAR) and the estimator handles missing values transparently, this poses no special problem. In the same experimental group, respondents were given the opportunity to qualify their affirmative answer so that they had three options instead of two: “yes,” “yes, but only during the first three months of pregnancy,” and “no.” For the analysis, this was recoded as just “yes” vs “no.” Compared to the respondents who only had a binary choice in the first place, this does not change the marginal distribution.

Table 7: Measurement of abortion attitude

|  | **West 2016** | **East 2016** | **West 2012** | **East 2012** |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | West 2016 | East 2016 | West 2012 | East 2012 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Loading: Birth Defect | 0.86\*\*\* | 0.80\*\*\* | 0.88\*\*\* | 0.86\*\*\* |
|  | (0.03) | (0.06) | (0.03) | (0.05) |
| Loading: Health | 0.91\*\*\* | 0.74\*\*\* | 0.84\*\*\* | 0.91\*\*\* |
|  | (0.03) | (0.11) | (0.04) | (0.05) |
| Loading: Rape | 0.90\*\*\* | 1.00\*\*\* | 0.85\*\*\* | 0.84\*\*\* |
|  | (0.03) | (0.06) | (0.04) | (0.06) |
| Loading: Choice | 0.65\*\*\* | 0.67\*\*\* | 0.59\*\*\* | 0.68\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.06) | (0.04) | (0.06) |
| Threshold: Birth Defect | − 1.05\*\*\* | − 1.67\*\*\* | − 1.14\*\*\* | − 1.61\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.08) | (0.03) | (0.06) |
| Threshold: Health | − 1.55\*\*\* | − 2.10\*\*\* | − 1.62\*\*\* | − 1.86\*\*\* |
|  | (0.06) | (0.11) | (0.04) | (0.07) |
| Threshold: Rape | − 1.35\*\*\* | − 1.70\*\*\* | − 1.20\*\*\* | − 1.70\*\*\* |
|  | (0.05) | (0.08) | (0.05) | (0.09) |
| Threshold: Choice | − 0.01 | − 0.55\*\*\* | 0.33\*\*\* | − 0.16\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Observations | 1259 | 740 | 2339 | 1117 |
| CFI | 1.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 0.99 |
| TLI | 0.99 | 1.00 | 0.99 | 0.98 |
| RMSEA | 0.05 | 0.00 | 0.03 | 0.04 |
| SRMR | 0.03 | 0.02 | 0.03 | 0.05 |
| Chi-Squared | 7.84 | 1.56 | 7.09 | 5.35 |
| Parameters | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 |
| Ordinal α | 0.89 | 0.88 | 0.87 | 0.87 |
| Ordinal ω3 (ρNL) | 0.75 | 0.63 | 0.71 | 0.63 |

## Measurement model for religiousness

Religiousness was measured by three items from the ALLBUS study :

1. Would you describe yourself as (Intensity: 1 extremely non-religious … 10 extremely religious)
2. About how often do you pray (Prayer: 1 never, 2 less than several times a year, 3 several times a year, 4 between one and three times a month, 5 once a week, 6 more than once a week, 7 daily)
3. As a rule, how often do you go to church - or to the mosque, synagogue or other house of God? (Church Attendance: 1 never, 2 less than several times a year, 3 several times a year, 4 between one and three times a month, 5 once a week, 6 more than once a week)

The PRDB study used the same wording but a slightly different answer format. For Church Attendance, there was an additional category “daily.” Because this was chosen by just 5 respondents, it was recoded to “more than once per week,” which brings the variable in line with the ALLBUS. For Intensity, the PRDB used a scale with the same labels for the endpoints, but eleven instead of ten steps. Because of this slightly greater spread, factor loadings for this item are not strictly comparable across time.

