Online Appendix

The Cultural Divide

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NOTE: This online Appendix contains details on the construction of the dataset as well as additional empirical results as mentioned in the main text of the paper.

Table A1 - Wave Groupings

Two-wave grouping	Listed as
1972, 1973	1972
1974, 1975	1974
1976, 1977	1976
1978, 1980	1979
1982, 1983	1982
1984, 1985	1984
1986, 1987	1986
1988, 1989	1988
1990, 1991	1990
1993, 1994	1993
1996, 1998	1997
2000, 2002	2001
2004, 2006	2005
2008, 2010	2009
2012, 2014	2013
2016	2016

5-year grouping	Listed as	Includes waves:
1972-1976	1974	1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976
1977-1981	1979	1977, 1978, 1980
1982-1986	1984	1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986
1987-1991	1989	1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991
1992-1996	1994	1993, 1994, 1996
1997-2001	1999	1998, 2000
2002-2006	2004	2002, 2004, 2006
2007-2011	2009	2008, 2010
2012-2016	2014	2012, 2014, 2016

Table A2 – List of Questions Analyzed

A. Questions in 2-wave grouping (76 baseline questions)

GSS Variable name	Short label	# of possible answers	GSS Subcategory
GSS Category: Civil Liberties			
courts	courts dealing with criminals	3	Crime
fear	afraid to walk at night in neighborhood	2	Crime
grass	should marijuana be made legal	2	Crime
gunlaw	favor or oppose gun permits	2	Crime
owngun	have gun in home	2	Crime
pistol	pistol or revolver in home	2	Crime
polabuse	citizen said vulgar or obscene things	2	Crime
polattak	citizen attacking policeman with fists	2	Crime
polescap	citizen attempting to escape custody	2	Crime
polhitok	ever approve of police striking citizen	2	Crime
polmurdr	citizen questioned as murder suspect	2	Crime
rifle	rifle in home	2	Crime
shotgun	shotgun in home	2	Crime
raclive	any opp. race in neighborhood	2	Differences & Discrimination
colath	allow anti-religionist to teach	2	Free Speech
colcom	should communist teacher be fired	2	Free Speech
colhomo	allow homosexual to teach	2	Free Speech
libath	allow anti-religious book in library	2	Free Speech
libcom	allow communists book in library	2	Free Speech
libhomo	allow homosexuals book in library	2	Free Speech
spkath	allow anti-religionist to speak	2	Free Speech
spkcom	allow communist to speak	2	Free Speech
spkhomo	allow homosexual to speak	2	Free Speech
GSS Category: Current Affairs			
class	subjective class identification	4	Economic Well-Being
finrela	opinion of family income	5	Economic Well-Being
satfin	satisfaction with financial situation	3	Economic Well-Being
satjob	job or housework	4	Economic Well-Being
nataid	foreign aid	3	National Spending
natarms	military, armaments, and defense	3	National Spending
natcity	solving problems of big cities	3	National Spending
natcrime	halting rising crime rate	3	National Spending
natdrug	dealing with drug addiction	3	National Spending
nateduc	improving nations education system	3	National Spending
natenvir	improving & protecting environment	3	National Spending

GSS Variable name	Short label	# of possible answers	GSS Subcategory
natfare	welfare	3	National Spending
natheal	improving & protecting nations health	3	National Spending
natrace	improving the conditions of blacks	3	National Spending
natspac	space exploration program	3	National Spending
abdefect	strong chance of serious defect	2	Social Issues
abhlth	woman's health seriously endangered	4	Social Issues
abnomore	married--wants no more children	4	Social Issues
abpoor	low income—can't afford more children	4	Social Issues
abrape	pregnant as result of rape	4	Social Issues
absingle	not married	4	Social Issues
getahead	opinion of how people get ahead	3	Social Issues
richwork	if rich, continue or stop working	2	Social Issues
GSS Category: Gender & Marriage			
aged	should aged live with their children	3	Children & Working
chldidel	ideal number of children	9	Children & Working
fair	people fair or try to take advantage	3	Life Satisfaction
happy	general happiness	3	Life Satisfaction
health	condition of health	4	Life Satisfaction
helpful	people helpful or looking out for selves	3	Life Satisfaction
life	is life exciting or dull	3	Life Satisfaction
trust	can people be trusted	3	Life Satisfaction
hapmar	happiness of marriage	3	Marriage
homosex	homosexual sex relations	4	Sex & Sexual Orientation
pornlaw	feelings about pornography laws	3	Sex & Sexual Orientation
premarsx	sex before marriage	4	Sex & Sexual Orientation
xmarsex	sex with person other than spouse	4	Sex & Sexual Orientation
xmovie	seen x-rated movie in last year	2	Sex & Sexual Orientation
GSS Category: Politics			
conarmy	confidence in military	3	Confidence & Power
conbus	confidence in major companies	3	Confidence & Power
conclerg	confidence in organized religion	3	Confidence & Power
coneduc	confidence in education	3	Confidence & Power
confed	confid. in exec branch of fed govt.	3	Confidence & Power
conjudge	confid. in united states supreme court	3	Confidence & Power
conlabor	confidence in organized labor	3	Confidence & Power
conlegis	confidence in congress	3	Confidence & Power
conmedic	confidence in medicine	3	Confidence & Power
conpress	confidence in press	3	Confidence & Power
consci	confidence in scientific community	3	Confidence & Power

GSS Variable name	Short label	# of possible answers	GSS Subcategory
contv	confidence in television	3	Confidence & Power
news	how often does r read newspaper	5	Political Beliefs
GSS Category: Religion & Spirituality			
postlife	belief in life after death	2	Beliefs
attend	how often r attends religious services	9	Religious Affiliation & Behaviors
fund	how fundamentalist is r currently	3	Religious Affiliation & Behaviors

B. Questions only in 5-year grouping (20 additional questions)

GSS Variable name	Short label	# of possible answers	GSS Subcategory
GSS Category: Civil Liberties			
cappun	favor or oppose death penalty for murder	2	Crime
colmil	allow militarist to teach	2	Free Speech
colrac	allow racist to teach	2	Free Speech
libmil	allow militarists book in library	2	Free Speech
librac	allow racists book in library	2	Free Speech
spkmil	allow militarist to speak	7	Free Speech
spkrac	allow racist to speak	7	Free Speech
GSS Category: Current Affairs			
sexeduc	sex education in public schools	3	Social Issues
GSS Category: Gender & Marriage			
socbar	spend evening at bar	7	Children & Working
socfrend	spend evening with friends	7	Children & Working
socommun	spend evening with neighbor	7	Children & Working
socrel	spend evening with relatives	7	Children & Working
divlaw	divorce laws	3	Marriage
GSS Category: Politics			
confinan	confid in banks & financial institutions	3	Confidence & Power
fepol	women not suited for politics	2	Political Beliefs
polviews	think of self as liberal or conservative	7	Political Beliefs
tax	right amount of federal income tax	4	Political Beliefs
tvhours	hours per day watching tv	24	Political Beliefs
GSS Category: Religion & Spirituality			
prayer	bible prayer in public schools	2	Beliefs
reliten	strength of affiliation	4	Religious Affiliation & Behaviors

