

Supplemental Appendix for “An Ecclesiastical Court:
Christian Nationalism and Perceptions of the U.S.
Supreme Court”

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A Christian Nationalism Survey Questions

Overturning Roe [Question 40d]

- How much do you favor or oppose each of the following? The Supreme Court overturning Roe versus Wade, the 1973 Supreme Court decision that affirmed a constitutional right to abortion. [Strongly favor; Somewhat favor; Somewhat oppose; Strongly oppose]

Christian Nationalism Questions [Question 43, presented randomly]

- How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? [Completely agree; Mostly agree; Mostly disagree; Completely disagree]
 - God intended America to be a new promised land where European Christians could create a society that could be an example to the rest of the world.
 - U.S. laws should be based on Christian values.
 - Being Christian is an important part of being truly American.
 - The U.S. government should declare America a Christian nation.
 - If the U.S. moves away from our Christian foundations, we will not have a country anymore.
 - We must maintain a strict separation of church and state.
 - God has called Christians to exercise dominion over all areas of American society.
 - The federal government should not favor one religion over another.

Participant Religiosity [Question RELIMP4]

- Which of the following comes closest to how you think about the place of religion in your life? [Religion is the not important in my life; Religion is not as important as other things in my life; Religion is one among many important things in my life; Religion is the most important thing in my life]

Participant Religious Service Attendance [Question ATTEND4A]

- Over the past year, how often have you done each of the following? [Never; Seldom; A few times a year; One or twice a month; Once a week; More than once a week]
 - Attended virtual religious events other than worship services
 - Aside from weddings and funerals, attended religious services, either virtually or in person
 - Had a conversation with someone who belongs to a different religion from your own
 - Volunteered your time at a charity, religious organization, or school
 - Donated money to a church or other religious congregation or charity

Ex Ante Abortion Position [Question 11A]

- Do you think abortion should be legal or illegal? [Legal in all cases; Legal in most cases; Illegal in most cases; Illegal in all cases]

Political Variables [Questions 42A, 42B, 21, PID100, PID110, PID120, PID130]

- Do you have a favorable or an unfavorable view of each of the following people or terms? [Have not heard of; Very unfavorable; Somewhat unfavorable; Somewhat favorable; Very favorable]
 - Joe Biden
 - Donald Trump
- In general, do you think of yourself as...[Extremely conservative; Conservative; Slightly conservative; Moderate, middle of the road; Slightly liberal; Liberal; Extremely liberal]
- Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as...[Republican; Democrat; Independent; Something else]
 - [If answered “Republican”:] Would you call yourself a...[Not very strong Republican; Republican]
 - [If answered “Democrat”:] Would you call yourself a...[Not very strong Democrat; Democrat]
 - [If answered “Independent” or “Something else”:] Do you think of yourself as closer to the...[Republican Party; Democratic Party; Neither]

Demographic Variables [Questions I-EDUC, I-GENDER, I-INCOME, PPAGE, PPETHM, I-RELIGION]

- Education, 5 Categories [No high school diploma or GED; High school graduate; Some college or Associate’s degree; Bachelor’s degree; Master’s degree or above]
- Gender [Male; Female]
- Household income [Less than \$10,000; \$10,000 to \$24,999; \$25,000 to \$49,999; \$50,000 to \$74,999; \$75,000 to \$99,999; \$100,000 or more]
- Age [18-94]
- Race/Ethnicity, Census categories [White, Non-Hispanic; Black, Non-Hispanic; Other, Non-Hispanic; Hispanic, 2+ Races, Non-Hispanic]
- What is your religion? Select one answer only. [Catholic; Evangelical or Protestant Christian; Other religion; No religion]

B Christian Nationalism Survey Summary Statistics and Psychometric Properties

Table A1: Christian Nationalism Battery Items

	Eigenvalue	Prop. Var. Explained
Factor 1	4.56	0.85
Factor 2	0.49	0.09
<hr/>		
	Mean (Std. Dev.)	Factor Score
God intended America to be a new promised land where European Christians could create a society that could be an example to the rest of the world.	1.95 (1.04)	0.79
U.S. laws should be based on Christian values.	2.22 (1.08)	0.82
Being Christian is an important part of being truly American	2.00 (1.05)	0.87
The U.S. government should declare America a Christian nation	1.90 (1.05)	0.86
If the U.S. moves away from our Christian foundations, we will not have a country anymore.	2.18 (1.12)	0.87
We must maintain strict separation of church and state. (r)	1.75 (0.89)	0.46
God has called Christians to exercise dominion over all areas of American society.	1.73 (0.94)	0.81
The federal government should not favor one religion over another. (r)	1.42 (0.73)	0.39
Cronbach's alpha	0.903	
Mean (Std. Dev.) of scale (range 0–1)	0.299 (0.257)	

(r) indicates item is reverse coded.