Table 8: Measurement of religiousness

|  | **West 2016** | **East 2016** | **West 2012** | **East 2012** |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | West 2016 | East 2016 | West 2012 | East 2012 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Loading: Intensity | 2.26\*\*\* | 2.45\*\*\* | 2.35\*\*\* | 2.46\*\*\* |
|  | (0.07) | (0.09) | (0.06) | (0.07) |
| Loading: Prayer | 1.76\*\*\* | 1.61\*\*\* | 2.02\*\*\* | 1.63\*\*\* |
|  | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.04) | (0.05) |
| Loading: Church Attendance | 1.02\*\*\* | 1.01\*\*\* | 1.01\*\*\* | 0.90\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.04) | (0.02) | (0.03) |
| Intercept: Intensity | 5.06\*\*\* | 3.20\*\*\* | 5.28\*\*\* | 3.08\*\*\* |
|  | (0.08) | (0.10) | (0.06) | (0.08) |
| Intercept: Prayer | 3.34\*\*\* | 2.07\*\*\* | 3.40\*\*\* | 1.98\*\*\* |
|  | (0.06) | (0.07) | (0.05) | (0.06) |
| Intercept: Church Attendance | 2.55\*\*\* | 1.76\*\*\* | 2.48\*\*\* | 1.75\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.04) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
| Variance: Intensity | 2.59\*\*\* | 2.05\*\*\* | 3.19\*\*\* | 2.11\*\*\* |
|  | (0.19) | (0.17) | (0.14) | (0.15) |
| Variance: Prayer | 2.06\*\*\* | 0.81\*\*\* | 1.46\*\*\* | 0.72\*\*\* |
|  | (0.13) | (0.07) | (0.09) | (0.06) |
| Variance: Church Attendance | 0.69\*\*\* | 0.36\*\*\* | 0.65\*\*\* | 0.42\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.02) |
| Observations | 1262 | 736 | 2356 | 1122 |
| CFI | 1.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 |
| TLI | 1.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 |
| RMSEA | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| SRMR | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| Chi-Squared | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| Parameters | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 |
| α | 0.79 | 0.83 | 0.80 | 0.82 |
| ω | 0.64 | 0.68 | 0.71 | 0.69 |

