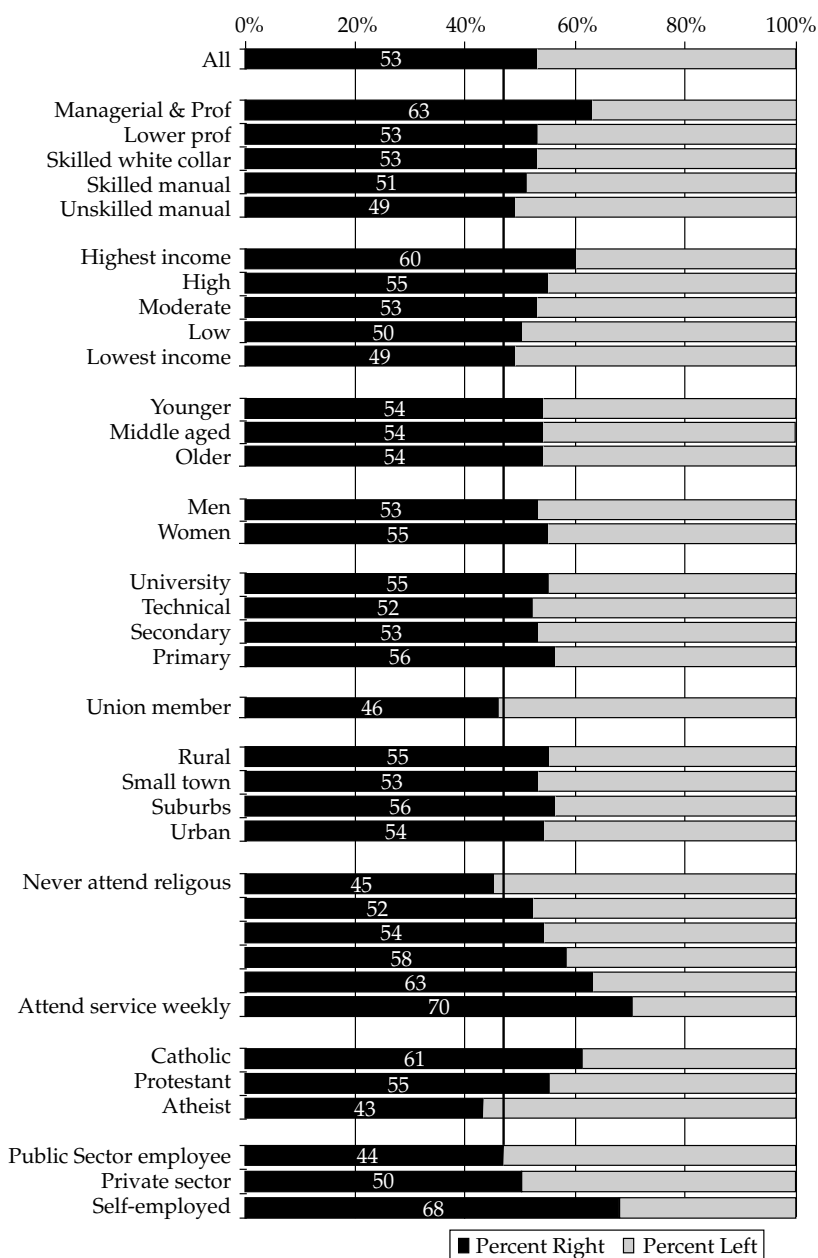**Figure 1.1   The Social Characteristics of Right-Wing Voters, CSES**

Source: Author's compilation based on Comparative Study of Electoral Systems, Module 1 1996 to 2002. Pooled sample.
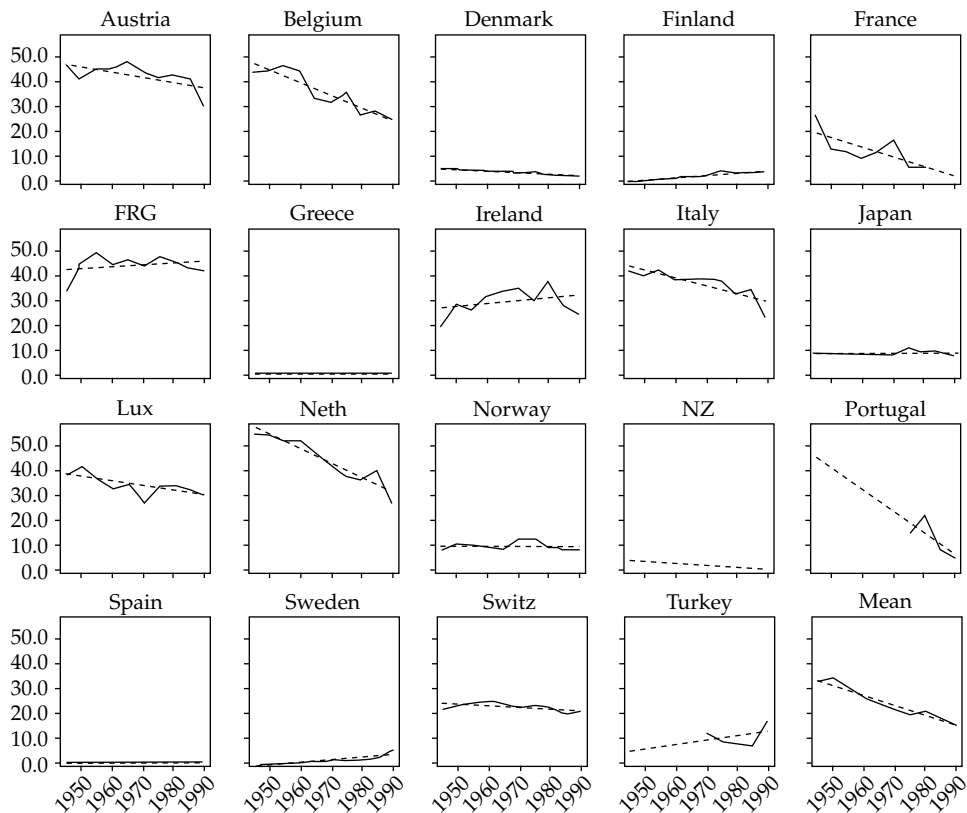Notes: *Left-Right Vote:* Party vote in legislative elections for the lower house classified on a 10-point scale ranging from communist (1) to Nationalist (10) dichotomized into right-wing and left-wing blocks.