C Christian Nationalism Survey Participant Demographics

Table A2: Participant Demographics

Variable	Count	Percent of Group
Strong Democrat	1258	20.36 (%)
Not so strong Democrat	751	12.15 (%)
Lean Democrat	691	11.18 (%)
Independent	794	12.85 (%)
Lean Republican	542	8.77 (%)
Not so strong Republican	893	14.45 (%)
Strong Republican	1251	20.24 (%)
Male	2849	45.86 (%)
Female	3363	54.14 (%)
Catholic	1468	23.92 (%)
Evangelical or Protestant Christian	2154	35.10 (%)
Other religion	1070	17.44 (%)
No religion	1445	23.55 (%)
No high school diploma or GED	268	4.31 (%)
High school graduate	1301	20.94 (%)
Some college or Associate's degree	1883	30.31 (%)
Bachelor's degree	1561	25.13 (%)
Master's degree or above	1199	19.30 (%)
Less than \$10,000	274	5.44 (%)
\$10,000-\$24,999	600	11.91 (%)
\$25,000-\$49,999	1147	22.78 (%)
\$50,000-\$74,999	1048	20.81 (%)
\$75,000-\$99,999	853	16.94 (%)
\$100,000 or more	1114	22.12 (%)

D Christian Nationalism Survey Regression Tables

Table A3: OLS Regression—Support for *Dobbs*

Variable	Paper Model	Fixed Effects	Christian Nationalism × Ideology	Christian Nationalism × Evangelical
Christian Nationalism	0.114* (0.042)	0.116* (0.042)	0.376* (0.087)	0.183* (0.048)
Religious Importance	0.038 (0.027)	0.045 (0.033)	0.030 (0.027)	0.028 (0.027)
Service Attendance	0.073 (0.041)	0.074 (0.041)	0.072 (0.041)	0.072 (0.041)
Legal Abortion Support	−0.277* (0.032)	−0.277* (0.032)	−0.275* (0.032)	−0.277* (0.032)
Biden Favorability	−0.093* (0.031)	−0.093* (0.032)	−0.090* (0.031)	−0.092* (0.031)
Trump Favorability	0.120* (0.031)	0.120* (0.031)	0.120* (0.030)	0.118* (0.031)
Self-identified Ideology	0.235* (0.043)	0.236* (0.043)	0.376* (0.056)	0.227* (0.042)
Partisan Identification	0.063 (0.036)	0.063 (0.035)	0.058 (0.035)	0.063 (0.035)
Ideological Strength	0.072* (0.022)	0.071* (0.022)	0.121* (0.027)	0.078* (0.022)
Partisan Strength	−0.005 (0.023)	−0.003 (0.023)	−0.000 (0.023)	−0.003 (0.023)
Education	0.003 (0.007)	0.003 (0.007)	0.005 (0.007)	0.004 (0.007)
Female	−0.040* (0.013)	−0.040* (0.013)	−0.039* (0.013)	−0.040* (0.013)
Income	0.001 (0.005)	0.001 (0.005)	0.002 (0.005)	0.001 (0.005)
Age	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)
Black, Non-Hispanic	0.070* (0.026)	0.069* (0.026)	0.059* (0.026)	0.065* (0.026)
Other, Non-Hispanic	0.057 (0.042)	0.057 (0.042)	0.049 (0.042)	0.055 (0.042)
Hispanic	0.024 (0.020)	0.025 (0.021)	0.020 (0.020)	0.022 (0.020)
Multiracial, Non-Hispanic	0.075 (0.042)	0.075 (0.042)	0.073 (0.042)	0.073 (0.041)
Evangelical	0.006 (0.018)	0.008 (0.020)	0.008 (0.018)	0.097* (0.035)
Evangelical or Protestant		−0.002 (0.020)		
Other Religion		0.003 (0.025)		
No Religion		0.012 (0.024)		
Chr. Nat. × Ideo. Strength			−0.464* (0.137)	
Chr. Nat. × Evangelical				−0.204* (0.069)
Constant	0.274* (0.048)	0.738* (0.055)	0.194* (0.052)	0.264* (0.048)
Observations	4,385	4,385	4,385	4,385

