

Make One For The Team: Culture Wars and Group-Serving Pronatalism

METHODOLOGICAL APPENDIX

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Table A1: Correlation Matrix, Alpha, and Factor Analysis Results for Group-Serving Pronatalism Index.

Measures	1	2	3	4	Factor 1
1 Reverse Declining Fertility	1.00				.78
2 Perpetuate Religious Heritage	.67***	1.00			.83
3 Perpetuate Racial Heritage	.58***	.66***	1.00		.75
4 Secure Political Influence	.66***	.68***	.60***	1.00	.79
Cronbach's Alpha	.88				
Component 1: Eigenvalue (% Explained)	2.92 (73%)				
Component 2: Eigenvalue (% Explained)	.44 (11%)				

Source: National Addiction and Social Attitudes Survey, Wave 4.

Table A2: Correlation Matrix, Alpha, and Factor Analysis Results for Christian Nationalism Index, Wave 3

Measures	1	2	3	4	5	Factor 1
1 Christian Nation	1.00					.83
2 God's Plan	.65***	1.00				.82
3 Founding Documents	.67***	.72***	1.00			.80
4 Christian Truly American	.76***	.73***	.69***	1.00		.87
5 Christian Nationalist Identity	.65***	.57***	.56***	.67***	1.00	.73
Cronbach's Alpha	.91					
Component 1: Eigenvalue (% Explained)	3.68 (74%)					
Component 2: Eigenvalue (% Explained)	.49 (10%)					

Source: National Addiction and Social Attitudes Survey, Wave 3.

Table A3: Correlation Matrix, Alpha, and Factor Analysis Results for Christian Nationalism Index, Wave 4

Measures	1	2	3	4	5	6	Factor 1
1 Christian Nation	1.00						.89
2 God's Plan	.72***	1.00					.84
3 Founding Documents	.70***	.74***	1.00				.81
4 Christian Truly American	.81***	.78***	.73***	1.00			.90
5 Christian Dominion	.79***	.67***	.67***	.76***	1.00		.84
6 Bible Foundation	.79***	.73***	.70***	.80***	.77***	1.00	.88
Cronbach's Alpha	.95						
Component 1: Eigenvalue (% Explained)	4.72 (79%)						
Component 2: Eigenvalue (% Explained)	.40 (7%)						

Source: National Addiction and Social Attitudes Survey, Wave 4.

Table A4: Correlation Matrix, Alpha, and Factor Analysis Results for Social Traditionalism Index.

Measures	1	2	3	4	Factor 1
1 Support Overturning Obergefell	1.00				.84
2 Support Nullifying Same-Sex Marriages	.77***	1.00			.82
3 Support Overturning Roe	.65***	.60***	1.00		.76
4 Support Arresting Women Who Abort	.53***	.55***	.61***	1.00	.68
Cronbach's Alpha					.86
Component 1: Eigenvalue (% Explained)					2.86 (71%)
Component 2: Eigenvalue (% Explained)					.55 (14%)

Source: National Addiction and Social Attitudes Survey, Wave 3.

Table A5: Correlation Matrix, Alpha, and Factor Analysis Results for Religiosity Index.

Measures	1	2	3	Factor 1
1 Religious Importance	1.00			.83
2 Prayer Frequency	.71***	1.00		.78
3 Religious Service Attendance	.63***	.57***	1.00	.71
Cronbach's Alpha	.84			
Component 1: Eigenvalue (% Explained)	2.27 (76%)			
Component 2: Eigenvalue (% Explained)	.45 (15%)			

Source: National Addiction and Social Attitudes Survey, Wave 3.

Table A6: Correlation Matrixes with individual pronatalism reasons and key indicators of ideological and partisan conservatism.

