

## Appendix 1

### The Political Tolerance of Clergy and Its Democratic Roots

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#### Variable Coding

**Democratic Norms** Averages responses (1=strongly disagree to 4=strongly agree) regarding these four statements: “It's very important that politicians air their differences of opinion publicly.”; “You can't have democracy without political opposition.”; “You can't be sure an opinion is correct unless people are free to argue against it.”; “Unless many views are presented, there is little chance that the truth can ever be known.”

**Threat** Averages responses to three items: “<Group> are a grave threat to the country as a whole.”; “<Group> are a grave threat to me personally.”; “<Group> are a threat to my values.” All coded 1=strongly disagree to 4=strongly agree.

**Political Tolerance** After asking which group the respondent liked the list (groups listed in the text and tables), the survey asked, “Now, please answer the following questions about the group you just selected as the one you liked the least.” The tolerance scale averages responses to the following statements (coded so that the more tolerant response is high). “People who are <group> should be banned from running for the US Congress.” “<Group> should be allowed to teach in public schools.” “<Group> should be outlawed.” “<Group> should be allowed to make a speech in this city.” “<Group> should have their phones tapped by the government.” “<Group> should be allowed to hold public rallies here.”

**Religious conservatism** Averages responses (1=strongly disagree to 5=strongly agree) regarding these 6 statements: “The devil exists.”; “The Bible is literally true.”; “Jesus will return to earth in bodily form.”; “Jesus was born of a virgin.”; “There is an objective standard of right and wrong established by God's Word.”; “Men are given authority over women.”

**Emergent values scale** Averages responses (1=strongly disagree to 5=strongly agree) regarding these 5 statements: “The more clergy can step out of the way of the congregation the better.”; “It is important for the congregation to construct their own salvation.”; “The Gospel is what the congregation makes of it.”; “The church must adapt to a postmodern culture in order to spread the Gospel.”; “I believe there are many valid interpretations of the Bible.”

**Inclusive values** listed in text.

**Exclusive values** listed in text.

**Adult education norms** Averages responses (1=strongly disagree to 5=strongly agree) regarding these 5 statements: “We would explicitly encourage participants to think seriously about the views of others.”; “It would be essential that all those present participate.”; “It would be essential that a range of views are presented.”; “It would be essential for participants to learn how our values apply to issues.”; “It would be essential for participants to learn how to talk through their differences.”

**No stake in democracy** “In the following are pairs of statements – which do you most agree with? Click the button closer to the statement to show that you agree with it. If you agree (or disagree) with them both equally, please choose the middle option. “Promoting democracy is essential to God's plan for us (=1). God and the church have no stake in government (=7).”

**Authoritarian minded** “Although there are a number of qualities that people feel children should have, every person thinks that some are more important than others. Below are pairs of desirable

qualities. Please tell me which one you think is more important for children to have.”

0=independence, 1=respect for elders.

**Similarity to community** Sums responses from 4 questions, gaining a point for each time the congregations is gauged to be “about the same”. “We would now like your perceptions of how your congregation differs from your local community. How would you say that the congregation compares to the community in terms of ethnicity/race?” We have more minorities, About the same, We have fewer minorities.” “How do the political views of congregation members compare to other people in the community? Members are more conservative, Members are about the same, Members are more liberal.” “How about in terms of members’ activity level in church compared to people in the community? Ours is higher, About the same, Ours is lower.” “How does members’ activity level in the community compare to other people in the community? Ours is higher, About the same, Ours is lower.”

**Different from congregation** Averages responses across five items, each coded 3=mine much more liberal/conservative, 2=mine somewhat more liberal/conservative, 1=mine about the same. “How would you compare your own views with congregation members’ views on the following items? On social issues like abortion, In terms of partisanship, On theological issues, On issues regarding immigration, On government aid to the poor.”

**Congregational diversity** Averages responses ranging from 1 to 7 on 5 bipolar items introduced with: “Would you say that members of your congregation are largely the same or different from each other in the following areas?” “Very politically united (=1), Very politically divided (=7).” “Very similar class/social status (=1), Very diverse class/social status (=7).” “Very much the same race (=1), Very diverse in terms of race (=7).” “From the same neighborhood (=1), From many different neighborhoods (=7).” “Very much agree with each other on the direction of the denomination (=1), Very much disagree with each other about the direction of the denomination (=7).”

**New member outreach** Sums affirmative responses to 4 items introduced with: “In the past 12 months, has your church done any of the following?” Sponsored an outreach event intended to bring people into your congregation; Used different worship materials (e.g., music) to appeal to non-members; Had a special committee to work on recruiting new members; Mailed or distributed newsletters, letters, or flyers to recruit new members.

**Education level** “What is the highest level of education you have received?” 1=graduated college/seminary, 2=Master’s degree or working toward a Master’s, 3=Received a doctorate.

**Partisanship** “Generally speaking, of the following political labels, which do you consider yourself?” 1=Strong Democrat, 2=Democrat, 3=Independent who leans Democratic, 4=Independent /Other party, 5=Independent who leans Republican, 6=Republican, 7=Strong Republican.

**Female** =1, 0=male.

**Appendix 2**  
The Golden Rule Theory:  
The Nature of Clergy Influence on Congregational Political Tolerance

Paul A. Djupe, Denison University  
Brian R. Calfano, Missouri State University

**Variable Coding**

**Member tolerance** Began with the least liked group elicitation, “Switching subjects now, please listen as I read a list of groups that many consider unpopular in the United States. Please tell me which of these groups you like the least. Pro-choice group, American Nazis, Ku Klux Klan, Christian fundamentalists, Atheists, Gay rights activists, Islamic fundamentalists, and Illegal immigrants.” The survey then followed up with, “Now, I’ll ask you the following questions using the group you just named as the group you like least. For each, please tell me if you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the statement.” Each was recoded so that the more tolerant response was high. “Those who are <group> should be banned from being president of the U.S.” “Those who are <group> should be allowed to teach in public schools.” “Being a <group> should be outlawed.” “Those who are <group> should be allowed to make a speech in this city.” “The <group> should have their phones tapped by the government.” “The <group> should be allowed to hold public rallies in this city.”

**Member threat** “The <group> are a grave threat to the country as a whole.” 1=strongly disagree to 4=strongly agree.

**Clergy tolerance level** As standard practice in the content controlled approach, we began with “The following are groups that many consider unpopular in the United States. Please tell me which of these groups you like the least. Please circle only one. A. Pro-choice groups, B. Environmental activists, C. American Nazis, D. Pro-life groups, E. Ku Klux Klan, F. Christian fundamentalists, G. Atheists, H. Gay rights activists, I. Feminists, J. Islamic fundamentalists, K. Illegal immigrants, L. Animal rights activists.” The survey then followed up with, “Now please answer the next questions given the answer you gave above.” Responses were recoded so that the more tolerant response was high. “Those who are <group> should be banned from being president of the U.S.” “Those who are <group> should be allowed to teach in public schools.” “Being a <group> should be outlawed.” “Those who are <group> should be allowed to make a speech in this city.” “The <group> should have their phones tapped by the government.” “The <group> should be allowed to hold public rallies in this city.”

**Avoid sin** (clergy) “Next, I’d like to ask about some of the values that many consider make a good Christian. Think seriously about these values and then please tell me if you agree that they are essential or not essential to being a good Christian. To be a good person of faith, it is essential for me to avoid sin.” 1=strongly disagree to 4=strongly agree.

**Inclusive values** (clergy) Averages two items (coded 1=strongly disagree to 4=strongly agree) introduced with the same text as “avoid sin” above: “It is essential to “love the stranger as yourself.” “It is essential to invite others to church even if the church begins to change as a result.”

**Many points of view needed** (clergy) “Unless many points of view are presented, there is little chance that the truth can ever be known.” 1=strongly disagree to 4=strongly agree.

**Inerrant belief** (clergy) “The Bible is the inerrant word of God, both in matters of faith and in historic, geographic, and other matters.” 1=strongly disagree to 4=strongly agree.

**Member attendance** If the responded that they attend a Springfield area church, then they were asked, “Not everyone is able to attend a church regularly. How about you? Do you typically

attend your house of worship..." (0=never for non-attenders), 1=rarely, if ever, 2=several times a year, 3=about once a month, 4=once or twice a month, 5=once a week, 6=more than once a week.

**Born again** "Do you agree with this statement? I consider myself a "born again" or evangelical Christian." 1=strongly disagree to 5=strongly agree.