*p<0.05 on two-tailed test

E Christian Nationalism Survey Variance Inflation Factor of Full Model in Table 1

The VIF columns display the variance inflation factor and the tolerance ($1/\text{VIF}$) to examine the multicollinearity for our full model displayed in Table 1, particularly between Christian nationalism and evangelicalism. The VIF increases when one independent variable is strongly correlated with another. Rule of thumb suggests that VIF should not surpass 10 without additional diagnostics (O'Brien 2007). A stricter test suggests four, with values lower than that being of no concern. As we show below, our results across models, particularly for evangelicalism and Christian nationalism, are well below these benchmarks, so we see no increase in either value when evangelical is added to the model.

Table A4: Variance Inflation Factor (VIF) Model

Variable	<i>Full Model</i>		<i>No Evangelical</i>	
	VIF	1/VIF	VIF	1/VIF
Christian Nationalism	2.52	0.396	2.39	0.419
Religious Importance	2.14	0.466	1.97	0.508
Service Attendance	1.56	0.642	1.51	0.661
Legal Abortion Support	1.84	0.542	1.82	0.548
Biden Favorability	2.88	0.347	2.81	0.356
Trump Favorability	2.61	0.383	2.58	0.388
Self-identified Ideology	2.45	0.409	2.43	0.412
Partisan Identification	3.56	0.281	3.51	0.285
Ideological Strength	1.25	0.802	1.24	0.810
Partisan Strength	1.25	0.801	1.26	0.796
Education	1.36	0.737	1.37	0.731
Female	1.06	0.943	1.06	0.947
Income	1.25	0.800	1.25	0.801
Age	1.13	0.882	1.14	0.880
Black, Non-Hispanic	1.23	0.816	1.20	0.834
Other, Non-Hispanic	1.02	0.976	1.03	0.970
Hispanic	1.13	0.884	1.12	0.890
Multiracial, Non-Hispanic	1.02	0.980	1.02	0.981
Evangelical	1.51	0.660		
Mean VIF	1.73		1.71	

F Experimental Survey Participant Demographics

Table A5: Participant Demographics

Variable	Count	Percent of Group	2020 ANES ¹
Strong Democrat	208	22.86	23.2
Not so strong Democrat	105	11.54	11.5
Lean Democrat	88	9.67	11.8
Independent	108	11.87	11.8
Lean Republican	87	9.56	10.5
Not so strong Republican	120	13.19	10.5
Strong Republican	194	21.32	21.0
Male	560	49.34	45.45
Female	575	50.66	53.74
White	792	69.78	72.02
Black	142	12.51	8.77
American Indian or Alaskan Native	26	2.29	2.08
Asian, Indian	18	1.59	—
Asian, Chinese	9	0.79	—
Asian, Filipino	11	0.97	—
Asian, Japanese	2	0.18	—
Asian, Korean	6	0.53	—
Asian, Vietnamese	2	0.18	—
Asian, Other	8	0.70	—
Pacific Islander, Native Hawaiian	4	0.35	—
Pacific Islander, Guamanian	1	0.09	—
Pacific Islander, Samoan	0	0	—
Pacific Islander, Other	1	0.09	—
Some other race	96	8.46	—
Prefer not to answer	16	1.41	1.16
Multiple Races	—	—	3.27
Not of Hispanic origin	986	86.80	90.07
Hispanic origin	133	11.71	9.20
Prefer not to answer	17	1.47	—
Less than high school degree	82	7.35	4.54
High school graduate	349	31.27	16.14
Post high school vocational training	49	4.39	—
Some college, but no degree	209	18.73	20.34
Associate's degree	121	10.84	13.36
Bachelor's degree in college	197	17.65	24.82
Master's degree	87	7.80	14.31
Doctoral degree	22	1.97	4.92

¹2020 ANES comparison data comes from Armaly and Enders (2024).