## Convergent and discriminant validity: full models

### Attitudes on abortion

Table 9: Political secularism and abortion: two-factor model

|  | **West 2016** | **East 2016** | **West 2012** | **East 2012** |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | West 2016 | East 2016 | West 2012 | East 2012 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Loading: Science | 0.69\*\*\* | 0.59\*\*\* | 0.54\*\*\* | 0.65\*\*\* |
|  | (0.02) | (0.03) | (0.02) | (0.03) |
| Loading: Education | 0.58\*\*\* | 0.72\*\*\* | 0.62\*\*\* | 0.76\*\*\* |
|  | (0.02) | (0.03) | (0.02) | (0.03) |
| Loading: Debates | 0.71\*\*\* | 0.81\*\*\* | 0.62\*\*\* | 0.68\*\*\* |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| Loading: God EU | 0.62\*\*\* | 0.67\*\*\* | 0.50\*\*\* | 0.51\*\*\* |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.02) | (0.03) |
| Loading: Birth Defect | 0.83\*\*\* | 0.83\*\*\* | 0.87\*\*\* | 0.91\*\*\* |
|  | (0.03) | (0.06) | (0.03) | (0.05) |
| Loading: Health | 0.89\*\*\* | 0.73\*\*\* | 0.85\*\*\* | 0.88\*\*\* |
|  | (0.03) | (0.12) | (0.04) | (0.05) |
| Loading: Rape | 0.93\*\*\* | 0.98\*\*\* | 0.84\*\*\* | 0.86\*\*\* |
|  | (0.03) | (0.06) | (0.04) | (0.07) |
| Loading: Choice | 0.70\*\*\* | 0.65\*\*\* | 0.60\*\*\* | 0.64\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.04) | (0.05) |
| ϕ Abortion, Secularism | 0.46\*\*\* | 0.53\*\*\* | 0.45\*\*\* | 0.35\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.06) | (0.03) | (0.05) |
| Threshold 1: Science | − 1.19\*\*\* | − 1.47\*\*\* | − 1.09\*\*\* | − 1.39\*\*\* |
|  | (0.05) | (0.07) | (0.03) | (0.05) |
| Threshold 2: Science | − 0.52\*\*\* | − 0.94\*\*\* | − 0.17\*\*\* | − 0.56\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.06) | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Threshold 3: Science | − 0.19\*\*\* | − 0.60\*\*\* | 0.65\*\*\* | 0.19\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Threshold 4: Science | 0.53\*\*\* | 0.13\*\* |  |  |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) |  |  |
| Threshold 1: Education | − 0.57\*\*\* | − 1.28\*\*\* | − 0.82\*\*\* | − 1.50\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.06) | (0.03) | (0.06) |
| Threshold 2: Education | 0.13\*\*\* | − 0.65\*\*\* | 0.14\*\*\* | − 0.59\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Threshold 3: Education | 0.40\*\*\* | − 0.30\*\*\* | 0.76\*\*\* | − 0.02 |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Threshold 4: Education | 0.87\*\*\* | 0.17\*\*\* |  |  |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) |  |  |
| Threshold 1: Debates | − 1.03\*\*\* | − 1.22\*\*\* | − 1.12\*\*\* | − 1.29\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.06) | (0.03) | (0.05) |
| Threshold 2: Debates | − 0.25\*\*\* | − 0.50\*\*\* | 0.01 | − 0.19\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Threshold 3: Debates | 0.12\*\* | − 0.15\*\* | 0.79\*\*\* | 0.49\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Threshold 4: Debates | 0.68\*\*\* | 0.40\*\*\* |  |  |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) |  |  |
| Threshold 1: God EU | − 1.53\*\*\* | − 1.40\*\*\* | − 1.38\*\*\* | − 1.59\*\*\* |
|  | (0.06) | (0.07) | (0.04) | (0.06) |
| Threshold 2: God EU | − 0.91\*\*\* | − 1.06\*\*\* | − 0.79\*\*\* | − 1.10\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.06) | (0.03) | (0.05) |
| Threshold 3: God EU | − 0.47\*\*\* | − 0.62\*\*\* | 0.15\*\*\* | − 0.29\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Threshold 4: God EU | 0.16\*\*\* | − 0.14\*\* |  |  |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) |  |  |
| Threshold: Birth Defect | − 1.05\*\*\* | − 1.67\*\*\* | − 1.14\*\*\* | − 1.61\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.08) | (0.03) | (0.06) |
| Threshold: Health | − 1.55\*\*\* | − 2.10\*\*\* | − 1.62\*\*\* | − 1.86\*\*\* |
|  | (0.06) | (0.11) | (0.04) | (0.07) |
| Threshold: Rape | − 1.35\*\*\* | − 1.70\*\*\* | − 1.20\*\*\* | − 1.70\*\*\* |
|  | (0.05) | (0.08) | (0.05) | (0.09) |
| Threshold: Choice | − 0.01 | − 0.55\*\*\* | 0.33\*\*\* | − 0.16\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Observations | 1269 | 740 | 2354 | 1122 |
| CFI | 0.98 | 0.97 | 0.96 | 0.99 |
| TLI | 0.97 | 0.96 | 0.95 | 0.99 |
| RMSEA | 0.05 | 0.05 | 0.05 | 0.03 |
| SRMR | 0.04 | 0.05 | 0.05 | 0.05 |
| Parameters | 29 | 29 | 25 | 25 |

