

**George W. Bush and the Evangelicals:
Religious Commitment and Partisan Change among Evangelical Protestants, 1960-2004***

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* Prepared for Presentation at “A Matter of Faith? Religion in the 2004 Election,” University of Notre Dame, December 2-3, 2005

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For more than two decades, students of American religion and politics have noted the political realignment of evangelical Protestants—those (mostly white) individuals holding traditionalist Protestant beliefs on matters such as the authority of Scripture, adult religious conversion, and the centrality of faith in Christ to salvation; and belonging to churches espousing such doctrine—and particularly of their most committed members. Strongly Democratic throughout most of the post-New Deal period, committed evangelicals have become since 1980 the most loyal component of the Republican electoral coalition (Miller and Wattenberg 1984; Rothenberg and Newport 1984; Green et al. 1996; Oldfield 1996; Miller and Shanks 1996; Wilcox 2000; Kohut et al. 2000; Layman 2001; Leege et al. 2002).

Consistent with this long-term transformation in evangelical political behavior were assessments both before and after the 2004 presidential election that the mobilization of evangelicals was critical to George W. Bush's re-election bid. Karl Rove, "the architect" of Bush's re-election campaign, frequently contended that evangelical votes were crucial to victory; and noted that the 2000 election had nearly been lost because four million evangelical voters stayed home on Election Day (Bumiller 2003; Cooperman and Edsall 2004). Evangelical leader Jerry Falwell said before the election that evangelicals controlled the electoral fate of Bush and the Republican party (Shepard 2004). After the election, he recounted that "Hour by hour, we observed a 'slam dunk' as the Church of Jesus Christ made the difference in initiating the return of this nation to moral sanity and the Judeo-Christian ethic," and called evangelicals "as powerful a voting bloc as there is" (Falwell 2004).

Less consistent with a pattern of long-term realignment was commentary pointing to the emergence of religiously- and culturally-conservative "values voters" in the electorate and highlighting President Bush's unique attraction to evangelicals. The fact that a plurality of respondents to election-day exit polls chose "moral values" as the most important factor in their voting decision created quite a stir among journalists and political observers (e.g. Cooperman and Edsall 2004). Many wondered aloud how such concerns could have been so important when major economic and foreign policy problems loomed and how they possibly could have missed the vital importance of conservative Christians in securing the president's victory. Political scientists initially voiced skepticism about the importance of "values voters" (Abramowitz 2004; Burden 2004; Hillygus and Shields 2005), though more recent work has suggested that Bush received a substantial, if not overwhelming, boost from these citizens (Campbell and Monson 2005; Guth et al. 2005).

Despite the long-term growth in committed evangelical support for the Republican party and the staunch support this group has given to other politically- and culturally-conservative Republican candidates, much of the coverage of George W. Bush's relationship with the evangelical constituency has viewed it as unique, rooted in their shared spiritual experiences and group identification as evangelical Protestants. Though Bush's formal affiliation is with the United Methodist Church, a denomination in the religiously-moderate-to-liberal mainline Protestant tradition, evangelical leaders welcome Bush as one of their own, emphasizing certain beliefs and "style" as more definitive of evangelicals than denomination (Cizik 2004; Waldman 2004). As proof of Bush's evangelical credentials, commentators point to his naming of Jesus Christ as his favorite political philosopher during the 2000 campaign, his discussion of his conversion experience, and his sprinkling of religious rhetoric in his public remarks (Cooperman 2004; Green 2004). Exhibiting this tendency to attribute Bush's evangelical support not to policy

agreement and partisanship, but to shared religion and group identity, Dallas reporter Wayne Slater declared that “I don’t think any political president ever in the history of this country was able to harness and assemble the kind of organized and consistent evangelical religious support from the political side as George Bush. . . . One of the reasons that George Bush has the support of the evangelical community is because he’s a true believer. He is one of them, and they see it” (Slater 2004).

Thus, there is something of a disjuncture between scholarship on evangelical political behavior and commentary and reporting on the support of evangelical Protestants for George W. Bush. From the perspective of the former, the support Bush has received from evangelicals and the importance he and his operatives have attached to courting and mobilizing this constituency is a natural extension of a partisan realignment that began at least two decades before the start of Bush’s national political career. Bush may have received a bit more evangelical support than previous Republican presidents and presidential candidates, but that can be explained by the continuing growth of evangelicals’ loyalties to the GOP and the fact that Bush is particularly conservative on cultural and moral issues such as abortion and homosexuality—issues that are of particular importance to evangelicals and that have been at the heart of their political transformation. From the latter perspective, Bush’s appeal to evangelicals is unique because it is based not just in shared policy positions and Republican affiliation, but also in religious experience, religious rhetoric, and group identification. Thus, the support that Bush receives from evangelical Protestants—and the degree to which this group is attracted into the Republican fold during his presidency—should be greater than what we would expect based simply on political trends and policy attitudes among evangelicals.

In this paper we assess which of these viewpoints provides a better representation of the relationship between George W. Bush and evangelical Protestants by comparing evangelical political orientations during the Bush years and in the preceding four decades. Using the American National Election Studies (NES) from 1960 through 2004, we find that the answer depends on the levels of religious commitment of evangelical adherents. While Bush’s support among committed evangelicals represents a continuation of long-term developments in the political behavior of this group, it does appear that Bush has been uniquely able to attract less-committed evangelicals into the Republican fold. We argue that the discrepancy between the political behavior of more- and less-committed evangelicals—the long-term trends among the former and the very-recent uptick in Republican support among the latter—is due to differences in the factors that shape their political orientations. The devout members of the tradition are motivated principally by their highly conservative views on moral and cultural matters and their partisan orientations have closely followed the growing differences between the two parties on those matters. Less-devout evangelicals are less conservative on moral and cultural issues and care less about these concerns. Thus, their political behavior should be shaped more by attitudes toward other types of policy issues and by other factors such as group attachments and personal assessments of candidates. We test this argument with both longitudinal and cross-sectional NES data.

Explaining Evangelical Political Behavior

There has been considerable recent debate about whether the United States is engulfed in a “culture war” (e.g. Wuthnow 1988, 1989; Hunter 1991; Williams 1997; Frank 2004; Fiorina,

Abrams, and Pope 2005; Layman and Green 2006). Stated most fully by James Davison Hunter in his 1991 book of the same title, the culture wars thesis suggests that contemporary American society is beset by deep-seated divisions between those with “orthodox” religious orientations and moral values and those with “progressive” religious and moral perspectives. Although the struggle is broadly over how the fundamental assumptions of American public and private culture are defined and who gets to define them, its most visible components are the highly emotional battles over cultural and moral political issues such as abortion, embryonic stem cell research, women’s rights, homosexual rights, and the place of religion in public education and the public square. Hunter (1991) and others (Wuthnow 1989; Green et al. 1996; Layman 2001) contend that as the positions of the two parties’ and their candidates on cultural issues become increasingly distinct, these cultural tensions become more relevant for political behavior.

Although scholars have raised serious doubts about the veracity of the culture wars perspective for American society as a whole and for many religious groups, it appears to work fairly well in explaining the political behavior of committed evangelical Protestants (e.g. Layman and Green 2006). Evangelical religious leaders have formed political organizations such as the Moral Majority and the Christian Coalition that focus principally on advancing conservative positions on cultural issues and mobilizing ordinary evangelicals in support of these positions and political candidates who advocate them (e.g. Oldfield 1996). Evangelical congregants have responded in kind. Committed evangelicals have more conservative attitudes on cultural issues and attach more importance to them than does any other religious group (Green et al. 1996; Wilcox 2000; Kohut et al. 2001). They have reacted to the growing polarization between the parties on cultural issues by realigning their political loyalties decisively from the party on the liberal side of those issues to the party on the conservative side (Miller and Shanks 1996; Layman 2001). They vote in overwhelming numbers for culturally-conservative Republican candidates and in support of culturally-conservative referenda and initiatives on state and local ballots (Green, Rozell, and Wilcox 2003). In short, devout evangelical Protestants exhibit political behavior that is consistent with the culture wars model. They translate their traditionalist religious orientations and moral values into conservative attitudes on policy issues and connect those attitudes strongly to support for the Republican party and its candidates (Layman and Green 2006).

This suggests that the political behavior of committed evangelicals and changes over time in that behavior can be explained by models of policy-based partisan realignment (Layman 2001). Such accounts contend that groups undergo fundamental and long-term political change when issues emerge on which they feel strongly, when the party with which they identify fails to support their positions on those issues, and as the stands of the two parties on the issues grow more distinct (Sundquist 1983; MacDonald and Rabinowitz 1987; Carmines and Stimson 1989).

In other words, committed evangelicals undoubtedly have felt uniquely attracted to Republican leaders such as Ronald Reagan and Jesse Helms and have offered varying levels of support to the GOP and its candidates based on short-term economic and government performance evaluations. However, the overall pattern in their partisan orientations is one that can be explained as a response to the steady growth over the last several decades in the parties’ positions on cultural and moral policy issues (Green et al. 1996; Wilcox 2000; Layman 2001). Thus, the presence of a fellow evangelical at the top of the Republican ticket in 2000 and 2004 should not have led them to be unusually more attached to the Republican party or more likely to

vote Republican than they have been when other culturally-conservative candidates have been the GOP standard bearer.

Of course, the degree to which committed evangelicals have responded politically to the growing divide between the two parties on cultural issues is in large part a function of their religious commitment. Involvement in religious congregations and communal religious experiences shapes and reinforces religious beliefs, leads to the development of core values such as moral traditionalism, and links those beliefs and values to attitudes on political issues and ultimately to political behavior (Leege 1993; Kellstedt and Green 1993; Layman and Green 2006). By participating in worship services and being involved in congregations and other religious groups, individuals expose themselves to cues from clergy on moral and political issues, to social interaction with fellow congregants that may shape and reinforce beliefs and values and their connection to politics, and to appeals by groups seeking to use religious groups and congregations as a basis for political mobilization (Wald, Owen, and Hill 1988; Wald, Kellstedt, and Leege 1993; Guth et al. 1997).

Within the evangelical Protestant tradition, religious involvement should lead congregants to place more importance on cultural and moral issues, to hold more conservative views on those issues, and to link those views to voting for culturally-conservative Republican candidates and identification with the Republican party. Evangelical pastors are more likely than clergy in other faith traditions to attach importance to moral issues such as abortion, homosexuality, pornography, and school prayer and to address these matters from the pulpit (Guth et al. 1997). Evangelical laity are more likely to be cohesive in their moral and cultural outlooks than are members of other traditions (Wald, Owen, and Hill 1990). Organizations such as the Christian Coalition base their political mobilization strategies on evangelical congregations and expend considerable resources educating the participants in those congregations about the importance of certain political issues—particularly moral and cultural ones—and the party and candidates that take the right positions on them (Oldfield 1996; Green, Rozell, and Wilcox 2003).

Thus, it is little wonder that evangelicals who are active in their churches and in related groups have highly conservative stands on cultural issues, find those issues to be quite salient, and have, in the aggregate, reshaped their party loyalties based on those issues. However, we would not expect the individuals who affiliate with an evangelical church, but who are relatively uninvolved in that church or the activities surrounding it to exhibit the same patterns of political behavior. They should not connect their religious beliefs to politics as strongly, their attitudes on moral and cultural issues should not be as conservative, and those issues should not be as relevant for their political loyalties and choices. So, if less-committed evangelical Protestants have contributed to George W. Bush's electoral success by exhibiting higher levels of Republican voting and GOP attachments than they have in previous eras, then the explanation may lie somewhere besides Bush's moral and cultural conservatism.

One place it may lie is simply in less-committed evangelicals' attitudes on other types of policy issues. They may have been attracted by Bush's staunch conservatism on economic and social welfare issues—for example, his efforts to privatize Social Security and his commitment to substantial tax cuts, for example—or his highly-aggressive use of the U.S. military in defending American interests abroad and in prosecuting the war on terror. Of course, as on cultural issues, the parties also have grown more polarized on these matters in recent years (e.g.

Layman and Carsey 2002). However, whereas party divergence on cultural matters has developed relatively recently and the growth of cultural polarization has been steady over the last three decades, the parties have offered distinct positions on economic and social welfare issues and on defense and foreign policy issues for decades. Recent increases in party polarization on these matters have occurred in fits and starts and may not have been very noticeable to the average citizen. Bush's highly conservative positions on these issues may have made the greater partisan differences evident to the electorate and produced a very-recent surge in Republican support among those individuals—perhaps including less-committed evangelicals—who hold conservative attitudes on social welfare and on national defense and foreign policy.

Another possibility is that the party loyalties and political behavior of less-committed evangelicals are based less in attitudes on policy issues and more in candidate affect and group identification. Scholarly accounts of voting decisions long have emphasized the importance of personal evaluations of candidates and group-based attitudes (e.g. Miller and Shanks 1996), and the traditional view of party identification is that it is a psychological attachment based, in part, on social group membership and assessments of which groups are associated with which parties (Campbell et al. 1960; Green, Palmquist, and Schickler 2002). The social identity perspective on party identification emphasizes its resistance to change and characterizes the change that does occur as driven by individuals' gradual recognition that more and more members of their social group adhere to a particular party (Green, Palmquist, and Schickler 2002).

Because evangelical Protestants consider George W. Bush as “one of us,” they should find him quite attractive personally and may be significantly more likely to vote for him than for other Republican candidates. Moreover, having a member of the evangelical community at the top of the Republican ticket may provide particularly strong signals to ordinary evangelicals that the GOP is the party of conservative Christians and that part of being evangelical is being a Republican. Those signals may be quite strong for evangelicals at all levels of religious commitment. However, they may have relatively little consequence for committed evangelicals, who are consistently exposed to cues that the Republican party is “their party” because it represents their traditionalist moral and cultural values and who, in the aggregate, already have realigned their party loyalties accordingly. The signals of evangelical group attachment to the GOP may be stronger and more consequential for less-committed evangelicals, who are less likely to have realigned their attachments to the GOP and who are not as likely to perceive their group identities and interests in terms of party positions on cultural issues.

