

Appendix A. Sample size per context

| Country | EVS wave | | | | |
|------------------|----------|------|------|------|------|
| | 1981 | 1990 | 1999 | 2008 | 2017 |
| Austria | (a) | 1015 | 1080 | 816 | 1330 |
| Belgium | 156 | 1716 | 1289 | 1141 | (a) |
| Denmark | 427 | 780 | 793 | 1231 | 3002 |
| Finland | (a) | 394 | 737 | 691 | 932 |
| France | 204 | 571 | 934 | 1237 | 1428 |
| Germany | 589 | 2650 | 1318 | 1329 | 1570 |
| Greece | (a) | (a) | 549 | 982 | (a) |
| Iceland | 367 | 431 | 693 | 555 | 1301 |
| Ireland | 181 | 844 | 700 | 570 | (a) |
| Italy | 381 | 1313 | 1184 | 706 | 1755 |
| Luxembourg | (a) | (a) | 605 | 840 | (a) |
| Malta | 175 | (b) | 791 | 727 | (a) |
| Netherlands | (b) | 879 | 879 | 1271 | 1898 |
| Norway | (b) | 984 | (a) | 884 | 994 |
| Portugal | (a) | 736 | 548 | 607 | 901 |
| Spain | 499 | 1596 | 594 | 694 | 562 |
| Sweden | (b) | 688 | 736 | 725 | 995 |
| Switzerland | (a) | (a) | (a) | 666 | 2372 |
| Great Britain | 192 | 1229 | 589 | 929 | 1621 |
| Northern Ireland | 51 | 234 | 632 | 256 | (a) |

Note: (a) - Country did not participate in this wave of the EVS; (b) - Country participated in the EVS but the question on voting was not asked or results unavailable or results were impossible to decode.

Appendix B. Moral traditionalism in party programs per party family

| Party family | 1981 | 1990 | 1999 | 2008 | 2017 |
|----------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|
| <i>Christian Democrats</i> | 5.83 | 8.11 | 7.87 | 4.62 | 3.93 |
| <i>Conservative</i> | 2.23 | 1.24 | 2.56 | 1.54 | 0.69 |
| Liberal | 0.88 | 0.55 | 0.76 | 0.5 | 0.15 |
| Nationalist | 0.88 | 3.01 | 3.71 | 4.23 | 3.28 |
| Ecologist | 0.82 | 0.49 | 0.4 | 0.25 | 0.12 |
| Regional | 0.6 | 0.71 | 0.71 | 0.64 | 0.34 |
| Social Democratic | 0.2 | 0.41 | 0.82 | 0.6 | 0.19 |
| Socialist | 0.12 | 0.63 | 0.32 | 0.14 | 0.06 |
| Special issue | 0 | 8.03 | 5.8 | 5.35 | 2.94 |

Note: The table shows average shares of party programs featuring favorable mentions of traditional morality per party family or wave based on the Manifesto Project database. According to the Manifesto codebook, positive mentions of traditional morality and/or religious moral values “may include prohibition, censorship and suppression of immorality and unseemly behavior; maintenance and stability of the traditional family as a value; support for the role of religious institutions in state and society”. On average, religious parties score the highest on favorable mentions of traditional morality compared to other party families. Conservative parties the second highest mentions of traditional morality in 1981 but scored lower than nationalist parties after 1990.

Unfortunately, assigning scores of traditional morality from Manifesto to particular political parties mentioned as preferred by the EVS respondents was impossible without significantly reducing the number of observations in the sample. Manifesto codes programs of those political parties that got parliamentary seats in the respective national elections. The Manifesto sample is, hence, restricted to parties that were successful in the *national*-level elections in a particular election year. The EVS survey waves, however, do not necessarily coincide with election years and can, therefore, feature political parties that are popular on the subnational level that did not perform well in the previous or following national elections. In other words, the Manifesto dataset does not cover all parties chosen by the EVS respondents and definitely *not in all waves*.

