Survey Item Wording for American religious exceptionalism (ARE) metrics

*Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, neither agree nor disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statements:

1. "America holds a special place in God's plan "
2. "The success of the US is [not] a reflection of divine will "
3. "The vast resources of the US indicate God has chosen the US to lead other nations "
4. "The US is spiritually predestined to lead the world "

Table 1: Inclusion of Items Measuring American Religious Exceptionalism Across Surveys

Items	**2008 CCES**	**2010 KN**	**2011 OK**	**2012 RWS**	**2014 KYP**	**2016 SSI**	**2018 CCES**	**2019 APS**	**2020 CCES**
America holds a special place in God's plan.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
The success of the U.S. is [not] a reflection of divine will.	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
The vast resources of the U.S. indicate that God has chosen it to lead other nations.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
The United States is spiritually predestined to lead the world.		✓		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
Mean	.37	.37	.62	.45	.54	.47	.38	.46	.38
Alpha	.73	.82	.68	.80	.84	.60	.80	.79	.84
N	1,000	1,273	508	1,146	601	4,800	1,000	600	1,000

Note: Grey shading indicates surveys with large national samples, meaning a minimum of 1,000 respondents. The acronyms for the larger national surveys are *Cooperative Congressional Election Studies, Knowledge Networks (now GfK), Religious World Values Survey, and Survey Sampling International (now Dynata).* A description of each survey can be found below. * On the OK, KYP, SSI surveys, the neutral option was omitted from the response set, meaning each of these surveys captured responses on a 4-point agreement scale (rather than a 4-point scale).

National and State Surveys

Original Surveys

The 2010 Knowledge Networks (2010 KN)

Funded by a grant from the Ohio State's Mershon Center for International Security Studies. The survey is a stratified national sample of registered and unregistered adults living in the United States. The survey has 1,273 respondents.

The 2012 Religious Worldviews Survey (2012 RWS)

Funded by the National Science Foundation and was administered between October 4 and October 17, 2012. The survey is a stratified national sample of registered and unregistered Black and White adults who identified as Christians. The survey has 1,146 respondents (599 White and 547 Black), and a completion rate of 60%. A random sample of panel members was drawn from GfK's KnowledgePanel®. 1,913 (excluding breakoffs) responded to the invitation, yielding a final stage completion rate of 59.9%. The recruitment rate for this study, reported by GfK, was 14.9% and the profile rate was 64.8%, for a cumulative response rate of 5.9%. The response summary metrics were calculated using AAPOR RR6, which accounts for the multiple phases of survey recruitment and selection (for a detailed explanation see Callegaro and DiSogra 2008).

The 2010 Knowledge Networks Survey and the 2012 Religious Worldviews Survey were administered via GfK Knowledge Networks, the only online survey panel based on a representative probability sample of the whole U.S. While other online panels rely on opt-in recruitment efforts, Knowledge Networks relies on probability-based recruitment. Aware of the biases created by variation in internet access, Knowledge Networks uses "address-based sampling" to select panelists. Further, they provide panelists with internet access if they don't have it.

The 2011 Sooner Poll (2011 SP)

To collect Oklahoman attitudes, stratified online and cell phone samples were administered through Survey Sampling International. Every SoonerPoll public opinion poll completed by telephone was conducted within an on-site calling center in Oklahoma City using Computer-aided Telephone Interviewing (CATI) technology from May 2-12, 2011. The survey comprised roughly 500 respondents and had a margin of error of +/- 4.34 percent.

2014 Kentucky Poll (2014 KYP)

The 2014 Big Red Poll was conducted from October 6-19 through Western Kentucky University's Social Science Research Center. The data collection involved a live-caller, dual frame (landline and cell phone) survey of 601 registered Kentucky voters. The survey has a margin of error of +/- 4%. Calls were made from Monday through Friday from 4-8 PM, and from 1-5 PM on weekends.

2016 SSI Poll

The 2016 Survey Sampling International Poll was administered from September 14-23, 2016 to roughly 4,800 U.S. residents recruited using its online panel, which was quota sampled by gender, education, age, and state of residence (based on Current Population Survey estimates). Oversamples of black, Latinx, and Asian American respondents were collected to facilitate across race comparisons of attitudes and self-assessed behaviors.

The 2019 American Policy Survey (2019 APS)

Administered via Qualtrics between December 20 and December 30, 2019. The survey in on online convenience sample with quotas, regarding race and gender. The survey has 600 respondents.

PRRI Surveys

PRRI (Public Religion Research Institute) is a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization dedicated to conducting independent research at the intersection of religion, culture, and public policy. Each of the surveys used can be accessed through their website prri.org.

PRRI/Brookings 2012 Race, Class and Culture Survey
Sample: Nationally representative adult (18+) living in the United States
Total Respondents: 2,501 (1,501 landline; 1,000 cellphone)
Data Collected: August 2-15, 2012

PRRI/Brookings 2013 Economic Values Survey
Sample: Nationally representative adult (18+) living in the United States
Total Respondents: 2,002 (1,202 landline; 800 cellphone)
Data Collected: May 30 – June 16, 2013

PRRI/RNS June 2015 Survey
Sample: Nationally representative adult (18+) living in the United States
Total Respondents: 1,007 (501 landline; 506 cellphone)
Data Collected: June 10-14, 2015

PRRI/The Atlantic 2016 Post-Election White Working Class Survey
Sample: Subset of respondents who participated in the PRRI/The Atlantic White Working Class Survey
Total Respondents: 1,162 (540 landline; 622 cell phone)
Data Collected: November 9-20, 2016

Cooperative Congressional Election Study (CCES) Surveys

A nationally stratified sample survey administered by YouGov. The survey consists of common content and content designed by specific teams. The data taken for the 2008 and 2018 surveys are from the University of Texas team modules. Each module consists of 1,000 respondents.
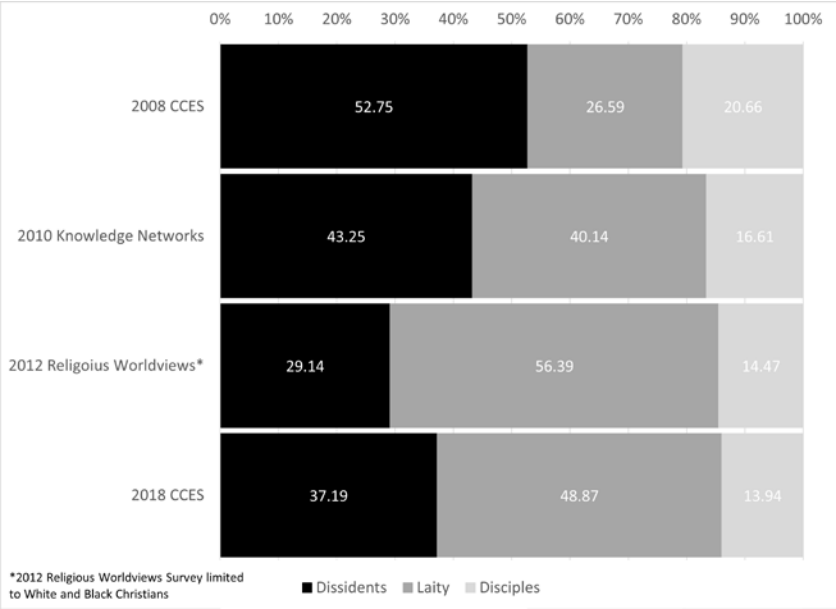
Figure 1: Distribution of dissidents, laity, and disciples of American Religious Exceptionalism