Measures	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1 Reverse Declining Fertility	1.00									
2 Perpetuate Religious Heritage	.67***	1.00								
3 Perpetuate Racial Heritage	.58***	.66***	1.00							
4 Secure Political Influence	.66***	.68***	.60***	1.00						
5 Christian Nationalism, Wave 3	.32***	.55***	.36***	.43***	1.00					
6 Christian Nationalism, Wave 4	.37***	.59***	.37***	.44***	.88**	1.00				
7 Fulfillment Pronatalism	.14***	.19***	.17***	.05*	.13***	.15***	1.00			
8 Social Traditionalism	.32***	.50***	.29***	.36***	.73***	.71***	.10***	1.00		
9 Ideological Conservatism	.18***	.32***	.16***	.18***	.55***	.56***	.08***	.61***	1.00	
10 Republican Partisanship	.15***	.27***	.12***	.12***	.47***	.48***	.08***	.56***	.64***	1.00

Source: National Addiction and Social Attitudes Survey, Waves 1, 3, and 4.

* $p < .05$; *** $p < .001$ (two-tailed test).

Table A7: Ordinary least squares regression predicting group-serving pronatalism.

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Christian nationalism w3		.32***	
Christian nationalism w4			.35***
Fulfillment-driven pronatalism	0.19***	0.18***	0.17***
Social traditionalism	0.29***	0.16***	0.15***
Conservative Identity	0.07*	0.05	0.03
Republican Partisanship	-0.02	-0.04	-0.04
Non-Evangelical Protestant	0.04	0.05*	0.05*
Catholic	0.09***	0.09***	0.09***
Other Christians	0.05	0.04	0.03
Non-Christian religions	0.09***	0.10***	0.09***
Atheist	-0.02	0.02	0.02
Agnostic	0.03	0.06*	0.06*
Nothing in particular	0.06*	0.08***	0.08***
Religiosity index	0.07*	-0.00	-0.01
Age	-0.13***	-0.15***	-0.14***
Woman	-0.06***	-0.07***	-0.07***
Non-binary	-0.04	-0.04	-0.07
Black	0.09***	0.07**	0.06**
Hispanic	0.03	0.03	0.03
Other race	-0.01	-0.01	-0.00
Married	0.01	0.00	0.01
Children under 18 in home	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02
Education	0.02	0.04*	0.05*
Income: 30K to 60K	-0.03	-0.02	-0.02
Income: 60K to 100K	-0.04*	-0.04*	-0.04
Income: 100K to 200K	-0.05*	-0.05*	-0.04*
Income: 200K or more	-0.06	-0.04	-0.05
Income: did not say	-0.03	-0.04	-0.03
Southern residence	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01
Constant	0.09*	0.08*	0.08*
R ²	0.29	0.34	0.36

Source: National Addiction and Social Attitudes Survey, Waves 1-4 (N = 1,486).

Notes: Standardized regression coefficients; p values calculated with robust standard errors.

Excluded categories are Evangelical Protestant, Man, White, Income: Less than 30K.

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001 (two-tailed test).

Table A8: Ordinary least squares regression predicting specific indicators of group-serving pronatalism.

