

The Black Church in the 2004 Election

Eric L. McDaniel¹
Department of Government
University of Texas at Austin

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Introduction

The 2004 election presented a great deal of opportunities for the Black church to play a significant role. With the reemergence of a Black clergy member as a presidential candidate and the Republican Party's continued courting of Black clergy, the Black church appeared to be a central institution in another close election. This paper will discuss the various issues surrounding the Black church in the 2004 election, focusing on Al Sharpton's presidential bid, the Republican Party's attempt to recruit Blacks, and the same-sex marriage debate. Additionally, the paper will provide an empirical examination of Black attitudes towards the issues central to the 2004 election. Using multiple data sources, the paper examines the role of religion in shaping the Blacks policy preferences, candidate evaluations, and most importantly vote choice. While the press reports may have presented a fractured Black religious community, the analysis of the data does not show this. The examination of national and denominational survey data show that the Black religious community appears the same as it was before.

Al Sharpton's Presidential Campaign: 1984 all over again?

One of the most highly noticeable aspects of the Black church in the 2004 presidential election was the Rev. Al Sharpton's bid for the presidency. In many ways Sharpton's campaign for the presidency could have been a renewal of Jesse Jackson's campaigns in the eighties. Sharpton like Jackson had made a name for himself protesting what he saw as injustices in the Black community. The major difference being that Jackson was connected to Martin Luther King, Jr. and the legacy of the civil rights movement, while Sharpton's rise to prominence came from his work in the New York City area, mainly his antagonist relationship with former mayor Rudi Guiliani. The

commonalities were extended to the context of the election as well, there was a Republican president seeking re-election and African Americans seemed very displeased with this president. Much of the same rhetoric that Jackson used in 1984 and 1988 reappeared in Sharpton's campaign. Sharpton, like Jackson, accessed the network of Black churches to attempt to gain support of his campaign. His campaign seemed imminent as he and Jesse Jackson launched a "Shadow" inauguration during President Bush's actual inauguration in 2001. During this demonstration, which protested the Florida recount and subsequent election of George W. Bush, Sharpton argued that the nation was in the middle of a battle between "the Christian Right and right Christians" (Harris 2001). Because of the circumstances of the 2000 election and the war in Iraq, there appeared to be highly agitated Black community from which Al Sharpton could draw support. However, Sharpton was unable to gain the support and fanfare that Jackson captured twenty years ago. From beginning Sharpton's campaign seemed doomed to fail as many saw him trying to push Jesse Jackson aside in order for him to become the new national spokesman for Black America (Nagourney 2001). This issue was further exacerbated by the Jackson's neutrality towards Sharpton combined with Jesse Jackson, Jr.'s support of Howard Dean. When Jesse Jackson did speak of the Sharpton's campaign he argued that the role of Al Sharpton and Carol Mosely Braun, the other African American candidate seeking the Democratic Party's nomination, was to keep the candidates honest (Slackman 2003).

What appeared to hurt him the most, was the belief by many Blacks that voting for Sharpton was not a good use of their vote. Many African Americans who voted in the Democratic Party's primaries may have supported Sharpton's positions, but they did not

feel that he could defeat President Bush. Voting for Sharpton did seem practical in the eyes of many African Americans. Rep. James E. Clyburn of South Carolina made the following statement in relation to the perception of Sharpton's campaign, "Black people aren't crazy. They're looking for somebody they think can win in November" (Balz 2004). This is further evidenced in his poor showing in New York City where Sharpton's support in the primary was lower than his mayoral bid in 1997 and significantly worse than Jackson's 1984 presidential bid. In 1984 Jesse Jackson received 40% of the Black vote in the state of New York and 85% of the Black vote in New York City. Sharpton in 2004 received 40% of the Black vote statewide and about half of the Black vote in New York City (Slackman and Connelly 2004).

While his campaign did not create electoral success, he was able to gain status as an insider. In many ways Al Sharpton's political career resembles the evolution of Black politics as it moved from protest to politics. This transition on the part of Sharpton can be seen in the fact that he was given the opportunity to speak to the Democratic National Convention. Even though he was able to provide a popular and fiery speech at the convention, Sharpton's successes were overshadowed by the emergence of Barak Obama. The actual effects of Sharpton's campaign may not be fully understood for some time. Unlike Jackson's campaign twenty years ago, which appeared to ignite Black America, Sharpton's attempt to energize the Black electorate did not fare as well. In time Sharpton's movement from protest to politics may have unseen consequences.

Republican inroads into the Black vote: A Realignment?

From the beginning of President Bush's administration he was vilified by the African American community and realized that he needed to make some inroads into the

Black vote, considering that 90% of African Americans voted against him in 2000. The high profile appointments of Condoleezza Rice and Colin Powell appeared to be a showing of support for Black interests. During the 2000 election these high profile figures only appeared to sway White opinions about the Republican Party and race issues (Philpot 2004). However the reaction to the confusion surrounding the 2000 election left many in the African American community angry with new administration and the Republican Party. One way to overcome this animus towards the Bush administration was through faith based initiatives. President Bush was very active in bringing Black clergy into the discussion of faith based initiatives and it appeared that he was winning over Black clergy and may eventually gain the support of the Black community (Oppel and Niebuhr 2000). Several Black clergy came out in support of President Bush and many of the issues on his agenda (Kirkpatrick 2004). The press reports targeted theologically conservative clergy as having the strongest connection to his agenda. This is similar to what McDaniel (2003) finds in his examination of Church of God in Christ and African Methodist Episcopal Church clergy. However, these clergy have faced a great deal of criticism from the others in the Black community. The NAACP has spoken out against many of the policies of the Bush administration, including faith based initiatives. From the press reports it appeared that a culture war was about to break out in the Black church and community as a growing number of clergy broke from traditional Black politics and began to align themselves with the Republican Party.

George W. Bush became even more aggressive in courting the Black vote by arguing that Democratic Party did not truly support the interests of Blacks (Stevenson 2004). While he made this strong push he was criticized for not attending the NAACP's

meeting, which he had done in the previous election. John Kerry's campaign seemed unenthusiastic about the Black vote. While many African Americans held a strong animus towards the current administration, Kerry did not appear as an exciting alternative. Some of this attributed this to the fact that he was not Bill Clinton (Dwyer and Wilgoren 2004). However, others, mainly African American elites, criticized Kerry for not attempting to mobilize African Americans (Fears 2004). Not until late into the campaign did he make strong attempts to appeal to Black voters and energize them for the upcoming election. In late October Kerry started making an increasing amount of appearances at Black churches in an attempt to create some type of fervor around his campaign in the Black community. When he did campaign it appeared that he was able to gain a great deal of support for members and clergy alike. As one clergy member stated to his congregation: I cannot tell you who to vote for, but I can tell you what my mama always told me, 'Stay out of the bushes'" (Farhi and Williams 2004).

The actions on the part of both candidates appeared to show the importance of the Black church in winning the election. George W. Bush used his influence as well as faith to attempt to attract a greater support from the Black community. John Kerry in many ways supported Paul Frymer's (1999) argument that Blacks are a captured group, as he largely ignored the Black community until late into the campaign. However, when Kerry needed to energize the Black vote he turned to the Black church.

The Black Church and Gay Marriage: An emerging culture war?