G Experimental Survey Questions

Pre-Treatment: Ex ante policy positions

- We are going to ask you a few questions about your thoughts on political issues. In general, to what extent to you agree or disagree with the following statements? [Strongly disagree; Disagree; Neither agree nor disagree; Agree; Strongly agree]
 - Police officers should be required to obtain a warrant in order to make an individual unlock his or her cellphone.
 - Law abiding citizens should have the right to own and carry handguns.
 - Colleges should use affirmative action programs to increase the number of Black and minority students on their campuses.
 - Please select “Strongly disagree.”
 - Contract disputes ought to be settled through arbitration or mediation, not lawsuits, whenever possible.
 - Public schools should schedule time when children may pray silently if they want to do so.
 - Women should be able to obtain most abortions without government interference.

Pre-Treatment: Religion

- How often do you attend religious services? [Every week; Almost every week; Once or twice a month; A few times a year; Never]
- What is your present religion, if any? [Protestant Christian; Roman Catholic; Mormon; Orthodox Christian; Jewish; Muslim; Buddhist; Hindu; Atheist (do not believe in God); Agnostic (unsure about whether there is a God); Something else; Nothing in particular]
 - [If selected “Protestant Christian”:] Would you describe yourself as a born-again or evangelical Christian, or not? [No, not a born-again or evangelical Christian; Yes, born-again or evangelical Christian]

Pre-Treatment: Christian nationalism

- Please indicate your agreement with the following statements. [Strongly disagree; Disagree; Neither agree nor disagree; Agree; Strongly agree]
 - The federal government should declare the United States a Christian nation.
 - The federal government should advocate Christian values.
 - The federal government should enforce strict separation of church and state.
 - The federal government should allow the display of religious symbols in public spaces.

- The success of the United States is part of God’s plan.
- The federal government should allow prayer in public schools.

Pre-Treatment: Court ideology

- On a scale of 1 to 7, with 1 being very conservative and 7 being very liberal, how liberal or conservative do you think the U.S. Supreme Court is? [1-7]

Pre-Treatment: PID and ideology

- Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what? [Democrat; Republican; Independent; Other; No preference, neither; Don’t know]
 - [If answered “Democrat”] Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat? [Strong; Not very strong; Don’t know]
 - [If answered “Republican”] Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican? [Strong; Not very strong; Don’t know]
 - [If answered “Independent,” “Other,” “No preference, neither,” or “Don’t know”] Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or Democratic Party?
- We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. When it comes to politics, do you usually think of yourself as extremely liberal, liberal, slightly liberal, moderate or middle of the road, slightly conservative, extremely conservative, or haven’t you thought much about this? [Extremely liberal; Liberal; Slightly liberal; Moderate; Slightly conservative; Conservative; Extremely conservative; Haven’t thought much about this; Don’t know]

Post-treatment: Decision-making factors

- How much do you agree with Supreme Court justices using the following factors to decide cases? [Strongly agree; Somewhat agree; Neither agree nor disagree; Somewhat disagree; Strongly disagree]
 - Laws passed by Congress
 - Past Supreme Court decisions
 - Scientific evidence
 - Politicians’ opinions
 - Interest groups’ opinions
 - Religious considerations
 - Personal considerations
 - Partisan preferences

Post-treatment: Manipulation checks

- [If in the control group:] Earlier, you read a story about the U.S. Supreme Court justices. Do you happen to remember what, specifically, the story was about? [The number of justices; The shape of the bench; Specific cases the Court has heard; The construction of the Supreme Court building in 1935]
- [If in the treatment group:] Earlier, you read a story about a Supreme Court justice. Do you happen to remember which justice you read about? [Samuel Alito; Clarence Thomas; Neil Gorsuch; Brett Kavanaugh]

H Experimental Survey Factor Analysis

Table A6: Results from Factor Analysis with Oblique Rotation

A. Eigenvalues		
	<u>Eigenvalue</u>	Prop. variance <u>Explained</u>
Factor 1	2.85	0.65
Factor 2	1.14	0.26
Factor 3	0.21	0.05
B. Factor Scores after Rotation		
	<u>Political</u>	<u>Expertise</u>
Laws passed by Congress	0.02	0.70
Past SC decisions	0.08	0.51
Scientific evidence	-0.11	0.61
Politicians' opinions	0.80	-0.06
Interest groups' opinions	0.76	-0.01
Religious considerations	0.63	0.05
Personal considerations	0.74	0.04
Partisan preferences	0.77	0.00

Bold text indicates significant factor loading.

