

## **Politics y la Iglesia:**

### **Attitudes Toward the Role of Religion in Politics among Latino Catholics**

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#### **Abstract**

This chapter analyzes attitudes toward the role of religion in U.S. politics among Latino Catholics and non-Catholics in the United States. We draw on a unique national survey of Latinos and religiosity to test the effects of religious beliefs, religious context, socio-demographic and ideological characteristics on Latino politico-religious attitudes. The religious context exerts a significant effect on attitudes toward religion's role in politics *ceteris paribus*. Furthermore, the effects of religious beliefs, socio-demographic and ideological characteristics reveal predictable and unique patterns. We find a strong interest on the part of Latino Catholics to have politically engaged churches. Latino parishioners are likely to respond positively to religious group seeking their recruitment and political mobilization.

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#### **Introduction**

The U.S. Constitution prohibits government from establishing or promoting a particular religion or intruding on citizens' religious beliefs, or activities. Although the constitutional wall separating church and state was designed to keep religious conflicts and influences at bay, the American political and legal landscape is not free from religious strife and influences. Politicians frequently appeal to voters' religious sentiments through symbolic gestures or by supporting policies particular to religiously oriented persons. Religious leaders are increasingly active in the political arena through voter mobilization efforts and/or endorsements of particular candidates. Perhaps none has had the longevity or been as influential as the Christian Right. The election of a Republican majority to Congress in the mid-1990s and the recent presidential victories of George W. Bush, a born-again Christian, both having strong backings from conservative Christians and their organizations, has renewed interest among scholars to examine the role of religion in American politics<sup>1</sup>.

Scholars have largely considered the impact of religious orientations in structuring a wide range of political attitudes among voters and in determining electoral outcomes<sup>2</sup>. More specifically, the beliefs held by evangelical Protestants, the fastest growing religious segment in American, are regarded as a significant force driving many contemporary political cleavages or the so-called "God gap"<sup>3</sup>. The influence of religious fundamentalist beliefs are most pronounced when it comes to policy issues with religious or moral underpinnings such as abortion, gay marriage, embryonic stem cell research, and school prayer<sup>4</sup>. Measures of religious fundamentalism also correlate strongly with support for the Republican Party and politically conservative candidates<sup>5</sup>. Polls in the

2004 presidential election showed that 22% of voters, many of them religious conservatives, ranked “values” as the most important motivator in casting their vote, and about 80% of those voters supported Bush<sup>6</sup> (Wallsten 2004). Evangelicals are a crucial constituency group for the Republican Party and are credited for George W. Bush’s margin of victory over John Kerry in 2004.

The resurgence of evangelicals and other conservative Christians in politics coincides with the rise in the fourth wave of mass immigration and the growth of the Latino population. According to census estimates, at over 40 million, Latinos are now the largest minority group in the nation and are the fastest growing segment of the electorate, rising from 2.4 million voters in 1980 to 7.5 million in 2004<sup>7</sup>. Recent reports noting the dramatic growth of the Hispanic electorate in states with large numbers of electoral votes and statements that the Hispanic vote is “up for grabs” have raised their political capital<sup>8</sup>. Against the backdrop of a closely divided national electorate, it is little wonder that they have been the focus of intense campaign efforts by *both* political parties who have spent record amounts in their efforts to woo Latinos to their ranks.

Exit polls placed the Latino vote for John Kerry at almost 68% while President Bush garnered 31%. These numbers suggest that Latinos’ traditional Democratic moorings have not wavered. Yet, while most Latinos have long been aligned with the Democratic Party, pundits and journalists have argued that Republicans are beginning to make significant inroads by appealing to their religious values. This makes strategic sense since Hispanics hold conservative attitudes on a number of social issues and these attitudes are reinforced by the growth of evangelical groups and fundamentalist beliefs in Hispanic communities<sup>9</sup>. Despite the fact that Latinos are becoming an influential voice in

American politics and deeply religious, little research has been undertaken to examine the interplay between their religious beliefs and political behavior<sup>10</sup>. Hence, we believe that in order to gain a better understanding of political and religious change in America, it is essential to analyze the affiliation and religious beliefs of the Latino population.