In short, less-committed evangelical Protestants should be less likely than their more devout counterparts to base their political behavior and party attachments on cultural and moral issues and to have undergone a long-term realignment toward Republican identification based on those issues. Thus, to the extent that there were substantial upturns in evangelical voting for and identification with the Republican party during the last two presidential elections, the gains should have been more likely to come from less-committed evangelicals than from the more devout members of the evangelical tradition. Moreover, if low-commitment evangelicals did exhibit substantial support for Bush and the GOP, that support should be less likely than that of committed evangelicals to have been based on traditionalist religious beliefs and conservative views on moral and cultural issues.

Data and Measurement

In order to examine both the factors accounting for evangelical Protestants' support for George W. Bush and the Republican party in the last two elections and change over time in the party ties and electoral behavior of evangelicals, we turn to the American National Election Studies (NES) that were conducted from 1960 through 2004. Although the NES included very few religious items prior to 1990, they have included religious affiliation indicators that make it possible to distinguish evangelical Protestants from other Protestant groups since 1960. Thus, they provide the best—and, in fact, only—means with which to assess trends in evangelical political behavior over the long run.

We define evangelical Protestants as those respondents belonging to the historically-white Protestant denominations or other religious groupings that emphasize evangelical beliefs such as the inerrancy of Scripture, the necessity of a “born again” conversion experience for salvation, faith in Jesus Christ as the sole path to salvation, and the importance of evangelizing by individual believers.¹ These include the Southern Baptist Convention and most other predominantly-white Baptist churches, Assemblies of God, Presbyterian Church in America, Missouri Synod Lutheran, Church of Christ, Pentecostal Holiness Church, Seventh Day Adventist, and several branches of Church of God (e.g. Kellstedt and Green 1993; Kellstedt et al. 1996; Wilcox 2000).² In appendix A, we list the religious affiliations contained in the evangelical tradition both for over-time analyses and analyses involving only the 2000 and 2004 NES.³

¹ Many Protestant denominations populated primarily by African-Americans share these core beliefs of evangelicalism. However, because of the historic racial segregation of American Protestantism, historically-black Protestant churches have developed theological perspectives and liturgical practices that are unique in many ways from those of predominantly-white evangelical churches. Thus, students of religion and politics tend to place these denominations in a separate “black Protestant” category (e.g. Kellstedt and Green 1993; Layman 2001). Following the literature (e.g. Guth et al. 2005), we have placed all African-American Protestants in the black Protestant tradition (i.e. removed them from the evangelical Protestant tradition) even if they do not indicate an affiliation with an historically-black denomination.

² For analyses involving only the 2000 and 2004 NES, we included two other groups of respondents in the evangelical tradition besides those identified with specific evangelical Protestant denominations. The first group contains non-black respondents who indicated an affiliation not with a specific denomination, but with a general denominational “family” or religious “movement” that is evangelical in character. These include Adventist, Baptist, Holiness, Church of God, Independent-Fundamentalist, Pentecostal, and Churches of Christ. The second group contains non-black respondents who indicated a general Protestant or Christian affiliation or an affiliation with a denominational family—Lutheran, Methodist, Presbyterian, Brethren, and Reformed—that includes both evangelical and mainline (religiously moderate-to-liberal) Protestant denominations. If these respondents displayed a minimal level of religious commitment—received at least “some” guidance from religion in their lives, prayed at least a few times a week, and attended church at least “once or twice a month”—and indicated a belief that “the Bible is the actual Word of God and is to be taken literally, word for word,” we included them in the evangelical tradition.

³ NES' coding of religious affiliations was not nearly as detailed before 1990 as it was thereafter. Thus, in order to make our coding of the evangelical tradition as comparable as possible over the two periods, we employ a different evangelical category in the NES surveys from 1990 to 2004 (excluding 2002) for over-time analysis. It includes all affiliations that would have been coded as evangelical based on the pre-1990 scheme and does not include any affiliations that would not have been coded as evangelical based on that scheme. For example, the

Of course, some scholarship defines evangelicals based on religious beliefs (Marsden 1980; Miller and Wattenberg 1984; Kellstedt 1989; Kellstedt and Smidt 1991), and it is through beliefs, not affiliation, that President Bush is part of the evangelical community. We classify evangelicals based on belonging rather than beliefs for three reasons. First, as we have noted, it is through membership in a religious community that religious beliefs are formed and core values arise (e.g. Legee 1993; Kellstedt and Green 1993). The centrality of certain core beliefs—such as Biblical inerrancy or the existence of a literal hell—to evangelical doctrine is defined within evangelical churches and religious organizations, and these evangelical communities also promulgate values such as moral traditionalism and theological individualism. Second, membership in a faith community also facilitates the linkage between religious doctrine and values and political attitudes and behavior (e.g. Wald, Owen, and Hill 1988; Layman and Green 2006). Third, religious denominations, congregations, and organizations are the means through which political parties and candidates identify, appeal to, and attempt to mobilize people of faith (Green, Rozell, and Wilcox 2003). When Karl Rove and his operatives set out to mobilize four million more evangelical voters in 2004 than they had in 2000, they identified these potential supporters not through knowledge of their beliefs, but by knowing where they attended worship services. Finally, and most practically, while the NES has provided a means for identifying evangelical religious affiliation since 1960, it has included few, if any, measures of religious beliefs in its surveys. The only belief item included in most NES surveys—a question about the authority of Scripture—has appeared consistently only since 1980, and underwent a change in response options between 1988 and 1990.

The Partisanship and Presidential Voting Behavior of Evangelical Protestants, 1960 to 2004

Party Identification. To examine changes over time in the partisanship and presidential voting behavior of committed and less-committed evangelical Protestants, we divide evangelicals into two groups: frequent church attenders and infrequent church attenders.⁴ Figure 1 shows the

American Baptist Churches U.S.A. are not included in the evangelical tradition (they are in the mainline Protestant tradition) in analyses involving only the 2000 and 2004 NES. However, because all non-black Baptists were included in the evangelical category before 1990 (there were only three categories of Baptists—Southern Baptist, Primitive/Free Will/Missionary Fundamentalist/Gospel Baptist, and “Baptist”—in the pre-1990 codes), we include ABCUSA in the evangelical tradition for over-time comparisons. In contrast, no Presbyterians (including Presbyterian Church in America, Cumberland Presbyterian Church, Evangelical Presbyterian, and Reformed Presbyterian) are classified as evangelicals for over-time analyses because there was only one Presbyterian category before 1990. That category most likely consisted predominantly of members of the mainline Protestant Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Respondents with general Protestant or Christian affiliations were not included in the evangelical category for over-time analyses.

Unfortunately, the 2002 NES did not provide the detailed coding of religious affiliations provided in all of the other NES surveys since 1990. We tried to make our definition of the evangelical tradition in 2002 as comparable as possible to those in the other years involved in over-time analyses.

⁴ Before 1970, frequent attenders are those respondents describing their worship attendance as “regular,” while infrequent attenders are respondents who “never,” “seldom,” or “often” attend church. From 1970 to 2004, frequent attenders are respondents who attend church “almost every week” or more often, while infrequent attenders are respondents who attend “once or twice a month” or less often. The percentage of frequent attenders among evangelical Protestants was 40.3 in 1960 and 45.2 in 2004.

percentage of these two groups identifying themselves as Democrats, independents, and Republicans in all election years from 1960 to 2004.⁵

Among frequently-attending evangelicals, there is clear evidence of a sharp and long-term partisan realignment. Between 1964 and the early-to-mid-1970s, there was a noticeable decline in the percentage of committed evangelicals identifying with the Democratic party. Those Democratic losses, however, were not accompanied by Republican gains. The percentage of Republicans in this religious group remained quite steady and rather small through the 1960s and 1970s, while the percentage of independents among regularly-attending evangelicals rose sharply. Since it began after the 1964 election, when the national parties and their candidates first evinced clearly distinct stands on civil rights for African-Americans, and since evangelical Protestants were located disproportionately in the South, this dealignment of committed evangelicals was likely part of the broader movement of southern whites out of the Democratic party in response to Democratic racial liberalism. Similar to the pattern shown here, considerable research indicates that southern whites, in general, did not jump directly from strong Democratic loyalties to Republican identifications, but became, in the short run at least, more independent in their partisan ties (e.g. Black and Black 1987).

The continued growth of independence among committed evangelicals in the 1970s also may have been due in part to the cultural liberalism of the Democratic party in the late 1960s and the early 1970s. With the Republican party not yet presenting a clear culturally-conservative alternative, there may have been stronger incentives for conservative Christians to leave the Democratic fold than for them to identify with the GOP.⁶

After 1978, the pattern among regularly-attending evangelicals changed from dealignment to realignment. The percentage of Democrats continued to decrease through the 1980s and 1990s. However, rather than being accompanied by increasing independence, this Democratic decline occurred alongside an enormous increase in identification with the Republican party. By the mid-1990s, committed evangelicals were, as a group, very closely tied to the GOP.

Those ties grew even closer over the course of George W. Bush's first presidential

⁵ Democrats and Republicans are defined as strong and weak partisans on the NES' seven-point party identification scale. The independent category includes pure independents and independent "leaners." There is not a data point for 1962 included in these figures because the religious affiliation variable in 1962 did not distinguish between different types of Protestants.

⁶ Layman's (2001) analysis of the party affiliations of regularly-attending evangelicals in the South and outside of the South lends some support to the notion that the dealignment of the 1960s was largely race- and region-based, while Democratic cultural liberalism perhaps played a role in the continued dealignment of the 1970s. The Democratic losses among regularly-attending evangelicals between 1964 and 1972 were due almost entirely to the dealignment of committed evangelicals in the South. In 1964, 73 percent of southerners in this religious group were Democrats and 12 percent were independents. By 1972, only 51 percent of southerners were Democrats and 31 percent were independents, with the percentage of Republicans changing only slightly. In contrast, the percentage of Democrats among committed evangelicals outside of the South declined only slightly, from 37 in 1964 to 35 in 1972, and the percentage of independents only increased by one point. However, between 1972 and 1978, there was more change among non-southerners than among southerners. Among non-southerners, the percentage of Democrats decreased from 35 to 28 and the percentage of independents increased from 33 to 46. Among southerners, the percentage of Democrats actually increased from 51 to 54, perhaps in response to the Democratic presidency of southern evangelical Jimmy Carter, and the percentage of independents increased from 31 to 35.

administration. However, the increases in Republican loyalty and further decreases in Democratic identification that occurred during the 2000s were not at all inconsistent with those that took shape during the 1980s and 1990s. It is clear, then, that Bush is not responsible for drawing the most devout evangelical Protestants into identification with the Republican party. His presidency has done nothing to discourage this group from further consolidating and strengthening its ties to the GOP. However, that attachment has developed and grown steadily over a 25-year period as the cultural conservatism of the Republican party's candidates, leaders, and platforms has increased.

The over-time story is a somewhat different one for infrequently-attending evangelicals. Through the 2000 election, the pattern for this group was largely one of dealignment from the Democratic party. Like their more-committed counterparts, infrequent attenders were overwhelmingly aligned with the Democratic party in the early 1960s, but became steadily less Democratic and more independent over the course of the 1960s and 1970s. However, unlike frequent attenders, less-committed evangelicals did not demonstrate any real growth in identification with the Republican party over the course of the 1980s and 1990s. GOP ties did increase noticeably between 1990 and the Republicans' landmark year of 1994, but declined even more markedly between 1994 and 1996.

In fact, in keeping with the idea that the party ties of less-committed evangelical Protestants may be shaped by group identification or seeing a presidential candidate as "one of us," there were substantial rebounds in the group's Democratic attachments when the two recent Southern Baptist presidents from the South, Jimmy Carter and Bill Clinton, sought reelection in 1980 and 1996, respectively. Those upturns in Democratic loyalties, however, were accompanied by noticeable declines soon after those elections. In short, while there was evidence at the turn of the century that infrequent attenders had joined their frequently-attending evangelical brethren in moving out of the Democratic coalition, there was not evidence that they had accompanied them in realigning to the GOP.

That, however, may have begun to change over the course of the first administration of George W. Bush. Between 2000 and 2004, the percentage of less-committed evangelicals identifying with the Republican party grew substantially—from 27.4 to 41.6. The increase in GOP attachments was clearly the largest to date over any four-year period, and it resulted in a plurality of infrequently-attending evangelicals identifying themselves as Republicans for the first time. Only time will tell whether these Republican gains will be sustained after Bush leaves the political scene. However, while Bush's presidency has simply sustained the already strong loyalties of committed evangelicals to the GOP, it appears to have drawn their less-committed counterparts into the party fold in a much greater way than had prior Republican candidates and presidents.

Presidential Vote Choice. Figure 2 shows the percentage of frequently-attending and infrequently-attending evangelical Protestants voting for the Republican presidential candidate from 1960 to 2004. For comparison's sake, it also includes the percentage of all voters outside of the evangelical tradition supporting the Republican candidate.

For the most part, the voting behavior of all three of these groups follows the same general pattern based on the relative success of the Republican candidate in various years. However, several things are noteworthy. Although a clear plurality of committed evangelicals identified with the Democratic party in the 1960s and a slight plurality continued to hold

Democratic identifications through the early 1980s, this group was more likely to vote Republican than Democratic for president throughout almost this entire period. Not surprisingly, the percentage of frequently-attending evangelicals voting Republican reached its peaks for the 1960s and 1970s when the Democratic standard-bearer was a Catholic in 1960 and when the culturally-liberal campaign of George McGovern in 1972 led Republican operatives to label the Democrats as the party of “acid, amnesty, and abortion.” This group’s support of GOP candidates was lower in other years, but a majority of committed evangelicals voted Republican in all years except 1964, when only 32 percent of NES respondents claimed to support Republican candidate Barry Goldwater, and they were always—even in 1964—more likely than voters outside of the evangelical camp to support Republican candidates.