While the activities of the candidates provided a sense of the importance of the Black church in 2004 the issue of same-sex marriage placed the institution in an interesting situation. Gay marriage presented a problem for the Black church in many

ways. First the Black church has been soundly criticized for ignoring the issues of homosexuality. Cathy Cohen (1999) and other scholars have argued the growth of the AIDS/HIV epidemic stemmed from the Black church's reluctance to address the issue homosexuality. In addition, the debate was waged by homosexual groups as a civil rights issue which many in the Black church, the focal institution for defending civil rights, opposed. While the gay marriage issue was presented as an issue if civil rights, many Blacks did not see it as such. In response to homosexual groups comparing their quest for equal rights to the African American Civil Rights Movement, Jesse Jackson referred to it as a "stretch." Many Black clergy came out in support of a constitutional ban on same-sex marriage and argued that this was one of the main reasons why they would vote for Bush in the upcoming election. One clergy member went as far as stating, "if the K.K.K. opposes gay marriage, I would ride with them" (Clemetson 2004). Many of the historically Black denominations, such as the African Methodist Episcopal Church, National Baptist Convention, USA, and the Church of God in Christ passed resolutions or made statements that prohibited their clergy from officiating over a same-sex marriage ceremony.

Not all Black clergy took the same stance, there was a small but significant amount of Black clergy who spoke out in favor of gay marriage, arguing that banning homosexuals from this act was discrimination. Using the premise that banning same-sex marriages was a form of discrimination, they argued that the Black church could not support it. As one clergy member stated, "oppression is oppression is oppression" (Banerjee 2005). Even with all of this debate over gay marriage, many believed that this would not lead to partisan realignment on a significant portion of the African American

community. Many believed that Blacks would continue to overwhelmingly vote for Kerry, but still oppose any same-sex marriage measures. However, in another close election, a slight change in Black voting patterns in favor of Bush would mean allot.

Explaining Black Attitudes in 2004

The above review of activities during the 2004 campaign provided an idea of the various ways in which the Blacks and the Black church was recruited into action, however there still is not a clear understanding how religious African Americans viewed the issues central to the election. Past research would suggest that the issues of this election would not be salient enough to drastically change Black voting behavior. Past research that has examined how religiously orthodox African Americans behave has found that while, they behave more like other African Americans than their White counterparts (Calhoun-Brown 1998). With the issues of morality and the behavior of George W. Bush in this election, maybe this time religiously orthodox Blacks could be moved. This section of the paper will examine how religious beliefs on the part of African Americans shaped political attitudes. This section of the paper will examine the role of religion in shaping views of the candidates, parties, and issues associated with the 2004 election. This analysis will be conducted through the use of two different data sources: the 2004 National Election Study, and the 2004 and 2004 Religion and Society Surveys. The 2004 NES allows for a comparison between religious Blacks and Whites to see how similar or different they may be. The Religion and Society Surveys allow for a more in-depth examination of the attitudes of religiously active African Americans. This analysis is an exploration into the attitudes of African American during the 2004 election,

with the purpose of clarifying how religious factors shaped the African American presence in 2004 election.

2004 NES Analysis

To begin the analysis of how religion shaped the attitudes of African Americans in the 2004 election, I use the 2004 National Election Study. The 2004 NES yields a national sample of 1212 observations. The survey is good for the purposes of this study because of its wealth of questions about political attitudes and contains questions related to religious views. The NES provides an ample amount of African American respondents which would allow for a satisfactory comparison with Whites.

Dependent Variables

For the purposes of this paper, I am concerned with attitudes towards the candidates, political parties, current events and policies, and finally vote choice. To examine attitudes towards the candidates, I examine feeling thermometers and emotional responses to the candidates. For party evaluations I use the feeling thermometer scores for the Democratic and Republican Parties as well as the respondent's reported partisanship. The policy and current events aspect of the analysis will examine attitudes towards the 2000 election, the war efforts in Afghanistan and Iraq, and gay marriage. The analysis of the NES data concludes with an evaluation of vote choice in the 2000 and 2004 elections.

Independent Variables

Race

The NES asks each of its respondents which racial group they identify. Because of this particular paper is concerned with African Americans I have chosen to focus on

only on the difference between African Americans and Whites. Because the number of Latinos, Asians, and other racial categories have such a small sample size in the NES they are excluded.

Biblical Literalism

The biblical literalism measure is a three point measure ranging from zero to one. The measure is based upon responses to the following statements: the Bible is the actual word of God, the Bible contains human errors, or the Bible is a book of legends. Those who stated what it was the actual word of God, were coded as one, while those who agreed with the book of legends statement, were coded as zero.

*Race * Biblical Literalism*

To account for the racial differences in the effects of literalism, an interaction term was created in order to better examine the how religious orthodoxy affects the different groups. The interaction term is the multiplication of the orthodoxy and race measures. The results from the interaction term indicate the differences between the effects of orthodoxy on Blacks compared to Whites.

Control Variables

The control variables in this study are age, sex, socioeconomic status, location, religious and occupational affiliations, religious participation, partisanship, and ideology. The socioeconomic status measures are income and education. Location is measured in terms of whether or not the respondent lives in the South and the respondent's level of urbanicity. Because the sample studied is restricted to those who report being having an affiliation with a Christian group, religious affiliation is mainly concerned with accounting for the Protestant/Catholic differences. Occupational affiliation is whether or

not someone in the household is a member of a union. Since union membership is strongly correlated with partisanship, policy preferences, and vote choice it is important to control for its effects. Religious participation is measured based upon the respondents reported rate of attending worship services. Ideology is controlled for using a seven-point ideology scale ranging from very liberal to very conservative. Finally partisanship is controlled for using a seven-point measure ranging from strong Democrat to strong Republican. All of the measures are scaled from zero to one to allow for easier interpretation of the results.

Results

Before beginning the analysis of the interaction of race and religious beliefs it is important to point out that because of the interaction term, the interpretation of these results is slightly different from other regression models. The coefficients for the biblical literalism and the race variables are not their direct effect on the dependent variable, but their effect on the dependent variable when one or the other is set at zero. In this case, the biblical literalism term represents the effect of biblical literalism on Whites. Because of the interaction term, the effects of race and biblical orthodoxy are now contingent upon each other. Analyzing these lower order terms as being independent of each other would lead to a faulty understanding of the results (Braumoeller 2004; Freidrich 1982). It is important to understand this aspect of the models first before beginning the analysis. Because of the interaction term, it is important to be conscious of how the analysis of these results differs².