**Age** "In what year were you born?" (subtracted from 2010).

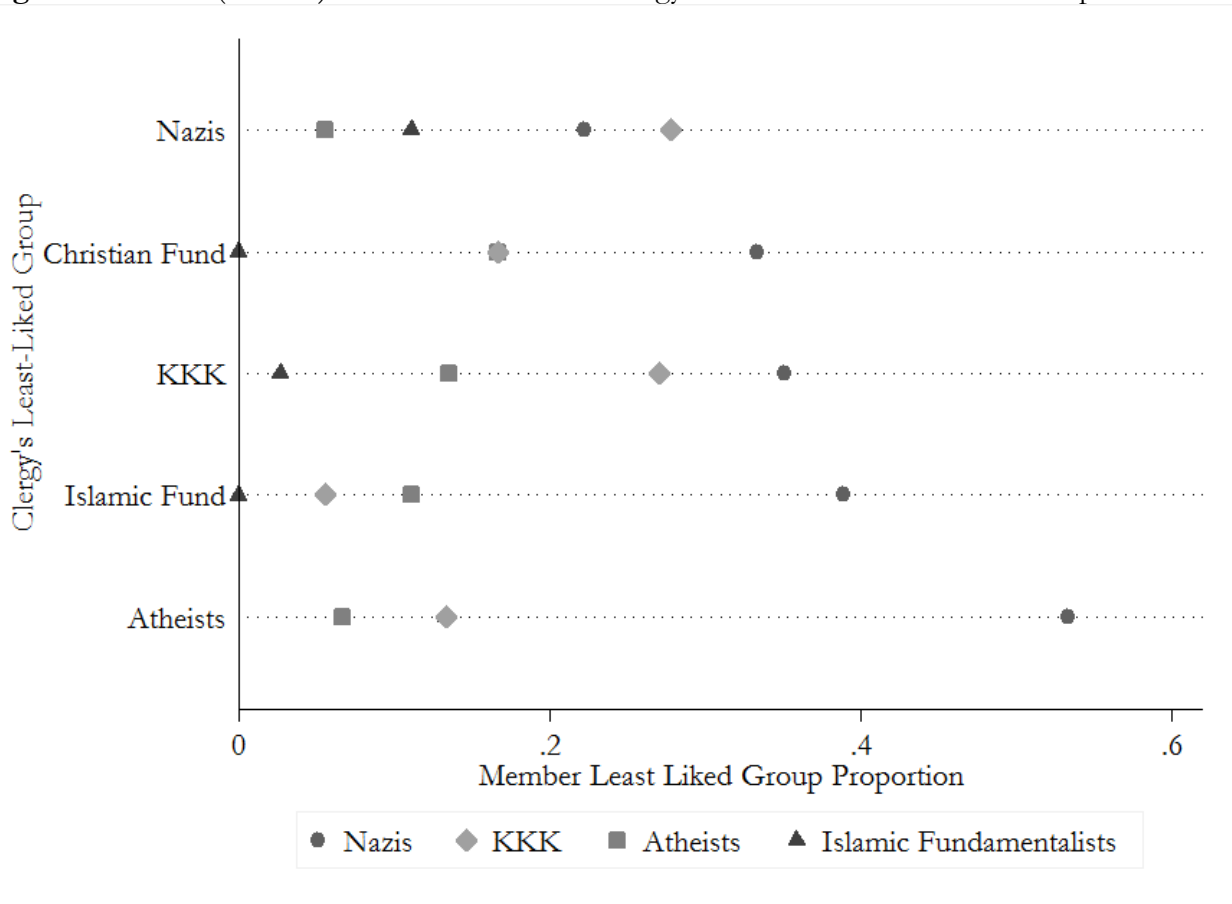
**Education** "How many years of education have you completed (from 0-17)?"

**Female** =1, 0=male.

**Ideology** "Now, thinking of your general political views, which of these labels best describes you?" 1=Strongly Liberal, 2=Liberal, 3=Moderate, 4=Conservative, 5=Strongly Conservative.

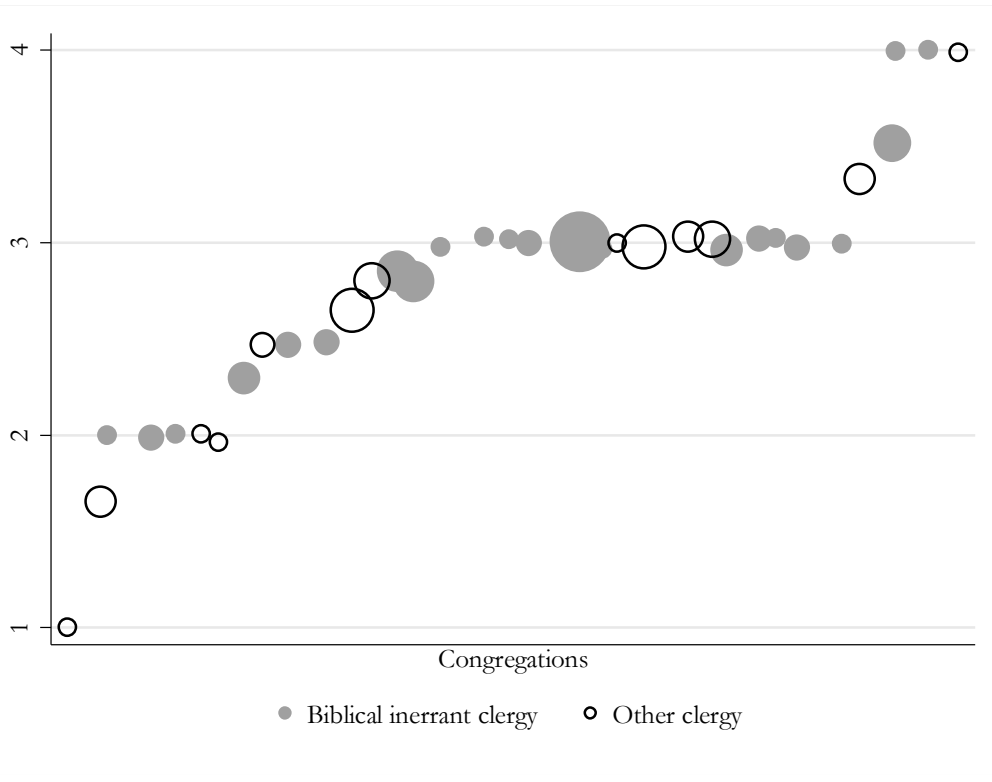
**Political disagreement** "How many of the people you discussed politics with disagree with you regularly about politics?" 5=All of them, 4=Most of them, 3=Some of them, 2=Few of them, 1=None of them.

**Figure 2.A – The (Lack of) Connection Between Clergy and Member Least-Liked Groups**



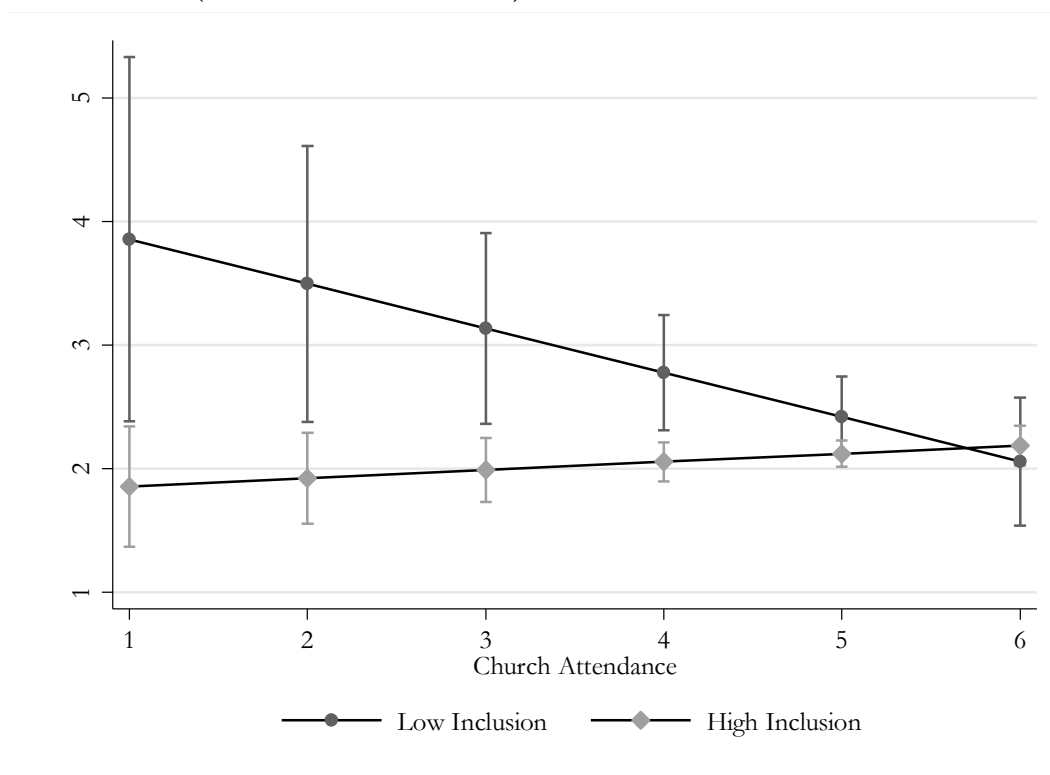
Source: 2009-10 Springfield Area Study.

**Figure 2.B** – Threat Felt in the Congregation toward their Least Liked Groups



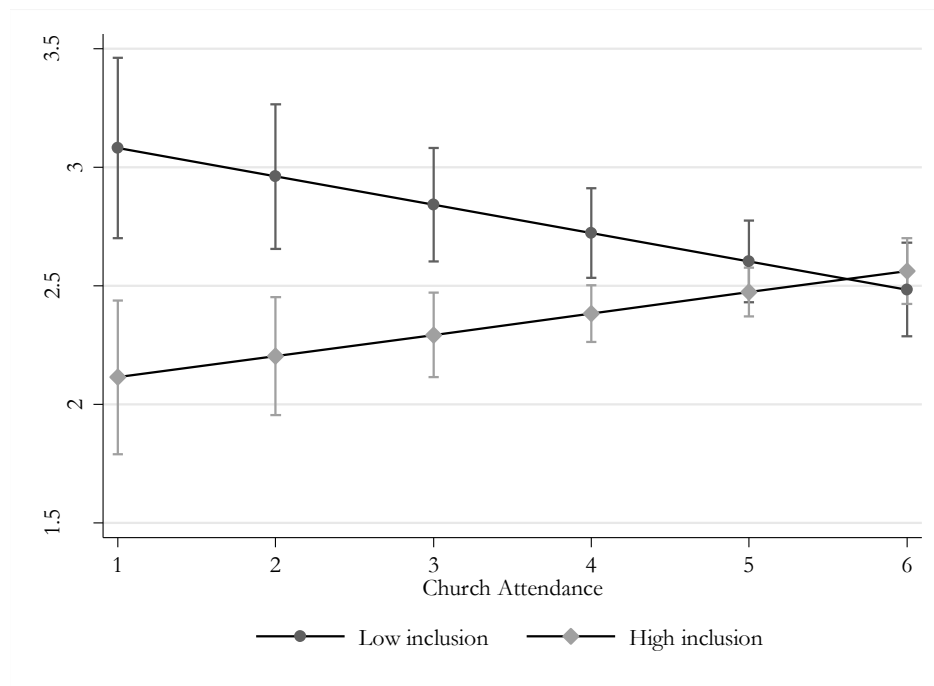
Source: 2009-10 Springfield Area Study.  $r=.22$ ,  $n=36$ . The marker size is weighted by the number of congregants in the sample (ranging from 1 to 11).

