Online Appendix

**Table A1.** Variable coding

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

**Dependent Variables**

School Prayer Amendment: (0) strongly disagree; (1) disagree; (2) not sure; (3) agree; (4) strongly agree.

Tuition Assistance For Christian Schools: (0) strongly disagree; (1) disagree; (2) not sure; (3) agree; (4) strongly agree.

How Good A Job Is Baptist Joint Committee (BJC) Doing: (0) poor; (1) fair; (2) good; (3) excellent.

How Good A Job Is Christian Life Commission (CLC) Doing: (0) poor; (1) fair; (2) good; (3) excellent.

**Abortion Variable**

Anti-Abortion Amendment: (0) strongly disagree; (1) disagree; (2) not sure; (3) agree; (4) strongly agree.

**Political Variables**

Ideology: (0) extremely liberal; (1) liberal; (2) slightly liberal; (3) moderate; (4) slightly conservative; (5) conservative; (6) extremely conservative.

Party Identification: (0) strong Democrat; (1) weak Democrat; (2) Independent leaning Democrat; (3) Independent; (4) Independent leaning Republican; (5) weak Republican; (6) strong Republican.

**Religious Variables**

Religious Beliefs: A first order factor analysis five questions coded from (0) strongly disagree; (1) disagree; (2) not sure; (3) agree; (4) strongly agree. The religious beliefs questions are: (1) Adam and Eve were real historical figures; (2) the Bible is inerrant in all matters; (3) Jesus was born of a virgin; (4) the Devil really exists; and (5) women should not be ordained as clergy

Theological Identifications: fundamentalist, moderate, and conservative (serving as the comparison category).

**Personal Factors**

Seminary Education: (0) none; (1) Bible college; (2) some seminary; (3) seminary graduate; (4) post-graduate work.

**Non-Seminary Education**: (0) grade school; (1) high school; (2) some college; (3) college graduate; (4) post-graduate work.

**Church Size**: (0) 1–99; (2) 100–199; (2) 200–299; (3) 300–499; (4) 500–999; (5) over 999.

**Age**: (0) under 30; (1) 30–39; (2) 40–49; (3) 50–59; (4) over 50.

**\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_**

**Table 2A.** Religious and political influences on pastors’ views

**Religious and Political Influences on Pastors’ Views of the BJC, Odds Ratios**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **IVs** | **All Years** | **1984** | **1988** | **1992** | **1996** |
| Religious Beliefs | 0.66\*\*  (0.05) | 0.70\*\*  (0.08) | 0.73\*  (0.11) | 0.69\*  (0.13) | 0.59†  (0.18) |
| Fundamentalist | 0.85  (0.12) | 0.72  (0.17) | 1.21  (0.37) | 0.86  (0.30) | 0.84  (0.27) |
| Moderate | 1.10  (0.17) | 0.83  (0.21) | 1.86†  (0.61) | 1.64  (0.67) | 1.01  (0.37) |
| Ideology  (Lib-Conserv) | 0.75\*\*  (0.05) | 0.72\*\*  (0.09) | 0.80†  (0.10) | 0.55\*\*  (0.09) | 0.91  (0.16) |
| Party Identification (Dem-Rep) | 0.92\*\*  (0.03) | 0.88\*\*  (0.04) | 0.89\*  (0.05) | 0.96  (0.07) | 1.09  (0.09) |
| Abortion Amendment (Oppose-Favor) | 0.85\*\*  (0.05) | 0.80\*\*  (0.07) | 0.94†  (0.10) | 0.79†  (0.10) | 0.89  (0.13) |
| Prayer Amendment  (Oppose-Favor) | 0.87\*\*  (0.04) | 0.82\*\*  (0.06) | 0.71\*\*  (0.07) | 1.19†  (0.12) | 0.97  (0.11) |
| Seminary Education | 0.93  (0.04) | 0.90  (0.07) | 0.91  (0.08) | 1.03  (0.12) | 0.94  (0.10) |
| Education | 0.90\*  (0.05) | 0.98  (0.09) | 0.86†  (0.08) | 0.76\*  (0.11) | 0.87  (0.10) |
| Church Size | 0.96  (0.03) | 0.96  (0.05) | 0.95  (0.05) | 0.97  (0.07) | 0.97  (0.07) |
| Age | 1.12\*\*  (0.05) | 1.15\*  (0.08) | 1.12  (0.08) | 1.10  (0.11) | 1.20†  (0.13) |
| 1984 | 0.99  (0.15) | — | — | — | — |
| 1988 | 1.27  (0.20) | — | — | — | — |
| 1992 | 0.96  (0.16) | — | — | — | — |
| Cut Point 1 | -3.69  (0.41) | -4.31  (0.69) | -4.21  (0.65) | -4.37  (1.05) | -1.57  (0.97) |
| Cut Point 2 | -2.25  (0.40) | -2.80  (0.68) | -2.55  (0.64) | 3.11  (1.03) | -0.27  (0.96) |
| Cut Point 3 | -0.12  (0.40) | -0.67  (0.67) | -0.29  (0.63) | -0.91  (1.01) | 1.77  (0.98) |
| N | 1705 | 639 | 488 | 330 | 248 |
| Adj. Count R2 | 0.21 | 0.21 | 0.20 | 0.16 | 0.13 |