²For this paper, the coefficients for orthodoxy's effect on Blacks and Latinos will be calculated using the linear combinations command in STATA version 8, which calculates the coefficients as well as the standard errors and confidence intervals. To further interpret how race and religion interact, we will use predicted probabilities and predicted values. These will be calculated using the `spost` command in STATA (Long and Freese 2001)

Attitudes towards Candidates

[Insert Table 1 and Figure 1 Here]

The analysis begins with the examination of affect towards the candidates and other public figures, seen in Table 1. Beginning with the feeling thermometer scores towards President Bush, the results show that literalism's effect on Blacks is significantly different from Whites, Black literalists feel significantly cooler towards President Bush than White literalists. The coefficient for literalism's effect on Whites is 12.183 and significant, while for Blacks it is -5.845, but not significant. When the analysis next turns to John Kerry, the same phenomenon occurs as Black literalists are significantly warmer feelings towards Kerry than their White counterparts. The coefficient for Whites is -5.778 and significant, for Blacks it is 9.385 and not significant. In both of these cases literalism works differently for Blacks than Whites. Literalism first creates a positive feeling towards Bush for Whites, but creates a negative feeling for Blacks. In the case of Kerry this is reversed as it creates a negative reaction for Whites and a positive reaction for Blacks. However, an important issue to take from this is that, in both cases literalism is only significant for Whites. Moving to other key public figures, the results continue to show a divergence between literalism's effect on Whites and Blacks. In the analysis of former president Bill Clinton shows that while White (-11.344) literalists hold cooler feelings toward him, literalism actually makes Blacks (7.477) feel warmer towards him. But again, the effect is only significant for Whites. The final feeling thermometer score analyzed is Colin Powell. Results continue to show a difference between Blacks and Whites as literalism's effect on Whites (-.416) creates cooler feelings towards Powell, while for Blacks it creates warmer feelings (11.518). In this case as opposed to the other

cases the effect is only significant for Blacks. This effect on Powell is not wholly surprising considering that Allen, Dawson, and Brown (1989) find that religiosity on the part of Blacks increases an attachment to the group.

[Insert Table 2 and Figure 2 Here]

Moving from the feeling thermometers to specific views of the candidates, the results, in Table 2, continue to show that the effect of literalism is contingent upon race. The first part of the analysis examined the degree to which the respondents viewed the candidates as moral. Beginning with President Bush, the results show that literalism's effect on Blacks is the same as it is on Whites. The coefficient for literalism effect on Whites (.092) is not significantly higher than its effect on Blacks (.070). Moving to Kerry, the results show the divergence in literalism's effect on the two groups. Literalism leads Whites (-.105) to view Kerry as less moral, while for Blacks (.077) it increases the perception of Kerry as a moral individual. The next aspect of the analysis moves towards negative emotional affect associated with the candidates. These questions relate to the degree to which each candidate has made the respondents feel angry, proud, afraid, or hopeful. The negative affect measures for both Bush (alpha = .842) and Kerry (alpha = .7063) are twenty-point scales ranging from zero to one. The results show in both cases that literalism's effect on Blacks is significantly different from Whites. In the case of Bush, literalism decreases negative affect towards Bush for both groups. However, the effect is stronger for Whites (-.138) than it is for Blacks (-.005), in addition it is only significant for Whites. In the case of Kerry, literalism increases negative affect for Whites (.063), but decreases it for Blacks (-.040). Again the results show that the effect is only significant for Whites. An examination of Figure 2 shows how moving from a non-

literalist to a literalist shapes the emotional response to the candidates. Similar to the feeling thermometers the results show that literalism's effect is significantly different for both groups, as literalism pushes Whites toward Bush and away from Kerry. In the case of Blacks, literalism creates more positive emotional responses to both. One of the key findings to take away from this is that literalism appears to be a consistent significant predictor for Whites; while for Blacks literalism only had a significant impact on the evaluation of Colin Powell.

[Insert Table 3 and Figure 3 Here]

Table 3 provides the examination of the Republican and Democrat feeling thermometers show that literalism's effect on Blacks and Whites is not significantly different. In the case of the Republican Party the effect of literalism on Whites is 10.699 and significant, while for Blacks literalism's effect is 2.873, but not significant. For the Democratic Party the effect of literalism on Whites is -1.693, for Blacks it is 5.301. In both cases the effect is not significant. While the results may not be wholly interesting the analysis of partisanship shows an important divergence between Black and White literalists. The effect of literalism on Whites (.099) it boosts identification with the Republican Party, while for Blacks (-.188) it reduces identification with the Republican Party. Even more important is that in both cases the effect is significant. As figure 3 shows, literalism is significantly moving Blacks and Whites in opposite directions.

This beginning aspect of the analysis confirms earlier research that has examines the differences between religious Blacks and Whites. The results to this point do not appear to that biblical literalism has a great effect on Black attitudes. Whether literalist or not, the evaluations of the candidates appears to be the same for Blacks. However it is

important to note that religious orthodoxy on the part of Blacks does have partisan consequences.

Attitudes towards Policy and Current Events

[Insert Table 4 Here]

As the analysis moves to policies and current events, the results do not show the level divergence found earlier, seen in Table 4. An examination of the reaction to the 2000 election shows that literalism's effect is does not significantly differ between the racial groups and that it does not have a significant effect on either group. From the 2000 election the analysis moves to the evaluation of the war effort in Afghanistan and Iraq. Afghanistan and Iraq evaluation measure ($\alpha = .798$) is an eleven-point measure, scaled zero to one, composed of questions related to whether or not the Afghanistan and Iraq wars are worth the cost, the degree to which the war in Iraq has changed the threat of terrorism, and level of approval of the war in Iraq. The results show that there is not a significant difference between Black and White literalists. White (.153) literalists are far more likely to give a positive evaluation of the war efforts, for Blacks (.048) literalism does increase support, but it is not significant. One of the most important issues of the 2004 election was same-sex marriage. As discussed above, Blacks were highly opposed to this policy. Before the analysis of gay marriage begins, I wanted to examine how the respondents viewed strengthening laws that protect the rights of homosexuals. The results show that there is not a significant difference between White and Black literalists. As opposed to earlier findings, this convergence is significant for both groups. Moving to gay marriage, the results show that there is a significant difference between Black and White literalists. The effect of literalism on Whites (-1.178) is stronger than it is on

Blacks (-.319). This finding may be misleading, but an examination of Figure 3 shows that the reason for this is that Blacks in general are highly opposed to this policy. Black non-literalists are significantly more opposed to allowing gay marriage than their White counterparts. So in this case, the effect of literalism is muted by the fact that Blacks are so strongly opposed to this policy that literalism's ability to increase this opposition is limited.

Vote Choice

[Insert Table 5 Here]

The final aspect of the analysis of the 2004 NES data is vote choice, shown in Table 5. I examine the respondent's vote choice for the 2000 and 2004 elections. An examination of vote choice in 2000 show that literalism's effect on Blacks and Whites was not significantly different. However a close examination shows that literalism's effect is only significant for Whites. Literalism significantly pushed Whites to vote for Bush, but did have a significant effect on the Black vote. The same is also the case in the 2004 election the effect is only significant for Whites in the case of voting for Bush. While it is negative for Kerry, it is not significant. An examination of Figure 5 shows that literalism increases the probability of Whites voting for Bush, but does not appear to really move Blacks. Further literalism appears to increase the propensity for Blacks to vote for Kerry. Again the effect of literalism appears to be pushing the groups in opposite directions. A more in-depth examination of the attitudes of Blacks is needed to better understand.

2004 and 2005 Religion and Society Surveys Analysis

The 2004 and 2005 Religion and Society Surveys were conducted in the summers of 2004 and 2005. The 2004 version of the survey was conducted in July during the African Methodist Episcopal Church's General Conference held in Indianapolis, IN. The survey yielded 315 respondents. The 2005 version of the survey was conducted in June during the National Baptist Convention's Congress of Christian Education held in Houston, TX. The 2005 survey yielded 347 respondents. The surveys were used to target clergy and highly active members. Both of the surveys were able to accomplish this. In the 2004 survey 25.7% of the respondents reported being members of the clergy and 88.8% of the members reported holding some form of position in their church. In the 2005 survey 25% of the respondents reported being members of the clergy and 85% of the other respondents reported holding some position in their church. The focus of the survey was to examine the attitudes of clergy and members in regards to religious experiences and attitudes towards church and political matters. The results that will be presented in this paper will focus on the reported activities of churches, the evaluation of groups and candidates, and vote choice. Because of the timing of the surveys the differences between the groups may not be fully explained. The AME respondents were surveyed in the middle of the election, while the NBC respondents were surveyed seven months after the election. Even with this complication, I do believe that the surveys do provide an important insight into how religiously active African Americans reacted to the candidates and issues of the 2004 election.

