

## Appendix: Variable Coding

### Dependent variables

*Clergy deliberative norms* Is an averaged index ranging from 1 to 7 including responses to five questions asking clergy which statement comes closest to their opinion regarding what “is most important in my role as a clergyperson.” Thus clergy would choose 1 if the first statement best fit their opinion, some number around 4 if they were neutral or ambivalent toward the two statements and 7 if the second statement best fit their opinion. The pairs of statements, in order of their coding from low to high, included: Persuade members to adopt particular viewpoints vs. Help members reach their own more informed opinions; Ensure debate reflects the values of the church vs. Ensure that debate reflects many viewpoints; Avoid debate to maintain a cohesive, supportive church vs. Encourage debate to work through differences in the church; Help maintain the church body by avoiding controversy vs. Help the church in its role to challenge society to live the church's values; Help members choose a candidate who best supports the church's values vs. Ensure members are involved in the political process regardless of their views.

*Adult education norms* (both CCS and PCUSA data) Is an averaged index ranging from 1=strongly disagree to 5=strongly agree including responses about four statements: a. We explicitly encourage participants to think seriously about the opinions of others; b. It is essential that a range of viewpoints be presented; c. It is essential that participants learn how their values and religious beliefs relate to social and political issues; d. It is essential for participants to learn how to talk through their differences of opinions on such matters.

*Clergy speech diversity* The proportion of arguments the clergy mentioned that they disagreed with. It is constructed using two questions asked about 15 separate arguments regarding immigration: “Did you mention that...” and “Do you agree that...” Thus the denominator is the total number (of 15) arguments mentioned and the numerator is the number of arguments mentioned with which they

disagreed. The statements included: to uphold the law's integrity, we must work harder to stop illegal immigration; regardless of how people immigrated, we need to treat all people with dignity and respect; regardless of how people immigrated, we need to make all people feel welcome in our community; illegal immigration threatens the economic security of the community; we need to crack down on individuals and businesses that hire illegal immigrants; illegal immigration threatens the historic traditions and values of my community; illegal immigration leads U.S. businesses to exploit immigrants for their labor; immigrants are welcome in my community if they make an effort to learn about the community and integrate themselves; immigration should be tolerated because diversity is healthy for a community; immigration should be encouraged because people deserve the chance at a better life in America; immigration increases competition for already scarce jobs; immigrants fill jobs other Americans don't wish to perform; immigrants drain our community of scarce resources; immigrants deserve to have access to education, health care, and welfare just like other Americans; given the desperate social and economic conditions, it is understandable why someone would immigrate illegally.

### **Independent Variables**

*Church political unity* “How politically united is your congregation (members agree on political issues)?

1=Very united, 2=Mostly united, 3=Somewhat united, 4=Somewhat divided, 5=Mostly divided, 6=Very divided.”

*Community similarity* Is an additive index gaining one point for each response rating the congregation to be “about the same” as the community using the following general question and comparison categories: “We would like your perceptions of how members of your congregation compare to people in YOUR community. How similar or different, on balance, is your congregation on the following items? Theological beliefs, political beliefs, income and social status, activity level in church, involvement in the community, worship and music styles favored, and political activity.”

*Church outreach index*: Is an additive index gaining a point each time the congregation had done any of the following: “In the last twelve months, has your congregation sponsored or participated in an outreach service or other public event intended to bring people into your congregation; In the last twelve months, has your congregation used different worship materials (e.g., music) to appeal to non-members; In the last twelve months, has your congregation had a special committee to work on recruiting new members; In the last twelve months, has your congregation mailed or distributed newsletters, letters, or flyers.”

*Declining membership* “Over the past five years, has your membership been: 1=increasing, 2=stable, or 3=decreasing.”

*Church size* “How many adult members are there in your church?”

*Church involvement* “About what percentage of adult members are active in the congregation beyond attending weekly services in any activity (governing boards, small groups, programs, etc.)?” Ranges from 1 to 100 with a mean=18.

*Adult education* Coded 1=yes (if any were checked), 0=none checked to the following: “Has your church held adult education sessions on any of these issues in the past year? Check all that apply. U.S. hunger and poverty, Environmental stewardship, Economy, Minimum wage, War on terrorism, Race relations, Abortion, 2008 elections, Immigrants and immigration, Gay rights and homosexuality, Church and state issues, War in Iraq.”

*Years served church* “Years at present church?”

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

*Clergy has doctorate* “What is the highest level of seminary or ministerial education you have attained?” 0=Seminary graduate, 1=Postgraduate work (for D.Min, Th.D, etc.).

*Political interest* “On a scale of 1-7, how interested are you generally in politics? 1=Not at all interested and 7=Very interested.

*Political ideology* “We hear a lot of talk in politics about liberals and conservatives. How would you classify yourself today? 1= Extremely Conservative, 2= Conservative, 3=Somewhat conservative, 4= Moderate, 5=Somewhat liberal, 6=Liberal, and 7=Extremely liberal.”