Table A3 - Identity Cleavage Definitions

Age:	Race:
Below 20,	White
20-35,	Black
35-50,	Other
50-65	**Region:**
65+	New England
Education:	Middle Atlantic
Less than HS,	East North Central
HS	West North Central
Junior college	South Atlantic
Bachelor	East South Central
Graduate	West South Central
Ethnicity:	Mountain
Eastern Europe	Pacific
Western Europe	**Urbanicity:**
Southern Europe	Respondent city <9,999 inhabitants
Northern Europe	Respondent city [10,000 and 99,999] inhabitants
America	Respondent city [100,000 and 999,999] inhabitants
East Asia	Respondent city > 1 million inhabitants
South Asia	**Religion**
Sub-Saharan Africa	Catholic
Other	Protestant
Family Income:	Jewish
Wave-specific income quintiles	None
Gender:	Other (includes GSS categories 6-13)
Male	**Work Status:**
Female	Working full time
Party ID:	Working part time
Strong democrat	With job, not at work: temporary illness, vacation, strike
Not strong democrat	Unemployed, laid off, looking for work
Independent, near democrat	Retired
Independent	In school
Independent, near republican	Keeping house
Not strong republican	Other
Strong republican	

Table A4 – CF by Time Period and F_{ST} by Time Period and Cleavage
(5-year grouping, 96 Questions)

Time Period	CF	F_{ST} Age	F_{ST} Educ.	F_{ST} Ethnic.	F_{ST} Family income	F_{ST} Gender	F_{ST} Party ID	F_{ST} Race	F_{ST} Region	F_{ST} Urban.	F_{ST} Work Status	F_{ST} Religion
1974	0.516	0.026	0.028	0.011	0.017	0.005	0.012	0.009	0.014	0.011	0.018	0.021
1979	0.516	0.025	0.028	0.012	0.017	0.006	0.011	0.009	0.016	0.011	0.016	0.021
1984	0.513	0.023	0.028	0.013	0.017	0.006	0.011	0.012	0.013	0.009	0.018	0.019
1989	0.505	0.019	0.025	0.012	0.016	0.007	0.009	0.010	0.013	0.008	0.016	0.018
1994	0.501	0.017	0.020	0.011	0.013	0.006	0.011	0.009	0.011	0.007	0.014	0.018
1999	0.507	0.017	0.019	0.012	0.016	0.006	0.012	0.010	0.010	0.008	0.014	0.022
2004	0.510	0.012	0.020	0.014	0.016	0.005	0.017	0.013	0.010	0.007	0.011	0.022
2009	0.514	0.014	0.025	0.017	0.018	0.006	0.018	0.012	0.012	0.008	0.013	0.025
2014	0.510	0.012	0.022	0.014	0.016	0.005	0.020	0.011	0.010	0.007	0.012	0.026

Time period refers to 5-year groupings. So for instance 1974 refers to pooled data over the 1972-1976 period.

Table A5- Dynamics of CF and F_{ST}, by Cleavage
(5-year grouping, 1972-2016, 96 Questions)

	U-shaped	Hump-Shaped	Increasing	Decreasing	Flat
Panel A: CF					
CF	14.43%	11.34%	22.68%	25.77%	25.77%
Panel B: F_{ST}					
Age	15.46%	3.09%	8.25%	34.02%	39.18%
Education	11.34%	2.06%	11.34%	24.74%	50.52%
Ethnicity	12.37%	1.03%	18.56%	4.12%	63.92%
Family Income	5.15%	2.06%	19.59%	17.53%	55.67%
Gender	7.22%	10.31%	13.40%	13.40%	55.67%
Party ID	29.90%	3.09%	23.71%	4.12%	39.18%
Race	8.25%	2.06%	25.77%	7.22%	56.70%
Region	6.19%	0.00%	3.09%	23.71%	67.01%
Religion	20.62%	0.00%	16.49%	7.22%	55.67%
Urbanicity	10.31%	0.00%	7.22%	23.71%	58.76%
Work status	9.28%	5.15%	10.31%	26.80%	48.45%
Panel B Average	**12.37%**	**2.62%**	**14.34%**	**16.96%**	**53.70%**

Note: This Table displays the fraction of questions, among the 96 in our 5-year grouping sample, for which CF or F_{ST} follow the types of dynamics listed in the first row, i.e. U-shaped, hump shaped, increasing, decreasing or flat. To assess these dynamics, we regress for each question its CF / F_{ST} on a time trend and its square. If both the linear and quadratic terms are statistically significant at the 5% level, and the vertex of the fitted quadratic curve is between 1980 and 2005, we characterize the dynamics as either U-shaped or hump-shaped. In all other cases, we run a linear regression of CF / F_{ST} on a time trend, and classify the dynamics as increasing, decreasing or flat depending on whether the coefficient on the time trend is significantly positive, significantly negative, or insignificant, respectively.

Table A6 - Dynamics of CF, by Question Category and Sub-category
(5-year grouping, 1972-2016, 96 Questions)

Question Category	Question Sub-category	# of questions	U-shaped	Hump-Shaped	Increasing	Decreasing	Flat
Civil Liberties		**32**	**18.75%**	**12.50%**	**15.63%**	**40.63%**	**12.50%**
	Crime	14	35.71%	0.00%	28.57%	28.57%	7.14%
	Differences & Discrimination	3	33.33%	33.33%	0.00%	0.00%	33.33%
	Free Speech	15	0.00%	20.00%	6.67%	60.00%	13.33%
Current Affairs		**24**	**4.17%**	**4.17%**	**33.33%**	**16.67%**	**41.67%**
	Economic Well-Being	4	0.00%	25.00%	50.00%	0.00%	25.00%
	National Spending	11	9.09%	0.00%	27.27%	9.09%	54.55%
	Social Issues	9	0.00%	0.00%	33.33%	33.33%	33.33%
Gender & Marriage		**19**	**31.58%**	**15.79%**	**26.32%**	**10.53%**	**15.79%**
	Children & Working	6	33.33%	16.67%	33.33%	0.00%	16.67%
	Life Satisfaction	6	33.33%	0.00%	33.33%	16.67%	16.67%
	Marriage	2	50.00%	50.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
	Sex & Sexual Orientation	5	20.00%	20.00%	20.00%	20.00%	20.00%
Politics		**16**	**0.00%**	**0.00%**	**18.75%**	**31.25%**	**50.00%**
	Confidence & Power	13	0.00%	0.00%	7.69%	30.77%	61.54%
	Political Beliefs	3	0.00%	0.00%	66.67%	33.33%	0.00%
Religion & Spirituality		**5**	**0.00%**	**60.00%**	**20.00%**	**20.00%**	**0.00%**
	Beliefs	2	0.00%	50.00%	0.00%	50.00%	0.00%
	Religious Affiliation & Behaviors	3	0.00%	66.67%	33.33%	0.00%	0.00%

Note: This Table displays the types of dynamics of CF for different categories and subcategories of questions, as defined by the GSS. The types of dynamics are listed in the first row, i.e. U-shaped, hump shaped, increasing, decreasing or flat. To assess these dynamics, we regress for each question its CF on a time trend and its square. If both the linear and quadratic terms are statistically significant at the 5% level, and the vertex of the fitted quadratic curve is between 1980 and 2005, we characterize the dynamics as either U-shaped or hump-shaped. In all other cases, we run a linear regression of CF on a time trend, and classify the dynamics as increasing, decreasing or flat depending on whether the coefficient on the time trend is significantly positive, significantly negative, or insignificant, respectively. We then summarize these dynamics by averaging within question categories / subcategories.