Table 10: Political secularism and abortion: one-factor model

|  | **West 2016** | **East 2016** | **West 2012** | **East 2012** |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | West 2016 | East 2016 | West 2012 | East 2012 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Loading: Science | 0.63\*\*\* | 0.58\*\*\* | 0.48\*\*\* | 0.62\*\*\* |
|  | (0.02) | (0.03) | (0.02) | (0.03) |
| Loading: Education | 0.52\*\*\* | 0.70\*\*\* | 0.55\*\*\* | 0.73\*\*\* |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.02) | (0.03) |
| Loading: Debates | 0.62\*\*\* | 0.77\*\*\* | 0.53\*\*\* | 0.65\*\*\* |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| Loading: God EU | 0.58\*\*\* | 0.66\*\*\* | 0.49\*\*\* | 0.50\*\*\* |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.02) | (0.03) |
| Loading: Birth Defect | 0.70\*\*\* | 0.70\*\*\* | 0.73\*\*\* | 0.67\*\*\* |
|  | (0.03) | (0.06) | (0.03) | (0.05) |
| Loading: Health | 0.82\*\*\* | 0.58\*\*\* | 0.77\*\*\* | 0.71\*\*\* |
|  | (0.03) | (0.12) | (0.03) | (0.05) |
| Loading: Rape | 0.85\*\*\* | 0.78\*\*\* | 0.74\*\*\* | 0.76\*\*\* |
|  | (0.03) | (0.07) | (0.04) | (0.07) |
| Loading: Choice | 0.56\*\*\* | 0.45\*\*\* | 0.45\*\*\* | 0.34\*\*\* |
|  | (0.03) | (0.04) | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Threshold 1: Science | − 1.19\*\*\* | − 1.47\*\*\* | − 1.09\*\*\* | − 1.39\*\*\* |
|  | (0.05) | (0.07) | (0.03) | (0.05) |
| Threshold 2: Science | − 0.52\*\*\* | − 0.94\*\*\* | − 0.17\*\*\* | − 0.56\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.06) | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Threshold 3: Science | − 0.19\*\*\* | − 0.60\*\*\* | 0.65\*\*\* | 0.19\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Threshold 4: Science | 0.53\*\*\* | 0.13\*\* |  |  |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) |  |  |
| Threshold 1: Education | − 0.57\*\*\* | − 1.28\*\*\* | − 0.82\*\*\* | − 1.50\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.06) | (0.03) | (0.06) |
| Threshold 2: Education | 0.13\*\*\* | − 0.65\*\*\* | 0.14\*\*\* | − 0.59\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Threshold 3: Education | 0.40\*\*\* | − 0.30\*\*\* | 0.76\*\*\* | − 0.02 |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Threshold 4: Education | 0.87\*\*\* | 0.17\*\*\* |  |  |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) |  |  |
| Threshold 1: Debates | − 1.03\*\*\* | − 1.22\*\*\* | − 1.12\*\*\* | − 1.29\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.06) | (0.03) | (0.05) |
| Threshold 2: Debates | − 0.25\*\*\* | − 0.50\*\*\* | 0.01 | − 0.19\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Threshold 3: Debates | 0.12\*\* | − 0.15\*\* | 0.79\*\*\* | 0.49\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Threshold 4: Debates | 0.68\*\*\* | 0.40\*\*\* |  |  |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) |  |  |
| Threshold 1: God EU | − 1.53\*\*\* | − 1.40\*\*\* | − 1.38\*\*\* | − 1.59\*\*\* |
|  | (0.06) | (0.07) | (0.04) | (0.06) |
| Threshold 2: God EU | − 0.91\*\*\* | − 1.06\*\*\* | − 0.79\*\*\* | − 1.10\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.06) | (0.03) | (0.05) |
| Threshold 3: God EU | − 0.47\*\*\* | − 0.62\*\*\* | 0.15\*\*\* | − 0.29\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Threshold 4: God EU | 0.16\*\*\* | − 0.14\*\* |  |  |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) |  |  |
| Threshold: Birth Defect | − 1.05\*\*\* | − 1.67\*\*\* | − 1.14\*\*\* | − 1.61\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.08) | (0.03) | (0.06) |
| Threshold: Health | − 1.55\*\*\* | − 2.10\*\*\* | − 1.62\*\*\* | − 1.86\*\*\* |
|  | (0.06) | (0.11) | (0.04) | (0.07) |
| Threshold: Rape | − 1.35\*\*\* | − 1.70\*\*\* | − 1.20\*\*\* | − 1.70\*\*\* |
|  | (0.05) | (0.08) | (0.05) | (0.09) |
| Threshold: Choice | − 0.01 | − 0.55\*\*\* | 0.33\*\*\* | − 0.16\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Observations | 1269 | 740 | 2354 | 1122 |
| CFI | 0.85 | 0.83 | 0.82 | 0.85 |
| TLI | 0.79 | 0.76 | 0.74 | 0.79 |
| RMSEA | 0.13 | 0.12 | 0.11 | 0.11 |
| SRMR | 0.12 | 0.12 | 0.11 | 0.16 |
| Parameters | 28 | 28 | 24 | 24 |

