README FILE

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Values and Political Predispositions in the Age of Polarization: Examining the Relationship between Partisanship and Ideology in the U.S., 1988-2012

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Hello, and welcome to our Dataverse Dataset! This README file provides information regarding the data and analysis files, as well as the codebook, located in this Dataverse Dataset that can be used to reproduce the empirical analyses presented in our *British Journal of Political Science* article. We hope that this information is helpful, and please do not hesitate to contact the corresponding author if you have any questions regarding these materials.

Please note that all of the analyses appearing in this article were conducted in Stata 13, as were all but one of the supplemental analyses. The lone exception was conducted in R Version 3.0.2.

ANALYSIS DATASETS

1. "ANES Cumulative File (1948-2012).dta": The first Stata dataset appearing in this Dataverse Dataset is the American National Election Studies (ANES) Cumulative File (1948-2012), which serves as the larger dataset from which the analysis dataset is

constructed. That is, the primary Stata do-file used to conduct the empirical analyses in this article — "Values, Ideology and Partisanship (Replication Code, 09-27-17).do" — constructs and saves the analysis dataset after recoding relevant variables appearing in the ANES Cumulative File.

2. "Values, Ideology and Partisanship, 1988-2012.dta": This Stata dataset is a subset of the ANES Cumulative File featuring the relevant variables used to conduct all of the empirical analyses in this article, save for one supplemental analysis. All subsequent datasets listed in this README file except for the 1992-1997 ANES Merged File ("1992-1994-1996 ANES Panel Data.dta") are constructed from this one.

3. "Correlation between Ideology and Partisanship (1988-2012 ANES).dta": This Stata dataset contains the estimated correlation between ideology and partisanship in each election year from 1988 to 2012. The correlations presented in this dataset are used to construct manuscript Figure 1.

4. "Correlation between Ideology and Partisanship Conditioned on Core Values (1988-2012 ANES).dta": This Stata dataset contains the estimated correlation between ideology and partisanship in each election year from 1988 to 2012 conditioned on core values. The correlations presented in this dataset are used to construct manuscript Figure 2.

5. "Partial Correlation between Partisanship and Ideology Conditioned on Values (1988-2012 ANES).dta": This Stata dataset contains the estimated partial correlation between ideology and partisanship in each election year from 1988 to 2012, conditioned on core values and controlling for all of the covariates appearing in the regression model specified to produce the results featured in Table 1. The partial correlations presented in this dataset are used to construct manuscript Figure 5.

6. "Proportion of Don't Know Ideology Responses (1988-2012 ANES).dta": This Stata dataset is used to analyze whether or not our empirical results are influenced by the decreasing percentage of individuals who respond "don't know" to the ideological self-identification over time. The values contained in this dataset are used to produce Supporting Information (SI) Figure SI3.

7. "Core Values Scale Item Analysis Data.dta": This Stata dataset is used by the Stata do-file "Core Values Scale Item Analysis.do" to create an accompanying R script ("R Script Reliability and Item Analysis.R") that assesses the over time reliability of our core values scale, as well as to conduct an item analysis of the egalitarianism and moral traditionalism indicators that comprise the core values scale. Specifically, these data are ultimately analyzed in the accompanying R script to produce Figures SI1-2.

8. "1992-1994-1996 ANES Panel Data.dta": This Stata dataset is the 1992-1997 ANES Merged File containing panel data collected in 1992, 1994 and 1996 that are used to

analyze the potentially endogenous relationship between core values and partisanship. The variables in this dataset are analyzed to produce Figure SI7.

ANALYSIS FILES

1. "Values, Ideology and Partisanship (Replication Code, 09-27-17).do": This master Stata do-file is the primary analysis file for this project, as it features the code used to produce manuscript Table 1 and Figures 1-5 — representing the one table and all of the figures appearing in the article — as well as Tables SI1-3 and Figures SI3-6. Additionally, this do-file constructs all of the Stata datasets appearing in this Dataset except for the ANES Cumulative File ("ANES Cumulative File (1948-2012).dta") and the 1992-1997 Merged File ("1992-1994-1996 ANES Panel Data.dta").