**Figure 2.C** – Predicted Threat Values from Clergy-Urged Inclusivity given Member Church Attendance on Threat (90% confidence intervals)



Note: Estimates from Table 2.1.

**Figure 2.D** –Clergy-Urged Inclusivity given Member Church Attendance on Tolerance (90% confidence intervals)



Source: Estimates from Table 2.1.

### Variable Coding

**Least liked group** “Switching subjects now, please listen as I read a list of groups that many consider unpopular in the United States. Please tell me which of these groups you like the least.”  
 A. Pro-choice groups, B. American Nazis, C. Ku Klux Klan, D. Christian fundamentalists, E. Atheists, F. Gay rights activists, G. Islamic fundamentalists, H. Illegal immigrants.

**Clergy/congregant tolerance level** “Now, I’ll ask you the following questions using the group you just named as the group you like least. For each, please tell me if you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the statement.” The statements were as follows (coding was reversed for items B, D, and E) so that a higher code signifies more tolerance. Items were averaged so that the final coding runs from 1 to 4. A. Those who are <group> should be banned from being president of the U.S. B. Those who are <group> should be allowed to teach in public schools. C. Being a <group> should be outlawed. D. Those who are <group> should be allowed to make a speech in this city. E. The <group> should have their phones tapped by the government. F. The <group> should be allowed to hold public rallies in this city.

**Threat** “The <group> are a grave threat to the country as a whole.” 1=SD, 2=D, 3=A, 4=SA.

**Avoid sin** Part of a battery that began with the introduction, “Next, I’d like to ask about some of the values that many consider make a good Christian. Think seriously about these values and then please tell me if you agree that they are essential or not essential to being a good Christian.” The statement was, “It is essential for me to avoid sin.” 1=SD, 2=D, 3=A, 4=SA.

**Inclusive values** Averaged measure including responses to two statements that were part of the same battery as “avoid sin” above. The statements were “It is essential to ‘love the stranger as

yourself.” And “It is essential to invite others to church even if the church begins to change as a result.” The final index ranges from 1=SD to 4=SA.

**Many points of view needed** “Unless many points of view are presented, there is little chance that the truth can ever be known.” 1=SD, 2=D, 3=A, 4=SA.

**Inerrant belief** “The Bible is the inerrant word of God, both in matters of faith and in historic, geographic, and other matters.” 1=Strongly agree or agree, 0=disagree or strongly disagree.

**Member attendance** “Not everyone is able to attend a church regularly. How about you? Do you typically attend your house of worship...” 6=more than once a week, 5=once a week, 4=once or twice a month, 3=about once a month, 2=Several times a year, 1=rarely, if ever.

**Born again** “Do you agree with this statement? I consider myself a “born again” or evangelical Christian. Do you...” 1=strongly agree or agree, 0=disagree or strongly disagree.

**Age** “In what year were you born?” The variable=2010-year given.

**Education** “How many years of education have you completed? [text entry] ←0-17”

**Female** =1, 0=male

**Ideology** “Now, thinking of your general political views, which of these labels best describes you?” 1=Strongly Liberal, 2=Liberal, 3=Moderate, 4=Conservative, 5=Strongly Conservative.

**Political disagreement** “How many of the people you discussed politics with disagree with you regularly about politics? 1=All of them, 2=Most of them, 3=Some of them, 4=Few of them, 5=None of them.



Appendix 3  
**Religious Tolerance in the Presbyterian Church (USA)**

Paul A. Djupe and Jeffrey B. Kurtz, Denison University

**Dependent Variables (coded the same for all groups)**

**Willingness to tolerate** “Indicate your level of agreement or disagreement: I’m willing to tolerate different viewpoints in the church even if it spills over into conflict sometimes.” 1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=neither agree nor disagree, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree.

**Keeping people in church** “Indicate your level of agreement or disagreement: Keeping people in the church is more important than enforcing discipline.” 1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=neither agree nor disagree, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree.

**Satisfaction index** the index averages 5 items that were introduced with, “Generally speaking, do you think that the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) is giving adequate answers to...” and coded 0=no, 1=not sure, and 2=yes. The items included “the moral problems and needs of the individual”; “the problems of family life”; “people’s spiritual needs”; “the problems of society, in general”; and “the problems of local communities.”

**Independent Variables (coded the same for all groups)**

**Affiliation importance** “Indicate your level of agreement or disagreement: My denominational affiliation is an important part of my identity as a Christian.” 1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=neither agree nor disagree, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree.

**Brand loyalty** “Indicate your level of agreement or disagreement: While they may have disagreements from time to time, Christians should remain loyal to one denomination throughout their adult lives.” 1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=neither agree nor disagree, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree.

**Wish for less conflict** “Indicate your level of agreement or disagreement: All in all, I wish there was less conflict in the PC(USA).” 1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=neither agree nor disagree, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree.

**Theological liberalism** “Which of the following terms best describes your current stand on theological issues?” 1=very conservative, 2=conservative, 3=moderate, 4=liberal, 5=very liberal.

**Male** =1, 0=female

**Education** “What is the highest level of education completed by you?” 1=Completed 8th grade, 2=Some high school, 3=High school diploma, 4=Some college, 5=Graduated from college, 6=Some graduate work, 7=A graduate degree.

Appendix 4  
**Fearful Asymmetry: Tolerance of Christian Fundamentalists Among Political Elites**  
 Clyde Wilcox and Christine Kim, Georgetown University

<b>Dependent Variables - Tolerance</b>	
Demonstrate: “Assuming that there is no threat of violence, should members of the following groups be allowed to hold demonstrations in your community?”	1=Yes 0=No
Teach: “Assuming professional conduct, should they be allowed to teach in your community’s public schools?”	1=Yes 0=No
<b>Independent Variables</b>	
Feeling Thermometer	0 to 100 scale, 0=Most unfavorable, 50=Neutral, 100=Most favorable
Attendance	1=More than once a week; 2=Once a week, 3=Several times a month, 4=A few times a year, 5=Seldom/never
Bible views	1=Actual word of God, to be taken literally, word for word, 2=The inspired word of God, with no errors but not to be taken literally, 3=The inspired word of God, but it contains human errors, 4=A good book, but not the word of God
Liberal Christian	1=Yes, 0=No
Ethical Humanist	1=Yes, 0=No
Atheist/Agnostic	1=Yes, 0=No
Jew (Orthodox, Conservative, Reformed Jew)	1=Yes, 0=No
Secular (1=secular, else=0)	1=Religion is a private matter and religious groups should not try to solve social problems, 2=Religious groups should help solve the social problems of their own members and serve as an example to others, 3=Religious groups should help individuals in the larger community solve their own social problems, 4=Religious

	groups should be engaged in the political process to solve social problems
Partisanship	1-7 scale, 1=Strong Republican, 4=Independent, 7=Strong Democrat
Support GLBT: "The law should protect homosexuals from job discrimination"	1-5 scale, 1=Strongly agree, 3=Neutral, 5=Strong disagree
Fundamentalists active in community and state	1=Very, 2=Somewhat, 3=Not at all
Democratic norms (six questions, factor):	1-5 scale, 1=Strongly agree, 5=Strongly disagree
1. "I can understand why some people think differently than I do about abortion;"	
2. "On most issues, there is one correct point of view;"	
3. "Sometimes talking with others about issues causes me to change my mind;"	
4. "I find it hard to respect people who disagree with me on important issues, even if they are sincere;"	
5. "My involvement in politics has led me to better understanding opposing viewpoints;" and	
6. "My involvement in politics has led to realize that some points of view are wrong and dangerous."	
Social trust (two questions, additive):	2-10 scale, 2=Strongly agree, 10=Strongly disagree
1. "Most people can be trusted to do the right thing;" and	
2. "You can't be too careful with people."	
Age	Year of birth, 1902 to 1982
Gender	1=Male, 2=Female
Education	1=High school or less, 2=Some college, 3=College degree, 4=Some graduate school, 5=Graduate degree

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Table 4.A: Descriptive Statistics for Fundamentalists and Non-Fundamentalists

	Non-Fundamentalists	Fundamentalists
Gender (% female)	32.5%	30.9%
Age (average year)	58.9***	62.5
Cohort		
GenX	6.6%	4.4%
Boomers	34.1%	29.6%
Silent	36.6%	33.0%
Pre-Silent	22.7%***	33.0%
Education		
High school degree or less	4.9%***	10.9%
Some college	14.8%***	25.2%
College degree	28.7%	27.8%
Some graduate school	11.3%	9.9%
Graduate degree	40.3%***	26.2%
Race		
White	96.0%	98%
Black	1.0%	0.0%
Hispanic	1.0%	0.0%
Asian	1.0%	0.0%
Other	1.2%	2.0%
Income		
<\$50K	19.0%***	30.7%
\$50K-\$99K	29.1%	33.3%
\$100K-\$249K	32.4%*	25.2%
\$250K-\$500K	9.1%	7.4%
\$500+	10.5%***	3.3%
Region		
South	32.5%	36.5%
East	21.5%***	10.7%
Midwest	20.4%**	28.4%
West	25.5%	24.4%
Religious tradition		
Evangelical Protestant	23.5%***	96.8%
Liberal Christian	13.1%***	1.0%
Catholic	22.9%***	1.7
Jewish	6.4%***	1.0%

