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Measuring Religious Demographic Group Threat Among Americans and Its Impacts on Their Political Beliefs

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Measuring Religious Demographic Group Threat Among Americans and Its Impacts on
Their Political Beliefs

by
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A thesis submitted to the faculty of The University of Mississippi in partial fulfillment of
the requirements of the Sally McDonnell Barksdale Honors College.

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Abstract

Identity is one of the key drivers of American political behavior. Among these identities, be it partisan, ethnic, class, etc., religious identity has been more or less assumed to be one of the more powerful identities. I set out to measure how the threat of Christianity's decline in the United States impacts the salience of religious identity and feelings towards religion-adjacent policies. Building off of an experimental design from Major et al (2016), I hypothesized that when exposed to data showing the decline of religiosity in the United States, subjects would demonstrate both a stronger religious identity and more conservative positions on religion-adjacent policy. Utilizing survey data from the University of Mississippi undergraduate population, I found that exposure to the information that religiosity in America is declining created no statistically significant alteration in personal feelings towards the importance of religion in their life or on their opinions on American domestic policy that relates to religion. This is in comparison to the original experiment, which measured ethnic demographic threat. Their results showed that threat exposure increased ethnic salience and conservative political policy preferences. My experiment showed no statistically significant difference between the religious identification or policy preferences of those exposed to religious demographic threat.

That said, I found multiple pieces of data which open paths to future research that will allow us to better understand the importance of religion as an identity in American political life. Primarily, I find that gender, being from a rural place, and identifying as a Southerner all have impacts on how you respond to religious threat. I find that although

there is usually a correlation between religious identification and conservative policy

beliefs, there are some exceptions that can be pursued in future experiments to further

flesh out the unexpected results from my experiment.

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Introduction

Identity is one of the central drivers of political behavior in American politics. When I first began brainstorming ideas for this thesis, I was at a loss. I had a plethora of topics that I wanted to write about, but none with a succinct, central idea that I could truly flesh out within this project. What I now know however is that all of these ideas ended up coalescing around what became my final project: examining how religious identity impacts American political attitudes. Growing up in Western Pennsylvania in a dying steel town has left a lasting impact on how I view politics. Being in the hotbed of Donald Trump's political support, I knew that I always wanted my research to help uncover the reasons as to why people behave the way they do in politics. While studying in Brussels, I first condensed my ideas on this subject in a paper comparing right-wing populist movements in America, Germany, France, and the United Kingdom, and was planning on expanding on this assignment and turning it into my thesis. (Citrin & Sides [2008], Halla et al [2017], Inglehart & Norris [2016]) This review of the literature led me to the ethnography by Arlie Russell Hochschild, *Strangers in Their Own Land.* After finishing this book, I realized the importance of psychology in American political behavior and how it can sometimes override what seems to be the irrational political decision. This led to my dive into the literature of political psychology, and I discovered a paper published in 2016 by Brenda Major and two co-authors titled "The threat of increasing diversity: Why many White Americans support Trump in the 2016 presidential election."

In this study, I discovered the reactions of test subjects to perceived group threat. Upon reading this research, I immediately wanted to expand upon Major's research design. Using her blueprint, I repurposed Major's study into a survey that measured the

religiosity of students at the University of Mississippi and how they responded to the decreasing share of Christians in America. It was my belief that religion, alongside race, was one of the strong identities of most Americans, given our country's significant religiousness and deep interconnectedness between religious movements and political movements within the United States.

Group Threat

Identity threat and its activation have played key roles in the history of American politics. Going back decades, from the Red Scare during the Cold War to the welfare queens of the 1980s, American politicians have utilized rhetoric to instill fear in American voters. The research shows that this is incredibly effective. The context of group threat in American politics has become even more salient with the election of Donald Trump in 2016, a candidate who thrives upon activating the group threat status of white Americans. One of the most influential scholars in understanding how Trump works is Michael Tesler, whose multiple pieces (Tesler [2012a], Tesler [2012b]), Tesler [2015]) published within the past few years have elaborated on the ways that politicians utilize demographic threat to activate their own voters. In his piece with Sides et al (2018), ""Hunting Where the Ducks Are: Activating Support for Donald Trump in the 2016 Republican Primary.", the authors break down for us that Donald Trump knew exactly where the most fertile base was for his 2016 presidential primary run, and in their own words, "hunted where the duck were". By utilizing this strategy, we see the most salient real life example of an American politician using the inflammatory rhetoric of demographic threat towards white people.

Even without the work done explicitly on the topic of Donald Trump's voters and election (Barber & Pope [2018], Luttig et al [2017], Reny et al [2019], Schaffner et al [2018], there is a robust body of literature that details the responses of white Americans to the threat of a rising non-white demographic. At the basest level, research has been developed that has examined how group identities interact with each other (Destin et al, [2017], Diangelo, [2011], Klar, [2013], Mason & Wronski, [2018]). This research has been incredibly helpful in order to understand the manners in which some identities impact each other, with certain ones, such as ethnicity, being power predictors that can have an influence over the others, such as age or religion. By understanding this body of work, we can begin to understand in depth how to analyze different identities' levels of salience within America.

My work directly draws inspiration from the work of Brenda Major and her colleagues Alison Blodorn and Gregory Major Blascovich. In their 2016 piece "The threat of increasing diversity: Why many White Americans support Trump in the 2016 presidential election" they conduct the experiment that my thesis is based upon. Their experiment conducts a survey where they begin by having the participant read either a piece about geographic mobility in the United States (the control) or a piece about shrinking percentage of whites in America, who will no longer be a majority by 2042 (the treatment). After this, they proceed to ask questions in regards to group status threat, preference for presidential candidates, immigration policies, opposition to political correctness, and political affiliation. They then were asked a series of demographic questions.

The results of Major and her colleagues paper shows an observed effect among the treatment groups. This group showed a stronger distaste towards political correctness, an increase in harsher immigration policies, and stronger support for Donald Trump. Now that we are four years from the publishing of this paper, we see how this has come to fruition as Donald Trump continues to utilize ethnic threat to help bolster himself in times of political crisis. Most specifically, currently calling the current COVID-19 virus the 'China Virus' in order to try and activate an ethnic demographic threat among American voters.

Just as I could not have created this experiment without building off of the work of Major et al, their paper was also built upon the research of Maureen Craig and Jennifer Richeson in their 2014 piece "On the Precipice of a "Majority- Minority" America: Perceived Status Threat From the Racial Demographic Shift Affects White Americans' Political Ideology" In this paper, they conduct 4 different experiments that expose Americans to the salience of ethnic diversification in the United States, and in all four they discover that exposure to a shrinking majority of white Americans creates a more conservative voter. Not only do they conduct one experiment and find results, but in all four experiments they find significant changes in policy preferences among Americans after exposure to their treatment. These two works build off another rich body of research (Craig & Richeson, [2017, 2018], Norton & Summers, [2011], Wellman et al, [2015], Wilkins & Kaiser, [2013], Wilkins et al, [2015]) that examines ethnic group threat in the United States, and has allowed us to more wholly understand the results of empirical experiments such as these and my own.

Religious Identity in America

In the United States, religion, and Christianity in particular, has been so intertwined with our government and culture that it is historically difficult to parse from non-religious cultural touchstones. This effect, exacerbated by the American lurch towards state condoned religiosity as a reaction to the atheism of the Soviet Union, leads us to a place where religion is ubiquitous in American politics for the vast majority of our history. This experiment will hopefully allow us to better understand how Americans interpret the importance of Christianity in their lives *today.* In order to understand how we arrived where we stand today, I utilized the research from historian Kevin Kruse in his 2015 book *One Nation Under God: How Corporate America Invented Christian America.* Through his historical research he lays out the path of the religious right in American politics, illuminating the interwoven motivations between large business interests and the revitalized Christian movement in the United States. In my research design, I specifically divided Catholics and Protestants from each other, and then asked the follow up question to Protestants inquiring as to whether or not they considered themselves an Evangelical Christian. I implemented it because I believe that religious identity can be activated among different sects of religions within the United States in varying amounts among them. With the birth of the 'Christian Right' movement led by Barry Goldwater in the 1960's, we can see how white Christians folded their religious identity in with their political identity.

This phenomena's strength still exists strongly today, even with white Christian Americans losing their hegemony within American politics. As expertly detailed within Robert P. Jones' *The End of White Christian America*, white Christians (and to an extent,

Protestants), were the vast majority of citizens (and the electorate) within the United States, and assumed to be the de facto political identity, as most politics and culture ran through their white Protestant identity. The tides first began to turn from them with the ascendance of John F. Kennedy, a Catholic, who at the time posed an enormous threat to the Protestant hegemony. In attacks that seem quaint by today's standards, politicians attacked Kennedy for answering to the Pope, and attempting to turn the United States into a vassal of the Vatican. Despite this, Kennedy won, partially through his sheer charisma, which echoes the election of the other president who implicitly showed white Christians that their days as hegemons were coming to an end. In 2008, a black man with a Muslim-coded name became the 44th president of the United States. Barack Hussein Obama posed a fundamental shift in what the leadership of America looked like, and as an extension, a reflection of its changing demographics. Not shockingly, Obama's existence began to more deeply polarize American politics across racial lines, even on topics that are note explicitly race related. (Gilens [1996], Tesler [2013]), Tesler [2015]) As Jones details in his book, the year 1993 was the last time white Protestants represented the majority of the population of the United States. When Barack Obama was elected, white Christians (both Catholic and Protestant) constituted 54 percent of the nation. In 2016, that number was at 45 percent. In the year 2010, the Supreme Court lost its final Protestant, leaving only Catholics and Jews to sit on the highest court of the land. White Christians are a dying breed, for a plethora of reasons. (Hout & Fischer, 2002) These shifts did not go unnoticed by white Christians within the United States.

Understanding the historical context of the period we live in, I designed an experiment that I thought would be the most effective way to draw out the reactions of

Christians in the United States. A person's religion and beliefs are one of the most personal aspects of somebody's life. Because of this, studying the formation of religious identity, in a quantitative way, is both complex and difficult. Each person experiences religion differently, and what religion means to many people within one group can vary drastically. While this is true of many identity types, only religion has the most spiritual meaning to one's identity. The research that I drew upon to understand religious identity covers western Christian identity, as that is both the focus of my study, and the genre that is most pertinent to American politics. In Kenneth Mavor and Renate Ysseldyk's chapter, "A social identity approach to religion: religiosity at the nexus of personal and collective self" within the book *The Science of Religion, Spirituality, and Existentialism* (2010), they review the literature among religious identity within individuals and how it impacts both the individualistic level and the collective level. In this chapter, they review the literature going back decades examining how religious identity shapes the prejudices of Americans. Their review found that the literature predominately shows that collective outcomes have occurred due to the result of individual prejudices, rather than the collective influencing the individual. This result similarly backs up the result of a study by Michele Margolis in 2017, in which she finds that partisan identities have actually been able to help influence the importance of religious identity in their life. By showing that the inherent beliefs of the individual is exposed at the collective religious level, the scholarly review by Mavor and Ysseldyk potentially shows us that collective religion is not as primary to one's identities as one's personal religious beliefs

In Margolis's research, she proposed that our previous conception of political groups arising from social identities may potentially be backwards. She breaks down the

life cycles of religion and politics in the lives of Americans, and comes to the conclusion that political influences may actually be influencing our religious beliefs, as opposed to the conventional wisdom that religious beliefs influence political ones. While she does not claim that this is the only claim, and that religious beliefs can definitely influence political ones, she believes that we should be open to more theories when discussing how religion can impact our political lives. Through Margolis's work, along with that of other scholars questioning the position of religion in American politics (Djupe, [2017], Fisher [2018], Patrikios, [2008]), the results of my study became significantly more clear. By conceptualizing religion as a result of politics instead of the driver behind political decisions, it opens up a much wider range of possibilities that religion could potentially play in the political lives of Americans.

Current Study and Hypothesis

Designing this study, I relied heavily on the structure of the experiment utilized in Major et al (2016). This structure is almost identical to mine, except I substituted religious identification for ethnic identification. I also had my participants answer demographic questions first, followed by the brief pieces, and then followed by the policy and religious identification questions, and then ended with presidential candidate choice. Without the structure of this original paper, I would not have been able to complete this experiment. Major's experiment utilized survey data they produced to analyze whether or not the shift of America becoming a 'majority-minority' nation had an effect on the ethnic identification and political attitudes of respondents. By working from the framework that they established – groups threatened with dwindling numbers see

increased salience of threat – I conceptualized my hypotheses for my own experiment. I wanted to keep the design of my experiment consistent with the design of Major et al's experiment in order to ensure consistency in outcomes. To do this, I conceptualized religious identity and ethnic identity as holding equally important places within subjects. By making this assumption, I was able utilize the same questions that were used in the original study with minimal variation. (See Figure 1 and Figure 2)

1. Overall, my ethnic group membership has very little to do with how I feel about myself.
2. The ethnic group I belong to is an important reflection of who I am.
3. The ethnic group I belong to is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am.
4. In general, belonging to my ethnic group is an important part of my self-image.

Figure 1

1. Overall, my religious group membership has very little to do with how I feel about myself.
2. The religious group I belong to is an important reflection of who I am.
3. The religious group I belong to is important to my sense of what kind of person I am.
4. In general, belonging to my religious group is an important part of my self-image.
5. Do you believe that being religious is a requirement to be a moral person?

Figure 2

For policy preferences, I had to create my own questions. Since Major et al asked questions primarily about immigration, I chose to create my own set of questions that pertained to policies that are religion-adjacent within the United States. (See Figure 3)

1. Do you support a temporary ban on Muslims entering the United States?
2. Do you believe that prayer should be a part the daily routine at children's schools?
3. Do you believe that we should remove "In God We Trust" from government buildings?
4. Do you believe that we should remove "In God We Trust" from money?
5. Do you think "Under God" should be removed from the Pledge of Allegiance?

6. Do you think employers should encourage their employees to say "Happy Holidays" instead of "Merry Christmas"?

Using these questions, I formulated four hypotheses. H1: Exposure to declining religiosity will increase in-group identification for Christian Americans. Similar to Major et al, who found that exposure to group threat among whites who identified highly with their ethnicity caused increases salience in demographic change, I hypothesize that those already Christian that experience my treatment will identify as more religious.