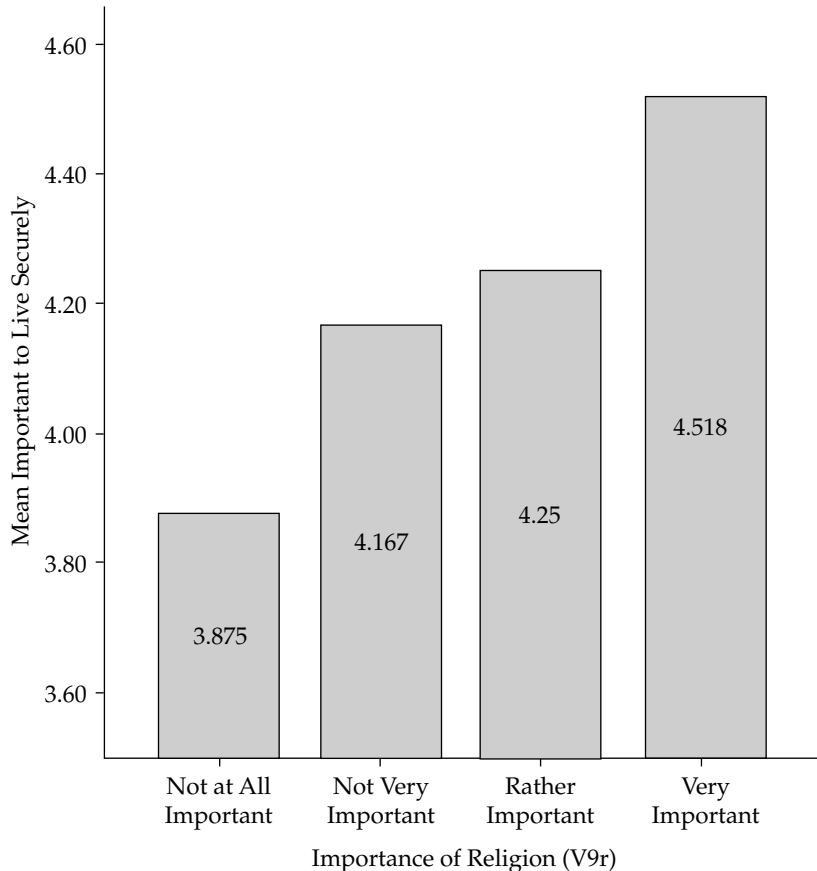**Figure 1.2   Religious Values and Left-Right Self-Placement**
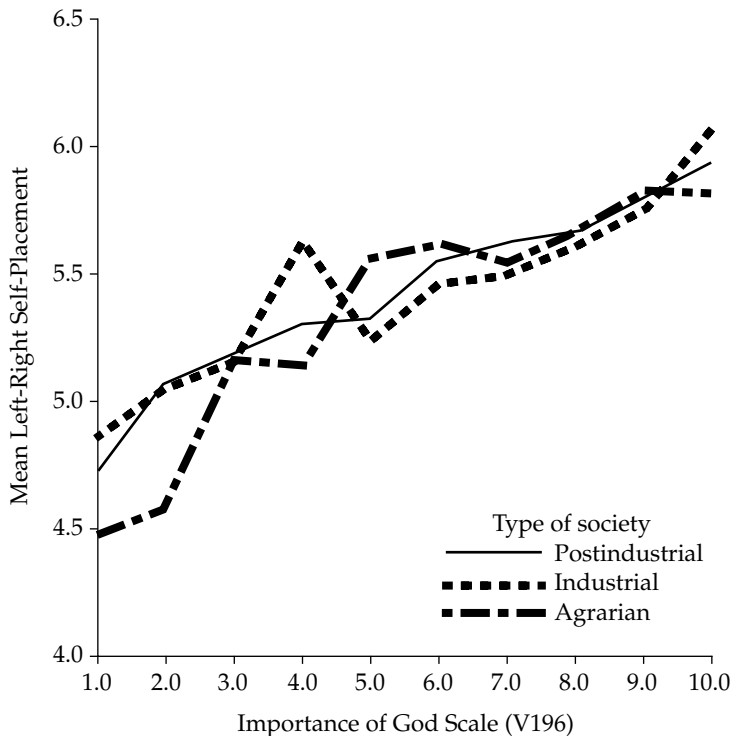
Figure 1.3   Electoral Strength of Religious Parties in National Elections, 1945 to 1994

Figure 1.4   Religiosity and Security Values, United States, 2005 to 2007

Source: Author's compilation based on World Values Survey 2005 to 2007, United States sample only (N=2458).
Note: The Schwartz value 6-point scale was used to measure security values: "Now I will briefly describe some people. Using this card, would you please indicate for each description whether that person is very much like you, like you, somewhat like you, not like you, or not at all like you? Living in secure surroundings is important to this person; to avoid anything that might be dangerous."
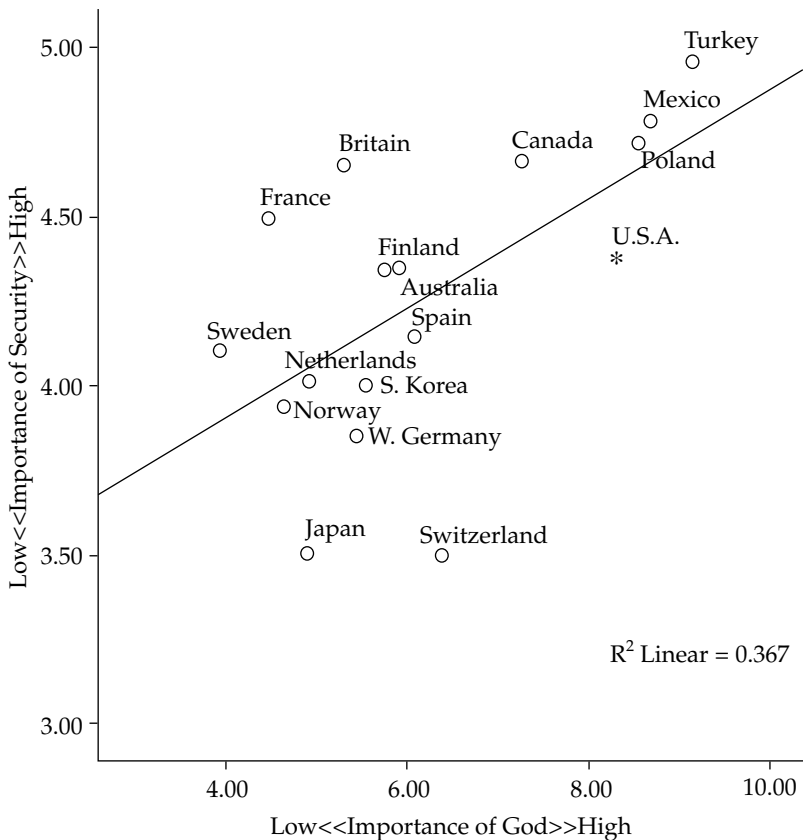
Figure 1.5   Religiosity and Security Values, OECD Nations, 2005 to 2007

Source: Author's compilation based on World Values Survey 2005 to 2007, OECD nations only (N = 22,763)
Note: The Schwartz value 6-point scale was used to measure security values: "Now I will briefly describe some people. Using this card, would you please indicate for each description whether that person is very much like you, like you, somewhat like you, not like you, or not at all like you? Living in secure surroundings is important to this person; to avoid anything that might be dangerous."

Table 1.1   Religiosity and Partisan Identification, U.S. Elections

| | Protestant Identification | | | | Strength of Religiosity | | | | |
Year	B	SE	Beta	Sig.	B	SE	Beta	Sig.	Total Model Adjusted R²
1970	1.117	.212	.246	***	.133	.111	.031	N/S	.109
1972	1.101	.211	.248	***	−.083	.092	−.018	N/S	.086
1974	.923	.305	.201	***	.333	.121	.070	**	.095
1976	.877	.214	.207	***	.115	.097	.025	N/S	.112
1978	1.089	.202	.254	***	−.030	.102	−.006	N/S	.084
1980	.958	.235	.219	***	.298	.123	.061	**	.076
1982	.623	.286	.137	*	.148	.128	.031	N/S	.111
1984	.841	.224	.189	***	.161	.108	.032	N/S	.077
1986	.447	.247	.099	N/S	.041	.104	.008	N/S	.118
1988	.414	.285	.091	N/S	.074	.111	.015	N/S	.093
1990	.470	.100	.108	***	.160	.109	.033	N/S	.076
1992	.661	.087	.155	***	.270	.094	.057	**	.105
1994	.807	.103	.186	***	.330	.111	.069	**	.129
1996	.736	.103	.169	***	.568	.115	.116	***	.137
1998	.439	.122	.103	***	.308	.137	.061	*	.116
2000	.391	.101	.092	***	.479	.112	.100	***	.118
2002	.336	.111	.077	***	.336	.111	.077	***	.134
2004	.666	.123	.157	***	.240	.138	.048	*	.151

Source: Author's compilation based on American National Election Study 1970 to 2004.

Note: The OLS regression models monitor the impact of Protestant identities and the strength of religiosity (measured by at least weekly self-reported church attendance) on partisan identification. Partisan identification is measured on a 7-point scale. "Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?" (If Republican or Democrat) "Would you call yourself a strong (Republican/Democrat) or a not very strong (Republican/Democrat)?" (If Independent, Other [1966 and later: or No Preference]) "Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or Democratic party? Coded from 1 (strong Democrat) to 7 (strong Republican). The models control for other religious identities (Catholic and Atheist), age (years), education, gender, region (political south versus nonsouth), marital status (married), and race (white, black, other). *** $p < .000$; ** $p < .01$; * $p < . 05$; N/S not significant.