Other or non-affiliated	34.0%***	0.0%
Religious attendance		
More than once a week	15.4%***	39.9%
Once a week	2.4%***	38.3%
Several times a month	10.4%	7.1%
A few times a year	18.9%***	10.1%
Seldom/never	28.9%***	4.7%
Importance of religious faith to life		
Very important/important	67.7%***	97.7%
Some importance	12.7%***	1.7%
Not very/not at all important	19.6%***	0.7%
Religiosity (min-max: 2-10)	5.4***	3.2
Bible views		
Actual word of God, literal	16.1%***	67.8%
Inspired word, no errors	18.1%	19.2%
Inspired word, human errors	37.0%***	11.9%
Good book	28.8%***	1.1%
Partisan identity		
Strong Republican (1)	19.3%***	37.3%
2	17.2%***	27.5%
3	13.1%	16.6%
Independent (4)	24.1%**	15.9%
5	8.3%***	0.3%
6	7.3%***	0.7%
Strong Democrat (7)	10.7%***	1.7%
Ideology		
Extremely liberal	10.4%***	0.0%
Liberal	14.6%***	0.4%
Slightly liberal	8.3%***	0.8%
Moderate/middle of the road	10.5%**	5.4%
Slightly conservative	11.9%***	4.3%
Conservative	33.9%***	56.2%
Extremely conservative	10.5%***	33.0%
Contribution		
% large donors (\$200+)	84.3%	83.5%
Average contribution	\$3243	\$1477
Years involved in politics (average)	32.8	34.2
Political communication activities (average, min-max: 0-10)	2.98	2.75

Abortion views		
By law, never permitted	14.2%***	41.0%
Permitted only for rape, incest, danger to woman's life	21.8%***	37.2%
Permitted only when need clearly established	12.9%	12.5%
Should always obtain as matter of personal choice	51.2%***	9.4%
Importance/influence of religious beliefs on (a great deal):		
Choosing candidates to support	28.8%***	74.6%
Abortion	33.3%***	82.7%
Capital punishment	27.5%***	65.0%
Trade relations with China	13.3%***	40.1%
Welfare reform	19.0%***	44.5%
Index (min-max: 5-15)	8.6***	12.4
Religious groups and social problems:		
Religion private, should not solve	9.7%***	2.4%
Help only own members	31.0%***	19.0%
Help larger community	41.3%**	30.8%
Engage in political process	18.0%***	47.8%
Political esteem (min-max: 2-6)	2.5*	2.4
Political efficacy (min-max: 2-6)	4.8	4.9
Christian conservative activism in state and community (min-max: 2-6)	2.2*	2.3
Membership in:		
Business or professional	56.8%	48.8%
Community, civic, or fraternity	50.2%*	43.2%
Liberal groups	44.2%***	22.6%
Conservative groups	40.2%***	81.3%
Church	57.2%***	89.4%
Avg. number of membership	4.3***	5.1
Avg. number of membership categories	3.0***	3.3
Personal contact in membership	11.3%**	16.5%
General compromise (min-max: 3-15)	11.0***	10.0
Party compromise (min-max: 2-10)	4.6*	4.4

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Social Trust (min-max: 2-10)	5.6***	4.9
Deliberation (min-max: 6-30)	20.1***	18.2

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*\*p<0.05, \*\*p<0.01, \*\*\*p<0.001*

**Appendix 5**  
**Heterogeneous Religion Measures and Political Tolerance Outcomes**

Marie A. Eisenstein, Indiana University Northwest  
April K. Clark, Purdue University, Calumet

**Variable Coding**

**POLITICAL TOLERANCE:**

Pre-Selected Reference Groups – GSS.<sup>1</sup>

Q1. There are always some people whose ideas are considered bad or dangerous by other people.  
For

instance, somebody who is against all churches and religion . . .

- A. If such a person wanted to make a speech in your (city/town/community) against churches and religion, should he be allowed to speak, or not? [VAR: SPKATH]
- B. Should such a person be allowed to teach in a college or university, or not? [VAR: COLATH]
- C. If some people in your community suggested that a book he wrote against churches and religion should be taken out of your public library, would you favor removing this book, or not? [VAR: LIBATH]

Q2. Now, I should like to ask you some questions about a man who admits he is a Communist.

- A. Suppose this admitted Communist wanted to make a speech in your community. Should he be allowed to speak, or not? [VAR: SPKCOM]
- B. Suppose he is teaching in a college. Should he be fired, or not? [VAR: COLCOM]
- C. Suppose he wrote a book which is in your public library. Somebody in your community suggests that the book should be removed from the library. Would you favor removing it, or not? [VAR: LIBCOM]

Q3. Consider a person who advocates doing away with elections and letting the military run the country.

- A. If such a person wanted to make a speech in your community, should he be allowed to speak, or not? [VAR: SPKMIL]
- B. Should such a person be allowed to teach in a college or university, or not? [VAR: COLMIL]
- C. Suppose he wrote a book advocating doing away with elections and letting the military run the country. Somebody in your community suggests that the book be removed from the public library. Would you favor removing it, or not? [VAR: LIBMIL]

Q4. And what about a man who admits that he is a homosexual?

- A. Suppose this admitted homosexual wanted to make a speech in your community. Should he be allowed to speak, or not? [VAR: SPKHOMO]
- B. Should such a person be allowed to teach in a college or university, or not? [VAR: COLHOMO]

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<sup>1</sup> All responses are coded so that the higher score corresponds to greater tolerance and the lower score corresponds to lower tolerance.



C. If some people in your community suggested that a book he wrote in favor of homosexuality should be taken out of your public library, would you favor removing this book, or not? [VAR: LIBHOMO]

Q5. Or consider a person who believes that Blacks are genetically inferior.

A. If such a person wanted to make a speech in your community claiming that Blacks are inferior, should he be allowed to speak, or not? [VAR: SPKRAC]

B. Should such a person be allowed to teach in a college or university, or not? [VAR: COLRAC]

C. If some people in your community suggested that a book he wrote which said Blacks are inferior should be taken out of your public library, would you favor removing this book, or not? [VAR: LIBRAC]

Least-liked political tolerance items – Freedom and Tolerance Survey.<sup>2</sup>

- 1) Members of the (subject selected least-liked group) should be banned from running for public office.
- 2) Members of the (least-liked group) should be allowed to teach in public schools.
- 3) The (least-liked group) should be outlawed.
- 4) Members of the (least-liked group) should be allowed to make a speech in this city.
- 5) The (least-liked group) should have their phones tapped by our government.
- 6) The (least-liked group) should be allowed to hold public rallies in this city.

**RELIGION<sup>3</sup>:**

**Theological Conservatism (Hempel et al. 2012):**

(HELL) Do you believe in. . .Hell?

1. Yes, definitely
2. Yes, probably
3. No, probably not
4. No, definitely not
8. Can't choose
9. No Answer

(BIBLE) Which of these statements comes closest to describing your feelings about the Bible?

1. The Bible is an ancient book of fables, legends, history, and moral precepts.
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.

(REBORN) Would you say you have been “born again” or have had a “born again” experience -- that is, a turning point in your life when you committed yourself to Christ?

1. Yes

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<sup>2</sup> All responses are coded so that a higher score corresponds to higher political tolerance.

<sup>3</sup> All religion variables have been recoded so that higher numbers correspond with a greater presence of religiosity.

2. No
8. Don't know/9. No answer

(*SAVESOUL*) Have you ever tried to encourage someone to believe in Jesus Christ or to accept Jesus Christ as his or her savior?

1. Yes
2. No
8. Don't know/9. No answer

Religious Involvement items:

(*ATTEND*) How often do you attend religious services?

1. Never
2. Less than once a year
3. Once a year
4. Several times a year
5. Once a month
6. 2-3 times a month
7. Nearly every week
8. Every week
9. More than once a week

(*RELACTIV*) How often do you take part in the activities and organizations of a church or place of worship other than attending services?

1. Never
2. Less than once a year
3. Once a year
4. Several times a year
5. Once a month
6. 2-3 times a month
7. Nearly every week
8. Every week
9. More than once a week

**Theological Traditionalism (Gibson 2010):<sup>4</sup>**

(*GOD*) Please look at this card and tell me which statement comes closest to expressing what you believe about God.

1. I don't believe in God
2. I don't know whether there is a God and I don't believe there is any way to find out
3. I don't believe in a personal God, but I do believe in a Higher Power of some kind
4. I find myself believing in God some of the time, but not at others
5. While I have doubts, I feel that I do believe in God
6. I know God really exists and I have no doubts about it

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<sup>4</sup> In Gibson (2010), a total of six items constituted his religious traditionalism scale. The six items were the three listed here – *GOD*, *ATTEND*, *RELITEN* – in addition to a question about moving away from God, belief in the devil, and a dichotomous believer / non-believer variable. We could only use three of these measures as they were the only ones available to us in the GSS.

(*ATTEND*) How often do you attend religious services? [Same measure listed above]

(*RELITEN*) Would you call yourself a strong [religious preference] or not a very strong [religious preference]?

1. No Religion
2. Not Very Strong
3. Somewhat Strong
4. Strong

### **Three B's: Separate Influence of Religion Dimensions**

Belief: (*BIBLE*) Which of these statements comes closest to describing your feelings about the Bible? [Same measure listed above]

Behavior:

(*ATTEND*) How often do you attend religious services? [Same measure listed above]

(*PRAY*) About how often do you pray?

1. Several times a day
2. Once a day
3. Several times a week
4. Once a week
5. Less than once a week
6. Never

*Belonging*: (*RELITEN*) Would you call yourself a strong [religious preference] or not a very strong [religious preference]? [Same measure listed above]

### **Control Variables:**<sup>5</sup>

#### Dogmatism items.

- 1) Of all the different philosophies that exist in the world there is probably only one that is correct.
- 2) To compromise with our political opponents is dangerous because it usually leads to the betrayal of our side.
- 3) A group which tolerates too many differences of opinion among its own members cannot exist for long.
- 4) In the long run the best way to live is to pick friends and associates whose tastes and beliefs are the same as one's own.
- 5) There are two kinds of people in this world: those who are for the truth and those who are against it.
- 6) Most of the ideas that get printed nowadays aren't worth the paper they are printed on.

