PRAISE THE POLITICAL ACTIVISTS:
An Analysis of the effects of Evangelical Religion on Political Activists, 1980-1988

A Thesis

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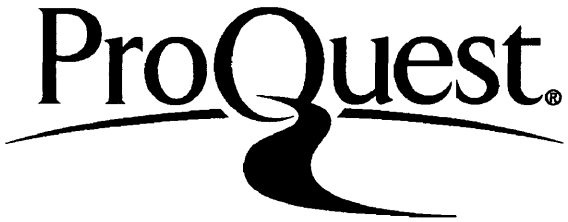

APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of

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Approved, August 1991

Ronald Rapoport

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Jack Edwards

DEDICATION

The writer dedicates this work to the "Courageous Ten," who attended graduate school in the Department of Government at the College of William and Mary all those low-and-many years ago of 1984-1985, and to those same brave souls who one by one have completed this once-thought-elusive degree.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

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LIST OF TABLES

ABSTRACT

During the past decade, a new phenomena of research on the subject of religion and politics has emerged: the study of evangelical Christians as a political force. The research, however, has mostly ignored elites and has centered primarily around the activity of evangelicals in the general electorate. In this study we assess the activity of politically elite Democratic and Republican evangelicals, using a 1980 delegate survey. We also reassess this activity over the eight years and two elections following 1980.

The study revealed that evangelicals are equally active in politics as non-evangelicals and have been active for as long or longer. We also found that while Republican evangelicals are motivated to participate much more by issues and candidates, Democratic evangelicals are motivated much in the same way as Democratic non-evangelicals.

The study also revealed that evangelicals in both parties are much more conservative ideologically than their non-evangelical counterparts and that this conservatism strongly influences positions on candidates and issues.

Finally, we found that evangelicals are equally, if not more, likely to continue to be involved in politics as non-evangelicals. Involvement beyond 1980 for evangelicals was very evident, as was their continued and increased conservative ideology and issue stance.

While Republican evangelicals identified more strongly with their party in 1988 than in 1980, they still were not motivated to participate for this reason, still being motivated primarily by issues. Democratic evangelicals, on the other hand, were still motivated to participate by party loyalty, as well as issues and candidates, but became less connected with their party.

This research supports the potential political influence evangelicals may wield. The question for future research concerns the loyalty of evangelicals. Will Democratic evangelicals continue to be strong party supporters, or will they seek other associations if the party continues to not support their views? And, will Republican evangelicals become more ingrained in the party only as long as the platform is supportive of conservative issues, or will a more moderate platform alienate this group? 1992 awaits...

PRAISE THE POLITICAL ACTIVISTS:

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INTRODUCTION

The relationship of religion and politics has long been a subject of scholarly research and dispute. It has been argued by scholars that because religion is an "important value-generating institution and source of power and status," it cannot exist without affecting the nature of "political discourse."[1] The focus of the research in this area has taken on many faces throughout the years, focusing on the separation of church and state, the link of denomination with party identification, etc. It has only been during the past decade, however, that a new phenomena of research on the subject of religion and politics has emerged: the study of evangelical Christians as a political force.

In 1976, Jimmy Carter, a Born-Again Christian from the state of Georgia, entered the national political arena as a presidential candidate. Carter's "willingness to testify to his own Born-Again experience not only brought new respect to the evangelical movement, but focused attention on its political potential."[2] Even though Carter's Born-Again

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[1]Martin Marty and Robert Lee, Religion and Social Conflict (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964) p. 70.

[2]James D. Fairbanks, "The Evangelical Right and America's Civil Religion," San Jose Studies, February 1982, p. 65.

revelations brought the subject of evangelicals and politics to the attention of the media and the public, scholars were still relatively unconcerned with the potential impact of this group. There was no strong evidence of a "surge of evangelicals into politics" or that evangelicals had voted in any cohesive fashion.[3]

It was the presidential election of 1980, in which both candidates proclaimed to be Born-Again Christians, that prompted greater scholarly attention to the emergence of a potential new bloc of voters. In addition to the evangelicalism of the candidates, there was considerable media attention given to New Christian Right groups, such as the Moral Majority, during the election process. The rise of the religious right's involvement in the election, coupled with the surprising unpredicted landslide by the Republicans, piqued the interest of scholars as to the effect evangelicals had or could potentially have on the political process.[4]

The majority of research on evangelicals as a political factor in 1980 focused on voting patterns to assess the electoral behavior of evangelicals. The outcome of such scholarly studies, however, proved inconclusive, with researchers unable to agree on the effect the evangelicals had

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[3]Corwin Smidt and Paul Kellstedt, "Evangelicals in the Post-Reagan Era: An Analysis of Evangelical Voters in the 1988 Presidential Election," Paper presented at the Citadel Symposium on southern Politics, Charleston, S.C., March 1990, p. 1.

[4]Kellstedt and Smidt, p. 2.

on the 1980 election. Johnson and Tamney concluded "as for the Christian Right...in the 1980 presidential election it proved to have no significant impact at all."[5] Similar conclusions were reached by other researchers (e.g., Lipset and Raab, 1981 and Zwier, 1984). Other studies, however, argued that evangelicals did play an important role in the 1980 election (e.g., Smidt, 1983 and Brudney and Copeland, 1984).

While a considerable amount of research has been done on the electoral behavior of evangelicals in the 1980 election, relatively little has been done on the evangelical political activist. This study will examine evangelicals as active participants in the political process of 1980. The analysis will be based on a survey of delegates to state party conventions. These delegates represent the "informal political activist," a group serving as the intermediate position between the political elite and the mass public.[6] These activists play a vital role in the political process because "their interest, attention, and activity allow them to wield disproportionate influence on political decision-

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[5]Stephen D. Johnson and Joseph B. Tamney, "The Christian Right and the 1984 Presidential Election," Review of Religious Research, December 1985, p. 130.

[6]Ronald B. Rapoport, Alan I. Abramowitz, and John McGlennon (Editors), The Life of the Parties: Activists in Presidential Politics (Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 1986), p. 1.

makers."[7] Additionally, both Democratic and Republican evangelicals will be considered, allowing for a comparison between the two parties. The majority of research has not considered the differences between Democratic and Republican evangelicals. Finally, the study will reassess the 1980 evangelical political activists eight years later, in order to predict the continuity of evangelical activism and the effect this group may or may not have as a future political force.

The research is organized in the following manner: (1) A review of the literature examining the research conducted on evangelical involvement in politics throughout history, in 1976, in 1980, and the continuity of this involvement in the two most recent elections; (2) The hypotheses and methodology will be explained; and, (3) The results of the data analysis will be given and conclusions reached on the effect of evangelical religion on political activity.

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[7]Rapoport, Abramowitz, McGlennon, p.1.

CHAPTER I

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE:

The Evangelicals and Politics

Evangelicalism Defined

Evangelicalism as a term for political research has been defined in several ways: by doctrine, by denomination, and by self-identification. There is general agreement by scholars (e.g., Wilcox, 1986; Lipset and Raab, 1981; Smidt, 1987) that the evangelical beliefs include: First, a belief in the literal word of the Bible; Second, a born-again experience; and, Third, a commitment to conversion activity.[8]

The definitions for evangelicals encompass both the fundamentalist doctrine and the born-again beliefs to capture the essence of evangelicalism. Lipset and Raab describe the evangelicals in two basic categories, the "orthodox" and the "conversionalist." The orthodox evangelicals believe in the literal word of the Bible and in Jesus as divine and the only hope for personal salvation. This group includes those Christians commonly referred to as "fundamentalists." The conversionalists have had an "explicit religious experience in

[8]Johnson and Tamney, p. 130.

which they asked Jesus to be their personal savior." They are the group commonly referred to as "born-again." Both the fundamentalists and conversionalists "share a commitment to reaching out with the message of salvation and doing their best to convert others" and are thus considered evangelical.[9]

According to Clyde Wilcox, the main operational definitions used when researching evangelicals are the denominational affiliation or doctrinal beliefs. Denominational affiliation would include the traditional church affiliation (e.g., Southern Baptist), while the doctrinal approach includes specific religious beliefs (such as those defined above for evangelicals). Wilcox says that for researchers interested in the behavior of evangelicals or "Biblical teaching as a schema to structure political beliefs," the doctrinal definition is preferable to the denomination definition.[10]

A third operational approach used by political researchers (e.g., Steed, Moreland, and Baker, 1986; McGlennon, 1981) is an evangelical self-identification. In this approach, it is the subjective identification, as is also the case with party and class identification, that links

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[9]Seymour M. Lipset and Earl Raab, "The Election and the Evangelicals," Commentary, March 1981, p. 25.

[10]Clyde Wilcox, "Fundamentalists and Politics: An Analysis of the Impact of Differing Operational Definitions," Journal of Politics, 1986, p. 1043.

individuals to groups and leaders, and serves as the basis for evangelical consciousness and political mobilization.

Researchers of evangelical political activity use several variations of the denomination, doctrinal, and self-identification approach. Smidt, in his research on voting in 1980 and 1984, uses the following as indicators of respondents' doctrinal evangelicalism: (1) That religion played an important part in their life; (2) That they have had a "born-again" experience; and (3) That they believed the Bible to be "God's word and all it says is true."[11] Brudney and Copeland, in their studies using the same University of Michigan survey data, combine a denominational, doctrinal, and self-identification approach in defining evangelicals by the following: Denomination; belief in the importance of religion and the Bible; and a "a self-professed affinity with evangelical groups."[12] Miller and Wattenberg do not measure evangelicalism by official membership, but rather in terms of the following criteria: "Positive affect toward the group, a feeling of closeness to the group expressed as a cognitive awareness of shared interests, and similarity of religious beliefs." They use these criteria to form a "religiosity"

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[11]Corwin Smidt, "Evangelicals and the 1984 Election: Continuity or Change?" American Politics Quarterly, October 1987, p. 424.

[12]Jeffrey L. Brudney and Gary W. Copeland, "Evangelicals as a Political Force: Reagan and the 1980 Religious Vote," Social Science Quarterly, p. 1073.

index which categorizes respondents as to the strength of their evangelical attachment.[13]

Johnson and Tamney, in their research of a small number of residents (262 in 1980 and 351 in 1984) in "Middletown" or Muncie, Indiana, define evangelicals using responses to the following dimensions, measured on a likert scale (1980): (1) Religious political involvement; (2) Right-wing civil religion; (3) Religious fundamentalism; and, (4) Support for voluntary school prayer.[14] In 1984, they added the following four new factors: (1) Membership in a conservative Protestant denomination; (2) Conservative religious television viewing; (3) Attitude toward separation of church and state; and, (4) Support for the Moral Majority.[15]

Steed, Moreland, and Baker use a self-identification approach to measure evangelicalism. That is, evangelicals are identified by an affirmative response to a question asking if they considered themselves to belong to one of the religiously fundamental groups (i.e., Born-Again or Fundamentalist).[16]

As a political movement evangelicalism has been limited

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[13]Arthur H. Miller and Martin P. Wattenberg, "Politics from the Pulpit: Religiosity and the 1980 Elections," Public Opinion Quarterly, 1984, p. 302.

[14]Johnson and Tamney, p. 127.

[15]Johnson and Tamney, 128.

[16]Robert P. Steed, et.al., "Religion and Party Activists: Fundamentalism and Politics in Regional Perspective," Religion and Politics in the South(New York: Praeger Publishers, 1983), p.109.

to whites, because of the distinct integration of religion in the black culture. As a result, all researchers cited here use only whites and Christians, usually Protestants, in their definitions. The variety of definitions used by researchers does make a difference in explaining distinctive findings, because, as Brudney and Copeland assert, "If the various definitions are not synonymous, the one which is used may determine the results..."[17]

The Historical Evangelical Political Movement

In order to appropriately consider the current evangelical influence in politics, it is necessary to review historically the political activity of evangelicals. Evangelical in this historical context refers to "conservative protestants." As is evident in the review of literature that follows, research on such groups was primarily theoretical rather than empirical until revival of this research in the past decade.

Evangelicalism has been an active, if sometimes inconsistent, force in American politics. In 1800, a pamphlet was published with the ominous title "Serious considerations on the Election of a President and a Voice of Warning to Christians in the Ensuing Election," which warned of the resulting immorality if Thomas Jefferson were to be

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[17]Brudney and Copeland, p. 1073.

elected.[18] Prior to the Civil War, evangelicals contributed to the growth of the anti-slavery sentiment in Northern States, while, ironically, reinforcing the Southern commitment to maintain the slave economy. Following the Civil War, evangelicals participated in a variety of movements designed to "purify American Politics." In 1896, the candidacy of William Jennings Bryan, a self-proclaimed evangelical, brought the evangelical influence to the national political scene. During the remainder of the 19th and the early 20th century, evangelicals were a driving force behind varied movements such as currency reform, women's suffrage, regulation of corporate abuses, arbitration of international conflicts, and others. These "Progressive Era" reforms were "advanced as a means to defend the economic and social values of traditional Protestantism...and their adoption...attested to the central place of evangelicalism in American culture."[19]

Following World War II, issues such as the prohibition of alcohol and the teaching of evolution were among the evangelical causes. During the 1920s, groups such as the Bible League of America and the Bible Crusaders of America were formed to fight the teaching of evolution in school.[20]

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[18]Lipset and Raab, p. 26.

[19]Kenneth D. Wald, Religion and Politics in the United States(New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987), p. 183.

[20]Clyde Wilcox, "Support for the Christian Right Old and New: A Comparison of Supporters of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade and the Moral Majority," Sociological Focus, May 1989, p. 87.

But, the overall influence of evangelicalism was weakened during this period as secular cultural changes occurred. Evangelicalism became associated with the South, and with a uneducated, rural mentality. These southern evangelicals chose to remain outside of politics, barring a few extremist crusades. During this time, because of their region and class, most evangelicals were associated with the Democratic party.[21]

The first signs of change in the pattern of evangelical politics came in the presidential elections of the 1960s. These changes follow the lines of the voting patterns of the South. Although the changes have been interpreted in racial and economic terms, it is important to note that the action was "especially pronounced among persons deeply committed to orthodox Protestantism." In the 1960 campaign, many evangelicals defected to the Republican party because of the nomination of Kennedy, a Roman Catholic, in the Democratic party. In 1964, the evangelicals supported Barry Goldwater, a Republican who emphasized conservative social values. During this election, previously inactive evangelicals seemed to be activated. In 1968, five of the Southern states supported George Wallace, a fellow southerner and a conservative Democrat.[22] The evangelicals moved dramatically

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[21]Wald, p. 184.