I Experimental Survey Regression Tables for Decision Making Factor Support

Table A7: Christian Nationalism and Support for Judicial Decision Making Models
(Two-item scale of Christian Nation and Christian Values questions, see Davis 2023)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
	Religious	Political	Expertise
Christian Nationalism (Two-item)	0.368* (0.04)	0.168* (0.03)	0.000 (0.03)
Partisanship	-0.005 (0.04)	-0.001 (0.03)	-0.061* (0.03)
Ideology	0.085 (0.05)	-0.03 (0.04)	0.048 (0.04)
Partisan Strength	-0.006 (0.04)	0.010 (0.03)	0.016 (0.03)
Ideological Strength	0.025 (0.03)	-0.002 (0.03)	0.048* (0.02)
SCOTUS Ideological Disagreement	-0.076 (0.04)	-0.078* (0.03)	-0.040 (0.03)
Knowledge	-0.076 (0.05)	-0.174* (0.04)	0.142* (0.03)
Politicization	-0.131* (0.05)	-0.122* (0.04)	-0.069 (0.04)
Legitimacy	0.100* (0.05)	0.159* (0.04)	0.022 (0.04)
Religiosity	0.102* (0.03)	0.041 (0.02)	-0.010 (0.02)
Age	0.023 (0.06)	-0.084 (0.04)	0.028 (0.04)
Education	-0.090* (0.04)	-0.073* (0.03)	0.011 (0.03)
Female	0.043* (0.02)	-0.005 (0.02)	-0.029 (0.01)
Black	0.062 (0.04)	0.023 (0.03)	-0.014 (0.03)
American Indian	0.077 (0.08)	0.095 (0.06)	-0.026 (0.06)
Indian	0.155 (0.09)	0.152* (0.07)	-0.050 (0.06)
Chinese	-0.187 (0.13)	0.041 (0.10)	0.043 (0.09)
Filipino	-0.004 (0.10)	-0.017 (0.08)	-0.032 (0.07)
Japanese	-0.353 (0.28)	-0.455* (0.22)	-0.127 (0.20)
Vietnamese	0.112 (0.16)	-0.079 (0.13)	0.128 (0.12)
Asian: Other	0.410* (0.20)	0.174 (0.16)	0.156 (0.14)
Native Hawaiian	-0.340 (0.28)	-0.115 (0.22)	-0.224 (0.20)
Other Race	0.006 (0.04)	0.020 (0.03)	-0.020 (0.03)
No Race Given	-0.230* (0.11)	-0.073 (0.08)	0.065 (0.08)
Treatment A	-0.014 (0.04)	-0.017 (0.03)	-0.029 (0.03)
Treatment B	0.067 (0.04)	0.027 (0.03)	-0.023 (0.03)
Treatment C	0.014 (0.04)	0.015 (0.03)	-0.025 (0.03)
Treatment D	0.026 (0.04)	0.011 (0.03)	0.005 (0.03)
Treatment E	-0.036 (0.04)	-0.056 (0.03)	-0.009 (0.03)
Duration	0.000 (0.00)	0.000 (0.00)	0.000* (0.00)
Constant	0.253* (0.08)	0.529* (0.06)	0.616* _s (0.05)
Observations	728	725	725

*p<0.05 on two-tailed test. Treatments A–E are not used in this paper.

Table A8: Christian Nationalism and Support for Judicial Decision Making Models, including estimates for race and additional treatment categories.