Appendix C. Religious and Conservative parties per country

| Country | Party | Waves present (EVS) | Party family (Manifesto) |
|---------|---|---------------------|--------------------------|
| Austria | ÖVP - Österreichische Volkspartei (Austrian People's Party) | 1990- 2017 | Christian |
| Belgium | CVP - Christelijke Volkspartij (Christian People's Party), renamed in 1999: CD&V - Christen-Democratisch en Vlaams (Christian Democratic and Flemish) | 1981-2008 | Christian |
| | PSC - Parti Social Chrétien (Christian Social Party), renamed in 2002: cdH - Centre démocrate humaniste (Humanist Democratic Centre) | 1981-2008 | Christian |
| | | | |
| Denmark | CD - Centrum-Demokraterne (Centre Democrats) | 1981-1999 | Conservative |
| | KrF - Kristeligt Folkeparti (Christian People's Party), renamed in 2003: K - Kristendemokraterne (Christian Democrats) | 1981-2008 | Christian |
| | KF - Konservative Folkeparti (Conservative People's Party) | All | Conservative |
| Finland | KK - Kansallinen Kokoomus (National Coalition) | 1990-2017 | Conservative |
| | SKL - Suomen Kristillinen Liitto (Finnish Christian Union), renamed in 2001: KD - Suomen Kristillisdemokraatit (Christian Democrats in Finland) | 1990-2017 | Christian |
| | | | |
| France | UDF - Union pour la Démocratie Française (Union for French Democracy), renamed in 2007: MoDem - Mouvement Démocrate (Democratic Movement) renamed in 2017: Les Républicains (The Republicans) | All | Conservative |
| | RPR - Rassemblement pour la République (Rally for the Republic) | 1981-1999 | Conservative |
| | UMP - Union pour un Mouvement Populaire (Union for a Popular Movement) | 2008 | Conservative |
| | DLF - Debout la France (Republic Arise / France Arise) | 2017 | Conservative* |
| | AGIR - Agir, la droite constructive (Act, the Constructive Right) | 2017 | Conservative* |
| Greece | ND - Nea Dimokratia (New Democracy) | 1999, 2008 | Christian |

| | | | |
|------------------|--|------------------|---------------|
| Germany | CDU/CSU - Alliance: Christlich-Demokratische Union/ Christlich-Soziale Union (Christian Democratic Union/ Christian Social Union); members: CDU Christlich-Demokratische Union (Christian Democratic Union), CSU Christlich-Soziale Union (Christian Social Union) | All | Christian |
| Iceland | Sj - Sjálfstæðisflokkurinn (Independence Party) | All | Conservative |
| | Miðflokkurinn (Centre Party) | 2017 | Conservative |
| | B - Borgarahreyfingin (Citizens' Movement) | 2008 | Conservative |
| Ireland | Fine Gael (Family of the Irish) | 1981-2008 | Christian |
| | Fianna Fáil (Soldiers of Destiny) | 1981-2008 | Conservative |
| Italy | DC - Democrazia Cristiana (Christian Democrats), renamed in 1994: PPI - Partito Popolare Italiano (Italian Popular Party) | 1981- 1999 | Christian |
| | CCD - Centro Cristiano Democratico (Christian Democratic Centre) | 1999 | Christian |
| | Alliance: Biancofiore (White Flower) | 1999 | Christian |
| | AD - Alleanza Democratica (Democratic Alliance) | 1999 | Christian |
| | UDC - Alliance: Unione dei Democratici Cristiani e di Centro (Union for Christian and Center Democrats), renamed in 2008: UdC - Unione di Centro (Union of the Center) | 2008, 2017 | Christian |
| | FI - Forza Italia (Go Italy) | 1999, 2017 | Conservative |
| | AN - Alleanza Nazionale (National Alliance) | 1999 | Conservative* |
| | PdL - Alliance: Il Popolo della Libertà (People of Freedom) | 2008 | Conservative |
| Luxemburg | CSV/PCS - Chrëschtlech Sozial Vollekspartei/Parti Chrétien Social (Christian Social People's Party) | 1999, 2008 | Christian |
| | ADR - Alternativ Demokratesch Reformpartei/Parti Réformiste d'Alternative Démocratique (Alternative Democratic Reform Party) | 1999, 2008 | Conservative* |
| Malta | PN - Partit Nazzjonalista (Nationalist Party) | 1981, 1999, 2008 | Conservative |
| Netherlands | CDA - Christen-Democratisch Appèl (Christian Democratic Appeal) | 1990-2017 | Christian |
| | GPV - Gereformeerd Politiek Verbond (Reformed Political League) | 1990-2017 | Christian |
| | RPF - Reformatorische Politieke Federatie (Reformatory Political Federation) | 1990, 1999 | Christian |
| | CU - ChristenUnie (Christian Union) | 2008, 2017 | Christian |
| Northern Ireland | UUP - Ulster Unionist Party (Ulster Unionist Party) | 1990-2008 | Conservative |

