

*Group Commitment Among U.S. Party Factions:
A Perspective from Democratic and Republican National Convention Delegates
Supporting Information*

In this supporting information, we have provided additional information for five key areas:

1. Fielding the 2012 Convention Delegate Study (CDS)
2. Construction of our Independent Variable: Intraparty Factions
3. Identification and Construction of our Dependent Variables
4. Identifying Party Factions with Continuous Indicators of Policy Attitudes and Group Affect
5. Statistical Models with Alternative Specifications

1. Fielding the 2012 Convention Delegate Study (CDS)

The 2012 Convention Delegate Study (CDS) was modeled after the Convention Delegate Studies in 1972, 1980, 1984, 1988, 1992, 2000, and 2004. As with those earlier studies, we surveyed all of the delegates to the 2012 national conventions: 5,554 Democrats and 2,286 Republicans. Also like all of the earlier CDS surveys we contacted delegates through the postal mail. We obtained the names and addresses of the Democratic delegates directly from the Democratic National Committee. The Republican delegates' names and addresses were printed in a booklet provided at the Republican National Convention that we purchased (on eBay). However, unlike the earlier studies, the survey administered through the survey platform Qualtrics. We did have a few respondents who were unable to access the online survey but still expressed interest in completing the survey. We mailed a paper copy of the survey and a return envelope to those respondents, and they completed the survey in the traditional mail survey format. Nine Republican respondents and 18 Democratic respondents completed the survey in this manner.

Our initial mailings were sent in early-November 2013. Those mailings were followed by several reminder postcards. We sent one reminder postcard in late March 2014 to Democratic delegates. We sent three reminder postcards – in mid-December 2013, early-April 2014, and early-June 2014 – to Republican delegates. We sent more reminders to Republican delegates than to Democratic delegates because the population of delegates was significantly smaller for Republicans than Democrats, and we were trying to achieve an adequate sample size for Republicans. The survey closed in late-July 2014.

We received responses from 554 Republicans and 777 Democrats for response rates of 25 percent among Republicans and 19 percent among Democrats. Some of these responses were rather incomplete, with the respondent answering only a portion of our survey. In an effort to ensure valid responses, we removed from our sample any respondents who did not complete at least 30 percent of the questions in the survey. That left us with samples of 483 Republicans and 745 Democrats. The response rates were computed taking into account delegates to the 2012 conventions who were deceased at the time of our survey and delegates from whom we did not have complete or updated address information. After removing these delegates from our number of possible mail contacts our final total was 4,052 Democratic delegates and 2,175 Republican delegates.

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Finally, the table below summarizes relevant demographic information from party convention delegates from 1972 – 2012 and demonstrates that the sample from 2012 resembles delegate samples from 2000 and 2004 studies.

Table A1: Demographics, Religious Orientations, and Political Experience of National Convention Delegates, 1972-2012								
	1972	1980	1984	1988	1992	2000	2004	2012
% Non-White								
Democrats	16.6	14.0	18.0	18.9	22.6	22.9	22.2	26.8
Republicans	7.0	3.9	6.5	5.1	8.7	10.5	16.3	15.8
% Female								
Democrats	43.1	52.7	54.9	52.8	55.6	53.6	50.6	49.8
Republicans	36.3	31.9	48.2	38.5	46.5	40.6	39.8	30.0
Mean Age								
Democrats	40.0	44.0	44.2	47.5	47.8	53.1	55.5	53.2
Republicans	47.1	49.4	51.0	52.1	52.8	56.3	49.4	52.5
% Attending Worship Almost Every Week or More Often								
Democrats	32.5	37.6	32.5	36.5	30.2	35.1	25.2	25.0
Republicans	41.8	43.6	47.3	52.0	52.4	59.1	55.4	46.0
% Receiving a Great Deal of Guidance from Religion								
Democrats	—	29.8	24.6	25.1	25.6	23.0	—	14.6
Republicans	—	37.1	40.4	39.3	45.0	42.2	—	43.8
% Advanced Degree								
Democrats	45.9	51.7	56.3	57.3	54.1	56.1	59.5	60.7
Republicans	37.1	41.2	41.3	45.2	44.6	49.1	52.9	56.1
% First-Time Delegates								
Democrats	84.1	81.2	75.4	66.8	65.2	45.3	71.1	77.2
Republicans	69.5	72.2	59.9	55.8	54.1	43.9	57.4	67.3
Source: 1972-2012 Convention Delegate Studies								

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2. Construction of our Independent Variable: Intraparty Factions

As we discuss in the paper, to identify intraparty factions, we employ three types of measures for each party: group membership, delegates' issue attitudes; and, constituency loyalties.

To do this, we create dummy variables for issue constituency membership and for social group loyalists that are comparable to the group membership dummies in question #29 of the 2012 Convention Delegate Study (see Appendix A). Next, we conduct cluster analyses of group membership, issue attitudes, and constituency loyalties based on k-means analysis with multiple clusters to identify the best fitting solution for each party.

Below is a step by step description of this process.

Step #1: A Measure of Group Membership

Question #29 provides us a series of dummy variables with membership in social and ideological groups. These dummy variables capture membership in ideological and policy groups (very conservative groups for Republicans and very liberal groups for Democrats) as well as social and professional groups.

For parsimony, we only examined membership in groups in which more than six percent of a party's delegates belonged to the group. For Republicans, this includes: 1) conservative religious groups, 2) pro-life groups, 3) civil liberties groups, 4) gun owners' associations, and 5) professional or occupational groups. For Democrats, this includes 1) pro-choice groups, 2) ethnic or racial associations or groups, 3) environmental groups, 4) civil liberties groups, 5) LGBT groups, and 6) professional or occupational groups.

These dummy variables are included as part of the cluster analysis.

Step #2: A Measure of Issue Attitudes

As we discuss in the paper, we conducted factor analyses (using principal components extraction) of eight issues—including two cultural issues (abortion and same-sex marriage), three social welfare issues (government services and spending, government providing health insurance, and government aid to African Americans), and three security attitudes (defense spending, government surveillance, and whether illegal immigration represents a major threat to the U.S.).

For Republican delegates, our analysis yielded three factors with eigenvalues greater than one, with the two cultural issues loading on one factor, the three social welfare issues loading on a second factor, and the three security issues loading on a third factor. In Table A2, we show the variables' loadings on the three obliquely-rotated factors.

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Table A2: Factor Analysis of Policy Attitudes for Republican Delegates

	Factor 1 (Social Welfare)	Factor 2 (Cultural)	Factor 3 (Security)
Abortion	0.0312	0.8538	-0.0850
Same-Sex Marriage	-0.1115	0.8752	0.0643
Government Services	0.7688	0.0414	-0.0715
Health Insurance	0.7292	0.0198	-0.0369
Government Aid to Blacks	0.8361	-0.1341	0.0435
Defense Spending	0.0292	0.0883	0.7801
Illegal Immigration	0.2183	0.1532	0.5434
Government Surveillance	-0.1940	-0.1818	0.7341
Eigenvalue	2.19	1.64	1.11
% of Variance Explained	27.33	20.48	13.88

In the factor analysis for Democratic delegates, views on government surveillance and defense spending loaded together on a separate “security attitudes” factor, but the illegal immigration variable did not load with them. So, we excluded the illegal immigration variable from the analysis. A factor analysis of the remaining seven indicators yielded only two factors with eigenvalues greater than one. However, if we reduce the minimum eigenvalue for factor retention to .97, then we see a very similar three-factor attitude structure for Democrats as for Republicans. Table A3 shows the variables’ loadings on three obliquely-rotated factors.

