

Appendix: "We Should All Be Christian Nationalists"- Elite Influence on Identification with Christian Nationalism

June 9, 2025

1 Appendix A: Codebook

1.1 Experiment 1

Feature	Result
Number of observations	1284
Number of variables	105

Table A.1: Data Report Overview: Dataset "data_correct"

1.1.1 Variable List

INFORMED.CONSENT

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - Indicator of choice to accept the informed consent and continue with the survey
 - "Having read the informed consent statement, do you agree to participate?"
- Coding:
 - "Yes, I agree to participate"
 - "No, I do not agree to participate"

ATTENTION

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - Attention check: To ensure respondents are paying attention, please select the option "Somewhat disagree"
 - Respondents who failed the attention check were removed from the sample before further cleaning and data analysis

RELIGION

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - "Which religious group do you most identify with?"
- Coding:
 - Evangelical Protestant
 - Other Protestant
 - Latter-Day Saint
 - Mainline Protestant
 - Catholic
 - Other Christian non-religious
 - Other Christian
 - Jewish
 - None of the above
 - Other :

RELIGION_10_TEXT

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - Text responses to "Other" from variable "RELIGION"

religion_binary

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment

- Binarized version of variable "RELIGION"
- Coding:
 - Evangelical Protestant — 1
 - Other Protestant — 1
 - Latter-Day Saint — 0
 - Mainline Protestant — 1
 - Catholic — 0
 - Other Christian non-religious — 0
 - Other Christian — 0
 - Jewish — 0
 - None of the above — 0
 - Other — 0

RACE

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - "What is your race?"
- Coding:
 - White, non-Hispanic
 - Hispanic
 - Black or African American, non-Hispanic
 - American Indian or Alaskan Native
 - Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander
 - Asian
 - Multiple races, non-Hispanic
 - Other:

RACE_10_TEXT

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - Text responses to "Other" from variable "RACE"

race_binary

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - Binarized version of variable "RACE"
- Coding:
 - White, non-Hispanic — 1
 - Hispanic — 0
 - Black or African American, non-Hispanic — 0
 - American Indian or Alaskan Native — 0
 - Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander — 0
 - Asian — 0
 - Multiple races, non-Hispanic — 0
 - Other — 0

GENDER

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - "What is your gender?"
- Coding:
 - Man
 - Woman
 - Non-binary/third gender
 - Prefer not to say
 - Other:

gender_binary

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - Binarized version of variable "GENDER"
- Coding:
 - Man — 1
 - Woman — 0
 - Non-binary/third gender — 0
 - Prefer not to say — 0
 - Other — 0

PID

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - Recoded from PARTY.ID.
 - Generally speaking, d you describe yourself as a Republican, Democrat, or Independent?
 - * If Democrat: Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or not a very strong Democrat?
 - * if Republican: Would you call yourself a strong Republican or not a very strong Republican?
 - * If Independent: Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or Democratic party?
- Coding:
 - A strong Republican — 7
 - Not a very strong Republican— 6
 - Independent/ lean Republican — 5
 - Neither — 4
 - Independent/lean Democratic — 3
 - Not a very strong Democrat —2
 - A strong Democrat — 1

IDEOLOGY

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - "How would you describe your political ideology?"
- Coding:
 - Very conservative — 7
 - Conservative — 6
 - Slightly conservative — 5
 - Moderate — 4
 - Slightly liberal — 3
 - Liberal — 2
 - Very liberal — 1

REL_IMPORTANCE

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - "Which of the following comes closest to how you think about the place of religion in your own life?"
- Coding:
 - "Religion is the most important thing in my life" — 4
 - "Religion is one among many important things in my life" — 3
 - "Religion is not as important as other things in my life" — 2
 - "Religion is not important in my life" — 1

income_numeric

- Description:

- Asked pre-treatment
- "What is your yearly income (USD)?"
- Coding:
 - Less than \$10,000 — 1
 - \$10,000 - \$19,999 — 2
 - \$20,000 - \$29,999 — 3
 - \$30,000 - \$39,999 — 4
 - \$40,000 - \$49,999 — 5
 - \$50,000 - \$59,999 — 6
 - \$60,000 - \$69,999 — 7
 - \$70,000 - \$79,999 — 8
 - \$80,000 - \$89,999 — 9
 - \$90,000 - \$99,999 — 10
 - \$100,000 - \$149,999 — 11
 - More than \$150,000 — 12

age_numeric

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - "What is your age?"
- Coding:
 - 18 - 24 — 1
 - 25 - 34 — 2
 - 35 - 44 — 3
 - 45 - 54 — 4
 - 55 - 64 — 5
 - 65 - 74 — 6
 - 75 - 84 — 7

CN_MEASUREMENT_1

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - For the following questions, please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the statements: "US laws should be based on Christian values".
- Coding:
 - Strongly disagree — 1
 - Somewhat disagree — 2
 - Neither agree nor disagree — 3
 - Somewhat agree — 4
 - Strongly agree — 5

CN_MEASUREMENT_2

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - For the following questions, please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the statements: "Being a Christian is an important part of being truly American".
- Coding:
 - Strongly disagree — 1
 - Somewhat disagree — 2
 - Neither agree nor disagree — 3
 - Somewhat agree — 4
 - Strongly agree — 5

CN_MEASUREMENT_3

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment

- For the following questions, please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the statements: "The US government should declare America a Christian nation".
- Coding:
 - Strongly disagree — 1
 - Somewhat disagree — 2
 - Neither agree nor disagree — 3
 - Somewhat agree — 4
 - Strongly agree — 5

CN_MEASUREMENT_4

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - For the following questions, please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the statements: "If the US moves away from our Christian foundations, we will not have a country anymore".
- Coding:
 - Strongly disagree — 1
 - Somewhat disagree — 2
 - Neither agree nor disagree — 3
 - Somewhat agree — 4
 - Strongly agree — 5

CN_MEASUREMENT_5.

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - For the following questions, please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the statements: "God has called Christians to exercise dominion over all areas of American society".
- Coding:
 - Strongly disagree — 1
 - Somewhat disagree — 2
 - Neither agree nor disagree — 3
 - Somewhat agree — 4
 - Strongly agree — 5

CN_ISSUE_1

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - For the following questions, please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the statements: "The federal government should not favor one religion over another".
 - Reverse-coded
- Coding:
 - Strongly disagree — 5
 - Somewhat disagree — 4
 - Neither agree nor disagree — 3
 - Somewhat agree — 2
 - Strongly agree — 1

CN_ISSUE_2

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - For the following questions, please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the statements: "Christian lawmakers are more qualified to make policy decisions than non-Christians".
- Coding:
 - Strongly disagree — 1
 - Somewhat disagree — 2

- Neither agree nor disagree — 3
- Somewhat agree — 4
- Strongly agree — 5

CN_ISSUE_3

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - For the following questions, please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the statements: "We must maintain a strict separation of church and state".
 - Reverse coded
- Coding:
 - Strongly disagree — 5
 - Somewhat disagree — 4
 - Neither agree nor disagree — 3
 - Somewhat agree — 2
 - Strongly agree — 1

CN_ISSUE_4

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - For the following questions, please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the statements: "God created America to be a new promised land where European Christians could create a society that could be an example to the rest of the world".
- Coding:
 - Strongly disagree — 1
 - Somewhat disagree — 2
 - Neither agree nor disagree — 3
 - Somewhat agree — 4
 - Strongly agree — 5

CARE_POOR

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - "Please choose which statement you agree with more:"
- Coding:
 - In the Bible, when Jesus and prophets talked about taking care of the poor, they were primarily talking about charitable acts by individuals. — 1
 - In the Bible, when Jesus and the prophets talked about taking care of the poor, they were primarily talking about our obligation to create a just society. — 2

US_MAKEUP

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - "Please choose which statement you agree with more:"
- Coding:
 - I would prefer the US to be a nation made up of people belonging to a wide variety of religions. — 1
 - I would prefer the US to be a nation primarily made up of people who follow the Christian faith. — 2

LIST_4

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - "For the following items, please say how many of the statements you agree with. We do not want to know which ones you agree with, only how many."
 - * The United States is a white Christian nation, and I am willing to fight to keep it that way

- * The United States is a melting pot country of different backgrounds, races, and ethnicities, and I am proud to be part of it.
 - * The United States is the best place to live in the world, and I could not imagine living anywhere else
 - * The United States is the most powerful country in the world, and I feel safer living here than anywhere else.
- Coding:
 - 0
 - 1
 - 2
 - 3
 - 4

LIST_3

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - "For the following items, please say how many of the statements you agree with. We do not want to know which ones you agree with, only how many."
 - * The United States is a melting pot country of different backgrounds, races, and ethnicities, and I am proud to be part of it.
 - * The United States is the best place to live in the world, and I could not imagine living anywhere else
 - * The United States is the most powerful country in the world, and I feel safer living here than anywhere else.
- Coding:
 - 0
 - 1
 - 2
 - 3

RELIGIOUS_EVENT

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - "Over the past year, how often have you done each of the following: Attended religious events other than worship services?"
- Coding:
 - Never — 1
 - A few times — 2
 - Once or twice a month — 3
 - Once a week — 4
 - More than once a week — 5

DIFF_REL_CONVO

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - "Over the past year, how often have you done each of the following: Had a conversation with someone who belongs to a different religion from your own?"
- Coding:
 - Never — 1
 - A few times — 2
 - Once or twice a month — 3
 - Once a week — 4
 - More than once a week — 5

DONATION

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment

- "Over the past year, how often have you done each of the following: Donated money to a church or other religious congregation or charity?"
- Coding:
 - Never — 1
 - A few times — 2
 - Once or twice a month — 3
 - Once a week — 4
 - More than once a week — 5

VOLUNTEER

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - "Over the past year, how often have you done each of the following: Volunteered your time at a charity, religious organization, or school?"
- Coding:
 - Never — 1
 - A few times — 2
 - Once or twice a month — 3
 - Once a week — 4
 - More than once a week — 5