| | | | |
|---------------|--|------------------|---------------|
| Norway | KrF - Kristelig Folkeparti (Christian People's Party) | 1990, 2008, 2017 | Christian |
| | H - Høyre (Conservative Party) | 1990, 2008 | Conservative |
| | Coastal party | 2017 | Conservative |
| Portugal | CDS - Partido do Centro Democrático Social (Social Democratic Center Party), renamed in 1995: | 1990-2017 | Christian |
| | CDS-PP - Centro Democrático Social-Partido Popular (Social Democratic Center-Popular Party) | | |
| | PPD - Partido Popular Democrático (Popular Democratic Party), renamed in 1977: | 1990-2017 | Conservative |
| | PSD - Partido Social Democrata (Social Democratic Party) | | |
| Spain | PPM - Partido Popular Monárquico (Popular Monarchist Party) | 1990 | Conservative* |
| | CDS - Centro Democrático y Social (Centre Democrats) | 1981, 1990 | Christian |
| | AP - Alianza Popular (Popular Alliance), renamed in 1989: PP - Partido Popular (People's Party) | All | Conservative |
| Sweden | KDS - Kristen Demokratisk Samling (Christian Democratic Coalition), renamed in 1987: | 1990-2017 | Christian |
| | KdS - Kristdemokratiska Samhällspartiet (Christian Democratic Community Party), renamed in 1998: | | |
| | Kd - Kristdemokraterna (Christian Democrats) | | |
| | MSP - Moderata Samlingspartiet (Moderate Coalition Party) | 1990-2017 | Conservative |
| Switzerland | CVP/PDC - Christlichdemokratische Volkspartei der Schweiz/Parti démocrate-chrétien suisse (Christian Democratic People's Party of Switzerland) | 2008, 2017 | Christian |
| | EVP/PEV- Evangelische Volkspartei der Schweiz/Parti Evangélique Suisse (Protestant People's Party of Switzerland) | 2008, 2017 | Christian |
| | CSP/PCS - Christlich-soziale Partei/Parti Chrétien-Social (Christian Social Party) | 2007 | Christian |
| | BDP/PBD - Bürgerlich-Demokratische Partei Schweiz/Parti Bourgeois Démocratique Suisse (Conservative Democratic Party of Switzerland) | 2017 | Conservative |
| Great Britain | Conservatives - Conservative Party (Conservative Party) | All | Conservative |

Note: * - party not coded by Manifesto, family assigned based on 'Parlgov' dataset (Döring and Manow 2020).

Appendix D. Multilevel regression modeling results and robustness checks for religious and conservative voting separately

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) |
|--|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| | Religious and conservative voting | | | Only religious voting | | | Only conservative voting | | |
| Moral traditionalism | 0.182*** (0.018) | 0.272*** (0.052) | 0.398*** (0.080) | 0.292*** (0.035) | 0.365*** (0.050) | 0.315** (0.152) | 0.090** (0.040) | 0.156** (0.076) | 0.365*** (0.100) |
| EVS wave | -0.152*** (0.040) | 0.007 (0.097) | -0.020 (0.098) | -0.288* (0.152) | -0.146 (0.132) | -0.041 (0.185) | -0.288*** (0.090) | -0.173 (0.140) | -0.149 (0.121) |
| Contextual secularity | | | 0.078 (0.154) | | | -0.369 (0.343) | | | 0.027 (0.118) |
| Moral traditionalism X Time | | -0.026* (0.015) | -0.020 (0.014) | | -0.022 (0.015) | -0.025* (0.014) | | -0.019 (0.013) | -0.008 (0.011) |
| Moral traditionalism X Contextual secularity | | | -0.025** (0.012) | | | 0.010 (0.028) | | | -0.042*** (0.014) |
| Socio-demographic controls | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Country FEs | Yes | Yes | Yes | No | No | No | No | No | No |
| SEs | robust | robust | robust | country clustered | country clustered | country clustered | country clustered | country clustered | country clustered |
| Observations | 71,451 | 71,451 | 71,451 | 47,152 | 47,152 | 47,152 | 44,142 | 44,142 | 44,142 |
| Number of groups | 79 | 79 | 79 | 57 | 57 | 57 | 57 | 57 | 57 |