Activities in Churches

[Insert Table 6 Here]

One of the first issues of concern in the examination of the activities of churches is the types of conversations that were held at church between members and clergy. I was concerned mainly with the various topics of discussion that individuals had in their churches to see what issues appeared to be the most salient. An examination of Table 6 provides a summary of the various conversations that people held with their pastor or with other members in the congregation. The two most popular issues that members report discussing with their pastor are the presidential election and the war in Iraq. Gay rights and Gay marriage do not appear to be strong topics of discussion between pastors and members. When the analysis turned to reported conversations with members, there is a greater level of discussion for all of the topics examined, but it follows the same pattern as above. Clearly the presidential election and war in Iraq the more discussed issues compared to Gay marriage and Gay rights. Further analysis of the discussions examined the frequency that people held certain types of conversations with members and their pastor. The results show that 26% of the AME and 20.6% of the NBC respondents report talking to their pastor about political issues at least once a month. This examination was more in-depth for the NBC survey as they were asked about other topics of discussion. In terms of discussing social issues 39.4% of the NBC respondents report talking to their pastor about this at least once a month. The most popular topic of conversation appears to be community issues as 47.5% of the NBC respondents report taking part in this type of conversation with their pastor at least once a month. Turning to conversations with members, the results again show that political issues are not the as important as

community and social issues as topics of discussion. While the AME clergy (51.9%) and members (39.0%) are more likely to report taking part in this type of discussion (NBC 33.4% and 29.6 respectively), the more in-depth analysis from the NBC survey shows that the discussion of political issues between members and clergy is not as prominent as other issues.

[Insert Table 7 Here]

Moving from topics of conversation to actual activities, Table 7 highlights the various activities that the respondents reported their church or pastor taking part in. It appears that the most popular activity for churches to take part in is allowing public official to speak at the service as close to 50% of the respondents in both surveys report this happening in their church. The more overt activities such as serving as a polling place or holding a forum appear to less popular, but it does appear that the AME churches are more likely to take part in these activities compared to their NBC counterparts. Moving from church based activities to the activities of clergy, the results show that encouraging people to vote was widespread as 72.9% of the AME and 65.6% of the NBC respondents report their pastor taking part in this type of activity. Clergy were also very active in using their positions to take stands on moral and political issues inside and outside of the pulpit. More overt activities such as running for office or creating a political action committee do not appear to be widespread activities among clergy. Also clergy telling the congregation for whom to vote does not appear to be happening a great deal 9.7% of the AME and 12.1% of the NBC respondents report their pastor taking part in this activity. Overall there were a diverse set of activities for churches and clergy to

take part in, but it appears that the more overt the activity the less likely they were to take part.

Evaluation of Groups and Candidates

[Insert Table 8 Here]

Moving from activities the analysis began and examination of the candidates and groups. The evaluation of the candidates and groups presents findings that are not wholly surprising. Both the AME and NBC respondents rate John Kerry significantly higher than they do George W. Bush. In the case of Jesse Jackson, his score appears to be closely related to John Kerry for the AME respondents. The NBC respondents were asked about Jackson as well as Al Sharpton. In this case Sharpton's score is significantly lower than Jackson's score and appears to be close to Kerry's score. Moving from the individuals to the groups, the results find show that both groups were much warmer towards the Democratic Party compared to the Republican Party. In addition they hold cool feelings towards homosexuals, but relatively warm feelings towards the Religious Right. While this feeling towards the Religious Right is interesting, it is important to note that for both the AME and NBC respondents, as the level of education or level of political interest increases, the feeling thermometer scores for the Religious Right decreases. This should not be unexpected considering that Wilcox (1990) found a similar pattern in his examination of the Black attitudes towards Pat Robertson when he ran for president.

A more in-depth examination of attitudes towards these groups and individuals shows that both groups overwhelmingly view the Democratic Party as better representing Black interests. A further examination of attitudes towards the Religious Right shows that about slightly over a third of AME and about a fifth of the NBC respondents view this

group as harmful to Black America. Again this is correlated with education for both groups. As education increases respondents are more likely to view the Religious Right as harmful to Blacks. Finally, the NBC survey targeted attitudes towards religiously active politicians. First the respondents were asked about support for politicians who have expressed a commitment to Christianity. The results show that the majority of the respondents feel that the Black church should support these politicians. The next question targeted whether or not the respondents believed that President George W. Bush's expression of faith showed that he is a good ally for the Black church. In this case, slightly over a tenth of the respondents agreed with this statement. These are some interesting findings in regards to how President Bush's appeal to religious Blacks is being interpreted. In the case of the NBC respondents it does not appear to be interpreted well.

Current Events and Policy Attitudes

[Insert Table 9 Here]

The examination of current events shows a high level of objection to the war in Iraq and the results of the 2000 election. Less than a tenth of the AME and about a seventh of the NBC respondents view the war in Iraq as justified. In the case of the 2000 election the majority of both groups view it as being unfair to Blacks. The AME (82.7%) respondents are far more adamant about this belief (NBC 60.8%), but this may be attributed to the timing of the survey. Moving from current events to one of the most salient topics of the 2004 election, gay rights, the results show a significant level of opposition to the Gay rights movement. In both groups there is an overwhelming opposition to Gay marriage and Civil Unions. A vast majority of both groups opposes both measures. While there appears to be a greater openness to Civil Unions on the part of the AME

respondents, it is clear that neither group is supportive homosexual unions in any form. Both the AME and NBC respondents are highly opposed to viewing the homosexual quest for equal rights as similar to Blacks. When the AME respondents were asked about the role of the church in combating legislation that provided homosexuals with the same rights as others, the support for this tactic is not cohesive. For the total population 48.2% agree with churches opposing this type of legislation. A closer examination of the respondents, show that clergy (65.3%) are far more likely to support this strategy than members (42.2%). Finally respondents were asked about their support for creationism in schools. In both cases less than a third of the respondents agree with this, but clergy appear to be far more supportive than members. The results show a disconnect between the activities of the current administration and the respondents. In addition it appears clear that the respondents are opposed to seeing similarities between themselves and homosexual quest for equal rights. However, support for the role of the church in opposing gay rights legislation is not as clear.

Partisanship and Vote Choice

[Insert Table 10 Here]

The analysis ends with partisanship and vote choice. The results in regards to partisanship are not very surprising as the majority of AME and close to half of the NBC respondents identify as strong Democrats. What is more interesting is the number of respondents who identify as Republican, while only a few, it is clear that are more Republican identifiers located in the NBC respondents than that AME respondents. Moving to vote choice shows an overwhelming amount of support for the Democratic Party's candidate in the 2000 and 2004 elections, but it is interesting to note that clergy

appear to be more attracted to Bush than members. In 2000 and 2004 NBC clergy are significantly more likely to report voting for Bush than members. This is also the case for AME clergy in 2004. Additionally NBC respondents, in general, are more likely to report voting for Bush than their AME counterparts. Only 1.7% of all of the AME respondents report intending to vote for Bush, in 2004, while 9.6% of the NBC respondents reported voting for Bush.