Table A3: Factor Analysis of Policy Attitudes for Democratic Delegates

	Factor 1 (Social Welfare)	Factor 2 (Security)	Factor 3 (Cultural)
Abortion	-0.0371	0.0476	0.8308
Same-Sex Marriage	0.0387	-0.0596	0.7978
Government Services	0.6087	0.1972	0.0882
Health Insurance	0.7915	-0.1534	-0.0044
Government Aid to Blacks	0.7725	0.0434	-0.0453
Defense Spending	0.0887	0.7591	-0.0843
Government Surveillance	-0.0941	0.8162	0.0660
Eigenvalue	2.11	1.21	.97
% of Variance Explained	30.01	17.33	13.88

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To create our measures of policy attitudes for the cluster analyses, we first created scales of social welfare, cultural, and security attitudes for each party by summing respondents' scores (on scales recoded to range from 0 to 1) on all of the variables loading strongly on the factor for that policy dimension (government services, health insurance, and aid to African Americans for social welfare attitudes; abortion and same-sex marriage for cultural attitudes; and defense spending, surveillance, and illegal immigration for security attitudes (with illegal immigration not included for Democratic delegates) and on which the respondent had non-missing values. Then, to make our measures of issue attitudes comparable to the measures of group membership, we dichotomized these issue scales. For Republicans, we created dummy variables for respondents with attitudes that were more conservative than the median Republican on that dimension. For Democrats, we created dummy variables with attitudes that were liberal than the median Democrat on that dimension

Step #3: A Measure of Constituency Loyalties

The final variable to incorporate into our factional cluster analyses is affect toward key constituencies in the party. Our thermometer batteries include ratings of three key Republican Party constituencies: the Tea Party, Big Business, and Christian Fundamentalists. They also include ratings of three key Democratic constituencies: feminists, labor unions, and gay men and lesbians. As with issues, we dichotomize these variables, creating dummy variables for the Republican delegates whose ratings of the Tea Party, fundamentalists, and big business were higher than the median for the party, and for Democratic delegates whose ratings of feminists, labor unions, and gay men and lesbians were higher than the median for their party

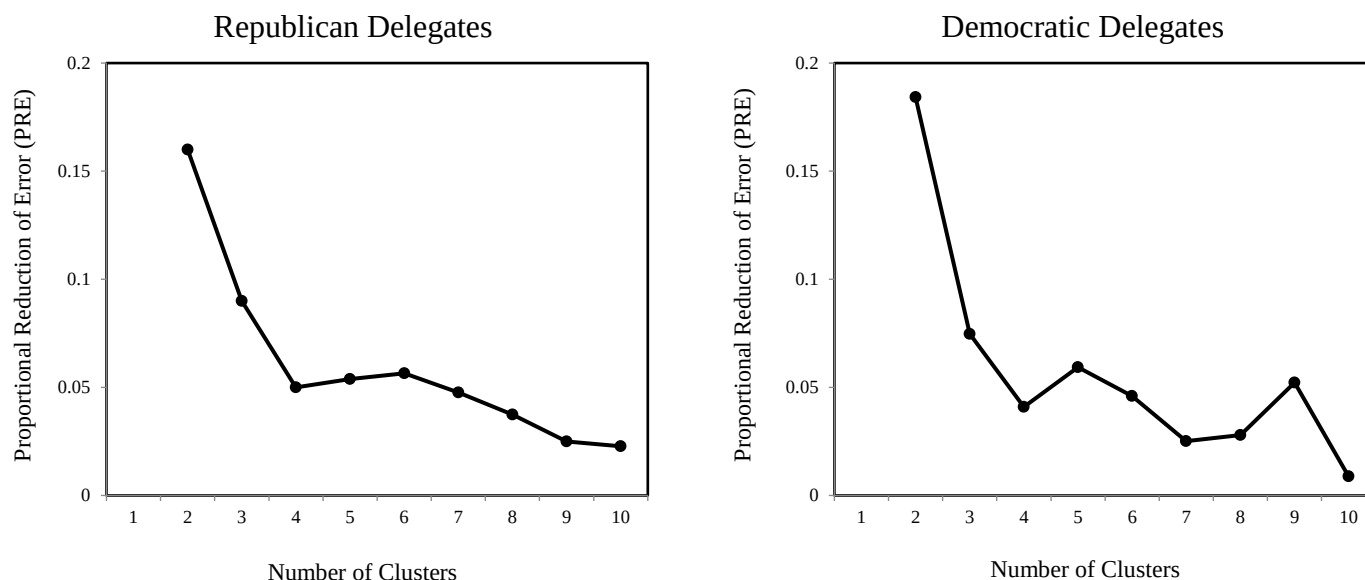
Step #4: Identifying Intraparty Factions Using Group Membership, Issue Attitudes, and Constituency Loyalties

Now that we have dummy variables for group members, conservatives/liberals on three policy dimensions, and supporters of three prominent groups within each party, we can conduct a k-means cluster analysis. We use proportional reduction of error (PRE) to detect the number of clusters to be used in our analyses. By definition, PRE decreases as the number of retained clusters increases. There are no standard rules to determine a cut point, so researchers usually rely on plotted results. The PRE plots are similar to scree plots in which we seek to balance parsimony (a lower dimensional solution) and accuracy (higher explanatory power).

Figure A1 shows the PRE results with up to 10 clusters for both Republican and Democratic delegates. The biggest decline in proportional error for both parties happens when we move from a 2-cluster to a 3-cluster solution. After the 3-cluster solution, each additional cluster shows a smaller decline—and sometimes an increase—in proportional error. Anything beyond 3 clusters does not add enough explanatory power or decrease error in variance enough to warrant retaining a higher dimensional solution. Therefore, to have a more parsimonious solution with an accurate depiction of variance in data, we decided to retain 3 clusters.