H2: Exposure to declining religiosity in America will cause an increase in support for policies that are more supportive of religion in the United States. As Major et al found exposure to increasing diversity in the United States resulted in decreasing tolerance for immigration, I hypothesize that a similar result will happen in regards to policies that have religion as a focal point, and that exposure to declining religiosity will trigger a group threat response and increase support for them.

H3: Certain question responses will be influenced by the treatment effect, but this effect will not be noticed at the macro level. I hypothesize that although I may not find results utilizing the variables I created measuring religiosity and policy preference, I may find that individual question responses may have seen a greater influence from my treatment.

H4: Certain demographics will experience a greater shift in religious identification and policy preference. Specifically, those who are in demographics that are traditionally considered to be more intensely religious, including Southern, female, Protestant and rural respondents. As Major et al showed, certain identities are more salient based on the type of person, and I believe that this will also hold true for these

demographics. I believe that this may allow for further research paths to be exposed that would not have been if I only had focused on the wider picture results of H1 and H2.

Methods

To collect my data, I utilized the tools provided to me by Office of Institutional Research, Effectiveness, and Planning to distribute a survey to a portion of the undergraduate population at the University of Mississippi. We encouraged participation by entering all who completed the survey into a lottery for an Amazon gift card. With that incentive, we received a total of 283 responses. In the survey, respondents were asked to first answer a series of questions that identified their demographic groups. (Figure 4) My responses to these questions were not shocking, and fell along lines of what I anticipated with my sample. My respondents were overwhelmingly white and majority Christian, with a solid majority being Republicans and a small minority being Democrats. The only slightly surprising statistic I discovered is that only about 30% of respondents claimed they come from a rural area, with the remainder claiming either suburban or urban. The other statistic that mildly surprised me was my gender demographic breakdown, in which I had twice as many women answer my survey as men.

	%	N			%	N
Sex				**Greek Life**		
Male	.27	73		Yes	0.44	122
Female	0.73	202		No	0.56	156
Race				**Southern**		
White	0.82	226		Yes	0.67	185
Black	0.11	31		No	0.33	90
Hispanic	0.01	4		**Rural**		
East Asian	0.01	2		Yes	0.31	85
South Asian	0.01	2		No	0.69	186
Mixed Race	0.03	9		**Party ID**		
Other	0.01	3		Democrat	0.15	42
Religious ID				Leans Democrat	0.16	43
Protestant	0.34	95		Independent	0.16	44
Catholic	0.20	56		Leans Republican	0.21	58
Muslim	0.01	3		Republican	0.32	89
Hindu	0.00	1		**Attendance**		
Other	0.26	71		Multiple per week	0.12	34
Spiritual, but not religious	0.06	17		Once per week	0.26	72
Not religious	0.12	34		Once per month	0.13	37
				Rarely (Major Holidays)	0.30	84
				Never	0.18	51

Figure 4

After these questions, they were randomly assigned to read either the control or the treatment articles. My control group was given a brief piece on the geographic mobility of Americans (Figure 5), and my treatment group was given a Pew Research piece on the decline in Christianity in America in the past two decades (Figure 6).

U.S. Census Bureau Reports Residents Now Move at a Higher Rate

New U.S. Census Bureau data suggest that the rate of geographical mobility, or the number of individuals who have moved within the past year, is increasing. The national mover rate increased from 11.9 percent in 2008 (the lowest rate since the U.S. Census Bureau began tracking the data) to 12.5 percent in 2009. According to the new data, 37.1 million people changed residences in the U.S. within the past year. 84.5 percent of all movers stayed within the same state. Renters were more than five times more likely to move than homeowners. The estimates also reveal that many of the nation's fastest-growing cities are suburbs. Specifically, principal cities within metropolitan areas experienced a net loss of 2.1 million movers, while the suburbs had a net gain of 2.4 million movers. For those who moved to a different county or state, the reasons for moving varied considerably by the length of their move. The latest figures are predicated on current and historical trends, which can be thrown awry by several variables, including prospective overhauls of public policy.

Figure 5

In U.S., Decline of Christianity Continues at Rapid Pace

The religious landscape of the United States continues to change at a rapid clip. In Pew Research Center telephone surveys conducted in 2018 and 2019, 65% of American adults describe themselves as Christians when asked about their religion, down 12 percentage points over the past decade. Meanwhile, the religiously unaffiliated share of the population, consisting of people who describe their religious identity as atheist, agnostic or "nothing in particular," now stands at 26%, up from 17% in 2009. Both Protestantism and Catholicism are experiencing losses of population share. Currently, 43% of U.S. adults identify with Protestantism, down from 51% in 2009. And one-in-five adults (20%) are Catholic, down from 23% in 2009. Meanwhile, all subsets of the religiously unaffiliated population – a group also known as religious "nones" – have seen their numbers swell. Self-described atheists now account for 4% of U.S. adults, up modestly but significantly from 2% in 2009; agnostics make up 5% of U.S. adults, up from 3% a decade ago; and 17% of Americans now describe their religion as "nothing in particular," up from 12% in 2009. Members of non-Christian religions also have grown modestly as a share of the adult population.

Figure 6

After the readings, I asked a series of questions on the importance of religion to someone on a personal level, in which responses were given on a four-point scale including "Strongly agree", Somewhat agree", "Somewhat disagree", "Strongly disagree". I then asked a series of questions on policy that is related to religion in America. The scale measuring these included "Definitely yes", "Probably yes", "Probably no", "Definitely no", "Not sure". To conclude, I asked a brief series of questions about the presidential election in November in regards to the Democratic and Republican primaries, along with the general election. Sadly, my survey was released before the mass drop-outs of Democratic candidates, which resulted in me giving respondents 8 choices when they in reality only had about 4, but I do not believe that it had a direct harm in my data, as the vast majority of those who voted for Democrats in the primary were voting for people who were still in at the time of the survey's analysis.

In order to create a single standard variable score that I could use to measure religiosity across all respondents, I modified the ethnic identification questions found in Brenda Major's research in 2016 into questions that asked about religious identification. I also created a series of policy questions which have religious elements to them, such as the Muslim ban, prayer in schools, and "In God We" trust on currency. I then utilized the responses to these policy questions to create another score for policy preferences among my respondents. After I received my survey data on responses to these questions, I utilized Cronbach's Alpha to narrow down my questions to discover which ones showed similar response patterns. In the case of questions in regards to policy, I included all questions except the question about President Trump's Muslim ban and a question on

employers encouraging their employees to say "Happy Holidays" instead of "Merry Christmas". I analyzed these questions separately. In regards to my religious identification questions, I only included the responses on how religion is a reflection of themselves, how important it is to who they are as a person, and how important religion is to their self-image. When processing my data, I recoded all variables so that higher scores would symbolize both higher levels of religiosity and higher preference for more conservative religious policies. In the case of religiosity, the highest possible score one could receive is a 4, if they answered "Strongly Agree" to all questions pertaining to the importance of their religion to themselves. For policy preferences, a score of 5 symbolized the most support for conservative religious policies, representing a respondent who answered "Strongly agree" to any policy that was more religiously oriented. I coded "Not sure" as 3, the midpoint. The survey's text in its entirety can be found in the appendix.

I then proceeded to utilize R to process my data. In order to find a relationship between my treatment and control, I ran a two-sample differences in means t-test. I also utilized a two-sided differences in means t-test to compare how different demographic groups reacted to my treatment. In all cases, a higher number means a higher level of religiousness, or a higher support for conservative policies. The full script of my code can be found in the appendix.

Results

     I tested H1, that exposure to a Christian group threat would increase both religious identification and H2, that exposure to a religious group threat would increase preference for conservative policy preferences by conducting a two-sample t-test between my control and treatment groups among their respective scores on religiosity and policy preference (Figure 7). Among the control group for religious identification, I found a mean score of 2.896. The treatment group for religious identification had a mean score of 2.868. The difference between these two, .028, falls well within the 95% confidence interval of -0.197 and 0.250. Using this same method to test H2, I found that the control group had a mean of 3.928 and the treatment group a mean of 3.897 for policy preference. The difference between the two, .031, is once again well within the 95% confidence interval of -0.217 and 0.278. These means are devised from the average score that a subject gave based upon the scales we created that were detailed in the methods section. By finding no statistical difference between these means, I concluded that there is not sufficient evidence to support my hypotheses that exposure to my treatment would create a difference in responses to religious identification or policy preferences.

Variable	Control	Treatment	Difference	95% Confidence Interval
Religious Identification	2.896	2.868	.028	-0.197, 0.250
Policy Preference	3.928	3.897	.031	-0.217, 0.278

Figure 7

Since I did not find any results that were statistically significant for H1 or H2, I turned to H3 and H4 to break down question response and demographic data. To look more closely at the specific responses I was given, I ran difference of means t-tests among each of my individual questions between the treatment and control in order to find if being exposed to the treatment created a difference at the more granular level.

Among all of my questions about policy, very few had any response changes between the control and treatment, but the largest shifts among my questions were related to school prayer and saying Happy Holidays instead of Merry Christmas (Figure 8). I hypothesize that these are the most salient of my questions due to the direct impact that protecting religion is implied by these policies, as compared to the more passive ones. As having "One nation, under God" or "In God We Trust" in the pledge, on money, and on buildings, is fairly passive – and would take effort to remove in the case of money and buildings – there is not as much salience towards these. This also applies to the pledge, which I believe is so rote for students that they never actually think about the words that they are saying. I believe that the Muslim ban had a low impact from the religious demographic threat because Islam is so closely tied to people who are culturally considered non-white. I believe we would see an increased level of support for the Muslim ban if this were to be an experiment in demographic threat instead of religious threat. In another experiment, I would like to focus on questions that have more direct salience rather than the ones that I utilized here.

Variable	Control	Treatment	Difference	95% Confidence Interval
Muslim Ban	2.264	2.304	-0.040	-0.343, 0.263
Prayer in School	2.993	2.772	0.221	-0.144, 0.585
"In God We Trust" on Government Buildings	4.210	4.292	-0.082	-0.144 . 0.585
"In God We Trust" on Money	4.245	4.277	-0.033	-0.351, 0.187
"One Nation Under God" in the Pledge	4.268	4.248	0.020	-0.253, 0.293
Merry Christmas over Happy Holidays	3.604	3.474	0.130	-0.214, 0.474

Figure 8

Another data point I discovered is that attitudes among males and females split on personal importance of religion, but converge on policy (Figure 9). This split is noticeable because it is by far the largest difference among any demographic group's opinions towards the two options. This data shows us that while religion plays an important part in women's lives as opposed to men's lives, their opinions on policy are almost identical. This further gives credence to the hypothesis that religion is not a strong identity when it comes to American political activation. While exposure to my treatment

resulted in the same null effect to both males and females, I believe that this difference

between self-reported belief could be of interest in future research.

Variable	Male	Female	Difference	95% Confidence Interval
Gender and Religiousness	2.575	3.009	-0.433	-0.710, -0.157
Gender and Policy Preference	3.925	3.915	0.010	-0.263, 0.283

Figure 9

After analyzing the differences among my dependent variables in my treatment

and control groups and analyzing how different demographic groups answered these

questions writ large, I broke down each demographic group into a binary to see how the

treatment and control affected each. Given, these results now have half of the already

small sample size that I began with, but I still found results that I believe warrant further

investigation.

A large part of polarization today can be seen in the rural/urban divide in

America, and the data I found in this experiment reinforces that idea (Figure 10). Among

rural voters, those who saw the treatment saw an increase of .300 in their personal

religious identification and a .256 increase in support for more conservative policies on

my religiosity and policy variables. This contrasted with non-rural respondents, who

showed a decrease in personal religiosity by .174 and a decrease in support for more

conservative policies by .124. I believe that this result may lend more credence that religion is an active political identity, but potentially is only strong enough to be measured in people who come from more rural backgrounds. The most interesting fact in this data is that they actually moved in opposite directions. As was shown in Kuo et al's 2016 piece, "Social Exclusion and Political Identity: The Case of Asian American Partisanship", this may be an example of a demographic who is an outgroup responding to religious stimuli by more strongly embedding themselves within more left leaning politics. This has also been borne out in some research that shows that Christianity is actively turning away young people from both the Church and the Republican Party. (Argue et al [1999], Bolce & De Maio [1999])

Variable	Control	Treatment	Difference	95% Confidence Interval
Rural and Religiosity	2.823	3.123	-.300	-0.701, 0.100
Non-rural and Religiosity	2.934	2.760	.174	-0.110, 0.457
Rural and Policy Preference	4.090	4.349	-.259	-0.651, 0.134
Non-rural and Policy Preference	3.843	3.718	.125	-0.188, 0.438

Figure 10

The second demographic identifier that I found ties in with my rural/non-rural identifier. At the beginning of my survey, I asked two questions. First, "Are you from the South?" Second, "Do you consider yourself to be 'Southern'?" Based off of the responses of those who claimed that they identify as a Southerner, I found that they had an increase in support for conservative policies, but not an increase in personal religious identification (Figure 11). This was in contrast to non-Southerners, who actually saw an increase in religious identification while seeing a slight decrease in support for conservative policies.

Variable	Control	Treatment	Difference	95% Confidence Interval
Southern and Religiosity	3.044	3.010	-.034	-0.225, 0.292
Non-Southern and Religiosity	2.429	2.660	-.231	-0.676, 0.212
Southern and Policy Preference	4.019	4.160	-.141	-0.432, 0.149
Non-Southern and Policy Preference	3.605	3.503	.102	-0.372, 0.575

Figure 11

I believe that this is a side effect of my population that I sampled from. Due to the social pressures of the more conservative leaning campus (in my study I discovered a 2:1 ratio

of Republicans to Democrats), non-Southerners may be responding to a group threat of their perceived adopted group, rather than looking around them and seeing how religious their background already is, as I believe many Southerners can do. This contrast between upbringings can explain why non-Southerners reacted more strongly to the treatment than Southerners.