Conclusion

With the Sharpton presidential campaign, George W. Bush's push for Black votes, and the same-sex marriage debate, it appeared the Black church was on the verge of making a drastic shift. However this was not the case. Sharpton was not able to mobilize the Black church, Bush did not appear to make clear gains in the Black vote and the gay marriage issue was not even a real fight. However, there are some interesting things to take from the 2004 election, the analysis shows that biblical literalism's effects are contingent upon the race of the individual, combined with the conference surveys it appears that religion on the part of Blacks is working toward maintaining old coalitions not building new ones. If the Republican Party hopes to make gains in the upcoming years they have a hard path to tread. George W. Bush has been able to gain some support from Black clergy, but it does not appear the members are following suit.

Table 1 OLS Analysis of the Interaction of Race and Literalism on Affect toward Public Figures

	Bush	Kerry	Clinton	Powell
Black*Literalism	-18.029* (7.648)	15.164* (6.744)	18.821* (7.816)	11.934* (6.678)
Black	5.560 (6.441)	-4.548 (5.696)	6.235 (6.582)	-10.408* (5.587)
Biblical Literalism	12.183*** (3.680)	-5.778* (3.236)	-11.344*** (3.769)	-0.416 (3.225)
Age	3.851 (3.944)	8.132* (3.479)	-1.658 (4.035)	9.186*** (3.477)
Female	0.347 (1.762)	2.001 (1.551)	-4.560* (1.801)	-1.929 (1.539)
Education	-12.210*** (3.794)	2.796 (3.344)	-0.934 (3.885)	-1.428 (3.321)
Income	11.025*** (3.924)	-7.121* (3.455)	-16.942*** (4.011)	7.853* (3.466)
South	6.637*** (1.930)	-2.501 (1.701)	-1.025 (1.974)	1.986 (1.691)
Urban	-0.730 (3.231)	6.578* (2.841)	-0.710 (3.302)	-2.297 (2.861)
Union Household	-5.036* (2.328)	5.225* (2.039)	5.825* (2.380)	-4.027* (2.054)
Ideology	10.377*** (2.207)	-3.530* (1.945)	-4.669* (2.257)	2.168 (1.960)
Partisanship	52.058*** (3.038)	-42.702*** (2.683)	-46.192*** (3.110)	15.813*** (2.683)
Church Attend	-0.601 (2.435)	-2.493 (2.139)	-4.814* (2.495)	-2.245 (2.147)
Catholic	-0.704 (2.067)	0.913 (1.811)	1.864 (2.115)	0.148 (1.805)
Constant	15.587*** (4.776)	74.264*** (4.206)	102.055*** (4.882)	57.698*** (4.224)
Adjusted R-square	.530	.471	.511	.124
N	694	686	694	673

Source:

Table 2 OLS Analysis of the Interaction of Race and Literalism on Emotions towards Candidates

	Perceived Morality of Bush	Perceived Morality of Kerry	Negative Bush Affect	Negative Kerry Affect
Black*Literalism	-0.022 (0.088)	0.182* (0.085)	0.132* (0.073)	-0.103 (0.064)
Black	-0.141* (0.074)	-0.081 (0.072)	0.004 (0.061)	0.044 (0.054)
Biblical Literalism	0.092* (0.042)	-0.105* (0.041)	-0.138*** (0.035)	0.063* (0.030)
Age	0.167*** (0.045)	0.119*** (0.045)	-0.077* (0.037)	-0.037 (0.033)
Female	0.018 (0.020)	0.033* (0.020)	0.022 (0.017)	-0.012 (0.015)
Education	-0.084* (0.043)	0.041 (0.042)	0.103*** (0.036)	-0.065* (0.031)
Income	0.158*** (0.045)	-0.038 (0.044)	-0.163*** (0.037)	0.066* (0.033)
South	0.055* (0.022)	-0.016 (0.022)	-0.065*** (0.018)	0.015 (0.016)
Urban	-0.051 (0.037)	0.066* (0.036)	-0.003 (0.031)	-0.055* (0.027)
Union Household	-0.061* (0.027)	0.030 (0.026)	0.028 (0.022)	-0.056*** (0.019)
Ideology	0.023 (0.025)	-0.046* (0.025)	-0.062*** (0.021)	0.039* (0.018)
Partisanship	0.333*** (0.035)	-0.330*** (0.034)	-0.469*** (0.029)	0.387*** (0.025)
Church Attend	0.045 (0.028)	-0.036 (0.027)	0.003 (0.023)	0.019 (0.020)
Catholic	0.021 (0.024)	0.017 (0.023)	-0.005 (0.020)	0.012 (0.017)
Constant	0.288*** (0.055)	0.736*** (0.053)	0.895*** (0.045)	0.244*** (0.039)
Adjusted R-square				
N				

Source:

Figure 1: Predicted Values of Feeling Thermometer Scores given Race and Biblical Literalism

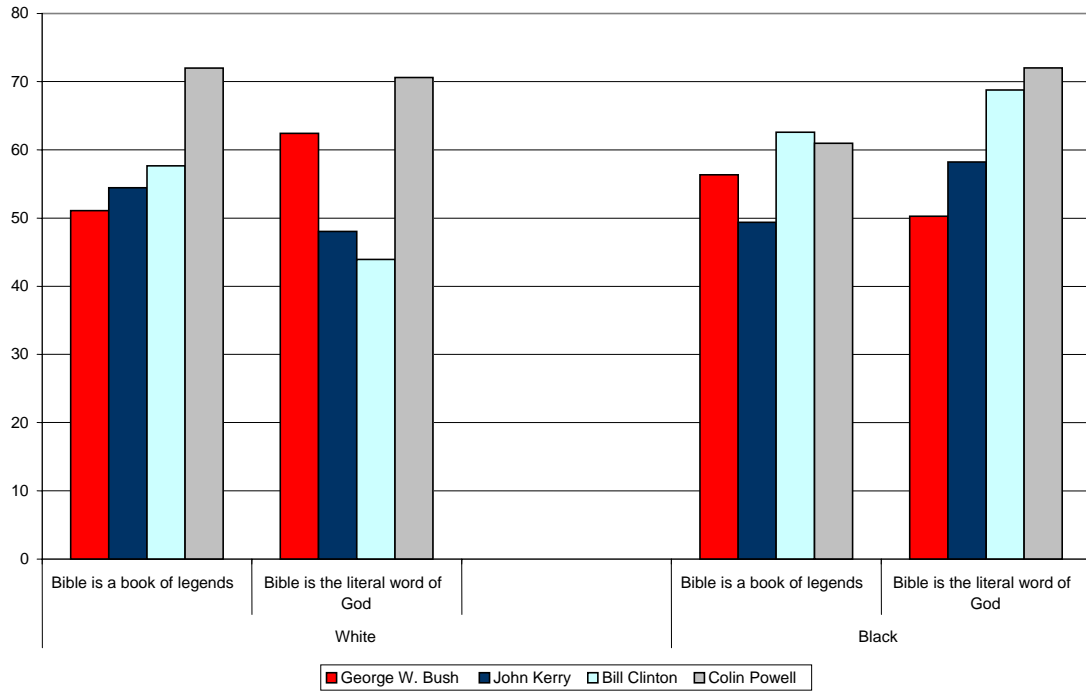


Figure Two: Predicted Level of Negative Affect for Candidates given Race and Biblical Literalism