Variables	Reverse Declining Fertility		Perpetuate Religious Heritage		Perpetuate Racial Heritage		Secure Political Influence	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
Christian nationalism w3	0.21***		0.33***		0.31***		0.41***	
Christian nationalism w4		0.29***		0.39***		0.30***		0.41***
Fulfillment-driven pronatalism	0.17***	0.16***	0.22***	0.21***	0.25***	0.25***	0.07**	0.06*
Social traditionalism	0.18***	0.15**	0.19***	0.17***	0.11**	0.12**	0.14***	0.15***
Conservative Identity	0.04	0.01	0.09*	0.06	0.06	0.04	0.02	-0.00
Republican Partisanship	-0.00	-0.00	-0.03	-0.03	-0.07*	-0.06	-0.07*	-0.06
Non-Evangelical Protestant	0.06*	0.06*	0.03	0.03	0.05	0.05	0.07**	0.07*
Catholic	0.07**	0.08**	0.08**	0.08**	0.10***	0.11***	0.10***	0.10***
Other Christians	0.05	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.06	0.06	0.00	-0.01
Non-Christian religions	0.10***	0.10**	0.09**	0.09**	0.10***	0.10**	0.08**	0.07*
Atheist	0.05	0.05	0.01	0.01	-0.00	-0.01	0.01	0.01
Agnostic	0.09*	0.09*	0.03	0.03	0.07	0.06	0.06	0.06
Nothing in particular	0.08**	0.08**	0.06*	0.07*	0.09**	0.09**	0.08**	0.07**
Religiosity index	0.00	-0.02	0.10**	0.08**	-0.05	-0.06	-0.06	-0.07*
Age	-0.17***	-0.16***	-0.14***	-0.13***	-0.16***	-0.14***	-0.16***	-0.14***
Woman	-0.09***	-0.09***	-0.07***	-0.06***	-0.06***	-0.05***	-0.08***	-0.07***
Non-binary	-0.06	-0.09	0.02	-0.01	-0.05	-0.08	-0.08	-0.11
Black	0.08**	0.07*	0.03	0.03	0.08**	0.08**	0.08**	0.07**
Hispanic	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.07**	0.06*	0.04	0.03
Other race	0.01	0.01	-0.03	-0.03	0.01	0.01	-0.01	-0.01
Children under 18 in home	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.01
Married	-0.03	-0.03	-0.01	-0.01	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02
Education	0.04	0.05	0.05*	0.06*	0.02	0.03	0.06*	0.07**
Income: 30K to 60K	0.01	0.01	-0.03	-0.03	-0.03	-0.03	-0.04*	-0.04*
Income: 60K to 100K	-0.02	-0.02	-0.06*	-0.05*	-0.03	-0.03	-0.05*	-0.05*
Income: 100K to 200K	-0.01	-0.00	-0.06*	-0.05*	-0.05*	-0.05	-0.07**	-0.06**
Income: 200K or more	-0.01	-0.02	-0.03	-0.04	-0.10*	-0.11*	-0.02	-0.04
Income: did not say	-0.01	-0.01	-0.03	-0.02	-0.04	-0.04	-0.06*	-0.06*
Southern residence	-0.02	-0.02	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.02	-0.01	-0.02
Constant	0.10*	0.10*	-0.03	-0.03	0.12*	0.12*	0.11*	0.11*
R ²	0.20	0.22	0.39	0.41	0.22	0.22	0.27	0.28
N	1,486	1,486	1,487	1,487	1,487	1,487	1,487	1,487

Source: National Addiction and Social Attitudes Survey, Waves 1-4.

Notes: Standardized regression coefficients; p values calculated with robust standard errors. Excluded categories are Evangelical Protestant, Man, White, Income: Less than 30K.

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001 (two-tailed test).

Table A9: Ordinary least squares regression predicting group-serving pronatalism with interactions for indicators of conservatism.

Variables	Christian Nationalism, Wave 3				Christian Nationalism, Wave 4			
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
Christian nationalism w3	0.24***	0.40***	0.44***	0.41***				
Christian nationalism w4					0.27***	0.40***	0.42***	0.41***
Fulfillment-driven pronatalism	0.15***	0.18***	0.18***	0.18***	0.14***	0.18***	0.17***	0.17***
Social traditionalism	0.16***	0.26***	0.15***	0.15***	0.15***	0.22***	0.15***	0.15***
Conservative Identity	0.05	0.04	0.12**	0.05	0.03	0.02	0.08*	0.03
Republican Partisanship	-0.05	-0.05	-0.04	0.03	-0.04	-0.04	-0.03	0.01
Non-Evangelical Protestant	0.05*	0.05*	0.05*	0.05*	0.05*	0.05*	0.05*	0.05*
Catholic	0.09***	0.08***	0.08***	0.08***	0.09***	0.09***	0.09***	0.09***
Other Christians	0.04	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03
Non-Christian religions	0.09***	0.09***	0.09***	0.09***	0.09***	0.08***	0.09***	0.09***
Atheist	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02
Agnostic	0.06*	0.06*	0.06*	0.06*	0.06*	0.06*	0.06*	0.06*
Nothing in particular	0.08***	0.08**	0.08**	0.08**	0.08***	0.07***	0.08***	0.08***
Religiosity index	-0.00	-0.00	0.00	0.00	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01
Age	-0.16***	-0.15***	-0.15***	-0.15***	-0.14***	-0.14***	-0.14***	-0.14***
Woman	-0.07***	-0.07***	-0.08***	-0.07***	-0.07***	-0.07***	-0.07***	-0.07***
Non-binary	-0.04	-0.04	-0.04	-0.04	-0.07	-0.06	-0.07	-0.07
Black	0.07**	0.06*	0.06*	0.05*	0.06**	0.05*	0.05*	0.05*
Hispanic	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03
Other race	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.00	-0.01
Children under 18 in home	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Married	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02
Education	0.04*	0.05*	0.05*	0.05*	0.05*	0.05*	0.05*	0.05*
Income: 30K to 60K	-0.02	-0.02	-0.03	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02
Income: 60K to 100K	-0.04	-0.04	-0.04*	-0.04*	-0.04	-0.04	-0.04	-0.04
Income: 100K to 200K	-0.05*	-0.04*	-0.05*	-0.05*	-0.04*	-0.04*	-0.04*	-0.04
Income: 200K or more	-0.04	-0.04	-0.04	-0.04	-0.05	-0.05	-0.05	-0.05
Income: did not say	-0.04	-0.04	-0.04	-0.04	-0.03	-0.03	-0.03	-0.03
Southern residence	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01
CN × Fulfillment-driven pronatalism	0.10				0.10			
CN × Social traditionalism		-0.22**				-0.16+		
CN × Conservative identity			-0.22**				-0.13+	
CN × Republican partisanship				-0.19**				-0.11+
Constant	0.10**	0.06	0.05	0.05	0.10**	0.06	0.05	0.06
R ²	0.34	0.35	0.35	0.35	0.36	0.36	0.36	0.36