While the over-time pattern in committed evangelical voting generally paralleled that of non-evangelical voting from 1960 to 1980, it began to clearly diverge in 1984. Non-evangelicals were no more likely to vote for Ronald Reagan in 1984 than they were in 1980, but frequently-attending evangelicals—presumably attracted to Reagan’s conservatism, particularly on cultural and moral issues—increased their support for the president by nearly 20 percentage points in 1984. Since 1984, non-evangelical voters, as a group, have given the Democratic presidential candidate a plurality of their support in every election, while the percentage of committed evangelicals voting Republican has not dipped below 60. The support of both groups for Republican candidates has increased since 1992, when only 35 percent of non-evangelicals and 61 percent of committed evangelicals voted for George Bush, but the increase was much sharper among committed evangelicals than among those voters outside of the evangelical tradition. George W. Bush won nearly 26 percentage points more of the vote from frequently-attending evangelicals for his re-election bid in 2004 than his father had for his in 1992, but only 11 percentage points more of the vote from non-evangelicals.

Thus, devout evangelical Protestants truly have become the backbone of the Republican electoral coalition. While no Republican presidential candidate has been able to secure a plurality of the vote from citizens outside of evangelicalism, they have been able to count on the overwhelming support of committed evangelicals. That was certainly true of George W. Bush in 2004, when he won 87 percent of the vote from frequently-attending evangelicals, but only 46 percent of the non-evangelical vote. However, although the gap between the voting behavior of committed evangelicals and non-evangelicals was at least slightly greater in 2004 than it had been in any previous elections since 1960, the level of support Bush received from devout evangelicals was not at all unprecedented. Both Reagan in 1984 and Nixon in 1972 received more than 80 percent of the vote from this group, and Nixon also received more than 75 percent of its votes in 1960.

The over-time pattern in the voting behavior of less-committed evangelicals parallels that of non-evangelicals even more closely than does the pattern for frequent attenders. Infrequent attenders diverged from the non-evangelical camp in their greater support for Nixon in 1972, Reagan in 1984, and Bush in 1988. However, unlike committed evangelicals, who gave substantial pluralities of their votes to Bush in 1992 and Dole in 1996, infrequent attenders returned to being indistinguishable from non-evangelicals and gave a plurality of their votes to Bill Clinton in both of those years. As with their party ties, the voting behavior of less-committed evangelicals became much more Republican in 2000 and 2004, when George W. Bush was the party’s standard-bearer.

The support of less-devout evangelicals for Bush in the last two elections is, like that of their devout counterparts, not unprecedented. More than 60 percent of this group voted Republican not only in 2000 and 2004, but also in 1972, 1984, and 1988. However, it is more unusual than that of committed evangelicals. Whereas committed evangelicals had given a majority of their votes to the Republican candidate in nine of the ten presidential elections before Bush's first bid in 2000, a majority of less-committed evangelicals had voted Republican in only four of those ten elections.

Trends While Controlling for Demographic Orientations. Figures 1 and 2 shed considerable light on change over the last 45 years in the political loyalties and behavior of evangelical Protestants. However, there are several questions that they leave unanswered. One of those is, are the changes over time in the partisanship and voting behavior of frequently and infrequently-attending evangelicals statistically significant? Are these groups significantly more Republican in their party ties and voting behavior now than they were in previous decades? Have the political differences between these groups and between them and citizens outside of the evangelical camp changed significantly over time? Is the support of these groups for George W. Bush, and for the Republican party during his tenure in office, significantly greater than it was for previous Republican candidates, and for the party when they were on the ballot?

A second question is, are the partisan trends observed among committed and less-committed evangelical Protestants due not to anything unique about the political behavior of these groups, but instead to changes over time in the relationship between other sociodemographic characteristics and political behavior? In other words, is the changing relationship between evangelical religion on the one hand and party identification and voting behavior on the other hand in fact spurious—caused by a changing relationship between some other demographic characteristics of evangelicals and these political orientations? Socioeconomic explanations of more recent developments in religious politics generally have been discounted in favor of religious and cultural explanations (Hunter 1991; Wald 2003; Kohut et al. 2000), particularly for evangelicals (Layman 2001). However, there are a fair number of skeptics who argue that these changes also are based in status, geography, and other non-religious variables (see Wald 2003: 176-181 for a review of this argument). For example, Manza and Brooks (1997) argue that when variables such as region, age, education, and income are controlled, there is virtually no evidence of a substantial increase in evangelical loyalties to the Republican party. Although evangelicals differ from other Americans on each of these variables (Wilcox 2000), the most likely culprit for a spurious increase in their Republican loyalties is region. White evangelical Protestants are located disproportionately in the South, a region that has transformed itself from one-party Democratic to the base of the national GOP over the period examined here.

In order to answer both of these questions, we examine change in evangelicals' political orientations in the context of multivariate statistical models that control for various sociodemographic factors and changes over time in their impact on party identification and vote choice. We pooled data from all of the presidential-year NES surveys from 1964 through 2004 and estimated a regression model of party identification and a logit model of the two-party

presidential vote.⁷ The models included dummy variables for infrequently-attending evangelicals and frequently-attending evangelicals (with all non-evangelicals as the comparison group), dummy variables for all of the election years from 1968 to 2004 (with 1964 as the comparison year), and interactions between the evangelical dummies and the year dummies.⁸ They also included controls for education, income, gender, race, age, southern residence, and union membership, and, in order to account for changes in the relationship between sociodemographic factors and political orientations, interactions between these variables and the year dummies.

Because these models produce a very large number of coefficients that are somewhat difficult to interpret, we present the coefficient estimates for the evangelical dummies, the year dummies, and their interactions from these models in appendix B. Here, we focus on the two key questions about those estimates. First, are the over-time patterns in the partisanship and voting behavior of evangelical Protestants still evident when we account for changes in the relationships between other sociodemographic factors and these political orientations? Second, was the support of frequently-attending and infrequently-attending evangelical Protestants for the Republican party and its presidential candidate significantly greater in 2004 than in earlier years?

Figure 3 addresses the first question by showing the models' predictions for party identification (ranging from strong Democrat (1) to strong Republican (7)) and the probability of voting for Republican presidential candidates when all of the control variables and their interactions with year are held constant at their means. It suggests that the observed changes over time in the party attachments and voting behavior of evangelical Protestants are not due solely to the partisan realignment of the white South or to other changes in the relationship between demographic orientations and partisan political behavior. Even when these developments are taken into account, there is still a marked growth in the Republican party ties of committed evangelicals. The clear growth in the Republican identifications of devout evangelicals between 1980 and 1996 is not evident among their less-devout counterparts. However, there is a sharp increase in the GOP loyalties of infrequent attenders over the last two election years. This again suggests that the presidency and campaigns of George W. Bush, and the events surrounding them, have attracted substantial numbers of less-committed evangelical Protestants not just to his candidacy but to identification with the Republican party.

The patterns in the voting behavior of evangelicals also are largely intact for committed evangelicals. They still were particularly likely to vote Republican in 1972 and 1984, and their continued support for Republican presidential candidates in 1992 and 1996, when other groups largely abandoned Bush and Dole, remains evident. The overwhelming support of George W. Bush of devout evangelicals is even more clear when we control for demographic factors and

⁷ We chose 1964 as the starting point for this analysis due to the unusual nature of the 1960 election—the presence of the first Catholic presidential candidate on the ballot—and the unusually high level of committed evangelical support for the Republican presidential candidate in that year.

⁸ We interacted the evangelical variables with dummy variables for year rather than with a linear time variable because the patterns in figures 1 and 2 do not indicate linear changes in the political behavior of evangelicals over time. Instead, the changes occur in fits and starts or in certain intervals over the full time period and are thus better modeled with a series of dummy variable interactions.

their changing relationship to political behavior. The predicted probability of voting for Bush of this group when all other variables are held constant at their means is .93 in 2000 and .97 in 2004. In fact, when we account for demographic orientations, it appears that committed evangelicals were more supportive of Bush than they had been of any of his predecessors on Republican presidential tickets.

That is even more true of less-committed evangelicals. The increases in Republican voting in 1972 and 1984 that are present in figure 2 are no longer as noticeable when we control for demographic orientations. However, the sharp up ticks in Republican voting in 2000 and 2004 are quite noticeable. In fact, the predicted probabilities of voting Republican in 2000 and 2004 (.87 and .90 respectively) among infrequent attenders are nearly as high as those for committed evangelicals and are clearly higher than those for this group in earlier presidential elections. Once again, it appears that while George W. Bush has received as much or more support from committed evangelicals as earlier Republican candidates, where he has been most unique is in his ability to attract support from the less-devout members of the evangelical tradition.

In table 1, we address the question of statistical significance. The second and third columns of the table are the most important ones. They indicate whether the party identifications and probabilities of voting Republican for president of low- and high-attendance evangelicals in 2004 were significantly different from those in earlier years, when all of the sociodemographic control variables and their interactions with year are held constant. The evidence generally suggests that the partisan orientations of evangelicals were, by common standards of statistical significance, more Republican in 2004 than they had been in most earlier years from 1964 forward. The party identifications of infrequent attenders in 2004 were significantly more Republican than they were in any of the years from 1964 to 1980 and in 1996, but were not significantly different from the group's party attachments from 1984 to 1992 or in 2000. The probability of voting Republican for president among less-committed evangelicals was significantly higher in 2004 than it was in any of the earlier years except for 1980 and 2000. The party identifications of frequent attenders in 2004 were significantly more Republican than they were in any of the earlier years except for 1992 and 2000. Committed evangelicals were more likely to vote Republican in 2004 than they were in all of the earlier years except 1984 and 2000.

The fourth column of the table indicates whether the difference between the partisanship and voting behavior of committed and less-committed evangelicals was significantly different in 2004 than it had been in earlier years. In terms of party identification, the gap between frequent and infrequent attenders was generally no larger in 2004 than in prior years. The "commitment gap" in evangelical partisanship in 2004 was significantly larger than the gaps only in 1972 and 1976. In voting behavior, the difference between frequent and infrequent attenders in 2004 was significantly larger than it had been in most of the elections in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, but was not different in size from the commitment gap in the elections from 1992 through 2000.

The last two columns of the table indicate whether the difference in the party ties and voting behavior of each of the two groups of evangelicals and that of all citizens not in the evangelical camp was significantly larger in 2004 than it was in prior years. Among less-committed evangelicals, it largely was not. The gap between less-committed evangelicals and non-evangelicals in party identification in 2004 was significantly larger than it was in 1964, 1980, and 1996, but was not different from that gap in any of the other earlier years. The

difference between the voting behavior of these two groups in 2004 was not larger than the difference in any of the other years. The differences between committed evangelicals and non-evangelicals in both party identification and voting behavior was larger in 2004 than it had been in most of the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. However, the gap between devout evangelicals and non-evangelicals was not larger in 2004 than it had been in the 1990s and in 2000.

Party Polarization on Cultural Issues and the Growth of Evangelical Republicanism

The developments over the last four decades in the partisan orientations of more- and less-committed evangelical Protestants are consistent with our argument about the nature of partisan change for the two groups. The steady growth in the Republican attachments of the most devout evangelicals and their consistent support of Republican candidates over several decades are suggestive of a long-term partisan realignment based in religious orientations, and spurred most likely by gradual increases in party polarization on the moral and cultural political issues most closely linked to those orientations. The more sporadic nature of less-committed evangelicals' support for Republican candidates and the fact that they have become more Republican than Democratic in their party ties only very recently suggests that their partisan orientations have been driven by the gradual increases in partisan polarization on cultural issues to a much lesser extent.

To assess this argument more directly, we examine the relationship over time between the degree of polarization between Democratic and Republican elites on cultural issues and the aggregate party ties of high-commitment and low-commitment evangelical Protestants. For our measure of party elite polarization, we turn to the U.S. Congress. In their roles as both policy initiators and responders to presidential initiatives, a party's members of Congress provide important cues about the party's stands on particular sets of political issues, and their numerous recorded roll-call votes provide a detailed public record of the ebbs and flows of the parties' policy positions. Our measure of party elite polarization derives from all of the roll-call votes pertaining to cultural issues in the House and Senate between 1970 and 2004. Those include any votes on abortion rights, homosexual rights and relationships, women's rights, the Equal Rights Amendment, prayer and other religious expression in the public schools and other public places, government's relationship to religious schools, embryonic stem cell research, and the funding of pornographic or obscene art by the National Endowment for the Arts.⁹ To form our measure, we first computed the proportion of all roll-call votes cast by Republican and Democratic House members on cultural issues that were on the conservative side of the issue and took the difference between that proportion for the two parties in each year. We did the same thing for the Senate in each year and then took the average of these party differences in the two chambers in each year. This yearly average is our measure of the congressional party alignment on cultural issues.

We compare this congressional party alignment to the party alignments of frequently and

⁹ See Layman (2001, pp. 407-409) for a list of all of the roll-call votes from 1970 to 1996 included in our measure. A list of the votes from 1997 to 2004 that are included will be provided in short order. We chose 1970 as the starting point because that was the first year in which there was at least one roll-call vote on a cultural issue in both the House and the Senate. The roll-call votes on abortion between 1973 and 1994 were identified by Adams (1997).

infrequently-attending evangelical Protestants—the difference between the proportion of each group identifying with the Republican party and the proportion of the group identifying with the Democratic party. Figure 4 shows these three series from 1970 to 2004,¹⁰ and displays a clear difference in how each of the two evangelical series relates to the congressional cultural alignment. There is a very close parallel between the growing polarization of the congressional parties on cultural issues and the growing loyalties of devout evangelicals to the GOP. In fact, after 1980 the two series track together nearly perfectly. In contrast, the party alignment of infrequently-attending evangelicals follows the congressional cultural alignment much less closely. The low-commitment alignment shows the same general trend as the congressional series, but fluctuates considerably around it.