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**Figure A1: Proportional Reduction of Error (PRE) with up to 10 clusters,
Binary Indicators of Policy Attitudes and Group Affect**

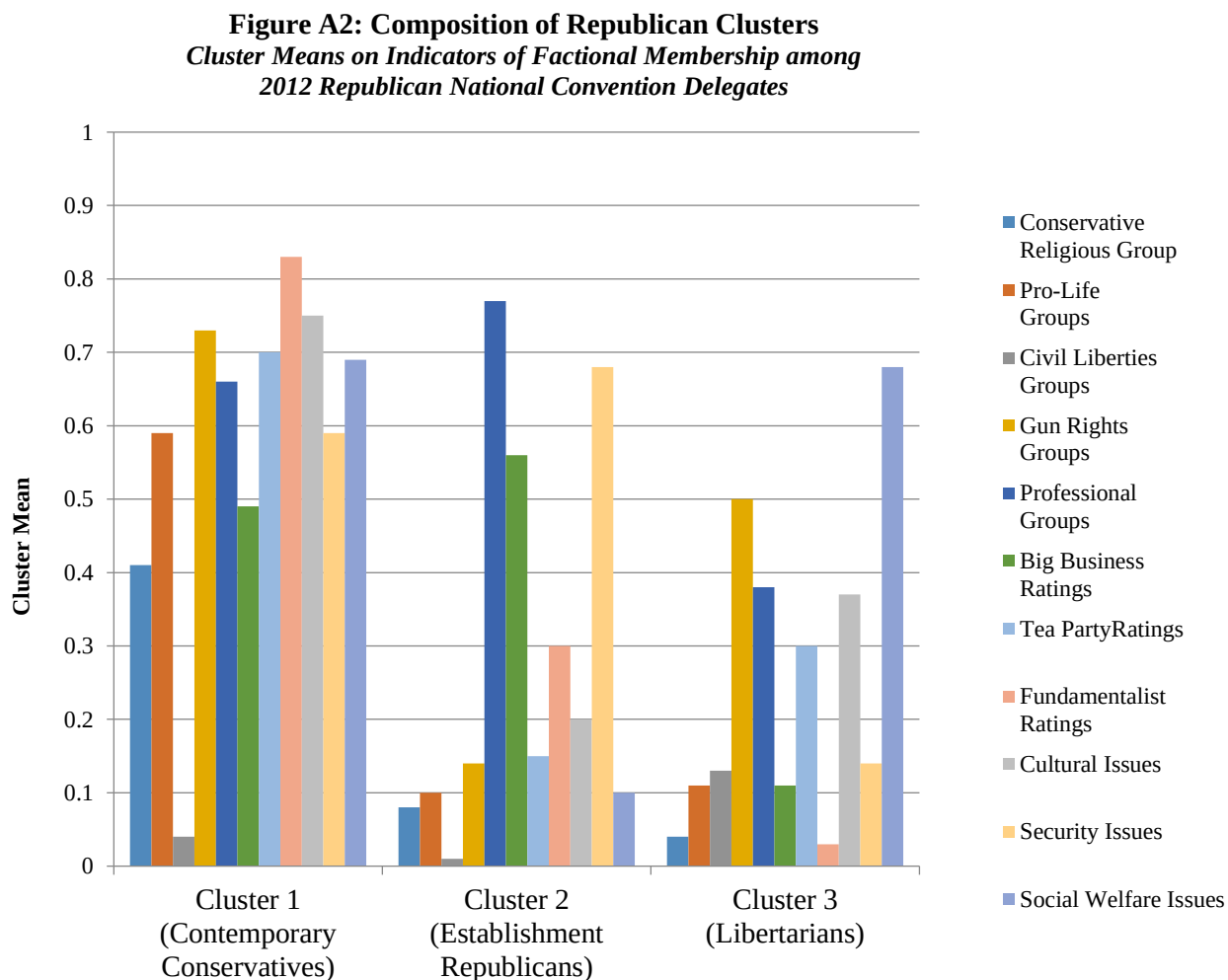


Source: 2012 Convention Delegate Study

As we noted in the paper, the most substantively important part of a cluster analysis is a regression of each of our indicators of party factional membership on dummy variables for two of the three clusters that we uncover, with the first cluster constituting the comparison category. The constant term in the regression estimates thus represents the mean on each indicator of factional membership for the first cluster. The coefficients on the dummies for the second and third clusters represent the difference in means between those clusters and the first cluster. In Figures 1 and 2 in the paper, we illustrate these coefficients graphically by showing the means of each cluster on our various indicators of party factionalism. In those figures, the cluster means are organized by the indicator variables. Here, we provide an alternative view of the party factions by showing these same cluster means organized by cluster rather than by the individual factional indicators. Note that these are the same coefficients from the same regression models as those shown in Figures 1 and 2. This is simply an alternative way of viewing the clusters.

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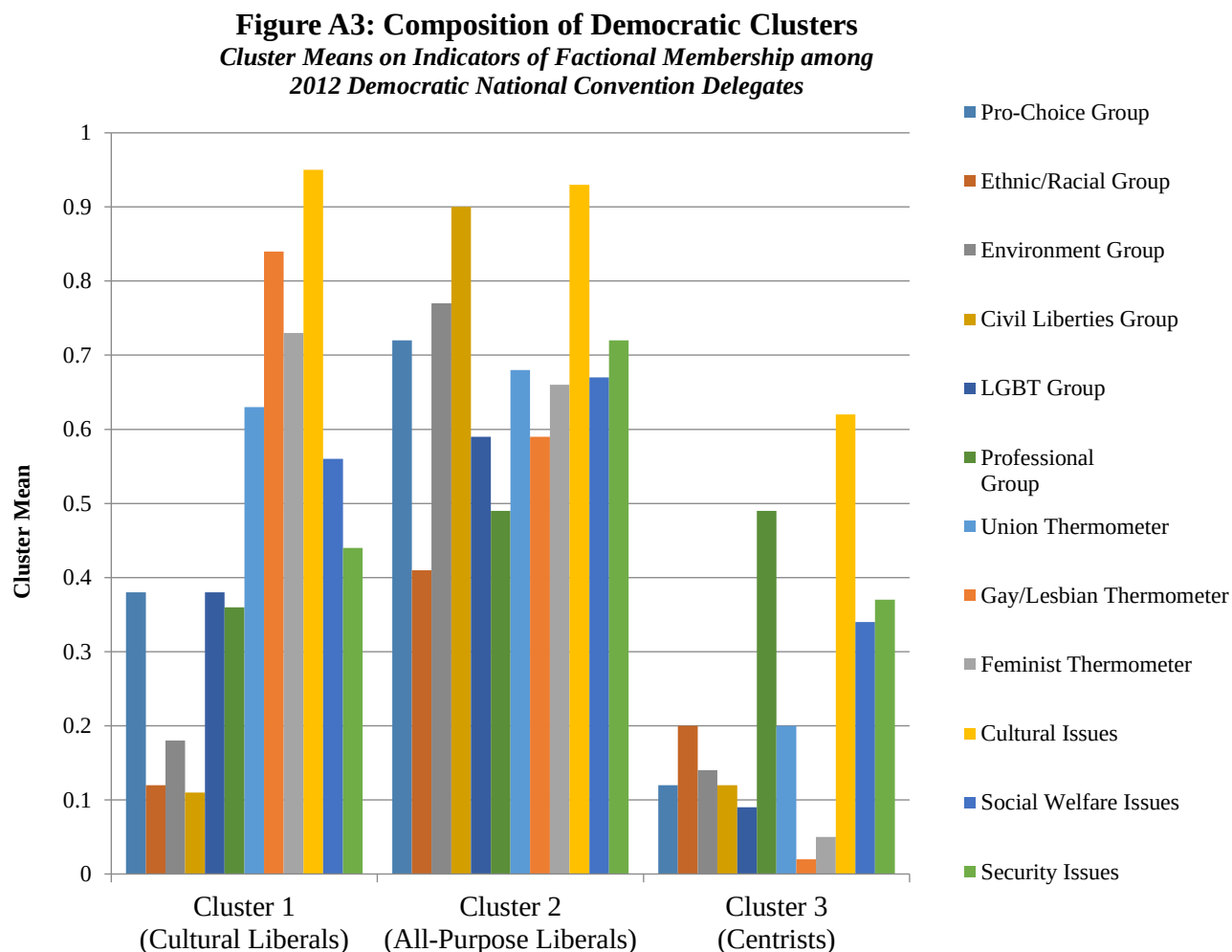
In Figure A2, we show the cluster means for the three Republican clusters (factions).