I wanted to be able to analyze the responses of Christians, specifically broken down by sect: Catholic, Protestant, and then Protestants who consider themselves Evangelical. To do this, I created a survey question, whose results can be seen in Figure 12, asking about what religion the respondent identified as. I separated Catholic and Protestant because I hypothesized that they would react differently. I also added a question that would only appear if Protestant was selected, which would ask "Do you consider yourself to be an Evangelical Christian?" Using this data I hoped to see if there was movement more intensely concentrated in different religious sects. When I began to analyze my results, I found a piece of data that did not make sense to me. While Christians were still the overwhelming majority of the selection, the "Other" option received 71 selections. I began asking non-academic family members who are devout, and it began to dawn on me my mistake. Many religious Americans identify as "Methodist" or "Baptist" or any other sect of Protestant, but when asked if they are Protestant, they would say no. In this case, I believe that many of my respondents were Protestant – this was a survey taken of a majority white population of mostly Southerners – but instead of identifying as Protestant, they identified as their own denomination, believing that that choice would be filed under other. Sadly, since I cannot parse out for certain who chose "Other" for what reasons, I had to abandon analysis on sects of

Christianity in America. In future research design, we must be aware of this problem and

work to ensure that it does not happen again.

Protestant	Catholic	Muslim	Hindu	Buddhist	Other	Spiritual, but not religious	Not religious
95	56	3	1	0	71	17	34

Figure 12

Overall, although I did not find any results that proved a direct relationship

between exposure to religious group threat and increase in religiousness or conservative

policy preferences, I believe these interesting data points that I discovered could warrant

further research experiments.

Conclusion

Contrary to my hypothesis, religion does not appear as if it is a powerful identity

that affects American political behavior. While a study with a larger sample size may find

different results, I do not believe that the findings of my experiment would be rejected.

As argued by Robert Jones, CEO and founder of the Public Religion Research Institute,

American political identity might be better understood as "white Christian", rather than

primarily Christian. This analysis helps explain why Donald Trump, a very clearly non-

religious man, has made such deep gains among Christians in the United States. As the

percent of Americans who identify as unaffiliated and non-religious continues to rise, I

do not believe that a purely religious threat will become a powerful political force in this

country. I do believe that when used in tandem with whiteness it can become more powerful as a vehicle for nostalgia, religion alone is not enough to activate people. Major et al and Craig & Richeson have all shown us how powerful racial and ethnic identity can be, and I believe that in regards to American political behavior, religious identity is not nearly as powerful.

The results of this experiment leave open an array of avenues for further research. Primarily, I would like to see this same experiment done on a nationally representative sample of adults in the United States. I am eternally grateful to the University of Mississippi's Office of Institutional Research, Effectiveness, and Planning for allowing me to use their tools, but surveying the student body of Ole Miss has limitations that I think could potentially impact the outcome of this experiment. While the university's primarily white and conservative student body was beneficial towards the goal of my research, the median age of white Christians in America is significantly higher than that of a college student, and I worry that the younger skew may have obfuscated a stronger group threat reaction that could be found among older white Christians. In this case, I have a few hypotheses that I would like to test further. The first is that the University of Mississippi's student body is a unique population that I drew from. While it has been to my advantage that our student body is very religious in comparison to other higher education institutions, it may also have resulted in religion and religious attendance being much more normalized than among many other younger people. My second hypothesis is that respondents also overestimated the importance of religion in their lives. While the questions I asked were very subjective, and there is not a large amount of social pressure to answer a question about personal beliefs in the same way there is a question about

actual behavior, respondents may have overrepresented their actual beliefs alongside their church attendance. (Brenner, 2011) Regardless, I believe that this result warrants further study, preferably in a non-idiosyncratic campus such as here.

In future research I would also like to see more variations on both the questions I utilized in regards to policy and religiosity. The questions designed for this survey were created based upon ethnic identification questions from research designs within the field. Religious identity may potentially be differently expressed from ethnic identity, and I believe that it would be beneficial to further investigate whether or not we could create a set of questions to more effectively measure the religiosity in people's lives. Along these same lines, I believe that future research should also examine questions of policy that have less direct connection to religion in America than the ones I utilized. Previous research by Craig & Richeson found that ethnic identity threat in whites activated more conservative policy preferences in areas such as taxes, as opposed to the more directly connected policies of affirmative action and immigration. I'd like to see if we can draw out any effects that are similar with religious threat.

Thirdly, I'd like to more closely examine the relationship between whiteness and religious threat in America. Due to the historical deep roots between the black church and black culture in America, I hypothesize that we may be able to activate a religious identity similar to that in whites when it comes to religious threat. While the black population at the University of Mississippi was not large enough for me to have a respectable sample size, I believe that at larger scales breaking down racial differences in religious group threat could make an important contribution to how we understand demographic group threat in the United States. This experiment yielded a null result, but I

believe that we still have many more routes to exhaust before we can confidently conclude that religious identity does not play a central part in the manifestation of political beliefs.

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APPENDIX

SURVEY

Informed Consent You are being asked to complete an online survey that will take approximately 10 minutes to complete. This survey is part of a research study conducted by the University of Mississippi. During the survey, you will read a short article about current events in American society. You will then be asked your opinions about the article, along with your views about politics and society. You will not be asked for your name or any other identifying information.

Findings from this study may be reported in scholarly journals, at academic seminars, and at research association meetings. The data will be stored at a secured location and retained indefinitely. Confidentiality will be maintained to the degree permitted by the technology used. No identifying information about you will be collected and any views you express will be kept completely anonymous. Your participation is voluntary. Even if you decide to participate, you are free not to answer any question or to withdraw from participation at any time without penalty.
There are no known risks associated with this study beyond those associated with viewing news stories on television, cable, or the internet. If you feel uncomfortable at any point during the survey, you may promptly exit. Note that once you submit responses to the survey the researcher will be unable to extract your anonymous data from the database if you wish it to be withdrawn.
The benefits of this survey include the chance to win an Amazon gift card. If you choose, at the end of the survey you can be entered into a drawing for an Amazon gift card. We will be drawing for five $10 Amazon gift cards, and one single $50 Amazon gift card. Your information that you submit for the gift card drawing cannot be linked to your survey responses.

To participate in the study, you must be at least 18 years old and a U.S. citizen.

This study has been reviewed by The University of Mississippi's Institutional Review

Board (IRB). If you have any questions, concerns, or reports regarding your rights as a participant of research, please contact the IRB at (662) 915-7482 or irb@olemiss.edu.

○ I consent and verify that I am at least 18 years of age (1)

○ I do not consent (2)

- -

Accepted Thank you for choosing to participate in this study! It should take around 10 minutes to complete. You will be completing a series of tasks that may seem unrelated to you, but they are all aimed at understanding your opinions about current politics and your general values. Because of this, do not worry if some questions or sets of questions seem odd or out of place.

- -

Start of Block: Demographics

South We would first like to know a little bit about your background.

 Do you consider yourself to be from the 'South'?

○ Yes (1)

○ No (2)

- -

Page Break ───

<u>Southern</u> Do you consider yourself to be 'Southern'?

   ◯ Yes (1)

   ◯ No (2)

Page Break

State **What state are you from?**

▼ Alabama (1) ... International Student (53)

Skip To: End of Survey If What state are you from? = International Student

---

Page Break

<u>Rural</u> Would you say you come from a rural, suburban, or urban area?

   ◯ Rural (1)

   ◯ Suburban (2)

   ◯ Urban (3)

Page Break

<u>Greek</u> Are you a part of Greek Life at Ole Miss?

   ◯ Yes (1)

   ◯ No (2)

Page Break

Gender Which of the following best describes you?

○ Male (1)

○ Female (2)

○ Other (3)

───

Race Which of the following best describes you?

○ White (1)

○ African-American/Black (2)

○ Non-white Hispanic (3)

○ South Asian (4)

○ East Asian (5)

○ Native American (6)

○ Mixed Race (7)

○ Other (8)

───

Class What year are you in college?

○ Freshman (1)

○ Sophomore (2)

○ Junior (3)

○ Senior (4)

○ Higher than an undergraduate senior (5)

Page Break

Major What is your major?

_____

Page Break

Religion Which of the following best describes you?

○ Protestant (1)

○ Catholic   (2)

○ Muslim   (3)

○ Hindu (4)

○ Buddhist (5)

○ Other (6)

○ Spiritual, but not religious   (7)

○ Not religious (8)

Skip To: Religious Attendance If Which of the following best describes you? != Protestant

Evangelical **Do you consider yourself to be an Evangelical Christian?**

○ Yes (1)

○ No (2)

Religious Attendance How often do you attend religious services?

○ Multiple times per week (1)

○ Once per week (2)

○ Once per month   (3)

○ Once every few months (includes attending for major holidays) (4)

○ Never (5)

interest Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election going on or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, some of the time, only now and then, or hardly at all?

○ Most of the time (1)

○ Some of the time (2)

○ Only now and then (3)

○ Hardly at all (4)

Party Do you consider yourself to be a Democrat, Republican, or Independent?

○ Democrat (1)

○ Independent, but lean towards Democrats (2)

○ Independent (3)

○ Independent, but lean towards Republicans (4)

○ Republican (5)

Skip To: Strong R If Do you consider yourself to be a Democrat, Republican, or Independent? = Republican

Skip To: Strong Dem If Do you consider yourself to be a Democrat, Republican, or Independent? = Democrat

Skip To: End of Block If Do you consider yourself to be a Democrat, Republican, or Independent? = Independent, but lean towards Democrats

Skip To: End of Block If Do you consider yourself to be a Democrat, Republican, or Independent? = Independent

Skip To: End of Block If Do you consider yourself to be a Democrat, Republican, or Independent? = Independent, but lean towards Republicans

Page Break

Strong Dem Do you consider yourself to be a strong Democrat?

○ Strong (1)

○ Not very strong (2)

Skip To: End of Block If Do you consider yourself to be a strong Democrat? = Strong

Skip To: End of Block If Do you consider yourself to be a strong Democrat? = Not very strong

Page Break

<u>Strong R</u> Do you consider yourself to be a strong Republican?

○ Strong (1)

○ Not very strong (2)

<u>Art</u> Would you call this art?

○ Yes (1)

○ No (2)

<u>Treatment</u>
Please read the following brief article. You will be asked to recall it later.

In U.S., Decline of Christianity Continues at Rapid Pace
The religious landscape of the United States continues to change at a rapid clip. In Pew Research Center telephone surveys conducted in 2018 and 2019, 65% of American adults describe themselves as Christians when asked about their religion, down 12 percentage points over the past decade. Meanwhile, the religiously unaffiliated share of the population, consisting of people who describe their religious identity as atheist, agnostic or "nothing in particular," now stands at 26%, up from 17% in 2009.Both Protestantism and Catholicism are experiencing losses of population share. Currently, 43% of U.S. adults identify with Protestantism, down from 51% in 2009. And one-in-five adults (20%) are Catholic, down from 23% in 2009. Meanwhile, all subsets of the religiously unaffiliated population – a group also known as religious "nones" – have seen their numbers swell. Self-described atheists now account for 4% of U.S. adults, up modestly but significantly from 2% in 2009; agnostics make up 5% of U.S. adults, up from 3% a decade ago; and 17% of Americans now describe their religion as "nothing in particular," up from 12% in 2009. Members of non-Christian religions also have grown modestly as a share of the adult population.

Control
Please read the following brief article. You will be asked to recall it later.

U.S. Census Bureau Reports Residents Now Move at a Higher Rate
New U.S. Census Bureau data suggest that the rate of geographical mobility, or the number of individuals who have moved within the past year, is increasing. The national mover rate increased from 11.9 percent in 2008 (the lowest rate since the U.S. Census Bureau began tracking the data) to 12.5 percent in 2009. According to the new data, 37.1 million people changed residences in the U.S. within the past year. 84.5 percent of all movers stayed within the same state. Renters were more than five times more likely to move than homeowners. The estimates also reveal that many of the nation's fastest-growing cities are suburbs. Specifically, principal cities within metropolitan areas experienced a net loss of 2.1 million movers, while the suburbs had a net gain of 2.4 million movers. For those who moved to a different county or state, the reasons for moving varied considerably by the length of their move. The latest figures are predicated on current and historical trends, which can be thrown awry by several variables, including prospective overhauls of public policy.

Feel Overall, my religious group membership has very little to do with how I feel about myself.

○ Strongly agree (1)

○ Somewhat agree (2)

○ Somewhat disagree (4)

○ Strongly disagree (6)

Reflection The religious group I belong to is an important reflection of who I am.

○ Strongly agree (1)

○ Somewhat agree (2)

○ Somewhat disagree (4)

○ Strongly disagree (5)

Person The religious group I belong to is important to my sense of what kind of person I am.

○ Strongly agree (1)

○ Somewhat agree (2)

○ Somewhat disagree (4)

○ Strongly disagree (5)

<u>Self-image</u> In general, belonging to my religious group is an important part of my self-image.

  ○ Strongly agree (1)

  ○ Somewhat agree (2)

  ○ Somewhat disagree (4)

  ○ Strongly disagree (5)

<u>Moral</u> Do you believe that being religious is a requirement to being a moral person?

  ○ Definitely yes (1)

  ○ Probably yes (2)

  ○ Probably not (4)

  ○ Definitely not (5)

End of Block: Identity Questions

Start of Block: Policy Questions

Muslim Do you support a temporary ban on Muslims entering the United States?

○ Definitely yes (1)

○ Probably yes (2)

○ Probably not (4)

○ Definitely not (5)

○ Not sure (3)

Page Break

School Do you believe that prayer should be a part the daily routine at children's schools?

○ Definitely yes (1)

○ Probably yes (2)

○ Probably not (4)

○ Definitely not (5)

○ Not sure (3)

Page Break

<u>Government</u> Do you believe that we should remove "In God We Trust" from government buildings?

◯ Definitely yes (1)

◯ Probably yes (2)

◯ Probably not (4)

◯ Definitely not (5)

◯ Not sure (3)

Page Break ————————————————————————————

<u>Money</u> Do you believe that we should remove "In God We Trust" from money?

◯ Definitely yes (1)

◯ Probably yes (2)

◯ Probably not (4)

◯ Definitely not (5)

◯ Not sure (3)

Page Break ————————————————————————————

<u>Pledge</u> Do you think "Under God" should be removed from the Pledge of Allegiance?