Table A7 - Dynamics of F_{ST}, by Question Category and Sub-category, averaged across 11 cleavages
(5-year grouping, 1972-2016, 96 Questions)

Question Category	Question Sub-category	# of questions	U-shaped	Hump-Shaped	Increasing	Decreasing	Flat
Civil Liberties		**32**	**15.06%**	**3.69%**	**15.06%**	**25.85%**	**40.34%**
	Crime	14	14.94%	4.55%	22.73%	9.09%	48.70%
	Differences & Discrimination	3	15.15%	6.06%	9.09%	9.09%	60.61%
	Free Speech	15	15.15%	2.42%	9.09%	44.85%	28.48%
Current Affairs		**24**	**10.98%**	**1.89%**	**17.42%**	**12.50%**	**57.20%**
	Economic Well-Being	4	0.00%	0.00%	27.27%	9.09%	63.64%
	National Spending	11	7.44%	3.31%	17.36%	11.57%	60.33%
	Social Issues	9	20.20%	1.01%	13.13%	15.15%	50.51%
Gender & Marriage		**19**	**10.05%**	**1.44%**	**10.53%**	**14.35%**	**63.64%**
	Children & Working	6	6.06%	3.03%	1.52%	13.64%	75.76%
	Life Satisfaction	6	4.55%	0.00%	13.64%	15.15%	66.67%
	Marriage	2	4.55%	0.00%	13.64%	13.64%	68.18%
	Sex & Sexual Orientation	5	23.64%	1.82%	16.36%	14.55%	43.64%
Politics		**16**	**10.23%**	**2.84%**	**10.23%**	**8.52%**	**68.18%**
	Confidence & Power	13	6.29%	2.80%	11.89%	6.29%	72.73%
	Political Beliefs	3	27.27%	3.03%	3.03%	18.18%	48.48%
Religion & Spirituality		**5**	**14.55%**	**1.82%**	**47.27%**	**36.36%**	**100.00%**
	Beliefs	2	22.73%	0.00%	22.73%	4.55%	50.00%
	Religious Affiliation & Behaviors	3	9.09%	3.03%	42.42%	45.45%	100.00%

Note: This Table displays the types of dynamics of F_{ST} for different categories and subcategories of questions, as defined by the GSS. The types of dynamics are listed in the first row, i.e. U-shaped, hump shaped, increasing, decreasing or flat. To assess these dynamics, we regress for each question its F_{ST} on a time trend and its square. If both the linear and quadratic terms are statistically significant at the 5% level, and the vertex of the fitted quadratic curve is between 1980 and 2005, we characterize the dynamics as either U-shaped or hump-shaped. In all other cases, we run a linear regression of F_{ST} on a time trend, and classify the dynamics as increasing, decreasing or flat depending on whether the coefficient on the time trend is significantly positive, significantly negative, or insignificant, respectively. We then summarize these dynamics by averaging within question categories / subcategories and across all 11 cleavages.

Table A8 – Overall or Partial R^2, Over Time

Time Period	R^2 Overall	Age	Educ.	Ethnic.	Family income	Gender	Party ID	Race	Region	Religion	Urban.	Work status
1974	0.127	0.012	0.011	0.004	0.007	0.003	0.006	0.002	0.008	0.015	0.005	0.005
1979	0.132	0.013	0.011	0.004	0.008	0.004	0.007	0.002	0.010	0.015	0.006	0.005
1984	0.120	0.010	0.011	0.003	0.007	0.004	0.006	0.002	0.007	0.014	0.003	0.004
1989	0.116	0.009	0.011	0.003	0.007	0.004	0.008	0.002	0.008	0.012	0.003	0.004
1994	0.112	0.009	0.009	0.004	0.007	0.004	0.010	0.002	0.006	0.015	0.004	0.004
1999	0.122	0.009	0.011	0.005	0.008	0.004	0.010	0.002	0.005	0.018	0.004	0.004
2004	0.128	0.007	0.009	0.004	0.009	0.004	0.015	0.002	0.007	0.017	0.004	0.004
2009	0.140	0.008	0.011	0.006	0.008	0.004	0.015	0.003	0.008	0.020	0.004	0.006
2014	0.132	0.007	0.011	0.004	0.007	0.003	0.017	0.002	0.005	0.021	0.004	0.004
Average	**0.125**	**0.009**	**0.011**	**0.004**	**0.008**	**0.004**	**0.010**	**0.002**	**0.007**	**0.016**	**0.004**	**0.004**

Time period refers to 5-year groupings. So for instance 1974 refers to pooled data over all waves of the GSS in the 1972-1976 period.