#### Self-esteem items:

- 1) I never try to do more than I can for fear of failure.
- 2) I think that in some ways I am really an unworthy person.
- 3) When I look back on it, I guess I really haven't gotten as much out of life as I had once hoped.
- 4) I often feel I have done something wrong or evil.
- 5) People today have forgotten how to feel properly ashamed of themselves.

#### Trust items:

- 1) Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?
- 2) Would you say that most of the time people try to be helpful, or that they are mostly just

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<sup>5</sup> A number of standard demographic controls such as age, education, income, ideology, and party affiliation were also included in the models.

looking out for themselves?

- 3) Do you think most people would try to take advantage of you if they got a chance, or would they try to be fair?

#### Norms of Democracy items

- 1) If someone is suspected of treason or other serious crimes, he should not be entitled to be released on bail.
- 2) When the country is in great danger we may have to force people to testify against themselves in court even if it violates their rights.
- 3) No matter what a person's political beliefs are, he is entitled to the same legal rights and protections as anyone else.
- 4) Any person who hides behind the laws when he is questioned about his activities doesn't deserve much consideration.
- 5) I believe in free speech for all, no matter what their values might be. Each item has five response categories ranging from agree strongly to disagree strongly.

Numbers 1, 2, and 4, are questions about procedural norms while numbers 3 and 5 are about general norms. Thus, there are two different scales used for support for norms of democracy: one scale composed of numbers 1, 2, and 4 and the other composed of numbers 3, and 5.

#### Threat Perception items (asked about most disliked group):

- 1) Threatening / not threatening to American way of life.
- 2) Non-extremists vs. extremist
- 3) Likely to engage in illegal activity / not likely
- 4) American / un-American
- 5) Personally threatening to me / not threatening to me

**Appendix 6**  
**Religion, Morality and Tolerance: The Role of Disgust**

Pazit Ben-Nun Bloom, Hebrew University of Jerusalem  
Marie Courtemanche, Texas Christian University

**Table 6.A** – Descriptive Statistics

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Std. Dev.</b>	<b>Min</b>	<b>Max</b>	<b>N</b>
Religious intolerance	.290	.293	0	1	236
Religiosity	.776	.209	.083	1	240
Ideology (conservative)	.644	.272	0	1	240
Authoritarianism	.582	.309	0	1	240
Disgust sensitivity	.649	.224	0	1	231
Education	.369	.157	0	.750	240
Income	.204	.139	0	.545	240
Male	.471	.500	0	1	240
Age	45.675	15.724	18	77	240

**Variable Coding**

Measures for the control variables were adopted from the official English and Hebrew versions of the World Values Surveys where appropriate.

*Ideology* - We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives [‘the left’ and ‘the right’ in Israel]. Which of the following best describes your own political view”? High = conservative/right;

*Religiosity*: an average index of (1) church/ synagogue attendance (1-7), and (2) a scale of two items: belief in God, The Bible is the actual word of God (1-4)

*Right-wing authoritarianism*. “Would you say that it is more important for a child to be independent or respectful of their elders?”; “Would you say that it is more important for a child to

be curious or well-mannered?"; "Would you say that it is more important for a child to be obedient or self-reliant?" (Choose one)

*Education:* scale 1-8

*Income:* scale 1-7;

*Gender:* 1=Male, 0=Female

*Age:* in years;

*Context:* Israel=1, U.S.A=0

*Disgust sensitivity:* the three-item scale described in disgust prime I above; for the control and prime II conditions, the items were presented at the end of the questionnaire.

All measures are coded to vary between 0 and 1, except for age, measured in years.

## Appendix 7 Religious Worldviews and Political Tolerance

Paul A. Djupe, Denison University  
Stephen T. Mockabee, University of Cincinnati

### Variable Coding

#### Dependent Variables

**Tolerance levels** Preceding the news article, our content-controlled approach used the now traditional two steps. First, we asked: “Please take a look at the following list of groups that many consider unpopular in the United States. Which one of these groups do you, personally, like the least? Please circle the name of that group.” The listed groups included: Pro-choice groups, Environmental activists, American Nazis, Pro-life groups, Ku Klux Klan, Christian fundamentalists, Atheists, Gay rights activists, Feminists, Islamic fundamentalists, Illegal immigrants, Animal rights activists.

Next, we asked, “Now, please answer the following questions about the group you just selected as the one you like the least.” The statements, each a likert scale recoded so that higher reflects a more tolerant attitude, included: People who are \_\_\_\_ should be banned from being president of the U.S.; \_\_\_\_ should be allowed to teach in public schools; Being a \_\_\_\_ should be outlawed; \_\_\_\_ should be allowed to make a speech in this city; \_\_\_\_ should have their phones tapped by the government; \_\_\_\_ should be allowed to hold public rallies here. Responses to these questions were averaged.

**Threat** “<Group> are a grave threat to the country as a whole.” 1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=agree, 4=strongly agree.

#### Independent Variables

**Communitarianism** described in text.

**Inclusive/Exclusive values** described in text.

**Moral Foundations** (harm, fairness, loyalty, authority, purity) are coded in the way prescribed by the moral foundations theory website using the 20 item battery:  
<http://www.moralfoundations.org/sites/default/files/files/MFQ20.doc>

**Democratic norms** Averages agreement with two items (both coded from 0 to 10, where 10 equals strongly agree): “It’s very important that politicians air their differences of opinion publicly.” And “Unless many views are presented, there is little chance the truth can ever be known.”

**Religious attendance** “Lots of things come up that keep people from attending religious services even if they want to. Thinking about your life these days, how often do you attend religious services, not including occasional weddings, baptisms or funerals?” 1=never, 2=a few times a year, 3=once or twice a month, 4=almost every week, 5=once a week, every week, 6=more than once a week, every week.

**Religious traditions** The survey first asked about their religious preference, with options including: Protestant, Catholic, Other Christian, Jewish, Muslim, Hindu, None (atheist, agnostic, humanist), Other non-Christian, Latter Day Saint. Protestants (and other Christians) were subdivided with evangelicals classified as those identifying as “‘born again’ or evangelical.” Mainline Protestants were the Protestants who did not identify as born again or evangelical.

**Devil exists** “Do you agree or disagree with this statement, “The devil actually exists.” 1=strongly disagree to 4=strongly agree.

**Education** “What is the highest level of education that you have received?” 1=Less than a high school education, 2=High school graduate/GED, 3=Some college completed or an associate’s degree earned, 4=Four-year college degree (bachelors degree), 5=Further coursework pursued after college, 6=Higher degree received -- masters or doctorate.

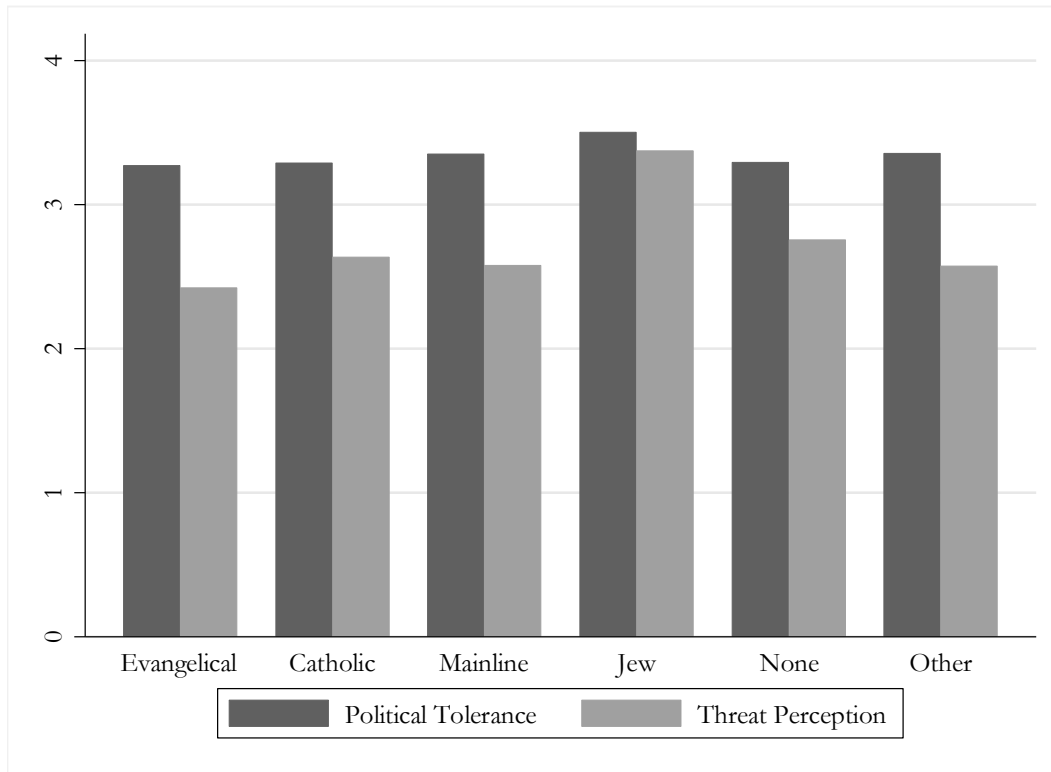


**Political ideology** “Now, thinking of your general political views, which of these labels best describes you?” 1= Extremely liberal, 2=Very liberal, 3=Liberal, 4=Somewhat liberal, 5=Moderate, 6=Somewhat conservative, 7=Conservative, 8=Very Conservative, 9=Extremely conservative.

## Appendix 9 The Religious Economy of Political Tolerance

Joby Schaffer, University of Colorado, Boulder  
 Anand E. Sokhey, University of Colorado, Boulder  
 Paul A. Djupe, Denison University

**Figure 9.A** - Mean Threat and Tolerance Across Religious Traditions



### Variable Coding

#### *Dependent Variables*

**Threat** – Average across 4 measures, each coded 1=strongly disagree to 5=strongly agree: “The group is threatening to American values.” “This group is likely to engage in violent activities.” “This group is a threat to other people’s freedom.” This group is threatening to me personally.”