[22]Wald, pp. 184-186.

away from the Democrats after 1956, and although they were not realigned, they were largely dealigned by the late 1970s.[23]

During the 1970s, evangelicals became increasingly active in politics.[24] This trend would gain momentum with the election of 1976, and grow stronger at the end of the decade and into the 1980s.

Enter Jimmy Carter: The Evangelicals in 1976

Religion once again became a major issue in national politics in 1976 when Jimmy Carter, a Democratic presidential nominee from the State of Georgia, proclaimed himself to be a born-again Christian. The fact that Carter was a Southerner was significant, because religion in the South was still somewhat culturally distinct from religion in the North. Historically, because the South has a strong religious tradition, there has been a close relation between politics and religion in that region.[25] Thus, although the subject of evangelical political influence was brought to light, any

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[23]Lyman Kellstedt and John Green, "Waiting for Realignment: Partisan Change Among Evangelical Protestants 1956-1988," Paper presented at The Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics, March 1990, p.10.

[24]Robert Wuthnow, "The Political Rebirth of American Evangelicals," The New Christian Right (New York: Aldine Publishing Co., 1983), p. 168.

[25]Corwin Smidt, "Born-Again Politics: The Political Behavior of Evangelical Christians in the South and Non-South," Religion and Politics in the South (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1983), p. 30.

significance was primarily linked to Carter's southern heritage.

Researchers (Hammond 1985; Fairbanks 1982; Jorstad 1981; Wald 1987) did, however, claim that the 1976 campaign brought presidential religion and evangelical influence to public attention. The former stereotypes of evangelicals were also challenged. Fairbanks claimed that "Jimmy Carter's willingness to testify to his own born-again experience not only brought new respect to the evangelical movement, but focused attention on its political potential."[26] Erling Jorstad claimed that "Carter's presence helped legitimize the motives of...evangelicals...who had chosen...to express their faith in the world of public decision formation and administration."

However, no significant statistical studies were done to assess the influence of evangelicals on the vote. While Carter may have won the election, the role evangelicals played was unclear. Kellstedt and Smidt stated that "no particular surge of evangelicals into politics was evident."[27] There was little evidence that evangelicals had voted in any cohesive fashion or that those voting for Carter had done so on the basis of his evangelicalism. And, because Carter was from the South, it was difficult to disassociate his win from the concepts of regional pride or partisanship, since most

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[26]Fairbanks, p. 65.

[27]Smidt and Kellstedt, 1990, p. 1.

evangelicals were still primarily associated with the South and the Democratic party.[28]

Once Carter had won the nomination, he sought to disassociate himself from the "classification" of born-again by claiming that his religion was a personal matter and would not effect policy if elected.[29] Although the Carter campaign brought religion to the forefront, it was, for Carter, a personal attribute and not something to be mixed with politics or policy-making.

The main effect the Carter election had was to bring the evangelical phenomenon to light and to spark a renewal in the organization of evangelical groups and influence. It would not be until the election of 1980 that significant scholarly attention was given to evangelicals as a bloc of voters.

1980: The Evangelicals Come to Life

During the late-1970s, the evangelical political movement became more active and organized. Researchers most often link this resurgence to "the gaining strength and assertiveness of gays, feminists and pro-abortion activists at home, and the declining power and status of America abroad."[30] In response

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[28]Smidt and Kellstedt, 1990, p. 2.

[29]Richard A. Viguerie, The New Right: We're Ready to Lead(Virginia: The Viguerie Co, 1981), p. 124.

[30]James D. Fairbanks, "Reagan, Religion, and the New Right," Midwest Quarterly, 1982, p.329.

to these "threats," evangelical leaders organized around a "Pro-God, Pro-Family, Pro-America" platform.[31] During this time, several organizations were formed to organize and lobby for the new evangelical agenda. The best known organization was Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority. As the 1980 election approached, the movement became known as the New Christian Right, and the message was being spread by televangelists and the mass mailers associated with the movement. The New Right leaders estimated that the televangelists were able to reach over 20 million people by television every week, at which time they discussed political issues, especially moral issues, and urged their viewers to get out and vote. Leading up to the election, there were also new right lobby groups, consisting of pro-lifers or anti-abortionists, opponents of the ERA, opponents of pornography, anti-gay coalitions, and others.

The 1980 election forced scholars to begin examination of the potential influence of evangelicals as a political phenomenon. However, the methods used to define this group differed widely among researchers and lead to a disparity in findings. Smidt asserted that these disparate findings were due primarily to the "utilization of different measurement strategies and different criteria of evaluation."[32] He stated that the difference in interpretation of the effect of evangelicalism on vote was also largely due to the

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[31]Fairbanks, San Jose Studies, 1982, p. 65.

[32]Smidt, 1987, p. 419.

researchers' analysis of evangelicalism as a determining factor or contributing factor in the 1980 election.[33] Regardless of the interpretation of results, researchers revealed important findings regarding the social and political characteristics of evangelicals, their level of political involvement, and their partisan preference.

Participation: Activity and Influence

In 1980, Richard Pierard asserted that "the Christian Right...threw themselves body and soul into the campaign on behalf of Ronald Reagan, a man they believed was a godly, evangelical Christian who would bring America back to God."[34] But was this effort fruitful?

The first disagreement comes over the number of registered voters who were actually evangelicals. The Moral Majority claimed that it aided the Reagan campaign by registering 2.5 million voters and re-registering 1 to 1.5 million voters in the 1980 election.[35] This claim has been refuted by many researchers (e.g., Fairbanks 1982; Brudney and Copeland, 1982). Other estimates of new registered voters

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[33]Smidt and Kellstedt, 1990, p.3.

[34]Richard V. Pierard, "Religion and the 1984 Election Campaign," Review of Religious Research, December 1985, p. 100.

[35]Viguerie, p. 128.

ranged from 200,000 to 3 million.[36] The polls also differed on the numbers, with one poll indicating that only about 10% of voters identified themselves as evangelicals and voted for Reagan.[37] However, Lipset and Raab cite polls that found that between 20 and 25 percent of American adults, over 30 million, respond to all three definitional criteria of evangelicals: literal interpretation of the Bible; a born-again experience; and, spreading the word of the Bible.[38] Confirming this, the Gallup poll revealed that 19% of adults, about 30 million, identified with all three criteria of evangelicalism. The poll also revealed that percentages of evangelicals registered to vote and indicating likelihood of voting (54%) paralleled that of non-evangelicals.[39]

The second disagreement is over the influence that the evangelicals had on the election. Johnson and Tamney argued that Carter's inability to control inflation was the most important factor in the election, and assert that the evangelicals had no significant impact at all.[40] Lipset and Raab (1981) and Zwier (1984) found similar conclusions.

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[36]Wald, p. 211.

[37]John H. Simpson, "Socio-Moral Issues and Recent Presidential Elections," Review of Religious Research, December 1985, p. 130.

[38]Lipset and Raab, p. 25.

[39]George Gallup, Religion in America, 1981, The Gallup Organization (Princeton: 1981).

[40]Johnson and Tamney, p. 125.

Conversely, Brudney and Copeland, using a definition which defines evangelicals by denomination, doctrine and identification with evangelical groups, conclude that the religious right was influential in the 1980 election, claiming that about 10% of Reagan's votes came from evangelicals.[41] Smidt (1983) agreed with these findings.

Miller and Wattenberg found that the strongest fundamentalists did vote for Reagan (85%) and that 77% of these individuals believed that Reagan would work for their group. Their study revealed, however, that "religiosity as an overall dimension did not contribute to the vote decision independent of its overlap with party identification and liberal-conservative ideology."[42] Even though religiosity did not have an independent effect on the presidential vote, Miller and Wattenberg asserted that it did have an indirect effect. It was found, for one thing, to be an important "mediating variable" in determining which factors had the most influence on vote choice. Also, they asserted that leaders of the New Christian Right were able to motivate their followers into the political arena and actualize a huge voting block.[43] They also found that evangelicals participated more heavily in 1980 than ever before and voted more heavily for the Republican candidates.

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[41]Brudney and Copeland, p. 1078.

[42]Miller and Wattenberg, p. 313.

[43]Miller and Wattenberg, p. 313.

Demographics: Who are the Political Evangelicals?

The debate continues among researchers on the demographic make-up of evangelicals. The majority of researchers agree that evangelicals fit the stereotype of being older, less educated, and less affluent. Some researchers (e.g., Miller and Wattenberg), however, have asserted that the evangelicals no longer fit this stereotype, but instead more closely resemble the rest of the population.

Miller and Wattenberg--defining evangelicals as those with a positive affect toward the group, a feeling of closeness to the group, and similarity of religious beliefs--found that, contrary to the popular stereotypes, evangelicals were not predominantly less educated, elderly, lower-class or Southern. They tended to be, instead, fairly well educated, middle-aged, and similar to the rest of the population in social class. Although many of the fundamentalists were Piestic and Southern Baptist, a significant number reported attending other churches. The study also showed that the evangelicalism seemed to appeal to a "younger generation of well-educated conservatives who see politics as lacking Christian values."[44] Some support for this phenomenon was found by Johnson and Tamney, who asserted that the moderate Christian Right, the group that in their study of "Middletown" most strongly supported Reagan, were "relatively young,

[44]Miller and Wattenberg, p. 308.

change-oriented members of more liberal protestant denominations."[45] However, Johnson and Tamney's results are drawn from a very small sample (Total N=262) and they use a definition that varies from the standard doctrinal definition of evangelicals, defining evangelicals by the following: Religious political involvement; right-wing civil religion; religious fundamentalism; and, support for voluntary school prayer.

The majority of researchers found that the demographics of evangelicals reflected at least some common stereotypes. Lipset and Raab found that about half of evangelicals are southern, and that they are somewhat less likely to be college graduates or to be in the upper income brackets.[46] Wilcox also found that supporters of the Moral Majority are of lower income and educational levels, but he did not find that they were disproportionately from the South.[47] Finally, Smidt found that evangelicals are slightly older, less likely to have attended college, and are largely from the South. Smidt also found that 68% of the evangelicals are female.[48]

The similar findings of Smidt, Wilcox, and Lipset and Raab can be attributed to similar definitions of evangelicals. That is, these researchers use a doctrinal approach in

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[45]Johnson and Tamney, p. 130.

[46]Lipset and Raab, p. 25.

[47]Wilcox, 1989, p. 94.

[48]Smidt, 1987, p. 425.

identifying evangelicals by their response to the following issues: Religion is important; the literal interpretation of the Bible; and, a born-again experience. The disparate findings of Miller and Wattenberg and Johnson and Tamney can be attributed to their definitions, which may allow for inclusion of respondents who do not fit the standard doctrinal definition of evangelicals and/or are not denominationally associated with an evangelical group.

Ideology/Issue Stance

Regardless of operational definition, one point on which practically all the researchers agree is that the evangelicals are more conservative than their non-evangelical counterparts (e.g., Wilcox, 1989; Brudney and Copeland, 1982; Miller and Wattenberg, 1984; Smidt, 1987) Wilcox found that in an ideology self-identification, 64.2% of evangelicals considered themselves conservative.[49] Smidt found that on a liberal-conservative scale, evangelicals were significantly more conservative than non-evangelicals.[50]

Additionally, the issue stance of evangelicals is consistently distinctive from that of non-evangelicals on certain social and moral issues. In his research on the effect of the evangelicals in 1980, Simpson argues that the

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[49]Wilcox, 1986, p. 1041.

[50]Smidt, 1987, p. 427.

New Christian Right had an impact on the election, not necessarily by delivering votes, but "by politicizing a set of socio-moral issues in such a way that Reagan was able to identify himself with the views of a majority of Americans on those issues."[51] Simpson includes in these issues the following: school prayer, abortion, homosexuality, and women's role. So where did the evangelicals stand on such socio-moral issues in 1980?

Miller and Wattenberg assert that "conservative policy preferences on social issues was found to increase linearly with religiosity--strong fundamentalists were most highly cohesive and conservative in their views on various issues."[52] They found that more than three-quarters of the fundamentalists were opposed to abortion and the ERA, while they overwhelmingly supported prayer in public schools. These issue stances held even after controlling for demographic characteristics and ideology. Miller and Wattenberg also found that, whereas religious orientation is apparent on questions of social and individual values, religion plays a relatively small role in influencing attitudes on traditional economic and foreign policy concerns.[53] Wilcox found that evangelicals were more conservative on moral and defense issues. Such findings are supported by Smidt, using the

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[51]Simpson, p. 115.

[52]Miller and Wattenberg, p. 310.

[53]Miller and Wattenberg, pp. 310-12.

traditional National Election Survey 7-point scale to compare issue stances of evangelicals and non-evangelicals (i.e., the higher the mean, the more conservative the orientation). As can be seen in Table 1, evangelicals hold much more conservative positions on moral issues, and on the issue of cooperation with the Soviet Union, an issue which could be classified as foreign policy or defense, and which has been linked to the religious right.[54] There is less difference between the groups on economic issues.

[TABLE 1 GOES HERE]

Continuity: Beyond 1980

The question concerning evangelicals' place as political activists remains: Was 1980 an anomaly or a precedent for the political involvement of evangelicals? To answer this question, we must examine how the evangelicals have participated politically over the past two elections.

Smidt and Kellstedt, again using a doctrinal definition of evangelicals, found that the number of white evangelicals had increased from 15.0% in 1980 to 17.0% in 1984 and 18.4% in 1988.[55] As for the activity of the evangelical electorate, they found that the greatest voter turn-out for evangelicals was in 1980 (77%), with this percentage decreasing

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[54]Smidt, 1987, p. 425.

[55]Smidt and Kellstedt, p. 11.

TABLE 1

The Issue Orientation Among
White Evangelicals and Non-Evangelicals
1980

	Non-Evangelical (N=755)	Evangelical (N=119)
Issue	Ideology	
Reduce Govt Services	3.82	3.89
	(862)	(152)
Govt Aid to Minorities	5.20	5.84***
	(1039)	(183)
Govt Guarantee of Jobs	4.57	4.55
	(878)	(148)
Defense Spending	5.24	5.44
	(906)	(167)
Cooperation w/Soviet Union	2.77	3.68***
	(974)	(171)
Role of Women	2.77	3.68***
	(974)	(171)
Prayer in Schools	3.70	4.60***
	(862)	(177)
Abortion	2.23	2.91***
	(1009)	(177)

Note: Decimal figures are mean scores on the indicated issue scale. A higher score indicates a more conservative orientation.

