Who Supports Syrians?

The Relative Importance of Religion, Partisanship, and Partisan News

Brian Newman

Web Appendix

Details on Survey Analyses

The actual wording of item used as the dependent variable in the Pew model is as follows: "In order to help deal with this situation [large numbers of migrants fleeing violence in Syria, asked about in the previous question], the United States recently announced it will increase the number of refugees it accepts. All in all, do you approve or disapprove of this decision?"

I assigned every respondent to a single religious tradition. Pew asks respondents "What is your present religion, if any? Are you Protestant, Roman Catholic, Mormon, Orthodox such as Greek or Russian Orthodox, Jewish, Muslim, Buddhist, Hindu, atheist, agnostic, something else, or nothing in particular?" They follow up with a variety of more specific questions to categorize respondents. Protestants and those identifying as Christian broadly in follow up questions were asked whether they would describe themselves as "a 'born again' or evangelical Christian, or not." Pew categorizes white respondents who say yes as "White Evangelical Protestants" and others as "White mainline Protestants." African American respondents who identified as Protestant or Christian (but not Catholic) were classified "Black Protestants." The "Additional Protestant" category consists of respondents who were not white or African American and identified as either Protestant or Christian (but not Catholic). White Catholics and Hispanic Catholics have their own categories while the "Additional Catholic" category is comprised of

non-white and non-Hispanic Catholics. The "Other Religious Tradition" category is a catch-all group for individuals identifying with traditions with relatively few adherents in the U.S. (e.g., Orthodox, Muslim, Hindu, Buddhist). 18 respondents said they did not know what their religion is or refused to answer. I included them in the "other" category. The results do not change much when these respondents are included or excluded from the category. The number of observations in each religious tradition category reported in Tables 1 and 2 of the main text match the number of observations in the same categories published in Pew Research Center (2015). All analyses weighted as suggested by Pew.

The dependent variable in the ANES is a 7-point scale built from an item asking "do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose allowing Syrian refugees to come the United States?" Respondents answering "favor" or "oppose" were then asked whether they favor or oppose "a great deal, a moderate amount, or a little" (or the reverse order, with order randomized across respondents). In the pilot study, half the sample was asked whether they favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose "allowing refugees fleeing the Syrian civil war to come to the United States" while the other half were asked the question without reference to "fleeing the Syrian civil war." All ANES analyses were weighted as suggested by ANES (DeBell 2010).

The religion items in the Pilot study matched those in the Pew study. In fact, the ANES appears to have used Pew's religion items exactly. The pre-election study employs different items. I tried to match Pew's approach as closely as possible. I identified as white evangelicals individuals who identified themselves as white, Protestants or Christian (but did not identify themselves as Catholic), and who said yes when asked "would you call yourself a born-again Christian, that is, have you personally had a conversion experience related to Jesus Christ?" White mainline Protestants were in the same group but answered no to the born again question.

This closely parallels Pew's approach, though the born again question wording differs by not including "or evangelical Christian." The wording doesn't dramatically alter the size of either group. White evangelicals made up 19%, 17%, and 18% of the Pew, ANES Pilot, and ANES pre-election samples, respectively. Corresponding figures for White mainline Protestants were 14%, 12%, and 12%.

Religious Leaders' Recent Statements on Refugees

Below is a summary of statements on refugees and the refugee crisis from 22 religious organizations. In searching for statements, I tried to be as systematic as possible, but I make no claim to have surveyed every religious organization or leadership group in the country. Searching for a statement from every denomination in the U.S. is impractical (The Yearbook of Churches lists 456 total groups).[i] Instead, I searched for statements from relatively large denominations, organizations, or movements. I certainly have inadvertently overlooked important statements, but the summaries below show that a diverse array of religious leaders and organizations have made statements about refugees and the refugee crisis.

In summary, statements from all 22 organizations were favorable toward refugees, drawing from sacred texts or groups' core beliefs and narratives to call for some sort of concern or active care and support. None of them explicitly call for excluding Syrian refugees from the U.S. (as Franklin Graham did, as noted in the main text). The statement that came closest to arguing against bringing Syrian refugees to the U.S. was written by the Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod (LCMS). The document, entitled "Christ's Care for the Persecuted and Displaced," was structured with questions and answers. It begins "Is the LCMS advocating for

bringing Muslim refugees into Europe and the U.S.? The Synod is not advocating for bringing Muslim refugees into Europe or the U.S. LCMS mercy and human-care operations are a response to, not an endorsement of, the global refugee crisis, and our focus right now is coming alongside the Selbständige Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirche (SELK), the LCMS partner church in Germany, to help provide not only for the immediate physical needs of the refugees, but also to provide for their spiritual care through the Gospel." Thus, the LCMS explicitly does not take a position on whether the U.S. should host Syrian refugees, but describes its efforts to help refugees in Germany. Some other statements (e.g., Church of God in Christ; Evangelical Free Church), many of which were written in 2015 before candidate Trump proposed a suspension of Muslim immigration, simply did not mention the question of whether the U.S. should host Syrian refugees, but described ways their organization is helping Syrian and other refugees abroad. Still others encouraged people to support with compassion the refugees already in the U.S. without addressing whether the U.S. should allow Syrian refugees into the country (e.g., Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints; Presbyterian Church in America).