Source: National Addiction and Social Attitudes Survey, Waves 1-4 (N = 1,486).

Notes: Standardized regression coefficients; p values calculated with robust standard errors. Excluded categories are Evangelical Protestant, Man, White, Income: Less than 30K. + p < .10; * p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001 (two-tailed test).

Table A10: Ordinary least squares regression predicting group-serving pronatalism with interaction terms for gender and race.

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Christian nationalism w3	0.33***	0.30***		
Christian nationalism w4			0.37***	0.34***
Fulfillment-driven pronatalism	0.18***	0.18***	0.17***	0.17***
Social traditionalism	0.16***	0.15***	0.15***	0.15***
Conservative Identity	0.05	0.05	0.03	0.03
Republican Partisanship	-0.04	-0.05	-0.04	-0.04
Non-Evangelical Protestant	0.05*	0.05*	0.05*	0.05*
Catholic	0.09***	0.08***	0.09***	0.09***
Other Christians	0.04	0.04	0.03	0.03
Non-Christian religions	0.10***	0.09***	0.09***	0.09***
Atheist	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.01
Agnostic	0.06*	0.06	0.06*	0.06*
Nothing in particular	0.08***	0.07**	0.08***	0.08***
Religiosity index	-0.00	-0.01	-0.01	-0.02
Age	-0.15***	-0.16***	-0.14***	-0.14***
Woman	-0.06***	-0.07***	-0.06***	-0.07***
Non-binary	-0.01	-0.05	-0.02	-0.08
Black	0.07**	0.09*	0.06**	0.11**
Hispanic	0.03	-0.02	0.03	-0.01
Other race	-0.00	-0.04	-0.00	-0.04
Children under 18 in home	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.01
Married	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02
Education	0.04*	0.04*	0.05*	0.05*
Income: 30K to 60K	-0.02	-0.03	-0.02	-0.02
Income: 60K to 100K	-0.04*	-0.04*	-0.04*	-0.04
Income: 100K to 200K	-0.05*	-0.05*	-0.04*	-0.04*
Income: 200K or more	-0.04	-0.04	-0.05	-0.05
Income: did not say	-0.04	-0.04	-0.03	-0.03
Southern residence	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01
CN × Woman	-0.03		-0.03	
CN × Non-Binary	-0.14		-0.14	
CN × Black		-0.06		-0.11
CN × Hispanic		0.16**		0.10
CN × Other Race		0.09		0.11
Constant	0.07	0.09*	0.07	0.08*
R ²	0.34	0.35	0.36	0.36