Figure A1 - CF over Time (96 questions, 5-year grouping)
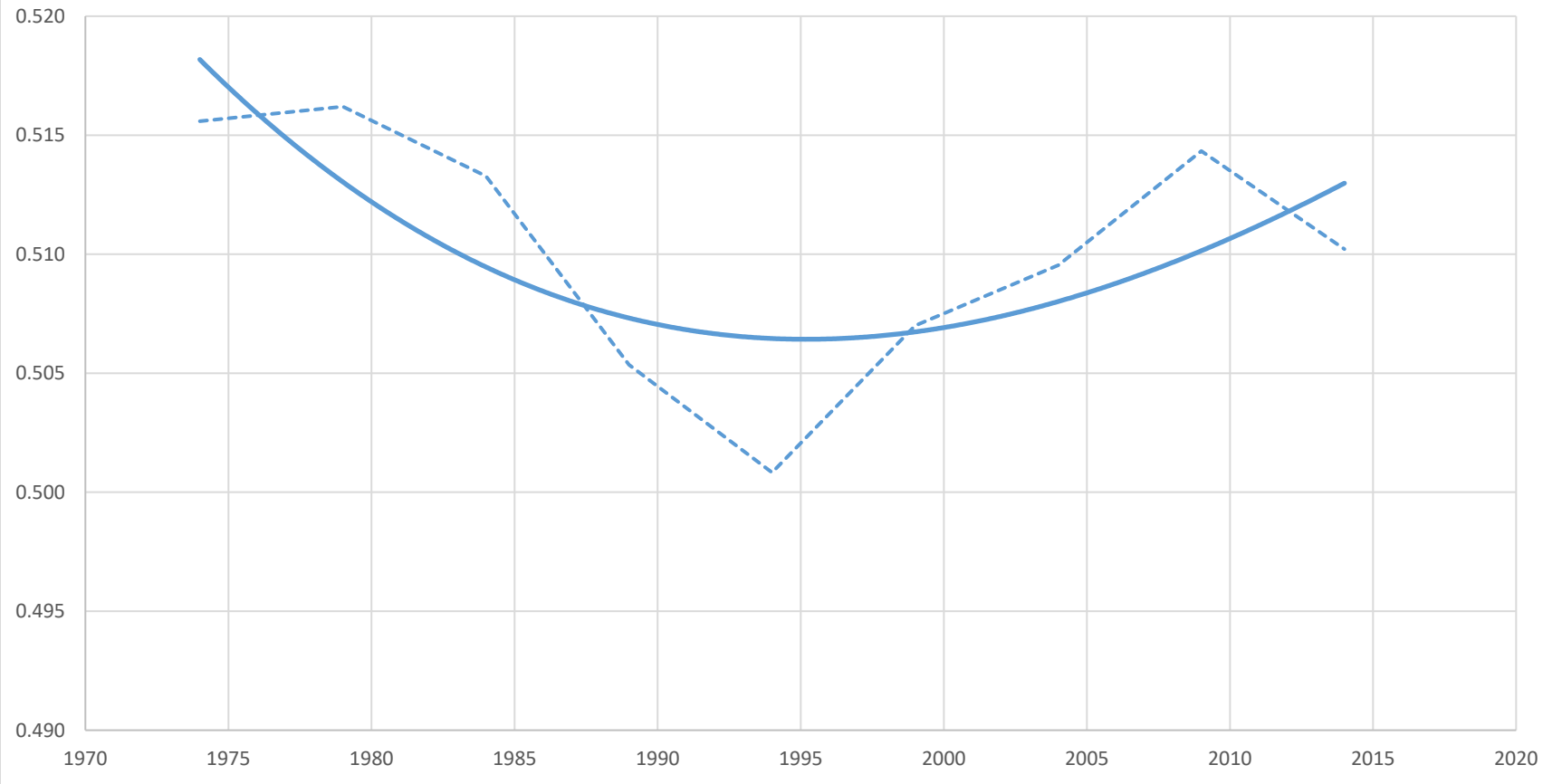
Figure A2 - Average Cultural F_{ST} over Time for 11 Cleavages (96 questions)
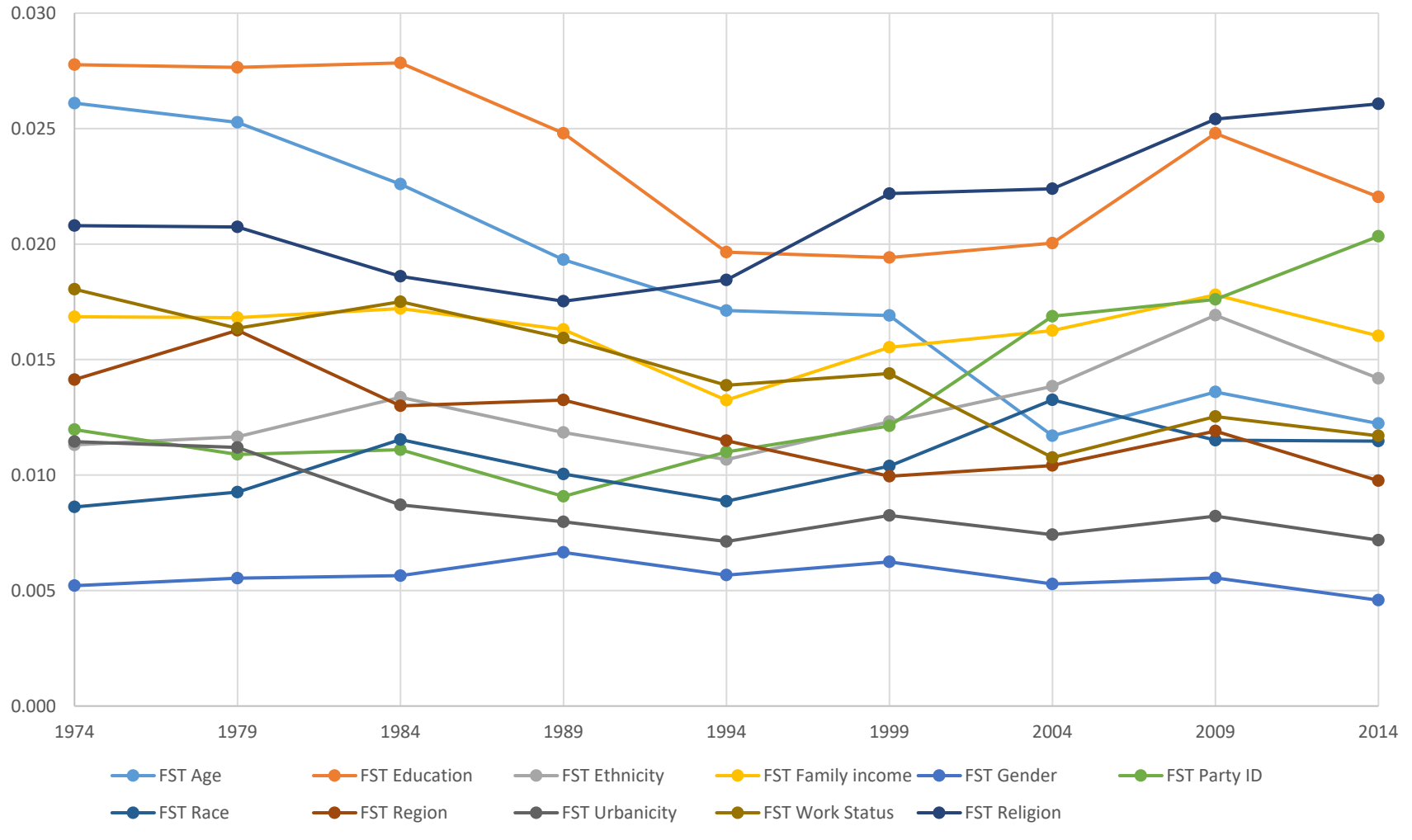
Figure A3 - Evolution of F_{ST} for Each of 11 Cleavages, over Time

F_{ST} Gender (96 questions, 5-year grouping)

F_{ST} Race (96 questions, 5-year grouping)
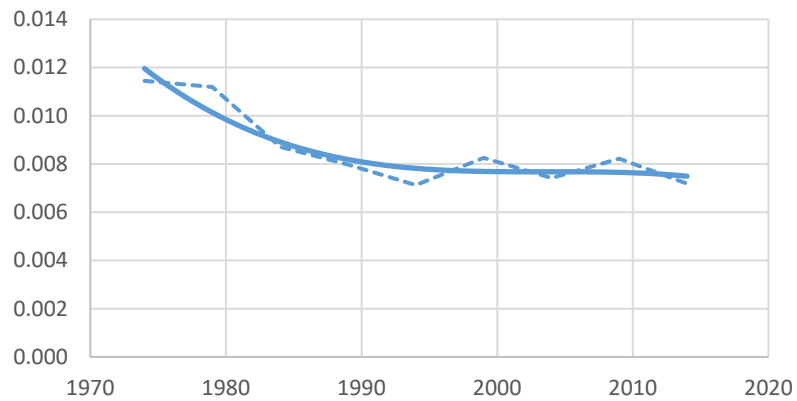
F_{ST} Party ID (96 questions, 5-year grouping)