I was concerned that my searches would miss statements of opposition to allowing Syrian refugees into the country. A number of searches for religious leaders opposing resettlement in the U.S. only turned up more articles about religious leaders' opposition to the Trump administrations executive orders temporarily suspending the refugee resettlement program. I did find a few articles in which primarily political writers argued that the Bible does not require the U.S. to open its borders to Syrian refugees (e.g., French 2015; Walsh 2017), but as noted above, I did not find statements from religious leaders or organizations to this effect. I admit they may be out there.

I categorize organizations roughly in the same order as the religious traditions in the

tables of the main text. Where possible, I note 1) the date of the statement and include links to

the statements (though of course links can go dead over time), 2) whether the statement generally

encouraged readers/listeners to support refugees, and 3) whether the statement specifically

favored or opposed bringing refugees to the U.S. I also include direct quotes from the statements

to illustrate the statements' specific language.

Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints
Statement from the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints:
http://www.deseretnews.com/article/865650963/LDS-First-Presidency-letter-on-refugees.html?pg=all

Date: March 2016
Encouraged support for refugees in general: Yes
Took a position on allowing Syrian refugees into the U.S.: No

"It is with great concern and compassion that we observe the plight of the millions of people around the world who have fled their homes seeking relief from civil conflict and other hardships. Thanks to the generous help of our members, the Church is providing assistance to migrants and refugees in several countries.

"Many Church members have inquired how they can provide additional assistance. Members may contribute to the Church Humanitarian Fund using the Tithing and Other Offerings donations slip. We also invite Church units, families, and individuals to participate in local refugee relief projects, where practical."

Statement by the LDS church in response to Trump Administration's executive order:
http://www.mormonnewsroom.org/article/the-church-expresses-concern-for-those-fleeing-violence-war-and-religious-persecution

Date: January 2017
Encouraged support for refugees in general: Yes
Took a position on allowing Syrian refugees into the U.S.: No

(Entire statement): "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is concerned about the temporal and spiritual welfare of all of God's children across the earth, with special concern for those who are fleeing physical violence, war and religious persecution. The Church urges all people and governments to cooperate fully in seeking the best solutions to meet human needs and relieve suffering."

National Association of Evangelicals
Statement "calls on President Trump to Continue Resettling Refugees": https://www.nae.net/nae-calls-president-trump-continue-resettling-refugees/

Date: January 2017
Encouraged support for refugees in general: Yes
Took a position on allowing Syrian refugees into the U.S.: Yes (supportive)

"In the same spirit, the NAE urges President Trump to continue the U.S. refugee resettlement program, which in partnership with churches and volunteers has saved lives and restored the futures of more than 3 million refugees since 1980. Many of these refugees have rebuilt their lives with courage and distinction.

"Christians and churches have been welcoming refugees for 2,000 years, and evangelicals are committed to continue this biblical mission. Thousands of U.S. evangelicals and their churches have welcomed hundreds of thousands of refugees over the past 40 years through World Relief and other federally approved resettlement agencies. We don't want to stop now," NAE President Leith Anderson said."

Caring for Refugees: A Declaration of Evangelical Response
Statement released by organizers of a meeting of more than 100 evangelical leaders at Wheaton College: http://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/2015/december-web-only/caring-for-refugees-declaration-evangelical-gc2summit.html?start=1

Date: December 2015
Encouraged support for refugees in general: Yes
Took a position on allowing Syrian refugees into the U.S.: Implied support

"In light of these Christian principles, we cannot allow voices of fear to dominate. Instead, we commit to actions of love and compassion for refugees who have been admitted into our nation(s) in refugee status.

We acknowledge that there are genuine security concerns and encourage governments to be stewards of safety, but we also observe that choosing to come to North America as refugees would be among the least effective ways for those who intend to do us harm."

Southern Baptist Convention
Resolution adopted during annual meeting: http://www.sbc.net/resolutions/2273/on-refugee-ministry

Date: June 2016
Encouraged support for refugees in general: Yes

Took a position on allowing Syrian refugees into the U.S.: Implied support

"RESOLVED, That the messengers to the Southern Baptist Convention meeting in St. Louis, Missouri, June 14–15, 2016, encourage Southern Baptists to minister care, compassion, and the Gospel to refugees who come to the United States; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we encourage Southern Baptist churches and families to welcome and adopt refugees into their churches and homes as a means to demonstrate to the nations that our God longs for every tribe, tongue, and nation to be welcomed at His throne (Revelation 5:9; Revelation 7:9–12; Psalms 68:5; James 1:27; Leviticus 25:35; Leviticus 19: 33–34); and be it further

RESOLVED, That we call on the governing authorities to implement the strictest security measures possible in the refugee screening and selection process, guarding against anyone intent on doing harm; and be it finally

RESOLVED, That we affirm that refugees are people loved by God, made in His image, and that Christian love should be extended to them as special objects of God's mercy in a world that has displaced them from their homelands."

Assemblies of God
Assistant General Superintendent of the denomination signed the "Caring for Refugees: Declaration of Evangelical Response" cited above.

Denominational support for refugees in the Middle East:
https://cccmidland.com/missions/2015/10/03/ag-world-missions-and-partners-serve-refugees-during-crisis/

Date: October 2015
Encouraged support for refugees in general: Yes
Took a position on allowing Syrian refugees into the U.S.: No

"Throughout September, Assemblies of God World Missions has continued to work closely with missionaries, national churches and Convoy of Hope in Europe as a flood of refugees continues to strain local governments."