○ Definitely yes (1)

○ Probably yes (2)

○ Probably not (4)

○ Definitely not (5)

○ Not sure (3)

Page Break

<u>Christmas</u> Do you think employers should encourage their employees to say "Happy Holidays" instead of "Merry Christmas"?

○ Definitely yes (1)

○ Probably yes (2)

○ Probably not (4)

○ Definitely not (5)

○ Not sure (3)

Page Break

End of Block: Policy Questions

Start of Block: Political Questions

2020 Are you planning on voting in the 2020 Presidential Election?

○ Yes (1)

○ No (2)

Page Break

Primary Do you plan on voting in a presidential primary?

○ Democratic (1)

○ Republican (2)

○ Not planning on voting in either primary (3)

Page Break

R Primary Which of the following candidates would you vote for, if the Republican primary were held today?

○ Donald Trump (1)

○ Other (2)

<u>Dem Primary</u> Which of the following candidates would you vote for, if the Democratic primary were held today?

○ Joe Biden (1)

○ Elizabeth Warren (2)

○ Bernie Sanders (3)

○ Pete Buttigieg (4)

○ Andrew Yang (6)

○ Cory Booker (7)

○ Amy Klobuchar (8)

○ Tulsi Gabbard (9)

○ Other (10)

- -

General Which of the following candidates would you vote for, if the general election were held today?

○ Donald Trump (1)

○ Joe Biden (2)

○ Elizabeth Warren (3)

○ Bernie Sanders (4)

○ Pete Buttigieg (5)

○ Andrew Yang (7)

○ Cory Booker (8)

○ Amy Klobuchar (9)

○ Tulsi Gabbard (10)

○ Other (11)

End of Block: Political Questions

Start of Block: Send to new survey

End Thank you for completing the survey!

If you would like to enter your email address for an Amazon gift card, please click the forward arrow. You will be directed to a new survey where you can enter your email address into a drawing for an Amazon gift card. This is a separate survey, and your answers in this survey cannot be traced to your email address.

Treatment: (1)
Control: (0)

Code

Thesis-Data-Analysis.R

karsenbailey

2020-04-12

```r
rm(list=ls())
library(foreign)
library(psych)
library(haven)
library(tidyverse)

## ── Attaching packages ─────────────────────────────────────────
─────────────────────────────────────────────── tidyverse 1.3.0
──

## ✔ ggplot2 3.2.1      ✔ purrr    0.3.3
## ✔ tibble  2.1.3      ✔ dplyr    0.8.3
## ✔ tidyr   1.0.0      ✔ stringr 1.4.0
## ✔ readr   1.3.1      ✔ forcats 0.4.0

## ── Conflicts ──────────────────────────────────────────────────
─────────────────────────────────────────── tidyverse_conflicts()
──
## ✖ ggplot2::%+%()   masks psych::%+%()
## ✖ ggplot2::alpha() masks psych::alpha()
## ✖ dplyr::filter()  masks stats::filter()
## ✖ dplyr::lag()     masks stats::lag()

library(ggrepel)
library(plotly)

##
## Attaching package: 'plotly'

## The following object is masked from 'package:ggplot2':
##
##     last_plot

## The following object is masked from 'package:stats':
##
##     filter

## The following object is masked from 'package:graphics':
##
##     layout
```

```
library(gmodels)
library(gplots)

##
## Attaching package: 'gplots'

## The following object is masked from 'package:stats':
##
##     lowess

library(ggplot2)
survey<- read.csv('finaldata.csv')
survey

names(survey)[12]<-"Attendance"
names(survey)

##  [1] "South"                 "Southern"
##  [3] "State"                 "Rural"
##  [5] "Greek"                 "Gender"
##  [7] "Race"                  "Class"
##  [9] "Major"                 "Religion"
## [11] "Evangelical"           "Attendance"
## [13] "interest"              "Party"
## [15] "Strong.Dem"            "Strong.R"
## [17] "Art"                   "Feel"
## [19] "Reflection"            "Person"
## [21] "Self"                  "Moral"
## [23] "Muslim"                "School"
## [25] "Government"            "Money"
## [27] "Pledge"                "Christmas"
## [29] "X2020"                 "Primary"
## [31] "R.Primary"             "Dem.Primary"
## [33] "General"               "FL_9_DO_Treatment"
## [35] "FL_9_DO_Control"       "FL_15_DO_IdentityQuestions"
## [37] "FL_15_DO_PolicyQuestions"

###START OF RECODE###

#Southern
names(survey)

##  [1] "South"                 "Southern"
##  [3] "State"                 "Rural"
##  [5] "Greek"                 "Gender"
##  [7] "Race"                  "Class"
##  [9] "Major"                 "Religion"
## [11] "Evangelical"           "Attendance"
## [13] "interest"              "Party"
## [15] "Strong.Dem"            "Strong.R"
## [17] "Art"                   "Feel"
```

```
## [19] "Reflection"              "Person"
## [21] "Self"                    "Moral"
## [23] "Muslim"                  "School"
## [25] "Government"              "Money"
## [27] "Pledge"                  "Christmas"
## [29] "X2020"                   "Primary"
## [31] "R.Primary"               "Dem.Primary"
## [33] "General"                 "FL_9_DO_Treatment"
## [35] "FL_9_DO_Control"         "FL_15_DO_IdentityQuestions"
## [37] "FL_15_DO_PolicyQuestions"
```

```r
survey$Southern_recode<- survey$Southern
table(survey$Southern)
```

```
##
## -99    1    2
##   7  185   90
```

```r
survey$Southern_recode[survey$Southern_recode==-99]<-NA
table(survey$Southern_recode)
```

```
##
##   1    2
## 185   90
```

```r
#Rural
#0=urban/suburban
names(survey)
```

```
##  [1] "South"                   "Southern"
##  [3] "State"                   "Rural"
##  [5] "Greek"                   "Gender"
##  [7] "Race"                    "Class"
##  [9] "Major"                   "Religion"
## [11] "Evangelical"             "Attendance"
## [13] "interest"                "Party"
## [15] "Strong.Dem"              "Strong.R"
## [17] "Art"                     "Feel"
## [19] "Reflection"              "Person"
## [21] "Self"                    "Moral"
## [23] "Muslim"                  "School"
## [25] "Government"              "Money"
## [27] "Pledge"                  "Christmas"
## [29] "X2020"                   "Primary"
## [31] "R.Primary"               "Dem.Primary"
## [33] "General"                 "FL_9_DO_Treatment"
## [35] "FL_9_DO_Control"         "FL_15_DO_IdentityQuestions"
## [37] "FL_15_DO_PolicyQuestions" "Southern_recode"
```

```r
survey$Rural_recode<- survey$Rural
table(survey$Rural_recode)
```

```
## 
## -99   1   2   3
##   7  85 149  37

survey$Rural_recode[survey$Rural_recode==2]<-0
survey$Rural_recode[survey$Rural_recode==3]<-0
survey$Rural_recode[survey$Rural_recode==-99]<-NA
table(survey$Rural_recode)

## 
##   0   1
## 186  85

#Urban
#0=rural/suburb
names(survey)

##  [1] "South"                   "Southern"
##  [3] "State"                   "Rural"
##  [5] "Greek"                   "Gender"
##  [7] "Race"                    "Class"
##  [9] "Major"                   "Religion"
## [11] "Evangelical"             "Attendance"
## [13] "interest"                "Party"
## [15] "Strong.Dem"              "Strong.R"
## [17] "Art"                     "Feel"
## [19] "Reflection"              "Person"
## [21] "Self"                    "Moral"
## [23] "Muslim"                  "School"
## [25] "Government"              "Money"
## [27] "Pledge"                  "Christmas"
## [29] "X2020"                   "Primary"
## [31] "R.Primary"               "Dem.Primary"
## [33] "General"                 "FL_9_DO_Treatment"
## [35] "FL_9_DO_Control"         "FL_15_DO_IdentityQuestions"
## [37] "FL_15_DO_PolicyQuestions"  "Southern_recode"
## [39] "Rural_recode"

survey$urban_recode<- survey$Rural
table(survey$urban_recode)

## 
## -99   1   2   3
##   7  85 149  37

survey$urban_recode[survey$urban_recode==1]<-0
survey$urban_recode[survey$urban_recode==2]<-0
survey$urban_recode[survey$urban_recode==-99]<-NA
table(survey$urban_recode)
```

```
## 
##   0   3
## 234  37
```

```r
#Gender
#1=M, 2=F
names(survey)
```

```
##  [1] "South"                  "Southern"
##  [3] "State"                  "Rural"
##  [5] "Greek"                  "Gender"
##  [7] "Race"                   "Class"
##  [9] "Major"                  "Religion"
## [11] "Evangelical"            "Attendance"
## [13] "interest"               "Party"
## [15] "Strong.Dem"             "Strong.R"
## [17] "Art"                    "Feel"
## [19] "Reflection"             "Person"
## [21] "Self"                   "Moral"
## [23] "Muslim"                 "School"
## [25] "Government"             "Money"
## [27] "Pledge"                 "Christmas"
## [29] "X2020"                  "Primary"
## [31] "R.Primary"              "Dem.Primary"
## [33] "General"                "FL_9_DO_Treatment"
## [35] "FL_9_DO_Control"        "FL_15_DO_IdentityQuestions"
## [37] "FL_15_DO_PolicyQuestions" "Southern_recode"
## [39] "Rural_recode"           "urban_recode"
```

```r
survey$Gender_recode<- survey$Gender
table(survey$Gender_recode)
```

```
## 
## -99   1   2   3
##   2  73 202   1
```

```r
survey$Gender_recode[survey$Gender_recode==3]<-NA
survey$Gender_recode[survey$Gender_recode==-99]<-NA
table(survey$Gender_recode)
```

```
## 
##   1   2
##  73 202
```

```r
#Race
#White=0, non-white=1
names(survey)
```

```
##  [1] "South"                  "Southern"
##  [3] "State"                  "Rural"
##  [5] "Greek"                  "Gender"
##  [7] "Race"                   "Class"
```

```
##  [9] "Major"                       "Religion"
## [11] "Evangelical"                 "Attendance"
## [13] "interest"                    "Party"
## [15] "Strong.Dem"                  "Strong.R"
## [17] "Art"                         "Feel"
## [19] "Reflection"                  "Person"
## [21] "Self"                        "Moral"
## [23] "Muslim"                      "School"
## [25] "Government"                  "Money"
## [27] "Pledge"                      "Christmas"
## [29] "X2020"                       "Primary"
## [31] "R.Primary"                   "Dem.Primary"
## [33] "General"                     "FL_9_DO_Treatment"
## [35] "FL_9_DO_Control"             "FL_15_DO_IdentityQuestions"
## [37] "FL_15_DO_PolicyQuestions"    "Southern_recode"
## [39] "Rural_recode"                "urban_recode"
## [41] "Gender_recode"
```

```r
survey$Race_recode<- survey$Race
table(survey$Race_recode)
```

```
##
## -99    1    2    3    4    5    7    8
##   1  226   31    4    2    2    9    3
```

```r
survey$Race_recode[survey$Race_recode==1]<-0
survey$Race_recode[survey$Race_recode==2]<-1
survey$Race_recode[survey$Race_recode==3]<-1
survey$Race_recode[survey$Race_recode==4]<-1
survey$Race_recode[survey$Race_recode==5]<-1
survey$Race_recode[survey$Race_recode==6]<-1
survey$Race_recode[survey$Race_recode==7]<-1
survey$Race_recode[survey$Race_recode==8]<-1
survey$Race_recode[survey$Race_recode==-99]<-NA
table(survey$Race_recode)
```

```
##
##   0    1
## 226   51
```

```r
#Religion to christian
survey$christian_recode<- survey$Religion
table(survey$christian_recode)
```

```
##
## -99    1    2    3    4    6    7    8
##   1   95   56    3    1   71   17   34
```

```r
survey$christian_recode[survey$christian_recode==2]<-1
survey$christian_recode[survey$christian_recode==3]<-0
survey$christian_recode[survey$christian_recode==4]<-0
```

```
survey$christian_recode[survey$christian_recode==5]<-0
survey$christian_recode[survey$christian_recode==6]<-0
survey$christian_recode[survey$christian_recode==7]<-0
survey$christian_recode[survey$christian_recode==8]<-0
survey$christian_recode[survey$christian_recode==-99]<-NA
table(survey$christian_recode)

##
##   0   1
## 126 151

#Christian=1, non-Christian=2
#Basically useless. People put down other even if they're christian
#Attendance
survey$Attendance_recode<- survey$Attendance
table(survey$Attendance_recode)

##
##  1  2  3  4  5
## 34 72 37 84 51

survey$Attendance_recode[survey$Attendance_recode==1]<-6
survey$Attendance_recode[survey$Attendance_recode==5]<-1
survey$Attendance_recode[survey$Attendance_recode==6]<-5
survey$Attendance_recode[survey$Attendance_recode==2]<-7
survey$Attendance_recode[survey$Attendance_recode==4]<-2
survey$Attendance_recode[survey$Attendance_recode==7]<-4
survey$Attendance_recode[survey$Attendance_recode==-99]<-NA
table(survey$Attendance_recode)

##
##  1  2  3  4  5
## 51 84 37 72 34

names(survey)

##  [1] "South"          "Southern"
##  [3] "State"          "Rural"
##  [5] "Greek"          "Gender"
##  [7] "Race"           "Class"
##  [9] "Major"          "Religion"
## [11] "Evangelical"    "Attendance"
## [13] "interest"       "Party"
## [15] "Strong.Dem"     "Strong.R"
## [17] "Art"            "Feel"
## [19] "Reflection"     "Person"
## [21] "Self"           "Moral"
## [23] "Muslim"         "School"
## [25] "Government"     "Money"
## [27] "Pledge"         "Christmas"
## [29] "X2020"          "Primary"
```

```
## [31] "R.Primary"                    "Dem.Primary"
## [33] "General"                       "FL_9_DO_Treatment"
## [35] "FL_9_DO_Control"               "FL_15_DO_IdentityQuestions"
## [37] "FL_15_DO_PolicyQuestions"      "Southern_recode"
## [39] "Rural_recode"                  "urban_recode"
## [41] "Gender_recode"                 "Race_recode"
## [43] "christian_recode"              "Attendance_recode"
```

```r
#Attendance Binary
#1=More or Regular, 0=Less
survey$Attendance_binary<- survey$Attendance
table(survey$Attendance_binary)
```

```
##
##  1  2  3  4  5
## 34 72 37 84 51
```

```r
survey$Attendance_binary[survey$Attendance_binary==1]<-1
survey$Attendance_binary[survey$Attendance_binary==2]<-1
survey$Attendance_binary[survey$Attendance_binary==3]<-0
survey$Attendance_binary[survey$Attendance_binary==4]<-0
survey$Attendance_binary[survey$Attendance_binary==5]<-0
survey$Attendance_binary[survey$Attendance_binary==-99]<-NA
table(survey$Attendance_binary)
```

```
##
##   0   1
## 172 106
```

```r
names(survey)
```

```
##  [1] "South"                        "Southern"
##  [3] "State"                        "Rural"
##  [5] "Greek"                        "Gender"
##  [7] "Race"                         "Class"
##  [9] "Major"                        "Religion"
## [11] "Evangelical"                  "Attendance"
## [13] "interest"                     "Party"
## [15] "Strong.Dem"                   "Strong.R"
## [17] "Art"                          "Feel"
## [19] "Reflection"                   "Person"
## [21] "Self"                         "Moral"
## [23] "Muslim"                       "School"
## [25] "Government"                   "Money"
## [27] "Pledge"                       "Christmas"
## [29] "X2020"                        "Primary"
## [31] "R.Primary"                    "Dem.Primary"
## [33] "General"                      "FL_9_DO_Treatment"
## [35] "FL_9_DO_Control"              "FL_15_DO_IdentityQuestions"
## [37] "FL_15_DO_PolicyQuestions"     "Southern_recode"
## [39] "Rural_recode"                 "urban_recode"
```

```
## [41] "Gender_recode"              "Race_recode"
## [43] "christian_recode"           "Attendance_recode"
## [45] "Attendance_binary"
```

```
#interest
survey$interest_recode<- survey$interest
table(survey$interest_recode)
```

```
##
## -99    1    2    3    4
##    2   66  102   74   34
```

```
survey$interest_recode[survey$interest_recode==2]<-1
survey$interest_recode[survey$interest_recode==3]<-0
survey$interest_recode[survey$interest_recode==4]<-0
survey$interest_recode[survey$interest_recode==-99]<-NA
table(survey$interest_recode)
```

```
##
##    0    1
## 108  168
```

```
names(survey)
```

```
##  [1] "South"                   "Southern"
##  [3] "State"                   "Rural"
##  [5] "Greek"                   "Gender"
##  [7] "Race"                    "Class"
##  [9] "Major"                   "Religion"
## [11] "Evangelical"             "Attendance"
## [13] "interest"                "Party"
## [15] "Strong.Dem"              "Strong.R"
## [17] "Art"                     "Feel"
## [19] "Reflection"              "Person"
## [21] "Self"                    "Moral"
## [23] "Muslim"                  "School"
## [25] "Government"              "Money"
## [27] "Pledge"                  "Christmas"
## [29] "X2020"                   "Primary"
## [31] "R.Primary"               "Dem.Primary"
## [33] "General"                 "FL_9_DO_Treatment"
## [35] "FL_9_DO_Control"         "FL_15_DO_IdentityQuestions"
## [37] "FL_15_DO_PolicyQuestions" "Southern_recode"
## [39] "Rural_recode"            "urban_recode"
## [41] "Gender_recode"           "Race_recode"
## [43] "christian_recode"        "Attendance_recode"
## [45] "Attendance_binary"       "interest_recode"
```

```
#recode party to binary#
survey$party_recode<- survey$Party
table(survey$party_recode)
```

```
##
## -99    1    2    3    4    5
##    2   42   43   44   58   89

survey$party_recode[survey$party_recode==2]<-1
survey$party_recode[survey$party_recode==3]<-NA
survey$party_recode[survey$party_recode==4]<-0
survey$party_recode[survey$party_recode==5]<-0
survey$party_recode[survey$party_recode==-99]<-NA
table(survey$party_recode)

##
##    0    1
## 147   85

#R=0, D=1
#Recode Treatment and Control Variables
survey$Treatment_recode<- survey$FL_9_DO_Treatment
table(survey$Treatment_recode)

##
##    1
## 138

survey$Treatment_recode[is.na(survey$Treatment_recode)] <- 0
table(survey$Treatment_recode)

##
##    0    1
## 145 138

#Feel
names(survey)

##  [1] "South"                  "Southern"
##  [3] "State"                  "Rural"
##  [5] "Greek"                  "Gender"
##  [7] "Race"                   "Class"
##  [9] "Major"                  "Religion"
## [11] "Evangelical"            "Attendance"
## [13] "interest"               "Party"
## [15] "Strong.Dem"             "Strong.R"
## [17] "Art"                    "Feel"
## [19] "Reflection"             "Person"
## [21] "Self"                   "Moral"
## [23] "Muslim"                 "School"
## [25] "Government"             "Money"
## [27] "Pledge"                 "Christmas"
## [29] "X2020"                  "Primary"
## [31] "R.Primary"              "Dem.Primary"
## [33] "General"                "FL_9_DO_Treatment"
## [35] "FL_9_DO_Control"        "FL_15_DO_IdentityQuestions"
```

```
## [37] "FL_15_DO_PolicyQuestions"    "Southern_recode"
## [39] "Rural_recode"                "urban_recode"
## [41] "Gender_recode"               "Race_recode"
## [43] "christian_recode"            "Attendance_recode"
## [45] "Attendance_binary"           "interest_recode"
## [47] "party_recode"                "Treatment_recode"

survey$Feel_recode<- survey$Feel
table(survey$Feel_recode)

##
##  1  2  4  6
## 60 78 79 61

survey$Feel_recode[survey$Feel_recode==4]<-3
survey$Feel_recode[survey$Feel_recode==6]<-4
table(survey$Feel_recode)

##
##  1  2  3  4
## 60 78 79 61
```

