**ONLINE APPENDIX A – VARIABLE CODING**

General Social Survey (1977-2012)

**Dependent Variables**

FREE SPEECH SCALE: Additive Index of the questions about whether disfavored groups should be able to “make a speech in your (city/town/community),” ranging from 0-5:

Atheists – “somebody who is against all churches and religion;” 0 = no; 1 = yes.

Communists – “a man who admits he is a communist;” 0 = no; 1 = yes.

Militarists – “a person who advocates doing away with elections and letting the military run the country;” 0 = no; 1 = yes.

Homosexuals – “a man who admits that he is a homosexual;” 0 = no; 1 = yes.

Racists – “a person who believes that Blacks are genetically inferior;” 0 = no; 1 = yes.

PORNOGRAPHY LAW: “Which of these statements comes closest to your feelings about pornography laws?” 1 = always illegal; 2 = illegal under 18; 3 = always legal.

**Independent Variables**

ABORTION SCALE: Additive index ranging from 0-7 of the questions about “whether or not you think it should be possible for a pregnant woman to obtain a legal abortion:”

“The woman wants it for any reason;” 0 = yes; 1 = no.

“The woman’s own health is seriously endangered by the pregnancy;” 0 = yes; 1 = no.

“The family has a very low income and cannot afford any more children;” 0 = yes; 1 = no.

“She became pregnant as a result of rape;” 0 = yes; 1 = no.

“She is married and does not want any more children;” 0 = yes; 1 = no.

“There is a strong chance of serious defect in the baby;” 0 = yes; 1 = no.

“She is not married and does not want to marry the man;” 0 = yes; 1 = no.

PARTY-ID: 0) strong Democrat; 1) weak Democrat 2) Independent leaning Democrat 3) Independent 4) Independent leaning Republican 5) weak Republican 6) strong Republican.

POLITICAL IDEOLOGY: 0) extremely liberal; 1) liberal; 2) slightly liberal; 3) moderate; 4) slightly conservative; 5) conservative; 6) extremely conservative.

EVANGELICAL: Used Steensland, et al. (2000) syntax, as updated by Stetzer and Burge (2015), to compute religious tradition (RELTRAD) 0 = Non-Evangelical; 1 = Evangelical.

EVANGELICAL-ABORTION INTERACTION: Evangelical Religious Tradition x Abortion Scale.

EDUCATION: Degree: 0 = Less than high school; 1 = High school; 2 = Junior College; 3 = Bachelor’s degree; 4 = Graduate degree.

FEMALE: Sex of respondent. 1 = Male; 2 = Female.

BLACK: 0 = Non-Black; 1 = Black.

CHILDREN: Does respondent have any children? 0 = No; 1 = Yes.

AGE: Age of respondent in years.

YEAR: Survey Year.

American National Election Study (2000)

**Dependent Variable**

CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM: “Recently, there has been a lot of talk about campaign finance reform. Some people believe that we should protect government from excessive influence from campaign contributors. Others think that protecting freedom of individuals to financially support political candidates and parties is more important. Which is closer to the way you think…” 0 = “Protecting the freedom of individuals;” 1 = “Protect the government from excessive influence.”

**Independent Variables**

ABORTION ATTITUDE: “Please tell me which one of the opinions best agrees with your view:” 1 = “By law, abortion should never be permitted;” 2 = The law should permit abortion only in case 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.”

PARTY-ID: 0 = Strong Democrat; 1 = Weak Democrat 2 = Independent leaning Democrat 3 = Independent 4 = Independent leaning Republican 5 = Weak Republican 6 = Strong Republican.

EVANGELICAL: 0 = Non-Evangelical; 1 = Evangelical. Followed a modified version of Steensland (2000) applied to the ANES. The following religious identifications are classified as evangelical: **Other Denomination: “**Evangelical United Brethren;” “Christian or Just Christian” and Attendance is greater than “never;” “Church (or Churches) of Christ” and not United Church of Christ; “Church of God;” “Assembly of God;” “Holiness;” “Pentecostal;” “Non-Denominational – Protestant” and Attendance is greater than “never.” **Baptist:** “Baptist Convention;” “American Baptist Association” and Non-Black; “Independent Baptist;” “Other” and Non-Black; “Don’t know” and Non-Black. **Lutheran:** “Missouri Synod.” **Methodist:** “Other” and Non-Black; “Don’t know” and Non-Black. **Reformed:** “Christian Reformed Church.” **Brethren:** “Church of the Brethren;” “Plymouth Brethren.”