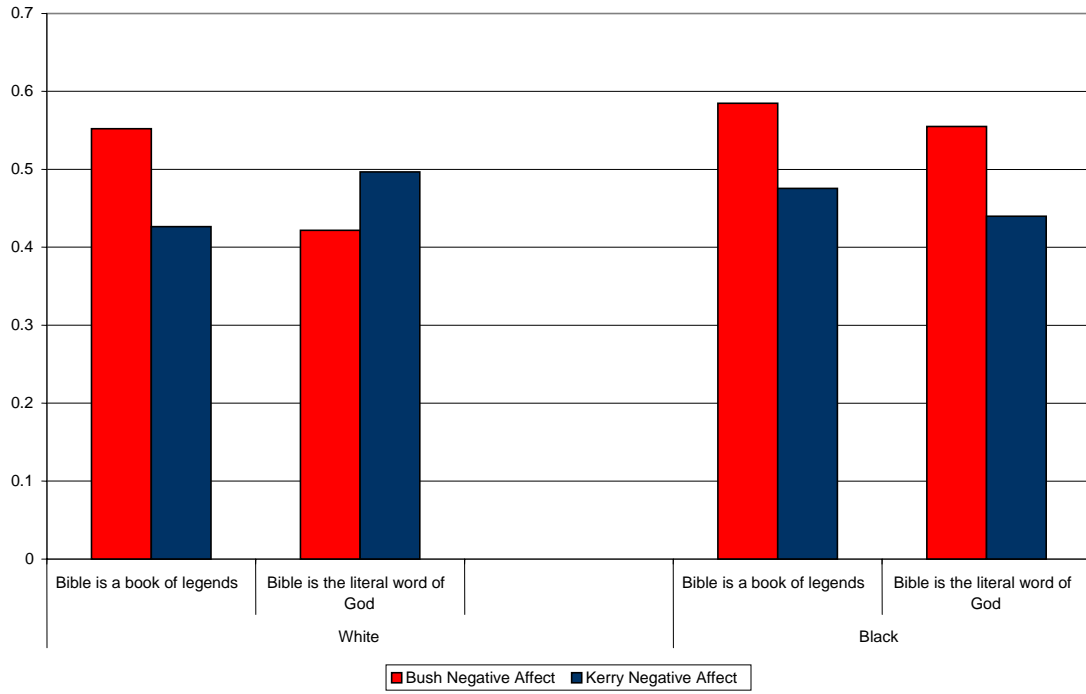


Table 3 OLS Analysis of the Interaction of Race and Literalism on Party Feeling Thermometer Scores and Partisan Identification

	Republican Party	Democratic Party	Partisan (Republican =1)
Black*Literalism	-7.825 (6.242)	6.994 (5.802)	-0.287*** (0.096)
Black	4.213 (5.252)	0.390 (4.883)	-0.131 (0.081)
Biblical Literalism	10.699*** (3.017)	-1.693 (2.807)	0.099* (0.046)
Age	0.872 (3.245)	7.687* (3.014)	-0.143*** (0.049)
Female	-0.560 (1.444)	2.226* (1.342)	-0.055* (0.022)
Education	-6.978* (3.113)	-2.745 (2.893)	0.049 (0.048)
Income	5.214 (3.237)	-4.699 (3.013)	0.182*** (0.049)
South	4.642*** (1.586)	2.784* (1.473)	0.012 (0.024)
Urban	2.359 (2.650)	1.759 (2.463)	0.025 (0.041)
Union Household	1.321 (1.914)	4.115* (1.775)	-0.034 (0.029)
Ideology	5.330*** (1.809)	-2.179 (1.684)	0.313*** (0.025)
Partisanship	46.012*** (2.498)	-43.687*** (2.315)	--- ---
Church Attend	-1.555 (2.006)	-0.366 (1.863)	0.032 (0.031)
Catholic	-1.413 (1.698)	1.712 (1.578)	-0.062* (0.026)
Constant	20.403*** (3.929)	77.260*** (3.657)	0.251*** (0.060)
Adjusted R-square	.521	.528	.373
N	684	685	696

Source:

Figure 3: Predicted Level of Partisanship give Race and Biblical Literalism

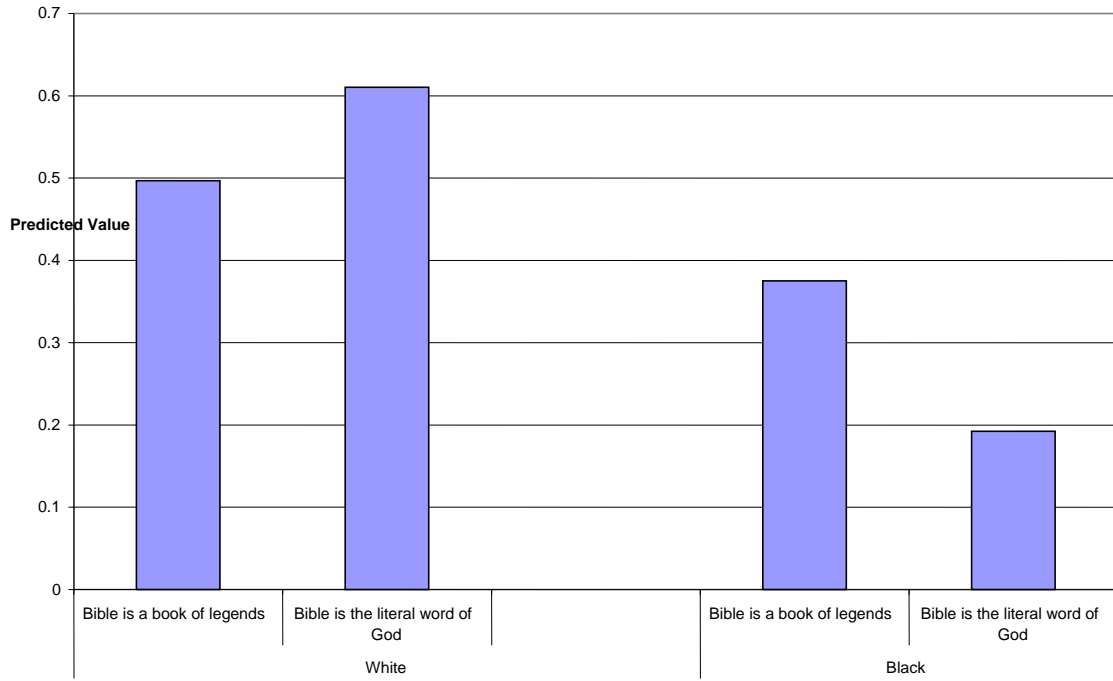


Table 4 OLS Analysis of the Interaction of Race and Literalism on the Evaluation of Current Events