The figure makes it clear that “Contemporary Conservatives” are conservative on more or less everything. With the exception of civil liberties groups, they are quite likely to belong to core conservative groups. They are quite conservative on all three policy dimensions. And, they rate all of the core Republican constituencies highly. By contrast, “Establishment Republicans” are generally low on all measures of conservatism. They are relatively unlikely to belong to core Republican groups, they give relatively low ratings to the Tea Party and Christian Fundamentalists, and they are not likely to be conservative on cultural or social welfare issues. They are quite likely to belong to professional groups, to rate big business highly, and to be quite hawkish on security matters. Finally, “Libertarians” are more likely than either of the other two factions to belong to civil liberties groups and are quite likely to belong to gun rights groups. They rate Christian fundamentalists and big business quite low and are not as conservative as Contemporary Conservatives on cultural issues. They are highly conservative on social welfare issues.

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In Figure A3, we show the cluster means for the three Democratic clusters.



Here, we see that “Cultural Liberals” are quite liberal on cultural issues and to rate feminists and gays and lesbians warmly. They are also more likely than “Centrists” to belong to pro-choice groups. “All-Purpose Liberals” are liberal on more or less everything. They are quite liberal on all three policy dimensions, rate the core liberal constituencies highly, and are highly likely to belong to core liberal groups. Finally, “Centrists” are less likely than members of the other two party factions to be liberal on each of the three issue dimensions; they rate core liberal constituencies relatively low, and they are relatively unlikely to belong to key liberal groups.

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3. Identification and Construction of our Dependent Variables

Step #1: Identifying (and Constructing) Dependent Variables for our Political Involvement Model

Table 2 includes the results of our *Political Involvement Model*. This model includes four distinct variables from the 2012 Convention Delegate Study from a single question, which reads:

“We are interested in people’s reasons for being involved in politics. How important is each of the following reasons for your own participation in politics: Not at all important, not very important, quite important, or extremely important?”

Respondents were given a battery of nine questions, including the four we utilized:

- I want to see particular candidates elected.
- I am strongly attached to the party and I want to give it my support.
- I want to get the party and its candidates to support the policies in which I believe.
- I want to advance the goals of groups/associations to which I belong.

The responses to these four questions were standardized to range from 0 to 1.

Step #2: Identifying (and Constructing) Dependent Variables for Party Commitment and Ideology Models

Table 3 includes the results of our *Party Commitment and Ideology Model*. This model includes four distinct variables from four different survey questions.

a. The first variable is the degree of party support. The question for this variable is:

“How strongly do you support your party? Please place yourself on the following scale. Note that you do not have to place yourself exactly at one of the numbers. It is fine to place yourself in between two numbers if you feel like that best represents where you are.”

Not Very Strongly						Very Strongly
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

b. The second variable is the relative importance of their party activity compared to their involvement on behalf of an issue or broad ideological group. The question for this variable is:

“How would you compare the importance of your party activity with your involvement in these other kinds of activity? (Battery of five options, including) Activity on behalf of an issue or broad ideological group (e.g. conservative groups, liberal groups, Environmental Rights, Gun Rights, Tea Party)”

Would you say your party work is: 1) Less Important, 2) About as Important, or 3) More Important:

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c. The third variable is the degree of party activism. The question for this variable is:

“In what type of activities did you engage during the 2012 presidential campaign? Please check all of the activities in which you were involved.”

1) Voter registration/get out the vote drives, 2) telephoning, 3) distributing literature/putting up signs, 4) fund raising, mass mailing, 5) social media, 6) poll watching, 7) campaign organization/campaign office, 8) rallies/campaign events, and 9) small meetings/teas/coffees.

Respondents were able to select as many activities as were applicable. We constructed a count variable with ranges from 0 (delegates engaged in none of these activities) to 9 (delegates engaged in all of these activities).

d. The fourth variable is a delegate’s willingness to compromise. The question for this variable is:

“Next, we would like to know how you feel about the decisions made by your party’s elected officials. Please place yourself on the scale between the two opposing positions.”

Elected officials should stand up
for their principles no matter what

Elected officials should compromise
with their opponents in order to get
things done for the country.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

The responses to these four questions were standardized to range from 0 to 1.

Step #3: Identifying (and Constructing) a Dependent Variable for the Degree of Purism

Table 4 includes the results of the effect of intraparty factions on the degree of pragmatism-purism among delegates. To construct this variable, we start with a battery of five questions:

“You have attended at least one national presidential nominating convention. In thinking about how decisions made at conventions, how much do you disagree or agree with the following statements (Disagree strongly, disagree, agree, and agree strongly)”

- It is best to minimize disagreement with the party.
- One should stand firm for a position even if it means resigning from the party.
- The party should play down some issues even if it will improve the chances of winning.
- The party should select a nominee who is strongly committed on the issues.
- Choosing a candidate with broad electoral appeal is more important than a consistent ideology.

We coded reactions to each of these statements to range from the most pragmatic to the most purist response, and then conducted a factor analysis, using principal components extraction, of the five items separately for each party. The items all loaded strongly on a single factor. The factor loadings from these analyses are shown in Table A4.

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Table A4: Factor Analyses of Purist-Pragmatist Norms

	Democrats	Republicans
Minimize disagreement	0.6947	0.4281
Stand firm for a position	-0.7365	-0.3491
Play down some issues	0.7790	0.7213
Nominee committed on issues	-0.5440	-0.5133
Candidate with broad electoral appeal	0.8399	0.7772
Eigenvalue	2.63	1.69
% of Variance Explained	52.67	33.86

Our measures of pragmatist-purist norms are the factor scores from these analyses, with the scores ranging from 0 for most pragmatic to 1 for most purist.