F_{ST} Region (96 questions, 5-year grouping)
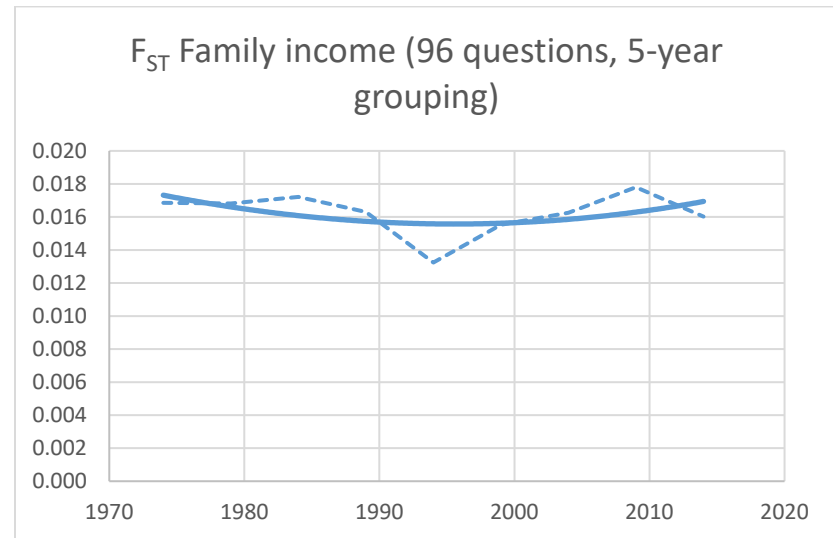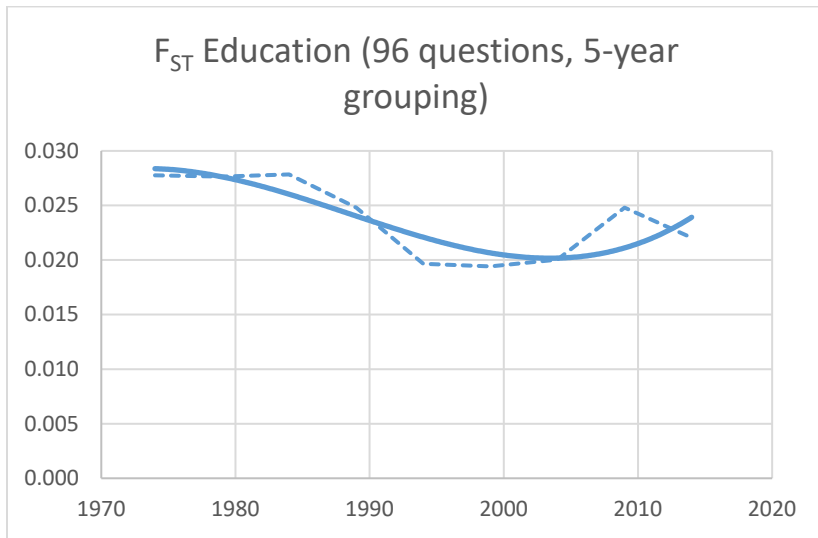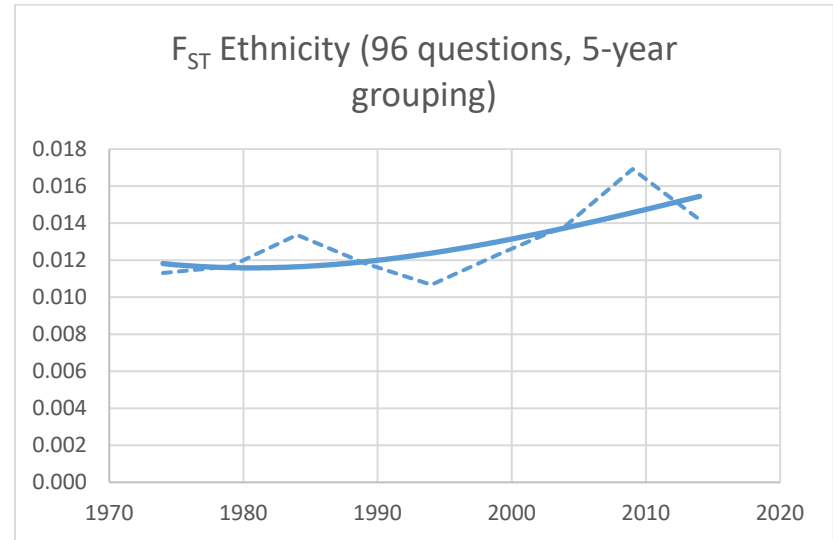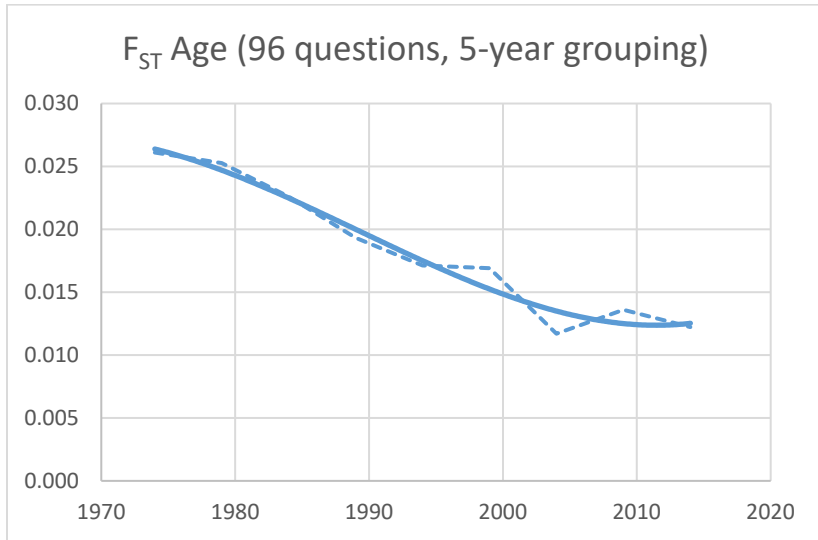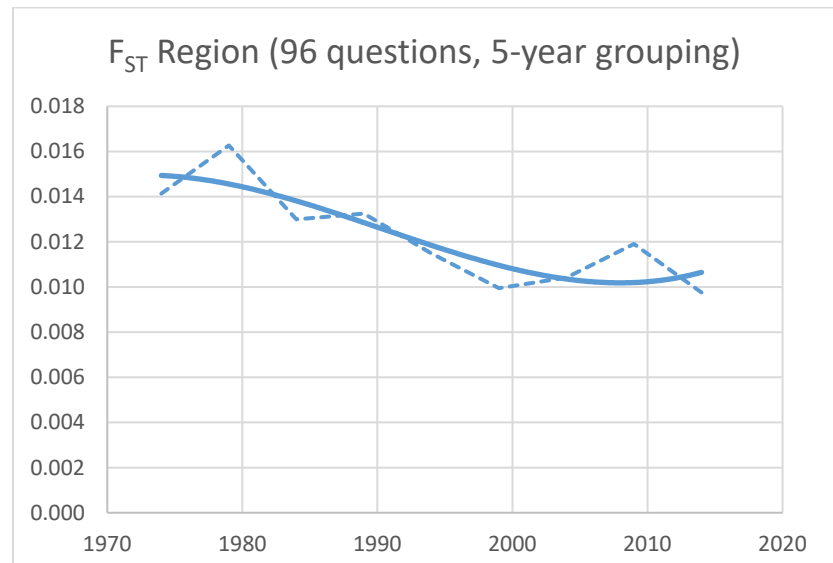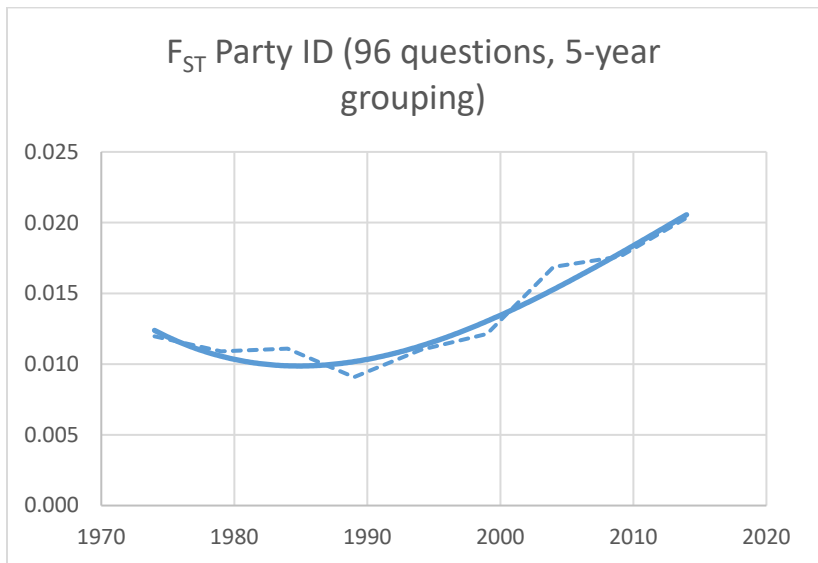