This contrast in the aggregate relationships between congressional party polarization on cultural issues and the partisan attachments of committed and less-committed evangelicals is highlighted by the correlations between year-to-year changes in the two evangelical series and in the congressional series. The correlation between first differences (the change from one election-year to the next) in the party alignment of committed evangelicals and first differences in the congressional alignment on cultural issues is .20 (two-tailed $p=.43$) for the whole 1970-2004 period.¹¹ When only the years after 1980 are considered, the correlation between first differences is strong (.50) and approaches standard levels of statistical significance (two-tailed $p=.09$) even in a tiny sample of 12 time points. In contrast, there is no relationship at all between year-to-year changes in the party alignment of less-committed evangelicals and in the congressional cultural alignment. The correlation between first differences in these two series is $-.04$ ($p=.87$) over the whole time period and $-.03$ ($p=.94$) for the years after 1980. Clearly the party ties of committed evangelicals are following the degree of polarization between the two parties on cultural issues while those of less-devout evangelicals are not.

Evangelical Policy Attitudes

The fact that the aggregate party ties of less-committed evangelical Protestants have not been shaped by the level of party polarization on moral and cultural issues may not be terribly surprising given the relationship between religious commitment and conservative attitudes on these matters. For example, Kohut et al. (2000, pp. 36-41) show that less-committed evangelicals not only have much less conservative cultural attitudes than do committed evangelicals, but also find cultural issues to be less salient than do their more-devout counterparts.

The less-conservative cultural attitudes of infrequently-attending evangelical Protestants is confirmed in figure 5, which shows the mean attitudes from 1980 to 2004 of the two evangelical groups and of all individuals outside of the evangelical camps on four issues that

¹⁰ Because the congressional and mass series are based on very different indicators and have different scales, we have standardized all three series to have a common mean (50) and standard deviation (25).

¹¹ Because the congressional alignment is measured every year and the evangelical party alignments are measured only every two years, we only use our measure of the congressional alignment in election years for this analysis. So, first differences in the congressional series are actually the change from one even-numbered year to the next even-numbered year.

have been asked about—with the same question wording and response options—in all of the presidential-year NES surveys since 1980. These include two cultural issues (abortion and the role of women in American society), one social welfare issue (the responsibility of government to ensure that its citizens have jobs and a good standard of living), and one national defense issue (federal spending on national defense). All issues are coded to range from one for the most liberal position to seven for the most conservative position.¹² The pattern for all three groups is generally one of considerable stability on all four issues. On the two cultural issues, committed evangelicals have been significantly ($p < .01$) more conservative than non-evangelicals in all of the years. However, less-committed evangelicals have rarely had different attitudes on abortion and women's rights than those of non-evangelicals ($p > .01$ in all but one year on each issue, and $p > .05$ in all but two years on abortion and all but three years on women's rights), and have always been less conservative than committed evangelicals on these issues ($p < .0001$ in all years on abortion, and $p < .05$ in all years on women's rights). In fact, while over 70 percent of committed evangelicals has chosen one of the two most pro-life positions on abortion in every year since 1980, a majority of their less-committed counterparts have chosen one of the two most pro-choice options in every year over this period. Less-committed evangelicals clearly do not share the staunch cultural conservatism of the more-devout members of their religious tradition.

On social welfare and national defense issues, however, the two groups of evangelicals have very similar attitudes. Their mean positions on social welfare are significantly different in only one year (1996, $p < .01$) and their attitudes on defense spending are never significantly different. The stands of both committed and less-committed evangelicals on social welfare generally are not much different from those of individuals outside of evangelicalism. The mean position of the high commitment group is significantly different from that of non-evangelicals in only three of the seven election-years from 1980 to 2004, and less-committed evangelicals are significantly different from non-evangelicals in only one year. On defense spending, however, the differences between the two evangelical groups and non-evangelicals, while not very large, are nearly always statistically significant ($p < .05$ in all years but 2000, $p < .01$ in all other years for infrequent attenders, and $p < .01$ in all other years except 1980 for frequent attenders). Moreover, it is worth noting that the social welfare and defense attitudes of both evangelical groups are generally quite conservative. In no year did more than 38 percent of either group choose one of the three most liberal positions on the seven-point scales for either government providing jobs or defense spending.

Thus, it is possible that while committed evangelicals have realigned their party loyalties from Democratic to Republican largely because of their staunch conservatism on cultural issues, the greater Republicanism of less-committed evangelicals during the George W. Bush era has been due more to their conservatism on social welfare and on issues of foreign policy and national defense. That seems particularly likely given the Bush administration's efforts to alter the social welfare role of the federal government (e.g. through privatizing social security) and its aggressive use of military force in prosecuting the war on terror.

¹² The NES' indicators for all of the issues except abortion are seven-point scales. To make the abortion scale comparable, we recoded respondents' positions on the NES' four-category abortion variable to equal 1 (for the most pro-choice position), 3, 5, and 7 (for the most pro-life position).

Linking Evangelicals to the GOP: The Impact of Religious Beliefs, Moral Values, and other Political Attitudes on Party Identification and Electoral Choice

In short, we suspect that the factors that led less-committed evangelical Protestants to exhibit strong loyalties to the Republican party and strong support for George W. Bush in 2000 and 2004 were different from the factors that led committed evangelicals to support Bush and the GOP in those years. The party ties and electoral decisions of committed evangelicals should be shaped substantially by their moral and cultural attitudes, and the traditionalist religious beliefs of these individuals should be connected to their partisan orientations largely by those moral attitudes. The factors linking less-committed evangelicals to Republican partisanship and electoral choice are more likely to be other attitudes and orientations: attitudes on other types of policy issues, such as social welfare and national defense, and perhaps personal affect for and orientations toward George W. Bush.

To assess these expectations, we pool the data from the 2000 and 2004 NES surveys and estimate structural equation models of party identification and electoral choice separately for frequently-attending and infrequently-attending evangelical Protestants. The party identification model consists of the following set of equations:

$$(1) \text{Moral Attitudes}_i = \alpha_1 + \beta_{11}\text{Belief Orthodoxy}_i + \beta_{12}\text{Demographics}_i + \epsilon_{1i}$$

$$(2) \text{Social Welfare Attitudes}_i = \alpha_2 + \beta_{21}\text{Belief Orthodoxy}_i + \beta_{22}\text{Demographics}_i + \epsilon_{2i}$$

$$(3) \text{Defense Attitudes}_i = \alpha_3 + \beta_{31}\text{Belief Orthodoxy}_i + \beta_{32}\text{Demographics}_i + \epsilon_{3i}$$

$$(4) \text{Bush Traits}_i = \alpha_4 + \beta_{41}\text{Belief Orthodoxy}_i + \beta_{42}\text{Demographics}_i + \lambda_{41}\text{Moral Attitudes}_i + \lambda_{42}\text{Social Welfare Attitudes}_i + \lambda_{43}\text{Defense Attitudes}_i + \epsilon_{4i}$$

$$(5) \text{Party ID}_i = \alpha_5 + \beta_{51}\text{Belief Orthodoxy}_i + \beta_{52}\text{Demographics}_i + \lambda_{51}\text{Moral Attitudes}_i + \lambda_{52}\text{Social Welfare Attitudes}_i + \lambda_{53}\text{Defense Attitudes}_i + \lambda_{54}\text{Bush Traits}_i + \epsilon_{5i}$$

Attitudes toward moral, social welfare, and defense issues are shaped by the orthodoxy of beliefs and by a set of demographic control variables.¹³ Assessments of George W. Bush's personal traits are shaped by belief orthodoxy, demographics, and the three types of issue attitudes. Party identification is shaped by belief orthodoxy, demographics, issue attitudes, and assessments of Bush traits. In short, religious beliefs may have a direct effect on evaluations of Bush traits and partisanship as well as indirect effects through issue attitudes. Beliefs and issue attitudes may have direct effects on party identification as well as indirect effects through personal assessments of Bush.

Several of the variables in the model are latent variables, measured by confirmatory factor

¹³ The demographic control variables are education, income, southern residence, gender, and age. Race is not included as a control because these models are estimated only for evangelical Protestants, all of whom are non-black and over 90 percent of whom are white. To account for the pooled nature of the data, we also allow a dummy variable for 2004 respondents to affect each endogenous variable in the model.

loadings on several observed indicators, each of which is treated as having measurement error. The observed indicators of moral attitudes are positions on six cultural issues (the legality of abortion, partial-birth abortion, homosexual anti-discrimination laws, homosexuals in the military, homosexuals adopting children, and women's role) and the four "moral traditionalism" items in the NES.¹⁴ Thus, the moral attitudes variable taps into not only attitudes on moral and cultural policy issues, but also moral values. The indicators of social welfare attitudes are positions on government providing jobs, the tradeoff between government services and spending, government responsibility to help improve the social and economic position of blacks, government providing health insurance, and federal spending on social security, child care, and programs to help the poor. The indicators of Bush trait evaluations are assessments of how well six different traits (moral, strong leader, cares about people like me, knowledgeable, intelligent, and dishonest) describe George W. Bush. The other variables in the model— demographic orientations, belief orthodoxy (view on the authority of the Bible), attitude on defense spending, and party identification—are simply observed variables because there was only one observed indicator of them in the NES.¹⁵

The model of electoral choice is exactly the same as that for party identification except that party identification is replaced in equation (5) with a latent electoral choice variable. The two-party presidential vote (coded 1 for Bush and 0 for the Democratic candidate) and comparative evaluations of the two major-party presidential candidates (the feeling thermometer rating of Bush minus the feeling thermometer rating of his Democratic opponent) as its observed indicators. We combine comparative candidate evaluations with vote choice in this variable due to the dichotomous nature of the vote variable and the difficulties inherent in estimating path models with dichotomous endogenous variables.¹⁶

Figures 6 and 7 show the statistically-significant (standardized) path coefficients in the

¹⁴ The moral traditionalism items tap into support for traditional moral values and tolerance for those with less-traditional moral perspectives. They ask respondents to state their levels of agreement with the following statements: (1) The newer lifestyles are contributing to the breakdown of our society, (2) The world is always changing and we should adjust our view of moral behavior to those changes, (3) This country would have many fewer problems if there were more emphasis on traditional family ties, (4) We should be more tolerant of people who choose to live according to their own moral standards, even if they are very different from our own.

¹⁵ To provide a scale for the latent variables, we constrain the factor loading for one observed indicator of each latent variable to be equal to one. All of the observed indicators of religious beliefs, issue attitudes, and assessments of Bush traits have been coded to range from -1 to 1, with higher scores representing more orthodox, conservative, or Republican orientations. The latent variables take on the same range of values. We leave party identification in its original metric ranging from one (strong Democrat) to seven (strong Republican).

¹⁶ Comparative candidate evaluations are correlated with vote choice at .80 in the pooled 2000 and 2004 NES. We have coded the candidate evaluations variable to range from 0 (most anti-Bush and pro-Democrat) to 1 (most pro-Bush and anti-Democrat) to make it comparable to the dichotomous vote variable (although there are many values between 0 and 1 on candidate evaluations).

models of party identification and electoral choice for both evangelical groups.¹⁷ Table 2 shows the direct, indirect, and total effects of belief orthodoxy and the three types of issue attitudes on party identification and electoral choice.¹⁸ The results provide considerable support for our expectations about the factors shaping partisanship and electoral choice for the two sets of evangelical Protestants.

In the party identification model for committed evangelicals, belief orthodoxy affects assessments of Bush's personal traits both directly and indirectly through its impact on moral values and issue attitudes. Neither moral attitudes nor views of Scripture have a direct effect on partisanship. Their impact is felt only indirectly, through their influence on evaluations of Bush. Social welfare conservatism contributes to stronger identification with the GOP both directly and indirectly, through its positive effect on assessments of Bush traits. Defense spending attitudes affect partisanship indirectly, by influencing evaluations of Bush, but not directly. As table 2 shows, social welfare attitudes have the strongest overall effect on the party ties of committed evangelicals, by virtue of being the only variable besides Bush trait assessments to affect party identification directly. However, belief orthodoxy, moral attitudes, and defense attitudes all have sizeable indirect and overall effects on party loyalties.

Among infrequently-attending evangelicals, neither belief orthodoxy nor moral attitudes have any effect at all on party identification. Beliefs do shape moral attitudes (although not quite as strongly as they do among frequent attenders), but moral attitudes do not affect assessments of Bush traits or party identification. Thus, the party ties of less-committed evangelicals in 2000 and 2004 were structured entirely by attitudes toward issues outside of the moral and cultural framework and by evaluations of the personal characteristics of Bush. As for frequent attenders, social welfare attitudes have both a direct effect and an indirect effect, through Bush evaluations, on party identification, and attitudes on defense spending have an indirect effect, through Bush trait assessments. However, unlike frequent attenders, infrequent attenders also exhibit a direct link between supporting increases in spending on national defense and identifying with the Republican party. Thus, as table 2 shows, the effects of religious beliefs and moral attitudes on party identification are much smaller—in fact, nonexistent—for infrequent attenders than for frequent attenders. However, the effects of social welfare and defense attitudes on party loyalties are clearly larger for less-committed evangelicals than for their devout counterparts.

The results for electoral choice are very similar.¹⁹ The orthodoxy of religious doctrine has no effect whatsoever on the electoral orientations of infrequently-attending evangelicals. It has a

¹⁷ We do not exclude missing values from our analyses. We estimate our model using Amos 4.0, which computes full information maximum likelihood (FIML) estimates even in the presence of missing data (Andersen 1957). Woithe and Arbuckle (1996) describe this FIML procedure and show that the estimates produced by it are more consistent and efficient than those produced by pairwise or listwise deletion of missing observations.

¹⁸ Appendix C presents the full set of measurement (factor) and structural (path) coefficients for the models of party identification. Appendix D presents the full set of coefficients for the models of electoral choice.