#Reflection
```
survey$Reflection_recode<- survey$Reflection
table(survey$Reflection_recode)

##
## -99   1   2   4   5
##   5  93 105  43  32

survey$Reflection_recode[survey$Reflection_recode==2]<-3
survey$Reflection_recode[survey$Reflection_recode==4]<-2
survey$Reflection_recode[survey$Reflection_recode==1]<-4
survey$Reflection_recode[survey$Reflection_recode==5]<-1
survey$Reflection_recode[survey$Reflection_recode==-99]<-NA
table(survey$Reflection_recode)

##
##    1   2   3   4
##   32  43 105  93
```

#Person
```
survey$Person_recode<- survey$Person
table(survey$Person_recode)

##
## -99   1   2   4   5
##   2 101 103  37  35

survey$Person_recode[survey$Person_recode==2]<-3
survey$Person_recode[survey$Person_recode==4]<-2
survey$Person_recode[survey$Person_recode==1]<-4
```

```
survey$Person_recode[survey$Person_recode==5]<-1
survey$Person_recode[survey$Person_recode==-99]<-NA
table(survey$Person_recode)

##
##    1    2    3    4
##   35   37  103  101

#Self
survey$Self_recode<- survey$Self
table(survey$Self_recode)

##
## -99    1    2    4    5
##    2   80   91   56   49

survey$Self_recode[survey$Self_recode==2]<-3
survey$Self_recode[survey$Self_recode==4]<-2
survey$Self_recode[survey$Self_recode==1]<-4
survey$Self_recode[survey$Self_recode==5]<-1
survey$Self_recode[survey$Self_recode==-99]<-NA
table(survey$Self_recode)

##
##    1    2    3    4
##   49   56   91   80

#Moral
survey$Moral_recode<- survey$Moral
table(survey$Moral_recode)

##
## -99    1    2    4    5
##    3   23   48   94  110

survey$Moral_recode[survey$Moral_recode==2]<-3
survey$Moral_recode[survey$Moral_recode==4]<-2
survey$Moral_recode[survey$Moral_recode==1]<-4
survey$Moral_recode[survey$Moral_recode==5]<-1
survey$Moral_recode[survey$Moral_recode==-99]<-NA
table(survey$Moral_recode)

##
##    1    2    3    4
##  110   94   48   23

#Muslim
survey$Muslim_recode<- survey$Muslim
table(survey$Muslim_recode)
```

```
##
##   1   2   3   4   5
##  19  38  50  67 104

survey$Muslim_recode[survey$Muslim_recode==1]<-6
survey$Muslim_recode[survey$Muslim_recode==5]<-1
survey$Muslim_recode[survey$Muslim_recode==6]<-5
survey$Muslim_recode[survey$Muslim_recode==2]<-7
survey$Muslim_recode[survey$Muslim_recode==4]<-2
survey$Muslim_recode[survey$Muslim_recode==7]<-4
survey$Muslim_recode[survey$Muslim_recode==-99]<-NA
table(survey$Muslim_recode)

##
##   1   2   3   4   5
## 104  67  50  38  19

#Recode School
survey$School_recode<- survey$School
table(survey$School_recode)

##
## -99   1   2   3   4   5
##   3  61  51  33  55  75

survey$School_recode[survey$School_recode==1]<-6
survey$School_recode[survey$School_recode==5]<-1
survey$School_recode[survey$School_recode==6]<-5
survey$School_recode[survey$School_recode==2]<-7
survey$School_recode[survey$School_recode==4]<-2
survey$School_recode[survey$School_recode==7]<-4
survey$School_recode[survey$School_recode==-99]<-NA
table(survey$School_recode)

##
##  1  2  3  4  5
## 75 55 33 51 61

#Government
survey$Government_recode<- survey$Government
table(survey$Government_recode)

##
## -99   1   2   3   4   5
##   3   9  24  24  50 168

survey$Government_recode[survey$Government_recode==-99]<-NA
table(survey$Government_recode)

##
##   1   2   3   4   5
##   9  24  24  50 168
```

```
#Money
survey$Money_recode<- survey$Money
table(survey$Money_recode)

##
## -99    1    2    3    4    5
##   2    9   23   24   51  169

survey$Money_recode[survey$Money_recode==-99]<-NA
table(survey$Money_recode)

##
##    1    2    3    4    5
##    9   23   24   51  169

#Pledge
survey$Pledge_recode<- survey$Pledge
table(survey$Pledge_recode)

##
## -99    1    2    3    4    5
##   3    9   27   19   49  171

survey$Pledge_recode[survey$Pledge_recode==-99]<-NA
table(survey$Pledge_recode)

##
##    1    2    3    4    5
##    9   27   19   49  171

#Christmas
survey$Christmas_recode<- survey$Christmas
table(survey$Christmas_recode)

##
## -99    1    2    3    4    5
##   2   31   55   31   52  107

survey$Christmas_recode[survey$Christmas_recode==-99]<-NA
table(survey$Christmas_recode)

##
##    1    2    3    4    5
##   31   55   31   52  107

#Recode General to Trump
survey$General_recode_Trump<- survey$General
table(survey$General_recode_Trump)

##
## -99    1    2    3    4    5    7    9   10   11
##   4  114   25   21   24    7   13    5    3   36
```

```r
survey$General_recode_Trump[survey$General_recode_Trump==1]<-0
survey$General_recode_Trump[survey$General_recode_Trump==2]<-1
survey$General_recode_Trump[survey$General_recode_Trump==3]<-1
survey$General_recode_Trump[survey$General_recode_Trump==4]<-1
survey$General_recode_Trump[survey$General_recode_Trump==5]<-1
survey$General_recode_Trump[survey$General_recode_Trump==6]<-1
survey$General_recode_Trump[survey$General_recode_Trump==7]<-1
survey$General_recode_Trump[survey$General_recode_Trump==8]<-1
survey$General_recode_Trump[survey$General_recode_Trump==9]<-1
survey$General_recode_Trump[survey$General_recode_Trump==10]<-1
survey$General_recode_Trump[survey$General_recode_Trump==11]<-1
survey$General_recode_Trump[survey$General_recode_Trump==-99]<-NA
table(survey$General_recode_Trump)

##
##   0   1
## 114 134

#

###END OF RECODE###

###BEGINNING SCALES CREATION###
#Create Scale Data Frame on Policy Questions
scale4policy<-subset(survey, select = c(Muslim_recode,School_recode,Gov
ernment_recode,Money_recode,Pledge_recode,Christmas_recode))
summary(scale4policy)

##  Muslim_recode    School_recode   Government_recode  Money_recode
##  Min.   :1.000   Min.   :1.000   Min.   :1.000     Min.   :1.000
##  1st Qu.:1.000   1st Qu.:1.000   1st Qu.:4.000     1st Qu.:4.000
##  Median :2.000   Median :3.000   Median :5.000     Median :5.000
##  Mean   :2.284   Mean   :2.884   Mean   :4.251     Mean   :4.261
##  3rd Qu.:3.000   3rd Qu.:4.000   3rd Qu.:5.000     3rd Qu.:5.000
##  Max.   :5.000   Max.   :5.000   Max.   :5.000     Max.   :5.000
##  NA's   :5       NA's   :8       NA's   :8         NA's   :7
##  Pledge_recode   Christmas_recode
##  Min.   :1.000   Min.   :1.00
##  1st Qu.:4.000   1st Qu.:2.00
##  Median :5.000   Median :4.00
##  Mean   :4.258   Mean   :3.54
##  3rd Qu.:5.000   3rd Qu.:5.00
##  Max.   :5.000   Max.   :5.00
##  NA's   :8       NA's   :7

psych::alpha(scale4policy)

##
## Reliability analysis
## Call: psych::alpha(x = scale4policy)
##
```

```
##    raw_alpha std.alpha G6(smc) average_r S/N   ase mean   sd median_r
##        0.82      0.84    0.85      0.46 5.2 0.017  3.6 0.94     0.39
##
##   lower alpha upper     95% confidence boundaries
## 0.79 0.82 0.86
##
##   Reliability if an item is dropped:
##                  raw_alpha std.alpha G6(smc) average_r S/N alpha se
var.r
## Muslim_recode         0.82      0.84    0.85      0.52 5.4    0.018
0.049
## School_recode         0.81      0.83    0.84      0.49 4.8    0.019
0.056
## Government_recode     0.77      0.78    0.79      0.42 3.6    0.022
0.024
## Money_recode          0.77      0.78    0.78      0.42 3.6    0.022
0.021
## Pledge_recode         0.76      0.78    0.79      0.41 3.5    0.022
0.026
## Christmas_recode      0.84      0.85    0.86      0.53 5.7    0.016
0.045
##                  med.r
## Muslim_recode     0.44
## School_recode     0.35
## Government_recode 0.37
## Money_recode      0.37
## Pledge_recode     0.34
## Christmas_recode  0.44
##
##   Item statistics
##                    n raw.r std.r r.cor r.drop mean   sd
## Muslim_recode    278  0.63  0.62  0.49   0.46  2.3 1.3
## School_recode    275  0.72  0.69  0.58   0.54  2.9 1.5
## Government_recode 275  0.82  0.85  0.86   0.74  4.3 1.1
## Money_recode     276  0.82  0.85  0.87   0.73  4.3 1.1
## Pledge_recode    275  0.84  0.86  0.87   0.76  4.3 1.1
## Christmas_recode 276  0.62  0.60  0.45   0.42  3.5 1.5
##
## Non missing response frequency for each item
##                    1    2    3    4    5 miss
## Muslim_recode    0.37 0.24 0.18 0.14 0.07 0.02
## School_recode    0.27 0.20 0.12 0.19 0.22 0.03
## Government_recode 0.03 0.09 0.09 0.18 0.61 0.03
## Money_recode     0.03 0.08 0.09 0.18 0.61 0.02
## Pledge_recode    0.03 0.10 0.07 0.18 0.62 0.03
## Christmas_recode 0.11 0.20 0.11 0.19 0.39 0.02

miniscale4policy<-subset(survey, select = c(School_recode,Government_re
code,Money_recode,Pledge_recode))
miniscore4policy<-psych::alpha(miniscale4policy)
```

```
survey<-cbind(survey, miniscore4policy$scores)
names(survey)

##  [1] "South"                   "Southern"
##  [3] "State"                   "Rural"
##  [5] "Greek"                   "Gender"
##  [7] "Race"                    "Class"
##  [9] "Major"                   "Religion"
## [11] "Evangelical"             "Attendance"
## [13] "interest"                "Party"
## [15] "Strong.Dem"              "Strong.R"
## [17] "Art"                     "Feel"
## [19] "Reflection"              "Person"
## [21] "Self"                    "Moral"
## [23] "Muslim"                  "School"
## [25] "Government"              "Money"
## [27] "Pledge"                  "Christmas"
## [29] "X2020"                   "Primary"
## [31] "R.Primary"               "Dem.Primary"
## [33] "General"                 "FL_9_DO_Treatment"
## [35] "FL_9_DO_Control"         "FL_15_DO_IdentityQuestions"
## [37] "FL_15_DO_PolicyQuestions" "Southern_recode"
## [39] "Rural_recode"            "urban_recode"
## [41] "Gender_recode"           "Race_recode"
## [43] "christian_recode"        "Attendance_recode"
## [45] "Attendance_binary"       "interest_recode"
## [47] "party_recode"            "Treatment_recode"
## [49] "Feel_recode"             "Reflection_recode"
## [51] "Person_recode"           "Self_recode"
## [53] "Moral_recode"            "Muslim_recode"
## [55] "School_recode"           "Government_recode"
## [57] "Money_recode"            "Pledge_recode"
## [59] "Christmas_recode"        "General_recode_Trump"
## [61] "miniscore4policy$scores"

names(survey)[61]<-"policyscale"