***F significant at .001 level.

significantly in 1984 (69.5%) and increasing slightly in 1988 to 71%. This compares with turn-out rates for non-evangelicals for the same years of 71.5% (1980), 76% (1984), and 72% (1988). As can be seen, by 1988, the participation rates in evangelicals and non-evangelicals had equalized.[56]

The literature shows that indeed politics stayed important to evangelicals in the 1984 and 1988 elections, and that moral issues were still the primary impetus behind this interest. Phillip Hammond claims that religion was even more important in 1984 than in 1980. He asserts that "Americans who desire genuine change in their society may often seek refuge in religion...but they may also use religion to affect social change--the 'moral crusade' so characteristic of U.S. politics."[57] Likewise, Smidt and Kellstedt claim that evangelicals have become more politicized over the course of the past decade. That is, "whereas evangelicals were less likely to have been politically active than their non-evangelical counterparts prior to the 1980s, evangelicals were just as likely, if not more likely, than non-evangelicals to have been politically engaged during the past decade."[58]

The demographics of the evangelicals have not changed much over the eight years since 1980. Smidt found that in

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[56]Smidt and Kellstedt, Table 6.

[57]Phillip Hammond, "Evangelical Politics: Generalizations and Implications," Review of Religious Research, December 1985, pp. 189-192.

[58]Smidt and Kellstedt, p. 26.

1984 evangelicals were still somewhat older, less educated, more often from the South, and more likely to be female than non-evangelicals.[59] Likewise, Smidt and Kellstedt found that in 1988, evangelicals tended to be more southern, female, less educated, and older--a pattern they found very consistent with 1980 and 1984.[60]

Regarding the issue stance of post-1980 evangelicals, issues of morality and foreign policy still seem to be the greatest differentiator of evangelicals from non-evangelicals. Smidt found similar patterns in issue stance for evangelicals in 1984 as in 1980. As seen in Table 2, evangelicals were again significantly more conservative than non-evangelicals on moral issues, and somewhat more conservative on foreign policy issues (although not as much as in 1980).[61]

[TABLE 2 GOES HERE]

Likewise, Green and Guth found that in 1988 social and foreign policy issues were foremost on the evangelical agenda, contrasting with the economic concerns of mainstream Republicans.[62] As seen in Table 3, Smidt and Kellstedt also found that between 1980 and 1984 more evangelicals began to classify themselves as Republican and that between 1984 and

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[59]Smidt, 1987, p. 425.

[60]Smidt and Kellstedt, p. 36.

[61]Smidt, 1987, p. 427.

[62]John C. Green and James L. Guth, "The Christian Right in the Republican Party: The Case of Pat Robertson's Supporters," Journal of Politics, 1988, p. 154.

TABLE 2

The Issue Orientation Among
White Evangelicals and Non-Evangelicals
1984

	Non-Evangelical (N=1236)	Evangelical (N=254)
Issue	Ideology	
Reduce Govt Services	4.13 (1283)	4.18 (168)
Govt Aid to Minorities	4.17 (1256)	4.62*** (251)
Govt Guarantee of Jobs	4.34 (1249)	4.40 (244)
Defense Spending	3.93 (1283)	4.41*** (258)
Cooperation w/Soviets	4.02 (1252)	4.69*** (240)
Role of Women	2.67 (1304)	3.61*** (264)
Prayer in Schools	3.52 (1104)	4.53*** (266)
Abortion	2.02 (1389)	2.83*** (281)

Note: Decimal figures are mean scores on the indicated issue scale. A higher score indicates a more conservative orientation.

***F significant at .001 level.

1988 this partisan identification began to be solidified.[63] Over this period, while Democratic identification dropped by 5.7% among non-evangelicals, it dropped by 15.3% among evangelicals, and most of this gain was to the Republican party.

[TABLE 3 GOES HERE]

Motivation for Political Activism

The literature reviewed thus far deals solely with the voting behavior of evangelicals in the general electorate. Much less research has been done on evangelical political activists or elites and what motivates such evangelicals to go beyond voting and become active in the political process. Unfortunately, research regarding evangelical political activists is plagued by the same inconsistencies in methodology as the literature on the general electorate. Therefore, findings are again somewhat divergent.

In looking at elite activity, an important concern, in addition to ideology, issues, and candidate support, is motivation for involvement. How do the motivations of evangelical political activists differ from non-evangelical activists? In examining single issue groups at state nominating conventions, including anti-abortionists, Francis

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[63]Smidt and Kellstedt, p. 18.

TABLE 3

Partisan Self-Images Among
White Evangelicals and Non-Evangelicals

	Non-Evangelicals			Evangelicals		
	1980	1984	1988	1980	1984	1988
Strong Demo.	13.2	15.5	14.5	15.6	14.4	13.5
Weak Demo.	21.7	18.8	16.8	25.6	15.4	15.4
Ind.-Demo.	12.6	11.3	11.5	9.4	7.7	6.4
Independent	14.5	11.1	11.9	6.7	8.4	10.3
Ind.-Repub.	12.3	13.1	15.0	10.0	16.5	16.3
Weak Repub.	16.2	16.5	14.9	19.4	18.6	17.6
Strong Repub.	9.5	13.7	15.3	13.3	18.9	20.5
Total	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	99.9	100.0
(N)	(1019)	(1403)	(1356)	(180)	(285)	(312)

and Benedict found that single-social issue groups are less motivated by support for their respective political parties than are single-economic issue groups. They found that "anti-abortionists show sharp differences in issue-orientation from others in the party," clustering farther to the right in both parties.[64]

Steed, Moreland, and Baker, however, in their study of southern and non-southern evangelical delegates at the Presidential state nominating conventions, found that evangelicals in both regions did not differ significantly in their reasons for motivation toward activism. They also found that evangelicals and non-evangelicals were both relatively new to political activity, disproving their theory that evangelicals were more likely to be newly mobilized by single moral issues.[65] They did find, however, that evangelicalism had an effect on issue stance, particularly as it related to the anti-abortion issue. Evangelicals in their research were categorized by their self-identification as a born-again or fundamentalist Christian.

Abramowitz, McGlennon, and Rapoport, in their study of state convention delegates in Virginia in 1978, found that delegates supporting the self-proclaimed evangelical candidate, Conoly Phillips, had sought to become delegates

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[64]John G. Francis and Robert C. Benedict, "Issue Group Activists at the Conventions," Life of the Parties(Kentucky: The University Press, 1986), p. 122.

[65]Steed, Moreland, and Baker, p. 113.

because of religious or moral convictions. They found that a plurality of delegates supporting this candidate had switched party loyalty to support the candidate, or had become active for this reason, having not voted in the two previous elections. Not surprisingly, these delegates were united on moral issues, such as the ERA and abortion. They also found that a majority of these delegates were not interested in remaining politically active once their candidate had lost the nomination. That is, while 75 percent of the delegates had originally indicated they planned to remain active, only 35 percent still indicated the same after the defeat of their candidate.[66]

When examining Republican self-identified evangelical delegates to the 1980 Presidential nominating convention in Virginia, Abramowitz, Rapoport, and McGlennon found that they were not as newly active as delegates in the 1978 study. The 1980 delegates were "only slightly less likely than their non-fundamentalist brethren to have been delegates to previous conventions, to have served on local party committees, or to have been active in political campaigns." They also found that the evangelical delegates were only slightly more

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[66]Alan Abramowitz, John McGlennon, and Ronald Rapoport, "Virginia: A Case Study of Fundamentalism in State Party Politics," Religion and Politics in the South (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1983), p. 149-150.

conservative than non-evangelicals, except on issues of morality in which they varied significantly.[67]

In a study of Pat Robertson delegates in 1988, of which 97% were self-proclaimed evangelicals, McGlennon found that seventy-five percent of Robertson supporters had been politically active less than five (5) years. Additionally, more than sixty percent stated that they worked "for the party only when there is a particularly worthwhile candidate or issue." Ninety-eight percent were anti-abortion and 62% belonged to an anti-abortion group. According to McGlennon, "Abortion appeared to be a strong motivation for participation."[68]

Although the research on evangelical political activists is somewhat tainted by the narrow focus of the groups being researched, i.e., anti-abortionists, Robertson supporters, Southerners, etc., the findings are consistent. That is, evangelicals are motivated toward political activity primarily by single issue or candidate orientation, and much less by party loyalty. Evangelicals are much less likely to remain active if their single issue or candidate is defeated.

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[67]Abramowitz, McGlennon, Rapoport, 1983, p. 153-155.

[68]John McGlennon, "Religious Activists in the Republican Party: Robertson and Bush Supporters in Virginia," Paper presented at the Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, April 1989.

Conclusions

The majority of research on evangelicals as a political factor has been based on samples drawn from the mass electorate. Additionally, evangelicals have been defined by researchers in several ways, varying from denominational to doctrinal to self-identification approaches. These varying definitions have resulted in significant differences on the conclusions reached, particularly regarding levels of participation and influence, and to a lesser extent on demographics.

There is, however, general agreement on the ideology and issue stance of evangelicals. Evangelicals are found to be consistently more conservative than non-evangelicals, particularly on moral and somewhat on foreign policy issues. This conservative ideology remained consistent beyond 1980, serving also as a motivator in the elections of 1984 and 1988. In fact, the research shows that evangelicals have become more politicized in the decade since 1980.

The little research that has been done on evangelical activists deals primarily with small factions of evangelicals (i.e., anti-abortionists, Southerners, etc.), and thus does not provide a broad sample. The studies all agree, however, that the primary motivation for political activity of these evangelical activists is support for a single issue or

candidate. Party loyalty has been found to be a much weaker motivator. The research in this project will fill the gap by examining a much broader sample of evangelical political activists.

HYPOTHESES

As is revealed in the foregoing literature review, the bulk of research on evangelicals as a political force deals with evangelicals in the general electorate, and is somewhat inconclusive on who the evangelicals are and what influences their vote or activity. Those studies that do deal with evangelicals as political activists concentrate on only a very specific group of activists (i.e., southern activists, Republican supporters of Robertson, Virginia party elites, etc.).

The importance of examining political activists lies in the fact that "their interest, attention, and activity allow them to wield disproportionate influence on political decision-makers."[69] Additionally, because activists are considered to be more homogeneous in their ideology and partisanship than the mass electorate, significant findings for this group have an even greater meaning than similar findings in the masses.

This study will take a more comprehensive look at evangelical political activists by examining a much broader sample than has been examined in the past. Additionally, by controlling for partisanship, we will be able to compare

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[69]Rapoport, Abramowitz, McGlennon, 1986, p.1.

inter-party differences between evangelicals and non-evangelicals.

The principle questions we will set out to address include: Are evangelical activists motivated to participate for the same reasons as non-evangelicals? Or, as the literature implies, are they motivated by their dedication to a single issue or candidate? How do the religious beliefs of evangelicals affect their ideology and in turn their issue stance? Once they become involved, do evangelicals remain involved? And if so, Why?

We hypothesize the following:

■ Single-Issue/Candidate: In 1980, evangelicals are expected to be more recently active participants and to be less active in other organizations than non-evangelical activists, as found by Lipset and Raab (1981) and others in studying the general electorate. Evangelicals are expected to be motivated primarily by single-moral issues, or to a lesser extent by support for the evangelical candidate in their party (i.e., Reagan or Carter). Party loyalty should be a weaker motivator for activity among evangelicals, as found by Abramowitz et.al. in 1978, while candidate and issue motivations should dominate to an even greater extent than for non-evangelicals.

■ Ideology/Issues: In 1980, ideology and issue-stance of evangelicals is expected to be more conservative than non-evangelicals, as found by almost all researchers of both the general electorate and party activists. This conservative ideology is expected to be reflected most strongly in the issue-stance of evangelicals on moral-social issues, such as abortion and the ERA. The greatest intra-party differences should be seen among Democrats, since it is here that evangelical positions clash more forcefully with party views. These clashes are most extreme on social and moral issues. Smaller differences are expected on foreign policy issues, with little or no difference on economic issues, as found by Smidt in 1987. For the Republicans, we expect the same pattern for issues, although differences should be muted.

■ Continued Activity: With the exception of the 1978 Virginia study, the continued involvement of evangelical activists across elections has not been studied. Because evangelical activity is hypothesized to be dependent on candidate and issue support, we expect it to be more intermittent than for non-evangelicals. Because of appeals to evangelicals by Reagan, Bush, and Robertson, Republicans are expected to be more likely to have stayed involved in 1984 and 1988. Without Democratic counterparts, we expect Democratic evangelicals to be less active in 1984 than in 1980. Democratic evangelicals may have become re-activated in 1988

with the candidacy of Al Gore, a Southern, moralistic Democrat. Ideology and issue-stance should remain constant when compared to 1980 for those staying involved.

Between 1980 and 1988, it is expected that the movement of Democratic evangelicals to the Republican party, as shown by Smidt and Kellstedt in the general electorate, will be reflected, albeit to a much lesser degree, among activists.

METHODOLOGY

1980 was chosen as the year for study because religion was a predominant issue for both parties during this election year. Carter had claimed to be a born-again Christian during 1976 and Reagan was painted as highly conservative on moral issues, and also became closely tied with the support of the New Christian Right group, The Moral Majority.

The data for this study is drawn from a 1980 election survey of party delegates in eleven state nominating conventions. (See Appendix A). The study, directed by professors Alan Abramowitz, John McGlennon, and Ronald Rapoport, surveyed the following states: Arizona, Colorado, Iowa, Maine, Missouri, North Dakota, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Texas, Utah, and Virginia. Delegates of both the Democratic and Republican party conventions of each state were surveyed, totalling a sample of 17,628 delegates. These eleven states were chosen for the survey because national convention delegates are selected by conventions rather than primaries. Because the conventions played an active role in nominations, the likelihood that there was competition for state delegate slots and, therefore, high political activity among delegates was increased.

This paper is based on a total sample of 5610 delegates drawn from two states, Iowa and Virginia. The sample includes 2703 Democrats and 2907 Republicans. These states were chosen for this study because delegates for these states were resurveyed in 1988, allowing for a follow-up analysis of the delegates' activity. (See Appendix B)

For this study we are using a "self-identification" measure to predict evangelicalism. That is, respondents were asked to identify themselves as a "born-again or fundamentalist Christian." Anyone responding positively has been classified as an evangelical. For purposes of analysis in this study, the data has been structured into four distinct subgroups: Republican Evangelicals, Republican Non-Evangelicals, Democratic Evangelicals, and Democratic Non-Evangelicals. Only Whites are considered in the sample. The evangelical sample includes a majority of Protestants, with a small percentage (under 6%) of Catholics. Blacks are not included in the analysis because previous research indicates that the subcultures of white and black evangelicals are likely to differ.[70]

The surveys were self-administered in each state and were distributed to random samples of delegates at the conventions. Since state conventions varied in size as well as number of questionnaires distributed and return rates of questionnaires, the respondents were weighted. This weighting made each state

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[70]Smidt and Kellstedt, p.10.

party's representation in the sample proportionate to its representation at its party's national convention.