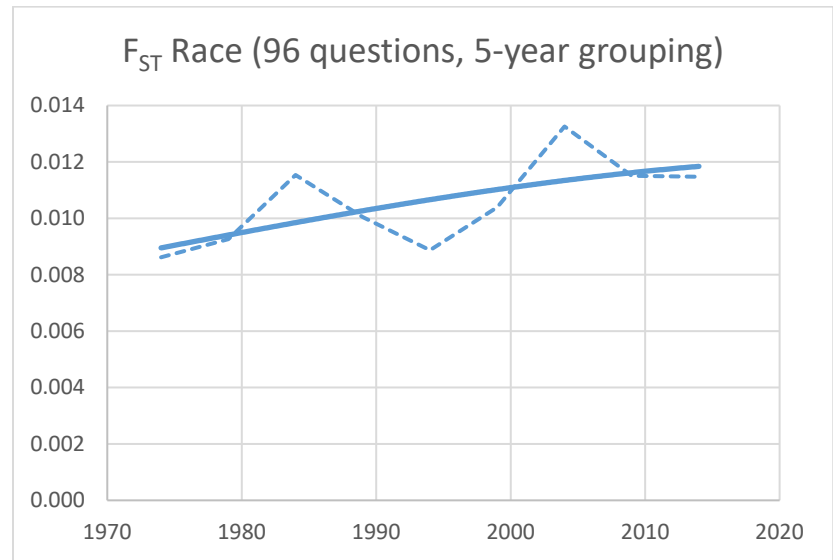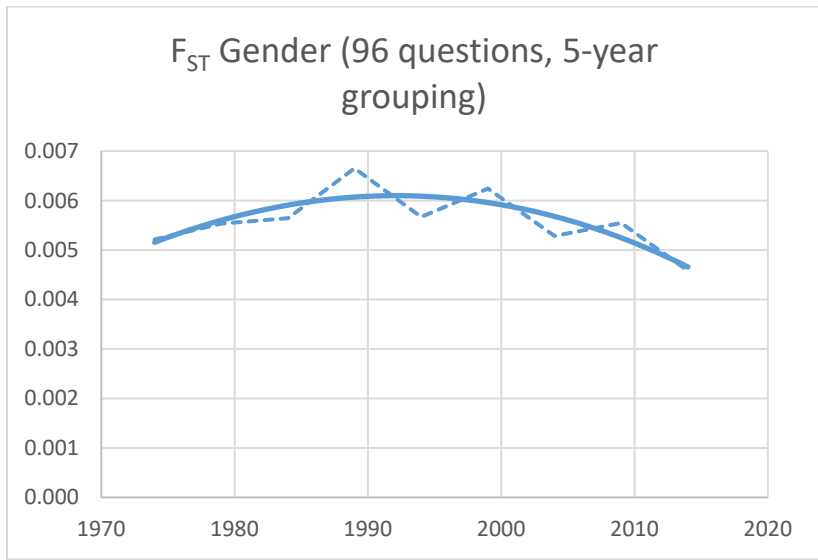
F_{ST} Religion (96 questions, 5-year grouping)
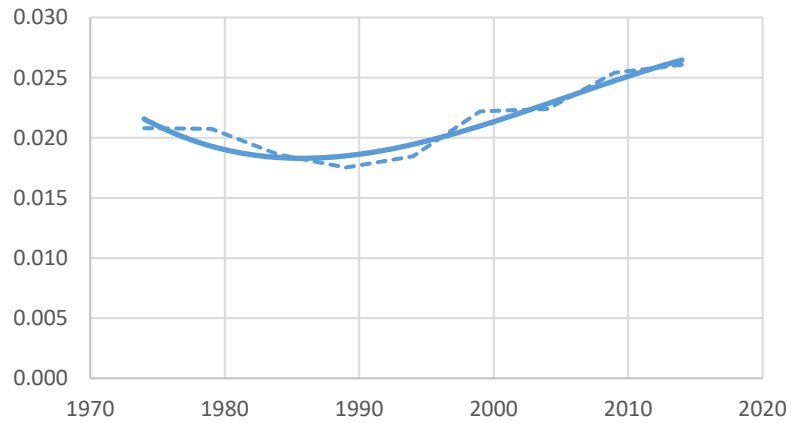
F_{ST} Work Status (96 questions, 5-year grouping)
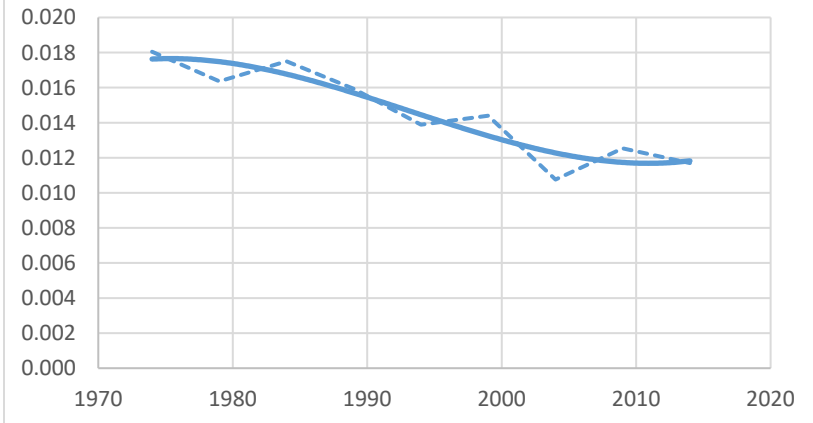
F_{ST} Urbanicity (96 questions, 5-year grouping)