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
	Religious	Political	Expertise
Christian Nationalism	0.436* (0.06)	0.181* (0.04)	0.043 (0.04)
Partisanship	-0.006 (0.04)	0.002 (0.03)	-0.067* (0.03)
Ideology	0.082 (0.05)	-0.030 (0.04)	0.040 (0.04)
Partisan Strength	-0.002 (0.04)	0.011 (0.03)	0.014 (0.03)
Ideological Strength	0.028 (0.03)	0.001 (0.03)	0.047* (0.02)
SCOTUS Ideological Disagreement	-0.081 (0.04)	-0.085* (0.03)	-0.033 (0.03)
Knowledge	-0.063 (0.05)	-0.172* (0.04)	0.150* (0.03)
Politicization	-0.129* (0.05)	-0.120* (0.04)	-0.067* (0.04)
Legitimacy	0.119* (0.05)	0.169* (0.04)	0.022 (0.04)
Religiosity	0.107* (0.03)	0.046 (0.02)	-0.017 (0.02)
Age	0.042 (0.06)	-0.072 (0.04)	0.024 (0.04)
Education	-0.090* (0.04)	-0.075* (0.03)	0.016 (0.03)
Female	0.037 (0.02)	-0.007 (0.02)	-0.029 (0.01)
Black	0.060 (0.04)	0.022 (0.03)	-0.019 (0.03)
American Indian	0.087 (0.08)	0.099 (0.06)	-0.024 (0.06)
Indian	0.141 (0.09)	0.145* (0.07)	-0.049 (0.06)
Chinese	-0.162 (0.13)	0.054 (0.10)	0.040 (0.09)
Filipino	0.010 (0.10)	-0.013 (0.08)	-0.027 (0.07)
Japanese	-0.314 (0.29)	-0.445* (0.22)	-0.108 (0.20)
Vietnamese	0.154 (0.17)	-0.060 (0.13)	0.129 (0.11)
Asian: Other	0.343 (0.20)	0.147 (0.16)	0.148 (0.14)
Native Hawaiian	-0.278 (0.29)	-0.085 (0.22)	-0.229 (0.20)
Other Race	0.002 (0.04)	0.018 (0.03)	-0.019 (0.03)
No Race Given	-0.231* (0.11)	-0.073 (0.09)	0.063 (0.08)
Treatment A	-0.013 (0.04)	-0.017 (0.03)	-0.028 (0.03)
Treatment B	0.070 (0.04)	0.027 (0.03)	-0.023 (0.03)
Treatment C	0.014 (0.04)	0.015 (0.03)	-0.025 (0.03)
Treatment D	0.020 (0.04)	0.008 (0.03)	0.006 (0.03)
Treatment E	-0.034 (0.04)	-0.055 (0.03)	-0.008 (0.03)
Duration	0.000 (0.00)	0.000 (0.00)	0.000* (0.00)
Constant	0.186* (0.08)	0.507* (0.06)	0.596* (0.00)
Observations	729	727	727

*p<0.05 on two-tailed test. Treatments A–E are not used in this paper.

Table A9: Partisan Factor Excluding Religious Factor Model

Christian Nationalism	0.537*
	(0.170)
Partisanship	-0.010
	(0.12)
Ideology	-0.143
	(0.15)
Partisan Strength	0.054
	(0.11)
Ideological Strength	-0.007
	(0.10)
SCOTUS Ideological Disagreement	-0.311*
	(0.13)
Knowledge	-0.643*
	(0.14)
Politicization	-0.445*
	(0.15)
Legitimacy	0.653*
	(0.15)
Religiosity	0.131
	(0.09)
Age	-0.321*
	(0.16)
Education	-0.262*
	(0.12)
Female	-0.056
	(0.06)
Black	0.055
	(0.11)
American Indian	0.350
	(0.24)
Indian	0.518*
	(0.25)
Chinese	0.291
	(0.38)
Filipino	-0.061
	(0.30)
Japanese	-1.704*
	(0.85)
Vietnamese	-0.308
	(0.49)
Asian: Other	0.438
	(0.60)
Native Hawaiian	-0.298
	(0.84)
Other Race	0.050
	(0.12)
No Race Given	-0.170
	(0.32)
Treatment A	-0.073
	(0.11)
Treatment B	0.067
	(0.11)
Treatment C	0.041
	(0.11)
Treatment D	0.021
	(0.11)
Treatment E	-0.209
	(0.11)
Duration	0.000
	(0.00)
Constant	0.496*
	(0.23)
Observations	727

*p<0.05 on two-tailed test.

Treatments A-E are not used in this paper.

J Experimental Survey Manipulation Checks

As a manipulation check, we asked participants in the treatment groups, “Earlier, you read a story about a Supreme Court justice. Do you happen to remember which justice you read about?” For answers, they could select, “Samuel Alito” (the correct answer), “Clarence Thomas,” “Neil Gorsuch,” or “Brett Kavanaugh.” As we show in Table A10, about 60% of participants in the treatment group answered the question correctly.