International Church of the Foursquare Gospel
Denominational websites include several pages of information on its website detailing its efforts to support refugees worldwide and in the U.S.: https://www.foursquaremissions.org/sharing-gods-love-syrian-refugees/,
http://www.foursquare.org/news/article/welcoming_refugees_worldwide,
http://www.foursquare.org/news/article/foursquare_cares_for_refugees_fleeing_isis_attacks,

Date: August 2014 to January 2017

Encouraged support for refugees in general: Yes
Took a position on allowing Syrian refugees into the U.S.: Implied support

"Often, refugees come from regions where the gospel has no foothold, areas where missionaries couldn't get in or even where churches feared to send their best workers. Now, people are flooding to areas where the church is incredibly present. As Foursquare chooses to welcome people with Christ's compassion, we can take the Holy Spirit's transformative hope to those desperate for His healing."

"Even from home in the U.S., Foursquare churches can actively take part. In August 2016, the U.S. welcomed its 10,000th refugee fleeing the Middle East; they are hosted in 231 cities nationwide. Refugees arriving in the U.S. also come from nations such as the Democratic Republic of Congo, Somalia and Bhutan.

To welcome these new neighbors and help them adjust in a new nation, a handful of U.S. Foursquare pastors and ministry leaders have forged the Foursquare Refugee Care Network. Even as they swap best practices, partnership opportunities and prayers, the network seeks to equip churches newly exposed to refugee care."

Mennonite Church USA
Statement on denominational website: http://mennoniteusa.org/news/the-syrian-refugee-crisis-what-can-we-do/

Date: October 2015
Encouraged support for refugees in general: Yes
Took a position on allowing Syrian refugees into the U.S.: Yes (supportive)

"Urge Congress and state officials to support Syrian refugees. MCC Washington has compiled contact information for national and state officials. Please consider contacting your representatives and urge them to welcome refugees from Syria."

Evangelical Free Church
Statement on denominational website: https://go.efca.org/resources/project/refugees-crisis

Date: No date
Encouraged support for refugees in general: Yes
Took a position on allowing Syrian refugees into the U.S.: No

"Our vision is to tangibly minister Christ's love among the refugees by building relationships, multiplying disciples and planting churches, so mature churches travel with the refugee community as they return to their homeland or disperse to other parts of the world." The page lists ways to pray for and help refugees, including short-term relief trips to the Middle East, sponsoring refugee children, and donations to the denomination's relief efforts abroad.

Presbyterian Church in America
Statement on denominational website: https://pcamna.org/refugee-and-immigrant-ministry/response-to-the-syrian-refugee-crisis/

Date: No date
Encouraged support for refugees in general: Yes
Took a position on allowing Syrian refugees into the U.S.: Implied support

The statement offers background on the refugee resettlement process and how to help: "There is so much that can be done to help! Churches or individuals who would like to assist a refugee family need to begin by contacting one of the local refugee resettlement office affiliates in their area. Here is a link to the Office of Refugee Resettlement website with a map of the states:"

Presbyterian Church, USA
Statement on the denomination's website, "Office of the General Assembly":
http://oga.pcusa.org/section/mid-council-ministries/immigration/refugees/

Date: No date
Encouraged support for refugees in general: Yes
Took a position on allowing Syrian refugees into the U.S.: Yes (supportive)

Issues a call to action, suggests contacting the White House (providing a suggestive script) to "make your desire to welcome more refugees known," and suggests social media strategies to encourage further support for bringing refugees to the U.S.

United Church of Christ and **Disciples of Christ**
Issued a joint statement:
http://www.globalministries.org/not_terrorists_not_tourists_refugees_are_human_beings

Date: November 2015
Encouraged support for refugees in general: Yes
Took a position on allowing Syrian refugees into the U.S.: Yes (supportive)

"An unfortunate consequence of these attacks is the strident rhetoric of many politicians—including United States mayors, governors, and members of Congress—that effectively calls for the closing of the door and borders to innocent victims of the war in Syria. The Syrian war is the worst humanitarian crisis of our generation, and it has no resolution in sight. More than half the Syrian population has been forcibly displaced from their homes, and more than four million Syrians are now refugees in neighboring Middle Eastern countries and Europe. Over half of Syrian refugees are children. The people of Syria did not choose such horrific suffering. The "Islamic State" and the Asad regime are now the main visible protagonists of the war, but they are surely not the only parties.

Our nation is enriched—indeed it is made what it is—by the great diversity that can be celebrated here: cultures, faiths, and heritages. Recognizing the enormity of the Syrian crisis, our churches around the nation have prayed, extended care, and advocated for allowing more refugees from Syria—and in fact more refugees and potential immigrants generally—to be welcomed. In seeking such a welcome, we assert our faith commitments to "love the sojourner" (Deuteronomy 10:19) and to treat "the foreigner residing among you…as your native-born" (Leviticus 19:34).   We likewise continue to advocate for negotiated steps to end the root cause of the Syrian and Middle Eastern refugee crisis—the Syrian war. We stand firmly behind those positions."

United Methodist Church
Statement from Bishop Minerva Carcano at a Washington, D.C. press conference:
http://www.calpacumc.org/bishop-carcano/statement-on-syrian-refugees-press-conference-92815-washington-d-c/

Date: September 2015
Encouraged support for refugees in general: Yes
Took a position on allowing Syrian refugees into the U.S.: Yes (supportive)

"We stand here today, united as religious leaders, calling upon President Barack Obama and the U.S. Congress to extend life-saving help to Syrian refugees desperately fleeing for their lives…. We ask that President Obama and members of Congress act with compassion towards the 60 million displaced people worldwide, including the 8 million who are displaced within Syria and the more than 4 million Syrian refugees seeking safety in the region and in Europe. The US has a history of doing this important work…. The fact we have only resettled 1,516 Syrian refugees since the beginning of the conflict is inexcusable. We have the capacity to do better."