### Religiousness

Table 11: Political secularism and religiousness: two-factor model

|  | **West 2016** | **East 2016** | **West 2012** | **East 2012** |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | West 2016 | East 2016 | West 2012 | East 2012 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Loading: Science | 0.64\*\*\* | 0.54\*\*\* | 0.49\*\*\* | 0.60\*\*\* |
|  | (0.02) | (0.03) | (0.02) | (0.03) |
| Loading: Education | 0.61\*\*\* | 0.75\*\*\* | 0.65\*\*\* | 0.77\*\*\* |
|  | (0.02) | (0.03) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| Loading: Debates | 0.71\*\*\* | 0.80\*\*\* | 0.59\*\*\* | 0.67\*\*\* |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| Loading: God EU | 0.65\*\*\* | 0.69\*\*\* | 0.54\*\*\* | 0.57\*\*\* |
|  | (0.02) | (0.03) | (0.02) | (0.03) |
| Loading: Intensity | 2.22\*\*\* | 2.42\*\*\* | 2.36\*\*\* | 2.54\*\*\* |
|  | (0.09) | (0.14) | (0.09) | (0.15) |
| Loading: Prayer | 1.70\*\*\* | 1.54\*\*\* | 1.88\*\*\* | 1.53\*\*\* |
|  | (0.12) | (0.11) | (0.10) | (0.09) |
| Loading: Church Attendance | 1.06\*\*\* | 1.05\*\*\* | 1.06\*\*\* | 0.92\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
| ϕ Religiousness, Secularism | − 0.70\*\*\* | − 0.67\*\*\* | − 0.70\*\*\* | − 0.56\*\*\* |
|  | (0.02) | (0.03) | (0.02) | (0.03) |
| Intercept: Intensity | 5.07\*\*\* | 3.20\*\*\* | 5.28\*\*\* | 3.08\*\*\* |
|  | (0.08) | (0.16) | (0.06) | (0.15) |
| Intercept: Church Attendance | 2.54\*\*\* | 1.76\*\*\* | 2.45\*\*\* | 1.75\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.08) | (0.03) | (0.05) |
| Intercept: Prayer | 3.34\*\*\* | 2.05\*\*\* | 3.39\*\*\* | 1.97\*\*\* |
|  | (0.08) | (0.16) | (0.06) | (0.14) |
| Threshold 1: Science | − 1.19\*\*\* | − 1.47\*\*\* | − 1.09\*\*\* | − 1.39\*\*\* |
|  | (0.05) | (0.07) | (0.03) | (0.05) |
| Threshold 2: Science | − 0.52\*\*\* | − 0.94\*\*\* | − 0.17\*\*\* | − 0.56\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.06) | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Threshold 3: Science | − 0.19\*\*\* | − 0.60\*\*\* | 0.65\*\*\* | 0.19\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Threshold 4: Science | 0.53\*\*\* | 0.13\*\* |  |  |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) |  |  |