SOCIAL

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - "Over the past year, how often have you done each of the following: Attended a social event or club with members who belong to a different religion from your own?"
- Coding:
 - Never — 1
 - A few times — 2
 - Once or twice a month — 3
 - Once a week — 4
 - More than once a week — 5

BREAK_RULES

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - How much do you agree or disagree with the following question(s): Because things have gotten so far off track in this country, we need a leader who is willing to break some rules if that's what sets things right.
- Coding:
 - Strongly disagree — 5
 - Somewhat disagree — 4
 - Neither agree nor disagree — 3
 - Somewhat agree — 2
 - Strongly agree — 1

QANON

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - How much do you agree or disagree with the following question(s): The government, media, and financial worlds in the US are controlled by a group of Satan-worshipping pedophiles who run a global child sex trafficking operation.
- Coding:
 - Strongly disagree — 5
 - Somewhat disagree — 4
 - Neither agree nor disagree — 3
 - Somewhat agree — 2

- Strongly agree — 1

STORM

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - How much do you agree or disagree with the following question(s): There is a storm coming soon that will sweep away the elites in power and restore the rightful leaders
- Coding:
 - Strongly disagree — 5
 - Somewhat disagree — 4
 - Neither agree nor disagree — 3
 - Somewhat agree — 2
 - Strongly agree — 1

PATRIOTS

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - How much do you agree or disagree with the following question(s): Because things have gotten so far off track, true American patriots may have to resort to violence in order to save our country.
- Coding:
 - Strongly disagree — 5
 - Somewhat disagree — 4
 - Neither agree nor disagree — 3
 - Somewhat agree — 2
 - Strongly agree — 1

RACISM_1

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - How much do you agree or disagree with the following questions: Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for many Black Americans to work their way out of the lower class.
- Coding:
 - Strongly disagree — 5
 - Somewhat disagree — 4
 - Neither agree nor disagree — 3
 - Somewhat agree — 2
 - Strongly agree — 1

RACISM_2

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - How much do you agree or disagree with the following questions: White supremacy is still a major problem in the US today.
- Coding:
 - Strongly disagree — 5
 - Somewhat disagree — 4
 - Neither agree nor disagree — 3
 - Somewhat agree — 2
 - Strongly agree — 1

RACISM_3

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment

- How much do you agree or disagree with the following questions: Today discrimination against white Americans has become as big a problem as discrimination against Black Americans and other minorities.
- Reverse coded
- Coding:
 - Strongly disagree — 1
 - Somewhat disagree — 2
 - Neither agree nor disagree — 3
 - Somewhat agree — 4
 - Strongly agree — 5

RACISM_1

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - How much do you agree or disagree with the following questions: A Black person is more likely than a white person to receive the death penalty for the same crime.
- Coding:
 - Strongly disagree — 5
 - Somewhat disagree — 4
 - Neither agree nor disagree — 3
 - Somewhat agree — 2
 - Strongly agree — 1

IMMIGRANT_1

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - How much do you agree or disagree with the following questions: Immigrants are invading our country and replacing our cultural and ethnic background
- Coding:
 - Strongly disagree — 1
 - Somewhat disagree — 2
 - Neither agree nor disagree — 3
 - Somewhat agree — 4
 - Strongly agree — 5

IMMIGRANT_2

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - How much do you agree or disagree with the following questions: The growing number of newcomers from other countries strengthens American society
- Coding:
 - Strongly disagree — 5
 - Somewhat disagree — 4
 - Neither agree nor disagree — 3
 - Somewhat agree — 2
 - Strongly agree — 1

IMMIGRANT_3

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - How much do you agree or disagree with the following questions: the American way of life needs to be protected from foreign influence.
- Coding:
 - Strongly disagree — 1
 - Somewhat disagree — 2
 - Neither agree nor disagree — 3
 - Somewhat agree — 4

- Strongly agree — 5

ANTISEMITISM_1

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - How much do you agree or disagree with the following questions: Jewish people hold too many positions of power in America today
- Coding:
 - Strongly disagree — 1
 - Somewhat disagree — 2
 - Neither agree nor disagree — 3
 - Somewhat agree — 4
 - Strongly agree — 5

ANTISEMITISM_2

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - How much do you agree or disagree with the following questions: Jewish people stick together more than other Americans
- Coding:
 - Strongly disagree — 1
 - Somewhat disagree — 2
 - Neither agree nor disagree — 3
 - Somewhat agree — 4
 - Strongly agree — 5

ANTISEMITISM_3

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - How much do you agree or disagree with the following questions: Jewish people are more loyal to Israel than America
- Coding:
 - Strongly disagree — 1
 - Somewhat disagree — 2
 - Neither agree nor disagree — 3
 - Somewhat agree — 4
 - Strongly agree — 5

ANTISEMITISM_4

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - How much do you agree or disagree with the following questions: American Christians love Israel more than most American Jews do
- Coding:
 - Strongly disagree — 1
 - Somewhat disagree — 2
 - Neither agree nor disagree — 3
 - Somewhat agree — 4
 - Strongly agree — 5

IMMIGRANT_1

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - How much do you agree or disagree with the following questions: Immigrants are invading our country and replacing our cultural and ethnic background
- Coding:
 - Strongly disagree — 1

- Somewhat disagree — 2
- Neither agree nor disagree — 3
- Somewhat agree — 4
- Strongly agree — 5

GENDER_1

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - How much do you agree or disagree with the following questions: In a truly Christian family, the husband is the head of the household, and his wife submits to his leadership
- Coding:
 - Strongly disagree — 1
 - Somewhat disagree — 2
 - Neither agree nor disagree — 3
 - Somewhat agree — 4
 - Strongly agree — 5

GENDER_2

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - How much do you agree or disagree with the following questions: American society improves when women have more career and educational opportunities
- Coding:
 - Strongly disagree — 5
 - Somewhat disagree — 4
 - Neither agree nor disagree — 3
 - Somewhat agree — 2
 - Strongly agree — 1

GENDER_3

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - How much do you agree or disagree with the following questions: These days society seems to punish men just for acting like men.
- Coding:
 - Strongly disagree — 1
 - Somewhat disagree — 2
 - Neither agree nor disagree — 3
 - Somewhat agree — 4
 - Strongly agree — 5

GENDER_4

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - How much do you agree or disagree with the following questions: Society as a whole has become too soft and feminine.
- Coding:
 - Strongly disagree — 1
 - Somewhat disagree — 2
 - Neither agree nor disagree — 3
 - Somewhat agree — 4
 - Strongly agree — 5

GENDER_5

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment

- How much do you agree or disagree with the following questions: Society is in trouble because people do not obey those in authority.
- Coding:
 - Strongly disagree — 1
 - Somewhat disagree — 2
 - Neither agree nor disagree — 3
 - Somewhat agree — 4
 - Strongly agree — 5

GENDER_6

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - How much do you agree or disagree with the following questions: Rewards in life should be based on initiative, skill, and hard work, even if that results in inequality.
- Coding:
 - Strongly disagree — 1
 - Somewhat disagree — 2
 - Neither agree nor disagree — 3
 - Somewhat agree — 4
 - Strongly agree — 5

ISLAM_1

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - How much do you agree or disagree with the following questions: We should prevent people from some majority Muslim countries from entering the US.
- Coding:
 - Strongly disagree — 1
 - Somewhat disagree — 2
 - Neither agree nor disagree — 3
 - Somewhat agree — 4
 - Strongly agree — 5

ISLAM_2

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - How much do you agree or disagree with the following questions: The values of Islam are at odds with American values and ways of life.
- Coding:
 - Strongly disagree — 1
 - Somewhat disagree — 2
 - Neither agree nor disagree — 3
 - Somewhat agree — 4
 - Strongly agree — 5

racism_scale

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - Scale made from the normalized means of RACISM_1 — RACISM_4.
 - Matches coding from RACISM questions where 1= least racism, 5= most racism

antisemitism_scale

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - Scale made from the normalized means of ANTISEMITISM_1 — ANTISEMITISM_4.
 - Matches coding from ANTISEMITISM questions where 1= least antisemitism, 5= most antisemitism

gender_scale

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - Scale made from the normalized means of GENDER_1 — GENDER_6.
 - Matches coding from RACISM questions where 1= least sexism, 5= most sexism

immigrant_scale

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - Scale made from the normalized means of IMMIGRANT_1 — IMMIGRANT_3.
 - Matches coding from IMMIGRANT questions where 1= least anti-immigrant sentiment, 5= most anti-immigrant sentiment

islam_scale

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - Scale made from the normalized means of ISLAM_1 — ISLAM_2.
 - Matches coding from ISLAM questions where 1= least islamaphobia, 5= most islamaphobia

VOTE_CHOICE

- Description:
 - Asked post-treatment
 - "Based on what you know about him and his camapaign, how likely would you be to vote for Senator Williams?"
- Coding:
 - Extremely unlikely — 5
 - Somewhat unlikely — 4
 - Neither likely nor unlikely — 3
 - Somewhat likely — 2
 - Extremely likely — 1

WILLIAMS_PARTY

- Description:
 - Asked post-treatment
 - "What political party would you expect Senator Williams to be a part of?"
- Coding:
 - Republican — 1
 - Democrat — 7
 - Independent — 4
 - Other — NA

FRIEND_EVENT_CN

- Description:
 - Asked post-treatment
 - "Imagine that a close friend was going to a local event that advertised itself as Christian Nationalist. Would you go with your friend to this event?"
- Coding:
 - Yes — 5
 - Maybe yes — 4
 - Unsure/Don't Know — 3
 - Maybe no — 2
 - No — 1

CN_WE

- Description:

- Asked post-treatment
 - "When you talk about Christian Nationalism, how often would you say "we"?"
- Coding:
 - Always — 5
 - Often — 4
 - Seldom — 3
 - Never — 2
 - Other — 1

CN_WE_13_TEXT

- Description:
 - Asked post-treatment
 - Open-ended text responses to CN_WE

IDENTIFY_WHY

- Description:
 - Asked post-treatment
 - Open-ended text responses
 - "In a few words, why or why not do you identify with the term "Christian Nationalism?"