We intend to fill a critical gap in the literature on religion and politics by examining the politico-religious beliefs of Latinos. Our study draws on a unique data source from the Hispanic Churches in American Public Life (HCAPL) 2000 public opinion survey. The HCAPL is based on a national telephone survey with 2,310 Latinos carried out between August 21 and October 31, 2000 in Los Angeles, San Antonio, Houston, Chicago, Miami, New York, rural Colorado, rural Iowa, and San Juan Puerto Rico (our analysis excludes the sample drawn from Puerto Rico or 2,060 respondents). Presently, it is the largest national bilingual survey of Latino religious practices and beliefs in the United States<sup>11</sup>.

Our primary interest is to explore Latino attitudes toward the role of religious leaders and organizations in politics. Among Latinos, nearly 70% are practicing Catholics, and we probe whether or not Latino Catholics view their local church as playing an active role in politics, and further whether or not they support church attention to political issues.

### **Public Opinion Toward Church and State**

The growing involvement of religious groups in American politics and public controversies over the Establishment and Free Exercise Clauses in the Constitution has led public opinion scholars to examine mass attitudes toward the role of religion in

politics and other public spheres. Some of the earliest works focused on the issue of religion in public schools, in particular school prayer and Bible reading. Despite Supreme Court decisions striking down these practices, the American public, by large margins, has favored returning prayer and Bible reading to the schoolhouse<sup>12</sup>. The 1980 American National Election Study found that 72.1 percent of respondents believed that schools should be allowed to start each day with a prayer. More recent studies find similar results, highlighting the stability of these beliefs despite the growth in religious diversity<sup>13</sup>. Within these studies, support for religion in public schools was highest among older individuals, persons with lower levels of education, and self-identified conservatives. Beyond these socio-demographic and ideological characteristics, evangelical Protestants and varying measures of religiosity and religious orthodoxy correlated strongly with support for religious expressions in the public schools<sup>14</sup>.

Other scholars have gone beyond church-state controversies in the public schools to examine attitudes toward *abstract* principles surrounding the Establishment and Free Exercise Clauses and *concrete* issues such as the display of religious symbols in public spaces and the involvement of religious groups in politics<sup>15</sup>. Differences between elites and the mass public are noted in attitudes toward abstract principles but smaller differences are observed when it comes to concrete issues such as the public display of Christian symbols or extending religious freedoms to religious groups that are perceived to be dangerous<sup>16</sup>.

Beyond issues surrounding the Establishment and Free Exercise Clauses in the Constitution, much has been written on the impact of religious views on voter preferences<sup>17</sup>. Miller and Wattenberg explore the emergence of a new partisan cleavage

pitting evangelicals, who closely identify with the Republican Party, against religiously moderate groups who are supportive of the Democratic Party<sup>18</sup>. Their study and others note that evangelically oriented Christians and evangelically oriented Catholics vote more heavily for the Republican Party and conservative candidates than other individuals professing a different religious identity<sup>19</sup>. In addition, evangelicals exhibit higher rates of voter turnout and are more involved in persuading others how to vote<sup>20</sup>. In fact, the politicization of religious beliefs is often credited for the many victories of the Republican Party since the 1980s<sup>21</sup>.

The most consistent finding of the studies previously reviewed is that doctrinally conservative Christians, typically labeled evangelicals, fundamentalists, or born again Christians<sup>22</sup>, tend to favor less separation between church and state on a wide range of issues, including the involvement of religion in politics<sup>23</sup>. These results have led Welch and Leege<sup>24</sup> to argue that “the effects of religion on politics are best measured when one moves beyond manifest characteristics such as affiliation and church attendance to other religious values and behavior.” In other words, fundamentalist beliefs are not confined to traditionally fundamentalist churches<sup>25</sup> and are increasingly adopted by mainline Protestants and Catholics. How prevalent are fundamentalist beliefs among Latino Catholics and what, if any, effect do their religious beliefs and practices have on their political attitudes? Despite the sizable growth in the Latino population as well as the Latino vote, little research has examined the potentially political role played by Catholicism. In the next section, we review the findings of the Hispanic Churches in American Public Life (HCAPL) survey.

### **Latino Politico-Religious Beliefs**

We asked respondents whether they agreed or disagreed with four statements pertaining to the involvement of religious leaders in U.S. politics and the experiences at their own churches. Table 1.1 shows the percentage of Latino Catholic respondents who “agreed somewhat” and “agreed strongly” with each of the four statements.