4. Identifying Party Factions with Continuous Indicators of Policy Attitudes and Group Affect

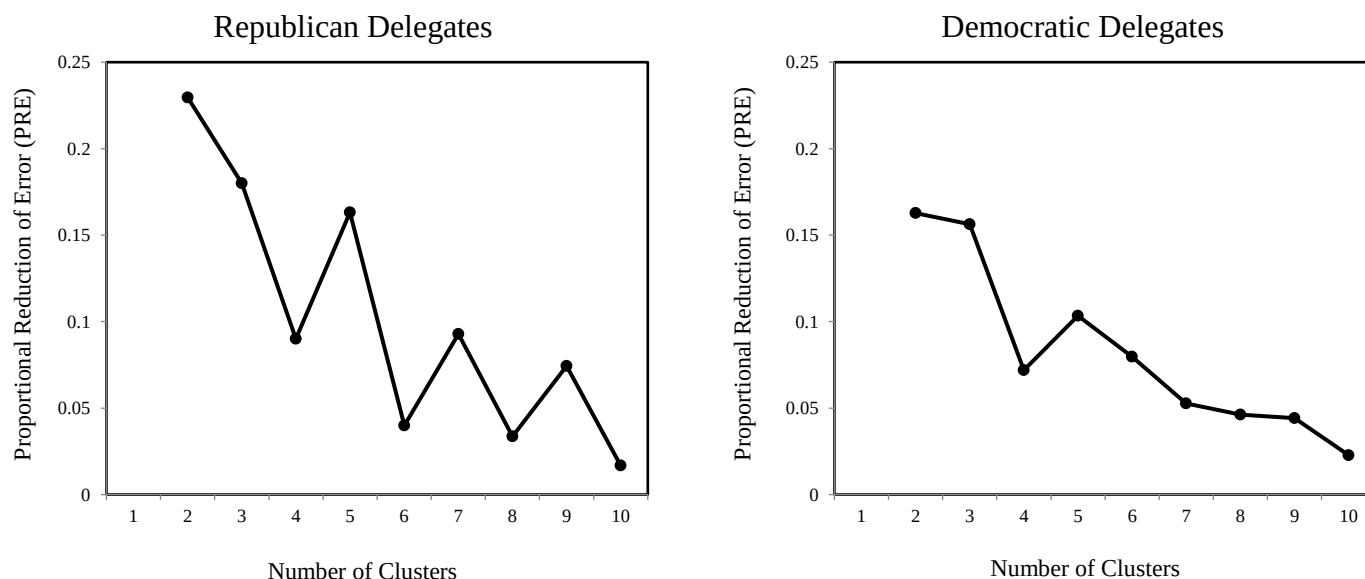
In the paper, we employ binary measures of activists' policy attitudes and group affect in order to identify policy and affect groupings that are comparable to our measures of group membership. Here, we estimate cluster analyses of party factions using the continuous measures of attitudes on cultural, social welfare, and security issues as well as the full (0 to 100) feeling thermometer ratings of key party constituencies (big business, the Tea Party, and Christian fundamentalists for Republican delegates and labor unions, gay men and lesbians, and feminists for Democratic delegates).

Figure A4 shows the PRE plots for k-means cluster analyses with up to 10 clusters for both Republican and Democratic delegates when we use continuous policy attitudes and feeling thermometers (as well as the binary group membership measures used in the paper) as our indicators. We noted in the paper that the cluster analyses with continuous indicators produced solutions that were more complex and more difficult to interpret than those using binary indicators of policy and group attitudes. The figure illustrates that. For Republican delegates, the largest proportional reduction of error occurs when we move from a five-cluster to a six-cluster solution. In other words, it suggests that six clusters provide the best representation of the factional structure of the Republican Party activist base. As one might expect, trying to make sense of six Republican factions and the factors distinguishing them proved nearly impossible.

For Democratic delegates, the cluster analysis suggested a bit simpler structure, with the largest PRE occurring when we move from three to four clusters. However, a four-cluster representation of Democratic factionalism remains less parsimonious and more difficult to interpret than the three-cluster representation uncovered with binary indicators of policy and group attitudes.

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**Figure A4: Proportional Reduction of Error (PRE) with up to 10 clusters,
Continuous Indicators of Policy Attitudes and Group Affect (All Indicators)**



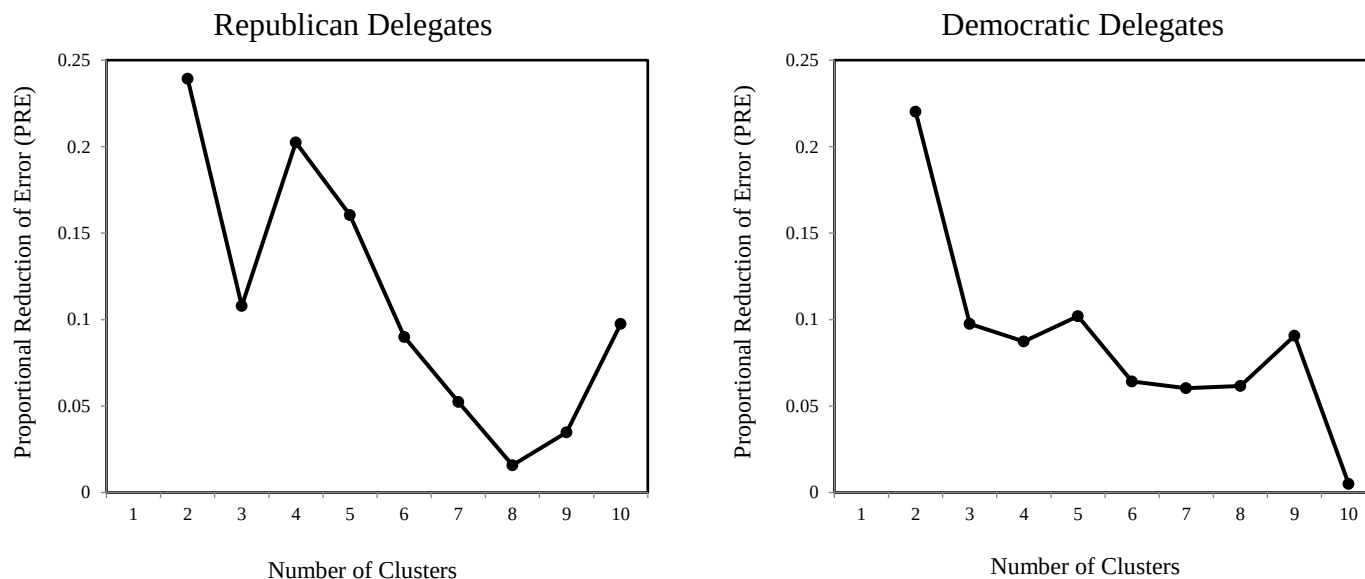
Source: 2012 Convention Delegate Study

Given the complexity of the revealed factional structure using continuous indicators, we sought ways to simplify the cluster analysis and the resulting solution. One step we took was to eliminate security issues from the analyses. There are factional differences within each party on security issues. However, these issues seem less central to internal divisions within both parties than do cultural and social welfare issues. Cultural issues are the principal dividing line between Contemporary Conservatives and other factions in the Republican Party, while social welfare issues play a key role in distinguishing Establishment Republicans from their Libertarian and Culturally Conservative colleagues. In the Democratic activist base, cultural and social welfare issues separate Centrists from the other two party factions to a greater extent than security issues do.