| Threshold 1: Education | − 0.57\*\*\* | − 1.28\*\*\* | − 0.82\*\*\* | − 1.50\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.06) | (0.03) | (0.06) |
| Threshold 2: Education | 0.13\*\*\* | − 0.65\*\*\* | 0.14\*\*\* | − 0.59\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Threshold 3: Education | 0.40\*\*\* | − 0.30\*\*\* | 0.76\*\*\* | − 0.02 |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Threshold 4: Education | 0.87\*\*\* | 0.17\*\*\* |  |  |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) |  |  |
| Threshold 1: Debates | − 1.03\*\*\* | − 1.22\*\*\* | − 1.12\*\*\* | − 1.29\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.06) | (0.03) | (0.05) |
| Threshold 2: Debates | − 0.25\*\*\* | − 0.50\*\*\* | 0.01 | − 0.19\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Threshold 3: Debates | 0.12\*\* | − 0.15\*\* | 0.79\*\*\* | 0.49\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Threshold 4: Debates | 0.68\*\*\* | 0.40\*\*\* |  |  |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) |  |  |
| Threshold 1: God EU | − 1.53\*\*\* | − 1.40\*\*\* | − 1.38\*\*\* | − 1.59\*\*\* |
|  | (0.06) | (0.07) | (0.04) | (0.06) |
| Threshold 2: God EU | − 0.91\*\*\* | − 1.06\*\*\* | − 0.79\*\*\* | − 1.10\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.06) | (0.03) | (0.05) |
| Threshold 3: God EU | − 0.47\*\*\* | − 0.62\*\*\* | 0.15\*\*\* | − 0.29\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Threshold 4: God EU | 0.16\*\*\* | − 0.14\*\* |  |  |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) |  |  |
| Variance: Intensity | 2.77\*\*\* | 2.15\*\*\* | 3.17\*\*\* | 1.71\*\*\* |
|  | (0.19) | (0.26) | (0.17) | (0.23) |
| Variance: Church Attendance | 0.59\*\*\* | 0.27\*\*\* | 0.54\*\*\* | 0.38\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.04) | (0.04) | (0.03) |
| Variance: Prayer | 2.29\*\*\* | 1.01\*\*\* | 1.99\*\*\* | 1.03\*\*\* |
|  | (0.14) | (0.09) | (0.10) | (0.08) |
| Observations | 1269 | 740 | 2357 | 1122 |
| CFI | 0.96 | 0.97 | 0.92 | 0.95 |
| TLI | 0.94 | 0.94 | 0.86 | 0.92 |
| RMSEA | 0.07 | 0.07 | 0.08 | 0.07 |
| SRMR | 0.03 | 0.02 | 0.03 | 0.03 |
| Parameters | 30 | 30 | 26 | 26 |