Table 1.2   U.S. Church Attendance, 1970 to 2004

	'70	'72	'74	'76	'78	'80	'82	'84	'86	'88	'90	'92	'94	'96	'98	'00	'02	'04
Every week	38	26	25	25	25	25	28	24	27	25	27	27	28	25	24	25	25	23
Almost every week	—	11	12	12	11	12	12	11	11	11	11	11	11	12	13	11	12	12
Once or twice a month	16	12	12	14	12	11	13	14	13	14	14	14	13	16	14	16	18	15
A few times a year	30	32	31	29	30	29	27	29	28	28	16	15	16	18	15	16	13	15
Never	12	14	13	13	14	14	11	14	12	12	33	34	33	30	33	33	32	35
No religious preference	5	4	7	6	9	9	9	8	8	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
N	147	267	248	282	227	158	139	222	214	202	196	247	176	170	127	178	149	120
	5	7	0	7	1	9	7	5	4	4	3	5	9	3	1	9	8	4

Source: Author's compilation based on American National Election Study 1970 to 2004.
Note: 1970 to 1988: (If any religious preference) "Would you say you/do you go to (church/synagogue) every week, almost every week, once or twice a month, a few times a year, or never?" 1990 and later: "Lots of things come up that keep people from attending religious services even if they want to. Thinking about your life these days, do you ever attend religious services, apart from occasional weddings, baptisms, or funerals?" (If Yes) "Do you go to religious services every week, almost every week, once or twice a month, a few times a year, or never?"

Table 1.3   Baseline Models Predicting Right-Wing Voting Support, Pooled Legislative Elections

	Model A				Model B				Coding
	B	S.E.	Beta	Sig.	B	S.E.	Beta	Sig.	
Social Structure									
Age	−.008	.001	−.05	***	−.006	.001	−.04	***	A2001 Years old
Sex (male)	.226	.035	.05	***	.112	.032	.02	***	A2002 Male=1/Female=0
Education	.040	.018	.02	*	.047	.017	.02	**	A2003 Highest level of education of respondent. Primary 1, secondary 2, postsecondary technical 3, university 4.
Income	.113	.014	.06	***	.081	.012	.05	***	A2012 5-point scale of household income from lowest to highest quintile.
Union member	−.609	.040	−.11	***	−.374	.036	−.07	***	A2005 Respondent is union member 1, else 0
Linguistic majority	.362	.036	.08	***	.224	.033	.05	***	A2018 Language usually spoken at home. Linguistic majority 1, else 0
Religiosity	.311	010	.24	***	.189	.009	.15	***	A2015 6-point strength of religiosity scale from never attend religious service (1) to attend at least weekly (6).
Ideology									
Left-right ideology					.409	.006	.43	***	A3031 Position respondents placed themselves on the 10-point scale from left (0) to right (10).
Constant	4.6								
Adjusted R²	.074				.248				

Source: Author's compilation based on Comparative Study of Electoral Systems, Module 1 1996 to 2002.

Notes: The figures represent the results of OLS multiple regression analysis models including unstandardized beta coefficients (B), standardized error (S.E.), standardized beta coefficients (Beta) and their significance (P).

Voting Choice: For the dependent measure, votes for each party family are recoded using a 10-point scale ranging from left (low) to right (high) as follows: (1) Communist, (2) Ecology, (3) Socialist, (4) Social Democrat, (5) Left liberal, (6) Liberal, (7) Christian Democrat, (8) Right liberal, (9) Conservative, and (10) 'Nationalist/Religious.' A positive coefficient indicates support for parties on the right. The pooled sample of legislative elections includes 28 nations and 17,794 respondents. Data was weighted by A104_1 to ensure that the size of the sample is equal per nation.

*** $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$

Table 1.4   Percent Support for the Right by Society and Religiosity

	Agrarian	Industrial	Postindustrial	All	Coef.	Sig.
Religious participation						
Attend church at least						
weekly	48	54	55	53		
Do not attend weekly	46	40	40	41	.112	***
Religious values						
Religion 'very important'	48	51	52	50		
Religion not 'very						
important'	45	40	40	40	.115	***
Religious faith						
None	52	37	32	36	.094	***
Catholic	46	49	45	47	.047	***
Protestant	47	50	48	48	.028	***
Orthodox	35	39	39	38	.033	***
Jewish	42	43	39	41	.007	**
Muslim	48	42	38	46	.033	***
Hindu	48	50	45	48	.015	***
Buddhist	76	63	63	64	.043	***
ALL	47	44	44	45	.049	***

Source: Author's compilation based on World Values Survey pooled, 1981 to 2001.

Notes: Left-right self-placement: *Q: "In political matters, people talk of 'the left' and 'the right.' How would you place your views on this scale generally speaking?"* Left (1) Right (10). The scale is dichotomized for this table into Left (1-5) and Right (6-10). The figures represent the proportion that is Right in each category, with the remainder categorized as Left.

Religious participation: "*Do you attend religious services several times a week, once a week, a few times during the year, once a year or less, or never?*" The percentage that reported attending religious services '*several times a week*' or '*once a week.*'

Religious values: Q10 "*How important is religion in your life? Very important, rather important, not very important, not at all important?*"

The significance of the mean difference on the left-right scale is measured by the Eta coefficient using ANOVA.

*** $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$

Table 1.5   Explaining Right Orientations, Pooled Model All Nations

	Agrarian				Industrial				Postindustrial			
	B	St. Err.	Beta	Sig	B	St. Err.	Beta	Sig	B	St. Err.	Beta	Sig
Developmental controls												
Level of human development												
(100-point scale)	−1.08	.235	−.05	***	−2.45	.548	−.04	***	2.43	1.74	.01	N/S
Level of political development	−.074	.021	−.04	***	.025	.014	.01	N/S	.977	.091	.10	***
Social controls												
Gender (Male=1)	.179	.051	.03	***	.120	.029	.03	***	.199	.028	.05	***
Age (years)	.003	.002	.01	N/S	−.003	.001	−.02	***	.006	.001	.05	***
Education (3 categories low												
to hi)	−.103	.040	−.03	**	−.212	.022	−.07	***	−.085	.022	−.07	***
Income (10 categories low												
to hi)	.007	.010	.01	N/S	.005	.006	.01	N/S	.055	.006	.08	***
Class (4-point scale)	−.053	.023	−.02	*	−.098	.014	−.05	***	−.147	.015	−.08	***

Table 1.5   (Continued)

	Agrarian				Industrial				Postindustrial			
	B	St. Err.	Beta	Sig	B	St. Err.	Beta	Sig	B	St. Err.	Beta	Sig
Religious participation and type of faith												
Religious participation	−.051	.015	−.04	***	.171	.008	.15	***	.151	.008	.15	***
Protestant	.476	.098	.08	***	.393	.075	.04	***	.281	.077	.07	***
Catholic	.537	.107	.06	***	.321	.057	.07	***	.120	.081	.03	N/S
Orthodox	−.531	.172	−.03	***	.302	.081	.03	***	−3.71	.891	−.03	***
Muslim	.697	.096	.12	N/S	.035	.075	.01	N/S	−.242	.258	−.01	N/S
Jewish	.295	.285	.01	***	−.202	.332	−.01	N/S	−.670	.199	−.03	***
Hindu	.513	.114	.06	***	.331	.926	.01	N/S	.528	.464	.01	N/S
Buddhist	2.46	.302	.08	***	.631	.127	.03	***	.731	.133	.05	***
None/Atheist	1.04	.122	.09	***	.196	.052	.04	***	−.089	.082	−.02	N/S
(Constant)	6.54				7.23				−4.06			
Adjusted R^2	.025				.034				.067			

Source: Author's compilation based on World Values Survey pooled, 1981 to 2001.
Note: The table presents the results of an ordinary least squares regression model where ideological orientation on the 10-point left-right scale is the dependent variable, with left=1, and right=10. The figures represent the unstandardized beta (B), the standard error (s.e.), the standardized Beta, and the significance of the coefficient (Sig).
Religious participation: Q185 *"Apart from weddings, funerals, and christenings, about how often do you attend religious services these days? More than once a week, once a week, once a month, only on special hold days, once a year, less often, never or practically never."*
Religious faith: *'Do you belong to a religious denomination'* If yes, *'Which one?'* If 'No' coded None/atheist (0). Measured at individual level.
*** $p < .001$;   ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$; N/S not significant