When we dropped security issues from our cluster analysis with continuous policy and group affect indicators, we uncovered a simpler solution and one that is substantively similar to that shown in the paper with binary indicators. Figure A5 presents the PRE plots for both parties' delegates, showing that the largest PREs were for movement between two and three clusters among both Republicans and Democrats. Thus, a three-cluster solution seems to best represent the factional structure within both parties.

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Figure A5: Proportional Reduction of Error (PRE) with up to 10 clusters, Continuous Indicators of Policy Attitudes and Group Affect (No Security Issues)



Source: 2012 Convention Delegate Study

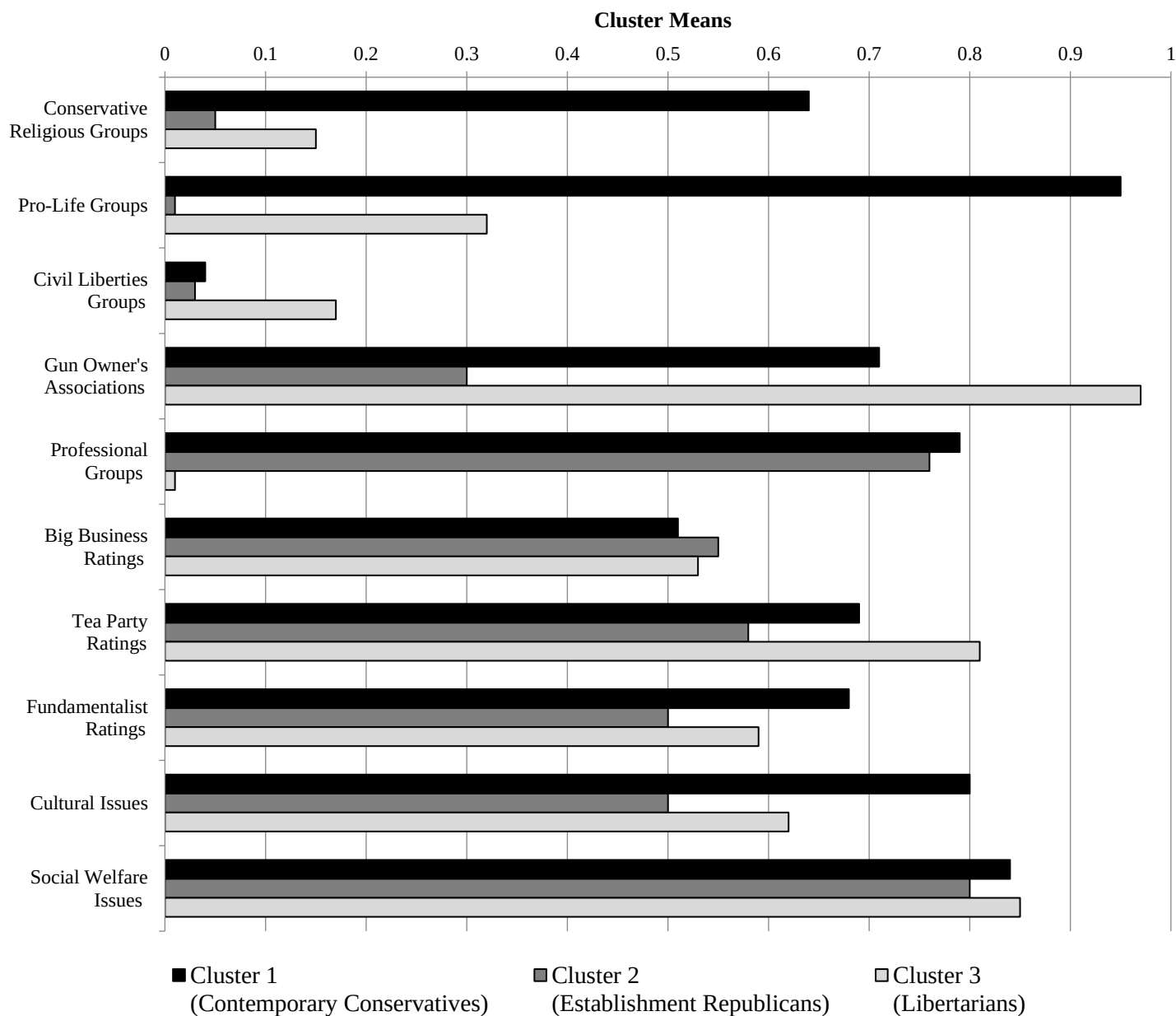
In Figures A5 and A6, we present the results of regressions of each of our indicators of party factional membership on dummy variables for two of the three clusters that we uncovered within each party. The constant term in the regression estimates represents the mean on each indicator for the first cluster (Contemporary Conservatives for the Republican Party, Cultural Liberals for Democrats). The coefficients on the dummies for the second and third clusters represent the difference in means between those clusters and the first cluster. We illustrate these coefficients graphically by showing the means of each cluster on our various indicators of party factionalism in Figure A5 for Republican delegates and in Figure A6 for Democratic delegates. The results are not identical to those shown in the paper, but they are quite similar.

In the Republican Party, Contemporary Conservatives remain far more likely than members of the other two factions to belong to conservative religious groups and pro-life groups. Libertarians are a good bit more likely than their fellow partisans to belong to civil liberties groups and a good bit less likely to belong to professional groups. Establishment Republicans are considerably less likely than the other two factions to belong to gun owners' associations.

Group affect and policy attitudes are not as different across the three factions in this analysis as it is in the cluster analysis in the paper, but the same patterns largely still hold. However, Establishment Republicans still express less warmth toward the Tea Party and Christian fundamentalists than do Contemporary Conservatives. On both cultural issues and social welfare issues, Establishment Republicans are less conservative than members of the other two factions.