Table 12: Political secularism and religiousness: one-factor model model

|  | **West 2016** | **East 2016** | **West 2012** | **East 2012** |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | West 2016 | East 2016 | West 2012 | East 2012 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Loading: Science | 0.62\*\*\* | 0.52\*\*\* | 0.46\*\*\* | 0.56\*\*\* |
|  | (0.02) | (0.03) | (0.02) | (0.03) |
| Loading: Education | 0.59\*\*\* | 0.73\*\*\* | 0.62\*\*\* | 0.73\*\*\* |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| Loading: Debates | 0.69\*\*\* | 0.78\*\*\* | 0.55\*\*\* | 0.63\*\*\* |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| Loading: God EU | 0.64\*\*\* | 0.67\*\*\* | 0.52\*\*\* | 0.56\*\*\* |
|  | (0.02) | (0.03) | (0.02) | (0.03) |
| Loading: Intensity | − 1.80\*\*\* | − 1.92\*\*\* | − 2.01\*\*\* | − 1.88\*\*\* |
|  | (0.09) | (0.14) | (0.09) | (0.14) |
| Loading: Prayer | − 1.41\*\*\* | − 1.23\*\*\* | − 1.59\*\*\* | − 1.10\*\*\* |
|  | (0.11) | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.08) |
| Loading: Church Attendance | − 0.86\*\*\* | − 0.83\*\*\* | − 0.89\*\*\* | − 0.66\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Intercept: Intensity | 5.07\*\*\* | 3.20\*\*\* | 5.28\*\*\* | 3.08\*\*\* |
|  | (0.08) | (0.16) | (0.06) | (0.15) |
| Intercept: Church Attendance | 2.54\*\*\* | 1.76\*\*\* | 2.45\*\*\* | 1.75\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.08) | (0.03) | (0.05) |
| Intercept: Prayer | 3.34\*\*\* | 2.05\*\*\* | 3.39\*\*\* | 1.97\*\*\* |
|  | (0.08) | (0.16) | (0.06) | (0.14) |
| Threshold 1: Science | − 1.19\*\*\* | − 1.47\*\*\* | − 1.09\*\*\* | − 1.39\*\*\* |
|  | (0.05) | (0.07) | (0.03) | (0.05) |
| Threshold 2: Science | − 0.52\*\*\* | − 0.94\*\*\* | − 0.17\*\*\* | − 0.56\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.06) | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Threshold 3: Science | − 0.19\*\*\* | − 0.60\*\*\* | 0.65\*\*\* | 0.19\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Threshold 4: Science | 0.53\*\*\* | 0.13\*\* |  |  |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) |  |  |
| Threshold 1: Education | − 0.57\*\*\* | − 1.28\*\*\* | − 0.82\*\*\* | − 1.50\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.06) | (0.03) | (0.06) |
| Threshold 2: Education | 0.13\*\*\* | − 0.65\*\*\* | 0.14\*\*\* | − 0.59\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Threshold 3: Education | 0.40\*\*\* | − 0.30\*\*\* | 0.76\*\*\* | − 0.02 |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Threshold 4: Education | 0.87\*\*\* | 0.17\*\*\* |  |  |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) |  |  |
| Threshold 1: Debates | − 1.03\*\*\* | − 1.22\*\*\* | − 1.12\*\*\* | − 1.29\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.06) | (0.03) | (0.05) |
| Threshold 2: Debates | − 0.25\*\*\* | − 0.50\*\*\* | 0.01 | − 0.19\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Threshold 3: Debates | 0.12\*\* | − 0.15\*\* | 0.79\*\*\* | 0.49\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Threshold 4: Debates | 0.68\*\*\* | 0.40\*\*\* |  |  |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) |  |  |
| Threshold 1: God EU | − 1.53\*\*\* | − 1.40\*\*\* | − 1.38\*\*\* | − 1.59\*\*\* |
|  | (0.06) | (0.07) | (0.04) | (0.06) |
| Threshold 2: God EU | − 0.91\*\*\* | − 1.06\*\*\* | − 0.79\*\*\* | − 1.10\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.06) | (0.03) | (0.05) |
| Threshold 3: God EU | − 0.47\*\*\* | − 0.62\*\*\* | 0.15\*\*\* | − 0.29\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Threshold 4: God EU | 0.16\*\*\* | − 0.14\*\* |  |  |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) |  |  |
| Variance: Intensity | 4.45\*\*\* | 4.33\*\*\* | 4.67\*\*\* | 4.62\*\*\* |
|  | (0.22) | (0.30) | (0.18) | (0.27) |
| Variance: Church Attendance | 0.98\*\*\* | 0.68\*\*\* | 0.87\*\*\* | 0.78\*\*\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.04) | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Variance: Prayer | 3.21\*\*\* | 1.86\*\*\* | 3.01\*\*\* | 2.15\*\*\* |
|  | (0.20) | (0.12) | (0.13) | (0.12) |
| Observations | 1269 | 740 | 2357 | 1122 |
| CFI | 0.85 | 0.79 | 0.80 | 0.71 |
| TLI | 0.77 | 0.68 | 0.71 | 0.56 |
| RMSEA | 0.13 | 0.17 | 0.12 | 0.17 |
| SRMR | 0.06 | 0.08 | 0.06 | 0.10 |
| Parameters | 29 | 29 | 25 | 25 |