2. "Core Values Scale Item Analysis.do": This Stata do-file uses the Stata dataset "Core Values Scale Item Analysis.dta" to enable an accompanying R script ("R Script Reliability and Item Analysis.R") to assess the over time reliability of our core values scale, as well as to conduct an item analysis of the egalitarianism and moral traditionalism indicators that comprise the core values scale. Specifically, this do-file generates the information that is then analyzed in the accompanying R script to produce Figures SI1-2.

3. "Cross-Lagged Panel Model.do": This Stata do-file features an analysis of 1992-1994-1996 ANES panel data to investigate the potentially endogenous relationship between core values and partisanship. Executing this do-file requires one to analyze the Stata dataset saved as "1992-1994-1996 ANES Panel Data.dta" (i.e., the 1992-1997 ANES Merged File) in this Dataverse Dataset. The results of this analysis are used to construct Figure SI7.

4. "R Script Reliability and Item Analysis.R": This R script accompanies the above referenced Stata dataset ("Core Values Scale Item Analysis.dta") and Stata do-file ("Core Values Scale Item Analysis.do") to assess the over time reliability of our core values scale, as well as to conduct an item analysis of the egalitarianism and moral traditionalism indicators that comprise the core values scale. This R script features the code used to construct Figures SI1-2.

CODEBOOK

This codebook contains the full question wording for all items analyzed in the ANES Cumulative File, 1988-2012. The variables used to conduct the 1992-1994-1996 panel data analysis also appear in parentheses next to the relevant variables, namely partisanship and ideological self-identification, as well as the egalitarianism and moral traditionalism values items.

Note: An * indicates that the variable has been reverse coded so that higher values reflect more conservative attitudes.

1.) Partisanship (VCF0301, V923634, V940655, V960420): Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what? Would you call yourself a strong Democrat/Republican or a not very strong Democrat/Republican? Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or to the Democratic Party? 1 – Strong Democrat 2 – Weak Democrat 3 – Independent-Democrat 4 – Independent-Independent 5 – Independent –Republican 6 – Weak Republican 7 – Strong Republican

2.) Ideological self-identification (VCF0803, V923509, V940839, V960365): We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Here is a seven-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal to extremely conservative. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you heard much about this? 1 – Extremely liberal 7 – Extremely conservative

3.) Egalitarianism battery:
   A. Do whatever is necessary to ensure an chance at success (VCF9013, V926024, V940914, V961229): Our society should do whatever is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed. 1 – Agree strongly 2 – Agree somewhat 3 – Neither agree nor disagree 4 – Disagree somewhat 5 – Disagree strongly
   B. *Too far at pushing equal rights (VCF9014, V926025, V940915, V961230): We have gone too far in pushing equal rights in this country. 1 – Disagree strongly 2 – Disagree somewhat 3 – Neither agree nor disagree 4 – Agree somewhat 5 – Agree strongly
   C. Equal chance in life (VCF9015, V926029, V940916, V961231): One of the big problems in this country is that we don't give everyone an equal chance. 1 – Agree strongly 2 – Agree somewhat 3 – Neither agree nor disagree 4 – Disagree somewhat 5 –Disagree strongly
   D. *Not a big problem if some people have a better chance in life (VCF9016, V926027, V940918, V961233): It is not really a big problem if some people have more of a chance in life than others. 1 – Disagree strongly 2 – Disagree somewhat 3 – Neither agree nor disagree 4 – Agree somewhat 5 – Agree strongly
   E. *Worry less about how equal people are (VCF9017, V926026, V940917, V961232): This country would be better off if we worried less about how equal people are. 1 – Disagree strongly 2 – Disagree somewhat 3 – Neither agree nor disagree 4 – Agree somewhat 5 – Agree strongly
   F. Fewer problems if people were treated more equally (VCF9018, V926028, V940919, V961234): If people were treated more equally in this country we would have many fewer problems. 1 – Agree strongly 2 – Agree somewhat 3 – Neither agree nor disagree 4 – Disagree somewhat 5 –Disagree strongly

4.) Moral traditionalism battery:

A. *New lifestyles (VCF0851, V926118, V941029, V961247): The newer lifestyles are contributing to a breakdown of society. 1 – Disagree strongly 2 – Disagree somewhat 3 – Neither agree nor disagree 4 – Agree somewhat 5 – Agree strongly
B. Moral behavior (VCF0852, V926115, V941030, V961248): The world is always changing and we should adjust our view of moral behavior to those changes. 1 – Agree strongly 2 – Agree somewhat 3 – Neither agree nor disagree 4 – Disagree somewhat 5 –Disagree strongly
C. *Traditional values (VCF0853, V926117, V941031, V961249): This country would have many fewer problems if there were more emphasis on traditional family ties. 1 – Disagree strongly 2 – Disagree somewhat 3 – Neither agree nor disagree 4 – Agree somewhat 5 – Agree strongly
D. Different moral standards (VCF0854, V926116, V941032, V961250): We should be more tolerance of people who choose to live according to their own moral standards, even if they are different from our own. 1 – Disagree strongly 2 – Disagree somewhat 3 – Neither agree nor disagree 4 – Agree somewhat 5 – Agree strongly

5.) Time (VCF0004): 0 – 1988 1 – 1992 2 -1996 3 – 2000 4 – 2004 5 – 2008 6 – 2012

6.) Retrospective economic evaluations (VCF0870): Would you say that over the last year the nation's economy has gotten better, stayed about the same or gotten worse? 1 – Worse 2 – Stayed same 3 – Better

*Note that this variable has been reverse coded such that higher values correspond to more accurate assessments of the national economy

7.) *Biblical literalism
A. 1988 (VCF0845): 1 – The Bible was written by men who lived so long ago that it is worth very little today 2 – The Bible is a good book because it was written by men, but God had nothing to do with it. 3 – The Bible was written by men inspired by God but it contains some human errors 4 – The Bible is God's word and all it says is true
B. 1992-2012 (VCF0850): 1 – The Bible is a book written by men and is not the Word of God 2 – The Bible is the word of God but not everything in it should be taken literally, word for word 3 – The Bible is the actual Word of God and is to be taken literally, word for word

Note that the first two categories of variable VCF0845 have been combined in order to render the variable comparable to VCF0850

8.) *Church attendance (VCF0130a): 0 – Never 1 – A few times a year 2 – Once or twice a month 3 – Almost every week 4 – Every week

9.) Race (VCF0105a): This variable is coded into four dummy variables representing whites, blacks, Hispanics and mixed race and other non-white individuals

10.) Gender (V0104): 0 – Male 1 – Female

11.) Age (V0101)

12.) Education (V0110): What is the highest grade of school or year of college you have completed? 1 – Less than high school 2 – High school diploma 3 – Some college 4 – College or advanced degree

13.) Income (VCF0114): The exact question wording for the income question varies slightly across years

14.) Union membership (VCF0127): Do you or anyone else in this household belong to a labor union? 1 – No 2 – Yes

Note: This variable is recoded so that the higher value reflects belonging to a union

15.) Married (VCF0147): 0 – Non-married 1 – Married
Note: This question varies across years, but we collapse the categories into married and non-married

16.) South (VCF0112): 0 – Non-south 1 – South

17.) Liberals group feeling thermometer (VCF0211): 0 – Cold 97 – Warm

18.) Conservatives group feeling thermometer (VCF0212): 0 – Cold
97 – Warm

19.) Democratic Party feeling thermometer (VCF0218): 0 – Cold 97 – Warm

20.) Republication Party feeling thermometer (VCF0224): 0 Cold 97 – Warm

21.) Democratic Party presidential candidate feeling thermometer (VCF0424): 0 Cold 97 – Warm

22.) Republican Party presidential candidate feeling thermometer (VCF0426): 0 – Cold 97 – Warm

23.) 1992-1997 ANES Merged File case identification variables (VID92, VID94, VID96)

24.) 1992-1997 ANES Merged File survey weights (V923009, V940005 V960004)

Note: Measures 17-22 are used only in the analysis presented in Figure SI7 of this supplemental online appendix.