Unstandardized coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses; *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$. Models 1-3 are for combined religious/conservative voting; models 4-6 are for religious voting versus the rest; and models 7-9 are for conservative voting versus the rest.

Though the table shows that some interactions effects for separate religious and conservative voting are statistically insignificant, interaction effects in multilevel logistic regressions should not be interpreted straightforwardly as it is better to rely on marginal effects for interpretation. The graphs of marginal effects presented below demonstrate that the effect of moral traditionalism *decreases over time* for both religious and conservative voting (see Figures 8 and 9 below), and is weaker in more secular contexts for both types of voting (see Figures 10-11). The temporal changes and contextual differences are less pronounced for separate models likely because of the lower number of contexts for each type of voting which do not feature enough variability, especially in the levels of contextual secularity (i.e. demonstrating smaller effect sizes or insignificant cross-level interaction terms, although always pointing in the hypothesized direction). Interestingly, the declining trends are more pronounced for conservative voting than for religious but more data points from more contexts with varying levels of contextual secularity are needed to make verifiable claims about such differences. Most importantly, we do *not* find any indication of an increase for either of the two types of voting.

Figure 8. Main effects of moral traditionalism on religious and conservative voting separately (first row, based on multilevel models 4 and 7 respectively), and how they change over time (second row, based on models 5 and 8 respectively)