Figure A4 - Total R² Across All 11 Cleavages, Over Time (96 Questions, 5-year grouping)
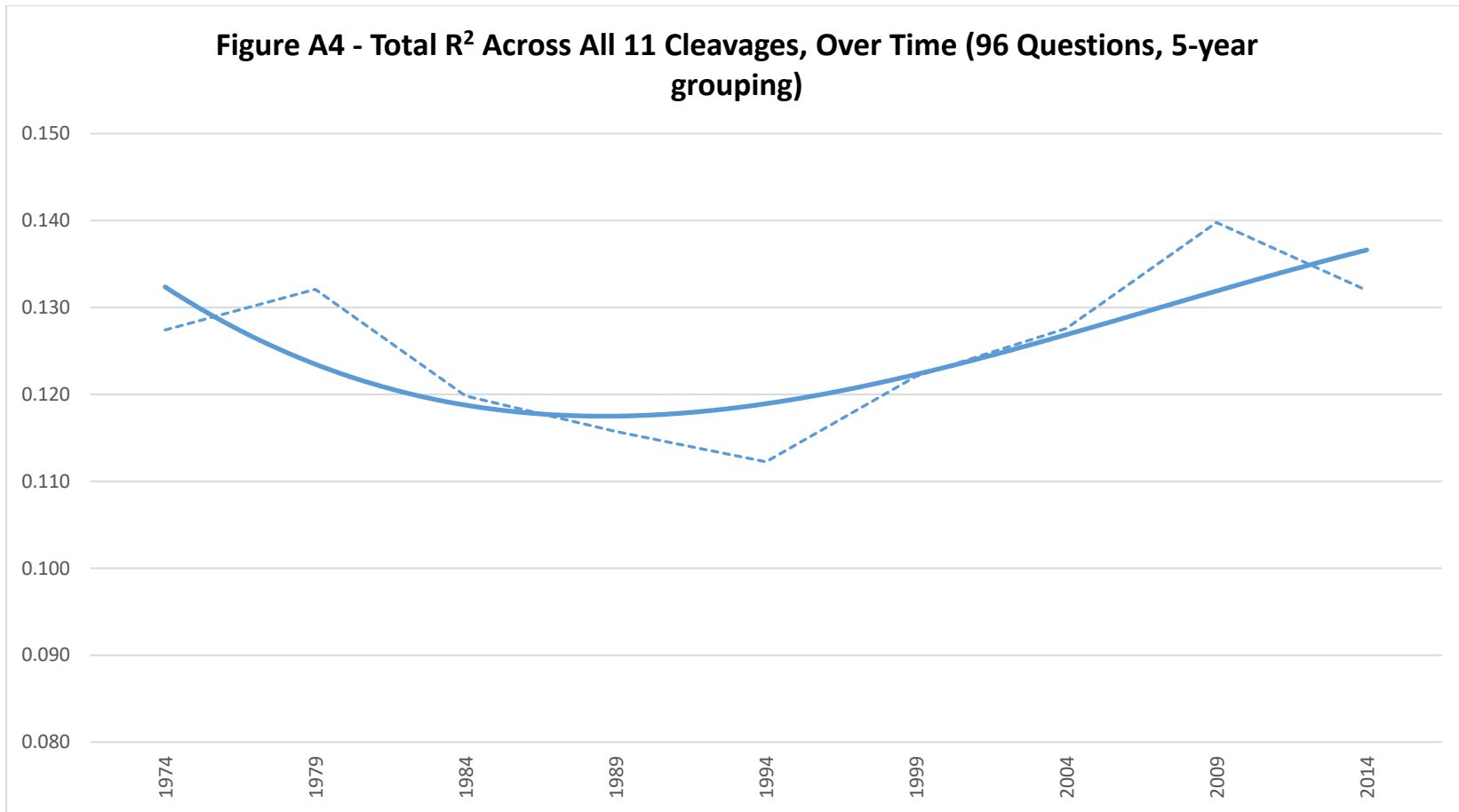
**Figure A5 - Partial R² for Each of 11 Cleavages, over Time**