Episcopal Church
Congressional testimony "on behalf of the Episcopal Church":
http://www.episcopalchurch.org/files/testimony_on_behalf_of_the_episcopal_church-_syrian_refuge_crisis_1_7_0.pdf

Date: January 2014
Encouraged support for refugees in general: Yes
Took a position on allowing Syrian refugees into the U.S.: Yes (supportive)

"The Episcopal Church…wishes to voice its strong support for continued and significant humanitarian assistance abroad for Syrian refugees and a robust refugee resettlement program that can meet the needs of vulnerable people fleeing violence and seeking peace."

Evangelical Lutheran Church in America
Statement on denominational website: https://www.elca.org/News-and-Events/7873

Date: No date

Encouraged support for refugees in general: Yes
Took a position on allowing Syrian refugees into the U.S.: Yes (supportive)

"In this spirit, earlier last week I communicated with the Trump administration asking that it not stop the U.S. refugee admissions program or stop resettlement from any country for any period of time. The Bible calls us to welcome the stranger and treat the sojourner as we would our own citizens. I agree with the importance of keeping our country secure as the administration stated in its executive order last Friday, but I am convinced that temporarily banning vulnerable refugees will not enhance our safety nor does it reflect our values as Christians. Instead, it will cause immediate harm by separating families, disrupting lives, and denying safety and hope to brothers and sisters who are already suffering."

Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod
Statement from the denomination: www.lcms.org/Document.fdoc?src=lcm&id=3766

Date: No date
Encouraged support for refugees in general: Yes
Took a position on allowing Syrian refugees into the U.S.: No

"The synod is not advocating for bringing Muslim refugees into Europe or the U.S….Our focus right now is coming alongside the Selbständige Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirche (SELK), the LCMS partner church in Germany, to help provide not only for the immediate physical needs of the refugees, but also to provide for their spiritual care through the Gospel."

"LCMS mercy and human-care operations for the refugees are currently focused on the SELK, our German partner church, and likely will extend to other international partner churches for what likely will be a long-term crisis. Assistance from the LCMS is channeled through local congregations of the SELK who have direct contact with individuals, families, asylum homes, etc., and who are working with them long-term both in mercy and in Gospel proclamation, bringing them to Word and Sacrament.

Given this crisis that has been thrust upon us by world events, we must rely on national and international authorities for vetting immigrants prior to refugees being granted asylum. Even so, once they are accepted to stay in Germany, for example, they are in a very restricted status. From there, many SELK churches assist individuals or families who:
   • Were persecuted Christians in their homeland, and that is why they fled.
   • Encountered Christianity in secret house churches, etc., in the countries they emigrated from and desire to learn more.
   • Fled for other political reasons (most from Iran reportedly did NOT flee for economic reasons; some left behind very lucrative careers, etc.) and are looking for freedom.

What the SELK has done is catechize, baptize and teach, and paired those efforts with mercy-based human-care efforts, like meals, free German language classes, counseling, etc. As many refugees are given a minimal allowance from the German government, the SELK uses funds and donations to help refugees with their physical needs, purchase furniture, etc.

Church of God in Christ
Description of denomination's efforts to aid Sudanese refugees:
http://www.cogic.org/blog/cogic-aids-sundanese-refugees/

Date: February 2017
Encouraged support for refugees in general: Yes
Took a position on allowing Syrian refugees into the U.S.: No

The video describes the denomination's efforts to support Sudanese refugees living in Uganda.

U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops
Statement of Archbishop Joseph Kurtz (president of U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops):
http://www.usccb.org/news/2015/15-127.cfm

Date: September 2015
Encouraged support for refugees in general: Yes
Took a position on allowing Syrian refugees into the U.S.: Yes (supportive)

"As president of the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops, I urge all Catholics in the United States and others of good will to express openness and welcome to these refugees, who are escaping desperate situations in order to survive. Regardless of their religious affiliation or national origin, these refugees are all human persons—made in the image of God, bearing inherent dignity, and deserving our respect and care and protection by law from persecution."

"I also encourage the U.S. government to assist more robustly the nations of Europe and the Middle East in protecting and supporting these refugees and in helping to end this horrific conflict, so refugees may return home in safety."

Pope Francis
Francis has made several statements in various venues urging Christians to support refugees, including his call for every parish church in Europe to care for a refugee family (see .

Date: October 2016
Encouraged support for refugees in general: Yes
Took a position on allowing Syrian refugees into the U.S.: Implied support

"It's hypocrisy to call yourself a Christian and chase away a refugee or someone seeking help, someone who is hungry or thirsty, toss out someone who is in need of my help," he said. "If I say I am Christian, but do these things, I'm a hypocrite." Quoted here:
http://www.catholicherald.co.uk/news/2016/10/13/pope-francis-you-cant-defend-christianity-by-being-against-refugees-and-other-religions/

Antiochian Orthodox

Statement on website: http://www.antiochian.org/statement-reception-refugees-united-states

Date: October 2016
Encouraged support for refugees in general: Yes
Took a position on allowing Syrian refugees into the U.S.: Implied support (vague)

"the humanitarian disaster caused by the war in Syria to which the U.S. government has contributed by calling for the removal of the established Syrian leadership – as it did in Egypt, Iraq and Libya – requires a moral response from the people and government of our great country….We must us not be guided by fear or bigotry, but rather let us work to heal the wounds of the injured, clothing the naked and feeding the poor as our Lord, God and Savior Jesus Christ has taught us (Matthew 25:35-36)."

