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.