POLPARTY_CN

- Description:
 - Asked post-treatment
 - Open-ended text responses
 - "Which political parties or figures do you associate with Christian Nationalism? Can you think of any examples you have seen in the news or on social media?"

CN_IDENTIFICATION

- Description:
 - Asked post-treatment
 - "Remember the data from this survey is going to be anonymous. Please choose the answer that most fits your beliefs on this statment: "I am a Christian Nationalist"."
- Coding:
 - Strongly disagree — 1
 - Somewhat disagree — 2
 - Neither agree nor disagree — 3
 - Somewhat agree — 4
 - Strongly agree — 5

FUTHER_CONVERSATION

- Description:
 - Asked post-treatment
 - "Bonus: In about a month, researchers from this project are interested in further paid communication with respondents who identify with Christian Nationalism to better understand their answers. Would you be open to further face-to-face or virtual conversations with researchers about your identification with Christian Nationalism?"
- Coding:
 - Yes — 5
 - No, but I do identify with Christian Nationalism — 3
 - No, because I do not identify with Christian Nationalism — 1

public_id_scale

- Description:
 - Scale made from the normalized means of CN_WE, FRIEND_EVENT_CN, and FUTHER_CONVERSATION
 - Matches coding from prior questions where 1= least Christian Nationalism, 5= most Christian Nationalism

participant_Id

- Description:
 - Unique anonymized participant identifier, given to participants before entering the study.
 - Collected from CloudConnect

assignment_Id

- Description:
 - Unique anonymized participant identifier, given to participants after entering the study.
 - Collected from CloudConnect

project_Id

- Description:
 - ID that the project is hosted under on CloudConnect
 - Collected from CloudConnect

CN.SCORE

- Description:
 - Score calculated from CN_MEASUREMENT questions
 - Used for block randomization on CloudConnect

Treatment

- Description:
 - Treatment indicator for each participant
 - Collected from CloudConnect
- Coding:
 - P— Positive treatment
 - N — Negative treatment
 - C — Control group

block_id

- Description:
 - Denotes block randomization group determined by CN.Score score
 - Collected from CloudConnect

CN.Score2

- Description:
 - Translation of CN score to block number

1.2 Experiment 2

Feature	Result
Number of observations	2544
Number of variables	60

Table A.2: Data Report Overview: Dataset "data2"

1.2.1 Variable List

informed_consent

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - Indicator of choice to accept the informed consent and continue with the survey
 - "Having read the informed consent statement, do you agree to participate?"
- Coding:
 - "Yes, I agree to participate"
 - "No, I do not agree to participate"

attention

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - Attention check: To ensure respondents are paying attention, please select the option "Somewhat disagree"
 - Respondents who failed the attention check were removed from the sample before further cleaning and data analysis

religion

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - "Which religious group do you most identify with?"
- Coding:
 - Evangelical Protestant
 - Other Protestant
 - Latter-Day Saint
 - Mainline Protestant
 - Catholic
 - Other Christian non-religious
 - Other Christian
 - Jewish
 - None of the above
 - Other :

religion_10_TEXT

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - Text responses to "Other" from variable "RELIGION"

religion_binary

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - Binarized version of variable "RELIGION"
- Coding:
 - Evangelical Protestant — 1

- Other Protestant — 1
- Latter-Day Saint — 0
- Mainline Protestant — 1
- Catholic — 0
- Other Christian non-religious — 0
- Other Christian — 0
- Jewish — 0
- None of the above — 0
- Other — 0

race

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - "What is your race?"
- Coding:
 - White, non-Hispanic
 - Hispanic
 - Black or African American, non-Hispanic
 - American Indian or Alaskan Native
 - Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander
 - Asian
 - Multiple races, non-Hispanic
 - Other:

race_8_TEXT

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - Text responses to "Other" from variable "RACE"

race_binary

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - Binarized version of variable "RACE"
- Coding:
 - White, non-Hispanic — 1
 - Hispanic — 0
 - Black or African American, non-Hispanic — 0
 - American Indian or Alaskan Native — 0
 - Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander — 0
 - Asian — 0
 - Multiple races, non-Hispanic — 0
 - Other — 0

gender

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - "What is your gender?"
- Coding:
 - Man
 - Woman
 - Non-binary /third gender
 - Prefer not to say
 - Other:

gender_binary

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment

- Binarized version of variable "GENDER"
- Coding:
 - Man — 1
 - Woman — 0
 - Non-binary/third gender — 0
 - Prefer not to say — 0
 - Other — 0

pid

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - Recoded from PARTY.ID.
 - Generally speaking, d you describe yourself as a Republican, Democrat, or Independent?
 - * If Democrat: Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or not a very strong Democrat?
 - * if Republican: Would you call yourself a strong Republican or not a very strong Republican?
 - * If Independent: Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or Democratic party?
- Coding:
 - A strong Republican — 7
 - Not a very strong Republican — 6
 - Independent/ lean Republican — 5
 - Neither — 4
 - Independent/lean Democratic — 3
 - Not a very strong Democrat — 2
 - A strong Democrat — 1

ideology

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - "How would you describe your political ideology?"
- Coding:
 - Very conservative — 7
 - Conservative — 6
 - Slightly conservative — 5
 - Moderate — 4
 - Slightly liberal — 3
 - Liberal — 2
 - Very liberal — 1

rel_importance

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - "Which of the following comes closest to how you think about the place of religion in your own life?"
- Coding:
 - "Religion is the most important thing in my life" — 4
 - "Religion is one among many important things in my life" — 3
 - "Religion is not as important as other things in my life" — 2
 - "Religion is not important in my life" — 1

income_numeric

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - "What is your yearly income (USD)?"
- Coding:

- Less than \$10,000 — 1
- \$10,000 - \$19,999 — 2
- \$20,000 - \$29,999 — 3
- \$30,000 - \$39,999 — 4
- \$40,000 - \$49,999 — 5
- \$50,000 - \$59,999 — 6
- \$60,000 - \$69,999 — 7
- \$70,000 - \$79,999 — 8
- \$80,000 - \$89,999 — 9
- \$90,000 - \$99,999 — 10
- \$100,000 - \$149,999 — 11
- More than \$150,000 — 12

age_numeric

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - "What is your age?"
- Coding:
 - 18 - 24 — 1
 - 25 - 34 — 2
 - 35 - 44 — 3
 - 45 - 54 — 4
 - 55 - 64 — 5
 - 65 - 74 — 6
 - 75 - 84 — 7

cn_measurement_1

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - For the following questions, please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the statements: "US laws should be based on Christian values".
- Coding:
 - Strongly disagree — 1
 - Somewhat disagree — 2
 - Neither agree nor disagree — 3
 - Somewhat agree — 4
 - Strongly agree — 5

cn_measurement_2

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - For the following questions, please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the statements: "Being a Christian is an important part of being truly American".
- Coding:
 - Strongly disagree — 1
 - Somewhat disagree — 2
 - Neither agree nor disagree — 3
 - Somewhat agree — 4
 - Strongly agree — 5

cn_measurement_3

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - For the following questions, please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the statements: "The US government should declare America a Christian nation".
- Coding:
 - Strongly disagree — 1

- Somewhat disagree — 2
- Neither agree nor disagree — 3
- Somewhat agree — 4
- Strongly agree — 5

cn_measurement_4

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - For the following questions, please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the statements: "If the US moves away from our Christian foundations, we will not have a country anymore".
- Coding:
 - Strongly disagree — 1
 - Somewhat disagree — 2
 - Neither agree nor disagree — 3
 - Somewhat agree — 4
 - Strongly agree — 5

cn_measurement_5

- Description:
 - Asked pre-treatment
 - For the following questions, please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the statements: "God has called Christians to exercise dominion over all areas of American society".
- Coding:
 - Strongly disagree — 1
 - Somewhat disagree — 2
 - Neither agree nor disagree — 3
 - Somewhat agree — 4
 - Strongly agree — 5

vote_choice

- Description:
 - Asked post-treatment
 - "Based on what you know about him and his campaign, how likely would you be to vote for Senator Williams?"
- Coding:
 - Extremely unlikely — 5
 - Somewhat unlikely — 4
 - Neither likely nor unlikely — 3
 - Somewhat likely — 2
 - Extremely likely — 1

williams_party

- Description:
 - Asked post-treatment
 - "What political party would you expect Senator Williams to be a part of?"
- Coding:
 - Republican — 1
 - Democrat — 7
 - Independent — 4
 - Other — NA

friend_event_cn

- Description:
 - Asked post-treatment

- "Imagine that a close friend was going to a local event that advertised itself as Christian Nationalist. Would you go with your friend to this event?"
- Coding:
 - Yes — 5
 - Maybe yes — 4
 - Unsure/Don't Know — 3
 - Maybe no — 2
 - No — 1

cn_we

- Description:
 - Asked post-treatment
 - "When you talk about Christian Nationalism, how often would you say "we"?"
- Coding:
 - Always — 5
 - Often — 4
 - Seldom — 3
 - Never — 2
 - Other — 1

cn_we_13_text

- Description:
 - Asked post-treatment
 - Open-ended text responses to CN_WE

identify_why

- Description:
 - Asked post-treatment
 - Open-ended text responses
 - "In a few words, why or why not do you identify with the term "Christian Nationalism?"

polarity_cn

- Description:
 - Asked post-treatment
 - Open-ended text responses
 - "Which political parties or figures do you associate with Christian Nationalism? Can you think of any examples you have seen in the news or on social media?"

cn_identification

- Description:
 - Asked post-treatment
 - "Remember the data from this survey is going to be anonymous. Please choose the answer that most fits your beliefs on this statment: "I am a Christian Nationalist"."
- Coding:
 - Strongly disagree — 1
 - Somewhat disagree — 2
 - Neither agree nor disagree — 3
 - Somewhat agree — 4
 - Strongly agree — 5

further_conversation

- Description:
 - Asked post-treatment
 - "Bonus: In about a month, researchers from this project are interested in further paid communication with respondents who identify with Christian Nationalism to better understand their answers. Would you be open to further face-to-face or virtual conversations with researchers about your identification with Christian Nationalism?"