Jewish Organizations
Combined statement opposed to Trump administration executive order:
http://www.jta.org/2017/01/30/news-opinion/united-states/in-rare-unity-orthodox-and-liberal-denominations-are-critical-of-trump-refugee-ban

Date: January 2017
Encouraged support for refugees in general: Yes
Took a position on allowing Syrian refugees into the U.S.: Yes (supportive)

"With the combined statement by the Orthodox Union and Rabbinical Council of America, all four major American Jewish denominations have criticized the executive order in some form. The Reconstructionist movement condemned the statement ahead of its signing Friday, while the Reform and Conservative movements condemned it on Saturday and Sunday, respectively.

The Orthodox statement came Sunday night. It was first issued in December 2015 after Trump called for banning the entry of Muslims into the United States.
It is extremely rare for all four movements, which have split on everything from LGBT rights to Israel policy, to unite in opposing a presidential action."

Specific statements:
Reconstructionist: https://www.jewishrecon.org/cause/immigration-and-refugees
"The Reconstructionist Rabbinical Association and the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College/Jewish Reconstructionist Communities are dismayed as President Trump prepares to take action to close the doors to thousands of refugees seeking shelter and relief from the humanitarian crisis in which they find themselves."

Reform: http://rac.org/reform-movement-denounces-president-trumps-executive-order-barring-entry-several-muslim-majority
"The Reform Movement denounces in the strongest terms the horrifying executive order on immigration and refugees issued late Friday evening by President Trump. The order signed yesterday is even worse than feared, barring entry of all Syrian refugees, imposing in essence a religious test for entry to the U.S., and refusing entry to any individual coming from a list of

majority-Muslim nations – betraying even those individuals who have supported our nation's military efforts in Iraq, Afghanistan and elsewhere. Families are now being held apart and countless individuals who have served our nation in the most difficult circumstances are in jeopardy."

Conservative: https://www.rabbinicalassembly.org/story/conservative-movement-condemns-president-trumps-executive-order-immigration-and-refugees
"We call on the US government to reject policy proposals that would halt, limit, or curtail refugee resettlement in the U.S. or prioritize certain refugees over others; and urge President Trump and the U.S. Congress to instead take bold leadership by providing robust funding to support refugees around the world as well as provide necessary resources to refugees who are already resettled in the U.S."

Orthodox: https://advocacy.ou.org/union-orthodox-jewish-congregations-america-rabbinical-council-america-respond-executive-order/
"we recognize that the complex issues that face us in ensuring the safety and security from terror of innocents and free societies throughout the world need to be addressed, but need to be done in sober and responsible ways. We call upon….the United States government to recognize the threats posed by radical Islamists, while preserving and protecting the rights of all people who seek peace, no matter how they worship God."

Additional statements
November 2015 Reform movement rejects calls for new limits on Syrian refugees:
http://rac.org/reform-movement-rejects-calls-new-limits-syrian-refugees

"The recent attacks in Paris have horrified and pained us deeply, as they have all people of goodwill around the world. Our hearts ache for all those directly impacted by these acts of terror. We pray for healing of those who were injured and comfort for the families of all who were lost.

These attacks echo the kind of terrible violence that the Syrian people have lived with for the past several years, buffeted between the brutality of President Assad and the barbarism of ISIS. As such, now is the time to ensure the U.S. refugee system remains open to those fleeing Syria and who wish to contribute to and strengthen our nation. Calls to impose new limits on Syrian refugees, to impose a religious test on refugees, or to close our doors altogether ignore the reality that the lengthy and rigorous vetting of refugee applications helps ensure our national security while upholding our historic role as a place of refuge."

January 2016 "1000+ Rabbis Sign Letter in Support of Welcoming Refugees":
https://www.hias.org/1000-rabbis-sign-letter-support-welcoming-refugees

"We, Rabbis from across the country, call on our elected officials to exercise moral leadership for the protection of the U.S. Refugee Admissions Program….We are therefore alarmed to see so many politicians declaring their opposition to welcoming refugees….We therefore urge our elected officials to support refugee resettlement and to oppose any measures that would actually or effectively halt resettlement or prohibit or restrict funding for any groups of refugees."

Islamic Society of North America
Letter to President Obama signed by ISNA and the Muslim Public Affairs Council:
https://niskanencenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/RefugeeLettertoPres.pdf (press release
with date: https://niskanencenter.org/blog/national-groups-endorse-privately-funded-refugee-resettlement/)

Date: October 2015
Encouraged support for refugees in general: Yes
Took a position on allowing Syrian refugees into the U.S.: Yes (supportive)

"In the past 4 years however, the United States has only resettled 2,000 Syrians. As a nation with
a deep history of welcoming immigrants, resettling refugees, and serving as the global beacon of
hope for the dispossessed worldwide, the United States should expand its program to reflect the
reality of its status as a global leader and to continue its historical trend."

Additional Results: Interactions Between Religious Tradition and Attendance

To assess whether attending religious services had a systematically different affect across
religious traditions, I estimated the models in Table 2, columns 3 and 4 with interaction terms
between attendance and the religious tradition indicator variables. Table A1a, column 1 estimates
the model presented in Table 2, column 3 adding interaction terms for all religious traditions.
None of the interaction terms are statistically significant at the .10 level. Although the point
estimates hint that attendance has a larger effect among Mormons, the estimate is not precise
enough to draw a strong conclusion (p = .47). The same pattern arises when the partisan media
variables are included (see Table A2a, column 1). Here again, none of the interaction terms reach
statistical significance at the .10 level. The interaction parameter for LDS is higher than for other
religious traditions, but the estimate is imprecise (p = .56).