Table 1.6   Correlations between Religious Values and Right Orientations

	Early 1980s	Early 1990s	Mid-1990s	2000	Chg
Postindustrial					
Australia	.179***		.113***		—
Austria		.098***		.163***	+
Belgium	.391***	.266***		.173**	—
Britain	.205***	.111***		.152***	—
Canada	.148***	.102***		.065**	—
Denmark	.263***	.154***		.095**	—
Finland	.203***	.139***	.149***	.208***	+
France	.322***	.281***		.200***	—
Germany, East		.306***	.187***	.219***	—
Germany, West	.267***	.224***	.185***	.220***	—
Iceland	.137***	.091***		.087**	—
Ireland	.244***	.298***		.267***	+
Italy	.325***	.288***		.227***	—
Japan	.097***	.111***	.136***	.128***	+
Netherlands	.346***	.384***		.164***	—
Norway	.158***	.126***	.064*		—
Spain	.434***	.342***		.360***	—
Sweden	.151***	.112***	.048N/S	.034N/S	—
Switzerland		.188***	.132**		—
United States	.157***	.220***	.176***	.172***	+
Industrial					
Argentina	.270***	.221***	.233***	.165**	—
Brazil		.094***	.081**		—
Bulgaria		.258***	.154***	.154***	—
Chile		.182***	.077*	.065*	—
Croatia			.277***	.194***	—
Czech Rep			.188***	.144***	—
Hungary		.204***	.158***	.167***	—
Latvia			.096**	.129***	+
Mexico	.160***	.245***	.090***	.068*	—
Poland		.140**	***	.221***	+
Portugal		.210***		.136***	—
Russia		.068*	.065*	.036N/S	—
Serbia			.082**	.066N/S	—
Slovakia			.162***	.221***	+
Slovenia		.178***	.252***	.313***	+
Turkey		.313***		.314***	+
Ukraine			.132***	.192***	+
Agrarian					
South Africa	.234***	.109***	.013N/S	.003N/S	—
Nigeria		.032N/S	.014N/S	−.013N/S	
India		.157***	.368***		+
Bangladesh			.062*	.183***	+

Table 1.7   Electoral Strength of Religious Parties in National Elections

Nation	1945 to 1949	1950 to 1954	1955 to 1959	1960 to 1964	1965 to 1969	1970 to 1974	1975 to 1979	1980 to 1984	1985 to 1989	1990 to 1994
Catholic cultures										
Austria	46.9	41.3	45.1	45.4	48.3	43.9	42.4	43.0	41.3	29.9
Belgium	44.2	44.9	46.5	44.4	33.3	31.3	36.1	26.4	28.4	24.5
France	26.4	12.5	11.2	8.9	11.5	16.2	5.3	5.2		
Ireland	19.8	28.9	26.6	32.0	34.1	35.1	30.5	37.7	28.2	24.5
Italy	41.9	40.1	42.4	38.2	39.0	38.7	38.5	32.9	34.3	22.7
Luxembourg	39.2	42.4	36.9	33.3	35.3	27.9	34.5	34.9	32.4	30.3
Portugal						14.3	22.3	8.0	4.4	
Protestant cultures										
Finland			0.2	0.8	0.4	1.8	4.1	3.0	2.6	3.0
Norway	8.2	10.5	10.2	9.6	8.8	12.3	12.4	9.4	8.4	7.9
Germany, West	34.1	46.0	50.2	45.3	46.9	44.9	48.6	46.7	44.3	42.7
Netherlands	55.4	54.7	52.5	52.2	47.4	41.9	37.8	36.7	40.5	27.0
Switzerland	22.1	23.5	24.5	25.0	23.7	22.8	23.4	22.5	20.0	20.5
Sweden				0.9	1.5	1.8	1.4	1.9	2.7	5.6
Denmark						3.0	3.8	2.5	2.2	2.1
Other religious cultures										
Japan					8.2	8.5	10.4	9.6	9.4	8.1
Turkey						11.9	8.6		7.2	16.9
Mean	32.4	33.7	30.1	26.4	24.2	21.3	19.4	20.8	18.0	15.1

Source: Author's compilation based on Lane, McKay, and Newton (1997) for 1945 to 1994 data and *Elections around the world*. Available at: http://www.election world.org/election/

Notes: *Religious parties:* For the classification of parties in each country, see table 7.3 in the source handbook. No religious parties with more than 1 percent of the vote were identified in Spain, Greece, Iceland, United Kingdom, Canada, New Zealand, the United States, or Australia. The table lists the percentage share of valid votes cast for religious parties in national elections. The percentage includes the CDU/CSU, ÖVP and DC.

Table 1.8   Link Between Religiosity and Security, United States, 2005 to 2007

	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	
	B	S. E.	Beta	Sig.
Important to live securely	.283	.038	.146	.000
Age	.020	.003	.131	.000
Female	.692	.105	.130	.000
Income scale	−.075	.024	−.065	.002
Education scale	−.076	.030	−.053	.011
(Constant)	6.593	.290		.000
Adjusted R²	.076			

Source: Author's compilation based on World Values Survey 2005 to 2007, United States sample only (N. 2458)

Note: The dependent variable is religious values (measured by the importance of God 10-point scale). The Schwartz value scale was used to measure security values: "*Now I will briefly describe some people. Using this card, would you please indicate for each description whether that person is very much like you, like you, somewhat like you, not like you, or not at all like you? Living in secure surroundings is important to this person; to avoid anything that might be dangerous.*"
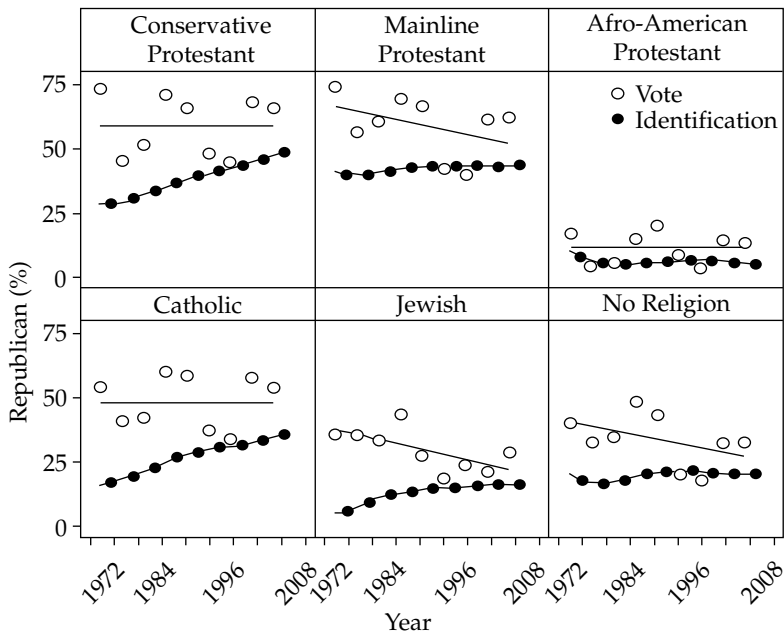
Figure 2.1   Republican Party Vote and the Difference Between Republicans and Democrats by Election Year, Party Identification, and Religion
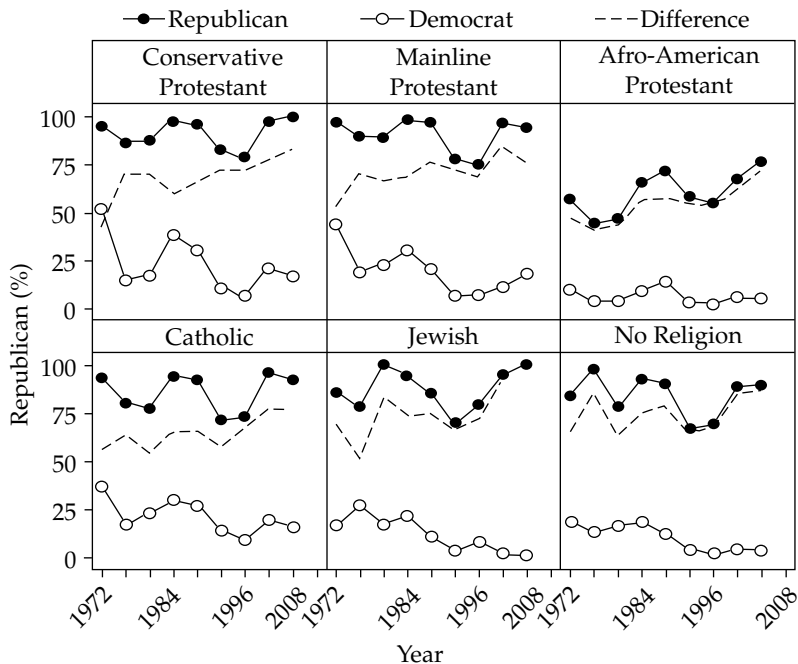
Source: Authors' compilation based on General Social Surveys, 1973 to 2006.
Note: Independents not shown.