#Create Scale Dataframe on Religious Identification
scale<-subset(survey, select = c(Feel_recode,Reflection_recode,Person_r
ecode,Self_recode,Moral_recode, Attendance_recode))
psych::alpha(scale)

##
## Reliability analysis
## Call: psych::alpha(x = scale)
##
##    raw_alpha std.alpha G6(smc) average_r S/N    ase mean    sd median_r
```

```
##      0.88      0.89      0.89      0.57 8.1 0.011  2.7 0.86      0.55
##
##  lower alpha upper     95% confidence boundaries
## 0.86 0.88 0.91
##
##  Reliability if an item is dropped:
##                    raw_alpha std.alpha G6(smc) average_r S/N alpha se
var.r
## Feel_recode           0.88      0.89    0.89      0.62 8.1   0.011
0.024
## Reflection_recode     0.84      0.85    0.83      0.52 5.5   0.015
0.017
## Person_recode         0.85      0.85    0.84      0.53 5.7   0.014
0.018
## Self_recode           0.84      0.85    0.85      0.53 5.7   0.015
0.023
## Moral_recode          0.89      0.90    0.89      0.64 8.8   0.011
0.018
## Attendance_recode     0.88      0.88    0.87      0.59 7.3   0.011
0.027
##                    med.r
## Feel_recode         0.60
## Reflection_recode   0.53
## Person_recode       0.53
## Self_recode         0.53
## Moral_recode        0.60
## Attendance_recode   0.55
##
##  Item statistics
##                    n raw.r std.r r.cor r.drop mean    sd
## Feel_recode       278  0.71  0.71  0.61   0.58 2.5 1.06
## Reflection_recode 273  0.90  0.91  0.92   0.86 2.9 0.98
## Person_recode     276  0.88  0.89  0.89   0.82 3.0 1.01
## Self_recode       276  0.88  0.89  0.87   0.82 2.7 1.07
## Moral_recode      275  0.65  0.67  0.56   0.52 1.9 0.95
## Attendance_recode 278  0.78  0.76  0.69   0.65 2.8 1.33
##
## Non missing response frequency for each item
##                      1    2    3    4    5 miss
## Feel_recode       0.22 0.28 0.28 0.22 0.00 0.02
## Reflection_recode 0.12 0.16 0.38 0.34 0.00 0.04
## Person_recode     0.13 0.13 0.37 0.37 0.00 0.02
## Self_recode       0.18 0.20 0.33 0.29 0.00 0.02
## Moral_recode      0.40 0.34 0.17 0.08 0.00 0.03
## Attendance_recode 0.18 0.30 0.13 0.26 0.12 0.02

miniscale<-subset(survey, select = c(Reflection_recode,Person_recode,Se
lf_recode))
miniscore<-psych::alpha(miniscale)
survey<-cbind(survey, miniscore$scores)
```

```r
survey$scale<-survey$'miniscore$scores'

names(survey)
```

```
##  [1] "South"                    "Southern"
##  [3] "State"                    "Rural"
##  [5] "Greek"                    "Gender"
##  [7] "Race"                     "Class"
##  [9] "Major"                    "Religion"
## [11] "Evangelical"              "Attendance"
## [13] "interest"                 "Party"
## [15] "Strong.Dem"               "Strong.R"
## [17] "Art"                      "Feel"
## [19] "Reflection"               "Person"
## [21] "Self"                     "Moral"
## [23] "Muslim"                   "School"
## [25] "Government"               "Money"
## [27] "Pledge"                   "Christmas"
## [29] "X2020"                    "Primary"
## [31] "R.Primary"                "Dem.Primary"
## [33] "General"                  "FL_9_DO_Treatment"
## [35] "FL_9_DO_Control"          "FL_15_DO_IdentityQuestions"
## [37] "FL_15_DO_PolicyQuestions" "Southern_recode"
## [39] "Rural_recode"             "urban_recode"
## [41] "Gender_recode"            "Race_recode"
## [43] "christian_recode"         "Attendance_recode"
## [45] "Attendance_binary"        "interest_recode"
## [47] "party_recode"             "Treatment_recode"
## [49] "Feel_recode"              "Reflection_recode"
## [51] "Person_recode"            "Self_recode"
## [53] "Moral_recode"             "Muslim_recode"
## [55] "School_recode"            "Government_recode"
## [57] "Money_recode"             "Pledge_recode"
## [59] "Christmas_recode"         "General_recode_Trump"
## [61] "policyscale"              "miniscore$scores"
## [63] "scale"
```

```r
names(survey)[62]<-"religiousscale"
names(survey)
```

```
##  [1] "South"                    "Southern"
##  [3] "State"                    "Rural"
##  [5] "Greek"                    "Gender"
##  [7] "Race"                     "Class"
##  [9] "Major"                    "Religion"
## [11] "Evangelical"              "Attendance"
## [13] "interest"                 "Party"
## [15] "Strong.Dem"               "Strong.R"
## [17] "Art"                      "Feel"
## [19] "Reflection"               "Person"
```

```
## [21] "Self"                       "Moral"
## [23] "Muslim"                     "School"
## [25] "Government"                 "Money"
## [27] "Pledge"                     "Christmas"
## [29] "X2020"                      "Primary"
## [31] "R.Primary"                  "Dem.Primary"
## [33] "General"                    "FL_9_DO_Treatment"
## [35] "FL_9_DO_Control"            "FL_15_DO_IdentityQuestions"
## [37] "FL_15_DO_PolicyQuestions"  "Southern_recode"
## [39] "Rural_recode"               "urban_recode"
## [41] "Gender_recode"              "Race_recode"
## [43] "christian_recode"           "Attendance_recode"
## [45] "Attendance_binary"          "interest_recode"
## [47] "party_recode"               "Treatment_recode"
## [49] "Feel_recode"                "Reflection_recode"
## [51] "Person_recode"              "Self_recode"
## [53] "Moral_recode"               "Muslim_recode"
## [55] "School_recode"              "Government_recode"
## [57] "Money_recode"               "Pledge_recode"
## [59] "Christmas_recode"           "General_recode_Trump"
## [61] "policyscale"                "religiousscale"
## [63] "scale"
```

###END *OF SCALES CREATION*###

```r
sink("Regression Results")
#Regression and Difference of Means on Religious Identification with Tr
eatment
modeltreatment <- lm(policyscale~religiousscale, survey, subset=survey$
Treatment_recode==1)
modeltreatment
```

```
##
## Call:
## lm(formula = policyscale ~ religiousscale, data = survey, subset = s
urvey$Treatment_recode ==
##      1)
##
## Coefficients:
##    (Intercept)   religiousscale
##         2.5060          0.4851
```

```r
summary(modeltreatment)
```

```
##
## Call:
## lm(formula = policyscale ~ religiousscale, data = survey, subset = s
urvey$Treatment_recode ==
##      1)
##
## Residuals:
```

```
##      Min      1Q  Median      3Q     Max
## -3.2846 -0.4463  0.3037  0.6271  1.4356
##
## Coefficients:
##                 Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|)
## (Intercept)      2.50600    0.25381   9.873  < 2e-16 ***
## religiousscale   0.48507    0.08387   5.784 4.79e-08 ***
## ---
## Signif. codes:  0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1
##
## Residual standard error: 0.9508 on 136 degrees of freedom
## Multiple R-squared:  0.1974, Adjusted R-squared:  0.1915
## F-statistic: 33.45 on 1 and 136 DF,  p-value: 4.788e-08
```

```r
modelcontrol <- lm(policyscale~religiousscale, survey, subset=survey$Tr
eatment_recode==0)
modelcontrol
```

```
##
## Call:
## lm(formula = policyscale ~ religiousscale, data = survey, subset = s
urvey$Treatment_recode ==
##     0)
##
## Coefficients:
##    (Intercept)  religiousscale
##         2.5662          0.4702
```

```r
summary(modelcontrol)
```

```
##
## Call:
## lm(formula = policyscale ~ religiousscale, data = survey, subset = s
urvey$Treatment_recode ==
##     0)
##
## Residuals:
##      Min      1Q  Median      3Q     Max
## -2.6632 -0.5933  0.2733  0.6577  1.5569
##
## Coefficients:
##                 Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|)
## (Intercept)      2.56620    0.25828   9.936  < 2e-16 ***
## religiousscale   0.47016    0.08481   5.544 1.46e-07 ***
## ---
## Signif. codes:  0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1
##
## Residual standard error: 0.9439 on 138 degrees of freedom
##   (5 observations deleted due to missingness)
## Multiple R-squared:  0.1821, Adjusted R-squared:  0.1762
## F-statistic: 30.73 on 1 and 138 DF,  p-value: 1.456e-07
```
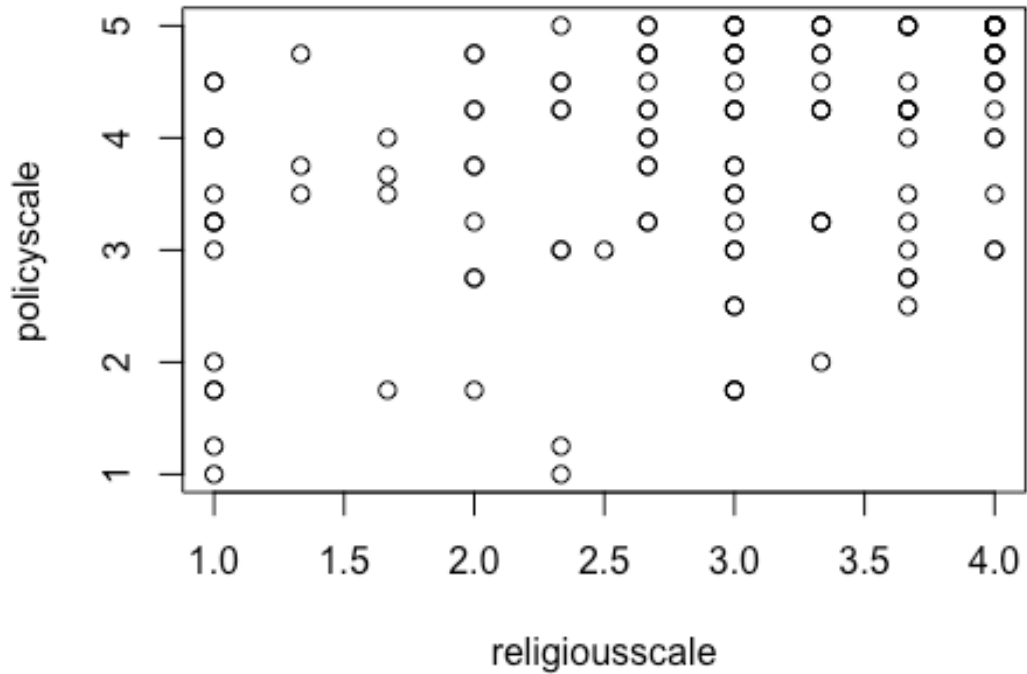
```
print(modeltreatment)

##
## Call:
## lm(formula = policyscale ~ religiousscale, data = survey, subset = s
urvey$Treatment_recode ==
##      1)
##
## Coefficients:
##    (Intercept)   religiousscale
##         2.5060           0.4851

print(modelcontrol)

##
## Call:
## lm(formula = policyscale ~ religiousscale, data = survey, subset = s
urvey$Treatment_recode ==
##      0)
##
## Coefficients:
##    (Intercept)   religiousscale
##         2.5662           0.4702

controlplot<-plot(policyscale ~ religiousscale, data = survey, subset =
survey$Treatment_recode==0)
```
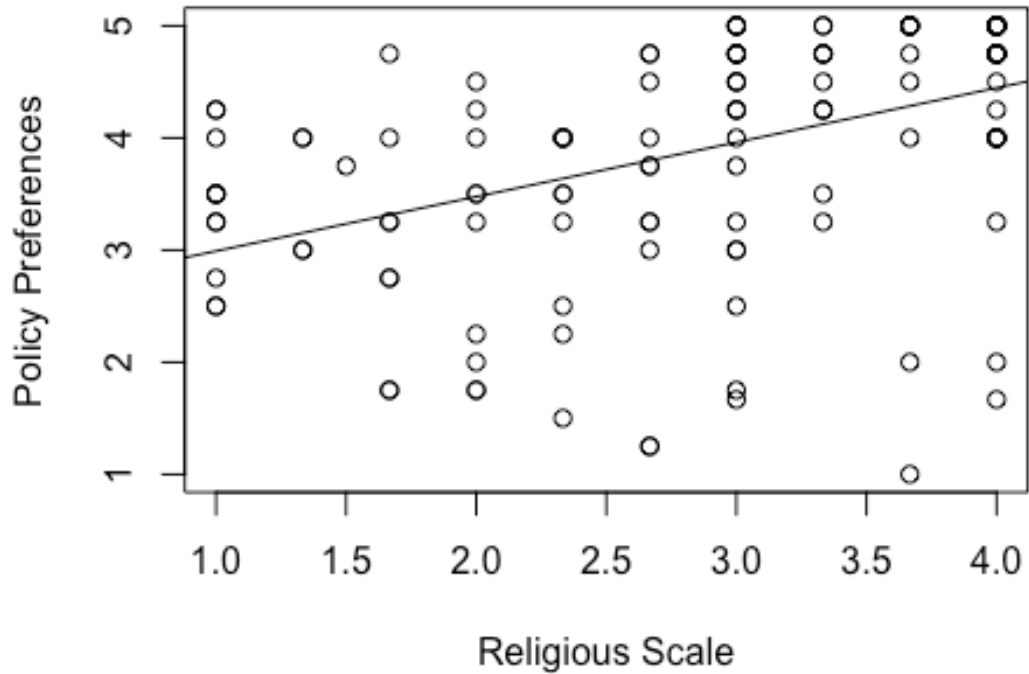
```
plot(policyscale ~ religiousscale, main = "Treatment Group", xlab = "Re
ligious Scale", ylab = "Policy Preferences",  data = survey, subset = s
urvey$Treatment_recode==1)
abline(lm(policyscale ~ religiousscale, data = survey, subset = survey$
Treatment_recode==1))
```