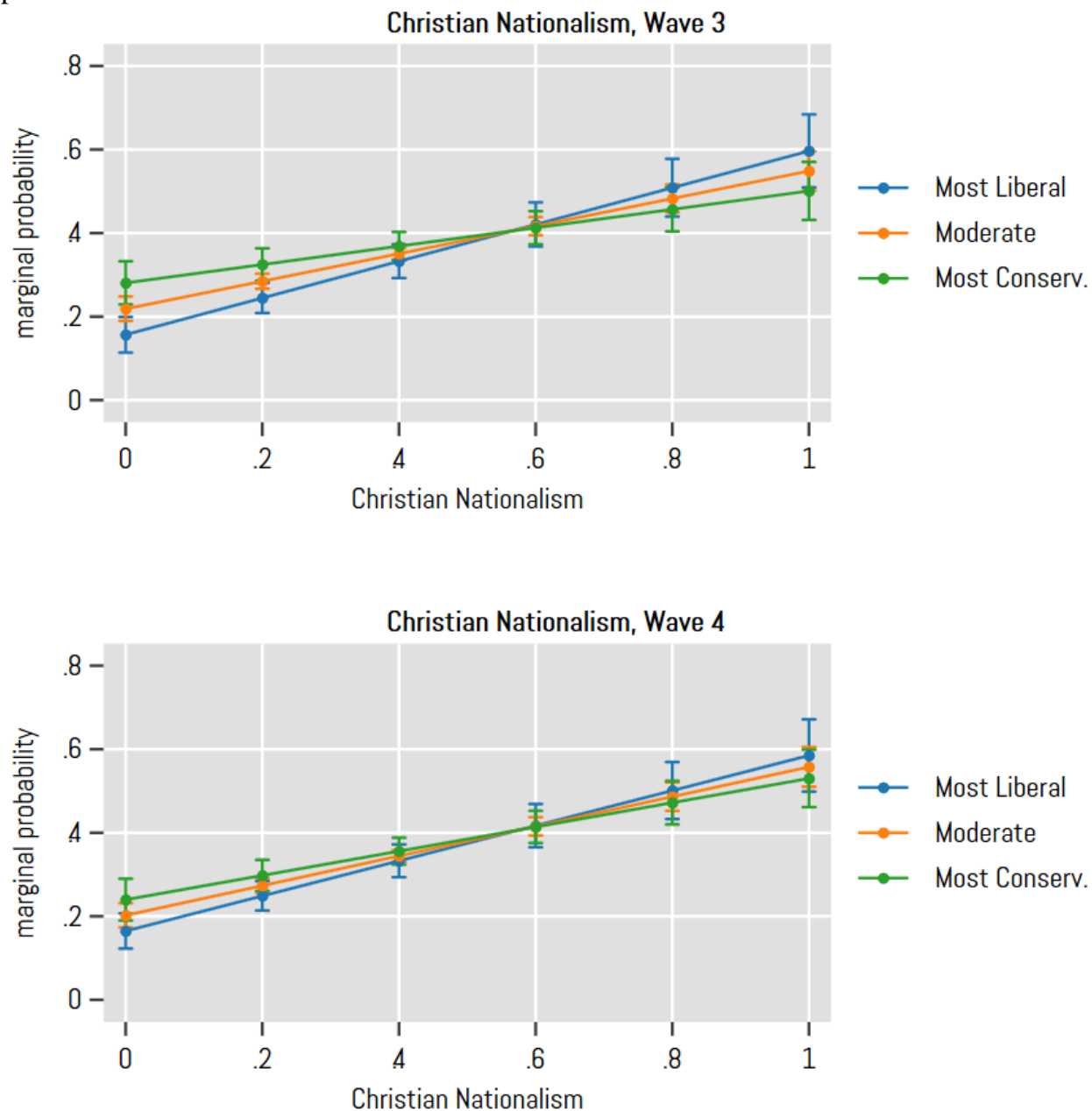
Source: National Addiction and Social Attitudes Survey, Waves 1-4 (N = 1,486).

Notes: Standardized regression coefficients; p values calculated with robust standard errors.

Excluded categories are Evangelical Protestant, Man, White, Income: Less than 30K.

+ p < .10; * p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001 (two-tailed test).