Including all the interaction terms in one model creates some multicollinearity (variance
inflation factors for attendance and each of the interaction terms are into the double digits in both
models), so I also estimated a model that includes the attendance * religious tradition interaction

for just one tradition at a time. For example, in Table A1a, column 2, the model is identical to

that in Table 2, column 3 except with the addition of an interaction between attendance and LDS.

Here the interaction term represents the estimated difference in attendance's effect for Mormons

compared to the attendance effect for everyone else in the model. As in the model in column 1,

the interaction term is positive, suggesting that attendance has a larger impact among the LDS

community, but the estimate is not precise enough to warrant drawing this conclusion ($p = .12$).

None of the interaction terms in these models (Table A1a columns 2-5 and Table A1b columns

1-5) reach statistical significance. The same pattern emerges when the partisan media variables

are added to the models (see Table A2a columns 2-5 and Table A2b columns 1-5). To sum up,

despite some hints that attendance has a different impact across religious traditions, these models

do not provide enough evidence to conclude that attendance has different effects for different

traditions. Future efforts to uncover heterogeneous effects of attendance may well bear fruit

(although if findings don't emerge from the ANES with a sample of almost 4,000 respondents,

the search for heterogeneous effects may prove difficult).

Table A1a: Interactions Between Religious Tradition and Attendance, No Media Variables

VARIABLES	(1)	(2) LDS	(3) White Evan	(4) White Main	(5) Black Prot
LDS*attend	0.62 (0.86)	0.95 (0.61)			
Evangelical*attend	-0.20 (0.53)		0.25 (0.23)		
Mainline*attend	-0.20 (0.54)			0.22 (0.20)	
Black Prot*attend	-0.72 (0.70)				-0.37 (0.44)
Additional Prot*attend	-0.42 (0.56)				

White Cath*attend	-0.50				
	(0.56)				
Hispanic Cath*attend	-0.41				
	(0.65)				
Additional Cath*attend	-0.25				
	(0.68)				
Other*attend	-0.84				
	(0.57)				
LDS	0.051	0.12	0.74***	0.73***	0.68***
	(0.27)	(0.29)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)
White Evangelical	-0.012	0.12	-0.080	0.063	0.023
	(0.16)	(0.11)	(0.15)	(0.11)	(0.11)
White Mainline	-0.014	0.046	-0.0078	-0.085	-0.032
	(0.11)	(0.100)	(0.093)	(0.11)	(0.091)
Black Protestant	-0.053	-0.22	-0.27	-0.28	-0.11
	(0.32)	(0.24)	(0.25)	(0.24)	(0.33)
Additional Protestant	0.080	0.089	0.042	0.032	0.00019
	(0.22)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.14)
White Catholic	-0.035	-0.076	-0.13	-0.14	-0.16*
	(0.13)	(0.11)	(0.097)	(0.096)	(0.095)
Hispanic Catholic	-0.16	-0.14	-0.18	-0.19	-0.22
	(0.24)	(0.22)	(0.22)	(0.22)	(0.23)
Additional Catholic	0.40	0.50**	0.44*	0.43*	0.40
	(0.32)	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)
Other Religious Trad.	0.55***	0.37***	0.32***	0.31**	0.29**
	(0.18)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)
Unaffiliated	0.19*	0.19*	0.12	0.12	0.13
	(0.10)	(0.098)	(0.097)	(0.098)	(0.097)
Attendance	0.85*	0.44***	0.40***	0.42***	0.49***
	(0.51)	(0.11)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.10)
Party ID	-0.32**	-0.30**	-0.31**	-0.31**	-0.31**
	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)
Ideology	-2.28***	-2.29***	-2.29***	-2.28***	-2.28***
	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.18)
Support for Trump	-2.26***	-2.26***	-2.26***	-2.26***	-2.26***
	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.14)
College Graduate	0.53***	0.54***	0.53***	0.53***	0.54***
	(0.065)	(0.065)	(0.065)	(0.065)	(0.065)
White	0.035	0.046	0.042	0.042	0.041
	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.16)
African American	-0.17	-0.17	-0.17	-0.17	-0.17
	(0.25)	(0.25)	(0.25)	(0.25)	(0.25)
Hispanic	0.068	0.060	0.050	0.049	0.048
	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)
Income	0.21*	0.21*	0.22*	0.22*	0.21*
	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)

	0.51***	0.51***	0.51***	0.51***	0.51***
Age 18-29	(0.080)	(0.080)	(0.080)	(0.080)	(0.080)
Age 30-49	-0.15*	-0.15*	-0.14*	-0.14*	-0.14*
	(0.081)	(0.081)	(0.081)	(0.081)	(0.081)
Age 65+	-0.0030	-0.0049	-0.0062	-0.0015	-0.0046
	(0.090)	(0.089)	(0.088)	(0.089)	(0.089)
Constant	4.83***	4.82***	4.88***	4.88***	4.88***
	(0.17)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.16)
Observations	3,949	3,949	3,949	3,949	3,949

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A1b: Interactions Between Religious Tradition and Attendance, No Media Variables