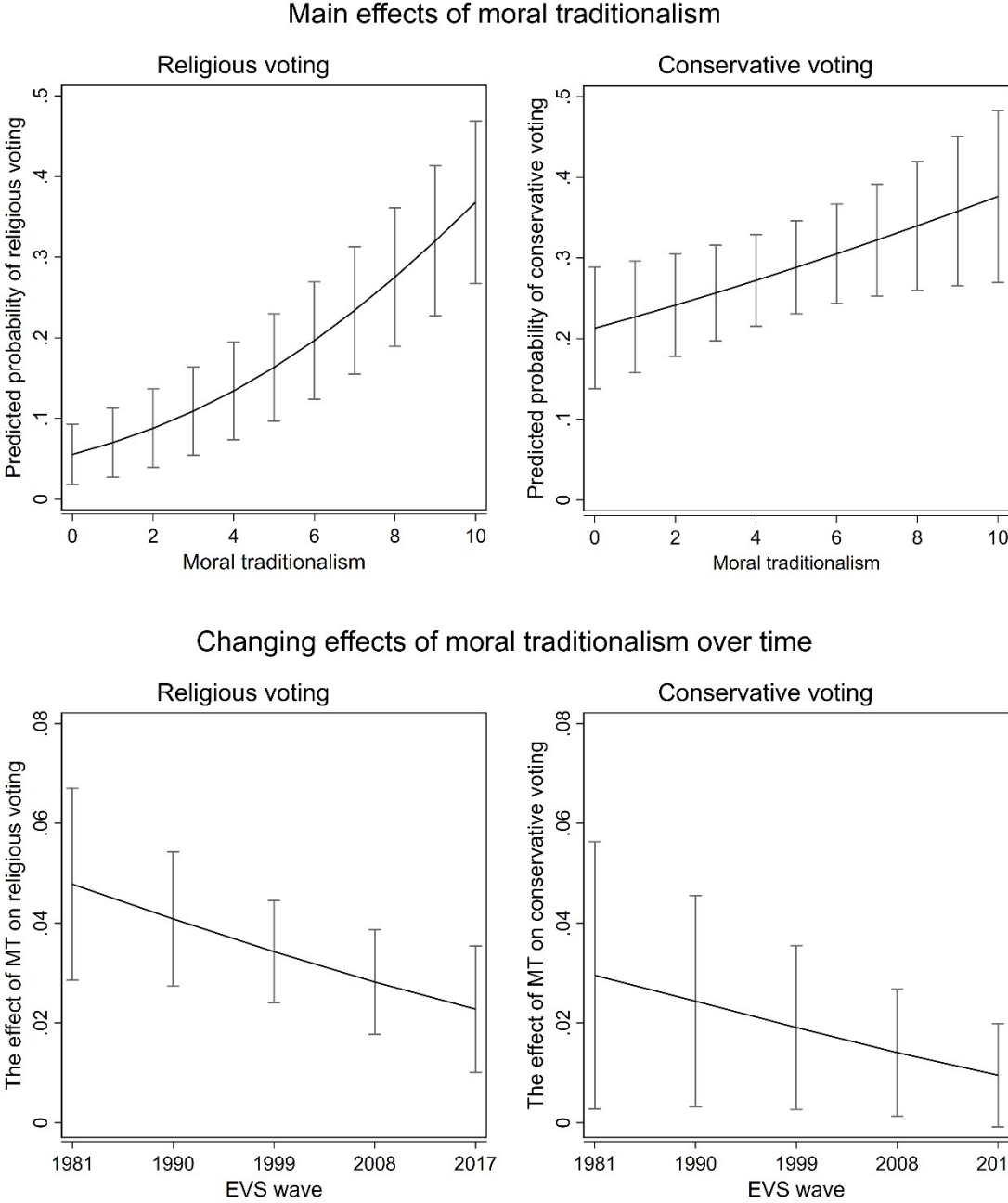


Figure 9. Predicted probabilities of religious and conservative voting in 1981 versus 2017 (based on models 5 and 8 respectively)