Partial R² - Age (96 Questions, 5-year grouping)

Partial R² - Ethnic Origin (96 Questions, 5-year grouping)

Partial R² - Education (96 Questions, 5-year grouping)

Partial R² - Family Income (96 Questions, 5-year grouping)
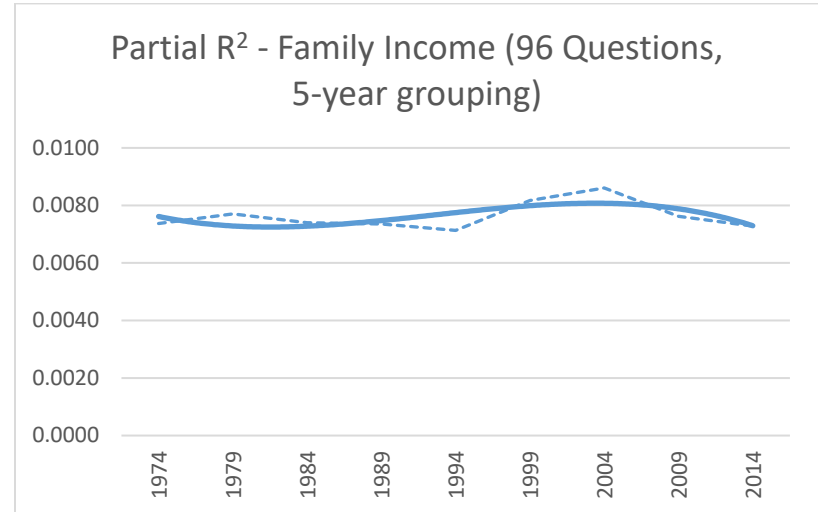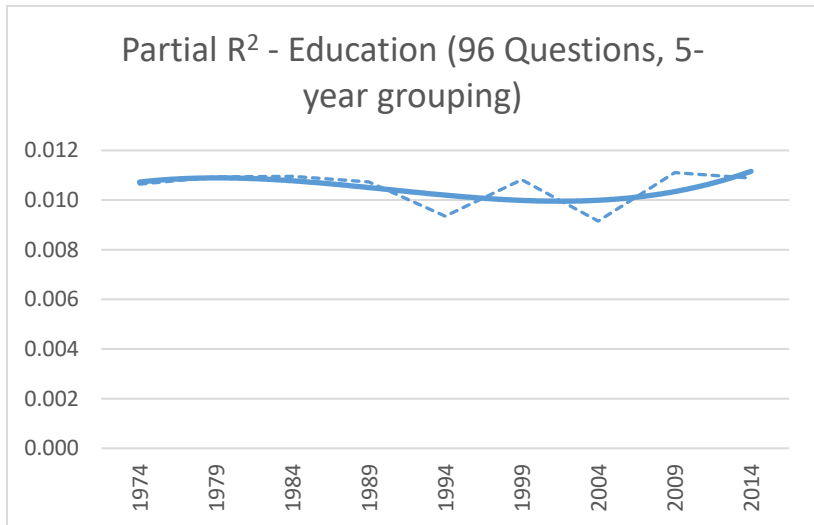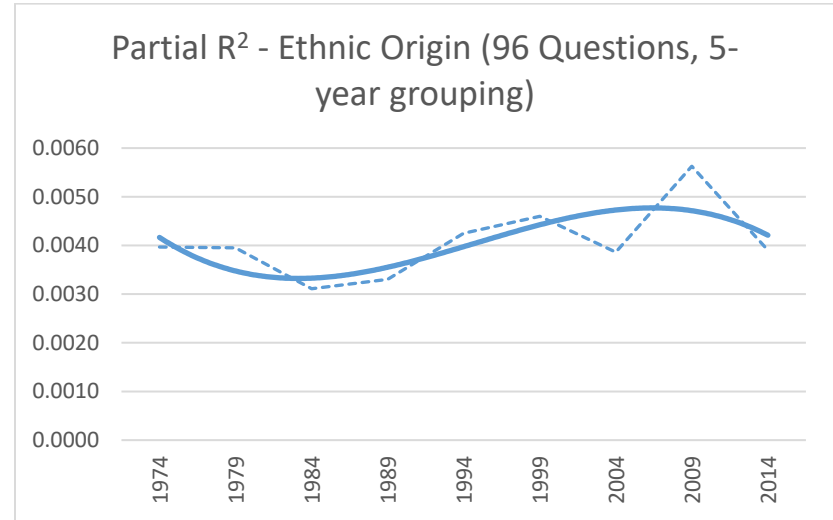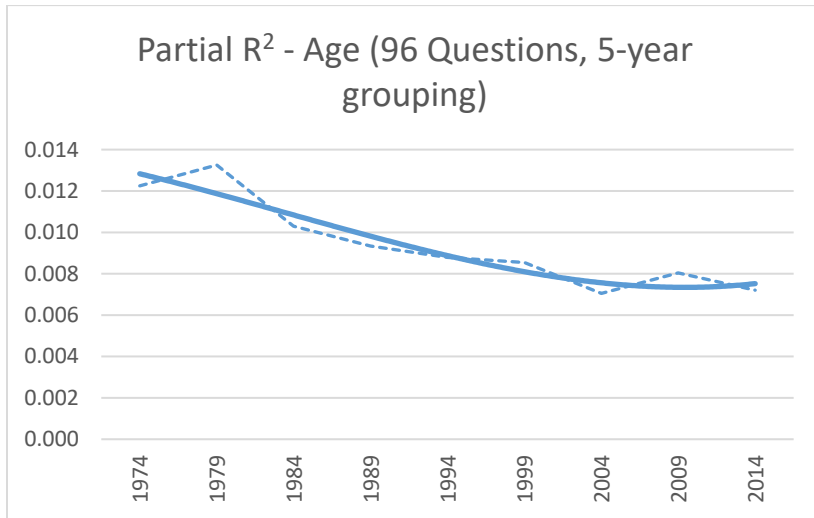
Partial R² - Gender (96 Questions, 5-year grouping)
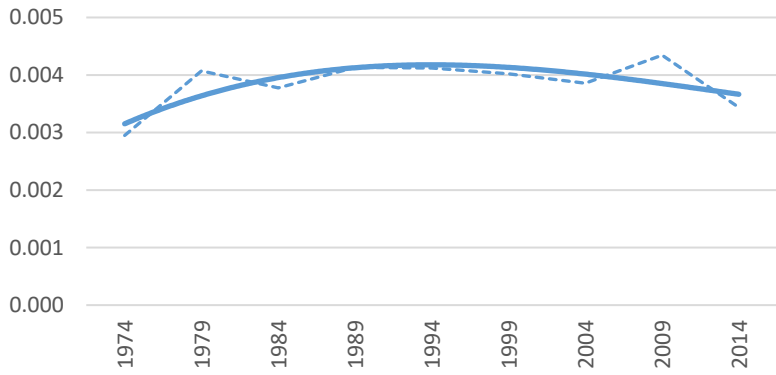
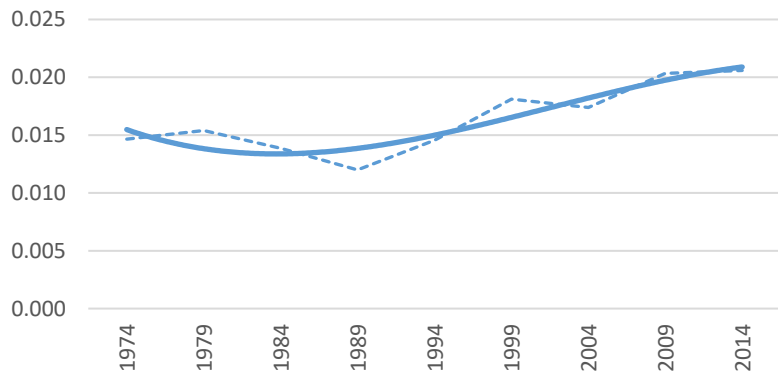Partial R² - Race (96 Questions, 5-year grouping)
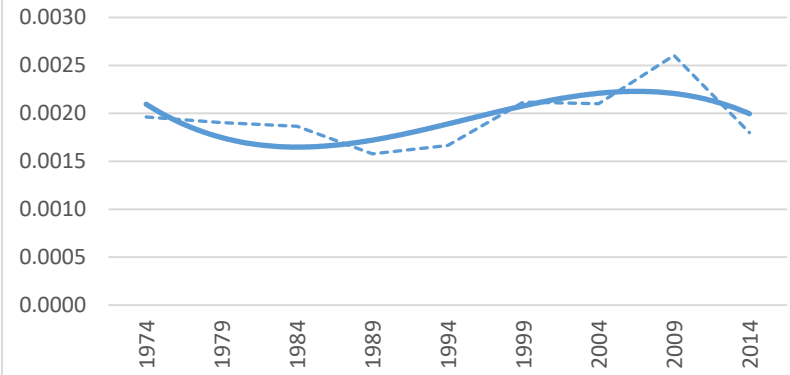
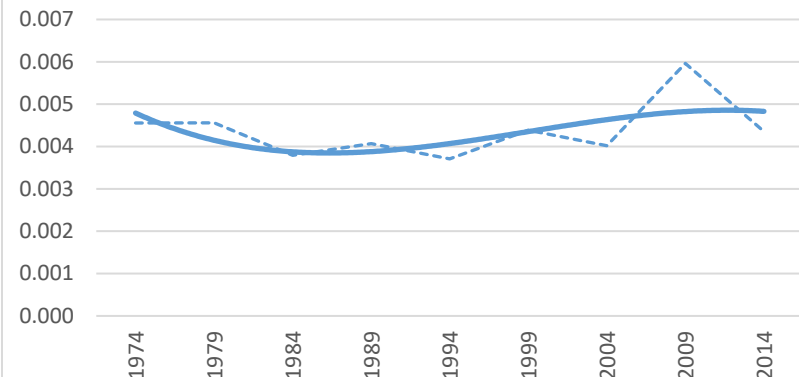Partial R² - by Party ID (96 Questions, 5-year grouping)
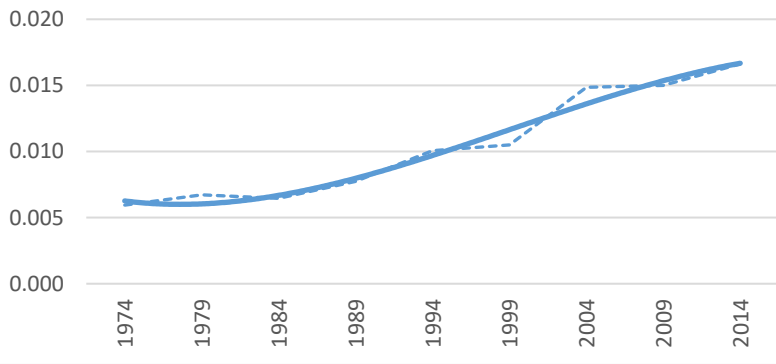
Partial R² - Region (96 Questions, 5-year grouping)
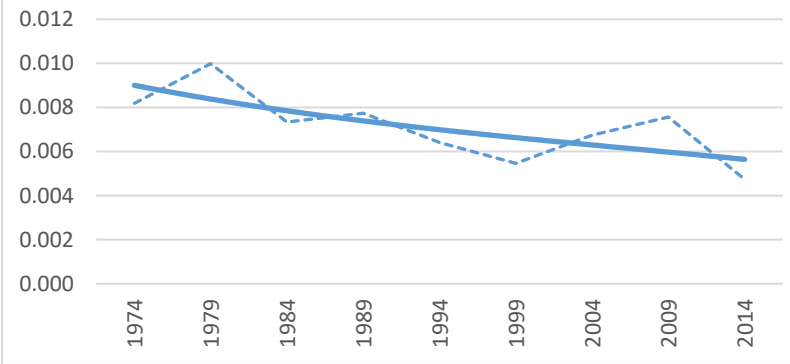
Partial R² - Religion (96 Questions, 5-year grouping)

Partial R² - Work Status, (96 Questions, 5-year grouping)

Partial R² - Urbanicity (96 Questions, 5-year grouping)