VARIABLES	(1) Minority Prot	(2) White Cath	(3) Hispanic Cath	(4) Minority Cath	(5) Other
Additional Prot*attend	-0.031				
	(0.31)				
White Cath*attend		-0.14			
		(0.25)			
Hispanic Cath*attend			-0.017		
			(0.45)		
Additional Cath*attend				0.13	
				(0.42)	
Other*attend					-0.50
					(0.32)
LDS	0.71***	0.70***	0.71***	0.72***	0.68***
	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)
White Evangelical	0.047	0.039	0.048	0.057	0.024
	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.11)
White Mainline	-0.018	-0.019	-0.017	-0.011	-0.026
	(0.093)	(0.092)	(0.091)	(0.093)	(0.092)
Black Protestant	-0.29	-0.30	-0.29	-0.28	-0.32
	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.25)	(0.24)
Additional Protestant	0.037	0.017	0.022	0.030	-0.0043
	(0.21)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.14)
White Catholic	-0.14	-0.090	-0.14	-0.13	-0.15
	(0.099)	(0.12)	(0.094)	(0.095)	(0.095)
Hispanic Catholic	-0.20	-0.20	-0.19	-0.19	-0.22
	(0.22)	(0.22)	(0.24)	(0.22)	(0.22)
Additional Catholic	0.42*	0.41*	0.42*	0.36	0.39
	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.31)	(0.24)

Other Religious Trad.	0.31**	0.30**	0.31**	0.31**	0.50***
	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.18)
Unaffiliated	0.13	0.14	0.13	0.14	0.13
	(0.096)	(0.100)	(0.097)	(0.098)	(0.096)
Attendance	0.46***	0.48***	0.46***	0.45***	0.51***
	(0.12)	(0.13)	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.11)
Party ID	-0.30**	-0.30**	-0.30**	-0.30**	-0.31**
	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.13)
Ideology	-2.29***	-2.28***	-2.28***	-2.29***	-2.29***
	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.18)
Support for Trump	-2.26***	-2.26***	-2.26***	-2.26***	-2.26***
	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.14)
College Graduate	0.54***	0.54***	0.54***	0.54***	0.53***
	(0.065)	(0.065)	(0.065)	(0.065)	(0.065)
White	0.042	0.042	0.042	0.042	0.039
	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.16)
African American	-0.17	-0.17	-0.17	-0.17	-0.17
	(0.25)	(0.25)	(0.25)	(0.25)	(0.25)
Hispanic	0.049	0.048	0.049	0.049	0.060
	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)
Income	0.22*	0.22*	0.22*	0.22*	0.22*
	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)
Age 18-29	0.51***	0.52***	0.51***	0.51***	0.51***
	(0.080)	(0.080)	(0.080)	(0.080)	(0.079)
Age 30-49	-0.14*	-0.14*	-0.14*	-0.14*	-0.14*
	(0.081)	(0.081)	(0.081)	(0.081)	(0.081)
Age 65+	-0.0046	-0.00090	-0.0045	-0.0046	-0.0057
	(0.089)	(0.090)	(0.088)	(0.089)	(0.089)
Constant	4.87***	4.86***	4.87***	4.87***	4.87***
	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.16)
Observations	3,949	3,949	3,949	3,949	3,949

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A2a: Interactions Between Religious Tradition and Attendance, With Media Variables

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
VARIABLES	All	LDS	White Evan	White Main	Black Prot
LDS*attend	0.54	0.90			
	(0.85)	(0.60)			
Evangelical*attend	-0.22		0.26		

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	(0.52)			(0.23)	
Mainline*attend	-0.24			0.23	
	(0.53)			(0.20)	
Black Prot*attend	-0.80				-0.41
	(0.69)				(0.44)
Additional Prot*attend	-0.45				
	(0.55)				
White Cath*attend	-0.53				
	(0.55)				
Hispanic Cath*attend	-0.43				
	(0.65)				
Additional Cath*attend	-0.29				
	(0.67)				
Other*attend	-0.90				
	(0.56)				
LDS	0.096	0.17	0.76***	0.75***	0.70***
	(0.26)	(0.28)	(0.21)	(0.22)	(0.21)
White Evangelical	-0.024	0.11	-0.089	0.062	0.018
	(0.15)	(0.11)	(0.15)	(0.11)	(0.11)
White Mainline	-0.021	0.040	-0.010	-0.089	-0.037
	(0.11)	(0.097)	(0.092)	(0.11)	(0.090)
Black Protestant	-0.047	-0.23	-0.28	-0.29	-0.098
	(0.33)	(0.24)	(0.25)	(0.24)	(0.33)
Additional Protestant	0.051	0.066	0.022	0.012	-0.023
	(0.22)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.15)
White Catholic	-0.040	-0.078	-0.13	-0.13	-0.16*
	(0.13)	(0.10)	(0.098)	(0.097)	(0.095)
Hispanic Catholic	-0.15	-0.12	-0.16	-0.17	-0.20
	(0.24)	(0.22)	(0.22)	(0.22)	(0.23)
Additional Catholic	0.38	0.48**	0.43*	0.42*	0.38
	(0.32)	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)
Other Religious Trad.	0.56***	0.37***	0.32***	0.32**	0.29**
	(0.18)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)
Unaffiliated	0.19*	0.19*	0.13	0.13	0.13
	(0.10)	(0.098)	(0.097)	(0.098)	(0.098)
Attendance	0.89*	0.44***	0.40***	0.42***	0.50***
	(0.51)	(0.11)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.10)
Party ID	-0.25**	-0.24*	-0.24*	-0.24*	-0.24*
	(0.12)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)
Ideology	-2.17***	-2.19***	-2.18***	-2.17***	-2.18***
	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.18)
Support for Trump	-2.20***	-2.20***	-2.20***	-2.20***	-2.20***
	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.14)
College Graduate	0.52***	0.53***	0.53***	0.53***	0.53***
	(0.065)	(0.065)	(0.065)	(0.065)	(0.065)
White	0.042	0.054	0.050	0.050	0.049