Figure 2.2 Republican Party Vote and Party Identification by Year and Religion

Figure 2.3   Republican Party Identification by Year, Region, and Religion

Source: Authors' compilation based on General Social Surveys, 1972 to 2006.
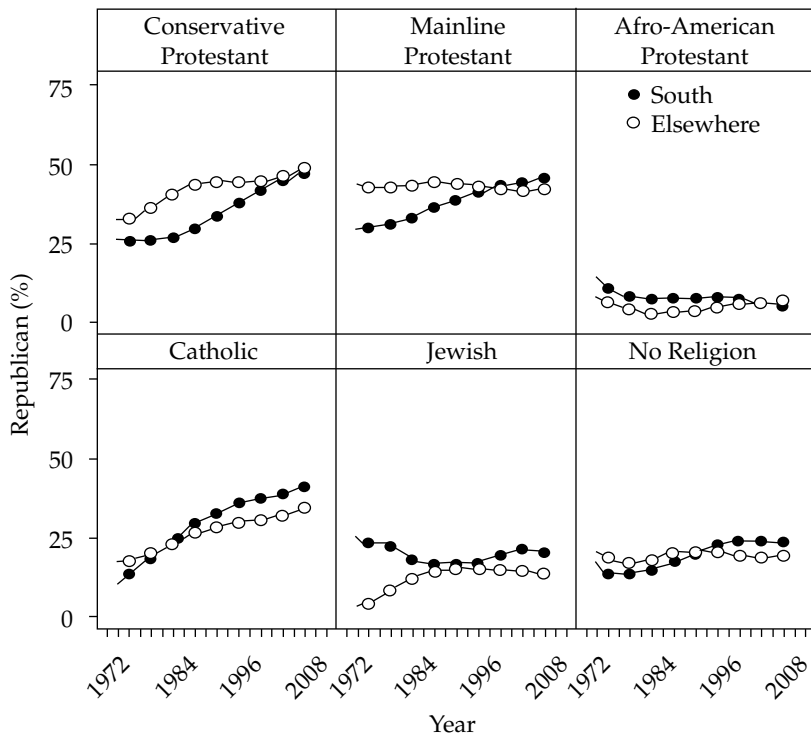*Note*: Data smoothed by locally estimated (loess) regression.

Figure 2.4   Republican Party Identification by Year, Cohort, and Religion

Source: Authors' compilation based on General Social Surveys, 1972 to 2006.
Note: Data smoothed by locally estimated (loess) regression.
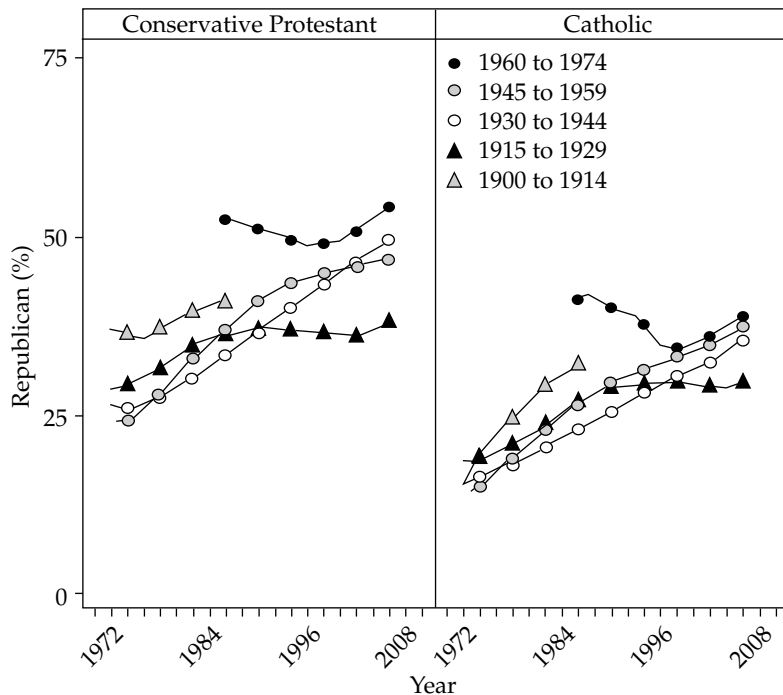
Figure 2.5   Republican Party Identification by Year, Abortion Attitude, and Religion

Source: Authors' compilation based on General Social Surveys, 1972 to 2006.
Note: Data smoothed by locally estimated (loess) regression.

Figure 2.6   Republican Party Identification by Year, Family Income, and Religion

Conservative Protestant   Mainline Protestant   Catholic

Republican (%)

75

50

25

0

● $75,000 or more
◉ $32,000–$74,999
○ <$32,000

1972   1984   1996   2008   1972   1984   1996   2008   1972   1984   1996   2008

Year

Source: Authors' compilation based on General Social Surveys, 1972 to 2006.
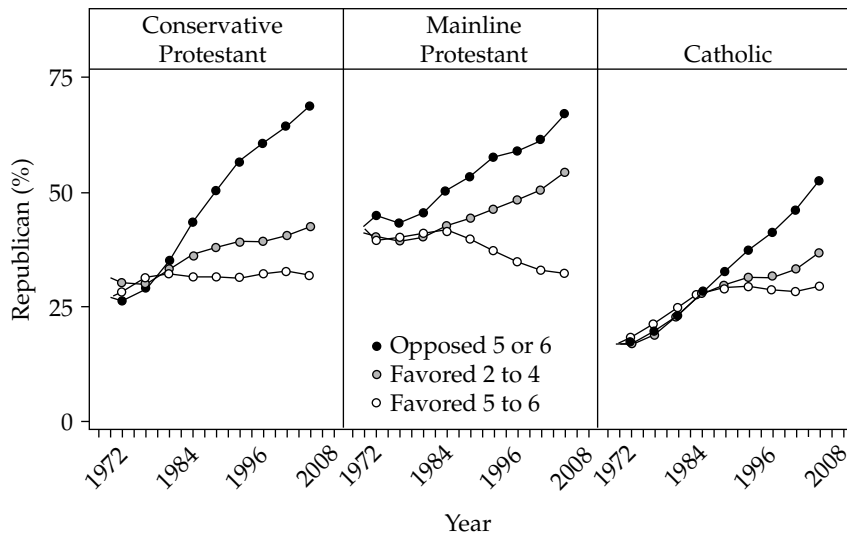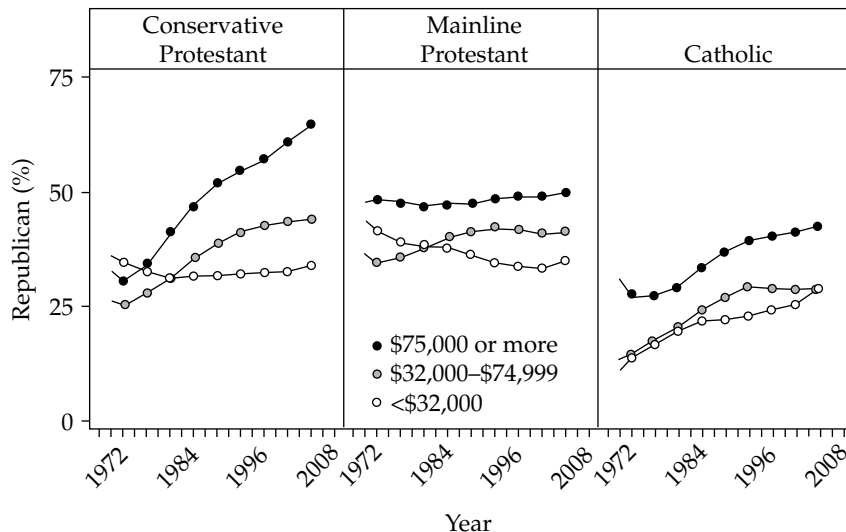*Note*: Data smoothed by locally estimated (loess) regression.