**Religious & Political Influences on Pastors’ Views of Tuition Tax Credits, Odds Ratios**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **IVs** | **All Years** | **1984** | **1988** | **1992** | **1996** |
| Religious Beliefs | 1.20\*\*  (0.08) | 1.33\*\*  (0.14) | 1.18  (0.15) | 1.06  (0.19) | 1.29  (0.30) |
| Fundamentalist | 1.63\*\*  (0.21) | 1.59\*  (0.31) | 1.60†  (0.42) | 2.65\*\*  (0.80) | 1.01  (0.35) |
| Moderate | 0.83  (0.13) | 1.26  (0.29) | 0.72  (0.22) | 0.36\*  (0.15) | 1.17  (0.47) |
| Ideology  (Lib-Conserv) | 1.26\*\*  (0.08) | 1.26\*  (0.12) | 1.22\*  (0.12) | 1.10  (0.18) | 1.53\*  (0.28) |
| Party Identification (Dem-Rep) | 1.13\*\*  (0.03) | 1.03  (0.04) | 1.11\*  (0.05) | 1.39\*\*  (0.10) | 1.30\*\*  (0.11) |
| Abortion Amendment (Oppose-Favor) | 1.33\*\*  (0.03) | 1.33\*\*  (0.10) | 1.21†  (0.12) | 1.52\*\*  (0.17) | 1.21  (0.15) |
| Seminary Education | 0.99  (0.04) | 0.99  (0.07) | 0.99  (0.07) | 0.98  (0.09) | 1.05  (0.11) |
| Education | 0.94  (0.04) | 0.94  (0.07) | 0.98  (0.07) | 0.95  (0.11) | 0.84#  (0.09) |
| Church Size | 0.95#  (0.03) | 0.99  (0.04) | 0.88\*  (0.05) | 0.99  (0.08) | 0.91  (0.06) |
| Age | 0.86\*\*  (0.03) | 0.91  (0.06) | 0.86\*  (0.06) | 0.74\*\*  (0.07) | 0.87  (0.08) |
| 1984 | 0.49\*\*  (0.06) | — | — | — | — |
| 1988 | 0.64\*\*  (0.08) | — | — | — | — |
| 1992 | 1.04  (0.14) | — | — | — | — |
| Cut Point 1 | -0.63  (0.36) | -0.02  (0.55) | -0.83  (0.63) | -0.23  (1.07) | 0.41  (0.90) |
| Cut Point 2 | 1.12  (0.36) | 1.86  (0.56) | 0.94  (0.63) | 1.38  (1.06) | 1.87  (0.93) |
| Cut Point 3 | 1.70  (0.36) | 2.31  (0.56) | 1.54  (0.63) | 2.01  (1.06) | 2.77  (0.94) |
| Cut Point 4 | 3.63 (0.37) | 4.02  (0.57) | 3.74  (0.63) | 4.21  (1.08) | 4.71  (0.96) |
| *N* | 2016 | 756 | 589 | 370 | 301 |
| Adj. Count *R*2 | 0.09 | 0.09 | 0.09 | 0.20 | 0.10 |

Notes: The statistical significance notations are: † = *p* ≤ 0.10; \* = *p* ≤ 0.05; \*\* = *p* ≤ 0.01. Robust standard errors are in parentheses. The comparison categories are conservative for the theological IDs and 1996 for the survey years.