- Coding:
 - Yes — 5
 - No, but I do identify with Christian Nationalism — 3
 - No, because I do not identify with Christian Nationalism — 1

public_id_scale

- Description:
 - Scale made from the normalized means of CN_WE, FRIEND_EVENT_CN, and FUTHER_CONVERSATION
 - Matches coding from prior questions where 1= least Christian Nationalism, 5= most Christian Nationalism

CN.Score

- Description:
 - Score calculated from CN_MEASUREMENT questions

Treatment

- Description:
 - Treatment indicator for each participant
 - Collected from Prolific
- Coding:
 - P— Positive treatment
 - N — Negative treatment
 - C — Control group

2 Appendix B: Sample Characteristics

These sample characteristics show the demographic breakdowns of the samples for Experiment 1, Experiment 2, and their respective durability checks. Across Experiment 1 and Experiment 2, there are several shifts, but none that threaten experimental validity. Experiment 1 had slightly more Catholics and Democrats than would be expected for a sample of American Christians. This is not unexpected, as Connect’s panel skews more liberal and well-educated (Stagnaro et. al 2024) and has almost an even number of Protestants and Catholics in their panel, which means targeting Christians gives more Catholics than would be in the actual population. (I spoke with a member of Connect’s team to confirm these panel breakdowns). These panel traits are one of the reasons that I chose to run Experiment 2 on Prolific, whose sample is more representative and larger. The consistency of the results across both panels validates the experiments. Overall, the samples across Experiment 1 and Experiment 2 are relatively similar in their demographic composition, with only a few key differences. The racial distributions are largely consistent, though Experiment 2 has a lower proportion of White, non-Hispanic participants (60.2 percent vs. 71.6 percent in Experiment 1) and a higher representation of Black, non-Hispanic individuals (26.0 percent vs. 10.4 percent). Political identification is also fairly stable, though Experiment 2 shows an increase in Strong Republican identification (28.5 percent vs. 18.3 percent in Experiment 1), coupled with a decline in Strong Democrats (16.4 percent vs. 20.4 percent). Similarly, ideological leanings remain balanced across both samples, though Experiment 2 has a slightly greater share of conservative and very conservative respondents. Religious importance is nearly identical, with only a small increase in those who say religion is the most important thing in their life in Experiment 2 (23.97 percent vs. 19.9 percent). The durability checks for both experiments suggest that the composition remains stable over time, with only minor shifts—Experiment 1’s durability check sample has a slightly higher proportion of White, non-Hispanic respondents, while Experiment 2’s durability check shows a slightly older and more religiously engaged sample. While these small variations exist, the overall demographic makeup across the experiments remains largely comparable.

2.1 Experiment 1

Table B.1: Sample Characteristics: Race

Race	Count	Proportion (%)
Asian	74	5.8
Hispanic	109	8.5
Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander	2	0.15
White, non-Hispanic	917	71.6
American Indian or Alaskan Native	7	0.54
Black or African American, non-Hispanic	134	10.4
Multiple races, non-Hispanic	25	1.9
Other	12	.9
Total	1281	100

Table B.2: Sample Characteristics: Religious Affiliation

Religious Affiliation	Count	Proportion (%)
Catholic	510	39.8
Evangelical Protestant	182	14.2
Jewish	1	0.07
Latter-Day Saint	2	0.14
Mainline Protestant	215	16.7
None of the above	11	.85
Other Christian	175	13.6
Other Christian non-religious	26	2.0
Other Protestant	142	11
Other	17	1.3
Total	1281	100

Table B.3: Sample Characteristics: Gender

Gender	Count	Proportion (%)
Man	567	44.2
Woman	706	55.11
Other	8	0.632
Total	1281	100

Table B.4: Sample Characteristics: Party ID

Party ID	Count	Proportion (%)
Strong Democrat	262	20.4
Weak Democrat	229	17.9
Independent leaning Democrat	113	8.8
Independent	110	8.5
Independent leaning Republican	101	7.9
Weak Republican	230	17.9
Strong Republican	235	18.3
Total	1281	100

Table B.5: Sample Characteristics: Ideology

Ideology	Count	Proportion (%)
Very liberal	89	6.94
Liberal	219	17.09
Slightly liberal	174	13.5
Moderate	245	19.1
Slightly conservative	168	13.1
Conservative	266	20.7
Very conservative	119	9.2
Total	1281	100

Table B.6: Sample Characteristics: Importance of Religion

Importance of Religion	Count	Proportion (%)
Religion is not important in my life	97	7.57
Religion is not as important as other things in my life	281	21.9
Religion is one among many important things in my life	647	50.4
Religion is the most important thing in my life	256	19.9
Total	1281	100

Table B.7: Sample Characteristics: Age

Age	Count	Proportion (%)
18 - 24	98	7.6
25 - 34	316	24.6
35 - 44	320	24.9
45 - 54	214	16.7
55 - 64	202	15.7
65 - 74	114	8.8
75 - 84	17	1.32
Total	1281	100

Table B.8: Sample Characteristics: CN Measurement Bin

Group	Count	Proportion (%)
Rejecters	228	17.8
Skeptics	531	41.4
Sympathizers	353	27.5
Adherents	169	13.1
Total	1281	100

2.2 Experiment 1 Durability Check

Table B.1: Sample Characteristics: Race

Race	Count	Proportion (%)
Asian	60	6.3
Hispanic	77	8.08
Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander	2	0.21
White, non-Hispanic	688	72.2
American Indian or Alaskan Native	7	0.73
Black or African American, non-Hispanic	88	9.24
Multiple races, non-Hispanic	22	2.31
Other	8	.84
Total	952	100

Table B.2: Sample Characteristics: Religious Affiliation

Religious Affiliation	Count	Proportion (%)
Catholic	384	40.33
Evangelical Protestant	146	15.33
Jewish	1	0.10
Latter-Day Saint	0	0
Mainline Protestant	154	16.17
None of the above	9	.94
Other Christian	131	13.76
Other Christian non-religious	14	1.47
Other Protestant	100	10.5
Other	12	1.26
Total	952	100

Table B.3: Sample Characteristics: Gender

Gender	Count	Proportion (%)
Man	427	44.8
Woman	519	54.5
Other	6	0.63
Total	952	100

Table B.4: Sample Characteristics: Party ID

Party ID	Count	Proportion (%)
Strong Democrat	185	19.4
Weak Democrat	162	17.01
Independent leaning Democrat	86	9.03
Independent	81	8.5
Independent leaning Republican	76	7.98
Weak Republican	176	18.48
Strong Republican	186	19.53
Total	952	100

Table B.5: Sample Characteristics: Ideology

Ideology	Count	Proportion (%)
Very liberal	60	6.3
Liberal	164	17.22
Slightly liberal	128	13.44
Moderate	180	18.9
Slightly conservative	127	13.3
Conservative	201	21.1
Very conservative	92	9.66
Total	952	100

Table B.6: Sample Characteristics: Importance of Religion

Importance of Religion	Count	Proportion (%)
Religion is not important in my life	73	7.66
Religion is not as important as other things in my life	201	21.1
Religion is one among many important things in my life	479	50.3
Religion is the most important thing in my life	199	20.9
Total	952	100

Table B.7: Sample Characteristics: Age

Age	Count	Proportion (%)
18 - 24	68	7.14
25 - 34	222	23.31
35 - 44	234	24.57
45 - 54	167	17.54
55 - 64	157	16.49
65 - 74	89	9.34
75 - 84	15	1.57
Total	952	100

Table B.8: Sample Characteristics: CN Measurement Bin

Group	Count	Proportion (%)
Rejecters	163	17.12
Skeptics	393	41.28
Sympathizers	264	27.77
Adherents	132	13.86
Total	952	100

2.3 Experiment 2

Table B.9: Sample Characteristics: Race

Race	Count	Proportion (%)
Asian	74	2.9
Hispanic	157	6.17
Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander	3	0.11
White, non-Hispanic	1533	60.2
American Indian or Alaskan Native	22	0.86
Black or African American, non-Hispanic	662	26.0
Multiple races, non-Hispanic	49	1.92
Other	19	.74
NA	24	.94
Total	2544	100

Table B.10: Sample Characteristics: Religious Affiliation

Religious Affiliation	Count	Proportion (%)
Catholic	863	33.9
Evangelical Protestant	267	10.49
Jewish	3	0.11
Latter-Day Saint	27	1.06
Mainline Protestant	256	10.0
None of the above	48	1.88
Other Christian	688	27.0
Other Christian non-religious	139	5.46
Other Protestant	176	6.91
Other	53	2.08
NA	24	.94
Total	2544	100

Table B.11: Sample Characteristics: Gender

Gender	Count	Proportion (%)
Man	1110	43.6
Woman	1392	54.7
Other	42	1.65
Total	2544	100

Table B.12: Sample Characteristics: Party ID

Party ID	Count	Proportion (%)
Strong Democrat	418	16.4
Weak Democrat	318	12.5
Independent leaning Democrat	204	8.01
Independent	184	7.23
Independent leaning Republican	210	8.25
Weak Republican	448	17.6
Strong Republican	727	28.5
NA	35	1.37
Total	2544	100

Table B.13: Sample Characteristics: Ideology

Ideology	Count	Proportion (%)
Very liberal	160	6.28
Liberal	355	13.95
Slightly liberal	235	9.23
Moderate	513	20.16
Slightly conservative	267	10.49
Conservative	602	23.7
Very conservative	388	15.25
NA	24	0.94
Total	2544	100