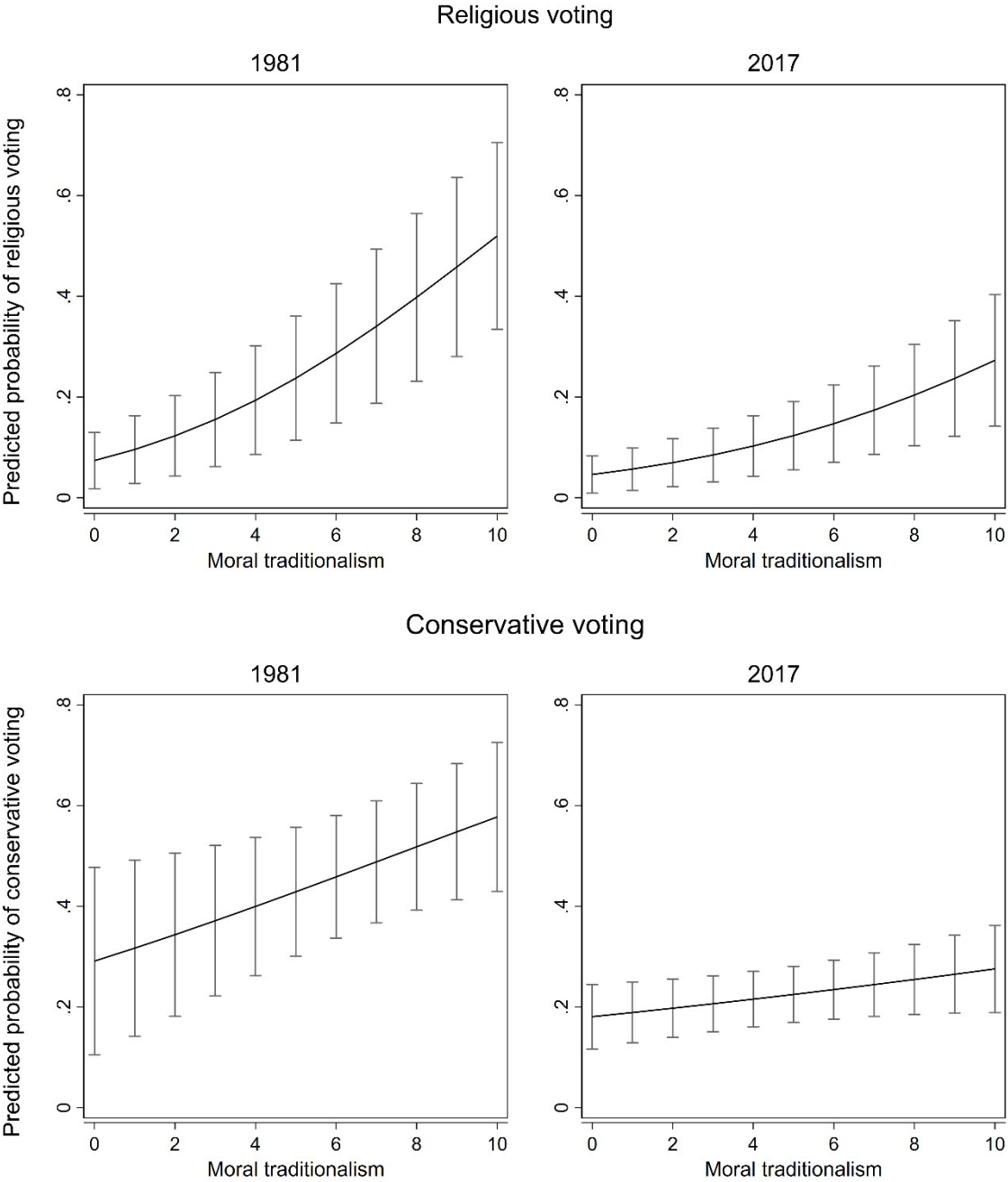


Figure 10. Differences in the effect of moral traditionalism (MT) on religious and conservative voting in religious versus secular contexts (based on models 6 and 9 respectively)

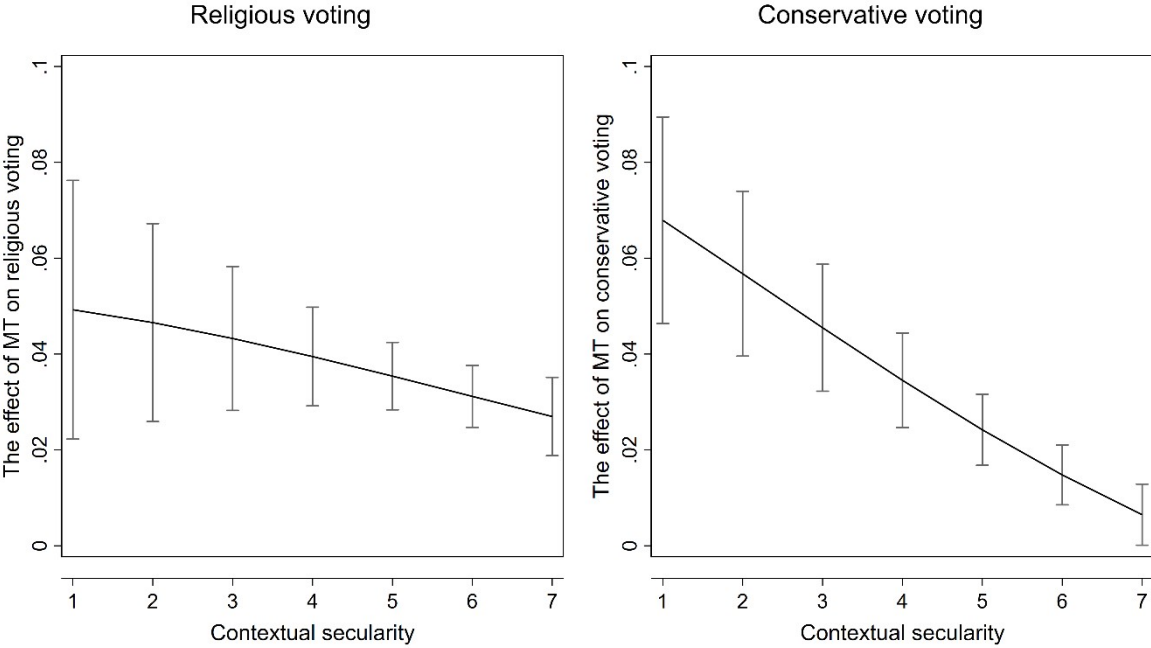


Figure 11. Predicted probabilities of religious and conservative voting in religious versus secular contexts (based on models 6 and 9 respectively)