¹⁹ We also estimated a model that included both party identification and electoral choice and allowed party identification to affect electoral choice. In terms of the effects of religious beliefs and different types of issue attitudes on partisanship and electoral behavior, the results of that single model were nearly identical to those presented here for the separate models.

direct effect only on moral attitudes and those attitudes have no influence on assessments of Bush traits or on electoral choice. In contrast, belief orthodoxy and moral attitudes have very strong overall effects on the electoral decisions of committed evangelicals. Views of Scripture again strongly shape moral attitudes and have a direct effect on assessments of Bush. Moral values and issue attitudes still have a strong effect on Bush evaluations, but also have a direct influence on the electoral choice variable. Thus the total effects of belief orthodoxy and moral attitudes on electoral choice are even stronger than their effects on partisanship, and stand in stark contrast to the complete lack of a link between religious beliefs, moral attitudes, and partisan orientations for low-commitment evangelicals.

Attitudes toward defense spending have only indirect effects on electoral choice for both groups. Social welfare attitudes have both direct and indirect effects on the electoral orientations of both groups. However, as table 2 shows, the overall impact of social welfare conservatism on electoral choice is twice as great for infrequent attenders as for frequent attenders. Thus, it appears that less-committed evangelicals supported George W. Bush in 2000 and 2004 because they liked his positions on social welfare and defense issues and because they liked him personally. These same factors attracted committed evangelicals to Bush, but their support for him also was based quite substantially on the traditionalism of their religious beliefs and the conservatism of their moral values and issue attitudes.

What Evangelicals Like about Bush and the GOP

For a final assessment of whether evangelical Protestants with low and high levels of religious commitment were attracted to George W. Bush and the Republican party for different reasons in 2004, we turn to respondents' answers to open-ended questions about things that they like about Bush and the GOP. Analysis of these open-ended responses may be particularly useful in allowing us to get a better handle on the role of non-policy explanations, such as Bush's faith and morality, for evangelicals' attraction to him and the party. We categorized respondents' stated likes of Bush and the GOP in the 2004 NES into seven categories: Bush's moral and religious traits, Bush's other traits, moral and religious issues, social welfare issues, foreign policy issues, group identification (Bush's association with the Christian Right), and all other mentions.²⁰ We coded Republican party likes into eight categories: a mention of George W. Bush or the whole ticket, other political figures, candidate traits (only a subset of candidate traits were mentioned for the Republican party, and none of these involved morality or religion), moral and religious issues, social welfare issues, foreign policy issues, group identification, and all other mentions.

Table 3 shows the percentage of all mentions of likes of George W. Bush and likes of the Republican party in each of these categories for frequently-attending evangelicals, infrequently-attending evangelicals, and, for comparison purposes, all individuals outside of the evangelical tradition. Bush's moral and religious traits made up a greater percentage of mentions among evangelicals than among non-evangelicals, and this is driven entirely by high-attendance evangelicals. The same is true for Republican party likes, though the larger percentage of

²⁰ Respondents were able to mention up to five things that they liked about both Bush and the Republican party.

mentions among high-attendance evangelicals is not statistically different from that for low-attendance evangelicals. As expected, moral and religious issues are more important for evangelicals' attachment to Bush and the Republican party. They constitute a greater percentage of mentions among high-attendance evangelicals, but the difference is not statistically-significant. Meanwhile, only one respondent (not an evangelical) mentioned Bush's connection to the Christian Right, and one other respondent (a low-attendance evangelical) mentioned the Republican party's connection to this group. Even more unexpectedly, with the exception of one low-attendance evangelical, mentions of George W. Bush as a reason for liking the Republican party were confined to *non-evangelicals*. No significant difference exists by church attendance in evangelicals' mentions of social welfare issues, but for low-attendance evangelicals, foreign policy reasons constitute 27 percent of reasons for liking George W. Bush, about double the figure for high-attendance evangelicals.

These results suggest that Bush's religion and a shared sense of group identification did not play notable roles in attracting support from evangelicals as a block, though Bush's faith certainly appealed to the most committed evangelicals. The observation that Bush himself was more likely to attract non-evangelicals than evangelicals to the Republican party also suggests that committed evangelicals' support for the GOP has not been uniquely energized by Bush, but is more likely to have been driven by the same factors that have supported their long-term alignment with the party, especially cultural issues. Among evangelicals who do not attend church services frequently, foreign policy and other concerns appear to have been most effective in attracting support for Bush in 2004.

Summary

George W. Bush has received nearly overwhelming support from committed evangelical Protestants in his two elections to the White House, and the already strong identification of this group with the Republican party has continued to grow during the Bush years. However, because the attraction of committed evangelicals to Bush is based substantially on his highly-conservative stands on moral and cultural issues, and the long-term realignment of this group to the GOP also has been driven by party positions on these issues, the level of Republican voting and identification by devout members of the evangelical tradition has not been substantially higher during the Bush years than it was in previous eras.

In contrast, Republican voting and identification among less-committed evangelicals has reached substantially higher levels in the current decade than it did in earlier years. We argue that the sharp upturn in low-commitment Republicanism has occurred because this group was largely left out of the long-term evangelical realignment based on moral and cultural issues. Their party ties and political behavior are based more on social welfare attitudes, defense and foreign policy attitudes, and personal affect for political candidates, and Bush has been successful in appealing to them on all of those fronts. In short, Bush's election in 2000 and re-election in 2004 do appear to have been assisted by a growth in Republican support from evangelical Protestants. However, the gains did not come from the "moral values" voters in the evangelical tradition, but from those evangelicals who do not base their political orientations on moral values.

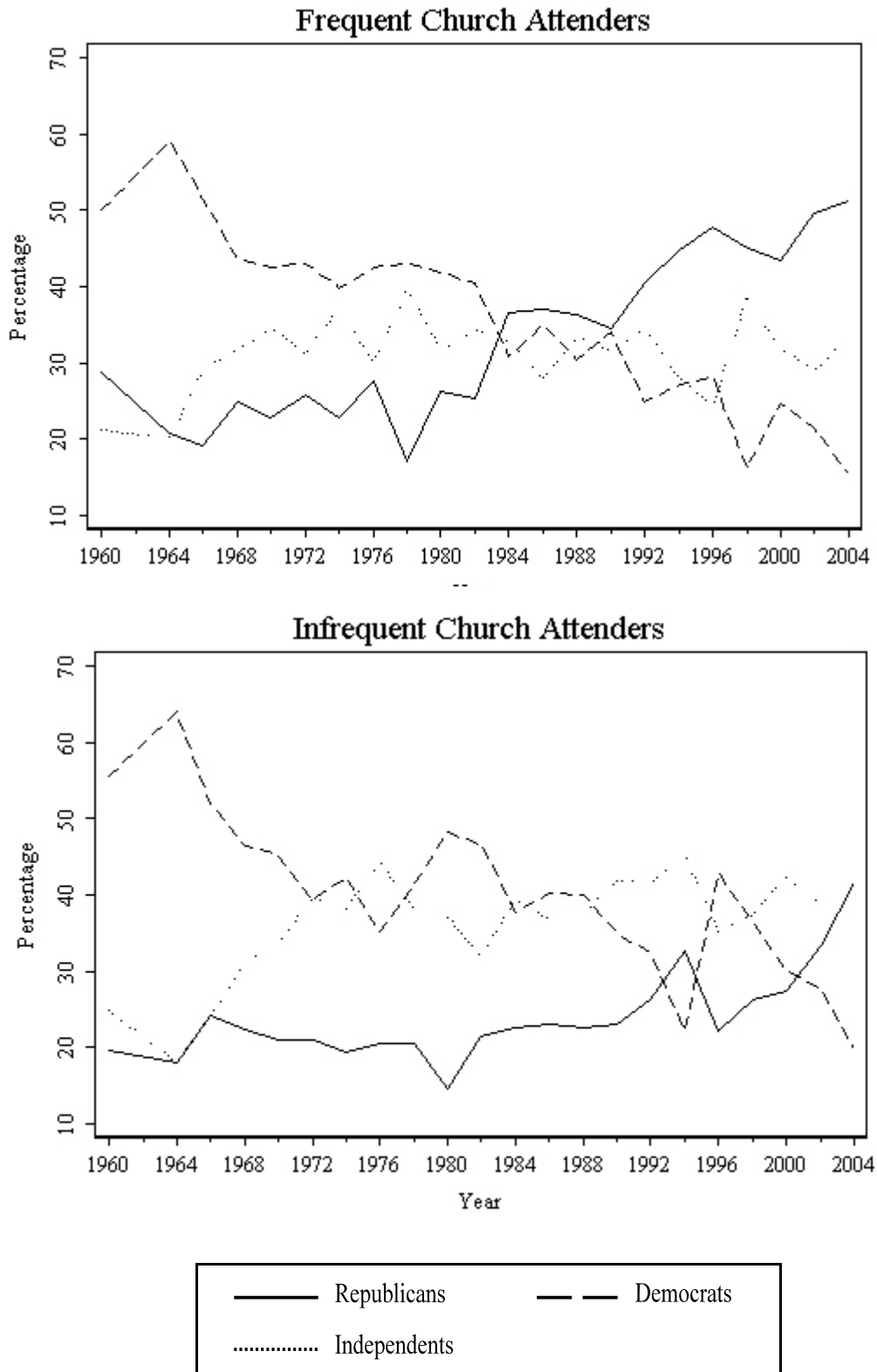
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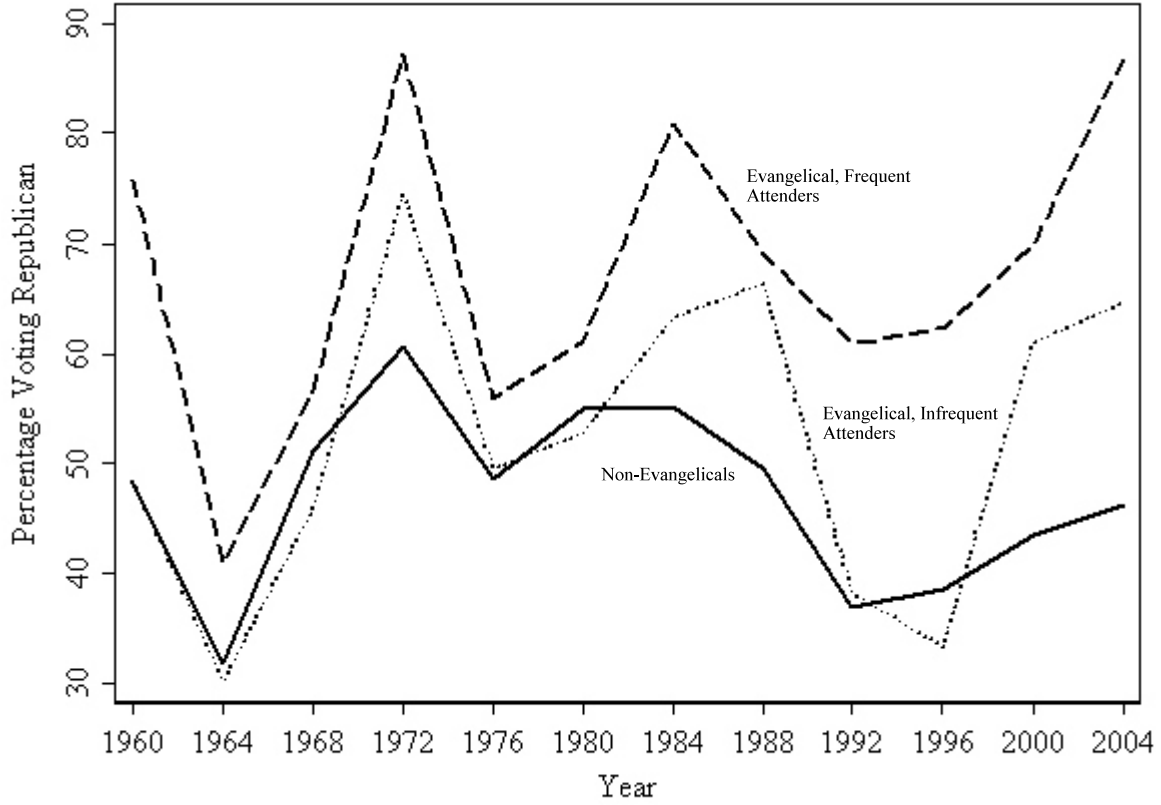
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Figure 1: Party Identification of Evangelical Protestants, 1960-2004