CHAPTER II

DATA ANALYSIS:

Evangelical Political Participants in 1980 and 1988

The bulk of research on evangelicals has been on their role as voters in the general electorate. This study gives us the opportunity to examine evangelicals as political activists, and to answer the questions of why, how, and for how long they actively involve themselves in the political process. We will examine white evangelical political activists in both the Democratic and Republican parties in 1980, and reexamine them in 1988.

Background: Who are the Evangelicals?

To provide some insight into the consistency of our study group of political activist with groups in other studies on the general electorate, it is first necessary to examine the demographic makeup of the participants in the study. This will strengthen the comparison of our findings to that of past research, by showing similarities in the demographic composure of the groups.

Although there is some disagreement in the research on the demographic makeup of evangelicals in 1980 (e.g., Miller and Wattenberg, 1984; Johnson and Tamney, 1985), the majority of researchers (e.g., Lipset and Raab, 1981; Wilcox, 1986; Smidt, 1983; etc.) agree that evangelicals are rural, older, less educated, and less affluent.

As seen in Table 4, this study revealed that even at the elite level many of the stereotypes do apply to evangelical political activists. Age was the only demographic that did not present a very strong case for the stereotype. In contrast with mass data showing large differences, the data here revealed that evangelical political activists were only somewhat older than non-evangelical political activists. 17.2% of evangelicals were 60 or over, as opposed to only 13.5% of non-evangelicals. Likewise, only 15.3% of evangelicals were under 30, compared to 19.4% of non-evangelicals.

Education represents a greater divergence between evangelicals and non-evangelicals, with non-evangelicals tending to be far more educated. 56.8% of evangelicals did not complete college, as opposed to only 40% of non-evangelicals. Additionally, over 10% more non-evangelicals have post college education than do evangelicals, 36.5% and 25.6% respectively.

Evangelicals were also less affluent than non-evangelicals. 46.1% of evangelicals have income less than

$25,000, as opposed to only 37.5% of non-evangelicals. Additionally, 21.8% of non-evangelicals make over $45,000, while only 15% of evangelicals bring home this amount.

Finally, geographically, evangelicals (50.4%) are much more likely than non-evangelicals (43.5%) to come from small or rural areas. Only 12.7% of evangelicals came from big cities or suburbs, while 20.8% of non-evangelicals were located in these areas.

[TABLE 4 GOES HERE]

The study also revealed, as expected, that evangelicals were much more likely to have strong religious views. In response to a question asking respondents how religious they considered themselves, over 49% of evangelicals considered themselves to be very religious, versus only 15.9% of non-evangelicals. In fact, 28.2% of non-evangelicals consider themselves not very or not at all religious, while only 3.3% of evangelicals categorized themselves this way. When controlling for party, Republican evangelicals are by far the most religious of the four groups. 56.3% of Republican evangelicals consider themselves to be very religious, as compared to only 16.6% of Republican non-evangelicals. 38.2% of Democratic evangelicals characterize themselves this way, compared to 15.4% of Democratic non-evangelicals. This strong identification with religion adds to the validity of the evangelical self-identification method used for this research.

TABLE 4

Demographics of Evangelicals and Non-Evangelicals in 1980 (%)

	Evangelicals	Non-Evangelicals
AGE		
Under 30	15.3	19.4
30-45	38.6	39.2
45-60	28.8	27.7
60-Over	17.2	13.5
(N)	(1090)	(4111)
EDUCATION		
0 to Some High School	6.2	2.3
High School Graduate	19.7	12.1
Some College	30.9	25.6
College Graduate	17.5	23.5
Post College	25.6	36.5
(N)	(1096)	(4126)
INCOME		
0-14999	15.7	12.8
15-24999	30.4	24.7
25-34999	24.8	23.9
35-44999	14.1	16.7
45-59999	7.6	10.8
60,000 +	7.4	11.0
(N)	(1028)	(3949)
GEOGRAPHIC		
Big City/Suburb	12.7	20.8
Med. City/Suburb	15.8	15.2
Small City/Big Town	21.7	22.8
Rural	28.7	20.7
	(1090)	(4111)

That is, the fact that the majority of evangelicals consider themselves very religious adds credibility to their identification with fundamentalist religion.

[TABLE 5 GOES HERE]

Activity: Why do Evangelicals participate?

As cited in previous research, there is disagreement over how politically active evangelicals actually are, and over how this activity affects the outcome of politics. As stated in the hypotheses, we expected to find that evangelicals in 1980 would be more newly active than non-evangelicals, and that their motivation for activity would lie primarily in their support for moral issues or candidates. We also expected to find that evangelicals would have less party loyalty (because of their single issue or candidate motivation) than non-evangelicals. These hypotheses are supported in the research on mass/elite samples (e.g., McGlennon, 1989; Smidt, 1987).

Length and Level of Participation

Our hypothesis regarding the length and extent of activity of evangelicals was not supported. In fact, as Table 6 reveals, non-evangelicals were found, if only by a slight margin, to have been active for a shorter amount of time (under 10 years) more often than were evangelicals. To

TABLE 5

Religiosity of Evangelicals (%)
1980

ALL RESPONDENTS:

Strength	Evangelicals	Non-Evangelicals
Very	49.3	15.9
Fairly	47.5	55.9
Not Very	2.6	19.6
Not at All	.7	8.6
(N)	(1074)	(4078)

CONTROLLING FOR PARTY:

	Demo.		Repub.	
	Evan.	Non-Evan.	Evan.	Non-Evan.
Very	38.2	15.4	56.3	16.6
Fairly	57.3	52.5	41.2	60.0
Not Very	3.8	20.7	1.8	18.3
Not at All	.7	11.4	.6	5.1
(N)	(419)	(2256)	(655)	(1822)

further disprove our original hypothesis, both Republican and Democratic evangelicals were more likely than non-evangelicals to have been active for 20 or more years, the category expressing the longest time of political activity. This is particularly surprising given the small age difference between evangelicals and non-evangelicals.

Evangelicals were only somewhat less likely than non-evangelicals to have been a previous delegate. Additionally, the majority of evangelicals in both parties were as likely to have been active in all or most state or national political campaigns as non-evangelicals. In sum, Evangelicals were only slightly less active than non-evangelicals.

[TABLE 6 GOES HERE]

In addition to activity in political campaigns, political activity in other business, civic, and social organizations was also examined. As seen in Table 7, the data revealed that evangelicals were equally as active as non-evangelicals, with the differences occurring in the type of group with which they were involved. In both parties, evangelicals were much more politically active in church groups, with both Democratic and Republican evangelicals being almost twice as likely to be involved in such groups as their non-evangelical counterparts.

In addition to involvement in religious organizations, evangelicals and non-evangelicals differed primarily in their involvement in other "moral" groups. The greatest differences are seen in the Democratic party, where involvement in such

TABLE 6

Political Participation
of Evangelicals and Non-Evangelicals by Party (%)
1980

	Democrat		Republican	
	Evang.	Non-Evan.	Evang.	Non-Evan.
PARTY ACTIVITY LENGTH				
Years				
Under 5	37.8	38.6	44.7	41.9
5 to 10	21.5	23.7	17.9	21.9
10 to 20	17.0	21.0	19.4	22.1
Over 20	23.6	16.7	17.9	14.1
(N)	(423)	(2280)	(669)	(1836)
PREVIOUS DELEGATE				
Yes	45.5	48.2	53.8	58.6
No	54.5	51.8	46.2	41.4
(N)	(422)	(2279)	(669)	(1835)
ACTIVE IN CAMPAIGNS				
All	32.5	35.9	35.9	35.4
Most	25.0	25.8	22.1	24.2
Few	28.4	26.7	25.1	28.1
None	14.2	11.7	16.9	12.3
(N)	(416)	(2266)	(657)	(1832)

groups could be considered by evangelicals to go against their fundamentalist beliefs. For example, Democratic evangelicals were considerably less likely than Democratic non-evangelicals to be involved in Women's Rights and Civil Rights. They were also less likely to be involved in Ecology groups, a group which can be classified as representing a "liberal" cause. However, Democratic evangelicals were found to be only slightly more involved in anti-abortion groups than non-evangelicals. Republican evangelicals differ most significantly from non-evangelicals in their involvement in anti-abortion groups, being almost twice as likely to be involved in such a group, 14.6% and 7.8% respectively. Because Republicans are ideologically conservative, and the anti-abortion issue was a platform issue for their party in 1980, this percentage is still lower than was expected. However, it does express the willingness of evangelicals to go above and beyond the party line in support of a single-issue.

[TABLE 7 GOES HERE]

Motivation for Participation

Thus far our hypotheses on length and level of involvement have been disproven, with some indication that evangelicals support moral issues more than non-evangelicals. Let us then look closer at the reason for involvement, keeping in mind that we expect to find evangelicals to be most motivated by support for single moral issues or candidates.

TABLE 7

Political Activity in Organizations
by Party (%)
1980

	Democrat		Republican	
	Evang.	Non-Evan.	Evang.	Non-Evan.
(N)	(427)	(2292)	(672)	(1846)
Labor Union	18.7	17.1	2.8	1.7
Educational Organization	22.7	25.8	14.0	14.1
Other Professional Organization	19.2	18.8	23.4	27.2
Business Org.	15.9	11.5	24.6	26.5
Church Group	37.5	20.5	53.9	27.6
Women's Rights Group	12.4	21.9	4.8	6.3
Civil Rights	9.8	16.5	1.9	2.9
Ecology Group	9.8	14.8	6.3	10.2
Public Interest Group	19.2	19.4	16.8	18.7
Anti-Abortion Group	5.1	4.4	14.6	7.8
Farm Organ.	14.3	11.0	15.2	12.9

As Table 8 indicates, in both parties the most important motivations for participation (i.e., those most likely to be rated as "very important") in both evangelicals and non-evangelicals are Party Support, Candidate Support, and Issues.

As expected, however, Evangelicals in both parties indicate a greater motivation of support for candidate and work for the issues than non-evangelicals, although not by overwhelming margins. In fact, Democratic evangelicals cite support for party as a motivator by almost ten percent more than non-evangelicals (the largest difference for any motivation). This was, however, still less important than working for the issues or candidate. Support for party is considerably less important than issue or candidate support for Republican evangelicals (by twenty percent). However, the same percentage of evangelical and non-evangelical Republicans cite support for party as important. Thus, in the Republican party, religion does not appear to have an influence on party support, but does appear to influence issue and candidate stance.

[TABLE 8 GOES HERE]

To further test our theory on motivation for evangelicals, we ran multiple regressions, in which demographic variables and party identification were held constant. The results revealed that for Republicans, evangelicalism did have a strong effect on a delegates' likelihood to be motivated by support for a candidate and

TABLE 8

Reasons for Activity by Party:
Agree Reason is Very Important (%)
1980

	Democrat		Republican	
	Evang.	Non-Evan.	Evang.	Non-Evan.
Support Party	74.6	65.3	68.5	68.3
(N)	(409)	(2190)	(648)	(1770)
Help Political Career	12.3	6.6	5.3	4.7
	(357)	(2029)	(589)	(1655)
Excitement of Campaign	24.3	20.0	14.8	14.4
	(366)	(2066)	(596)	(1702)
Meet People	36.3	26.5	26.3	22.4
	(372)	(2065)	(605)	(1697)
Support Candidate	79.7	73.9	88.5	79.8
	(404)	(2151)	(645)	(2409)
Work for Issues	79.1	73.3	88.9	80.0
	(392)	(2151)	(646)	(1775)
Visibility	18.2	9.1	11.0	6.4
	(373)	(2069)	(610)	(1707)
Civic Responsibility	57.0	47.0	56.9	44.2
	(391)	(2145)	(638)	(1765)

issues. A significant relationship was not found between evangelicalism and motivation for support of party.

For Democrats, a significant relationship was found for motivation for support of party, but the impact was not that strong. Interestingly, no significant relationships were found between evangelicalism and motivation for issue or candidate reasons. This finding on party motivation is interesting, if difficult to interpret. It seems to suggest that Democratic evangelicals are equally as likely as non-evangelicals to be motivated to participate by all three categories: party, issues, and candidates. Republican evangelicals, on the other hand, are clearly motivated by issue and candidate support.

The findings cited above indicate an interesting dichotomy between the parties in terms of the effect evangelicalism may have on party loyalty. That is, evangelicalism has an effect on Democratic party loyalty as a motivation for participation, but presents no significant relationship when analyzed for Republicans. Can we assert, therefore, that Republican evangelicals are less loyal to their party than Non-Evangelicals because of their dedication to a single candidate or issues?

In examining the strength of party identification through a self-identification of national partisanship, there was not a great degree of difference between evangelicals and non-evangelicals in strength of party identification. Republican

evangelicals were slightly more likely to strongly identify with the Republican party than non-evangelicals. It is therefore asserted that Republican evangelicals are not less loyal to the party, they simply hold views close to that of the party and thus regard party support as a secondary motivation.

Additionally, there was no indication of defection to the other party by evangelicals as indicated by other researchers (e.g., Kellstedt and Green, 1990) who have suggested that evangelicals are beginning to realign with the Republican party. When asked if they had switched parties, Republican evangelicals were only slightly more likely than non-evangelicals to have switched, 27.3 and 26.7 respectively. Republicans overall were more likely than Democrats to have switched parties. Thus, it would appear that any trend toward realignment to the Republican party is a result of a larger movement of the electorate toward conservatism, and not a specific effect of evangelicalism.

[TABLE 9 GOES HERE]

Ideology and Issue Stance: What do Evangelicals Believe?

