

PRESENT BUT NOT ACCOUNTED FOR?

APPENDIX: VARIABLE CODING

Dependent Variables

Civic skill practice in church: 1=respondent has practiced a civic skill in church, 0=respondent has not.

Political recruitment: Ranges from 0-12; one point for being contacted about by someone from church

to: call, write, email a politician; participate in local politics, such as planning boards or councils; contribute to political campaigns; work for a political campaign; put out a political yard sign; march or protest for a cause; wear a political button; help register others to vote; join a national political group; write a letter to the editor about a political issue; register to vote, vote/go to the polls.

Independent Variables (in category groups)

Organizational Engagement

Church activities involved in: Ranges from 0-10, number of church “special activities, programs, committees, or small groups” in which respondent is currently involved.

Religious commitment: Index based on the measure used in Green et al. 1996, chapter 10. Combines religious guidance (religious salience), ritual observance (church attendance), religious belief (view of the Bible), and religious activities (frequency of prayer). The scale ranges in value from 1 to 7. Respondents receive a 1 if scoring low on all of the included measures; respondents receive a 5 if they score low on none of the included measures. A score of 6 means the respondent scores high on all but one measure, and 7 equals a high score on all measures. Low responses include the following: church attendance – “never” or “a few times a year”; view of the Bible – “The Bible was written by men so long ago that it is worth little today” and “The Bible is a good book because it was written by wise people, but God had nothing to do with it”; religious salience – religion provides “no guidance” or “some guidance” in daily life; frequency of prayer – “rarely or never” or “monthly”.

Adult education involvement: Ranges from 0 to 12; “In the past year, have you attended any church adult education groups held about one of the following topics?” Twelve topics listed: hunger and poverty, full communion with Episcopalians, women’s issues, environment, gay rights, candidate forums, economy, abortion, gambling, family problems, general government and politics, denominational issues.

Church Social Networks

Discussant is a church/small group member: 1=discussant is a church/group member, 0=discussant is not a church/group member.

Personal similarity to small group: Respondent comparison to others in her primary church small group; seven indicators averaged (race/ethnicity, social status/class, religious beliefs, distance from home to the church, age, party affiliation, and political beliefs); final index ranges from 0 to 1.

Political discussion with discussant: How often politics is discussed with discussion partner – 1=rarely/never, 2=sometimes, 3=often, 4=very often. When discussant is a church member, the discussion variable is multiplied by a church member dummy (0=not a member, 1=member).

Clergy & Congregational Cues

Personal similarity to congregation: Same seven indicators as personal similarity to small group, this time with respondent comparing herself to the congregation as a whole; final index again averaged, ranges from 0 to 1.

Satisfaction with church: Averages respondent satisfaction with ten aspects of the congregation: church’s worship style, quality of the music, worship performance of clergy, messages of the sermons, availability of pastor for personal consultation, adult education opportunities, community outreach opportunities, spiritual development opportunities, the amount of time the clergy devote to political issues (preaching or not), the overall job the clergy is doing. Each item is coded: 1=very dissatisfied, 2=dissatisfied, 3=neutral, 4=satisfied, 5=very satisfied.

Female clergy public speech index (from clergy data): Average of responses to sixteen issues clergy may have addressed in the past year: hunger and poverty, environment, education, civil rights, women's issues, unemployment/economy, gay rights, government spending/deficits, family problems, gambling laws, homosexuality, current political scandals, capital punishment, abortion, prayer in public schools, national defense. Each issue is coded: 1=never addressed, 2=rarely, 3=seldom, 4=often, 5=very often. This is multiplied by clergy gender (0=male, 1=female).

Church size: (from clergy data): Total church membership, including children (self-report).

Perceived clergy political activity: Respondents were asked: "How often does your minister generally engage in these activities?" Included activities: endorse and candidate, prayer for a candidate/party, urge the church to register and vote, urge the church to participate in politics, engage in political protest activities, engage in other political activities, organize political study or action groups in church. Each is coded 1=never, 2=rarely, 3=sometimes, 4=often, 5=very often; responses are averaged.

Episcopal church: 1=Episcopal congregation, 0=ELCA congregation.

Most members involved in church groups: 1=respondent believes most are involved in group activities, 2=about half are involved in group activities, 3=about a quarter are involved in group activities, 4=very few are involved in group activities.

Community Orienting Forces

Religiously different from neighbors: "Compared to other families in your neighborhood, would you say your religious beliefs are" 1=much the same/hard to say, 3=different, 5=very different.

Church belief isolation: (from clergy data): Index gives one point for each clergy report that a church has different theological beliefs, political beliefs, worship and music styles, levels of church activity, or more racial/ethnic minorities than other churches in the same community. Index is averaged and ranges from 0 to 1; higher scores indicate more perceived isolation from the community.

Church activity isolation: (from clergy data): Index gives one point for each clergy report that a church is less involved in the community, has a lower social status, or is less active in politics than other

churches in the community. Index is averaged and ranges from 0 to 1; higher scores indicate more perceived isolation from the community.

Individual Attributes

Education: 1=less than high school; 2=finished high school or GED; 3=some college or associate's; 4=four year college degree; 5=more than 4 years of college.

Age: Measured in years.

Political interest: 1=not much interested, 3=somewhat interested, 5=very much interested.

Partisan strength: Folded version of standard 7-point party identification scale; 0=independent, 1=leaning, 2=weak partisan, 3=strong partisan.

Employed, retired, homemaker: All coded 1=yes, 0=some other status.

Civic skills gained outside the church: Ranges from 0 to 4; one point given if the respondent has written a letter, given a speech/presentation, planned a meeting, studied/discussed a political issue as part of the workplace/organization/other. The resulting score is averaged for the three contexts.

Denomination should be more politically active: “Do (Lutherans/Episcopalians), as a denomination, need to be more or less involved with political and social issues?” 1=much less, 2=somewhat less, 3=same as now, 4=somewhat more, 5=much more.

Other, from Tables 1&2:

Ascribed clergy efficacy: Ministers have great capacity to influence the political and social views of their congregation. 1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=not sure/neutral, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree.

Studied/discussed a political issue with a group in church: 1=yes, 0=no.

Reception of clergy political speech: Ranges in value from 0 to 1, where 1 signals perfect perception of whether clergy discussed eighteen political and social issues; 0 signals perfect misperception of clergy political discussion topics.

Political activity: Average frequency (1=never to 5=very often) of ten political activities: Call, write, email a politician; participate in local politics, such as planning boards or councils; contribute to political campaigns; work for a political campaign; put out a political yard sign; march or protest for a cause; wear a political button; help register others to vote; join a national political group; write a letter to the editor about a political issue.

Discussant political interest: Discussion partner's interest in 1998 campaigns, 1=very much interested, 2=somewhat interested, 3=not much interested.

Frequency of political agreement: The respondent reports disagreement with the discussant on politics 1=very often, 2=often, 3=sometimes, 4=rarely/never.