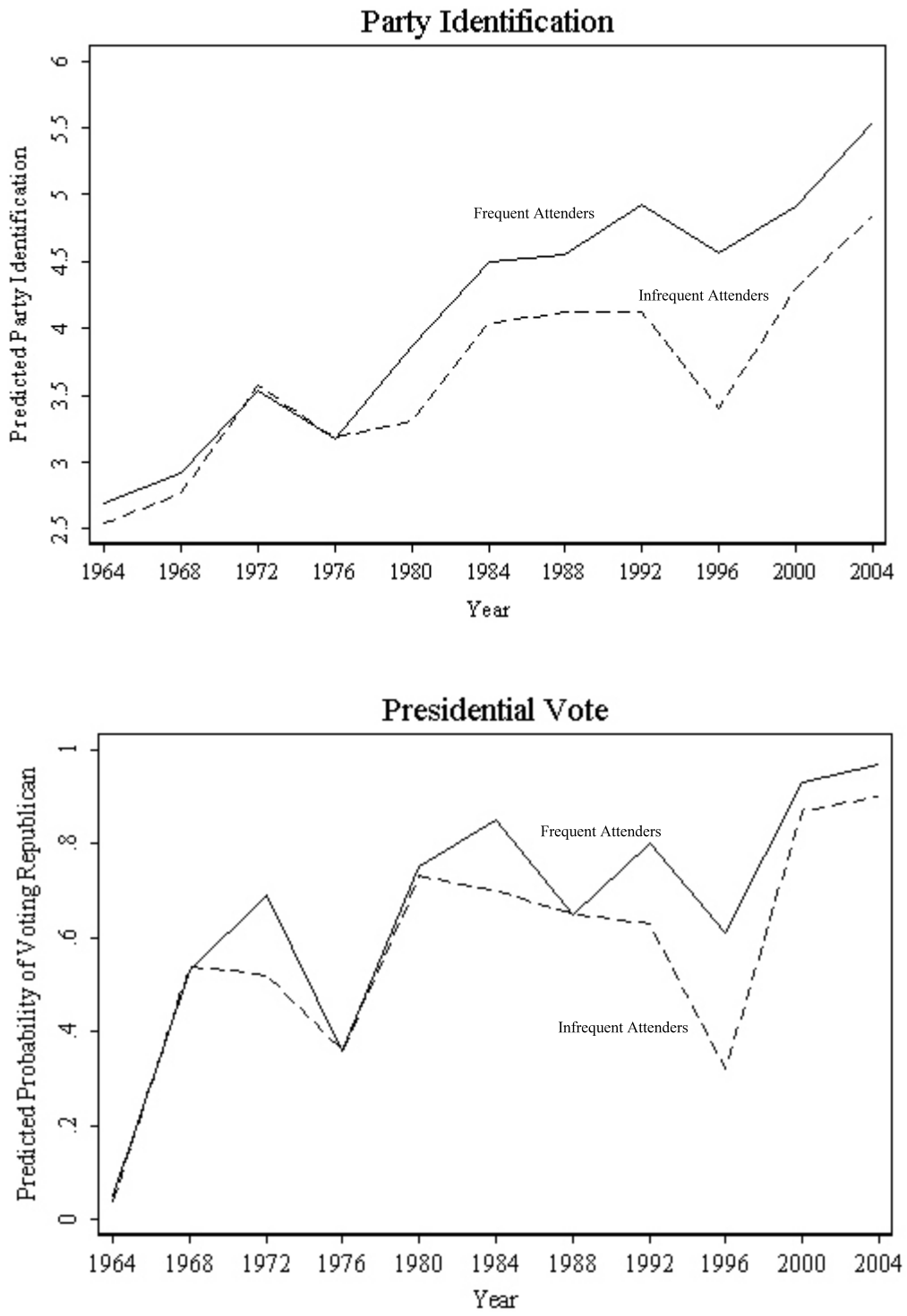
Source: 1960-2004 National Election Studies

Figure 2: Voting for Republican Presidential Candidates among Evangelical Protestants and Non-Evangelical Voters, 1960-2004



Source: 1960-2004 National Election Studies

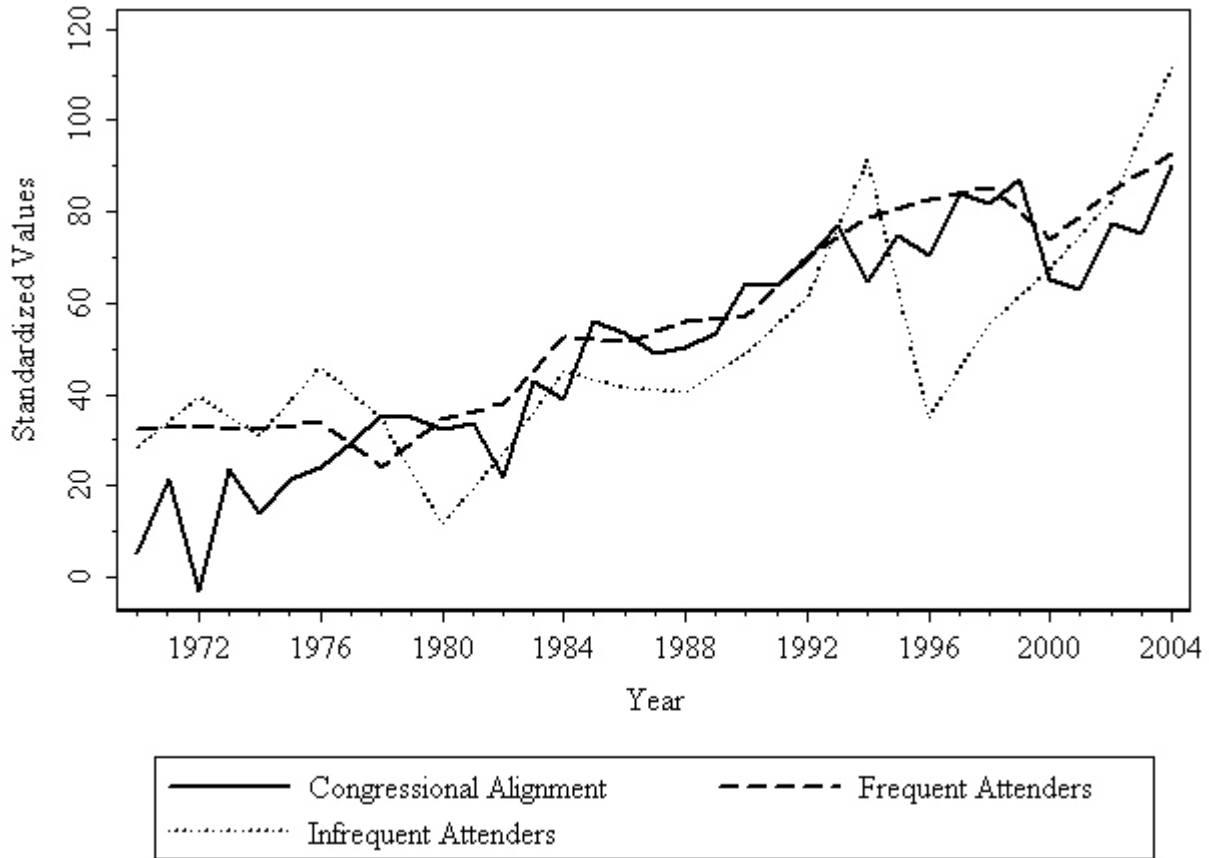
Figure 3: Predicted Party Identification and Presidential Vote of Evangelical Protestants from Models Including Controls for Demographic Characteristics, 1964-2004



Source: 1964-2004 National Election Studies

Note: Party identification ranges from strong Democrat (1) to strong Republican (7).

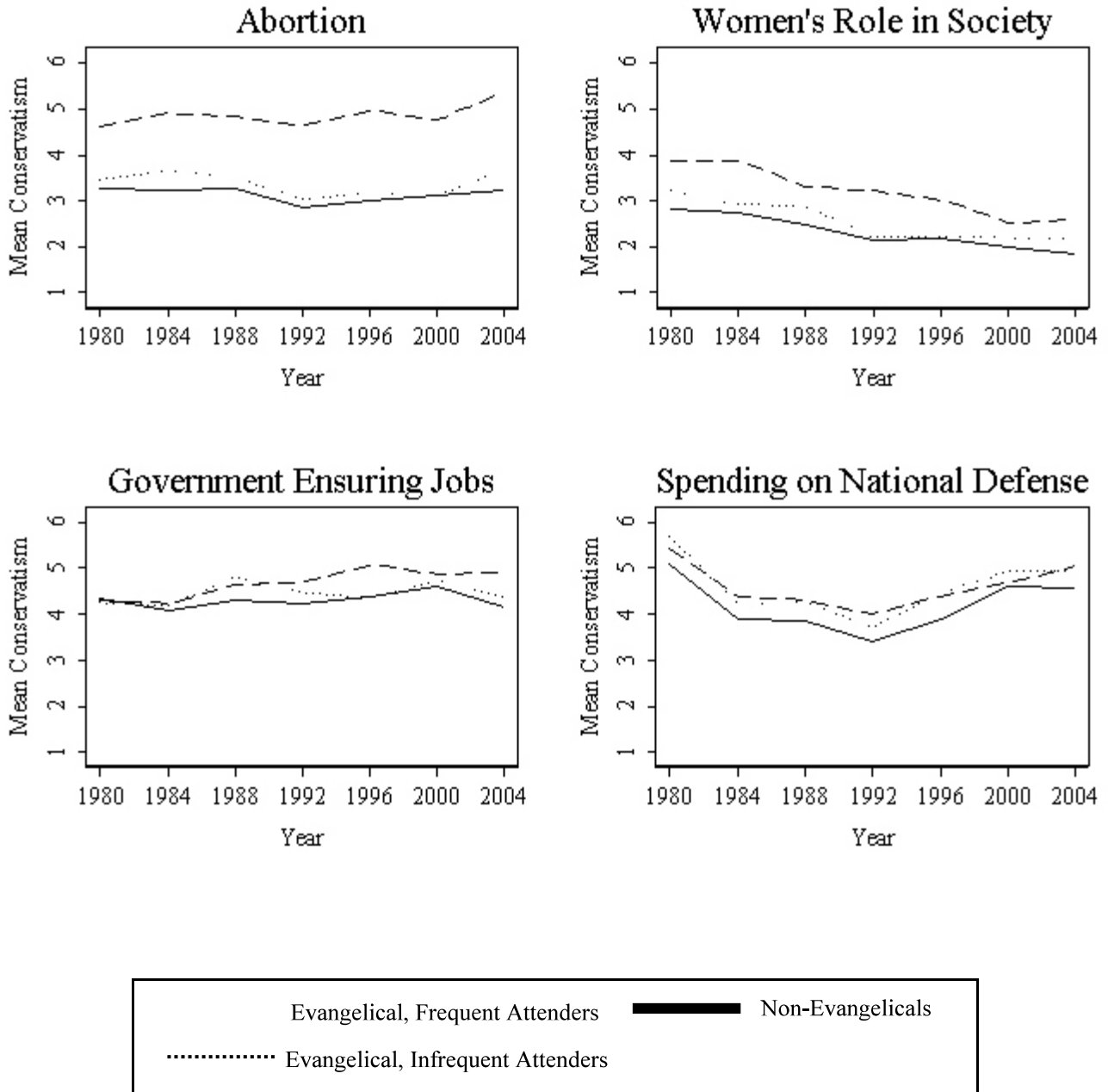
Figure 4: Party Alignments of Frequently and Infrequently Attending Evangelical Protestants and the Congressional Party Alignment on Cultural Issues, 1970-2004



Source: 1970-2004 National Election Studies and *Congressional Quarterly*

Note: All three series are standardized (mean = 50, standard deviation = 25). The evangelical party alignment is the percentage Republican minus the percentage Democrat. The congressional alignment is the percentage of Republican members voting on the conservative side on all cultural issues minus the percentage of Democratic members voting conservative on cultural issues in each year.

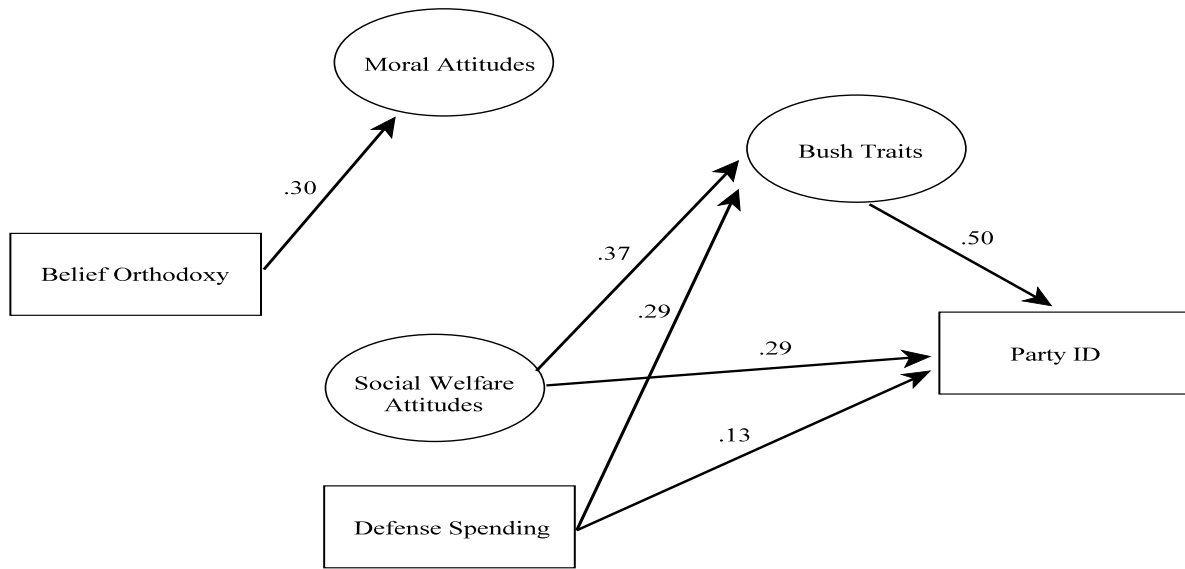
Figure 5: Mean Conservatism on Political Issues among Evangelical Protestants and Non-Evangelicals, 1980-2004