**Tolerance** – The average across 6 measures, each coded (1-5) strongly disagree to strongly agree such that higher is more tolerant: “Members of that group should not be able to make a speech in my community.” “Members should be allowed to teach in public schools.” “Members should not be allowed to run for public office.” “Members should have their phones tapped by the government.” “Members should be allowed to hold public rallies in my community.” “Books written by members should not be allowed to be in our public libraries.”

#### *Independent Variables*

**Political church** – “How politically active is your place of worship?” 0=missing, 1=not at all active, 2=not very active, 3=somewhat active, 4=very active.

**Evangelical** – Protestants or “other Christians” who also agree that they are “born again or evangelical Christian.” (=0 otherwise).

**Catholic** – Self-identified “Catholic” (=1), and 0 otherwise.

**Religious attendance** – “Aside from weddings, baptisms, and funerals, how often do you attend religious services?” 5=more than once a week, 4=once a week, 3=a few times a month, 2=a few times a year, or 5=rarely/never.

**Religious guidance** – “How important is religion in guiding your life?” 1=not at all important, 2=not very important, 3=somewhat important, or 4=very important.

**Political Participation index** – index from 0 to 13, gaining one point for performing any of the following activities (Display a button, bumper sticker or yard sign; Work for a campaign/volunteer your time; Attend a rally; Contribute money; Sign a Petition) for a “national political party/candidate,” “for another national organization,” or for a “local party/candidate/cause.”

**Community groups** – “How many special activities, programs, committees, or other groups not related to your place of worship are you currently involved with in your community?” Ranges from 0-6.

**Year born** – “In what year were you born?” Subtracted from 2010 to get current age.

**Gender** – 0=male, 1=female.

**Income** – “In what category does your total family income fall before taxes?” 1=under \$25,000; 2=\$25-40,000; 3=\$40-60,000; 4=\$60-80,000; 5=\$80-100,000; 6=over \$100,000.

**Education** – “What is the highest level of education that you have completed?” 1=some high school, 2=high school graduate, 3=some college, 4=technical/trade school, 5=college graduate, 6=post college.

**Lost job** – “Did you change jobs or happen to lose your job in the past 6 months?” 0=no, 1=yes.

**Ideology** – “Thinking of your general political views, which of these labels best describes you?” 1=Very conservative, 2=somewhat conservative, 3=moderate, 4=somewhat liberal, 5=very liberal.

**White** – 1=white, 0=non-white.

## Appendix 10

### Predispositions, Standing Decisions, Political Tolerance and the Role of Religion: An Exploratory Model

Marie A. Eisenstein, Indiana University Northwest

#### **Appendix 10.A: Measures**

**Support for Norms of Democracy:** This refers to expressions of support for abstract liberal democratic principles. There are seven items. They are: If someone is suspected of treason or other serious crimes, he should not be entitled to be released on bail;\* Society should not have to put up with those who have political ideas that are extremely different from the views of the majority; When the country is in great danger we may have to force people to testify against themselves even if it violates their rights\*; Free speech ought to be allowed for all political groups even if some of the things these groups believe in are highly insulting and threatening to particular segments of society; No matter what a person's political beliefs are, he is entitled to the same legal rights and protections as anyone else; It is refreshing to hear someone stand up for an unpopular view; I believe in free speech for all no matter what their views might be. Each item has five response categories ranging from strongly agree (1) to strongly disagree (5). Therefore, this scale ranges from 7 to 35. The alpha reliability coefficient for this scale is .48.<sup>6</sup>

\*These are questions about procedural norms of democracy; the remaining items are about general norms of democracy.

**Threat Perception:** Threat perception is intended to capture the perception of an objectionable group's strength and, therefore, its potential to endanger important values or the social or constitutional order.

*Standing Decision Threat Perception:* Respondents are asked to identify their "least-liked" group and then they are asked to rate their "least-liked" group by five adjective pairs. The five adjective pairs are: honest/dishonest; trustworthy/untrustworthy; dangerous/safe; violent/non-violent; and good/bad. Because these questions are asked about a specific "least-liked" group chosen by the respondent, it is considered a "standing decision" measure of threat perception. Each adjective pair ranges from, for example, very honest to very dishonest (very trustworthy to very untrustworthy, etc.) on scale from 1 to 7. Therefore the scale ranges from 5 to 35. The alpha reliability coefficient for this scale is .80.

*Predisposition Threat Perception:* Respondents are asked to indicate how threatening a variety of groups is to our country as a whole; thus this is a general level of threat perception. Each respondent was asked about 8 different groups (socialists, Ku Klux Klan, pro-choice people, pro-life people, atheists, homosexuals, religious fundamentalists, and feminists). For each group the respondent was asked to indicate on a scale ranging from 1 (not at all) to 11 (very threatening) how threatening they believe that group is to our country as a whole. Thus, the scale ranges from 8 (a low level of predisposition threat perception) to 88 (a high level of predisposition threat perception). Of the 8 groups asked about in this survey, 6 of them were the same as those groups included in the predisposition threat scale used by Marcus et al. (1995).<sup>7</sup> The alpha reliability coefficient for this scale is .60.

**Political Tolerance:** This is the content-controlled method of measuring political tolerance. There are six items: Your Answer to Question #20 should be banned from running for public office in the U.S.; Your Answer to Question #20 should be allowed to teach in public schools; Your Answer to Question #20 should be outlawed; Your Answer to Question #20 should be allowed to make a public speech; Your Answer to

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<sup>6</sup> Marcus et al. (1995) reported alpha reliability coefficients of .70 and higher for their standing decision norms of democracy scale. In my analysis, all seven items reported a lower reliability coefficient; indeed further analyses suggest that there should be two scales – one for general norms of democracy and one for procedural norms of democracy. In order to make more ideal comparisons with Marcus et al. (1995), I opted to use the scale as they did.

<sup>7</sup> The groups included in my scale, which were not included in the Marcus et al. scale are: atheists, homosexuals. The groups included in Marcus et al. (1995) but not in my scale are: American communists, American Nazi's, American racists, and those who oppose nuclear weapons and our foreign policy.

Question #20 should have their phones tapped by our government; Your Answer to Question #20 should be allowed to hold public rallies. Each statement has a five point scale ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. Thus, the scale ranges from 6 to 30. The alpha reliability coefficient for this scale is .81.

Dogmatism: Dogmatism is defined as rigidity of mind or thought, regardless of ideological content. A “closed mind” is unwilling to consider alternative views; an “open mind” is willing to consider ideas that are different from one’s own (Rokeach 1960). It is measured by 4 items: Most of the ideas that get printed nowadays aren’t worth the paper they are printed on; There are two kinds of people in this world; those who are for the truth and those who are against the truth; Of all the different philosophies which exist in the world there is probably only one which is correct; To compromise with our political opponents is dangerous because it usually leads to the betrayal of our own side. Each statement has a five point scale ranging from strongly agree (1) to strongly disagree (5). Therefore, the scale ranges from 5 to 20. The alpha reliability coefficient for this scale is .63.

Neuroticism: Neuroticism is defined as “nervous, worried, and anxious on the one hand, or to be calm and secure on the other (Marcus et al. 1995, 162).” It is measured by 12 items: I am not a worrier; I often feel inferior to others; When I’m under a great deal of stress, sometimes I feel like I am going to pieces; I often feel lonely or blue; I often feel tense or jittery; Sometimes I feel completely worthless; I rarely feel fearful or anxious; I often get angry at the way people treat me; Too often, when things go wrong, I get discouraged and feel like giving up; I am seldom sad or depressed; I often feel helpless and want someone else to solve my problems; At times I have been so ashamed I just want to hide. Each statement has a five point scale ranging from strongly agree (1) to strongly disagree (5). Therefore, the scale ranges from 12 to 60. The alpha reliability coefficient for this scale is .82.

Extraversion: Extraversion is defined as “sociable, lively, and venturesome” while its opposite – introversion – is defined as “withdrawn, passive, and shy.” The Extroversion-Introversion concept is measured by 12 items: I like to have a lot of people around me; I laugh easily; I don’t consider myself especially “light-hearted”; I really enjoy talking to people; I like to be where the action is; I usually prefer to do things alone; I often feel as if I am bursting with energy; I am a cheerful, high-spirited person; I am not a cheerful optimist; My life is fast-paced; I am very action person; I would rather go my own way than be the leader of others. Each item has a five point scale ranging from strongly agree (1) to strongly disagree (5). Therefore, the scale ranges from 12 to 60. The alpha reliability coefficient for this scale is .75.

Openness: Openness is defined as openness to experience, which is contrasted with a lack of openness. A lack of openness is signified by being “constrained, conservative, and likely to cling to the familiar (Marcus et al. 1995, 164).” The openness concept is measured by 12 items: I don’t like to waste my time daydreaming; Once I find the right way to do something I stick to it; I am intrigued by the patterns I find in art and nature; I believe letting students hear controversial speakers can only confuse and mislead them; Poetry has little or no effect on me; I often try new or foreign foods; I seldom notice the moods or feelings that different environments produce; I believe we should look to our religious authorities for decision on moral issues; Sometimes when I am reading poetry or looking at a work of art, I feel a chill or wave of excitement; I have little interest in speculation on the nature of the universe or the human condition; I have a lot of intellectual curiosity; I often enjoy playing with theories or abstract ideas. Each item has a five point scale ranging from strongly agree (1) to strongly disagree (5). Therefore, the scale ranges from 12 to 60. The alpha reliability coefficient for this scale is .654.

### **Religious Belief Scale Items**

1. Please indicate, which of these statements comes closest to describing your feelings about the Bible?  
The Bible is the actual word of God and is to be taken literally, word for word.  
The Bible is the inspired word of God, but not everything in it should be taken literally, word for word.  
The Bible is an ancient book of fables, legends, history, and moral precepts recorded by men.