( Table 1.1 here )

From the data, we note that a solid majority of Latino Catholics endorse the idea of religious leaders encouraging followers to be active in their communities. Sixty percent of respondents agreed that they would like to see their church more involved in social and political issues. However, when the question turns to religious leaders attempting to exert influence in public affairs instead of the more general and less-political categories of “social, educational, or political” issues, support amongst Catholics is less enthusiastic, though still noteworthy at 48%. The support for these activities among Latinos should not be surprising as the Catholic Church has been socially engaged in Hispanic communities since the 1960s<sup>26</sup>. The differences between the answers in the first two questions may also illustrate a divide on involvement in social issues as defined by the traditional culture war issues versus issues pertaining to social justice and community betterment. Where the first question implies a more benign involvement with community assistance as its main objective and receives stronger support, the second question brings to mind an individual advocating for a cause or consulting political leaders. Or, with the focus on religious leaders in general, some respondents may have envisioned non-Catholic religious leaders influencing public affairs and stated that they disagreed. With respect to activities within the Church, 39% stated that priests or other

leaders regularly discussed political issues of the day. However, only 22% of Latino Catholics report that they were asked to become involved in such issues by their church. While the church can be one important place of political socialization and a source of mobilization, Verba, Schlozman and Brady<sup>27</sup> note that the Catholic church is not quite as adept at mobilization as Protestant and Evangelical churches, citing a more hierarchical structure.

As a follow up the questions reported in table 1.1, we asked respondents what sorts of political activities their churches had engaged in over the past few years. Table 1.2 reports the results of political activity among Catholic churches. The most frequent political activity was voter registration drives, reported by 22% of our respondents. In contrast to the higher percentages in table 1.1, we found that only 8% of Latino Catholics were asked to support a specific candidate in an upcoming election, and only 9% stated their church had organized a political rally. However, it should be noted that six years after our survey was in the field, the Catholic Church became heavily involved the single-largest Latino political rally ever, the immigration protest rallies in March, April and May of 2006.

( Table 1.2 here )

In general, the initial results in table 1.1 show a strong desire on the part of Latino Catholics to have a church that is socially, and to some extent, politically active. Support for political involvement is rather high considering that the Catholic Church within the Mexican American community is noted for its political passivity in electoral politics<sup>28</sup>. What are the sources of support for a politically active church among Latino Catholics? Given the diversity of religious practices and beliefs among Catholics<sup>29</sup>, it is clear that

attitudinal differences are not only going to be driven by differences in respondents' socio-demographic or ideological characteristics, but also by differences in religious beliefs and practices and the religious context. In particular, Latino Catholics have often been characterized as a highly religious group<sup>30</sup>. In table 1.3 we detail the degree of religiosity among Latino Catholics in our sample. Almost half of the sample stated that religion provides a great deal of guidance in their daily life, with an additional 22% saying religion provides quite a bit of guidance. Overall, 69% of Latino Catholics could be described as quite religious in the sense that religion is more than a weekly appointment, but rather plays a significant role in their daily lives. Further, almost the same percent (68%) attend mass regularly, including half who go to church every single week. Finally, we found that 70% of Latino Catholics stated that "faith and morals" are important to how they vote, and who they vote for.

( Table 1.3 here )

To provide a more definitive picture of the connection between religion and politics, we turn to multivariate analysis to consider the differential impact of selected factors on Latino Catholic attitudes.

### **Data, Methods and Results**

To examine the role of the church in politics, we rely on a unique public opinion survey of Latino adults on the topics of religion and civic participation<sup>31</sup>. The Hispanic Churches in American Public Life (HCAPL) survey of Latino adults was conducted in the Fall of 2000 and co-sponsored by the Alianza de Ministerios Evangelicos Nacionales (AMEN), the Mexican American Cultural Center (MACC), and the Tomás Rivera Policy

Institute (TRPI). The survey was implemented using random digit dial in high-density Latino areas and from directory listed households with Spanish surnames in low-density Latino areas. The survey was carried out in Los Angeles, San Antonio, Houston, Chicago, Miami, New York City, rural Colorado and rural Iowa and San Juan, Puerto Rico (although the San Juan sample is excluded from this paper). The design also included an over-sample of 351 Protestants. In addition to the telephone survey, the overall project also included a national leadership mail-out survey of 436 Latino political, civic, and religious leaders, and community profiles of 268 religious and lay leaders attending 45 congregations representing 25 religious traditions in 8 urban and rural areas across the U.S.<sup>32</sup>.