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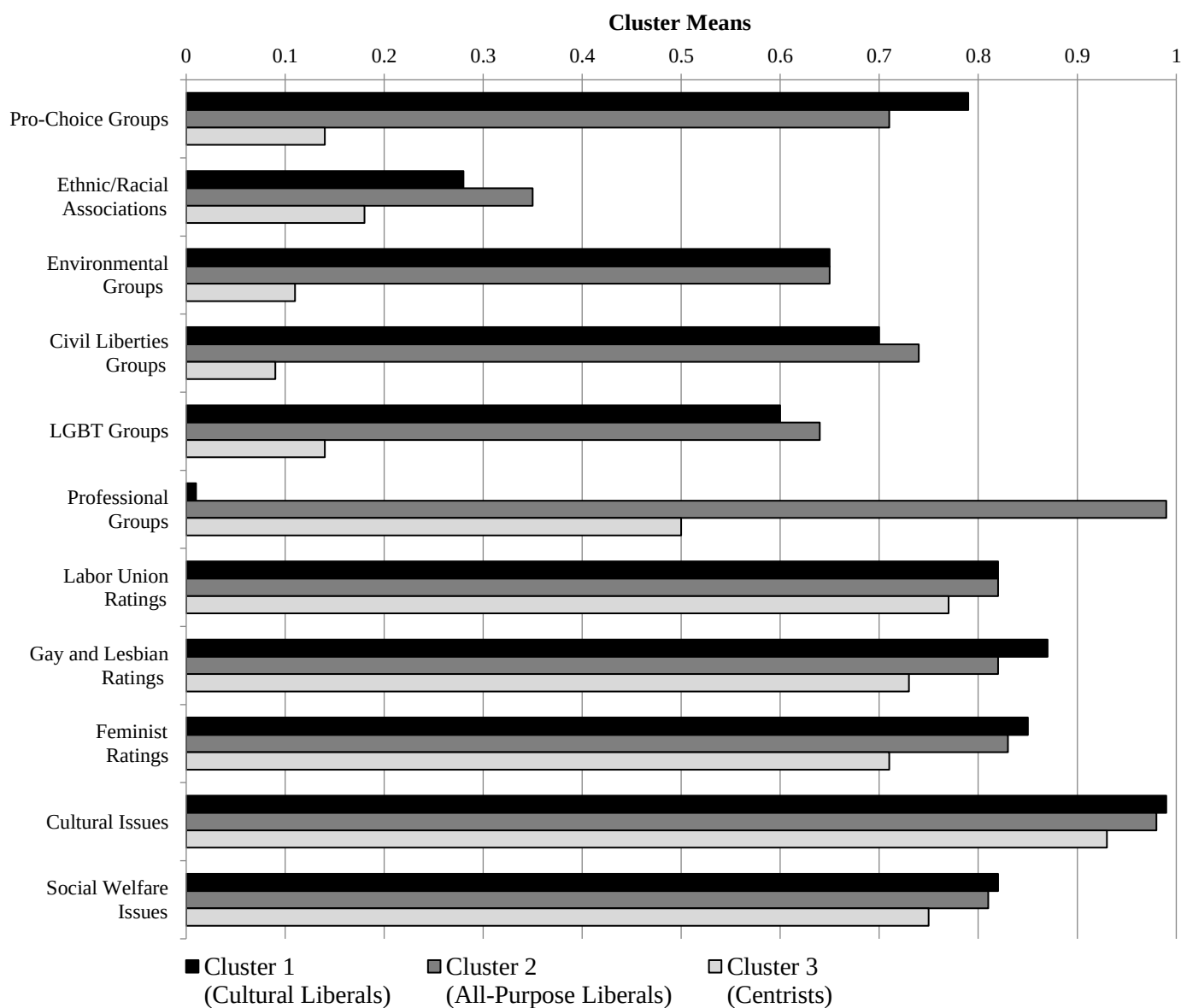
Figure A5: Cluster Analysis of Republican Party Factions
Cluster Means on Indicators of Factional Membership among 2012 Republican
National Convention Delegates: Continuous Feeling Thermometers and Issue Indices (No Security Issues)



Source: 2012 Convention Delegate Study

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Figure A6: Cluster Analysis of Democratic Party Factions
***Cluster Means on Indicators of Factional Membership among 2012 Democratic
National Convention Delegates Continuous Feeling Thermometers and Issue Indices (No security issues)***



Source: 2012 Convention Delegate Study

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Contemporary Conservatives are the most conservative faction on cultural issues, while – just as in the paper – there is no distinction between Contemporary Conservatives and Libertarians on social welfare issues.

Among Democrats, Centrists remain less likely than All-Purpose Liberals and Cultural Liberals to be members of the major ideologically-oriented Democratic constituencies. Moreover, just as in the paper, centrists also have less favorable attitudes toward labor unions, gay men and lesbians, feminists, and are less liberal on cultural and social welfare issues. Centrists' differences with the other two factions on policy issues and liberal constituencies are not as large as in the paper's analysis, but they remain distinct on most measures. There is not a great deal of difference between Cultural Liberals and All-Purpose Liberals on most of our indicators. However, Cultural Liberals are much less likely to be members of professional groups. They also are a bit more supportive of gay men and lesbians and feminists, and are slightly more liberal on cultural issues.

In short, the factional structure of the Democratic and Republican activist bases is not as readily apparent when we employ continuous indicators of policy attitudes and group affect. However, the same three factions remain apparent with factional differences roughly what they are when we employ binary indicators.

As a final check on whether the results of our analysis of party factions are similar if we use continuous indicators or binary indicators of policy attitudes and group affect, we regressed intraparty and interparty purist-pragmatist political norms (coded so that higher scores are more purist) on the dummy variables for two of the three factions within each party and a series of control variables. We present the results in Table A5 and find similar effects of factional membership on political norms as we showed in the paper (see Table 4).

In the Republican Party, Contemporary Conservatives continue to be more purist than Establishment Republicans in their views about intraparty affairs. Libertarians are also more purists than the Republican Establishment, but the effect no longer reaches statistical significance. Libertarians are also less willing than the party establishment to compromise with the other party on government matters, and the effect is marginally significant ($p < .10$).

Among Democrats, both Cultural Liberals and All-Purpose Liberals are more purist than Centrists about intraparty decision making and the effects both are marginally significant. Cultural Liberals also are less willing to pursue interparty compromise than Centrists.

In short, our results hold with party clusters based on continuous measures of policy and group attitudes. There are noticeable differences between Republican and Democratic factions in their willingness to compromise with intraparty and interparty political opponents.

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Table A5: The Impact of Factional Membership on Pragmatist-Purist Political Norms (Factions with Continuous Indicators)

Independent Variables	Republicans		Democrats	
	Intraparty Pragmatism-Purism	Interparty Pragmatism-Purism	Intraparty Pragmatism-Purism	Interparty Pragmatism-Purism
<i>Republican Factions</i> (Comparison = Establishment Republicans)				
Contemporary Conservatives	0.08** (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)	—	—
Libertarians	0.06 (0.04)	0.09+ (0.05)	—	—
<i>Democratic Factions</i> (Comparison = Centrist Democrats)				
Cultural Liberals	—	—	0.04+ (0.02)	0.05+ (0.03)
All-Purpose Liberals	—	—	0.04+ (0.02)	-0.0002 (0.03)
<i>Control Variables</i>				
First-Time Delegate	0.08** (0.02)	0.04 (0.03)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.04 (0.03)
At-Large Delegate	-0.006 (0.02)	0.04 (0.03)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.03)
Superdelegate	—	—	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.06 (0.05)
Income	-0.12* (0.05)	-.17** (0.06)	-0.05+ (0.03)	0.02 (0.04)
Education	-0.03 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.05 (0.04)
Age	-0.06 (0.06)	-0.23** (0.08)	0.06 (0.04)	-0.10+ (0.05)
Race (White)	-0.04 (0.04)	-0.08 (0.05)	-0.03+ (0.02)	-0.001 (0.03)
Gender (Female)	0.01 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	0.05** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.02)
Evangelical Protestant	0.05 (0.04)	0.04 (0.04)	-0.06 (0.04)	-0.004 (0.05)
Mainline Protestant	0.002 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.05 (0.03)
Catholic	-0.02 (0.04)	0.04 (0.06)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.03)
No Religion	0.12* (0.06)	0.002 (0.07)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.001 (0.03)
Ideological ID (Conservatism)	0.34** (0.00)	0.63** (0.11)	-0.14** (0.04)	-0.29** (0.06)
Constant	0.28** (0.10)	0.69** (0.13)	0.50** (0.04)	0.43** (0.06)
(N)	(293)	(296)	(532)	(521)
Adjusted R ²	0.20	0.22	0.08	0.06

Source: 2012 Convention Delegate Study

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

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4. Statistical Models with Alternative Specifications

For the analyses in Tables 1 and 2 of the paper, we presented OLS regression results for ease of interpretation. However, most of the dependent variables in those tables are either ordinal or count variables. For those variables, we re-estimated the model using the more appropriate statistical estimation procedure and present the results here.