2. Please indicate, which of these statements comes closest to describing your feelings about the Bible?  
 The Bible is God's word and all it says is true.  
 The Bible was written by men inspired by God, but it contains some human errors.  
 The Bible is a good book because it was written by wise men, but God had nothing to do with it.

**Religious Behavior Scale Items**

1. Lots of things come up that keep people from attending religious services even if they want to. Thinking about your life these days, apart from occasional weddings, baptisms or funerals how often do you attend religious services?

1	2	3	4	5	6
More than Once a Week	Weekly	Monthly	Yearly	Only on Special Occasions	Never

2. Outside of attending religious services, how often do you pray? Would you say several times a day, once a day, several times a week, once a week, less than once a week, or never?

1	2	3	4	5	6
Several times a day	Once a day	Several times a week	Once a week	Less than once a week	never

3. Would you say religion provides a little bit of guidance, some guidance, a great deal of guidance, or no guidance at all in your day-to-day living?

1	2	3	4
A little bit of guidance	Some guidance	A great deal of guidance	No guidance at all

**Appendix 11**  
**Carriers of the Creed? The Effects of Urging Tolerance on Persuasion**

Paul A. Djupe, Denison University  
Jacob R. Neiheisel, SUNY, Buffalo  
Laura R. Olson, Clemson University

**Treatments**

The treatments were set in the context of a newspaper article with the following introduction: “Please read the following newspaper article carefully and then respond to the questions that follow.” The article followed; this version includes the tolerance treatment and the social justice issue frames:

**The Greenville News**

**“Major Immigrant Worker Roundup at Plant”**

By Jim Pletcher (November 21, 2007)

Greenville, SC—Although immigration may be a hotly debated issue in American politics today, there’s one thing that both sides can agree on: Across the country, the effort to flush out illegal immigrants is affecting workers and employers alike. In South Carolina, no one has been immune to the influences of new immigrants.

Last month, immigration officials began a crackdown at a local slaughterhouse, eventually arresting 21 illegal immigrants at the plant and rousting others from their trailers in the middle of the night. Since then, more than 1,100 Hispanic workers have left the 5,200-employee hog-butchering plant, the world’s largest, leaving it struggling to find, train, and keep new replacements.

At a local gathering of clergy, Rev. Jeff Kurtz, senior pastor of Riverside Christian Church, said he thought the crackdown hurt the community because **“regardless of how people immigrated, we need to treat all people with dignity and respect.”** Later, in response to the views of other clergy, Kurtz added: *“Immigrants deserve to have access to education, health care, and welfare just like any other Americans, and, in fact, immigration should be encouraged because people deserve the chance at a better life in America.”*

In the text above, the tolerance treatment is bolded and the social justice issue frames are italicized. In the actual article, the text appeared normally. When the social justice condition appeared without the tolerance treatment, it appeared as this:

**Justice** At a local gathering of clergy, Rev. Jeff Kurtz, senior pastor of Riverside Christian Church, said he thought the crackdown hurt the community because “given desperate social and economic conditions, it is understandable why someone would immigrate illegally.” Later, in response to the views of other clergy, Kurtz added: “Immigrants deserve to have access to education, health care, and welfare just like any other Americans, and, in fact, immigration should be encouraged because people deserve the chance at a better life in America.”

The additional 3 conditions of the “arguments” treatment are listed below in the setting of the final paragraph. When the tolerance treatment appeared, it substituted for one of the frames present in the following paragraphs.

**Traditions** At a local gathering of clergy, Rev. Jeff Kurtz, senior pastor of Riverside Christian Church, said he thought the crackdown was beneficial for the community because “illegal immigration leads U.S. businesses to exploit immigrants for their labor.” Later, in response to the views of other clergy, Kurtz added: “Immigrants are welcome in my community if they make an effort to learn about the community and integrate themselves.” In general, he opposes immigration because “illegal immigration threatens the historic traditions and values of this community.”

**Integrity** At a local gathering of clergy, Rev. Jeff Kurtz, senior pastor of Riverside Christian Church, said he thought the crackdown was beneficial for the community because “immigrants drain the community of scarce resources.” Later, in response to the views of other clergy, Kurtz called on government “to crack down on individuals and businesses that hire illegal immigrants, because immigration increases competition for already scarce jobs.”

**Community** At a local gathering of clergy, Rev. Jeff Kurtz, senior pastor of Riverside Christian Church, said he thought the crackdown was beneficial for the community because “illegal immigration leads U.S. businesses to exploit immigrants for their labor.” Later, in response to the views of other clergy, Kurtz added: “Immigrants are welcome in my community if they make an effort to learn about the community and integrate themselves.” In general, he opposes immigration because “illegal immigration threatens the historic traditions and values of this community.”

## **Variable Coding**

### *Dependent Variables*

**Immigration attitudes** Following three questions regarding the cue giver, we provided a six question opinion battery starting with these instructions: “Now I’d like to get your thoughts on the following issues related to immigration. For each statement below, I would like to know how many arguments there are to support *and* oppose the statement. Please use a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means there are no reasons to support or oppose an argument and 10 means there are very many.” The statements that followed included: U.S. policies should be changed to decrease the number of people allowed to immigrate here legally; U.S. immigration policy should allow immigrants who initially came here illegally but have lived in the U.S. for more than 5 years to apply for U.S. citizenship; All things considered, illegal immigration into South Carolina is beneficial to the community; Stopping the flow of illegal immigrants into South Carolina would boost the state’s economy; The presence of immigrants, both legal and illegal, hurts my chances in the job market; Immigrants deserve the right to basic government services, such as education for their children, emergency health care, and the right not to be discriminated against.

To create a directional measure of their immigration attitudes, we first took the difference between the number of arguments for and against the statement done in such a way that a higher number was a more conservative stance (against immigration and immigrant rights). We then summed and averaged those variables to create a summary measure. The measure could run from -10 to 10, but in practice runs from -8.5 to 10 with a mean of .24 and a  $sd=3.11$ .



**Feeling thermometer ratings of illegal immigrants** We began a battery of questions with these instructions: “Now I’d like to get your feelings toward some groups and individuals who are in the news these days using something called a “feeling thermometer.” Rate each group or individual using any number between 0 and 100. The higher the number, the warmer or more favorable you feel towards that group; the lower the number, the colder or less favorable you feel.” Near the end of the battery of 12 items appeared “Illegal immigrants.”

*Independent Variables*

**Arguments** 1=justice frames, 2=traditions, 3=integrity, and 4=community.

**Tolerance treatment** 1=tolerance argument provided, 0=no tolerance frame.

Note: The following three correlates appeared after the news article.

**GPA** Into which of these categories does your current Clemson GPA fall? (1) 3.51-4.00, (2) 3.01-3.50, (3) 2.51-3.00, (4) <2.50

**Gender** “What is your gender?” (1) Female, (2) Male

**Evangelical identifier** “Do you agree with this statement? I consider myself a “born again” or evangelical Christian.” (1) strongly agree, (2) somewhat agree, (3) neither agree nor disagree, (4) somewhat disagree, (5) strongly disagree.

**Tolerance levels** Preceding the news article, our content-controlled approach used the now traditional two steps. First, we asked: “Please take a look at the following list of groups that many consider unpopular in the United States. Which one of these groups do you, personally, like the least? Please circle the name of that group.” The listed groups included: Pro-choice groups, Environmental activists, American Nazis, Pro-life groups, Ku Klux Klan, Christian fundamentalists, Atheists, Gay rights activists, Feminists, Islamic fundamentalists, Illegal immigrants, Animal rights activists.

Next, we asked, “Now, please answer the following questions by filling in the blank with the group you circled in the previous question. (Note: you need not actually write in the group’s name, merely keep it in mind).” The statements, each a likert scale recoded so that higher reflects a more tolerant attitude, included: People who are \_\_\_\_ should be banned from being president of the U.S.; \_\_\_\_ should be allowed to teach in public schools; Being a \_\_\_\_ should be outlawed; \_\_\_\_ should be allowed to make a speech in this city; \_\_\_\_ should have their phones tapped by the government; \_\_\_\_ should be allowed to hold public rallies here; \_\_\_\_ are a grave threat to the country as a whole; \_\_\_\_ are a grave threat to me personally. Responses to these questions were summed and then we employed a mean split so that 54 percent are above average in tolerance and 46 percent are below average. The mean of the full variable, which ran from 4 to 24, is 13.7 – almost exactly in the middle.

Appendix 12

Going to Extremes: Stereotypes, Constitutional Violations, and Support for Religious Elites

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Paul A. Djupe, Denison University

**Table 12.A** – OLS Regression Results of Three Evaluations of the Clergy Opposing Gay Rights

Variable	<i>Clergy Credibility</i>			<i>Positive argument balance</i>			<i>Adopt Argument as Own</i>		
	$\beta$	(se)		$\beta$	(se)		$\beta$	(se)	
Evangelical participant ID	-3.42	(.90)	***	.93	(1.46)		1.53	(.99)	.12
Evangelical clergy cue	-.75	(.62)		-.32	(1.00)		.67	(.68)	
Constitutional violation	-1.91	(.61)	***	-.19	(.98)		.72	(.67)	
Evangelical id * evangelical cue	3.36	(1.15)	***	-.68	(1.85)		-1.15	(1.26)	
Evangelical ID * Violation	3.89	(1.37)	***	-4.85	(2.21)	**	-2.44	(1.51)	.11
Evangelical cue * Violation	1.66	(.91)	*	-.96	(1.48)		-2.00	(1.01)	**
Evangelical ID * Evan. cue * Violation	-3.25	(1.76)	*	3.51	(2.85)		3.64	(1.94)	*
Male	-.18	(.39)		-.95	(.62)	.13	-.18	(.43)	
Political ideology	-.12	(.16)		-.38	(.26)		-.37	(.18)	**
Constant	6.57	(.65)	***	1.80	(1.05)	*	6.22	(.72)	***
Model Statistics	N=227, adj R <sup>2</sup> =.05, RMSE=2.78			N=227, adj R <sup>2</sup> =.04, RMSE=4.49			N=227, adj R <sup>2</sup> =.02, RMSE=3.06		

## Appendix 13 Stigma Management of Midwest Seculars

Christopher Garneau, University of Science and Arts of Oklahoma

### Coding for Other Independent Variables

#### *Perceived Stigma Variables*

**Prejudice** is a dummy variable that measures if respondents believe they have ever been judged negatively as a result of their secular status.