Table A10: Treatment Group Manipulation Check

Answer	Count
Samuel Alito	82
Clarence Thomas	37
Neil Gorsuch	11
Brett Kavanaugh	9
Total	139

We also asked participants in the control group, “Earlier you read a story about the U.S. Supreme Court justices. Do you happen to remember what, specifically, the story was about?” For answers, they could select, “The number of justices,” “The shape of the bench” (the correct answer), “Specific cases the Court has heard,” or “The construction of the Supreme Court building in 1935.” As we show in Table A11, the overwhelming majority of participants got this question right.

Table A11: Control Group Manipulation Check

Answer	Count
The number of justices	9
The shape of the bench	109
Specific cases the Court has heard	10
The construction of the Supreme Court building in 1935	5
Total	133

K Experimental Survey Robustness to Partisan Effects

Given that, both in our data and in existing scholarship, Republican identifiers tend to score higher on measures of Christian nationalism, it is imperative to highlight that the use of Christian nationalism does not act as a stand-in or proxy for partisanship in our experiment. (In observational models, partisanship is accounted for.)

First, the Pearson correlation between partisanship and Christian nationalism in the Theorem data is 0.43. Most rules of thumb suggest that this is only a moderate relationship. Still, it does indicate it is worthwhile to further investigate the relationship. We do so in two ways. First, we simply omit Christian nationalism from the regression used to estimate the effects in Figure 4. In Figure A1, we display the predicted level of support for the use of religious logic in judicial decisions for Democrats and Republicans among treated participants only. Any difference among control participants would reflect ex ante differences in Christian nationalism, which we already know exist (per previous scholarship and the correlation reported here).

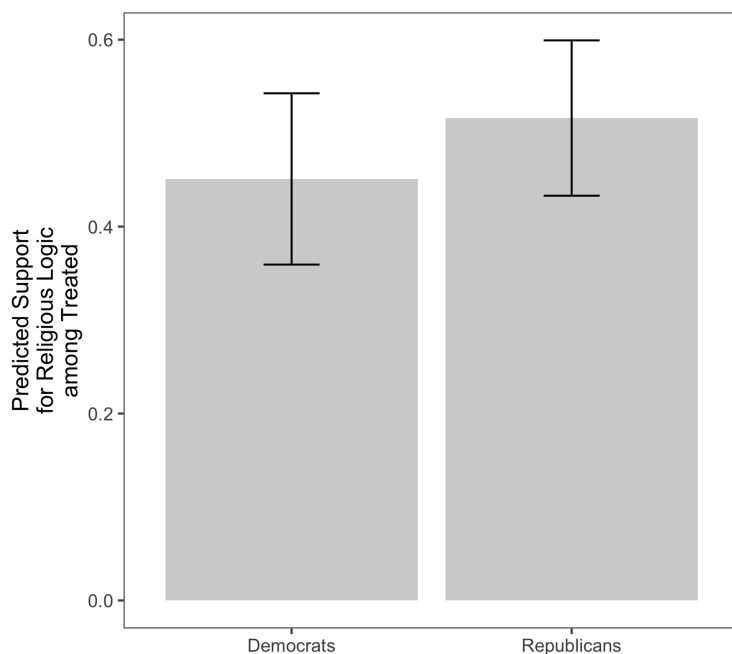


Figure A1: Predicted support for use of religion in judicial decision making, by partisanship, among treated participants only.

As the figure shows, there is no difference in predicted support for religious logic across Democrats and Republicans. Per the logic of our experimental design and theory, if Christian nationalism were merely a proxy for partisanship, we would expect Democrats to have higher support for the use of religious logic than Republicans. Of course, this is because legitimation happens among those low in a given attitude, trait, etc.; if Democrats were systematically low in Christian nationalism (which would be implied if one were a proxy

for the other), these are the individuals prone to increases. Given that we do not see this here, but we do see increases in support for religious logic among those low in Christian nationalism, suggests partisanship and nationalism are operating differently. We believe this is true broadly, but Figure 2 shows that this is certainly the case in our data.

Next, we re-estimate the regression from the main text and include a three-way interaction between treatment, Christian nationalism, and Republican identification (where 1 = Republican and 0 = Democrat). We display the marginal effect of Christian nationalism on support for religious logic across partisanship.