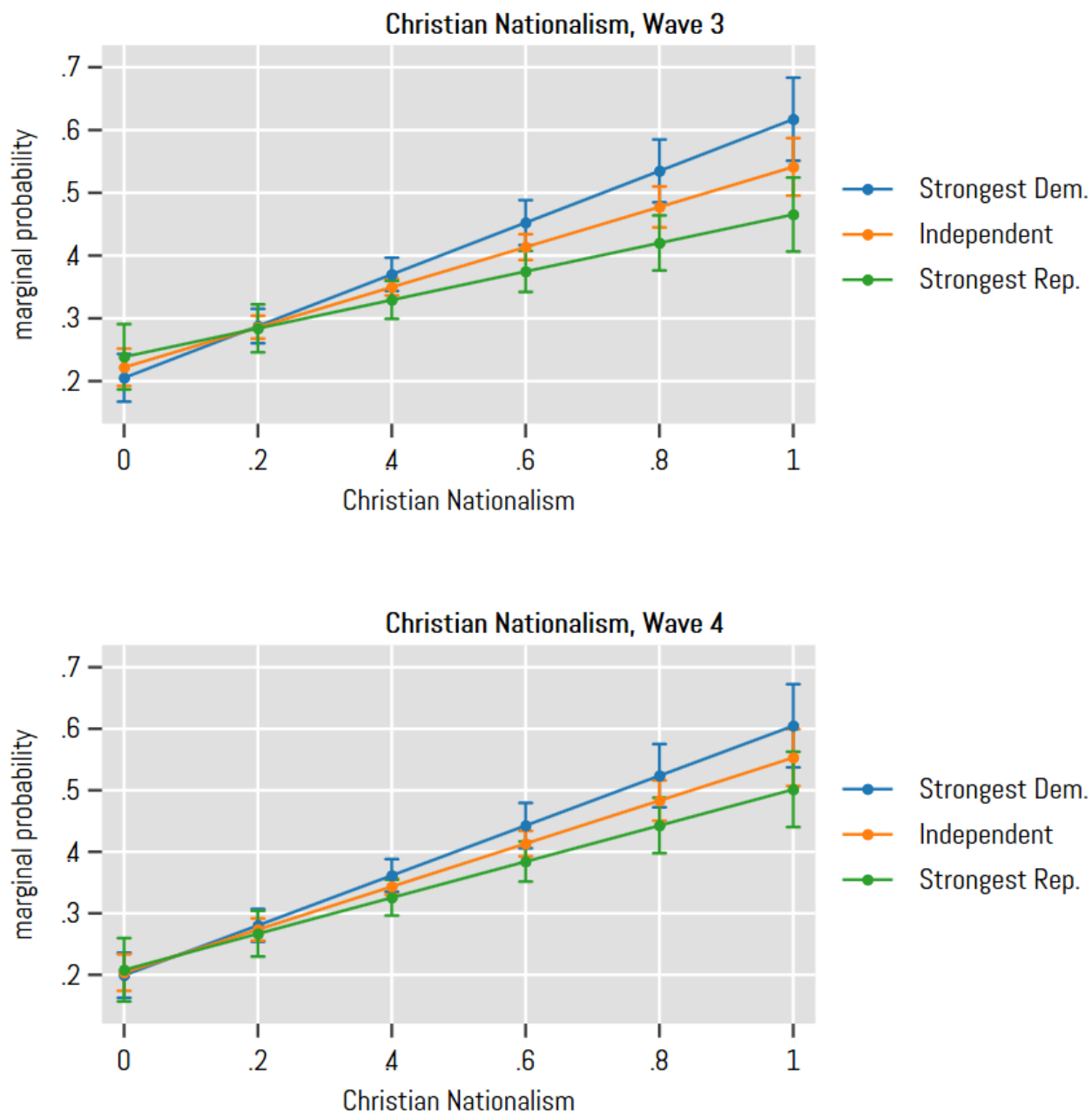
Figure A1. Marginal effects of ideological identity on support for group-serving pronatalism across values of Christian nationalism.



Source: National Addiction and Social Attitudes Survey, Waves 1-4 (N = 1,486).

Note: Analyses from Appendix Table AX. Error bars are 95% confidence intervals with robust standard errors.