Table 2.1 Coefficients for Log-Odds on Republican Party Identification by Denomination, Attendance at Religious Services, and Political Era

Attendance Coefficient	1972 to 1980	1982 to 1991	1993 to 2006
Conservative Protestant	.068*	.111*	.101*
	(.026)	(.019)	(.015)
Mainline Protestant	.069*	.020	.072*
	(.015)	(.013)	(.011)
Afro-American Protestant	.064	−.033	−.105
	(.082)	(.083)	(.070)
Catholic	.069*	.020	.072*
	(.015)	(.013)	(.011)
Jewish	.069*	.020	.072*
	(.015)	(.013)	(.011)
Other religion	.069*	.020	.072*
	(.015)	(.013)	(.011)
No religion	.000	.000	.000
	—	—	—
Constants			
Conservative Protestant	−.783*	−.415*	−.106
	(.172)	(.134)	(.095)
Mainline Protestant	−.074	.436*	.162
	(.115)	(.102)	(.073)
Afro-American Protestant	−2.915*	−2.400*	−2.041*
	(.477)	(.476)	(.377)
Catholic	−1.460*	−.450*	−.415*
	(.133)	(.111)	(.078)
Jewish	−2.519*	−1.277*	−1.367*
	(.315)	(.207)	(.161)
Other religion	−.775*	−.709*	−.890*
	(.329)	(.271)	(.158)
No religion	−.952*	−.392*	−.631*
	(.180)	(.147)	(.084)
Year dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	7,034	9,134	13,637

Source: Authors' calculations based on General Social Survey, 1972 to 2006.
Note: Standard errors in parentheses.
* $p < .05$.

Table 2.2   Support for Legal Abortion by Religion: Voters Twenty-Five Years Old and Over

| | Favor Legal Abortion Under: | | | | |
Current religion	0 or 1 conditions	2 – 4 conditions	5 or 6 conditions	Total	(N)
Conservative Protestant	29	49	22	100	(614)
Afro-American Protestant	22	57	21	100	(130)
Mainline Protestant	16	44	40	100	(610)
Catholic	24	46	30	100	(555)
Jewish	6	15	79	100	(38)
Other religion	7	36	57	100	(60)
No religion	4	24	72	100	(278)
Total	20	43	37	100	(2,286)

Source: Authors' compilation based on General Social Survey, 2002 to 2006.
Note: Association statistically significant ($p < .05$).

Table 2.3 **Associations of Income and Abortion Attitude with Political Party Identification, by Political Era**

Independent variable	1972 to 1980	1982 to 1991	1993 to 2006
Family income (ratio scale)			
Conservative Protestant	.056	.377*	.480*
	(.083)	(.088)	(.084)
Mainline Protestant	.309*	.453*	.421*
	(.065)	(.076)	(.080)
Catholic	.381*	.384*	.517*
	(.094)	(.090)	(.092)
Support for legal abortion			
Conservative Protestant	.003	−.101*	−.290*
	(.031)	(.028)	(.028)
Mainline Protestant	−.008	−.038	−.260*
	(.026)	(.027)	(.030)
Catholic	−.003	.007	−.136*
	(.031)	(.029)	(.030)

Source: Authors' calculations based on General Social Survey, 1972 to 2006.
Note: All regressions also include controls for gender, racial ancestry, region, marital status, birth cohort, and year.
* $p < .05$.

Table 2.4   Associations of Income and Spending Priorities with Political Party Identification, by Religion

Independent variable	Conservative Protestant	Mainline Protestant	Catholic
Family income (ratio scale)	0.447*	0.626*	0.727*
	(0.174)	(0.152)	(0.171)
More spending on health	0.544*	0.788*	0.729*
	(0.187)	(0.172)	(0.197)
More spending on cities	–0.110	0.509*	0.471*
	(0.147)	(0.142)	(0.165)
More spending to fight crime	0.403*	–0.086	0.064
	(0.186)	(0.170)	(0.188)
Support for legal abortion	–0.340*	–0.341*	–0.135**
	(0.052)	(0.052)	(0.048)

Source: Authors' calculations based on General Social Survey, 1972 to 2006.
Note: All regressions also include controls for gender, racial ancestry, region, marital status, birth cohort, and year.
* $p < .05$.

Figure 3.1   Religious Affiliation and Values in the Detroit Region
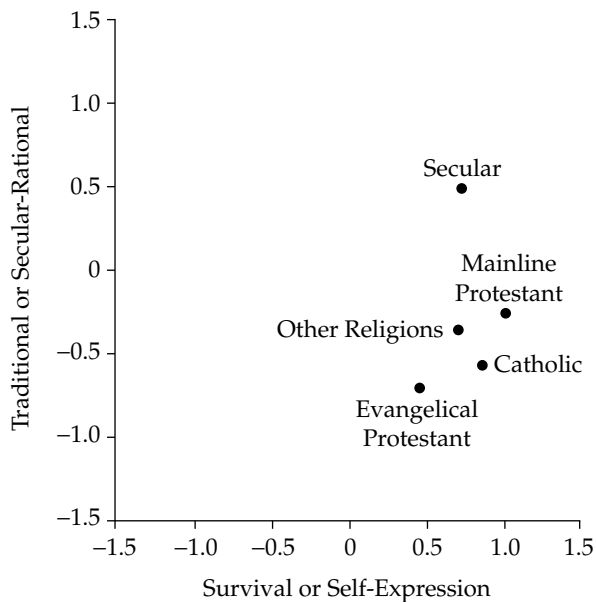
Source: Authors' compilation.

Figure 3.2   Shared Values in the Detroit Region

Bar chart with y-axis from 0 to 100%. Categories: Secular, Mainline Protestant, Other Religion, Catholic, Evangelical Protestant.

Legend: ■ Secularists (above mean)   ■ Traditionalists (below mean)
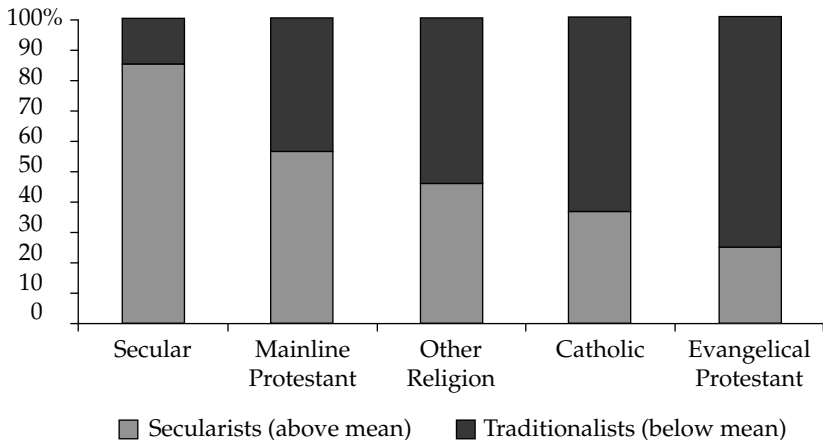
Source: Authors' compilation.
Notes: Secularists are those who are above the mean on the traditional-secular values scale. Traditionalists are those who are below the mean on the same scale. The proportions of respondents in each religious affiliation are secular (11.0 percent), mainline Protestant (16.9 percent), other religion (17.3 percent), Catholic (31.1 percent), and evangelical Protestant (23.6 percent).