There is general agreement in the research that the ideology of evangelicals tends to be more conservative than non-evangelicals (e.g., Wilcox, 1989; Miller and Wattenberg, 1984; Smidt, 1987). In examining ideology and issue stance,

TABLE 9

Party Identification of Evangelicals
and Non-Evangelicals by Party (%)
1980

	Democrat		Republican	
	Evang.	Non-Evan.	Evang.	Non-Evan.
NATIONAL PARTY ID				
Strong	75.4	77.1	84.2	82.1
Weak	14.3	13.7	8.5	9.7
Independent	10.1	8.8	6.7	7.8
Closer to Other Party	.3	.4	.7	.4
(N)	(378)	(2070)	(603)	(1668)
SWITCHED PARTIES				
Yes	17.5	16.6	27.3	26.7
No	82.5	83.4	72.7	73.3
	(417)	(2231)	(644)	(1783)

we expected to find support for these findings. Additionally, we expected to find the strongest cleavage between evangelicals and non-evangelicals in the Democratic party, where conservative ideologies and issue positions are at a natural conflict with party philosophy.

True to our predictions, there is a remarkable difference between evangelicals and non-evangelicals in terms of political philosophy or ideology. As seen in Table 10, when identifying their own political philosophy, evangelicals in both parties were much more conservative than non-evangelicals. In the Democrats, only 44% of evangelicals considered themselves liberal, as opposed to 62.8% of non-evangelicals. 27.8% of Democratic evangelicals considered themselves conservative, while only 16.1% of non-evangelicals did.

A considerable difference is also seen in the Republican party, with 49% of evangelicals declaring themselves very conservative, as opposed to only 28.1% of non-evangelicals. Overall, 91% of evangelicals claim to be conservative, versus 77.8% of non-evangelicals.

Even when controlling for demographics and national party identification, evangelicalism was found to have a very strong independent effect on ideology for both Democrats and Republicans. In fact, except for party identification, it was the most significant variable effecting ideology.

[TABLE 10 GOES HERE]

TABLE 10

Philosophy of Evangelicals
and Non-Evangelicals by Party (%)
1980

	Democrat		Republican	
	Evang.	Non-Evan.	Evang.	Non-Evan.
POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY				
Very Liberal	9.1	19.4	.5	.6
Somewhat Lib.	34.9	43.4	2.0	5.9
Moderate	28.3	21.0	6.6	15.6
Somewhat Cons.	22.4	14.4	42.0	49.7
Very Conserv.	5.4	1.7	49.0	28.1
(N)	(407)	(2201)	(653)	(1799)
CANDIDATE RATING (Favorable)				
Carter	85.2	69.4	2.7	1.7
(N)	(421)	(2241)	(652)	(1812)
Kennedy	26.9	42.0	.2	.8
	(386)	(2189)	(650)	(1809)
Reagan	6.4	4.0	95.4	85.6
	(377)	(2154)	(655)	(1808)
Bush	15.0	15.4	61.0	77.5
	(360)	(2098)	(636)	(1794)

Candidate Choice

The question then becomes: How does this conservative ideology translate into views on candidates and issues? As also seen in Table 11, evangelicals were more likely in both parties to give favorable ratings to the "evangelical," more conservative, candidates, i.e., Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan. 85.2% of evangelical Democrats gave favorable ratings to Carter, while only 69.4% of non-evangelicals gave the same rating. Evangelical Democrats were much less likely (26.9%) to give a favorable rating to Kennedy than were non-evangelical Democrats (42%). Likewise, 95.4% of evangelical Republicans gave a favorable rating to Reagan, while only 85.6% of non-evangelical Republicans gave the same rating. Evangelicals (61%) were also less likely to give a favorable rating to Bush than were non-evangelicals (77.5%). Even when controlling for other variables (i.e., demographics and ideology) evangelicalism had a strong independent effect on favorable feelings toward a candidate. Evangelicalism was, in fact, the strongest predictor of favorable ratings toward Carter, the evangelical candidate, in the Democratic party; and it showed a significant impact against favorable views of Kennedy. Likewise, in the Republican party, evangelicalism had the strongest positive effect on favorable views of Reagan, the evangelical candidate, and a strong negative impact on favorable views for Bush.

Translated into nomination choice, as seen in Table 11, evangelicals were much more likely than non-evangelicals to support "evangelical" or more conservative candidates. A much greater percentage of Democratic evangelicals chose Carter as their first nomination choice than did non-evangelicals, 81.7% and 67.5% respectively. Democratic evangelicals were less inclined to choose Kennedy than non-evangelicals, 12.6% to 24.9% respectively. The same results were indicated in the Republicans. 76.8% of Republican evangelicals indicated Reagan as their first nomination choice, while only 55.8% of non-evangelicals chose Reagan. Only 11.3% of Republican evangelicals chose Bush, while 26% of non-evangelicals made this choice. In both parties, when controlling for other variables, evangelicalism was still the strongest predictor of the nomination choice of the evangelical candidate (Reagan or Carter) over the closest non-evangelical contender (Bush or Kennedy). This finding held even when controlling for ideology.

[TABLE 11 GOES HERE]

Issue Stance

What about the effect evangelicalism has on specific issue stances? Miller and Wattenberg revealed the following about the issue stance of evangelicals: (1) Strong evangelicals are unusually conservative and have particular attitudes on various moral issues and issues of public concern; (2) The positions taken by evangelicals usually

TABLE 11

Nomination Choice of Evangelicals and Non-Evangelicals by Party (%) 1980

	Democrat		Republican	
	Evang.	Non-Evan.	Evang.	Non-Evan.
Kennedy	12.6	24.9		
Carter	81.7	67.5		
Other Democrat	4.9	7.2		
Reagan			76.8	55.8
Bush			11.3	26.0
Other Repub.	.2		12.0	18.0
Undecided	.5	.4		.2
(N)	(404)	(2157)	(647)	(1780)

reflect their feelings on issues of social policy, such as school prayer, abortion, the ERA and women's place in society; and, (3) Whereas religious orientation is apparent on questions of social and individual values, religion plays a relatively small role in influencing attitudes on traditional economic issues.[71] Other researchers (e.g., Wilcox, 1986; Smidt, 1987) agree with these findings and also assert that evangelicalism has an effect on stance on Foreign Policy issues.

Table 12 reveals the stance on issues taken by evangelicals in both parties. The writer expected to find that evangelical and non-evangelical Democrats would be most divergent on moral and possibly foreign policy issues, because evangelicals would hold conservative views inconsistent with the Democratic philosophy. Republican evangelicals were expected to be most divergent from non-evangelicals also on moral issues, and somewhat so on foreign policy issues.

The data in Table 12 reveals that the hypotheses were correct. There was a substantial difference between Democratic evangelicals and non-evangelicals, with evangelicals strongly supporting certain moral (i.e., ERA and Abortion) and foreign policy (i.e., Defense spending, Nuclear Power, the Draft, and Military in the Middle East) issues. Some differences were found on economic (i.e., Spending Cuts, Anti-Inflation) issues.

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[71] Miller and Wattenberg, 1984, p. 310.

In the Republican party, the largest divergence between evangelicals and non-evangelicals was, by far, on the issue of Anti-Abortion legislation. While only 27.4% of non-evangelical Republicans supported this issue, 62.6% of evangelicals supported it, a 35 percent difference. The Republican evangelicals and non-evangelicals also differed on the issue of the ERA, with over 16% more non-evangelicals favoring the issue than evangelicals. Republican evangelicals and non-evangelicals were much closer, however, on almost all foreign policy and economic issues, with the only notable difference between evangelicals and non-evangelicals appearing on Military in the Middle East.

[TABLE 12 GOES HERE]

In order to better grasp the influence of evangelicalism, issues were grouped into three logical and distinct categories: Moral issues, Foreign Policy issues, and Economic issues, as classified above. The stance of evangelicals and non-evangelicals in both parties was then considered by using the mean response on a 5-point issue scale. (Items were recoded so that the scale represents a continuum of views, ranging from 1 equal to very liberal to 5 equal to very conservative.) An analysis of Table 13 further illustrates the conclusions from the previous discussion. There is a .59 difference (on the 5-point scale) between Democratic evangelicals and non-evangelicals on Moral issues. Democratic evangelicals, in fact, are closer to non-evangelical

TABLE 12

Issue Stance of Evangelicals and Non-Evangelicals by Party (%)
1980

	Democrat		Republican	
	Evang.	Non-Evan.	Evang.	Non-Evan.
	PERCENT FAVORING ISSUE			
ERA	61.2	76.8	14.9	31.3
(N)	(412)	(2255)	(660)	(1826)
Anti-Abortion	35.2	20.3	62.6	27.4
	(409)	(2243)	(663)	(1822)
Defense Spend.	49.2	32.3	89.2	83.3
	(404)	(2235)	(663)	(1823)
Nat'l Health	50.3	53.6	6.1	5.5
	(401)	(2250)	(654)	(1818)
Nuclear Power	37.6	28.2	72.7	68.5
	(404)	(2231)	(651)	(1818)
Spending Cuts	38.4	28.0	76.2	69.5
	(401)	(2216)	(654)	(1813)
Affirm Action	52.9	62.3	17.6	18.4
	(403)	(2220)	(653)	(1815)
Dereg. of Oil	36.2	33.6	62.8	68.8
	(401)	(2191)	(646)	(1800)
Anti-Infl.	34.2	29.5	57.1	59.6
	(392)	(2196)	(637)	(1773)
Draft	73.3	54.0	78.6	73.5
	(407)	(2226)	(644)	(1792)
Military in Middle East	50.9	38.7	72.3	60.2
	(395)	(2212)	(643)	(1787)

Republicans than to other Democrats. The difference between Republicans is even greater, a .95 difference, almost an entire scale-point.

On foreign policy issues, on the other hand, Democratic evangelicals and non-evangelicals differ by more than is true for Republicans. In fact, the difference for Democrats is almost as great (.44) as on moral issues, while for Republicans it is only a quarter as large. Economic issues did not show meaningful differences for either party, with the Democrats differing by only .13 and the Republicans by only .04. All findings are significant at the .05 level, with the exception of the issue of Economics for Republicans.

[TABLE 13 GOES HERE]

As seen in Table 14, when controlling for demographics and party identification, the argument above is further supported. That is, evangelicalism has a strong effect on issue stance on moral issues, somewhat on foreign policy issues, and less so on economic issues. Again, evangelicalism does not have a significant relationship with stance on economic issues for Republicans.

[TABLE 14 GOES HERE]

TABLE 13

Issue Grouping Means
of Evangelicals and Non-Evangelicals by Party*
1980

	Democrat			Republican		
	Evan.	Non-Ev.	Diff.	Evan	Non-Ev.	Diff.
MORAL	2.58	1.99	.59	3.91	2.96	.95
FOREIGN POLICY	3.17	2.73	.44	4.13	3.87	.26
ECONOMIC	2.84	2.71	.13	3.90**	3.94**	.04

* 1=Liberal to 3=Conservative

** p>.05

TABLE 14

Regression Coefficients for Issues Regressed on Demographics/Party I.D. by Party, 1980

Democrats

	Moral	Foreign Policy	Economic
Income	.004*	.176	.150
Local Comm.	-.009*	-.050	-.019*
Sex	.107	.155	.086
Evangelical	-.142	-.127	-.079
Age	.145	.157	.036*
Party ID	.082	.112	.167
Education	-.289	-.145	.007*

Republicans

	Moral	Foreign Policy	Economic
Income	-.034*	.074	.147
Local Comm.	.030*	-.012*	-.051
Sex	.132	.146	.140
Evangelical	-.315	-.170	-.006*
Age	.055	.101	-.019*
Party ID	.084	.184	.162
Education	-.130	-.007*	.070

*p>.05

1988: How Have the Evangelicals Changed?

Research on the general electorate showed that evangelicals became even more politicized in the 1984 and 1988 elections (e.g., Smidt and Kellstedt, 1990). It also showed that the issues of morality and foreign policy were still the greatest differentiators of evangelicals from non-evangelicals (e.g., Smidt, 1987; Green and Guth, 1988). For this study, the original party delegates from the 1980 election were resurveyed during the 1988 election in order to assess activists' views and involvement over the interim two elections. In 1980, we found that Republican evangelicals were motivated to participation by dedication to moral issues and candidates. We found that this was less true for Democratic evangelicals. That, while Democratic evangelicals strongly supported moral issues and candidates, they were motivated to participation much in the same way as non-evangelicals. We should expect few differences between evangelical and non-evangelical Democrats.

On the other hand, we expect to find Republican evangelicals' to be equally or more active than Republican non-evangelicals. In 1984 the evangelical candidate, Reagan, ran for reelection; and in 1988 Bush ran on a conservative platform and made abortion a campaign issue.

As in other research (e.g., Smidt, 1987; Green and Guth, 1988), ideologically evangelicals are expected to remain more

conservative than non-evangelicals and to hold more conservative issue positions. Additionally, as proposed by Smidt and Kellstedt (1990), we will examine any trends toward realignment.

Activity

As Table 15 shows, our hypothesis regarding the activity of Democratic evangelicals holds true in 1984 and 1988. In 1984, Democratic evangelicals were equally as likely as non-evangelicals to be active in nominating caucuses, mass meetings, or the primary. In 1988, they were slightly more likely to participate in such activities. In 1984, Democratic evangelicals were equally as likely as non-evangelicals to be active in the nominating campaign and the general election. In 1988, a year in which the activity of both evangelicals and non-evangelicals declined, Democratic evangelicals were only somewhat less likely to be involved in the nominating campaign (by only 3%) and the general election (by 6.7%).

In the Republican party, our theories also hold true for both election years following 1980. In 1984, evangelicals were more likely than non-evangelicals to be active in nominating caucuses, mass meetings, or primaries than were non-evangelicals; in 1988, they were equally involved in such activities. In 1984, evangelicals were more active in the nominating campaign (by 6.9%) than non-evangelicals, as they were in the general election of that year (by 6.7%). In 1988,

again a year in which the participation of both groups declined, they were slightly more active than non-evangelicals in the nominating campaign (by 3.1%), and were significantly more active (by 10.7) in the general election.

[TABLE 15 GOES HERE]

Why have the evangelicals stayed active? Are the motivations the same as in 1980? In 1980, we found that Republican evangelicals were most motivated by support for issues and candidates. Democratic evangelicals, on the other hand, were motivated much in the same way as non-evangelicals. In 1988, as Table 16 shows, both evangelicals and non-evangelicals in both parties cite Supporting the Party and Working for Issues as the two single most important reasons for becoming involved in the general election. As in 1980, Democratic evangelicals were more likely (by 9.2%) to cite support for party, than non-evangelicals, and equally as likely to cite working for issues. Republican evangelicals were slightly less likely than non-evangelicals to cite support for party (by 4%), but were much more likely to cite working for issues (by 12%), indicating continued motivation by issues, and possibly increased polarization from the party.