Table B.14: Sample Characteristics: Importance of Religion

Importance of Religion	Count	Proportion (%)
Religion is not important in my life	152	5.97
Religion is not as important as other things in my life	442	17.37
Religion is one among many important things in my life	1313	51.6
Religion is the most important thing in my life	610	23.97
NA	27	1.06
Total	2544	100

Table B.15: Sample Characteristics: Age

Age	Count	Proportion (%)
18 - 24	333	13.08
25 - 34	677	26.6
35 - 44	556	21.85
45 - 54	163	17.53
55 - 64	317	12.46
65 - 74	144	5.66
75 - 84	21	0.82
NA	27	1.06
Total	2544	100

Table B.16: Sample Characteristics: CN Measurement Bin

Group	Count	Proportion (%)
Rejecters	293	11.5
Skeptics	895	35.1
Sympathizers	878	34.5
Adherents	450	17.68
NA	28	1.1
Total	2544	100

2.4 Experiment 2 Durability Check

Table B.17: Sample Characteristics: Race

Race	Count	Proportion (%)
Asian	54	2.75
Hispanic	128	6.53
Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander	2	0.10
White, non-Hispanic	1183	60.35
American Indian or Alaskan Native	20	1.02
Black or African American, non-Hispanic	520	26.53
Multiple races, non-Hispanic	39	1.98
Other	14	.7
Total	1960	100

Table B.18: Sample Characteristics: Religious Affiliation

Religious Affiliation	Count	Proportion (%)
Catholic	657	33.5
Evangelical Protestant	208	10.6
Jewish	2	0.10
Latter-Day Saint	26	1.32
Mainline Protestant	203	10.3
None of the above	35	1.78
Other Christian	535	27.2
Other Christian non-religious	104	5.3
Other Protestant	146	7.44
Other	44	2.24
Total	1960	100

Table B.19: Sample Characteristics: Gender

Gender	Count	Proportion (%)
Man	854	43.5
Woman	1092	55.7
Other	14	0.71
Total	1960	100

Table B.20: Sample Characteristics: Party ID

Party ID	Count	Proportion (%)
Strong Democrat	333	16.9
Weak Democrat	246	12.55
Independent leaning Democrat	156	7.95
Independent	152	7.75
Independent leaning Republican	166	8.46
Weak Republican	349	17.8
Strong Republican	558	28.4
Total	1960	100

Table B.21: Sample Characteristics: Ideology

Ideology	Count	Proportion (%)
Very liberal	129	6.58
Liberal	265	13.52
Slightly liberal	183	9.33
Moderate	416	21.22
Slightly conservative	207	10.7
Conservative	476	24.2
Very conservative	85	14.4
Total	1960	100

Table B.22: Sample Characteristics: Importance of Religion

Importance of Religion	Count	Proportion (%)
Religion is not important in my life	113	5.76
Religion is not as important as other things in my life	347	17.7
Religion is one among many important things in my life	1004	51.22
Religion is the most important thing in my life	496	25.3
Total	1960	100

Table B.23: Sample Characteristics: Age

Age	Count	Proportion (%)
18 - 24	246	12.55
25 - 34	480	24.4
35 - 44	440	22.44
45 - 54	383	19.54
55 - 64	265	13.5
65 - 74	123	6.27
75 - 84	17	0.86
Other	6	0.3
1960	100	heightTotal

Table B.24: Sample Characteristics: CN Measurement Bin

Group	Count	Proportion (%)
Rejecters	231	11.78
Skeptics	695	35.45
Sympathizers	688	35.1
Adherents	346	17.65
Total	1960	100

3 Appendix C: Full Hypotheses

In the text of the paper, hypotheses are condensed and clarified for readability and clarity in the text. However, in the preregistration, I included more distinct hypotheses to pre-plan exactly the relationships I was interested in. These hypotheses are exactly what are being tested in the main text, but are presented in a shorter version.

- H1a: Positive elite cues on Christian Nationalism will cause an increase in identification with Christian Nationalism relative to negative elite cues.
- H1b: Positive elite cues on Christian Nationalism will cause an increase in identification with Christian Nationalism relative to the absence of elite cues.
- H2a: Negative elite cues on Christian Nationalism will cause a decrease in identification with Christian Nationalism relative to positive elite cues.
- H2b: Negative elite cues on Christian Nationalism will cause a decrease in identification with Christian Nationalism relative to the absence of elite cues.

Exploratory Hypothesis:

- H3a: Positive elite cues on Christian Nationalism increases identification with Christian Nationalism more strongly when respondents hold positive pre-existing Christian Nationalist beliefs.
- H3b: Negative elite cues on Christian Nationalism increases identification with Christian Nationalism more strongly when respondents hold positive pre-existing Christian Nationalism beliefs.

4 Appendix D: Results from Full Sample

Early in the data collection process, an error was observed where some respondents were showed two treatments. This error was fixed about an hour into data collection, but around 600 respondents had already completed the survey. I individually went through all responses before the data fix and pulled the Connect IDs of all respondents who were shown more than one treatment (321 total respondents). These respondents were removed from the dataset before analyses were conducted. 1537 respondents were originally surveyed. An early coding issue created an issue with randomization, where 211 respondents saw two treatments. The remaining 1284 were randomized with no issue, resulting in an n of 1284. In order to understand the potential effects of this removal on the data, I ran all the analyses on the full sample. The significance of the major results were not changed. The results from this analysis are included here.

4.1 Main Identification Variable

	Full Model	Adherents	Sympathizers	Skeptics	Rejecters
TreatmentN	-0.15* (0.07)	-0.09 (0.23)	-0.36* (0.15)	-0.09 (0.09)	0.11 (0.09)
TreatmentP	0.09 (0.07)	0.11 (0.24)	0.03 (0.15)	0.18 (0.10)	-0.01 (0.04)
RACE	-0.04 (0.07)	0.16 (0.29)	-0.11 (0.16)	-0.05 (0.10)	0.02 (0.05)
PID	0.04** (0.02)	0.06 (0.06)	0.00 (0.03)	0.05* (0.02)	0.07 (0.04)
REL_IMPORTANCE	0.08* (0.04)	0.19 (0.18)	0.08 (0.09)	0.09 (0.05)	0.01 (0.04)
CN_ISSUE_3	0.11*** (0.03)	0.01 (0.07)	0.11 (0.06)	0.19*** (0.05)	-0.01 (0.11)
R ²	0.35	0.02	0.03	0.08	0.08
Adj. R ²	0.34	-0.01	0.02	0.08	0.06
Num. obs.	1372	193	389	592	198
RMSE	1.03	1.37	1.21	0.89	0.44

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$

Table D.1: Models- Results from Full Sample

4.2 Public Identification

	Full Model	Adherents	Sympathizers	Skeptics	Rejecters
TreatmentN	−0.12 (0.07)	−0.47 (0.25)	−0.25 (0.17)	0.04 (0.10)	0.02 (0.09)
TreatmentP	−0.01 (0.07)	−0.28 (0.25)	0.13 (0.18)	−0.01 (0.10)	−0.13* (0.06)
RACE	−0.10 (0.07)	−0.45 (0.28)	−0.20 (0.18)	0.02 (0.09)	0.01 (0.06)
PID	0.04* (0.02)	−0.02 (0.06)	0.03 (0.04)	0.03 (0.02)	0.09* (0.04)
REL_IMPORTANCE	0.13*** (0.04)	0.29 (0.17)	0.22* (0.10)	0.08 (0.05)	0.08 (0.04)
CN_ISSUE_3	0.04 (0.04)	0.08 (0.08)	−0.01 (0.07)	0.08 (0.04)	−0.03 (0.11)
R ²	0.31	0.08	0.05	0.03	0.17
Adj. R ²	0.31	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.13
Num. obs.	876	126	240	366	144
RMSE	0.88	1.18	1.06	0.75	0.40

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$

Table D.2: Models- Results from full sample, Public Identification

5 Appendix E: Removal of Control for White Nationalism

5.1 Discussion

Originally, inclusion of a control for support for white nationalism was included in the preregistration. While not a central element of this project, the connection between Christian Nationalism and white nationalism is clear and has been previously studied. However, when beginning the data cleaning and analysis process, I determined that due to the method of collection for the measure of support for white nationalism (a list experiment, for the reason of the high possibility of social desirability bias) was not methodologically sound to use as a control variable for the entire sample. Because of the list experiment, only half of the respondents were given the option of identifying with white nationalism. Using the proportion as a control was decided against for the final model. The decision to remove the control was made prior to observing any outcomes, and outcome significance was not part of the decision to remove the control.

6 Appendix F: Results from Durability Check

6.1 Main Identification Variable

	Full Model	Adherents	Sympathizers	Skeptics	Rejecters
TreatmentN	−0.20* (0.08)	−0.44 (0.30)	−0.41* (0.20)	−0.06 (0.12)	0.01 (0.06)
TreatmentP	0.04 (0.09)	−0.34 (0.31)	0.04 (0.20)	0.18 (0.12)	−0.05 (0.04)
RACE	−0.03 (0.09)	−0.03 (0.35)	−0.19 (0.22)	0.05 (0.11)	−0.00 (0.04)
PID	0.05* (0.02)	0.02 (0.07)	0.04 (0.04)	0.05* (0.03)	0.05 (0.04)
REL_IMPORTANCE	0.10* (0.04)	0.41 (0.21)	0.12 (0.12)	0.09 (0.06)	0.02 (0.03)
CN_ISSUE_3	0.05 (0.04)	0.07 (0.10)	−0.01 (0.08)	0.11* (0.05)	0.07 (0.11)
LHP- P v N-	0.00***	0.75	0.01**	0.02**	0.25
R ²	0.34	0.05	0.04	0.05	0.12
Adj. R ²	0.33	0.00	0.01	0.04	0.08
Num. obs.	876	126	240	366	144
RMSE	1.01	1.40	1.22	0.88	0.30