Treatment Group


```
plot(policyscale ~ religiousscale, main = "Control Group", xlab = "Reli
gious Scale", ylab = "Policy Preferences", data = survey, subset = surv
ey$Treatment_recode==0)
abline(lm(policyscale ~ religiousscale, data = survey, subset = survey$
Treatment_recode==0))
```

Control Group
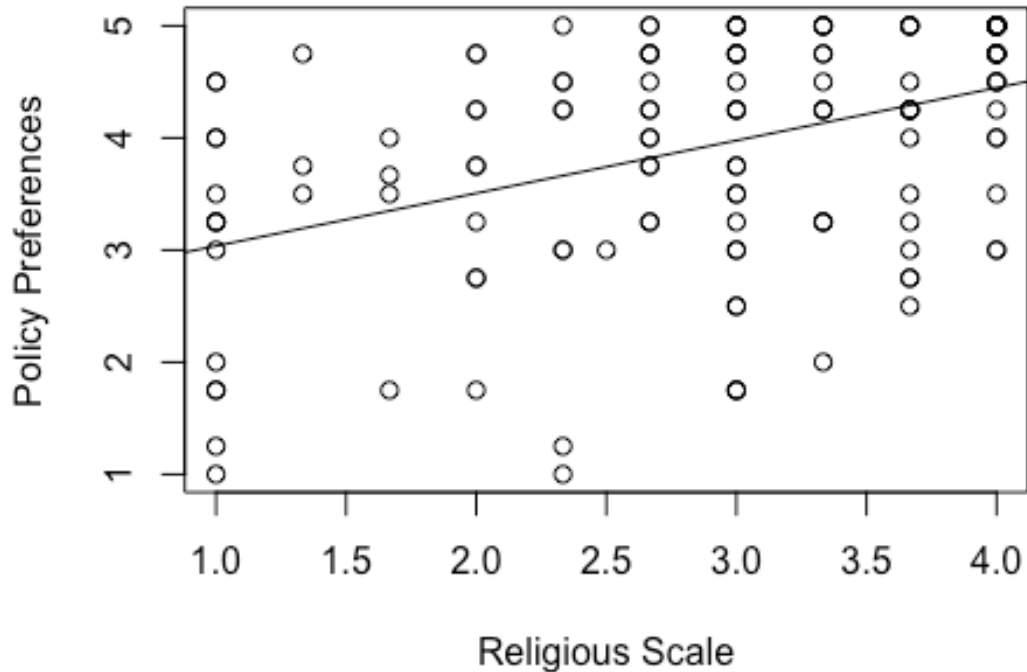

```
sink()


sink("TTests for Dependents")
###T TESTS WITH TREATMENT_RECODE AND DEPENDENT VARIABLES###
t.test(Feel_recode~Treatment_recode, data=survey)

##
##   Welch Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  Feel_recode by Treatment_recode
## t = -0.00081227, df = 275.81, p-value = 0.9994
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##   -0.2509911  0.2507840
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##       2.507143        2.507246

t.test(Reflection_recode~Treatment_recode, data=survey)

##
##   Welch Two Sample t-test
##
```

```
## data:  Reflection_recode by Treatment_recode
## t = 0.37814, df = 270.94, p-value = 0.7056
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##  -0.1896595  0.2798366
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##        2.971014        2.925926
```

t.test(Person_recode~Treatment_recode, data=survey)

```
##
##  Welch Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  Person_recode by Treatment_recode
## t = 0.12211, df = 273.1, p-value = 0.9029
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##  -0.2239357  0.2535529
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##        2.985612        2.970803
```

t.test(Self_recode~Treatment_recode, data=survey)

```
##
##  Welch Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  Self_recode by Treatment_recode
## t = 0.060447, df = 272.48, p-value = 0.9518
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##  -0.2453904  0.2609366
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##        2.735714        2.727941
```

t.test(Moral_recode~Treatment_recode, data=survey)

```
##
##  Welch Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  Moral_recode by Treatment_recode
## t = -0.88126, df = 271.82, p-value = 0.379
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##  -0.3279165  0.1251237
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##        1.891304        1.992701
```

```
t.test(religiousscale~Treatment_recode, data=survey)

##
##  Welch Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  religiousscale by Treatment_recode
## t = 0.24467, df = 275.56, p-value = 0.8069
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##  -0.1977872  0.2539294
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##        2.896429        2.868357

t.test(Muslim_recode~Treatment_recode, data=survey)

##
##  Welch Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  Muslim_recode by Treatment_recode
## t = -0.26026, df = 275.87, p-value = 0.7949
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##  -0.3430898  0.2629656
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##        2.264286        2.304348

t.test(School_recode~Treatment_recode, data=survey)

##
##  Welch Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  School_recode by Treatment_recode
## t = 1.1922, df = 272.24, p-value = 0.2342
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##  -0.1437719  0.5852657
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##        2.992806        2.772059

t.test(Government_recode~Treatment_recode, data=survey)

##
##  Welch Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  Government_recode by Treatment_recode
## t = -0.59828, df = 272.22, p-value = 0.5501
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
```

```
##  -0.3510824  0.1874306
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##        4.210145        4.291971
```

```
t.test(Money_recode~Treatment_recode, data=survey)
```

```
##
##  Welch Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  Money_recode by Treatment_recode
## t = -0.2419, df = 273.64, p-value = 0.809
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##  -0.2994404  0.2339045
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##        4.244604        4.277372
```

```
t.test(Pledge_recode~Treatment_recode, data=survey)
```

```
##
##  Welch Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  Pledge_recode by Treatment_recode
## t = 0.14384, df = 272.77, p-value = 0.8857
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##  -0.2529801  0.2928617
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##        4.268116        4.248175
```

```
t.test(Christmas_recode~Treatment_recode, data=survey)
```

```
##
##  Welch Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  Christmas_recode by Treatment_recode
## t = 0.74321, df = 273.98, p-value = 0.458
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##  -0.214129  0.473857
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##        3.604317        3.474453
```

```
t.test(policyscale~Treatment_recode, data=survey)
```

```
##
##  Welch Two Sample t-test
##
```

```
## data:  policyscale by Treatment_recode
## t = 0.2435, df = 275.73, p-value = 0.8078
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##  -0.2170288  0.2782952
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##        3.927976        3.897343
```

```
t.test(X2020~Treatment_recode, data=survey)
```

```
##
##  Welch Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  X2020 by Treatment_recode
## t = 0.78422, df = 272.23, p-value = 0.4336
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##  -0.04143504  0.09630046
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##        1.107143        1.079710
```

```
t.test(General_recode_Trump~Treatment_recode, data=survey)
```

```
##
##  Welch Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  General_recode_Trump by Treatment_recode
## t = -1.1348, df = 245.81, p-value = 0.2576
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##  -0.19679650  0.05292658
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##        0.504065        0.576000
```

```
###T TESTS WITH DEPENDANTS AND SCALE MEASUREMENTS###
t.test(religiousscale~South, data=survey)
```

```
##
##  Welch Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  religiousscale by South
## t = 2.3688, df = 75.558, p-value = 0.0204
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##  0.05725259 0.66232413
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 1 mean in group 2
##        2.952381        2.592593
```

```
t.test(policyscale~South, data=survey)

##
##   Welch Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  policyscale by South
## t = 1.9979, df = 83.787, p-value = 0.04897
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##   0.001408935 0.609454161
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 1 mean in group 2
##        3.972098        3.666667

t.test(religiousscale~Southern_recode, data=survey)

##
##   Welch Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  religiousscale by Southern_recode
## t = 3.631, df = 146.62, p-value = 0.0003894
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##   0.2109734 0.7149013
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 1 mean in group 2
##        3.028829        2.565891

t.test(policyscale~Southern_recode, data=survey)

##
##   Welch Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  policyscale by Southern_recode
## t = 3.9064, df = 154.18, p-value = 0.0001398
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##   0.2656432 0.8091735
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 1 mean in group 2
##        4.081982        3.544574

t.test(religiousscale~Rural_recode, data=survey)

##
##   Welch Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  religiousscale by Rural_recode
## t = -0.92522, df = 170.92, p-value = 0.3562
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
```

```
##  -0.3589998  0.1298621
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##       2.842294        2.956863
```

t.test(policyscale~Rural_recode, data=survey)

```
##
##  Welch Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  policyscale by Rural_recode
## t = -3.3923, df = 191.25, p-value = 0.0008422
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##  -0.6784414 -0.1795599
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##       3.776882        4.205882
```

t.test(religiousscale~urban_recode, data=survey)

```
##
##  Welch Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  religiousscale by urban_recode
## t = -0.42853, df = 45.922, p-value = 0.6703
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##  -0.4468202  0.2899710
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 3
##       2.867521        2.945946
```

t.test(policyscale~urban_recode, data=survey)

```
##
##  Welch Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  policyscale by urban_recode
## t = 0.50499, df = 49.391, p-value = 0.6158
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##  -0.2694383  0.4503500
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 3
##       3.923789        3.833333
```

t.test(religiousscale~Greek, data=survey)

```
##
##  Welch Two Sample t-test
##
```

```
## data:  religiousscale by Greek
## t = 1.3593, df = 264.54, p-value = 0.1752
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##  -0.06989984  0.38158542
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 1 mean in group 2
##        2.969945        2.814103
```

t.test(policyscale~Greek, data=survey)

```
##
##  Welch Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  policyscale by Greek
## t = 3.2041, df = 274.47, p-value = 0.001515
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##  0.1481754 0.6204073
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 1 mean in group 2
##        4.128415        3.744124
```

t.test(religiousscale~Gender_recode, data=survey)

```
##
##  Welch Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  religiousscale by Gender_recode
## t = -3.1062, df = 108.81, p-value = 0.002417
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##  -0.7104927 -0.1569742
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 1 mean in group 2
##        2.575342        3.009076
```