[TABLE 16 GOES HERE]

TABLE 15

Evangelical and Non-Evangelical
Participation in 1984 and 1988
by Party (%)

	Democrat		Republican	
	Evan.	Non-Evan.	Evan	Non-Evan.
ACTIVE IN PRES. NOMINATING CAUCUS, MASS MEETING, OR PRIMARY				
1984	17.1 (111)	17.6 (637)	30.0 (160)	25.9 (425)
1988	28.8 (111)	26.4 (637)	33.1 (160)	34.1 (425)
ACTIVE IN CAMPAIGNS				
1984 Nominating Campaign	81.3 (107)	81.8 (606)	72.4 (152)	65.5 (395)
1984 General Election	77.4 (102)	77.8 (599)	78.8 (146)	72.1 (391)
1988 Nominating Campaign	65.0 (106)	68.0 (589)	66.0 (150)	62.9 (388)
1988 General Election	55.5 (101)	62.2 (599)	69.8 (149)	59.1 (391)

TABLE 16

Single Most Important Reason for Involvement in 1988 (%)

	Democrat		Republican	
	Evang.	Non-Evan.	Evang.	Non-Evan.
Support Party	42.6	33.4	26.0	30.1
Excitement of Campaign	1.6	.8	0.0	1.3
Friend Asked	0.0	1.4	0.0	2.7
Org. Member	0.0	3.3	0.0	1.3
Str. Support Candidate	8.2	14.2	19.8	24.8
Str. Oppose Candidate	9.8	12.3	14.6	13.3
Str. Support VP Cand.	1.6	.8	0.0	0.0
Str. Oppose VP Cand.	3.3	1.1	1.0	0.0
Work for Issues	32.8	32.6	38.5	26.5

In terms of evangelicals' continued participation in other civic, business, and political groups, the results in 1988 are also consistent with those in 1980. That is, as seen in Table 17, evangelicals are just as likely as non-evangelicals to be active in such groups. Again, as in 1980, the difference occurs in the type of groups in which evangelicals are active.

Both Democratic and Republican evangelicals are much more likely than non-evangelicals to be active in labor unions and much less likely to be involved in environmental groups. As expected, both groups are much more active in evangelical groups, with 30% more Republican evangelicals active than Republican non-evangelicals.

Again, as in 1980, Democratic evangelicals differ from non-evangelicals in participation in "liberal" groups. That is, Democratic evangelicals are much less likely than non-evangelicals to be involved in Women's Rights groups (9.4% to 25.4%), Civil Rights groups (10.4% to 21.6%), and Public Interest groups (28.2% to 40.2%). Additionally, only 6.3% of Democratic evangelicals are involved in Liberal Ideology groups, while 23.5% of Democratic non-evangelicals are involved.

The most significant differences in Republican evangelicals and non-evangelicals are in Anti-Abortion and Conservative Ideology groups, with a much larger percentage of evangelicals being active in these groups. 29.4% of

Republican evangelicals are involved in anti-abortion groups, compared to only 10.8% of non-evangelicals. Additionally, the percentage of evangelicals involved in anti-abortion groups increased by almost 15% from 1980 to 1988, as compared to only a 3% increase for non-evangelicals. Also, 43.4% of evangelicals are active in Conservative Ideology groups, versus only 26.2% of non-evangelicals.

[TABLE 17 GOES HERE]

Ideology

In terms of political philosophy, evangelicals remained considerably more ideologically conservative than their non-evangelical counterparts in 1988. As Table 18 shows, Democratic evangelicals seemed to follow the trend of Republicans by becoming more conservative, while non-evangelical Democrats became more liberal. In a self-identification ideology scale, 37% of Democratic evangelicals claimed to be conservative, an increase of almost 10% from 1980 (27.8%). Only 40.7% of Democratic evangelicals claim to be liberal, dropping 4% from 1980. At the same time, 67.6% of Democratic non-evangelicals claimed to be liberal in 1988, increasing from 62.8% in 1980. As also seen in Table 18, when examined on a liberal-conservative ideological scale, these findings were even more conclusive, with the difference between evangelicals and non-evangelicals increasing by .40 on a 5 point scale from 1980 to 1988. By 1988, evangelical

TABLE 17

Evangelical and Non-Evangelical
Activity in Organizations
by Party (%)
1988

	Democrat		Republican	
	Evang.	Non-Evan.	Evang.	Non-Evan.
Labor Union	38.4	28.8	17.6	7.7
Educ. Org.	24.5	27.4	18.7	16.0
Environmental	23.4	33.9	13.2	24.3
Business Org.	40.2	30.7	38.7	46.7
Evangelical	14.6	1.4	35.1	6.4
Women's Rights	9.4	25.4	5.4	8.1
Civil Rights	10.4	21.6	6.2	6.1
Public Int. Group	28.2	40.2	13.5	19.6
Anti-Abortion Group	7.3	7.4	29.4	10.8
Farm Organ.	28.4	22.4	28.4	23.0
Liberal Ideol. Group	6.3	23.5	2.1	2.9
Cons. Ideol. Group	6.2	2.4	43.4	26.2
N's	94-102	570-595	145-152	383-396

Democrats were more than a scale point more conservative that non-evangelicals.

In the Republican party, both evangelicals and non-evangelicals increased in conservatism from 1980 to 1988. In 1980, 91% of evangelicals and 77.8% of non-evangelicals claimed to be conservative. In 1988, these figures increased to 94.4% and 80.6% respectively. Additionally, on the ideological scale, the change between Republican evangelicals and non-evangelicals was only .01 on the 5-point scale, thus indicating a linear increase between the two groups.

[TABLE 18 GOES HERE]

The trend toward more conservative ideology is also seen in the party identification in evangelicals. Whereas in 1980 evangelicals and non-evangelicals were consistent in terms of party identification, in 1988 evangelicals are much more conservative in their party identification. That is, Democratic evangelicals are ten percent (10%) less likely to identify themselves as strong Democrats than are non-evangelicals. This compares to a less than a two percent (2%) difference in 1980. Likewise, ten percent (10%) more evangelical Republicans consider themselves strong Republicans than do non-evangelicals. These statistics imply that both Republican and Democratic Evangelicals are becoming more conservative than their non-evangelical counterparts. While Republicans are becoming more integrated into their party than non-evangelicals, Democratic evangelicals are becoming less

integrated than non-evangelicals and are beginning to identify with their party less.

[TABLE 19 GOES HERE]

Issue Stance

In 1980 is was found that evangelicals and non-evangelicals differed most significantly on moral and foreign policy issues, with the most significant difference occurring between Republican evangelicals and non-evangelicals on moral issues. The differences on these issues hold true for 1988, with the greatest difference still occurring on the moral issue of abortion. The greatest difference in either party still occurs between Republican evangelicals and non-evangelicals on the issue of abortion. This issue does not, as was hypothesized, create a greater cleavage in the Democratic party than in the Republican party. No economic issues are included in this analysis, because the issues surveyed were significantly different and not comparable for these purposes.

The issue of abortion was, in 1980, a significant motivator for participation for evangelical Republicans. It appears that this issue continues to be a strong motivation for involvement in 1988. As Republican evangelicals become more integrated into the party, this divergence from non-evangelicals may prevent total integration.

[TABLE 20 GOES HERE]

TABLE 18

Ideology of Evangelicals
and Non-Evangelicals by Party
Comparison of 1980 and 1988

Percentages (%)
Democrat

	1980		1988	
	Evang.	Non-Evan.	Evang.	Non-Evan.
Liberal	44.0	62.8	40.7	67.8
Moderate	28.3	21.0	22.2	18.8
Conservative	27.8	16.1	37.0	13.6
(N)	(407)	(2201)	(108)	(626)

Republican

	1980		1988	
	Evang.	Non-Evan.	Evang.	Non-Evan.
Liberal	2.5	6.5	0.6	7.6
Moderate	6.6	15.6	5.0	11.9
Conservative	91.0	77.8	94.4	80.6
(N)	(653)	(1799)	(159)	(420)

Liberal-Conservative Ideological Scale*

Democrats				Republicans			
1980		1988		1980		1988	
Evan	Non-Ev	Evan	Non-Ev	Evan	Non-Ev	Evan	Non-Ev
2.70	2.09	2.94	1.93	4.81**	4.43	4.87**	4.48

* 1=Liberal to 5=Conservative
** p>.05

TABLE 19

Party Identification of Evangelicals and Non-Evangelicals by Party (%) 1980-1988

Democrats

	1980		1988	
	Evang.	Non-Evan.	Evang.	Non-Evan.
Strong	75.4	77.1	70.3	80.2
Weak	14.3	13.7	14.4	12.4
Independent	10.1	8.8	11.7	6.5
Closer to Other Party	.3	.4	3.6	.9
(N)	(378)	(2070)	(111)	(631)

Republican

	1980		1988	
	Evang.	Non-Evan.	Evang.	Non-Evan.
Strong	84.2	82.1	86.8	76.4
Weak	8.5	9.7	6.9	13.3
Independent	6.7	7.8	4.4	7.7
Closer to Other Party	.7	.4	1.9	2.6
(N)	(603)	(1668)	(159)	(420)

TABLE 20

Comparison of Issue Stance Means
in 1980-1988 by Party*

Democrats

	1980			1988		
	Evan.	Non-Ev.	Diff.	Evan.	Non-Ev.	Diff.
MORAL						
Anti-Abortion	1.84	1.49	.35	1.70	1.35	.35
ERA	1.66	1.39	.27	1.50	1.31	.19
FOREIGN POLICY						
Defense Spend.	2.14	1.81	.33	1.67	1.31	.36
Nuclear Power	2.02	1.77	.25	1.82	1.63	.19

Republicans

MORAL						
Anti-Abortion	2.36	1.66	.70	2.48	1.83	.65
ERA	2.63	2.28	.35	2.42	2.15	.27
FOREIGN POLICY						
Defense Spend.	2.84	2.74	.10	2.53	2.32	.21
Nuclear Power	2.62	2.56	.06	2.46	2.40	.06

* 1=Liberal to 3=Conservative

CONCLUSIONS

The relationship of religion and politics has long been a subject of scholarly research and dispute. During the past decade, a new phenomena of research on the subject of religion and politics has emerged: the study of evangelical Christians as a political force. It was the presidential election of 1980, in which both candidates proclaimed to be Born-Again Christians, that prompted greater scholarly attention to the emergence of this potential new bloc of voters. The majority of research on evangelicals as a political factor in 1980 focused on voting patterns to assess the electoral behavior of evangelicals. The outcome of such scholarly studies, however, proved inconclusive, with researchers unable to agree on the effect the evangelicals had on the 1980 election. Little research had been done on the evangelical political activist. This study allowed us to fill that gap in the research. Using data from a survey of delegates to state party conventions in 1980 and a follow-up survey of these same delegates in 1988, we were able to answer the question of how evangelical religion affects the political activist.

We found that evangelical activists closely resemble the evangelicals in the general electorate in demographic composure. Evangelicals were, consistent with past research, less educated, less affluent, and more rural than non-

evangelicals. They were found to be only somewhat older. Thus, we can assert that evangelical activists should hold similar views to those in the electorate.

We found that evangelicals were not newly active participants in the political process, disproving our original hypotheses. We found that rather than being newly active, evangelicals had been active as long, if not longer than, non-evangelicals in both parties. Because evangelicals were only slightly older than non-evangelicals, this length of participation could not be attributed to age.

Evangelicals were also as likely as non-evangelicals to be politically involved in business, civic, or social organizations. Activity in these organizations began to support our hypotheses that evangelicals are motivated by single interests, particularly moral interests. Evangelicals were much more likely than non-evangelicals to be involved with "moral" groups (i.e., anti-abortion), and much less likely to be involved with groups linked to "liberal" causes (i.e., civil rights, ERA, etc.).

Concerning evangelicals' motivation for participation, we found that in the Republican party, evangelicals are motivated primarily by issues and candidates, but that this was not at odds with their party loyalty. That is, Republicans were strong party supporters, even if this was not a motivation for participation. In the Democratic party, evangelicals were motivated by the same reasons as non-evangelicals: party,

issues, and candidates. They were also equally as strong party identifiers. What this dichotomy between evangelicals in the parties represents is that Democratic evangelicals are more integrated in their party than are Republican evangelicals. Republican evangelicals belong to the party that's platform supports their issues, but are motivated to participate not because of the party, but because of the issues.

Our hypotheses regarding the ideology and issue-stance of evangelicals was strongly supported in the research. We found that evangelicalism had a strong effect on ideology, with evangelicals being much more conservative than non-evangelicals. Evangelicalism also had a strong effect on candidate and issue positions. Evangelicals are much more likely than non-evangelicals to favor evangelical candidates, and are much more likely to support "moral" issues. Evangelicalism has the strongest effect on conservative issue positions on moral issues, somewhat on foreign policy issues, and less so on economic issues. The strongest divergence between issue support was between Republican evangelicals and non-evangelicals on moral issues. Again, this supports our conclusions that Republican evangelicals are more single issue oriented, and not yet integrated into the party.

Regarding the continued activity of evangelicals, we found that evangelicals are equally or more likely than non-evangelicals to stay active, with the case being even stronger

for Republican evangelicals. Evangelicals also remained politically active in other groups.

In 1988, Republican evangelicals continued to be strongly motivated by issues, and even significantly increased their participation in anti-abortion activism. And, although they claim to identify with the party more strongly in 1988 than in 1980, they still do not claim party as a strong motivation for participation. Their stronger connection to the party may instead be a support for the much publicized Bush platform against abortion in 1988. Democratic evangelicals continued to be motivated by party, issues, and candidates, as were non-evangelicals. However, the identification of evangelicals with the Democratic party decreased in the years following 1980. And, while we found no realignment evident in 1988, there was a trend in Democratic evangelicals of increased ideological conservatism and decreased party identification. We found that, overall, the conservatism of evangelicals increased in 1988, and that this ideology continued to have a strong effect on issue stance, particularly on moral issues.

In conclusion, this research supports the political activity and potential influence evangelicals may wield. The issue that remains to be resolved in future research is the implication from this study on evangelical dedication to conservative causes over party loyalty and true party integration. Will support for evangelical issues continue to motivate Democratic evangelicals away from their party, or is

their party integration stronger than issue support? Likewise, will Republican evangelicals become integrated in the party regardless of the party's support for their single issues, or will issue support motivate them to find refuge elsewhere? As both parties begin to turn toward more moderate platforms, what will become of the evangelicals? The future will be the true test of their influence and staying power.