	Fairness of 2000 Election	Evaluation of Afghanistan and Iraq War	Strengthen Gay Rights Laws	Allow Same- Sex Marriages
Black*Literalism	0.765 (0.563)	-0.105 (0.089)	0.024 (0.139)	0.859* (0.517)
Black	-0.142 (0.476)	-0.039 (0.075)	0.062 (0.117)	-0.924* (0.413)
Biblical Literalism	-0.151 (0.257)	0.153*** (0.043)	-0.336*** (0.059)	-1.178*** (0.261)
Age	0.094 (0.297)	-0.024 (0.047)	-0.012 (0.064)	-1.249*** (0.285)
Female	-0.126 (0.121)	-0.060*** (0.021)	0.061* (0.029)	0.063 (0.123)
Education	0.370 (0.266)	-0.025 (0.045)	0.134* (0.061)	1.009*** (0.269)
Income	-0.544* (0.286)	0.136*** (0.046)	-0.051 (0.064)	-0.809*** (0.275)
South	-0.176 (0.133)	0.067*** (0.023)	0.003 (0.031)	-0.024 (0.139)
Urban	-0.369 (0.228)	0.012 (0.038)	0.049 (0.052)	-0.030 (0.225)
Union Household	0.070 (0.152)	-0.012 (0.027)	0.005 (0.037)	0.011 (0.157)
Ideology	-0.189 (0.163)	0.049* (0.026)	-0.054 (0.037)	-0.653*** (0.143)
Partisanship	-0.493* (0.209)	0.533*** (0.036)	-0.131*** (0.050)	-0.670*** (0.210)
Church Attend	0.090 (0.169)	0.009 (0.029)	-0.105*** (0.040)	-0.767*** (0.168)
Catholic	-0.116 (0.143)	0.047* (0.025)	0.069* (0.033)	0.273* (0.139)
Constant	1.654*** (0.373)	0.035 (0.056)	0.940*** (0.077)	1.647*** (0.341)
Adjusted R-square	.051	.464	.180	
Log-Likelihood				-289.402
Correctly Predicted				79.02
N	510	666	599	672

Figure 4: Predicted Probability of supporting Gay Marriage given Race and Biblical Literalism

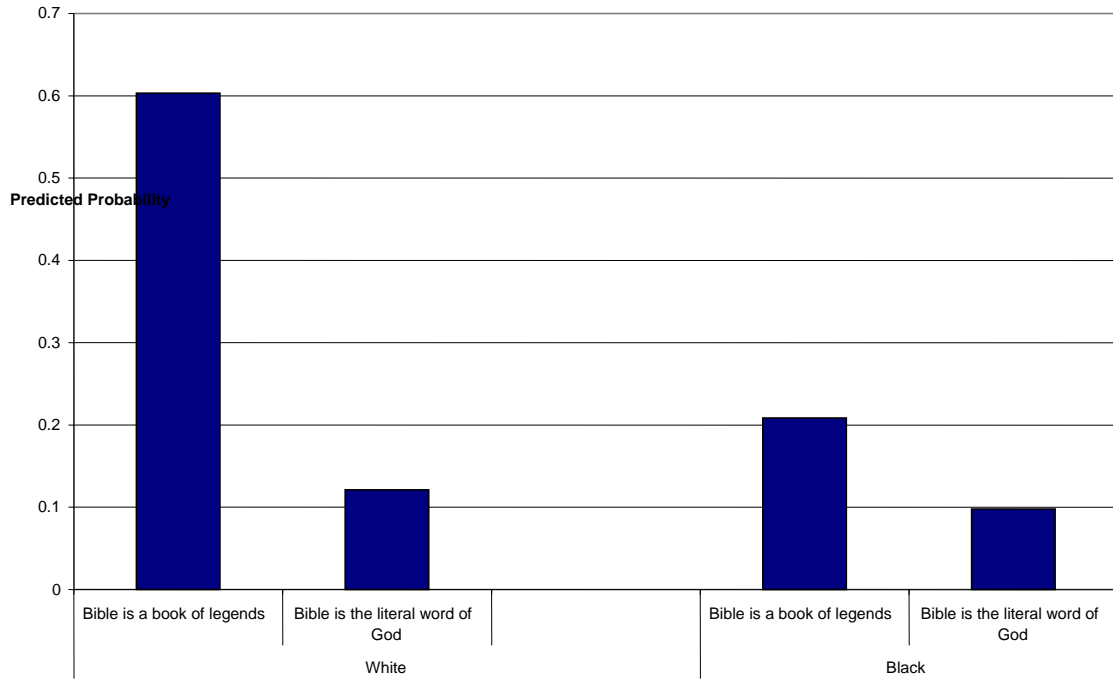


Table 5 Probit Analysis of the Interaction of Race and Literalism on Presidential Vote Choice in the 2000 and 2004 Elections

	Gore	Bush	Kerry	Bush
Black*Literalism	0.527 (0.962)	-0.407 (1.165)	1.186 (1.058)	-0.557 (1.242)
Black	1.039 (0.830)	-1.257 (1.031)	0.299 (0.925)	-0.950 (1.131)
Biblical Literalism	-0.621* (0.363)	0.786* (0.370)	-0.353 (0.373)	0.612 (0.372)
Age	0.777* (0.428)	-0.844* (0.440)	0.326 (0.427)	-0.296 (0.429)
Female	0.224 (0.173)	-0.024 (0.176)	-0.096 (0.177)	0.153 (0.178)
Education	0.332 (0.389)	-0.611 (0.397)	0.525 (0.399)	-0.507 (0.402)
Income	-0.422 (0.384)	0.956* (0.394)	-0.453 (0.396)	0.697* (0.401)
South	-0.509* (0.201)	0.604*** (0.205)	-0.653*** (0.207)	0.813*** (0.212)
Urban	-0.066 (0.327)	0.211 (0.338)	-0.023 (0.329)	0.050 (0.331)
Union Household	0.229 (0.211)	-0.226 (0.213)	0.403* (0.220)	-0.273 (0.220)
Ideology	-0.736*** (0.211)	0.747*** (0.217)	-0.830*** (0.222)	0.723*** (0.225)
Partisanship	-2.987*** (0.304)	3.077*** (0.309)	-3.224*** (0.320)	3.274*** (0.325)
Church Attend	-0.150 (0.237)	0.086 (0.239)	-0.408 (0.248)	0.430* (0.249)
Catholic	-0.034 (0.192)	0.095 (0.194)	0.167 (0.196)	-0.097 (0.196)
Constant	1.741*** (0.535)	-2.378*** (0.556)	2.384*** (0.505)	-2.900*** (0.520)
Log-Likelihood	-144.913	-140.494	-139.627	-138.569
Correctly Predicted	88.87	89.66	88.65	88.25
N	503	503	502	502

Figure 5: Predicted Probability of Voting for George W. Bush or John Kerry given Race and Biblical Literalism