CATHOLIC: “Do you mostly attend a place of worship that is Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish, or Something Else?” 0 = Non-Catholic; 1 = Catholic.

BLACK: 0 = Non-Black; 1 = Black.

HISPANIC: 0 = Non-Hispanic; 1 = Hispanic.

AGE: Age of respondent in years.

FEMALE: Sex of respondent. 1 = Male; 2 = Female.

EDUCATION: 0 = Less than high school; 1 = High school; 2 = Junior College; 3 = Bachelor’s degree; 4 = Advanced degree.

ABORTION-EVANGELICAL INTERACTION: Evangelical Religious Tradition x Abortion Attitude.

ABORTION-CATHOLIC INTERECTION: Catholic Religious Tradition x Abortion Attitude.

**References**

Steensland, Brian. Jerry Z. Park, Mark D. Regnerus, Lynn D. Robinson, W. Bradford Wilcox,

and Robert D. Woodberry. 2000. “The measure of American religion: Toward improving the state of the art.” *Social Forces* 79: 291-318. Syntax found at: <http://www.indiana.edu/~soc/pdf/RELTRADsyntax_3versions.pdf>

Stetzer, Ed., and Ryan P. Burge. 2015. “Reltrad Coding Problems and a New Repository.” *Politics & Religion*: 1-4. Syntax found at: http://www.lifewayresearch.com/reltrad/.

**Online Appendix B – Free Speech Scale**

Table 3. GSS Free Speech Scale – Evangelicals Before & After 1990

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Evangelicals Only**  **(1976-1989)** | **Evangelicals Only**  **(1990-2014)** |
|  | Odds Ratio  (Robust SE) | Odds Ratio  (Robust SE) |
| Abortion Scale | .86\*\*  (.02) | .83\*\*  (.02) |
| Republican | .89  (.16) | .87  (.12) |
| Democrat | .80  (.11) | .86  (.09) |
| Repub. & Abortion Interaction | .97  (.03) | 1.06\*  (.03) |
| Political Ideology  (Lib.-Conserv.) | .95+  (.03) | 1.01  (.03) |
| Education | 1.54\*\*  (.07) | 1.54\*\*  (.05) |
| Children | 1.13  (.11) | .90  (.07) |
| Age | .98\*\*  (.002) | .99\*\*  (.002) |
| Black | .85\*\*  (.14) | .87  (.11) |
| Female | .89\*\*  (.07) | .80\*\*  (.05) |
| Survey Year | 1.06\*\*  (.01) | 1.02\*\*  (.004) |
| Cut 1 | 114.44  (20.68) | 30.53  (8.00) |
| Cut2 | 115.32  (20.68) | 31.40  (8.00) |
| Cut 3 | 115.84  (20.68) | 31.96  (8.00) |
| Cut 4 | 116.37  (20.68) | 32.47  (8.00) |
| Cut 5 | 117.02  (20.68) | 33.14  (8.00) |
| N | 2195 | 3880 |
| Adj. Count R2 | .07 | .03 |

+ = p < .10; \* = p < .05; \*\* = p < .01

**Online Appendix C – Pornography**

Table 4. GSS Pornography Law – All & Evangelicals Only

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | **All Respondents** | **Evang. Only** |
|  | Odds Ratio  (Robust SE) | Odds Ratio  (Robust SE) |
| Abortion Scale | .82\*\*  (.01) | .75\*\*  (.01) |
| Evangelical | .84\*  (.06) | -- |
| Evang. & Abortion. Interaction | .92\*\*  (.02) | -- |
| Party ID | 1.00  (.01) | .98  (.02) |
| Political Ideology | .88\*\*  (.01) | .85\*\*  (.03) |
| Education | 1.06\*\*  (.02) | .97  (.04) |
| Children | .82\*\*  (.03) | .83\*  (.07) |
| Age | .97\*\*  (.01) | .97\*\*  (.003) |
| Black | 1.37\*\*  (.08) | 1.43\*  (.23) |
| Female | .45\*\*  (.02) | .42\*\*  (.03) |
| Survey Year | 1.01\*\*  (.002) | 1.02\*\*  (.004) |
| Cut 1 | 23.74  (3.66) | 29.70  (7.86) |
| Cut2 | 27.95  (3.67) | 33.71  (7.89) |
| N | 13990 | 3462 |
| Adj. Count R2 | .26 | .41 |

+ = p < .10; \* = p < .05; \*\* = p < .01