APPENDIX A

1980 DELEGATE SURVEY

1. How long have you lived in (name of state):

   1. Less than 5 years ( )
   2. Between 5 and 10 ( )
   3. Between 10 and 20 ( )
   4. More than 20 years ( )

2. How long have you been active in party politics in (name of state)?

   1. Less than 5 years ( )
   2. Between 5 and 10 ( )
   3. Between 10 and 20 ( )
   4. More than 20 years ( )

3. How would you describe the area where you now live?

   1. City with over 250,000 population ( )
   2. Suburb of city with over 250,000 population ( )
   3. City with between 100,000 and 250,000 population ( )
   4. Suburb of city with between 100,000 and 250,000 ( )
   5. City with between 50,000 and 100,000 population ( )
   6. City with between 10,000 and 50,000 population ( )
   7. Town with less than 10,000 population ( )
   8. Rural area ( )
   9. Other ( )

4. What country is that in?_____

5. What congressional district do you live in? (Please circle one)

   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

6. Please indicate which, if any, of the following positions you now hold or have held in the past (check as many as apply).

	Hold Now	Held in Past
Member of a local party committee	( )	( )
Chairman of a local party committee	( )	( )
Other local party office	( )	( )
Congressional district party committee	( )	( )
Member of state central committee	( )	( )
Elected to state or national office	( )	( )
Elected local office	( )	( )
Appointed government or political office	( )	( )
Paid campaign staff for candidate	( )	( )

7. Before this convention, had you ever been a delegate to a state or national party convention?

   1. Yes ( ) 2. No ( )

8. How often have you been actively involved in recent stat and national political campaigns?

1. Active in all ( )
2. Active in most ( )
3. Active in a few ( )
4. Active in none ( )

9. What kinds of campaigns have you been active in? (Check as many as apply)

Local ( ) State legislative ( ) Congressional ( )

Statewide offices ( ) Presidential ( ) Other ( )

10. Which of the following activities, if any, have you performed in political campaigns? (Check as many as apply)

Clerical work ( )
Door to door canvassing ( )
Telephone canvassing ( )
Arranging coffees,socials ( )
Fundraising ( )
Writing press releases ( )
Speechwriting ( )
Planning Strategy ( )
Scheduling the candidate ()
Managing the campaign ( )

11. How would you describe your own party affiliation:

In state politics?

1. Strong Democrat ( )
2. Democrat, but not too strong ( )
3. Independent, closer to Democrat ( )
4. Completely Independent ( )
5. Independent, closer to Republicans ( )
6. Republican, but not too strong ( )
7. Strong Republican ( )

In national politics?

1. Strong Democrat ( )
2. Democrat, but not too strong ( )
3. Independent, closer to Democrat ( )
4. Completely Independent ( )
5. Independent, closer to Republicans ( )
6. Republican, but not too strong ( )
7. Strong Republican ( )

12. DEMOCRATIC DELEGATES: Was there ever a time when you considered yourself a Republican?

1. Yes ( ) 2. No ( )

REPUBLICAN DELEGATES: Was there ever a time when you considered yourself a Democrat?

1. Yes ( ) 2. No ( )

13. IF YOU HAVE EVER CHANGED YOUR PARTY AFFILIATION: In what year did you last change your party affiliation?

Year _____

14. Please indicate your opinion about each of the following statements. There are no right or wrong answers, so just give your personal opinion.

1 = Strongly Agree
2 = Mildly Agree
3 = Not Sure
4 = Mildly Disagree
5 = Strongly Disagree

A political party should be more concerned with issues than with winning elections ( )

The party platform should avoid issues which are very controversial or unpopular ( )

I'd rather lose an election than compromise my basic philosophy ( )

A candidate should express his convictions even if it means losing the election ( )

Broad electoral appeal is more important than a consistent ideology ( )

15. We're interested in your reasons for becoming actively involved in this year's presidential campaign. Please indicate how important each of the following factors was for you.

	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Very Important	Not at All Important
To support my party	( )	( )	( )	( )
To help political career	( )	( )	( )	( )
To enjoy excitement of campaign	( )	( )	( )	( )
To meet other people with similar interests	( )	( )	( )	( )
To support a particular candidate	( )	( )	( )	( )
To work for issues I	( )	( )	( )	( )

feel strongly about				
To enjoy the visibility of being a delegate	( )	( )	( )	( )
To fulfill my civic responsibilities	( )	( )	( )	( )

16. How would you describe your own political philosophy?

1. Very liberal ( ) 3. Middle-of-the-road ( )
2. Somewhat liberal ( ) 4. Somewhat conservative ( )
5. Very conservative ( )

17. Please indicate you opinion about each of the following state and national political figures.

	1 Very Favorable	2 Somewhat Favorable	3 Neutral	4 Somewhat Unfavor	5 Very Unfavor
Jimmy Carter	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Edward Kennedy	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Jerry Brown	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Ronald Reagan	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
George Bush	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
John Anderson	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Governor	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Senator	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Other	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

18. Was there any particular issue which caused you to become involved in this year's election campaign?

1. Yes ( ) 2. No ( )

IF YES: What issue was that? _____

_____

19. Please indicate your position on each of the following issues:

1 = Strongly favor
2 = Favor
3 = Undecided
4 = Oppose
5 = Strongly oppose

The Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution ( )
A constitutional amendment to prohibit abortion except when the mother's life is endangered ( )

A substantial increase in defense spending even if it requires cutting domestic programs ( )
A government sponsored national health insurance program ( )
More rapid development of nuclear power ( )
Across-the-board cuts in non-defense spending to balance the federal budget ( )
Affirmative action programs to increase minority representation in jobs and higher education ( )
Deregulation of oil and gas prices ( )
Mandatory wage and price controls to deal with inflation ( )
Stronger action to reduce inflation even if it increases unemployment substantially ( )
Reinstituting draft registration ( )
Ratification of the Salt II Treaty ( )
Increasing America's military presence int he Middle East ( )

20. How would you rate the political philosophy of each of the following presidential candidates?

1 = Very Liberal
2 = Somewhat Liberal
3 = Middle-of-the-Road
4 = Somewhat conservative
5 = Very Conservative

Jimmy Carter .....( )
Edward Kennedy.....( )
Jerry Brown.....( )
Ronald Reagan.....( )
George Bush.....( )
John Anderson.....( )

21. Please rank your preferences for your party's presidential nomination.

1st Choice: _____
2nd Choice: _____
3rd Choice: _____

22. Are you pledged to support a particular candidate at the convention?

1. Yes ( ) 2. No ( )

IF YES: Which candidate? _____

23. How good a chance do you think each of the following candidates would have of winning the November election if nominated by his party?

1 = Definitely Would Win
2 = Probably would win

3 = Might Win
4 = Probably would lose
5 = Definitely would lose

Jimmy Carter .....( )
Edward Kennedy.....( )
Jerry Brown.....( )
Ronald Reagan.....( )
George Bush.....( )
John Anderson.....( )

24. Which, if any, of your party's candidates would you be unable to support in the November election? (Check as many as apply)

DEMOCRATS: Carter ( ) Kennedy ( ) Brown ( )
I could support any of these ( )

REPUBLICANS: Reagan ( ) Bush ( ) Anderson ( )
I could support any of these ( )

25. How did you vote in the 1976 presidential election?

1. Carter ( ) 2. Ford ( ) 3. Didn't vote ( )

26. How did you vote in the (yr) election for (office)?

1. Candidate 2. Candidate 3. Didn't vote

27. How did you vote in the (yr) election for (office)?

1. Candidate 2. Candidate 3. Didn't vote

28. How would you rate the effectiveness of the Democratic and Republican state party organizations in (name of state)?

	1 Very	2 Fairly	3 Not Very	4 Not at all	5 Not sure
Democratic	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Republican	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

29. At present, how important a role does you state party organization play in each of the following areas?

1 = Very Important
2 = Somewhat Important
3 = Not Very Important
4 = Not at all Important
5 = Not Sure

Providing campaign assistance to candidates ( )
Taking positions on issues to influence elected officials ( )
Providing services and information to elected official and local party organizations between campaigns ( )
Recruiting candidates ( )
Informing the electorate about party goals and positions ( )

30. How important a role do you think your state party organization <u>should</u> play in each of the following areas?

1 = Very Important
2 = Somewhat Important
3 = Not Very Important
4 = Not at all Important
5 = Not Sure

Providing campaign assistance to candidates ( )
Taking positions on issues to influence elected officials ( )
Providing services and information to elected official and local party organizations between campaigns ( )
Recruiting candidates ( )
Informing the electorate about party goals and positions ( )

31. In which of the following groups, if any, have you been politically active? (Check as many as apply)

Labor unions ( )	Civil rights groups ( )
Educational organizations ( )	Conservation or ecology ( )
Other professional orgs. ( )	Public interest groups ( )
Business organizations ( )	Anti-abortion groups ( )
Church-related groups ( )	Farm or agricultural ( )
Women's rights groups ( )	Other issue-related groups ( )

32. How politically active were your parents when you were growing up?

	Father	Mother
1. Very Active	( )	( )
2. Fairly Active	( )	( )
3. Not very active	( )	( )
4. Not at all active	( )	( )
5. Not sure	( )	( )

33. In what state did you spend most of your childhood?

_____

34. How would you describe you parent's party affiliation at the time when you were growing up?

	Father	Mother
1. Strong Democrat	( )	( )
2. Democrat, but not too strong	( )	( )
3. Independent, closer to Democrat	( )	( )
4. Completely Independent	( )	( )
5. Independent, closer to Republicans	( )	( )
6. Republican, but not too strong	( )	( )
7. Strong Republican	( )	( )
8. Not Sure	( )	( )

35. What is your approximate age?

1. 18-24 ( ) 4. 35-39 ( ) 7. 50-54 ( ) 10. 65-69 ( )
2. 25-29 ( ) 5. 40-44 ( ) 8. 55-59 ( )
3. 30-34 ( ) 6. 45-49 ( ) 9. 60-64 ( )

36. What is your sex? 1. Female ( ) 2. Male ( )

37. What is your race?

1. White ( ) 3. Hispanic ( ) 5. American Indian ( )
2. Black ( ) 4. Oriental ( )

38. What is your religious preference? (For example, Baptist, Methodist, Catholic, etc.)

_____

38a. Do you consider yourself to be either a fundamentalist or born-again Christian?

1. Yes ( ) 2. No ( )

39. In general, how religious do you consider yourself?

1. Very religious ( ) 3. Not very religious ( )
2. Fairly religious ( ) 4. Not at all religious ( )

40. How much formal schooling have your completed?

1. None ( ) 5. Some college ( )
2. Grade school only ( ) 6. Graduated college ( )
3. Some high school ( ) 7. Post college ( )
4. Graduated high school ( )

41. What would you estimate your family's income will be this year before taxes?

1. 0-$14,999 ( )	4. $35,000-44,999 ( )
2. $15,000-24,999 ( )	5. $45,000-59,999 ( )
3. $25,000-34,999 ( )	6. $60,000 or more ( )

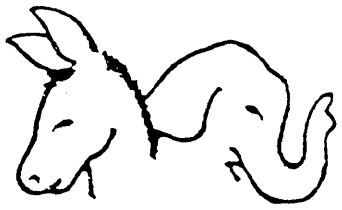
Thank you very much for your time and cooperation with this study. If you would like to receive a report on the results of the 1980 Delegate Survey, please give your name and address below. Of course all of your answers will be kept strictly confidential.

_____

_____

_____

APPENDIX B



1988 PARTY LEADERSHIP SURVEY

COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY • UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO • EMORY UNIVERSITY

Dear Survey Participant:

As the Reagan presidency draws to a close, it is important to assess its long term impact on the party system. How do the Democratic and Republican parties of 1988 differ from the same parties in 1980? How many of the 1980 activists are still involved, and what sorts of new activists have become involved in party activity?

In 1980 you participated in a study of state party convention delegates covering 11 states. This year we are asking you to participate, once again, in a survey of party activists in the 1980's. This study is being conducted by a group of political scientists from the University of Colorado, Emory University, and the College of William and Mary. By resurveying you, and by surveying delegates to this summer's state party conventions in Iowa and Virginia, we will be able to begin to answer crucial questions relating to the processes of long term stability and change in the American party system.

Because you are part of a relatively small random sample of participants, it is particularly important that you fill out and return the questionnaire in the enclosed post-paid envelope. Your participation is essential in helping to understand the process of choosing our President.

You may be assured of complete confidentiality. The questionnaire has an identification number for mailing purposes only. This is so that we may check your name off of the mailing list when your questionnaire is returned. Your name will never be placed on the questionnaire. If you have any questions about this project, do not hesitate to call Professor Ronald Rapoport at the study headquarters (804) 253-4486.

The results of this research will be made available to a wide range of scholars and practitioners in the field. Enclosed is a summary of our research on 1988 activists, which you might find of interest. Thank you in advance for completing our questionnaire.

MARKING DIRECTIONS

- Use a No. 2 pencil only
- Fill circles completely
- Erase changes cleanly
- Do not fold bend or staple this form

CORRECT MARK ○ ○ ● ○ ○

INCORRECT MARKS ⊘ ⊗ ⊙ ◒ ▨

1. What is your current state of residence?
   - ○ Iowa
   - ○ Virginia
   - ○ Other

2. How long have you lived in this state?
   - ○ 0 - 5 years
   - ○ 5 - 10 years
   - ○ 10 - 20 years
   - ○ More than 20 years

3. How long have you been active in party politics in your state?
   - ○ 0 - 5 years
   - ○ 5 - 10 years
   - ○ 10 - 20 years
   - ○ More than 20 years

4. In which years, if any, did you participate in a Presidential nominating caucus, mass meeting, or primary (mark as many as apply)?
   - ○ 1988
   - ○ 1984
   - ○ 1980
   - ○ 1976
   - ○ 1972
   - ○ 1968
   - ○ 1964
   - ○ 1960

5. Were you a delegate to your party's state convention in (mark all that apply):
   - ○ 1984
   - ○ 1988

6. Which of the following positions do you currently hold, or have you held during the last eight years (mark as many as applicable)?
   - ○ Member of a local party committee
   - ○ Chairman of a local party committee
   - ○ Elected local government office
   - ○ Elected state or national government office
   - ○ Appointed government or political office
   - ○ Paid campaign staff for candidate
   - ○ Delegate to state convention

7. How did you vote in the 1984 Presidential election?
   - ○ Reagan
   - ○ Mondale
   - ○ Did not vote

8. Which candidate did you prefer for your party's nomination in 1984?

   For Democrats
   - ○ Mondale
   - ○ Hart
   - ○ Jackson
   - ○ Other

   For Republicans
   - ○ Reagan
   - ○ Other

9. How did you vote in the 1988 Presidential election?
   - ○ Bush
   - ○ Dukakis
   - ○ Other

10. Whom did you prefer for your party's nomination in 1988?

    For Democrats
    - ○ Dukakis
    - ○ Gephardt
    - ○ Gore
    - ○ Jackson
    - ○ Simon
    - ○ Other

    For Republicans
    - ○ Bush
    - ○ Dole
    - ○ Kemp
    - ○ Robertson
    - ○ Other

11. How did you vote in the 1988 U.S. House election in your district?
- ○ For the Republican
- ○ For the Democrat
- ○ Other
- ○ Did not vote

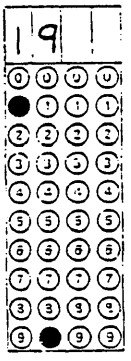
12. How would you describe your party affiliation?
- ○ Strong Democrat
- ○ Democrat, not so strong
- ○ Independent, closer to Democrats
- ○ Independent
- ○ Independent, closer to Republicans
- ○ Republican, not so strong
- ○ Strong Republican
- ○ Other party

13. Would you characterize yourself as someone who: (mark only one)
- ○ Works for the party year after year, win or lose, whether or not you like the candidate or issues
- ○ Works for the party only when there is a particularly worthwhile candidate or issue.