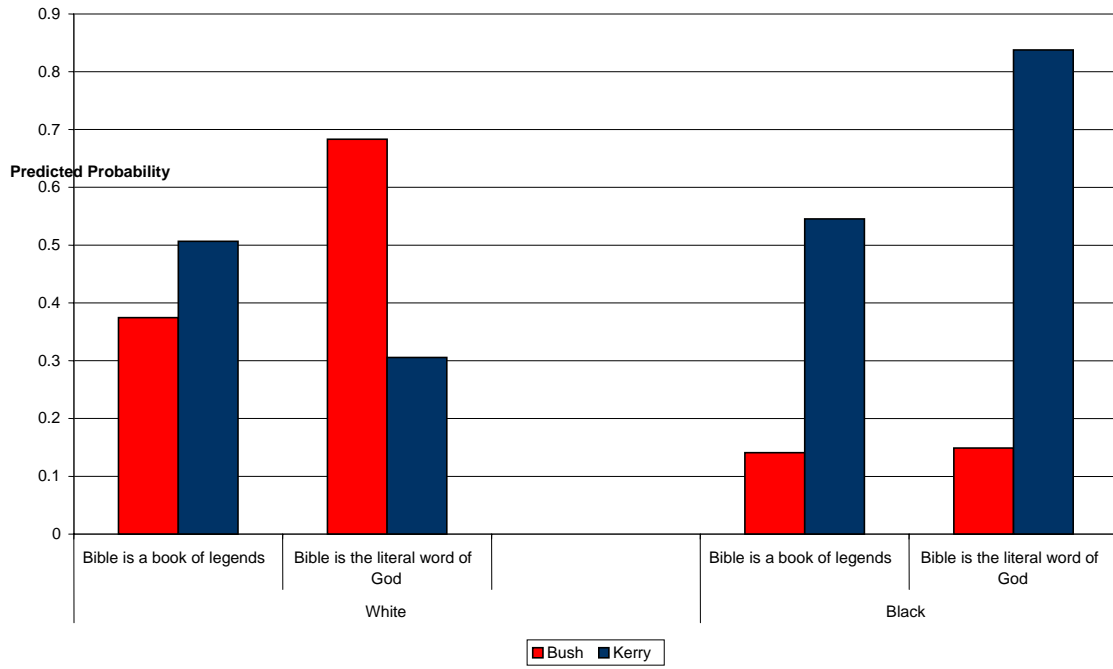


Table 6 Topics of Conversation with Pastors and Members

	AME Survey			NBC Survey		
	Total	Clergy	Members	Total	Clergy	Members
Conversations with Pastor						
Presidential Election			44.9			33.9
War in Iraq			45.6			37.1
Gay Marriage			17.9			14.3
Gay Rights			10.3			7.6
Conversations with Members						
Presidential Election	85.5	82.3	86.6	71.9	77.0	70.1
War in Iraq	83.6	82.3	84.0	72.2	79.7	69.2
Gay Marriage	51.5	53.2	50.7	45.1	51.4	42.9
Gay Rights	31.2	27.9	32.0	28.8	36.5	26.3
Holds a conversation about this topic with pastor as least once a month						
Political Issues			26.0			20.6
Social Issues						39.4
Community Issues						47.5
Holds a conversation about this topic with members as least once a month						
Political Issues	42.5	51.9	39.0	30.4	33.8	29.6
Social Issues				56.3	56.3	56.6
Community Issues				67.7	68.1	67.3

Table 7 Reported Activities in Churches and by Pastors

Church Activities	AME	NBC
Church allowed a public official to speak during worship service	50.2	49.8
Church invited public officials to meetings	36.3	27.5
Church allowed a political organization to meet in the church	26.7	12.5
Church served as a polling place	14.2	13.8
Church held a political forum	20.6	7.9
Pastor criticized public officials	24.2	19.7
Pastor spoke out on a moral issue	65.5	62.3
Pastor spoke out on a political issue	55.5	46.6
Pastor took part in a protest	16.1	9.2
Pastor worked with a political party	12.9	10.8
Pastor told the congregation whom to vote for	9.7	12.1
Pastor formed a political action committee	11.6	5.9
Pastor handed out voter guides	21.3	18.4
Pastor commented on a moral issue during the sermon	54.8	42.6
Pastor commented on a political issue during the sermon	40.0	29.8
Pastor ran for office	8.4	6.2
Pastor contacted a public official	28.8	21.0
Pastor encourage the congregation to vote	72.9	65.6

Table 8 Affect Toward Public Figures, Political Parties, and Groups

Feeling Thermometers	Total	Clergy	Members	Total	Clergy	Members
George W. Bush	18.1	21.7	16.8	25.5	32.5	23.0
John Kerry	64.1	60.7	65.2	56.8	56.2	57.0
Al Sharpton				56.5	58.1	56.3
Jesse Jackson	66.1	60.4	67.8	68.6	67.7	69.0
Republican Party	21.8	24.1	20.9	25.4	29.8	23.5
Democratic Party	75.3	71.8	76.4	72.6	67.8	73.9
Homosexuals	29.3	26.3	30.2	22.8	22.8	22.9
Religious Right	66.3	64.0	67.1	70.3	65.1	71.4
Which Party best represents Blacks?						
Republicans	0.3	0.0	0.5	2.9	2.5	3.1
Democrats	78.6	75.0	79.8	69.4	62.3	71.8
Neither	17.6	19.5	20.0	19.7	24.7	17.5
Both	3.4	5.3	2.8	8.1	9.9	7.6
Religious Right is Harmful to Black America	35.9	39.1	34.7	19.9	24.7	20.6
Politicians who have shown a strong commitment to Christianity should receive more support from the Black church.	---	---	---	53.9	59.5	51.7
President Bush's expression of faith shows that he is a good ally for the Black church.	---	---	---	12.4	16.1	10.6

Table 9 Attitudes towards Current Events, Policy, and Groups

	AME Survey			NBC Survey		
	Total	Clergy	Members	Total	Clergy	Members
The Iraq War was a just war	9.2	13.3	7.3	14.7	12.9	16.5
2000 Election was unfair to Blacks	82.7	84.0	82.1	60.8	62.4	59.3
Gay Union Preference						
Gay Marriage	1.6	0.0	2.1	1.6	0	2.2
Civil Unions	14.1	9.1	15.9	4.0	3.2	4.37
Both	2.0	3.0	1.6	2.8	3.2	2.7
Neither	82.4	87.9	80.4	91.67	93.6	90.7
Churches should oppose any legislation that provide homosexuals with the same rights as others.	48.2	65.3	42.2			
Homosexual's quest for equal rights is similar to Blacks.	15.3	17.9	14.4	16.0	11.0	17.6
Creationism should be taught in schools	22.8	30.0	20.4	29.2	32.2	28.3

Table 10 Partisanship and 2000 and 2004 Presidential Vote Choice

	AME Survey			NBC Survey		
	Total	Clergy	Members	Total	Clergy	Members
Party Identification Scale						
Strong Democrat	56.6	53.3	57.5	47.1	51.3	45.8
Democrat	16.2	21.3	15.5	13.8	10.3	15.1
Weak Democrat	12.8	10.7	13.6	10.1	9.0	10.4
Independent	8.6	9.3	8.4	10.4	6.4	12.3
Weak Republican	3.1	2.7	3.3	8.4	12.8	7.1
Republican	1.0	1.3	0.1	5.7	6.4	5.7
Strong Republican	1.7	1.3	1.9	4.4	3.9	3.8
Mean Partisanship Score	Democrat	Democrat	Democrat	Democrat	Democrat	Democrat
2000 Election Vote Choice						
Bush				8.0	13.8	5.5
Gore				87.2	85.0	88.1
Others				4.8	1.3	6.4
2004 Presidential Election Vote Choice						
Bush	1.7	4.8	0.6	9.6	15.2	7.5
Kerry	97.1	91.9	98.9	85.1	83.5	86.0
Others	1.2	3.3	0.6	5.3	1.3	6.5

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