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$

Table G.1: Statistical models: Durability Check

6.2 Public Identification

	Full Model	Adherents	Sympathizers	Skeptics	Rejecters
TreatmentN	−0.12 (0.07)	−0.47 (0.25)	−0.25 (0.17)	0.04 (0.10)	0.02 (0.09)
TreatmentP	−0.01 (0.07)	−0.28 (0.25)	0.13 (0.18)	−0.01 (0.10)	−0.13* (0.06)
RACE	−0.10 (0.07)	−0.45 (0.28)	−0.20 (0.18)	0.02 (0.09)	0.01 (0.06)
PID	0.04* (0.02)	−0.02 (0.06)	0.03 (0.04)	0.03 (0.02)	0.09* (0.04)
REL_IMPORTANCE	0.13*** (0.04)	0.29 (0.17)	0.22* (0.10)	0.08 (0.05)	0.08 (0.04)
CN_ISSUE_3	0.04 (0.04)	0.08 (0.08)	−0.01 (0.07)	0.08 (0.04)	−0.03 (0.11)
LHP- P v N- Public	0.15	0.47	0.02**	0.62	0.03**
R ²	0.31	0.08	0.05	0.03	0.17
Adj. R ²	0.31	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.13
Num. obs.	876	126	240	366	144
RMSE	0.88	1.18	1.06	0.75	0.40

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$

Table G.2: Statistical models: Durability check: Public

7 Appendix G: Embedded Natural Experiment

In order to ensure information equivalence, the treatment includes an embedded natural experiment, intended to redirect respondents who assume other traits "travel" across experimental conditions (?). Embedded natural experiments, while a relatively new and novel addition to survey methodology, can be effective tool to control the manipulation of characteristics within an experimental vignette. Based on the realistic Bayesian model, the survey manipulation will "influence respondents' beliefs about background attributes unless they perceive the content of the manipulation to be statistically independent of—and thus to convey no information about—those attributes" (? , p. 405).

You will now read information about an upcoming Senate election. Please read and reflect on this statement and the information about the candidate. This election has been closely contested, with both candidates seeing similar levels of support.

While the closeness of the election is not expected to affect respondents' responses, this divide will act as an embedded natural experiment (?). The language in the vignette that indicates Senator Williams' narrow victory over a secular candidate will ensure that respondents view the context of the Christian Nationalism statement as a coin flip, ensuring that respondents perceive the attribute of interest (in this case, the statement about Christian Nationalism) to be independent of (and thus to convey no information about) background conditions. Embedding this experiment into the survey design will mitigate information equivalence for background beliefs, getting rid of the need for large amounts of covariate control. This will help adjust for unmeasured latent treatments (?).

8 Appendix H: Full Treatment Text for Experiment 2

The four treatments include two positive and two negative, with one of each focusing on rhetoric that emphasizes “religious liberty” and one of each focusing on “love of country”. In order to maintain external validity and make sure that conclusions are in line with earlier results, the new treatments are versions of the old treatments, but edited and flipped to take a different positive or negative position than the original statement.

The positive “loving your country” treatment includes a statement with a favorable view of Christian Nationalism. This statement is based on Marjorie Taylor Greene’s statements at a Turning Point USA conference in 2022. (MSNBC) By using statements from an actual member of the political elite without identifying the source, we can measure the effects of this statement without having to control for respondents’ prior opinions about Marjorie Taylor Greene.

The negative “loving your country” statement is based on the same MTG statement, with relevant information changed. The negative “religious liberty” treatment includes a statement with an unfavorable view of Christian Nationalism. This statement is based on statements from Amanda Tyler (executive director of BJC (Baptist Joint Committee for Religious Liberty) and head of their Christians against Christian Nationalism effort) in an October 2023 House subcommittee meeting. Similarly, to the positive treatment, using a statement from an actual voice in the conversation without inviting previous biases on the source allows us to better understand actual elite cues.

The positive “religious liberty” statement is based on the same Amanda Tyler statement, with relevant information changed. Finally, the control group receives a neutral statement about the election.

Condition	Description
LCP	Tom Williams recently won the primary for a US Senate election, narrowly beating another candidate from his party. Williams' announcement and policy platform includes a focus on the role of his Christian faith in his political career, in contrast to his primary opponent's more secular platform. In a press conference this week, Williams said, "We need to be the party of nationalism and I'm a Christian, and I say it proudly, we should be Christian nationalists. Christian Nationalism simply means being a Christian and loving your country. I think that's an identity that we need to embrace, because those are the policies that serve every single American, no matter how they vote." Williams will continue into the general election for the open Senate seat.
LCN	Tom Williams recently won the primary for a US Senate election, narrowly beating another candidate from his party. Williams' announcement and policy platform includes a focus on the role of his Christian faith in his political career, in contrast to his primary opponent's more secular platform. In a press conference this week, Williams said, "We need to be the party of all Americans and I'm a Christian, and I say it firmly, we should NOT be Christian nationalists. Being a Christian and loving your country means you need to reject Christian Nationalism. I think that's an identity that we need to reject, because those are the policies that hurt every single American, no matter how they vote." Williams will continue into the general election for the open Senate seat.
RLN	Tom Williams recently won the primary for a US Senate election, narrowly beating another candidate from his party. Williams' announcement and policy platform includes a focus on the role of his Christian faith in his political career, in contrast to his primary opponent's more secular platform. In a press conference this week, Williams said that "The single greatest threat to religious liberty in the United States today – and thus our reputation as leaders in the fight for religious liberty to the rest of the world – is Christian nationalism. Christian nationalism is a political ideology and cultural framework that seeks to fuse American and Christian identities. To oppose Christian nationalism is not to oppose Christianity. In fact, a growing number of Christians – and I am one of them – feel a religious imperative to stand against Christian nationalism." Williams will continue into the general election for the open Senate seat.
RLP	Tom Williams recently won the primary for a US Senate election, narrowly beating another candidate from his party. Williams' announcement and policy platform includes a focus on the role of his Christian faith in his political career, in contrast to his primary opponent's more secular platform. In a press conference this week, Williams said that "The single greatest addition to religious liberty in the United States today – and thus our reputation as leaders in the fight for religious liberty to the rest of the world – is Christian nationalism. Christian nationalism is a political ideology and cultural framework that seeks to fuse American and Christian identities. To support Christian nationalism is to support Christianity. In fact, a growing number of Christians – and I am one of them – feel a religious imperative to stand with Christian nationalism." Williams will continue into the general election for the open Senate seat.
Control	Tom Williams recently won the primary for a US Senate election, narrowly beating another candidate from his party. Williams' announcement and policy platform includes a focus on the role of his Christian faith in his political career, in contrast to his primary opponent's more secular platform. In a press conference this week, Williams promised to use his second term, if elected, to further the goals of his constituents. Williams has been public about his Christian faith and how it influences his politics and personal life. As part of his campaign, Williams will participate on a panel discussion regarding faith and politics, including a discussion of Christian Nationalism. Williams will continue into the general election for the open Senate seat.

Table 39: Treatment Language: Experiment 2

9 Appendix I: Original Results for Experiment 1 as Pre-registered

During the review process, reviewers requested some changes to the modeling approach that did not match the original preregistration. Results as preregistered (including fixed effects for block randomization) are included here.

Table 40: Statistical models

	Full Sample	Adherents	Sympathizers	Skeptics	Rejecters
Negative Treatment	−0.21** (0.07)	−0.21 (0.27)	−0.53** (0.16)	−0.10 (0.09)	0.11 (0.09)
Positive Treatment	0.11 (0.07)	0.19 (0.26)	0.02 (0.17)	0.21 (0.11)	−0.01 (0.04)
Race	−0.07 (0.08)	0.23 (0.31)	−0.24 (0.18)	−0.09 (0.10)	0.02 (0.05)
Party ID	0.06** (0.02)	0.12 (0.07)	0.03 (0.04)	0.05* (0.02)	0.07 (0.04)
Importance of Religion	0.09* (0.04)	0.34 (0.18)	0.08 (0.10)	0.08 (0.05)	0.01 (0.04)
Separation of Church and State	0.11** (0.04)	0.06 (0.08)	0.08 (0.07)	0.17*** (0.05)	−0.01 (0.11)
LHP- Positive vs Negative (p-values)	0.00***	2.44	0.00***	0.00***	0.15
R ²	0.37	0.08	0.06	0.09	0.08
Adj. R ²	0.36	0.04	0.04	0.07	0.06
Num. obs.	1170	161	322	489	198

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$

This table presents OLS results for the experimental arms, displaying coefficients and standard errors. Column 1 represents the results for the full model with all respondents, while columns 2-5 represent the results for each orientation based on block randomization. This table looks at the conditional average treatment effects (CATEs) for each orientation that block randomization based on. Additionally, this table displays the results of a linear hypothesis test for each regression, displaying the p-values and significance of the difference between the positive and negative treatments.

Table 41: Statistical models: Public Identification

	Full Sample	Adherents	Sympathizers	Skeptics	Rejecters
Negative Treatment	-0.20*** (0.06)	-0.17 (0.23)	-0.49*** (0.14)	-0.11 (0.08)	0.05 (0.08)
Positive Treatment	-0.02 (0.06)	0.08 (0.23)	-0.06 (0.15)	0.03 (0.09)	-0.10 (0.05)
Race	-0.03 (0.06)	-0.04 (0.25)	-0.07 (0.15)	-0.05 (0.08)	0.12* (0.05)
Party ID	0.04** (0.01)	0.06 (0.06)	0.02 (0.03)	0.04* (0.02)	0.07* (0.03)
Importance of Religion	0.07* (0.03)	0.03 (0.15)	0.09 (0.09)	0.06 (0.04)	0.08* (0.04)
Separation of Church and State	0.06* (0.03)	0.03 (0.07)	0.04 (0.06)	0.10** (0.04)	-0.06 (0.08)
LHP- Positive vs Negative (p-values)	0.00***	0.25	0.00***	0.078	0.02**
R ²	0.32	0.02	0.05	0.05	0.12
Adj. R ²	0.32	-0.02	0.04	0.04	0.09
Num. obs.	1170	161	322	489	198

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$

This table presents OLS results for the experimental arms, displaying coefficients and standard errors. Column 1 represents the results for the full model with all respondents, while columns 2-5 represent the results for each orientation based on block randomization. Additionally, this table displays the results of a linear hypothesis test for each regression, displaying the p-values and significance of the difference between the positive and negative treatments.