14. How would you describe your own political philosophy?
- ○ Extremely liberal
- ○ Liberal
- ○ Slightly liberal
- ○ Middle-of-the road
- ○ Slightly conservative
- ○ Conservative
- ○ Extremely conservative
- ○ Not sure

15. Was there ever a time when you thought of yourself as a member of another party?
- ○ Yes
- ○ No

(IF YES) When was the last time?



16. How active have you been in campaigns for each of the following elections? 98

	Not Active	Fairly Active	Very Active
a. 1980 Presidential general election campaign	○	○	○
b. 1984 Presidential nomination campaign	○	○	○
c. 1984 Presidential general election campaign	○	○	○
d. 1988 Presidential nomination campaign	○	○	○
e. 1988 Presidential general election campaign	○	○	○
f. Most recent Gubernatorial election in your state	○	○	○
g. Most recent Senatorial election in your state	○	○	○
h. 1988 U.S. Representative election in your district	○	○	○
i. Most recent state legislative elections	○	○	○

17. How interested were you in the 1988 Presidential election, after the national party conventions?
- ○ Very much interested
- ○ Somewhat interested
- ○ Not much interested

18. Were you involved in the 1988 Presidential general election campaign, after the national party conventions?
- ○ Yes
- ○ No

IF YES Please indicate how important EACH of the following factors was in your decision to get involved in the 1988 Presidential campaign after the national party conventions:

	Not at All Important	Not Very Important	Somewhat Important	Very Important
a. To help my political party	○	○	○	○
b. I was asked to get involved by a friend	○	○	○	○
c. I was asked to work by an organization of which I am a member	○	○	○	○
d. My strong support for one of the Presidential candidates	○	○	○	○
e. My strong opposition to one of the Presidential candidates	○	○	○	○
f. My strong support for one of the Vice-Presidential candidates	○	○	○	○
g. My strong opposition to one of the Vice-Presidential candidates	○	○	○	○
h. Because of issues I feel strongly about	○	○	○	○
i. To enjoy the excitement of the campaign	○	○	○	○

19. Which of the listed reasons was the single most important in your decision to get involved in the Presidential general election campaign?

○ a ○ f
○ b ○ g
○ c ○ h
○ d ○ i
○ e

20. Please indicate how important EACH of the following factors is in your decision to participate in your local caucus/mass meeting or primary this year.

Not at All Important
Not Very Important
Somewhat Important
Very Important

REASON FOR PARTICIPATING:

a. To help my political party ..... ○○○○
b. To represent a group or organization I belong to ..... ○○○○
c. To support a specific presidential candidate ..... ○○○○
d. Because of issues I feel very strongly about ..... ○○○○

20a. Which of the above reasons is the single most important in your decision to participate this year (mark only one)?

○ a ○ c
○ b ○ d

21. Please rate the importance of each of the following characteristics in determining a candidate's success in winning a Presidential election:

Not at All Important
Not Very Important
Somewhat Important
Very Important

a. Record of achievement in government ..... ○○○○
b. Performance on TV ..... ○○○○
c. Moral character ..... ○○○○
d. Knowledge of foreign policy ..... ○○○○
e. Representing the political philosophy of the average American voter ..... ○○○○
f. Representing the political philosophy of his political party ..... ○○○○

21a. In your view, which of the above characteristics is MOST important in determining a candidate's success in winning a Presidential election?

○ a ○ d
○ b ○ e
○ c ○ f

22. Please indicate your opinion on each of the following issues:

99

Strongly Oppose
Oppose
Slightly Oppose
Not Sure
Slightly Favor
Favor
Strongly Favor

a. A constitutional amendment to prohibit abortions except when the mother's life is endangered ... ○○○○○○○
b. Keep defense spending at least at current levels even if it requires cutting domestic programs ..... ○○○○○○○
c. Affirmative action programs to increase minority representation in jobs and higher education ..... ○○○○○○○
d. A constitutional amendment to require a balanced budget ..... ○○○○○○○
e. Increased governmental regulation to control environmental pollution ..... ○○○○○○○
f. Support of the "Contras" in Central America ..... ○○○○○○○
g. Increased aid to farmers ..... ○○○○○○○
h. Increased tariffs to protect domestic industries from foreign competition ..... ○○○○○○○
i. Increased commitment to the Strategic Defense Initiative (or "Star Wars") ..... ○○○○○○○
j. A constitutional amendment to permit prayer in public schools ..... ○○○○○○○
k. The Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution ..... ○○○○○○○
l. A government sponsored national health insurance program ..... ○○○○○○○
m. More rapid development of nuclear power ..... ○○○○○○○

23. Which of the above issues is most important to you this year (mark only one)?

○ a ○ h
○ b ○ i
○ c ○ j
○ d ○ k
○ e ○ l
○ f ○ m
○ g

24. How would you describe the political philosophy of each of the following individuals and groups:

	Not Sure	Extremely Conservative	Conservative	Slightly Conservative	Middle-of-the-road	Slightly Liberal	Liberal	Extremely Liberal
Lloyd Bentsen	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
George Bush	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Robert Dole	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Michael Dukakis	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Richard Gephardt	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Albert Gore	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Jesse Jackson	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Jack Kemp	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Dan Quayle	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Ronald Reagan	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Pat Robertson	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Paul Simon	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Average American Voter	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Republican Party	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Democratic Party	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Average Voter in Your State	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

25. Please rate the following individuals and groups:

	Not Sure	Poor	Below Average	Average	Above Average	Outstanding
Overall Evaluation						
Lloyd Bentsen	○	○	○	○	○	○
George Bush	○	○	○	○	○	○
Robert Dole	○	○	○	○	○	○
Michael Dukakis	○	○	○	○	○	○
Richard Gephardt	○	○	○	○	○	○
Albert Gore	○	○	○	○	○	○
Jesse Jackson	○	○	○	○	○	○
Jack Kemp	○	○	○	○	○	○
Dan Quayle	○	○	○	○	○	○
Ronald Reagan	○	○	○	○	○	○
Pat Robertson	○	○	○	○	○	○
Paul Simon	○	○	○	○	○	○
Republican Party	○	○	○	○	○	○
Democratic Party	○	○	○	○	○	○

26. For each of the following groups, please indicate whether you have been a member, or an active member or leader: 100

	Active Member or Leader	Member Only	Never Member
Teachers' organization (e.g., AFT, NEA)	○	○	○
Business organization (e.g., NAM, Chamber of Commerce)	○	○	○
Women's rights groups (e.g., NOW, NWPC)	○	○	○
Civil rights groups (e.g., NAACP, LULAC)	○	○	○
Environmental groups (e.g., Sierra Club)	○	○	○
Non-partisan interest groups (e.g., Common Cause, League of Women Voters)	○	○	○
Labor union (other than teachers')	○	○	○
Farm organizations	○	○	○
Politically concerned Evangelical Groups (e.g., Moral Majority)	○	○	○
Anti-Abortion groups	○	○	○
Liberal ideological groups	○	○	○
Conservative ideological groups	○	○	○

27. Of the groups you belong to, which group is the most important to you politically? (mark only one)

○ a
○ b
○ c
○ d
○ e
○ f
○ g
○ h
○ i
○ j
○ k
○ l

28. Please indicate your opinion about each of the following groups.

	Very Unfavorable	Somewhat Unfavorable	Neutral	Somewhat Favorable	Very Favorable
a. Teachers' organization (e.g., AFT, NEA)	○	○	○	○	○
b. Business organization (e.g., NAM, Chamber of Commerce)	○	○	○	○	○
c. Women's rights groups (e.g., NOW, NWPC)	○	○	○	○	○
d. Civil rights groups (e.g., NAACP, LULAC)	○	○	○	○	○
e. Environmental groups (e.g., Sierra Club)	○	○	○	○	○
f. Non-partisan interest groups (e.g., Common Cause, League of Women Voters)	○	○	○	○	○
g. Labor union (other than teachers')	○	○	○	○	○
h. Farm organizations	○	○	○	○	○
i. Politically concerned Evangelical Groups (e.g., Moral Majority)	○	○	○	○	○
j. Anti-Abortion groups	○	○	○	○	○
k. Liberal ideological groups	○	○	○	○	○
l. Conservative ideological groups	○	○	○	○	○
m. Democratic Party	○	○	○	○	○
n. Republican Party	○	○	○	○	○

29. **We are interested in how active you were in the Presidential campaign both before and after the summer conventions. Which activities if any did you perform on behalf of the candidates BEFORE the national party conventions this year? (MARK ALL APPLICABLE ACTIVITIES FOR EACH CANDIDATE).**

	Contributed money	Telephoning or door-to-door canvassing	Tried to convince friends to support candidate	Fund raising	Attended public meeting or rally
Democrats:					
Michael Dukakis	○	○	○	○	○
Jesse Jackson	○	○	○	○	○
Paul Simon	○	○	○	○	○
Richard Gephardt	○	○	○	○	○
Albert Gore	○	○	○	○	○
Republicans:					
George Bush	○	○	○	○	○
Robert Dole	○	○	○	○	○
Pat Robertson	○	○	○	○	○
Jack Kemp	○	○	○	○	○

30. Please indicate which of the following activities, if any you performed in the campaigns listed below, AFTER the national party conventic 101

	Contributed money	Telephoning or door-to-door canvassing	Tried to convince friends to support candidate	Fund raising	Attended public meeting or rally
Bush/Quayle	○	○	○	○	○
Dukakis/Bentsen	○	○	○	○	○
Democratic U.S. House Candidate	○	○	○	○	○
Republican U.S. House Candidate	○	○	○	○	○
Democratic State or Local Candidates	○	○	○	○	○
Republican State or Local Candidates	○	○	○	○	○

31. **Compared with eight years ago, is your activity in party politics,**
- ○ Much greater
- ○ Somewhat greater
- ○ About the same
- ○ Somewhat less
- ○ Much less

(IF GREATER) Which of the following is most responsible for your increase in activity (mark only one):
- ○ Specific candidates
- ○ Specific issues
- ○ More free time for politics
- ○ Organizational improvements in the local party organization
- ○ Ideological changes in the local party organization
- ○ Moved to a new area with a party organization I like better
- ○ Developed close friendships with party workers

(IF LESS) Which of the following is most responsible for your decrease in activity (mark only one):
- ○ Specific candidates
- ○ Specific issues
- ○ Less free time for politics
- ○ Organizational problems in the local party organization
- ○ Ideological changes in the local party organization
- ○ Moved to a new area with a party organization I like less
- ○ Work in other organizations and associations is more rewarding
- ○ Most of my friends are not interested in politics
- ○ Events of recent years have soured me on the whole political process

32. In the next four years, do you expect to (mark only one):
- ○ Be active in the party whether there is an election going on or not
- ○ Be active in the party during election periods, regardless of the candidates or issues
- ○ Be active in the party during election periods, but only when I really care about the candidate and issues
- ○ Not be active in the party at all
- ○ Not sure at this time

33. What is your age?
- ○ 17-24
- ○ 25-29
- ○ 30-39
- ○ 40-49
- ○ 50-59
- ○ 60-64
- ○ 65 and older

34. What is your sex?
- ○ Male
- ○ Female

35. What is your current marital status?
- ○ Married
- ○ Divorced
- ○ Widowed
- ○ Never Married

36. Do you consider yourself to be a born-again Christian?
- ○ Yes
- ○ No

37. Do you consider yourself to be a fundamentalist Christian?
- ○ Yes
- ○ No

38. How religious do you consider yourself?
- ○ Very religious
- ○ Fairly religious
- ○ Not very religious
- ○ Not religious at all
- ○ Not sure

39. What is your race?
- ○ White
- ○ Black
- ○ Hispanic
- ○ Native American
- ○ Asian American
- ○ Other - please specify in box below →

102

40. How much formal schooling have you completed?
- ○ Grade school or less/0-8 years
- ○ Some high school/9-11 years
- ○ Graduated high school/12 years
- ○ Some college/13-15 years
- ○ College graduate
- ○ Graduate school

41. In what kind of work are (were) you AND your spouse most recently employed?

	You	Spouse
Small business firm (under 50 employees)	○	○
Large business firm (over 50 employees)	○	○
Educational institution (public or private school, college, university)	○	○
Government (local, state, national)	○	○
Self-employed (business)	○	○
Self-employed (farmer)	○	○
Self-employed (professional)	○	○
Housewife	○	○
Student	○	○

42. In general, which of the following categories best describes the kind of job you and your spouse most recently held:

	You	Spouse
Professional	○	○
Owner/Partner	○	○
Upper-level management	○	○
Middle-level management	○	○
Skilled labor	○	○
Unskilled labor	○	○
Other	○	○

43. What was your approximate family income last year —before taxes?
- ○ under $9,999
- ○ $10,000-$19,999
- ○ $20,000-$29,999
- ○ $30,000-$39,999
- ○ $40,000-$49,999
- ○ $50,000-$59,999
- ○ $60,000-$69,999
- ○ $70,000-$79,999
- ○ $80,000 and over

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