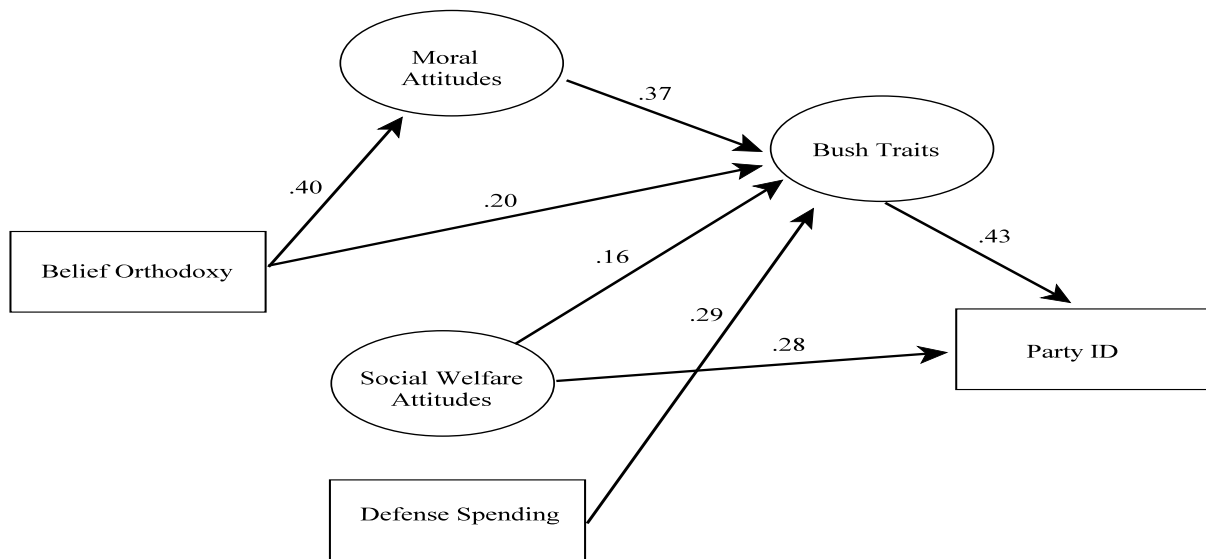
Source: 1980-2004 National Election Studies

Figure 6: The Impact of Belief Orthodoxy, Policy Attitudes, and Assessments of Bush Traits on the Party Identifications of Evangelical Protestants, 2000-2004

Infrequent Attenders



Frequent Attenders

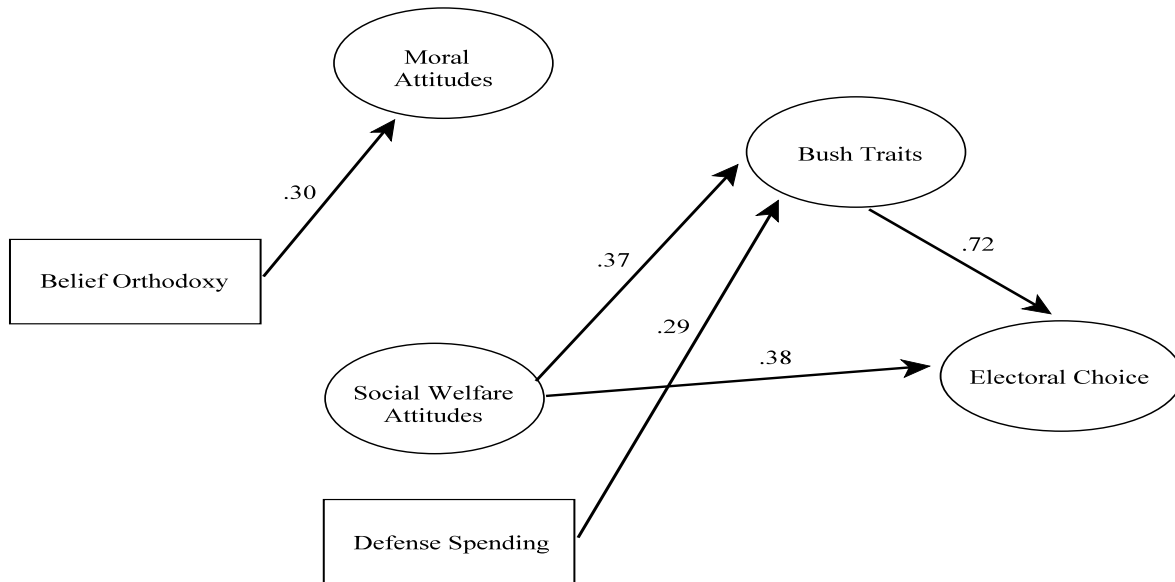


Source: 2000 and 2004 National Election Studies (pooled)

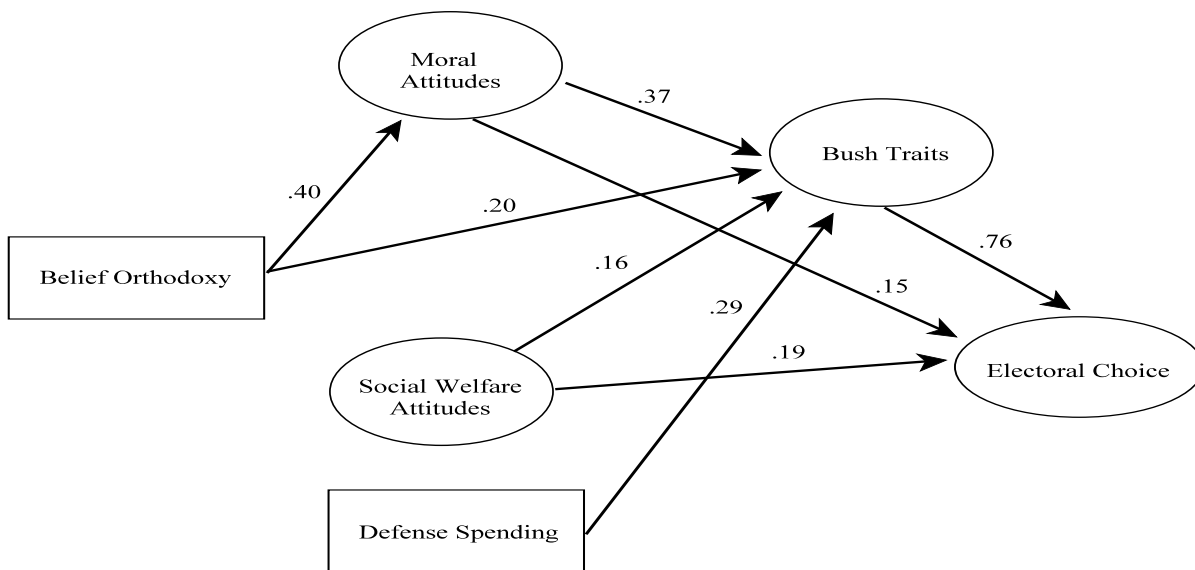
Note: Only statistically significant ($p < .05$) paths are shown. Entries are standardized coefficients. Latent variables are represented by ovals, observed variables by squares.

Figure 7: The Impact of Belief Orthodoxy, Policy Attitudes, and Assessments of Bush Traits on the Electoral Choice of Evangelical Protestants, 2000-2004

Infrequent Attenders



Frequent Attenders



Source: 2000 and 2004 National Election Studies (pooled)

Note: Only statistically significant ($p < .05$) paths are shown. Entries are standardized coefficients. Latent variables are represented by ovals, observed variables by squares.

Table 1: Statistical Significance of Differences Between Evangelical Political Behavior in 2004 and in Earlier Years

Year and Dependent Variable	Difference from Predicted Values/Probabilities in 2004		Difference from Difference Between Groups in 2004		
	Low- Attendance Evangelicals	High- Attendance Evangelicals	Low-Attendance vs. High-Attendance Evangelicals	Low-Attendance Evangelicals vs. Non-Evangelicals	High-Attendance Evangelicals vs. Non-Evangelicals
<i>Party ID</i>					
1964	***	***	NS	**	**
1968	***	***	NS	NS	***
1972	*	***	**	NS	***
1976	***	***	**	NS	***
1980	**	***	NS	***	***
1984	NS	**	NS	NS	**
1988	NS	**	NS	*	***
1992	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS
1996	**	**	NS	**	NS
2000	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS
<i>Presidential Vote</i>					
1964	***	***	*	NS	***
1968	***	***	**	NS	**
1972	***	***	NS	NS	NS
1976	***	***	**	NS	***
1980	NS	**	*	NS	***
1984	*	NS	NS	NS	NS
1988	*	***	**	NS	**
1992	**	**	NS	NS	NS
1996	***	***	NS	NS	NS
2000	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS

Source: Computed from regression and logit models using data from the 1960-2004 National Election Studies (pooled)

Note: Entries indicate whether the difference between particular values of party identification or probabilities of voting Republican (or differences between the values and probabilities of two groups) in certain years and those values or probabilities in 2004 are statistically significant, using the following code:

*** = $p < .01$

** = $p < .05$

* = $p < .10$

NS = not significant

Table 2: The Direct, Indirect, and Total Effects of Belief Orthodoxy and Policy Attitudes on Party Identification and Electoral Choice among Evangelical Protestants, 2000-2004^a

Variable	Dependent Variable and Frequency of Church Attendance			
	Party Identification		Electoral Choice	
	Infrequent	Frequent	Infrequent	Frequent
<i>Belief Orthodoxy</i>				
Direct effect	0	0	0	0
Indirect effect	0	.15	0	.33
Total effect	0	.15	0	.33
<i>Moral Attitudes</i>				
Direct effect	0	0	0	.15
Indirect effect	0	.16	0	.28
Total effect	0	.16	0	.43
<i>Social Welfare Attitudes</i>				
Direct effect	.29	.28	.38	.19
Indirect effect	.19	.07	.27	.12
Total effect	.48	.35	.65	.31
<i>Defense Spending Attitudes</i>				
Direct effect	.13	0	0	0
Indirect effect	.15	.12	.21	.22
Total effect	.28	.12	.21	.22
(N)	(202)	(194)	(202)	(194)
χ^2	775.51	1020.89	818.23	1079.03
χ^2/df^b	1.80	2.34	1.78	2.34
Δ_1/Δ_2^c	.85/.93	.84/.90	.86/.93	.85/.91
ρ_1/ρ_2^d	.82/.93	.81/.88	.82/.92	.82/.89

Source: 2000-2004 National Election Studies (pooled)

Note: Entries are standardized regression coefficients for direct effects. Indirect and total effects are based on standardized coefficients. Estimates are computed by full-information maximum likelihood, correcting for measurement error in the observed indicators of moral attitudes, social welfare attitudes, Bush traits, and electoral choice, with Amos 4.0. Controls for demographic characteristics and year of study affect all endogenous variables.

^a Direct effects of zero indicate that the effect is not statistically significant. All non-zero direct effects are statistically significant ($p < .05$). Only statistically significant paths are used to compute indirect and total effects.

^b Degrees of freedom equals 431 for the party identification model and 461 for the electoral choice model.

^c Bentler and Bonett's normed fit index/Bollen's incremental fit index

^d Bollen's relative fit index/Bentler and Bonett's non-normed fit index

Table 3: Percentage of Frequently-Attending Evangelicals, Infrequently-Attending Evangelicals, and Non-Evangelicals Mentioning Various Factors as “Likes” of George W. Bush and the Republican Party in 2004

	Evangelicals, High Attendance	Evangelicals, Low Attendance	Non-Evangelicals
<i>George W. Bush Likes</i>			
Moral or Religious Traits	14.4*	4.2	5.0#
Other Traits	36.4	29.7	39.3#
Moral or Religious Issues	8.5	5.6	3.9
Social Welfare Issues	3.6	0.0	2.1
Foreign Policy Issues	13.9*	26.7	21.6
Christian Right/Evangelical Connections	0.0	0.0	0.0
All Other Mentions	23.9	33.0	27.9
Total	100%	100%	100%
(N)	(69)	(68)	(469)
<i>Republican Party Likes</i>			
George W. Bush/Whole Ticket	0.0	0.5	2.6#
Other Political Figures	3.6	5.9	2.4
Traits	4.9	2.3	2.6
Moral or Religious Issues	15.4	11.5	7.2#
Social Welfare Issues	8.7	3.7	6.3
Foreign Policy Issues	8.0	13.3	11.9
Christian Right/Evangelical Connections	0.0	1.1	0.0
All Other Mentions	59.4	61.7	67.1
Total	100%	100%	100%
(N)	(51)	(44)	(456)

Source: Data are from open-ended likes in the 2004 National Election Study

Note: The coding of categories is available from the authors upon request. For Republican party likes, “traits” are a subset of those candidate traits that were also mentioned in reference to a party. No moral or religious traits were mentioned for the Republican party, so we do not distinguish between types of traits. Percentages in tables may not add to precisely 100% due to rounding.

* Mean for high-attendance evangelicals significantly different from low-attendance evangelicals at $p < .05$

Mean for nonevangelicals significantly different from all evangelicals at $p < .05$

Appendix A: Identifying Evangelical Protestants

1. Evangelicals in analyses involving only the 2000 and 2004 NES: Seventh Day Adventist, American Baptist Association, Baptist Bible Fellowship, Baptist General Conference, Baptist Missionary Association of America, Conservative Baptist Association of America, General Association of Regular Baptist Churches, National Association of Free Will Baptists, Primitive Baptists, Reformed Baptist, Southern Baptist Convention, Mennonite Church, Evangelical Covenant Church, Evangelical Free Church, Congregational Christian, Brethren in Christ, Mennonite Brethren, Christian and Missionary Alliance, Church of God (Anderson, IN), Church of the Nazarene, Free Methodist Church, Salvation Army, Wesleyan Church, Church of God of Findlay, OH, Plymouth Brethren, Independent Fundamentalist Churches of America, Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod, Congregational Methodist, Assemblies of God, Church of God (Cleveland, TN), Church of God (Huntsville, AL), International Church of the Four Square Gospel, Pentecostal Church of God, Pentecostal Holiness Church, Church of God of the Apostolic Faith, Church of God of Prophecy, Apostolic Pentecostal, Cumberland Presbyterian Church, Presbyterian Church in America, Evangelical Presbyterian, Christian Reformed Church, Adventist (NFS), Baptist (NFS), Holiness (NFS), Church of God (NFS), Independent-Fundamentalist (NFS), Pentecostal (NFS), Churches of Christ (NFS)²¹

2. Evangelicals in the 1960-1988 NES: Reformed, Dutch Reformed, or Christian Reformed; Baptist; Mennonite, Amish; United Missionary; Protestant Missionary; Church of God, Holiness; Nazarene; Free Methodist; Plymouth Brethren; Pentecostal; Assembly of God; Church of Christ; Salvation Army; Primitive, Free Will, Missionary Fundamentalist, and Gospel Baptist; Seventh Day Adventist; Southern Baptist, Missouri Synod Lutheran; Other fundamentalists

3. Evangelicals in the 2002 NES: Baptist, Church of Christ, Church of God, Assembly of God, Holiness, Pentecostal, Seventh Day Adventist

4. Evangelicals for Over-Time Analyses in the 1990-2000 and 2004 NES: Seventh Day Adventist, American Baptist Association, American Baptist Churches U.S.A., Baptist Bible Fellowship, Baptist General Conference, Baptist Missionary Association of America, Conservative Baptist Association of America, General Association of Regular Baptist Churches, National Association of Free Will Baptists, Primitive Baptists, Reformed Baptist, Southern Baptist Convention, Mennonite Church, Church of God (Anderson, IN), Church of the Nazarene, Free Methodist Church, Salvation Army, Church of God of Findlay, OH, Plymouth Brethren, Independent Fundamentalist Churches of America, Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, Assemblies of God, Church of God (Cleveland, TN), Church of God (Huntsville, AL), Pentecostal Church of God, Pentecostal Holiness Church, Church of God of the Apostolic Faith, Church of God of Prophecy, Apostolic Pentecostal, Christian Reformed Church, Adventist (NFS), Baptist (NFS), Holiness (NFS), Church of God (NFS), Independent-Fundamentalist (NFS), Pentecostal (NFS), Churches of Christ (NFS)

²¹ The affiliations with the “NFS” (no further specification) label are those that are not with specific evangelical denominations, but with general denominational families that are evangelical in character.