**Discrimination** is a dummy variable assessing if a respondent reports ever being discriminated against as a direct consequence of their secular status.

#### *Support Variables*

**Supportive family** is a dummy variable for whether or not a respondent believes that immediate family members who do not know about their secular status would be supportive if they found out.

**Coworkers might judge** measures if respondents feel their coworkers (who do not know about their secular status) would judge them negatively if they knew about the respondent's secular status.

#### *Control Variables*

**Age** is measured in years and is centered around the mean.

**Age-square** variable is used when significant to compensate for non-linear effects of age.

**Non-white**<sup>8</sup> variable is a dummy variable indicating African American, Latino/Hispanic, Asian American, multiracial, or "other race."

Sex is measured with a dummy variable for **female** respondents.

**Bachelor's degree** is a variable indicating whether or not a respondent has a bachelor's degree.

**Income** is an ordinal variable assessing annual household income before taxes. Response categories are (1) less than \$10,000, (2) \$10,000 to \$24,999, (3) \$25,000 to \$49,999, (4) \$50,000 to \$74,999, (5) \$75,000 to \$99,999, (6) \$100,000 to \$199,999, and (7) \$200,000 or more per year.

**College student** status is a dummy variable for those who were enrolled in a college or university when they completed the survey.

**Urbanicity** is measured with dummy variables for respondents living in urban areas and those residing in rural areas with suburban residents as the reference category.

**Great Plains** is a dummy variable for respondents residing in the West North Central region as defined by the United States Census (IA, KS, MN, MO, NE, ND, SD) with those living in the East North Central region as the reference category.

**Religious Affiliation at 16** is a variable that contrasts those who report a religious affiliation at age 16 versus those who report no religious affiliation at that time.

**Table 13.A** – Descriptive Statistics (N=2,242)

	Min.	Max.	Mean	S.E.
<i>Secular Identification</i>				
Non-believing Atheist	.00	1.00	.61	
Non-believing Non-atheist	.00	1.00	.19	
Uncertain Atheist	.00	1.00	.04	
Uncertain Non-atheist	.00	1.00	.16	
Religious Affiliation at 16	.00	1.00	.68	

<sup>8</sup> Due to a very small percentage of non-white respondents (only five percent), I control for race using a single "non-white" category.

*Perceived Stigma Variables*

Prejudice	.00	1.00	.71	
Discrimination	.00	1.00	.32	

*Stigma Management Variables*

Secrecy	.00	1.00	.72	
Passing	.00	1.00	.21	
Secular Disclosure Index	5.00	25.00	18.07	4.62
Educated Other	.00	1.00	.81	
Contact Outing	.00	1.00	.59	

*Support Variables*

Supportive Family	.00	1.00	.27	
Coworkers Might Judge	.00	1.00	.39	

*Control Variables*

Mean Centered Age	-20.27	53.73	.00	15.34
Mean Centered Age-Squared	.07	2886.91	235.33	288.37
Non-White	.00	1.00	.05	
Female	.00	1.00	.40	
Bachelor's Degree	.00	1.00	.62	
Income	.00	6.00	2.88	1.66
College Student	.00	1.00	.22	
Urban	.00	1.00	.20	
Rural	.00	1.00	.26	
Great Plains	.00	1.00	.45	

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**Table 13.B** – Binary Logistic Regressions for Educated Someone about Seculars and Used Contact” Outing”

	Educated Others			“Outed” Themselves to Reduce Stigma		
	Model A O.R.	Model B O.R.	Model C O.R.	Model D O.R.	Model E O.R.	Model F O.R.
<i>Secular Status</i>						
Non-believing Atheist (Ref)	—	—	—	—	—	--
Uncertain Atheist	—	1.04	.94	—	.87	.80
Non-believing non-atheist	—	.82	.85	—	.88	.89
Uncertain non-atheist	—	.73 *	.69 *	—	.57 ***	.53 ***
<i>Control Variables</i>						
Age	.99	—	.99	.99	—	.99
Age-Square	—	—	—	—	—	--
Female	1.06	—	1.10	1.33 ***	—	1.43 ***
Non-white	1.41	—	1.45	.92	—	.97
Bachelor’s Degree	.87	—	.88	.89	—	.89
Income	.94	—	.94	.98	—	.98
College Student	1.21	—	1.22	.98	—	.99
Rural Residence	.95	—	.95	.94	—	.94
Urban Residence	.85	—	.85	.83	—	.82
Great Plains Region	1.09	—	1.10	1.14	—	1.16
-2 Log Likelihood	1922.86	2159.85	1915.29	2715.11	3006.55	2690.19
BIC	1992.30	2183.00	2007.87	2784.55	3029.70	2782.77

\*  $p \leq .05$  \*\*  $p \leq .01$  \*\*\*  $p \leq .001$  (two-tailed test)

Appendix 14  
**American Muslim Political Responses to Threat**

Patrick Schoettmer, University of Notre Dame

**Variable Coding**

**Campaign:** Campaign is an additive variable which counts the types of campaign-oriented activities respondents reported engaging in. Included in the variable is monetary campaign donations; volunteering time for a campaign; and displaying a campaign sign.

**Voice:** Voice is an additive variable which counts the types of expressive political activities respondents reported engaging in. Included in the variable is attending a protest; signing a petition; participating in a boycott; writing a letter to a newspaper editor; writing an elected official; and discussing politics online.

**Community:** Voice is an additive variable which counts the types of largely apolitical activities respondents reported engaging in. Included in the variable is volunteering at one's religious center; working with members of the community to solve problems; attending a PTA meeting; and attending a public community event like a play.

**Feeling Thermometer Scores** (Evangelical, Catholics, Jews, Atheists, Muslims): Feeling thermometer scores were generated by asking respondents to score the emotional warmth they felt towards a group. They were instructed to regard a score of 0 as intense dislike, 50 as neutrality or indifference, and 100 as intense like.

**Religious Guidance:** A four-point scale measuring respondent's self-reported view of the importance of their faith in making daily decisions. Higher scores indicate greater relevance to the decision-making process.

**Religious Attendance:** A seven-point scale measuring respondent's self-reported frequency of attendance at communal prayers at a mosque or Islamic center. Higher scores indicate more frequent attendance.

**Prayer:** A six-point scale measuring respondent's self-reported level of observation of the daily prayer requirements (salah) prescribed by the religious tradition. Higher scores indicate more frequent prayer observation

**Network Religious Homogeneity:** Five-point scale measuring respondent's self-reported degree of religious homogeneity within their friendship network. Higher scores indicate greater levels of perceived religious homogeneity.

Aside from asking about perceived homogeneity within the friendship network, respondents were asked about up to three people that they most frequently discussed political issues with. Several items were distilled from this battery of questions, including:

**Discussant Religious Homogeneity:** Whether discussants were of the same religion as the respondent. Variable measures percent of discussion network homogeneity. The 'Muslim Discussant' variable is simply a recoding of this variable to reflect whether or not the respondent was Muslim, whether or not they were of the same sect.

**Disagreement:** Whether discussants frequently agreed or disagreed with the respondent. Higher numbers indicate higher levels of agreement. The variable measures the average level of agreement across all identified members of the discussion network.

**Discussant Expertise:** Whether discussants were considered less, similarly, or more knowledgeable about political affairs than the respondent. Scores are average ratings across all reported discussants. Higher scores indicate greater perceived expertise.

**Political Talk:** Reported frequency of political discussion with discussants. Scores are average ratings across all reported discussants. Higher levels indicate more frequent political discussions.

**Network Size:** Additive scale counting the number of reported political discussion partners.

**Government Hostility:** Five-point scale recording respondent's perceived level of hostility from the federal government towards their religious tradition. Higher scores indicate greater levels of hostility.

**Neighborhood Hostility:** Five-point scale recording respondent's perceived level of hostility from the people in their neighborhood towards their religious tradition. Higher scores indicate greater levels of hostility.

**Christian "Extremists":** Four-point scale measuring respondent concern about the threat of Christian religious extremists in the US. Higher scores indicate greater levels of concern about Christian extremism.

**Muslim Identity:** Five-point scale measuring respondent's perception of the influence of their identity as a Muslim on how they think about politics. Higher scores indicate relatively higher levels of importance in political evaluations.

**American Identity:** Five-point scale measuring respondent's perception of the influence of their identity as an American on how they think about politics. Higher scores indicate relatively higher levels of importance in political evaluations.

**Muslim Linked Fate:** Four-point scale measuring the respondent's perception of the degree to which their personal welfare is connected to the general welfare of others who share their religious affiliation. Higher scores indicate a greater degree of believed linked fate.

**Ethnic identifiers** (Arab, Black, Bosnian): Dichotomous variable measuring whether respondents reported self-identification with one of these ethnic or racial backgrounds.

**Generalized Trust:** Dichotomous variable measuring whether respondents believe most people are trustworthy or not. Higher scores indicate general trust in the public.

**Trust in Government:** Four-point scale measuring response to an item asking the respondent how frequently they feel they can trust the government to "do what is right." Higher scores indicate more trust in the government.

**Education:** Six-point scale measuring the respondents' reported level of education. Higher scores indicate greater educational achievement.

**Income:** Seven-point scale measuring the respondents' estimated household income range. Higher scores indicate higher reported household.

**Political Interest:** Five-point scale measuring respondents' self-reported level of political interest. Higher scores indicate increasing attention to political news and reports.

**Born in the US:** Dichotomous variable measuring whether the respondent reports having been born in the US or not.

**Female:** Dichotomous variable measuring respondent sex.

**Age:** Raw reported age of respondents.