	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.16)
African American	-0.15	-0.15	-0.15	-0.15	-0.15
	(0.25)	(0.25)	(0.25)	(0.25)	(0.25)
Hispanic	0.086	0.077	0.068	0.067	0.066
	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)
Income	0.23*	0.23*	0.23*	0.23*	0.23*
	(0.12)	(0.13)	(0.12)	(0.13)	(0.13)
Age 18-29	0.52***	0.52***	0.52***	0.52***	0.52***
	(0.079)	(0.080)	(0.079)	(0.079)	(0.079)
Age 30-49	-0.13	-0.13	-0.13	-0.13	-0.13
	(0.081)	(0.081)	(0.081)	(0.081)	(0.081)
Age 65+	-0.0033	-0.0051	-0.0066	-0.0014	-0.0048
	(0.090)	(0.089)	(0.088)	(0.089)	(0.088)
Fox News Viewer	-0.26***	-0.26***	-0.26***	-0.26***	-0.26***
	(0.070)	(0.070)	(0.070)	(0.070)	(0.070)
MSNBC Viewer	0.27***	0.26***	0.27***	0.26**	0.27***
	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.100)	(0.099)	(0.10)
Constant	4.74***	4.73***	4.79***	4.79***	4.79***
	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.16)	(0.17)
Observations	3,949	3,949	3,949	3,949	3,949

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A2b: Interactions Between Religious Tradition and Attendance With Media Variables

VARIABLES	(1) Minority Prot	(2) White Cath	(3) Hispanic Cath	(4) Minority Cath	(5) Other
Additional Prot*attend	-0.025				
	(0.31)				
White Cath*attend		-0.13			
		(0.25)			
Hispanic Cath*attend			-0.0034		
			(0.46)		
Additional Cath*attend				0.13	
				(0.42)	
Other*attend					-0.52
					(0.32)
LDS	0.73***	0.72***	0.73***	0.74***	0.70***
	(0.21)	(0.22)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)
White Evangelical	0.047	0.038	0.048	0.055	0.022
	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.11)

White Mainline	-0.021	-0.022	-0.020	-0.014	-0.030
	(0.092)	(0.091)	(0.090)	(0.092)	(0.091)
Black Protestant	-0.31	-0.31	-0.30	-0.30	-0.34
	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.25)	(0.24)
Additional Protestant	0.014	-0.0032	0.0030	0.010	-0.025
	(0.21)	(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.14)	(0.14)
White Catholic	-0.14	-0.092	-0.14	-0.13	-0.15
	(0.099)	(0.12)	(0.095)	(0.096)	(0.096)
Hispanic Catholic	-0.18	-0.18	-0.17	-0.17	-0.21
	(0.23)	(0.22)	(0.24)	(0.22)	(0.22)
Additional Catholic	0.41*	0.40*	0.41*	0.35	0.38
	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.30)	(0.24)
Other Religious Trad.	0.31**	0.30**	0.31**	0.32**	0.51***
	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.18)
Unaffiliated	0.14	0.15	0.14	0.14	0.14
	(0.097)	(0.100)	(0.098)	(0.098)	(0.097)
Attendance	0.46***	0.48***	0.46***	0.45***	0.51***
	(0.12)	(0.13)	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.11)
Party ID	-0.24*	-0.24*	-0.24*	-0.24*	-0.24*
	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)
Ideology	-2.18***	-2.18***	-2.18***	-2.18***	-2.18***
	(0.18)	(0.19)	(0.18)	(0.19)	(0.19)
Support for Trump	-2.20***	-2.20***	-2.20***	-2.20***	-2.20***
	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.14)
College Graduate	0.53***	0.53***	0.53***	0.53***	0.53***
	(0.065)	(0.065)	(0.065)	(0.065)	(0.065)
White	0.050	0.050	0.050	0.050	0.047
	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.16)
African American	-0.15	-0.15	-0.15	-0.15	-0.14
	(0.25)	(0.25)	(0.25)	(0.25)	(0.25)
Hispanic	0.067	0.066	0.067	0.067	0.078
	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)
Income	0.23*	0.23*	0.23*	0.23*	0.24*
	(0.13)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.13)	(0.13)
Age 18-29	0.52***	0.52***	0.52***	0.52***	0.52***
	(0.080)	(0.080)	(0.080)	(0.079)	(0.079)
Age 30-49	-0.13	-0.13	-0.13	-0.13	-0.13
	(0.081)	(0.081)	(0.081)	(0.081)	(0.081)
Age 65+	-0.0046	-0.0012	-0.0044	-0.0046	-0.0058
	(0.089)	(0.090)	(0.088)	(0.089)	(0.089)
Fox News Viewer	-0.26***	-0.26***	-0.26***	-0.26***	-0.26***
	(0.070)	(0.070)	(0.070)	(0.070)	(0.070)
MSNBC Viewer	0.26***	0.26***	0.26***	0.26***	0.26***
	(0.100)	(0.100)	(0.099)	(0.100)	(0.099)
Constant	4.78***	4.77***	4.78***	4.78***	4.78***
	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.16)

| Observations | 3,949 | 3,949 | 3,949 | 3,949 | 3,949 |

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

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[i] See http://www.yearbookofchurches.org/search/.