Appendix B: Changes Over Time in the Party Identification and Presidential Voting Behavior of Evangelical Protestants with Controls for Demographic Characteristics and their Changing Effects Over Time, 1964-2004

	Dependent Variable	
	Party Identification	Presidential Vote
<i>Intercept</i>	1.22***	-6.61***
<i>Dummy Variables for Evangelicals (Difference from Non-Evangelicals in 1964)</i>		
Evangelical, Low	-.18	.09
Evangelical, High	-.03	.34
<i>Dummy Variables for Years (Difference from 1964 Value/Probability for Non-Evangelicals)</i>		
1968	-.03	3.29***
1972	.72*	3.49***
1976	.28	2.89**
1980	1.00**	4.74***
1984	1.23***	4.42***
1988	1.45***	3.80***
1992	1.21***	3.87***
1996	.83**	2.89**
2000	1.33***	5.26***
2004	1.64***	5.54***
<i>Interactions Between Year and Low-Attendance Evangelical Dummy (Change in Difference from Non-Evangelicals in 1964)</i>		
1968	.26	.53
1972	.31	.23
1976	.35	.11
1980	-.24	-.05
1984	.27	.08
1988	.13	.47
1992	.38*	.33
1996	.02	-.08
2000	.41*	.36
2004	.65**	.41
F/ χ^2 for all Ten Coefficients ^a	1.71*	6.75
<i>Interactions Between Year and High-Attendance Evangelical Dummy (Change in Difference from Non-Evangelicals in 1964)</i>		
1968	.28	.21
1972	.12	.74**
1976	.20	-.12
1980	.16	-.17
1984	.57**	.81**
1988	.43*	.25
1992	1.01***	.96***
1996	1.04***	.99***
2000	.88***	.88**
2004	1.22***	1.49***
F/ χ^2 for all Ten Coefficients ^a	5.88***	38.91***
(N)	(18694)	(11636)
Adjusted or Pseudo R ²	.12	.14
Model χ^2 (df)	—	2244.35 (109)

Source: 1964-2004 National Election Studies (pooled)

Note: Entries are unstandardized regression coefficients in the party identification model and logit coefficients in the vote model. Party identification ranges from strong Democrat (1) to strong Republican (7). The vote is coded 0 for Democratic and 1 for Republican. Both models include controls for southern residence, gender, age, education, income, race, and union membership, and their interactions with dummy variables for years.

^a The degrees of freedom for the F-tests in the party identification model are 10 and 18,584. The degrees of freedom for the χ^2 tests in the vote model is 10.

***p<.01; **p<.05; *p<.10 (two-tailed tests)

Appendix C: Estimates of Measurement and Structural Parameters from the Models of Belief Orthodoxy, Policy Issues, and Bush Traits on Evangelical Party Identification, 2000-2004

	High-Commitment Evangelicals		Low-Commitment Evangelicals	
	Coef.	Std. Error	Coef.	Std. Error
<u>Measurement Coefficients</u>				
<i>Moral and Cultural Issue Attitudes</i>				
Abortion	1.000		1.000	
Homosexual adoption	1.433	0.291	2.655	0.637
Homosexual discrimination laws	1.487	0.326	2.034	0.502
Homosexuals in the military	1.399	0.318	1.457	0.384
Partial-birth abortion	0.608	0.216	0.515	0.267
Women's role	0.725	0.193	0.808	0.227
Adjust moral behavior to changing world	0.839	0.169	1.030	0.286
Newer lifestyles contribute to breakdown of society	0.628	0.213	0.266	0.226
More tolerant of people with different moral standards	0.569	0.111	0.617	0.184
Fewer problems if emphasis on traditional family ties	1.292	0.260	0.630	0.215
<i>Social Welfare Issue Attitudes</i>				
Government services/spending ^a	1.093	0.143	0.863	0.122
Government health insurance plan	0.942	0.150	0.759	0.131
Govt. provide jobs/standard of living	1.000		1.000	
Spending on child care	1.292	0.183	0.802	0.130
Spending on social security	0.852	0.145	0.578	0.105
Spending to help the poor	1.151	0.164	0.832	0.129
Aid to blacks	0.497	0.115	0.404	0.111
<i>Bush Traits</i>				
Moral	1.000		1.000	
Strong leader	1.195	0.104	1.193	0.125
Cares about people like me	1.299	0.117	1.274	0.135
Knowledgeable	0.981	0.091	1.040	0.121
Intelligent	0.977	0.090	0.869	0.112
Dishonest	0.816	0.119	0.779	0.123

	High-Commitment Evangelicals		Low-Commitment Evangelicals	
	Coef.	Std. Error	Coef.	Std. Error
Structural Coefficients				
<i>Effects on Moral and Cultural Issue Attitudes</i>				
Year 2004	-0.146	0.049	-0.080	0.042
Age	0.003	0.001	0.003	0.001
Sex	-0.103	0.047	-0.090	0.043
South	-0.029	0.043	0.089	0.043
Education	0.026	0.014	-0.040	0.015
Income	0.012	0.004	0.012	0.004
View of the Bible	0.300	0.072	0.143	0.046
<i>Effects on Social Welfare Issue Attitudes</i>				
Year 2004	-0.198	0.055	-0.265	0.066
Age	0.003	0.002	0.006	0.002
Sex	-0.089	0.054	-0.119	0.064
South	0.038	0.052	0.006	0.062
Education	-0.069	0.018	0.033	0.021
Income	0.019	0.005	0.029	0.006
View of the Bible	0.073	0.065	0.021	0.056
<i>Effects on Defense Spending Attitudes</i>				
Year 2004	0.062	0.065	0.066	0.069
Age	-0.003	0.002	0.007	0.002
Sex	-0.183	0.066	-0.033	0.071
South	0.202	0.065	0.150	0.069
Education	-0.027	0.020	0.011	0.023
Income	-0.000	0.006	-0.002	0.006
View of the Bible	0.064	0.081	0.099	0.063
<i>Effects on Bush Traits</i>				
Year 2004	0.149	0.052	0.097	0.057
Age	-0.003	0.001	-0.002	0.002
Sex	0.176	0.051	0.107	0.055
South	0.060	0.047	0.023	0.053
Education	0.009	0.016	0.015	0.018
Income	0.005	0.005	-0.005	0.005
View of the Bible	0.117	0.068	0.096	0.051
Moral and Cultural Issue Attitudes	0.447	0.141	0.236	0.159
Social Welfare Issue Attitudes	0.161	0.088	0.307	0.096
Defense Spending Attitudes	0.236	0.058	0.221	0.063
<i>Effects on Party Identification</i>				
Year 2004	0.105	0.281	0.823	0.235
Age	-0.015	0.007	-0.016	0.007
Sex	-0.092	0.276	-0.300	0.223
South	-0.295	0.245	-0.040	0.212
Education	0.116	0.082	0.171	0.072
Income	0.006	0.024	-0.028	0.022
View of the Bible	-0.386	0.354	0.041	0.206
Moral and Cultural Issue Attitudes	0.703	0.683	0.715	0.633
Social Welfare Issue Attitudes	1.552	0.485	1.265	0.405
Defense Spending Attitudes	0.191	0.319	0.548	0.264
Bush Traits	2.429	0.518	2.641	0.438

Source: 2000-2004 National Election Studies (pooled)

Note: Estimates computed by full-information maximum likelihood, correcting for measurement error in all observed indicators, with Amos 4.0.

Appendix D: Estimates of Measurement and Structural Parameters from the Models of Belief Orthodoxy, Policy Issues, and Bush Traits on Evangelical Electoral Choice, 2000-2004

	High-Commitment Evangelicals		Low-Commitment Evangelicals	
	Coef.	Std. Error	Coef.	Std. Error
<u>Measurement Coefficients</u>				
<i>Moral and Cultural Issue Attitudes</i>				
Abortion	1.000		1.000	
Homosexual adoption	1.378	0.274	2.652	0.632
Homosexual discrimination laws	1.471	0.312	2.035	0.499
Homosexuals in the military	1.373	0.304	1.459	0.382
Partial-birth abortion	0.566	0.207	0.517	0.265
Women's role	0.713	0.185	0.799	0.224
Adjust moral behavior to changing world	0.801	0.159	1.023	0.283
Newer lifestyles contribute to breakdown of society	0.603	0.204	0.277	0.225
More tolerant of people with different moral standards	0.548	0.105	0.613	0.182
Fewer problems if emphasis on traditional family ties	1.262	0.247	0.626	0.214
<i>Social Welfare Issue Attitudes</i>				
Government services/spending ^a	1.100	0.146	0.924	0.130
Government health insurance plan	0.946	0.153	0.780	0.138
Govt. provide jobs/standard of living	1.000		1.000	
Spending on child care	1.331	0.188	0.871	0.139
Spending on social security	0.853	0.147	0.606	0.111
Spending to help the poor	1.180	0.168	0.893	0.138
Aid to blacks	0.504	0.117	0.408	0.116
<i>Bush Traits</i>				
Moral	1.000		1.000	
Strong leader	1.185	0.100	1.180	0.123
Cares about people like me	1.303	0.112	1.238	0.132
Knowledgeable	0.946	0.087	1.061	0.120
Intelligent	0.932	0.087	0.886	0.111
Dishonest	0.837	0.116	0.783	0.122
<i>Electoral Choice</i>				
Comparative Pres. Candidate Evaluations	0.695	0.056	1.000	
Presidential Vote Choice	1.000		0.577	0.053

	High-Commitment Evangelicals		Low-Commitment Evangelicals	
	Coef.	Std. Error	Coef.	Std. Error
Structural Coefficients				
<i>Effects on Moral and Cultural Issue Attitudes</i>				
Year 2004	-0.151	0.050	-0.081	0.042
Age	0.003	0.001	0.003	0.001
Sex	-0.104	0.048	-0.090	0.043
South	-0.029	0.045	0.090	0.043
Education	0.027	0.015	-0.040	0.015
Income	0.012	0.004	0.012	0.004
View of the Bible	0.306	0.072	0.143	0.046
<i>Effects on Social Welfare Issue Attitudes</i>				
Year 2004	-0.195	0.054	-0.249	0.064
Age	0.003	0.002	0.006	0.002
Sex	-0.087	0.053	-0.110	0.061
South	0.036	0.051	0.007	0.060
Education	0.068	0.017	0.032	0.020
Income	0.018	0.005	0.028	0.006
View of the Bible	0.071	0.064	0.017	0.054
<i>Effects on Defense Spending Attitudes</i>				
Year 2004	0.063	0.065	0.061	0.069
Age	-0.003	0.002	0.007	0.002
Sex	-0.183	0.067	-0.028	0.071
South	0.199	0.065	0.141	0.069
Education	-0.028	0.020	0.014	0.023
Income	-0.001	0.006	-0.002	0.006
View of the Bible	0.065	0.081	0.104	0.063
<i>Effects on Bush Traits</i>				
Year 2004	0.155	0.053	0.090	0.057
Age	-0.003	0.001	-0.002	0.002
Sex	0.177	0.051	0.113	0.054
South	0.063	0.047	0.022	0.052
Education	0.010	0.016	0.014	0.018
Income	0.005	0.005	-0.006	0.005
View of the Bible	0.178	0.069	0.091	0.051
Moral and Cultural Issue Attitudes	0.437	0.136	0.254	0.159
Social Welfare Issue Attitudes	0.171	0.090	0.314	0.099
Defense Spending Attitudes	0.240	0.058	0.226	0.063
<i>Effects on Electoral Choice</i>				
Year 2004	0.084	0.035	0.174	0.041
Age	-0.002	0.001	-0.003	0.001
Sex	-0.037	0.034	-0.067	0.037
South	0.035	0.030	0.050	0.035
Education	0.015	0.010	0.006	0.012
Income	-0.002	0.003	-0.005	0.004
View of the Bible	-0.051	0.044	-0.012	0.034
Moral and Cultural Issue Attitudes	0.156	0.085	0.158	0.106
Social Welfare Issue Attitudes	0.169	0.061	0.322	0.077
Defense Spending Attitudes	0.008	0.040	-0.003	0.043
Bush Traits	0.665	0.087	0.718	0.103

Source: 2000-2004 National Election Studies (pooled)

Note: Estimates computed by full-information maximum likelihood, correcting for measurement error in all observed indicators, with Amos 4.0.