t.test(policyscale~Gender_recode, data=survey)

```
##
##  Welch Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  policyscale by Gender_recode
## t = 0.072743, df = 136.14, p-value = 0.9421
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##  -0.2632551  0.2833622
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 1 mean in group 2
##        3.924658        3.914604
```

```
t.test(religiousscale~Race_recode, data=survey)

##
##  Welch Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  religiousscale by Race_recode
## t = -2.2752, df = 82.258, p-value = 0.02549
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##   -0.57674092 -0.03867929
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##        2.823009        3.130719

t.test(policyscale~Race_recode, data=survey)

##
##  Welch Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  policyscale by Race_recode
## t = 0.72931, df = 70.494, p-value = 0.4682
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##   -0.2160914  0.4652816
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##        3.931785        3.807190

t.test(religiousscale~Attendance_binary, data=survey)

##
##  Welch Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  religiousscale by Attendance_binary
## t = -13.059, df = 274.41, p-value < 2.2e-16
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##   -1.288890 -0.951201
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##        2.455426        3.575472

t.test(policyscale~Attendance_binary, data=survey)

##
##  Welch Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  policyscale by Attendance_binary
## t = -6.2387, df = 266.56, p-value = 1.724e-09
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
```

```
##  -0.9360635 -0.4869656
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##        3.641473        4.352987
```

```
t.test(religiousscale~interest_recode, data=survey)
```

```
##
##  Welch Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  religiousscale by interest_recode
## t = 0.52069, df = 215.85, p-value = 0.6031
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##  -0.1737802  0.2985597
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##         2.91358         2.85119
```

```
t.test(policyscale~interest_recode, data=survey)
```

```
##
##  Welch Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  policyscale by interest_recode
## t = 3.0503, df = 267.69, p-value = 0.002515
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##  0.1295511 0.6012690
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##        4.127315        3.761905
```

```
t.test(religiousscale~party_recode, data=survey)
```

```
##
##  Welch Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  religiousscale by party_recode
## t = 4.6557, df = 165.93, p-value = 6.582e-06
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##  0.3373102 0.8340650
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##        3.140590        2.554902
```

```
t.test(policyscale~party_recode, data=survey)
```

```
##
##  Welch Two Sample t-test
##
```

```
## data:  policyscale by party_recode
## t = 9.868, df = 119.96, p-value < 2.2e-16
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##   1.047492 1.573343
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##        4.421202        3.110784
```

```r
t.test(religiousscale~Art, data=survey)
```

```
##
##  Welch Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  religiousscale by Art
## t = -1.6629, df = 88.533, p-value = 0.09987
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##   -0.50295982  0.04468011
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 1 mean in group 2
##        2.836336        3.065476
```

```r
t.test(policyscale~Art, data=survey)
```

```
##
##  Welch Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  policyscale by Art
## t = -3.7133, df = 107.26, p-value = 0.0003265
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##   -0.7506389 -0.2281256
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 1 mean in group 2
##        3.814189        4.303571
```

```r
t.test(religiousscale~General_recode_Trump, data=survey)
```

```
##
##  Welch Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  religiousscale by General_recode_Trump
## t = 3.4684, df = 244.53, p-value = 0.0006186
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##   0.1769938 0.6422433
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##        3.111111        2.701493
```

```
t.test(policyscale~General_recode_Trump, data=survey)

##
##  Welch Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  policyscale by General_recode_Trump
## t = 9.6425, df = 207.45, p-value < 2.2e-16
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##  0.8570654 1.2975998
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##        4.501462        3.424129

sink()
###END TREATMENT T TESTS###

sink("Means of Religious Scale")
###TWO SAMPLE T TESTS RELIGIOUS SCALE###
#Gender
survey.f=subset(survey,Gender_recode==2)
femtest<-t.test(religiousscale~Treatment_recode, data = survey.f, alter
native="two.sided", var.equal=T)
survey.m=subset(survey,Gender_recode==1)
mtest<-t.test(religiousscale~Treatment_recode, data = survey.m, alterna
tive="two.sided", var.equal=T)
femtest

##
##  Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  religiousscale by Treatment_recode
## t = 0.41255, df = 200, p-value = 0.6804
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##  -0.1926915  0.2946523
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##        3.034314        2.983333

mtest

##
##  Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  religiousscale by Treatment_recode
## t = -0.062476, df = 71, p-value = 0.9504
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##  -0.5189349  0.4874034
## sample estimates:
```

```
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##        2.567568        2.583333
```

#Southern
```
survey.southern=subset(survey,Southern_recode==1)
southerntest<-t.test(religiousscale~Treatment_recode, data = survey.sou
thern, alternative="two.sided", var.equal=T)
survey.nsouthern=subset(survey,Southern_recode==2)
nsoutherntest<-t.test(religiousscale~Treatment_recode, data = survey.ns
outhern, alternative="two.sided",var.equal=T)
southerntest
```

```
##
##   Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  religiousscale by Treatment_recode
## t = 0.2559, df = 183, p-value = 0.7983
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##   -0.2249659  0.2920194
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##        3.043689        3.010163
```

```
nsoutherntest
```

```
##
##   Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  religiousscale by Treatment_recode
## t = -1.0372, df = 84, p-value = 0.3026
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##   -0.6755321  0.2124135
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##        2.428571        2.660131
```

*#Rural ***
```
survey.rural=subset(survey,Rural_recode==1)
ruraltest<-t.test(religiousscale~Treatment_recode, data = survey.rural,
alternative="two.sided", var.equal=T)
survey.nrural=subset(survey,Rural_recode==0)
nruraltest<-t.test(religiousscale~Treatment_recode, data = survey.nrura
l, alternative="two.sided", var.equal=T)
ruraltest
```

```
##
##   Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  religiousscale by Treatment_recode
```

```
## t = -1.4903, df = 83, p-value = 0.1399
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##  -0.7006546  0.1004306
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##        2.822695        3.122807
```

nruraltest

```
##
##  Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  religiousscale by Treatment_recode
## t = 1.2071, df = 184, p-value = 0.2289
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##  -0.1100742  0.4570903
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##        2.933712        2.760204
```

```
#Attendance *
survey.attendance=subset(survey,Attendance_binary==1)
attendancetest<-t.test(religiousscale~Treatment_recode, data = survey.a
ttendance, alternative="two.sided", var.equal=T)
survey.nattendance=subset(survey,Attendance_binary==0)
nattendancetest<-t.test(religiousscale~Treatment_recode, data = survey.
nattendance, alternative="two.sided", var.equal=T)
attendancetest
```

```
##
##  Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  religiousscale by Treatment_recode
## t = -1.0643, df = 104, p-value = 0.2897
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##  -0.30613913  0.09230265
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##        3.522013        3.628931
```

nattendancetest

```
##
##  Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  religiousscale by Treatment_recode
## t = 0.87139, df = 170, p-value = 0.3848
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
```

```
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##  -0.1533727  0.3957887
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##        2.515326        2.394118
```

#Party *
```
survey.dparty=subset(survey,party_recode==1)
dpartytest<-t.test(religiousscale~Treatment_recode, data = survey.dpart
y, alternative="two.sided", var.equal=T)
survey.rparty=subset(survey,party_recode==0)
rpartytest<-t.test(religiousscale~Treatment_recode, data = survey.rpart
y, alternative="two.sided", var.equal=T)
dpartytest
```

```
##
##   Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  religiousscale by Treatment_recode
## t = -0.45246, df = 83, p-value = 0.6521
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##  -0.5048009  0.3176957
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##        2.504274        2.597826
```

```
rpartytest
```

```
##
##   Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  religiousscale by Treatment_recode
## t = -0.52677, df = 145, p-value = 0.5992
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##  -0.3661734  0.2120608
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##        3.103896        3.180952
```

#Trump *
```
survey.trump=subset(survey,General_recode_Trump==0)
trumptest<-t.test(religiousscale~Treatment_recode, data = survey.trump,
alternative="two.sided", var.equal=T)
survey.ntrump=subset(survey,General_recode_Trump==1)
ntrumptest<-t.test(religiousscale~Treatment_recode, data = survey.ntrum
p, alternative="two.sided", var.equal=T)
trumptest
```

```
##
##  Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  religiousscale by Treatment_recode
## t = -0.093374, df = 112, p-value = 0.9258
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##  -0.3482212  0.3168777
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##        3.103825        3.119497
```

ntrumptest

```
##
##  Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  religiousscale by Treatment_recode
## t = 0.0013298, df = 132, p-value = 0.9989
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##  -0.332993  0.333441
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##        2.701613        2.701389
```

```
#Race
survey.wrace=subset(survey,Race_recode==0)
wracetest<-t.test(religiousscale~Treatment_recode, data = survey.wrace,
alternative="two.sided", var.equal=T)
survey.nwrace=subset(survey,Race_recode==1)
nwrace<-t.test(religiousscale~Treatment_recode, data = survey.nwrace, a
lternative="two.sided", var.equal=T)
wracetest
```

```
##
##  Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  religiousscale by Treatment_recode
## t = -0.27506, df = 224, p-value = 0.7835
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##  -0.2905166  0.2193491
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##        2.805060        2.840643
```

nwrace

```
##
##  Two Sample t-test
```

```
##
## data:  religiousscale by Treatment_recode
## t = 1.0378, df = 49, p-value = 0.3045
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##  -0.2312087  0.7250359
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##        3.246914        3.000000

sink()

sink("Means on Policy")
###TWO SAMPLE T TESTS POLICY SCALE###
#Gender *
psurvey.f=subset(survey,Gender_recode==2)
pfemtest<-t.test(policyscale~Treatment_recode, data = psurvey.f, altern
ative="two.sided", var.equal=T)
psurvey.m=subset(survey,Gender_recode==1)
pmtest<-t.test(policyscale~Treatment_recode, data = psurvey.m, alternat
ive="two.sided", var.equal=T)
pfemtest

##
##   Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  policyscale by Treatment_recode
## t = 0.14845, df = 200, p-value = 0.8821
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##  -0.2741705  0.3188110
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##        3.925654        3.903333

pmtest

##
##   Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  policyscale by Treatment_recode
## t = 0.53726, df = 71, p-value = 0.5928
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##  -0.3399297  0.5906804
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##        3.986486        3.861111

#Southern *
psurvey.southern=subset(survey,Southern_recode==1)
```

```
psoutherntest<-t.test(policyscale~Treatment_recode, data = psurvey.sout
hern, alternative="two.sided", var.equal=T)
psurvey.nsouthern=subset(survey,Southern_recode==2)
pnsoutherntest<-t.test(policyscale~Treatment_recode, data = psurvey.nso
uthern, alternative="two.sided",var.equal=T)
psoutherntest
```

```
##
##  Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  policyscale by Treatment_recode
## t = -0.95821, df = 183, p-value = 0.3392
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##  -0.4317901  0.1494869
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##        4.019417        4.160569
```

```
pnsoutherntest
```

```
##
##  Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  policyscale by Treatment_recode
## t = 0.42591, df = 84, p-value = 0.6713
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##  -0.3723844  0.5753723
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##        3.604762        3.503268
```

```
#Rural *
psurvey.rural=subset(survey,Rural_recode==1)
pruraltest<-t.test(policyscale~Treatment_recode, data = psurvey.rural,
alternative="two.sided", var.equal=T)
psurvey.nrural=subset(survey,Rural_recode==0)
pnruraltest<-t.test(policyscale~Treatment_recode, data = psurvey.nrural
, alternative="two.sided", var.equal=T)
pruraltest
```

```
##
##  Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  policyscale by Treatment_recode
## t = -1.3079, df = 83, p-value = 0.1945
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##  -0.6509906  0.1344732
## sample estimates:
```

```
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##         4.090426         4.348684

pnruraltest

##
##   Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  policyscale by Treatment_recode
## t = 0.78788, df = 184, p-value = 0.4318
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##   -0.1881892  0.4384211
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##         3.842803         3.717687
```

```r
#Attendance *
psurvey.attendance=subset(survey,Attendance_binary==1)
pattendancetest<-t.test(policyscale~Treatment_recode, data = psurvey.at
tendance, alternative="two.sided", var.equal=T)
psurvey.nattendance=subset(survey,Attendance_binary==0)
pnattendancetest<-t.test(policyscale~Treatment_recode, data = psurvey.n
attendance, alternative="two.sided", var.equal=T)
pattendancetest
```

```
##
##   Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  policyscale by Treatment_recode
## t = -0.89232, df = 104, p-value = 0.3743
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##   -0.4509249  0.1710507
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##         4.283019         4.422956
```

```r
pnattendancetest
```

```
##
##   Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  policyscale by Treatment_recode
## t = 0.85632, df = 170, p-value = 0.393
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##   -0.1854431  0.4695991
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##         3.711686         3.569608
```

```
#Party *
psurvey.dparty=subset(survey,party_recode==1)
pdpartytest<-t.test(policyscale~Treatment_recode, data = psurvey.dparty
, alternative="two.sided", var.equal=T)
psurvey.rparty=subset(survey,party_recode==0)
prpartytest<-t.test(policyscale~Treatment_recode, data = psurvey.rparty
, alternative="two.sided", var.equal=T)
pdpartytest

##
##   Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  policyscale by Treatment_recode
## t = 0.22936, df = 83, p-value = 0.8192
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##   -0.4286960  0.5404574
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##        3.141026        3.085145

prpartytest

##
##   Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  policyscale by Treatment_recode
## t = -0.43345, df = 145, p-value = 0.6653
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##   -0.2677606  0.1714402
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##        4.398268        4.446429

#Trump *
psurvey.trump=subset(survey,General_recode_Trump==0)
ptrumptest<-t.test(policyscale~Treatment_recode, data = psurvey.trump,
alternative="two.sided", var.equal=T)
psurvey.ntrump=subset(survey,General_recode_Trump==1)
pntrumptest<-t.test(policyscale~Treatment_recode, data = psurvey.ntrump
, alternative="two.sided", var.equal=T)
ptrumptest

##
##   Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  policyscale by Treatment_recode
## t = 0.024557, df = 112, p-value = 0.9805
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
```

```
##  -0.2177165  0.2231810
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##        4.502732        4.500000
```

pntrumptest

```
##
##   Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  policyscale by Treatment_recode
## t = -0.27584, df = 132, p-value = 0.7831
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##  -0.4405279  0.3327024
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##        3.395161        3.449074
```

#Race
psurvey.wrace=**subset**(survey,Race_recode**==0**)
pwracetest<-**t.test**(policyscale**~**Treatment_recode, data = psurvey.wrace,
alternative="two.sided", var.equal=T)
psurvey.nwrace=**subset**(survey,Race_recode**==1**)
pnwrace<-**t.test**(policyscale**~**Treatment_recode, data = psurvey.nwrace, al
ternative="two.sided", var.equal=T)
pwracetest

```
##
##   Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  policyscale by Treatment_recode
## t = -0.50784, df = 224, p-value = 0.6121
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##  -0.3406327  0.2010389
## sample estimates:
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##        3.896577        3.966374
```

pnwrace

```
##
##   Two Sample t-test
##
## data:  policyscale by Treatment_recode
## t = 1.4483, df = 49, p-value = 0.1539
## alternative hypothesis: true difference in means is not equal to 0
## 95 percent confidence interval:
##  -0.1740524  1.0722005
## sample estimates:
```

```
## mean in group 0 mean in group 1
##         4.018519         3.569444
```

sink