Figure 3.3   Difference in Democratic Presidential Vote in the Detroit Region
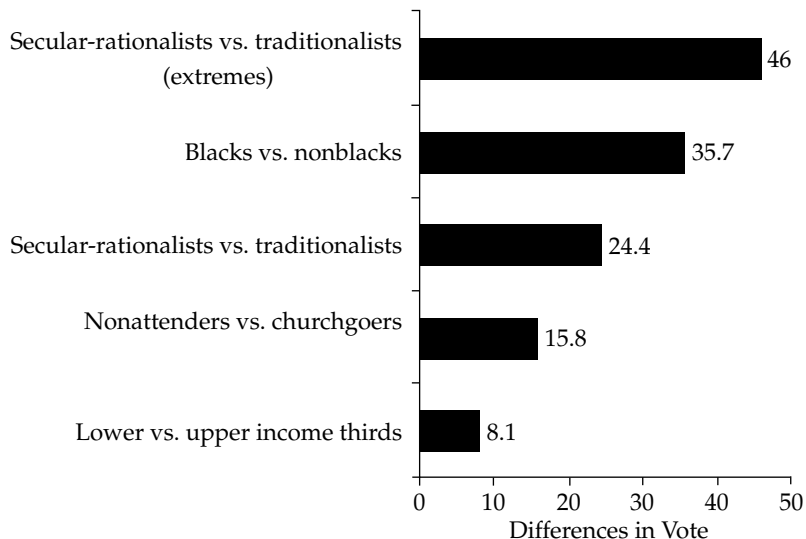
Bar chart values:

- Secular-rationalists vs. traditionalists (extremes): 46
- Blacks vs. nonblacks: 35.7
- Secular-rationalists vs. traditionalists: 24.4
- Nonattenders vs. churchgoers: 15.8
- Lower vs. upper income thirds: 8.1

X-axis: 0 10 20 30 40 50

Differences in Vote

Table 3.1   Intended Voting Behavior

Independent Variables	Would Vote Republican IF Election Tomorrow
Religious affiliation and behavior	
Protestant	.859***
	(.209)
Catholic	−.020
	(.220)
Secular	−.060
	(.259)
Frequency of attendance at religious services	−.101
	(.052)
Race	
Nonwhite	−2.188***
	(.228)
Values	
Traditional or secular-rational values	−.812***
	(.127)
Survival or self-expression values	−.390***
	(.102)
Control variables	
Liberal-conservative scale	.343***
	(.044)
Subjective social class	−.164
	(.101)
Education	.147**
	(.051)
Household income	.046
	(.037)
Age	−.107*
	(.054)
Gender (female)	−.427**
	(.158)
Married now	.175
	(.168)
Constant	−6.894***
	(1.154)
− 2 Log-likelihood	1058.06
N of observations	861
Nagelkerke Pseudo R^2	.381

Source: Authors' compilation.
Notes: Coding of variables is the same as Baker (2005, 193–95) to ensure comparability. Omitted category for religion is other (not Protestant, Catholic, or secular). Total sample size for the 2000 U.S. World Values Survey = 1200. Respondents who indicated "not applicable" when asked about intended voting preference were excluded from the model. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. Standard errors are in parentheses.

Table 3.2   Voting Behavior and Party Identification

	Voted in 2000	Voted for Bush	Identify as Republican
Religious affiliation and behavior			
Evangelical Protestant	−.800	−.651	.478
	(.512)	(.657)	(.504)
Catholic	.007	.206	−.093
	(.470)	(.506)	(.408)
Other religion	−.674	1.753*	.260
	(.534)	(.659)	(.505)
Secular	.233	1.410*	1.499**
	(.595)	(.714)	(.598)
Frequency of attendance at religious services	.558***	−.053	.084
	(.120)	(.139)	(.114)
Race			
Black	1.235**	−2.168***	−2.980***
	(.419)	(.564)	(.712)
Values			
Traditional or secular-rational values	.148	−.837**	−.703**
	(.223)	(.295)	(.250)
Survival or self-expression values	.808***	−.359	−.571**
	(.217)	(.272)	(.220)
Controls			
Liberal-Conservative scale	.034	1.247***	1.078***
	(.167)	(.253)	(.200)
Republican	.332	2.808***	
	(.402)	(.482)	
Education	.394*	.048	−.064
	(.157)	(.178)	(.144)
Household income	.072	−.101	.185*
	(.082)	(.103)	(.087)
Youth	−1.654**	−.609	.131
	(.602)	(1.070)	(.576)
Middle age	−.451	.589	.534
	(.352)	(.385)	(.339)
Gender (female)	−.898**	.016	−.452
	(.312)	(.402)	(.297)
Married now	.289	−.194	.532
	(.320)	(.380)	(.315)
Constant	2.022*	2.832*	−.279
	(.976)	(1.184)	(.060)
− 2 Log-likelihood	322.26	220.63	320.31
N of observations	387	293	423
Nagelkerke pseudo R²	.322	.602	.401

Source: Authors' compilation.
Notes: Omitted category for religion is mainline Protestant. Total sample size for 2003 Detroit Area Study = 508. Respondents who were not U.S. citizens or who were younger than eighteen in 2000 are excluded from the models estimating voting. Those did not vote are excluded from models estimating voted for Bush.
* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. Standard errors are in parentheses.

Table 3.3 Components of Two Values Scales, Results from Factor Analysis

	1	2
Traditional vs. secular-rational values		
Traditional values emphasize the following:		
Abortion is never justifiable.	.670	−.253
It is more important for a child to learn obedience and religious faith than independence and determination [Autonomy index].	.656	−.122
God is very important in respondent's life.	.638	−.057
Respondent favors more respect for authority.	.469	−.093
Respondent has strong sense of national pride.	.452	.241
Secular-rational values emphasize the opposite.		
Survival vs. self-expression values		
Survival values emphasize the following:		
Respondent describes self as not very happy.	.274	.592
You have to be very careful about trusting people.	−.007	.569
Homosexuality is never justifiable.	−.526	.497
Respondent gives priority to economic and physical security over self expression and quality of life [4-item Materialist-Postmaterialist Values Index].	.129	.378
Respondent. has not and would not sign a petition.	−.114	.371
Self-expression values emphasize the opposite.		

Source: Authors' compilation based on World Values Surveys and DAS.

Note: The original polarities vary. The above statements show how each item relates to a given dimension, based on factor analysis with varimax rotation, using individual-level data from all nations in the World Values Surveys plus the DAS (follows the procedure used by, among others, Inglehart and Baker 2000; Inglehart and Norris 2003; Norris and Inglehart 2004; Baker 2005).

Table 4.1   Two-Party Presidential Vote in 2004

	Percent Population	Percent Bush	Percent Turnout
A. Bush Groups			
Evangelicals: regular churchgoers[1]	12.6	88	63
Mormons (and "other Christians")	2.7	80	60
Catholics: regular churchgoers	4.4	72	77
Mainline Protestants: regular churchgoers	4.3	68	78
Evangelicals: irregular churchgoers[2]	10.8	64	52
Latino Protestants	2.8	63	49
Mainline Protestants: irregular churchgoers	7.0	58	68
Catholics: irregular churchgoers	8.1	55	58
Total Bush	52.7		
B. Kerry Groups			
African American Protestants	9.6	83	50
Mainline Protestants: infrequent churchgoers[3]	4.7	78	71
Other faiths (e.g. Muslim, Hindu)	2.7	77	62
Jews	1.9	73	87
Seculars & unaffiliated	16.0	72	52
Latino Catholics	4.5	69	43
Catholics: infrequent churchgoers	5.0	69	70
Evangelicals: infrequent churchgoers	2.9	52	65
Total Kerry	47.3		

Source: Authors' compilation based on Fourth National Survey of Religion and Politics 2004, Post-Election Sample (n = 2730).

Notes:

[1] Reported church attendance weekly or more often

[2] Reported church attendance once or twice a month to a few times a year

[3] Reported church attendance seldom or never

Table 4.2   Attitudes about Abortion, Homosexuality, and National Defense, U.S. Adults, 2000 to 2004

	Abortion[1]		Homosexuality[2]		National Defense[3]	
	Model 1 B (S.E.)	Model 2 B (S.E.)	Model 1 B (S.E.)	Model 2 B (S.E.)	Model 1 B (S.E.)	Model 2 B (S.E.)
Ethnoreligious groups						
Evangelical Protestant	.24***	.05	.63***	.26***	.25**	.03
	(.12)	(.07)	(.16)	(.15)	(.15)	(.16)
Mainline Protestant	−.05	−.05	.28***	.11	.06	−.02
	(.12)	(.07)	(.16)	(.14)	(.15)	(.15)
Black Protestant	.06	−.06	.36***	.13	.01	−.13
	(.13)	(.08)	(.17)	(.15)	(.16)	(.16)
Catholic	.09	.07	.55***	.20*	.18	.03
	(.11)	(.06)	(.15)	(.14)	(.14)	(.15)
Secular-unaffiliated	Ref	Ref	Ref	Ref	Ref	Ref
Religiosity[4]	—	.28***	—	.22***	—	.05
		(.02)		(.04)		(.04)
Moral certainty[5]	—	.18***	—	.26***	—	.20***
		(.02)		(.04)		(.04)
Family ideology						
Gender roles[6]	—	.14***	—	.16***	—	−.07
		(.01)		(.02)		(.02)
Obedient children[7]	—	.06*	—	−.04	—	.09*
		(.04)	—	(.06)		(.06)
Controls						
Year	—	.05	—	NA	—	NA
		(.01)				
Age (+ = older)	—	−.05	—	.05	—	.15***
		(.00)		(.00)		(.00)
Sex (+ = male)	—	.09**	—	.07	—	.18***
		(.04)		(.06)		(.06)

Income (+ = high)	—	−.07* (.01)	—	−.03 (.02)	—	.06 (.02)
Manager	—	−.02 (.05)	—	−.00 (.09)	—	.05 (.08)
Education (+ = high)	—	−.11*** (.01)	—	−.22*** (.02)	—	−.25*** (.02)
South	—	−.02 (.03)	—	−.02 (.06)	—	.01 (.06)
Rural	—	.04 (.04)	—	.21*** (.07)	—	−.01 (.07)
Small town	—	.01	—	.05	—	−.00 (07)
N	1109	1109	506	506	487	487
R-square	.06	.27	.13	.42	.04	.20
Adj. R-square	.05	.26	.12	.40	.03	.17

Source: Authors' compilation based on National Election Studies, 2000 to 2004.