Both dependent variables in Table 1 are ordinal variables, so we present the estimates from ordered logit models for those dependent variables in Table A6. In Table 2, one dependent variable (degree of party support) is measured as a continuous scale, so we do not show alternative estimates for it. Another dependent variable (the importance of party activity vs. ideological activity) is an ordinal variable. In Table A7, we show the estimates from ordered logit models for that dependent variable. The final dependent variable in Table 2 is a count variable (number of campaign activities). So, in Table A7, we show the estimates of a negative binomial regression model for it.

For all of these dependent variables, our substantive results are unaltered by the alternative estimation procedures. The differences between party factions remain the same as those shown in the paper.

We do not show alternative estimates for the dependent variables in Table 3. They are measured either as a factor score (intraparty pragmatism-purism) or as a continuous scale (interparty pragmatism-purism).

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Table A6: Ordered Logit Models of the Impact of Party Factional Membership on Party and Policy as Reasons for Political Involvement

Independent Variables	Republicans		Democrats	
	Strong Attachment to Party	Get Party to Support Policies	Strong Attachment to Party	Get Party to Support Policies
Contemporary Conservatives	-0.44 (0.26)	0.84** (0.28)	—	—
Libertarians	-1.41** (0.27)	0.67* (0.29)	—	—
All-Purpose Liberals	—	—	0.14 (0.20)	0.91** (0.21)
Cultural Liberals	—	—	0.19 (0.20)	0.55** (0.21)
First-Time Delegate	-0.52* (0.22)	-0.16 (0.24)	0.06 (0.19)	0.39* (0.19)
At-Large Delegate	-0.14 (0.21)	-0.14 (0.23)	-0.20 (0.19)	0.08 (0.20)
Superdelegate	—	—	0.13 (0.36)	0.02 (0.36)
Income	0.53 (0.40)	0.18 (0.44)	-0.46 (0.29)	0.14 (0.30)
Education	-0.01 (0.32)	0.31 (0.36)	-0.30 (0.27)	-0.48 (0.28)
Age	0.91 (0.52)	-0.70 (0.57)	1.29** (0.38)	0.48 (0.40)
Race (White)	0.16 (0.32)	-0.91* (0.41)	-0.21 (0.19)	-0.17 (0.20)
Gender (Female)	0.41 (0.22)	-0.32 (0.23)	0.05 (0.15)	-0.23 (0.16)
Evangelical Protestant	0.31 (0.31)	-0.14 (0.36)	0.39 (0.35)	-0.32 (0.37)
Mainline Protestant	0.57 (0.33)	0.01 (0.38)	0.04 (0.22)	-0.21 (0.22)
Catholic	0.83* (0.33)	-0.10 (0.38)	0.14 (0.25)	0.13 (0.26)
No Religion	-0.88* (0.45)	-0.08 (0.49)	-0.03 (0.21)	0.01 (0.22)
Ideological ID (Conservatism)	0.84 (0.76)	2.64** (0.85)	-1.40** (0.49)	-1.01* (0.49)
Cut Point 1	-1.19 (0.84)	-2.36 (0.95)	-3.42 (0.48)	-4.40 (0.58)
Cut Point 2	0.45 (0.83)	-1.15 (.92)	-1.83 (.44)	-2.12 (.46)
Cut Point 3	2.50 (0.84)	1.07 (.92)	.36 (.44)	.12 (.45)
(N)	(392)	(394)	(625)	(621)
Pseudo R ²	0.10	0.06	0.02	0.04

Source: 2012 Convention Delegate Study

**p<.01; *p<.05

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Table A7: Ordered Logit and Negative Binomial Regression Models of the Impact of Party Factional Membership on Party Importance and Involvement

Independent Variables	Republicans		Democrats	
	Importance of Party Activity vs. Ideological Activity (Ordered Logit)	Number of Campaign Activities (Negative Binomial)	Importance of Party Activity vs. Ideological Activity (Ordered Logit)	Number of Campaign Activities (Negative Binomial)
Contemporary Conservatives	-0.75** (0.27)	.0001 (.03)	—	—
Libertarians	-1.18** (0.27)	.05 (.03)	—	—
All-Purpose Liberals	—	—	-0.12 (0.20)	0.25** (0.04)
Cultural Liberals	—	—	0.23 (0.20)	0.07 (0.04)
First-Time Delegate	-0.49* (0.22)	-0.06* (0.03)	0.06 (0.19)	-0.004 (0.04)
At-Large Delegate	0.24 (0.21)	-0.04 (0.03)	0.06 (0.19)	-0.03 (0.04)
Superdelegate	—	—	0.15 (0.37)	0.04 (0.08)
Income	0.52 (0.40)	-0.04 (0.05)	0.02 (0.29)	-0.12* (0.06)
Education	-0.55 (0.33)	-0.03 (0.04)	0.04 (0.27)	-0.06 (0.06)
Age	0.53 (0.52)	-0.20 (0.07)	-0.28 (0.37)	0.13 (0.08)
Race (White)	0.19 (0.31)	0.03 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.19)	-0.03 (0.04)
Gender (Female)	0.16 (0.21)	0.08* (0.03)	-0.12 (0.16)	0.04 (0.03)
Evangelical Protestant	-0.22 (0.33)	-0.04 (0.04)	0.34 (0.35)	-0.07 (0.08)
Mainline Protestant	0.15 (0.35)	-0.07 (0.04)	0.02 (0.22)	-0.05 (0.05)
Catholic	0.08 (0.35)	-0.03 (0.05)	0.09 (0.25)	0.06 (0.05)
No Religion	-0.64 (0.47)	-0.15* (0.06)	-0.17 (0.21)	0.006 (0.04)
Ideological ID (Conservatism)	0.49 (0.77)	0.27** (0.10)	0.30 (0.49)	-0.03 (0.10)
Constant	—	0.50** (0.11)	—	1.80** (0.09)
Cut Point 1	-1.26 (0.86)	—	-1.88 (0.44)	—
Cut Point 2	0.71 (0.86)	—	0.56 (.43)	—
(N)	(394)	(394)	(625)	(626)
Pseudo R ²	0.07	0.06	0.02	0.02

Source: 2012 Convention Delegate Study

**p<.01; *p<.05