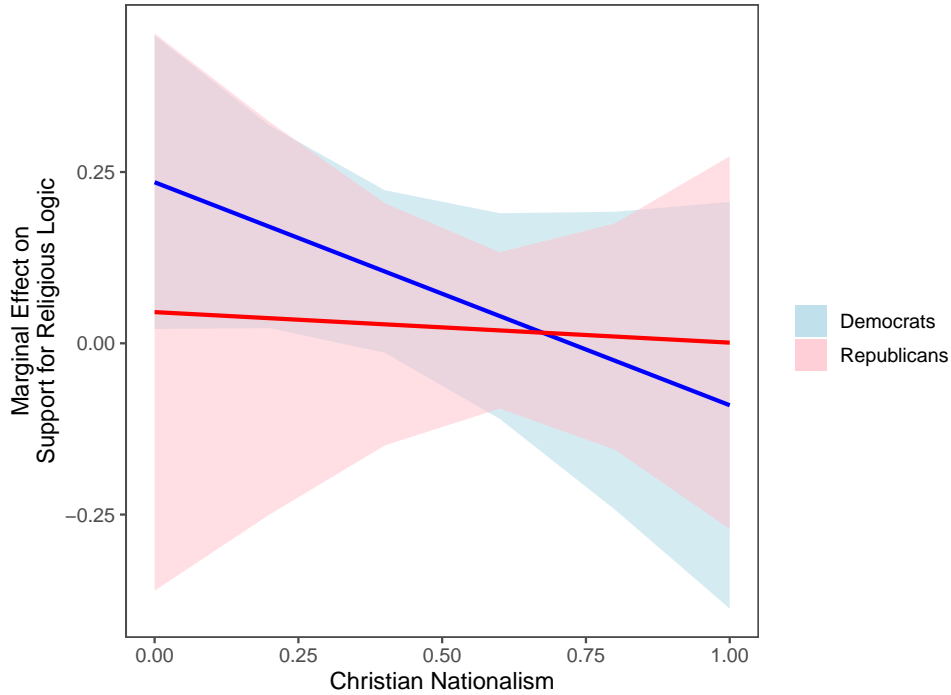


Figure A2: Predicted support for use of religion in judicial decision making, by partisanship, among treated participants only.

In essence, we find no independent effect of including partisanship in the regression. First of all, there is never a discernible effect; even though the slope for Democrats is downward facing, it is not statistically significant (i.e., a positive slope could fit in the confidence intervals). Second, while the marginal effect is significant for Democrats who are low in Christian nationalism—which, at first glance, might accord with our findings in the main text—the estimate is not distinct from the estimates for Republicans.

All in all, we find no partisan heterogeneity in the experimental findings displayed in the main text.

L Experimental Survey Regression Tables for Treatment Analysis

Table A12: Alito Treatment on Support for Religious Logic in SCOTUS Decisions (Two-item scale of Christian Nation and Christian Values questions, see Davis (2023))

Treatment	0.186*
	(0.07)
Christian Nationalism	0.580*
	(0.08)
Treatment \times Christian Nationalism	-0.308*
	(0.12)
Constant	0.184
	(0.05)
Observations	272

*p<0.05 on two-tailed test.

M Ethical Declaration

M.1 Conflict of Interest

There are no conflicts of interest to report.

M.2 Research Involving Human and Animal Rights

In this manuscript, we adhere to ethical principles in social science. This research uses human participants, who provided informed consent and were debriefed at the end of the survey. Our survey participants were paid by Cint Theorem, which does not reveal to researchers how much is given to each participant. This research did not benefit or harm particular groups, and vulnerable populations were not sampled.

N Data Citations

- For Analysis 1:
 - Public Religion Research Institute and The Brookings Institution. (2023). “PRRI-Brookings 2023 Christian Nationalism Survey.” *The Association of Religion Data Archives*. doi: 10.17605/OSF.IO/XUTNA.
- For Analyses 2 and 3:
 - Lane, Elizabeth, 2025. “An Ecclesiastical Court: Christian Nationalism and Perceptions of the U.S. Supreme Court” *Harvard Dataverse*. <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/X87YY2>.

References

Davis, Nicholas T. 2023. “The Psychometric Properties of the Christian Nationalism Scale.”
Politics and Religion 16:1–26.