	Full Sample	Adherents	Sympathizers	Skeptics	Rejecters
Negative Treatment	-0.20* (0.08)	-0.44 (0.30)	-0.41* (0.20)	-0.06 (0.12)	0.01 (0.06)
Positive Treatment	0.04 (0.09)	-0.34 (0.31)	0.04 (0.20)	0.18 (0.12)	-0.05 (0.04)
Negative Treatment: Public	-0.12 (0.07)	-0.47 (0.25)	-0.25 (0.17)	0.04 (0.10)	0.02 (0.09)
Positive Treatment: Public	-0.01 (0.07)	-0.28 (0.25)	0.13 (0.18)	-0.01 (0.10)	-0.13* (0.06)
LHP- P v N-	0.00***	0.75	0.01**	0.02**	0.25
LHP- P v N- Public	0.15	0.47	0.02**	0.62	0.03**

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$

Table 42: Statistical models: Durability check

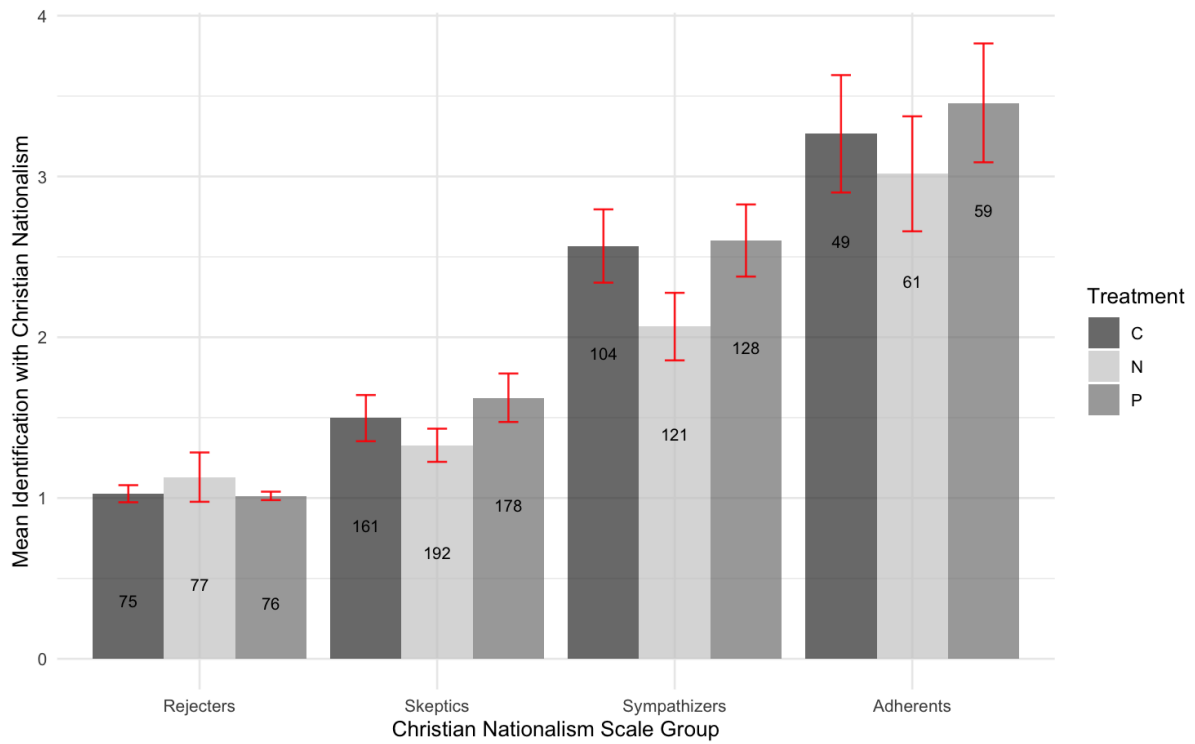


Figure 1: Treatment in Context.

Mean of identification with Christian Nationalism among each treatment group and measurement group. Error bars represent the confidence interval around the mean. C= Control, N= Negative Cue, P= Positive Cue. As described in H3, "positive" pre-existing beliefs include Sympathizers and Adherents, while "negative" pre-existing beliefs include Skeptics and Rejecters.

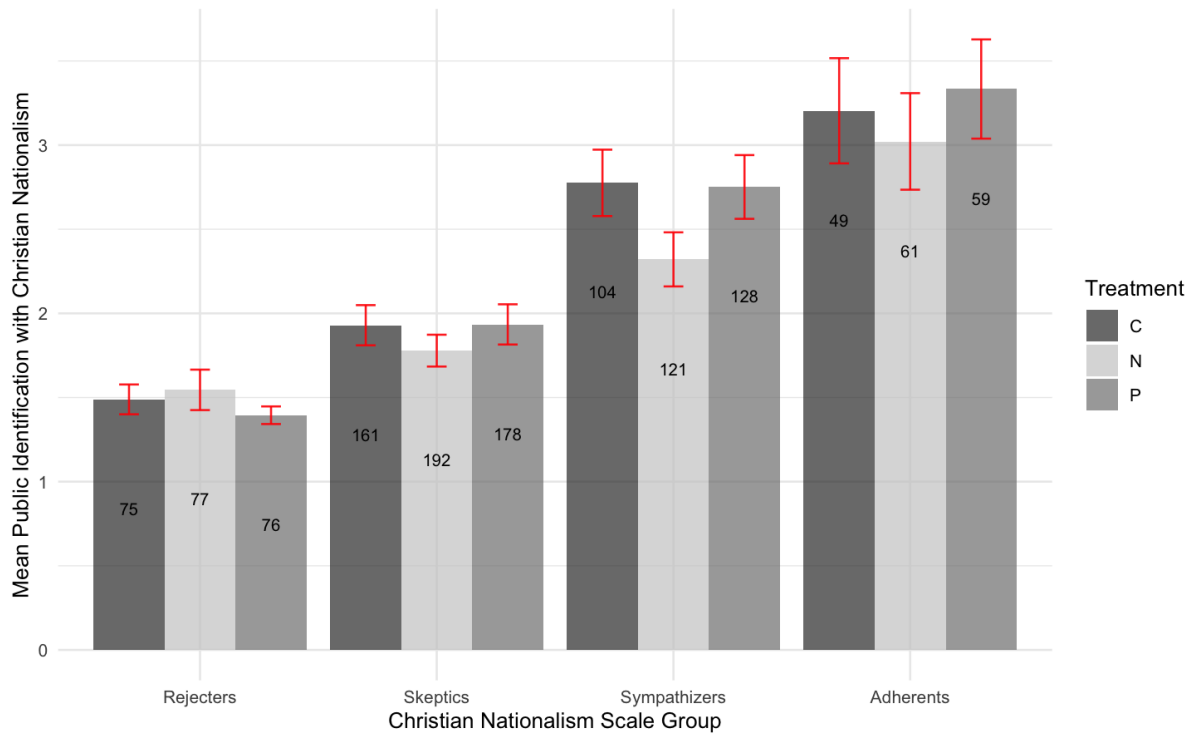


Figure 2: Treatment in Context.

Mean of public identification with Christian Nationalism among each treatment group and measurement group. Error bars represent the confidence interval around the mean. C= Control, N= Negative Cue, P= Positive Cue. As described in H3, "positive" pre-existing beliefs include Sympathizers and Adherents, while "negative" pre-existing beliefs include Skeptics and Rejecters.

10 Appendix J: Factor Analyses and Results from Partial Public Identification Scale

During the review process, a reviewer brought up possible issues with the public ID scale: namely that the event attendance variable may be measuring curiosity, not identification.

Cronbach's alpha allows for the testing of the internal consistency of a scale or index. Traditionally, a value > 0.7 is considered acceptable, > 0.8 is good, and > 0.9 is excellent. For the index of public identification used within all models, the Cronbach's alpha score was above 0.7 when using the full scale, shown within the full results below. This suggests that the items used to construct the variable are measuring a cohesive underlying construct.

Metric	Value
Experiment 1- Full Scale	
Raw Alpha	0.72
Standardized Alpha	0.76
G6 (SMC)	0.69
Experiment 1- Scale Without Event Variable	
Raw Alpha	0.57
Standardized Alpha	0.66
G6 (SMC)	0.49
Experiment 2- Full Scale	
Raw Alpha	0.77
Standardized Alpha	0.81
G6 (SMC)	0.75
Experiment 2- Scale Without Event Variable	
Raw Alpha	0.64
Standardized Alpha	0.7
G6 (SMC)	0.54

Table 43: Cronbach's Alpha for Used and Edited Scales

Additionally, I am reporting the details from the main model in the paper with the edited public identification scale. While the results are less significant, the substantive conclusions are the same- the negative treatments are consistently significant, the positive treatments are not, and respondents with greater pre-treatment disposition toward Christian Nationalism are more likely to identify with CN in these models. While further work verifying and psychometrically validating the public identification scale for the measurement of CN identity are certainly needed, these results show that the reviewer's concerns with this one measurement item, while valid, do not invalidate the scale or the results from the paper regarding public identification with CN.

	Experiment 1	Experiment 2
Negative treatment	-0.16** (0.06)	
Positive treatment	0.04 (0.06)	
LC- Negative treatment		-0.27*** (0.07)
LC- Positive treatment		0.11 (0.07)
RL- Negative treatment		-0.18** (0.07)
RL- Positive treatment		-0.02 (0.07)
CN Score	1.70*** (0.09)	2.24*** (0.07)
R ²	0.25	0.27
Adj. R ²	0.25	0.27
Num. obs.	1281	2505

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$

Table 44: Statistical models from shortened public ID scale

11 Appendix K: Distribution of CN.Score across Treatment in Experiment 2

In Experiment 2, I removed the block randomization on respondent's CN score/bin based on reviewer request. In Experiment 2, treatment was still distributed relatively equally across CN scores. I display this with both histograms and QQ plots.