Notes:

[1] Abortion (attitude toward abortion), is based on an item indicating the conditions under which respondents would permit abortion (never, in cases of rape and incest, only when need established, or always).

[2] Homosexuality (attitudes toward homosexuality), is a factor-weighted scale based on four items: support or opposition to gay marriage, for laws protecting homosexuals; support or opposition to banning homosexuals from the military, and support or opposition for allowing homosexuals to adopt children. Alpha = 79/Omega = .91.

[3] National defense (attitudes toward national defense issues) is a factor-weighted scale based on three items: support/opposition to government increases in defense spending; support/opposition to using military force as "the best way" to ensure peace; and support/opposition for increasing spending to fight terrorism. Alpha = .74/Omega = .76.

[4] Religiosity is a factor-weighted scale based on by six items: belief in the Bible as the literal word of God, views of the importance of religion in life, use of religion to guide action in everyday life, frequency of prayer, frequency of church attendance, and participation in church activities outside of services. Alpha = .66/Omega = .75.

[5] Moral certainty is a factor-weighted scale based on three items: support or opposition to the view that moral views should adjust to a changing world, support or opposition to the view that people should be more tolerant of different moral standards, and support or opposition to the view that newer lifestyles are causing societal breakdown. Alpha=. 64/Omega = .69.

[6] Gender role traditionalism is based on a seven-point scale item asking whether men and women should have equal roles in society where 1 is "men and women should have an equal role" and 7 is "a woman's place is in the home."

[7] Children's obedience is based on an item asking respondents to identify the relative importance of obedience as a quality in children.

*** $p < .001$ ** $p < .01$ * $p < .05$

Table 4.3   Topics on Christian Conservative Websites, 2007 and 2008

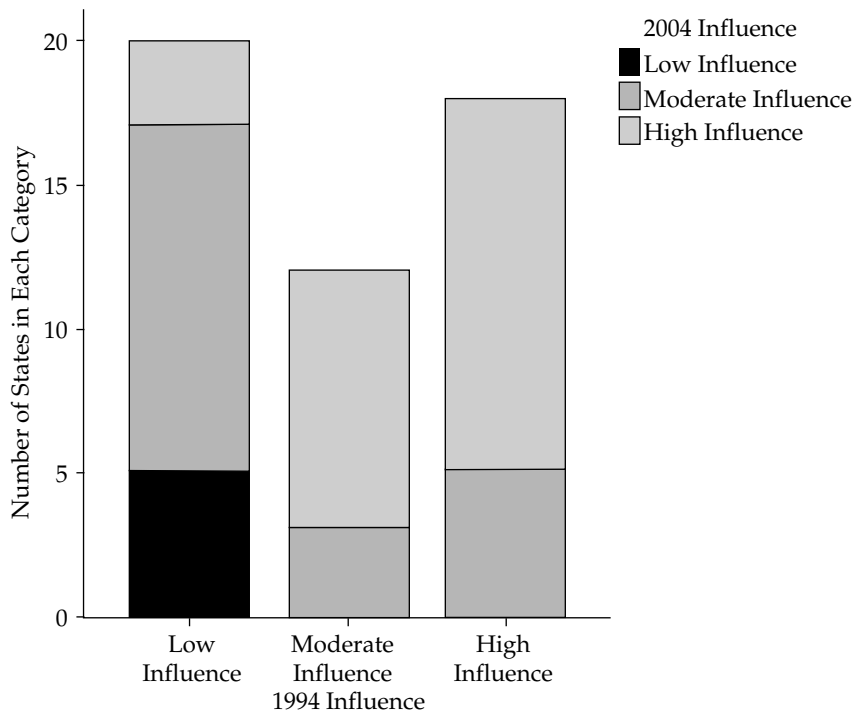| Values Coalition	Traditional Women of America	Concerned Legal Action	Christian Coalition Family Action	AFA/ Focus on the News Links	Nat. Assoc. Evang.
January 2007					
Homosexuality/ gay rights	11	3	0	>20	6
Abortion	4	>20	0	1	0
Judicial activism	1	2	1	5	2
Public religion	4	2	2	1	1
Traditional families	0	3	1	4	1
Terrorism	7	0	0	0	0
Stem cell research	2	0	0	1	0
Pornography	0	2	0	0	0
Sexual abstinence	1	0	0	0	0
Divorce laws	0	0	0	0	0
Poverty	0	0	0	0	0
August 2008					
Homosexuality/ gay rights	8	4	1	5	0
Abortion	1	12	0	2	0
Islam	6	0	1	1	0
Obama	4	4	1	1	1
Energy	4	0	1	1	0
Judicial activism	3	0	2	1	0
Public religion	1	2	4	1	1
Traditional families	1	1	0	1	1
Terrorism	1	1	0	0	0
Stem cell research	0	0	1	1	0
Pornography	0	1	0	1	0
Sexual abstinence	0	1	0	1	0
Divorce laws	0	0	0	0	0
Poverty	0	0	0	0	0

Source: Authors' compilation.

Table 4.4   Newspaper and Magazine Coverage of Moral-Values Issues, 2004

Issue	Lexis-Nexis Counts
Abortion	6000+
"Christian values"	6000+
Family values	6000+
Gay marriage	6000+
Gay adoption	330
Divorce law	322
Prayer in school	198
Pornography laws	166
Abstinence pledges for teens	82
Decency laws	21

Source: Authors' compilation based on Lexis-Nexis U.S. Newspaper and Magazine Database, March 2004 to Election Day 2004.

Figure 9.1   Change in Christian Right Influence from 1994 to 2004

Table 9.1   Christian Right Influence in State Republican Parties

State	1994	2000	2004	State	1994	2000	2004
AL	H	H	H	MT	M	H	H
AK	H	H	H	NE	M	M	H
AZ	H	M	H	NV	M	M	M
AR	M	H	H	NH	L	M	L
CA	H	M	M	NJ	L	L	L
CO	L	H	H	NM	L	M	H
CT	L	L	L	NY	L	L	L
DE	L	M	M	NC	H	M	H
FL	H	M	M	ND	L	M	M
GA	H	M	H	OH	M	M	M
HI	H	M	M	OK	H	H	H
ID	H	H	H	OR	H	H	H
IL	L	M	M	PA	M	M	H
IN	L	M	M	RI	L	L	L
IA	H	H	H	SC	H	H	H
KS	M	M	H	SD	L	H	M
KY	M	M	H	TN	L	M	H
LA	H	M	H	TX	H	H	H
ME	M	M	M	UT	M	M	H
MD	L	M	M	VT	L	L	M
MA	L	L	M	VA	H	H	M
MI	M	H	H	WA	H	M	M
MN	H	H	H	WV	L	H	M
MS	M	H	H	WI	L	M	M
MO	L	H	M	WY	L	M	M

				Total	1994	2000	2004
				H	18	18	25
				M	12	15	20
				L	20	7	5

Trend Summary:
48 percent increased between 1994 and 2004.
8 percent decreased between 1994 and 2004.
18 percent increased and decreased between 1994 and 2004.

Note: H: High Influence (More than 50 percent of State Republican Committee); M: Moderate Influence (25 percent to 49 percent of State Republican Committee); L: Little Influence (Less than 25 percent of State Republican Committee).