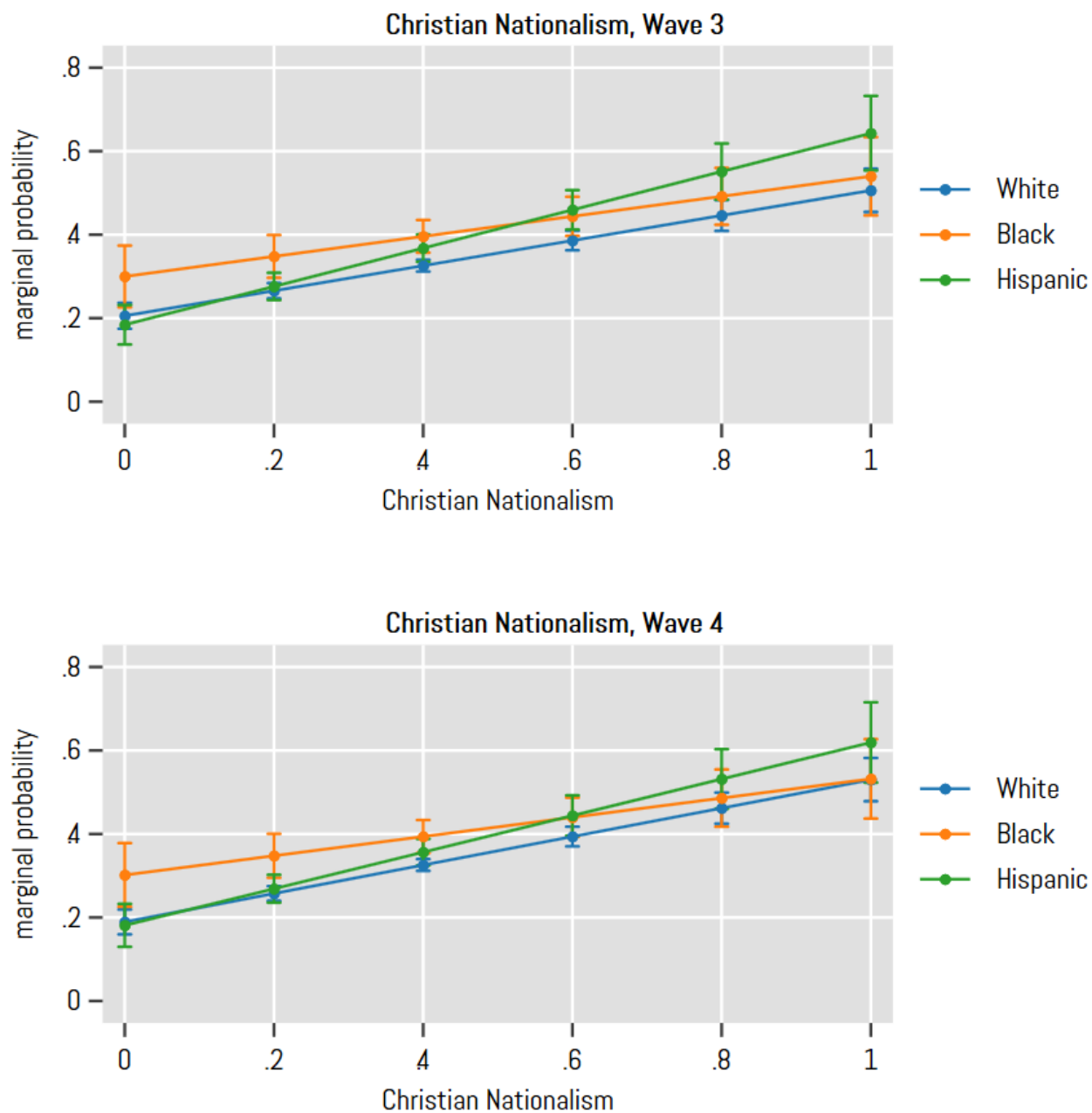
Figure A2. Marginal effects of partisan identity on support for group-serving pronatalism across values of Christian nationalism.



Source: National Addiction and Social Attitudes Survey, Waves 1-4 (N = 1,486).

Note: Analyses from Appendix Table AX. Error bars are 95% confidence intervals with robust standard errors.

Figure A3. Marginal effects of racial identity on support for group-serving pronatalism across values of Christian nationalism.



Source: National Addiction and Social Attitudes Survey, Waves 1-4 (N = 1,486).

Note: Analyses from Appendix Table AX. Error bars are 95% confidence intervals with robust standard errors.