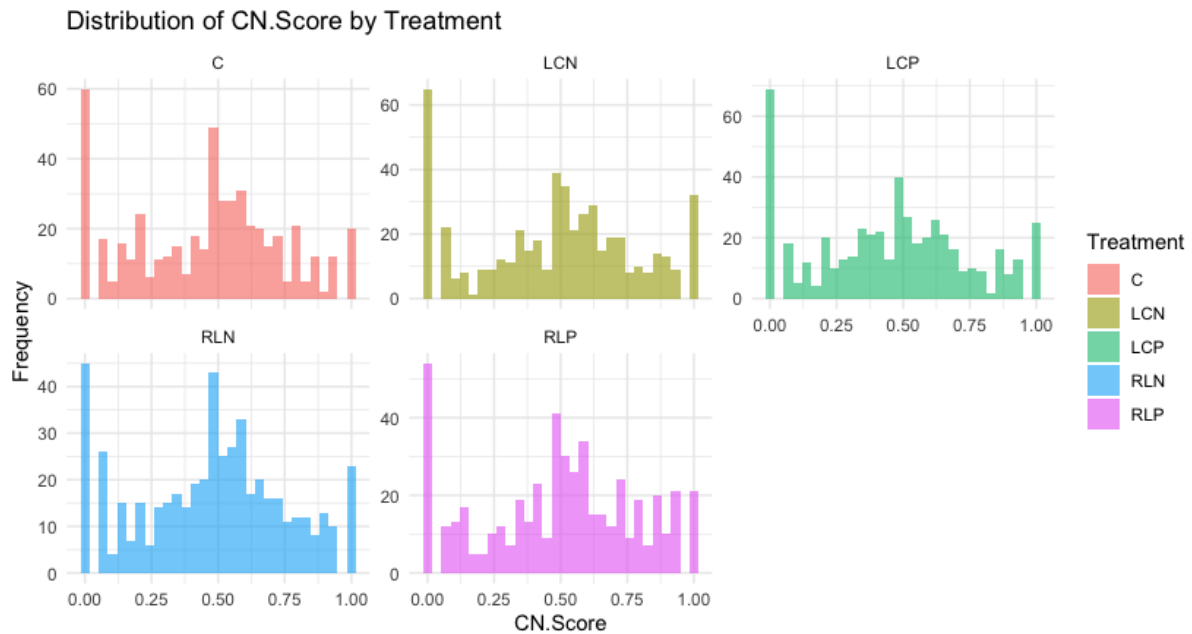


Figure 3: Experiment 2

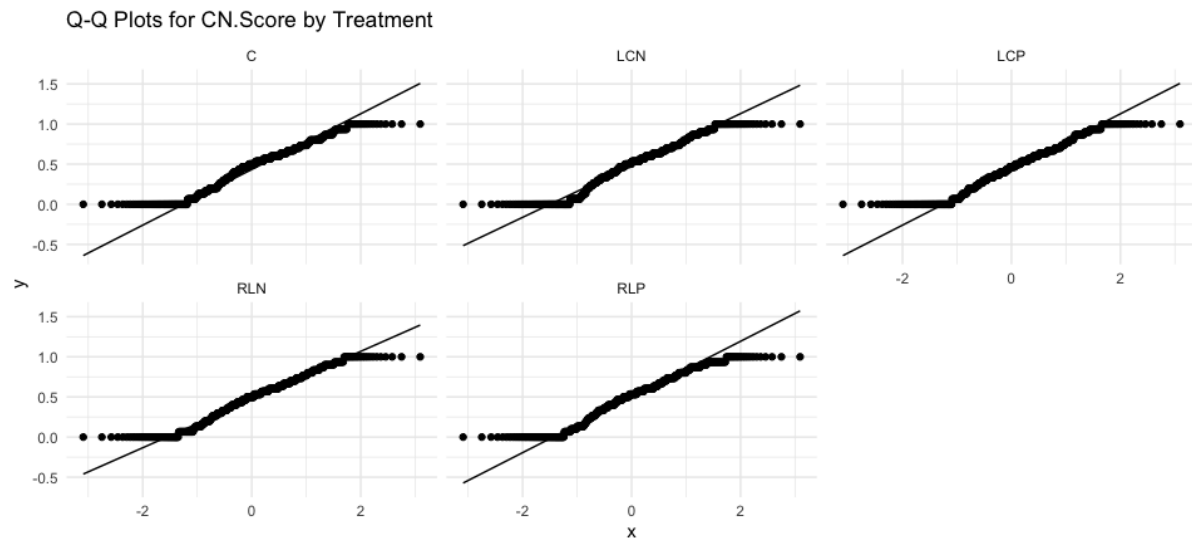


Figure 4: Experiment 2

12 Appendix L: Normalization Procedure for Figure 2

This section describes the normalization procedure for the data in Figure 2. Initially, any missing values within the main identification variable were imputed using the mean value of the available data, calculated without the missing entries. The values were normalized to a 0-1 scale by subtracting the minimum value from each data point and then dividing the result by the range (the difference between the maximum and minimum values). This transformation ensures that the normalized values are proportional and lie within a common scale, showing comparison across different treatments. Following normalization, the means and confidence intervals for each variable were computed for each treatment group. This involved calculating the mean normalized value, and the confidence intervals were derived using the t-distribution, reflecting the variability and sample size of each group. The resulting normalized means and their respective confidence intervals were then visually represented using a dot and whisker plot, enhancing the clarity and interpretability of the differences among the treatment groups. Numbers in the chart represent the normalized mean (value of the dot) for each treatment group.

13 Appendix M: Interaction Effects for testing H3

In order to test H3, I ran my models with interaction effects rather than controls for respondent's pre-treatment CN scores. While these hypotheses were preregistered as exploratory and I am not powered to fully test them, this interaction gives some insight into the relationship.

These models offer mixed but suggestive evidence that elite cues have differential effects depending on pre-existing beliefs. In line with H3b, negative cues — particularly the negative treatments — produce significantly stronger effects among those with higher Christian Nationalism scores, with identification decreasing. This pattern may reflect identity-protective responses: respondents with strong Christian Nationalist beliefs react defensively when elites denounce the label, reducing their reported identification in ways consistent with backlash or resistance to elite framing. Evidence for H3a is weaker. While positive cues show modestly stronger identification among those with high CN scores, these interaction terms are not statistically significant, and the effects are substantively small. Overall, these findings suggest that prior beliefs shape how respondents process elite rhetoric, but the direction and strength of these interactions differ by cue type. Negative messages appear more consistently effective at shaping identification — even among those predisposed to agree — while positive cues have limited persuasive power across levels of belief.

	E1	E1- Public	E2	E2- Public
(Intercept)	0.92*** (0.06)	1.46*** (0.05)	1.05*** (0.09)	1.58*** (0.07)
Negative Treatment	-0.05 (0.08)	-0.06 (0.07)		
Positive Treatment	0.03 (0.08)	-0.08 (0.07)		
CN Score	2.58*** (0.16)	2.00*** (0.14)	4.26*** (0.19)	2.83*** (0.12)
Negative Treatment x CN Score	-0.43 (0.23)	-0.35 (0.20)		
Positive Treatment x CN Score	0.24 (0.23)	0.27 (0.20)		
LC- Negative Treatment			-0.15 (0.13)	0.04 (0.09)
LC- Positive Treatment			0.07 (0.13)	0.16 (0.10)
RL- Negative Treatment			-0.08 (0.13)	0.05 (0.10)
RL- Positive Treatment			0.01 (0.15)	0.08 (0.10)
LC-Negative x CN Score			-0.85** (0.28)	-0.83*** (0.18)
LC-Positive x CN Score			0.18 (0.28)	-0.19 (0.18)
RL- Negative x CN Score			-0.67* (0.29)	-0.56** (0.19)
RL- Positive x CN Score			-0.16 (0.28)	-0.28 (0.18)
R ²	0.39	0.36	0.38	0.35
Adj. R ²	0.38	0.36	0.38	0.35
Num. obs.	1281	1281	2516	2505
RMSE	0.97	0.81	1.51	1.00

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$

Table 45: Interaction models

14 Appendix N: Tests of Active vs Public Identification

To evaluate whether elite cues had different effects on active versus public identification with Christian Nationalism, I estimated a combined model including interaction terms between treatment condition and identification type. Across both experiments, none of the interaction terms were statistically significant, indicating that the effects of elite cues on identification did not meaningfully differ by whether identification was measured as public or active. In other words, negative and positive treatments had similar directional and substantive effects on both forms of identification. These results suggest that while public and active identification may differ in level in some contexts, elite rhetoric appears to influence both forms of identity in comparable ways. There were modest differences in baseline identification by type, but no evidence that elite cues had differential effects depending on whether the outcome was public or active identification.

	Experiment 1	Experiment 2
Negative Treatment	-0.22*** (0.07)	
Positive Treatment	0.12 (0.07)	
Public ID (vs Active)	0.32*** (0.06)	-0.13 (0.08)
CN Score	2.25*** (0.06)	3.20*** (0.06)
Negative Treatment x Public ID	0.02 (0.09)	
Positive Treatment x Public ID	-0.10 (0.09)	
LC- Negative Treatment		-0.54*** (0.09)
LC- Positive Treatment		0.14 (0.10)
RL- Negative Treatment		-0.38*** (0.10)
RL- Positive Treatment		-0.03 (0.10)
LC-N x Public ID		0.17 (0.11)
LC-P x Public ID		-0.05 (0.11)
RL-N x Public ID		0.16 (0.12)
RL-P x Public ID		-0.04 (0.12)
R ²	0.38	0.35
Adj. R ²	0.37	0.35
Num. obs.	2562	5032
RMSE	0.90	1.30

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$

Table 46: Comparison of Active and Public ID