Our interest is in understanding the factors underlying Latino Catholic attitudes toward religious involvement in politics (table 1.1). The first two questions reported in table 1.1 will serve as our dependent variables as we examine the social and demographic predictors of support for a politically active church. Because the responses are coded dichotomously (agree/disagree), we ran logistical regression analyses for both models and report changes in predicted probability (in addition to coefficients). From the survey, we are able to construct 13 predictors for our multivariate analyses. These predictors can be grouped into three broad categories: (1) religious expressions and beliefs; (2) religious context and (3) socio-demographic and ideological characteristics.

Under religious expressions and beliefs, the variables selected measure religious salience and evangelicalism<sup>33</sup>. The first variable, labeled *Religiosity*, is based on three questions measuring the frequency of (1) prayer, (2) reading the Bible and (3) attending religious services. Responses range from 0 "never" to 5 "everyday." The three questions

are combined to create a religiosity scale ranging from 0 to 15. The second variable, *Guidance*, is based on a common measure asking the individual how much guidance religion provides in their daily life. The variable is categorical ranges from none (1) to a great deal (4). As reported in table 1.3 among the respondents, 47 percent of Latino Catholics said religion provides a great deal of guidance in their day-to-day living. Increasingly, many Catholics are embracing practices long associated with evangelically oriented Protestants<sup>34</sup>, as well as with the mystical side of religion known as *espiritismo*<sup>35</sup>. These include having a born-again experience, forming Bible study groups, proselytizing, faith healing, *curanderismo* and *brujeria* and speaking in tongues. Two questions capture evangelical and *espiritismo* orientations among Catholics. The first is whether they consider themselves to be born-again or had a conversion experience related to Jesus Christ, and the second is whether they believe in practices such as “*espiritismo*, *curanderismo*, and *brujeria*”. Twenty eight percent of Latino Catholics identified as “born-again” and 17 percent claim to believe in *espiritismo*-oriented theology. We hypothesize that the variables falling under religious expressions and beliefs will be positively related to support greater religious involvement in politics. Evangelically oriented Catholics and Catholics with a deep sense of religiosity possess beliefs and practices similar to evangelical Protestants<sup>36</sup>, the latter being strong supporters of religion’s participation in politics. *Espiritismo* oriented Catholics may have a more mystical sense of religiosity and perhaps less likely to embrace the convergence of religion with politics.

Wald, Kellstedt and Legee<sup>37</sup> write that “the ties between religion and political behavior are to some degree the product of what goes on in the churches that Americans

join and support so abundantly.” Churches can provide the means, motive and opportunity for members to become politically informed and mobilized. The clergy frequently use the pulpit to transmit overt and symbolic political messages<sup>38</sup>. While most Americans do not identify the church or clergy as influential sources of political mobilization, there is greater evidence supporting the proposition that the clergy are important sources of political information and mobilization especially on moral and family issues<sup>39</sup>. Given the central role of churches in the lives of most Americans, we argue that individuals who hear political messages or are encouraged to participate in politics will display more favorable attitudes toward religion’s involvement in politics. We use two variables to measure the religious context: (1) *Political Information* and (2) *Encouraged to Participate*. The first is based on a question asking: “How often do religious leaders at your local church or place of worship talk about the pressing social or political issues of the day?” The second variable comes from a question asking: “During the past two years, have you ever been asked by your church or religious organization, or one of its leaders to engage in activities on behalf of specific social, educational, or political issues, such as calling or writing to public officials, coming to a meeting, or signing a petition?” Both are coded dichotomously, with 1 for “yes” responses. As we reported in table 1.1, among our respondents, 39 percent said political issues were discussed at their place of worship and 22 percent were encouraged to participate. These variables are important because they will help understand whether activities by the Catholic church can further politicize the religious experience for Latinos.

Finally, the models include socio-demographic and ideological variables as controls. While a cross section of the American public claims evangelical orientations<sup>40</sup>,

the salience of religion is stronger among older individuals, women, and persons with lower incomes and less formal education<sup>41</sup>. The effects of socio-demographic characteristics vary depending on the particular issue surrounding the Establishment and Free Exercise clauses in the Constitution<sup>42</sup>. For example, when it comes to abstract principles surrounding the separation of church and state, individuals with higher levels of education and income favored greater separation than lower socio-economic status persons. Women were less likely than men to hold separationist attitudes. Finally, self-identified political conservatives favored a greater presence of religion in politics<sup>43</sup>. On concrete issues, such as the display of religious symbols in public or school prayer, the effects of socio-demographics were less consistent. Nonetheless, political conservatives were consistently more likely to favor religious displays, school prayer, and public funding of religious schools.

Our models control for age, income, education, marital status, gender (female), nativity, national origin (Mexican) and political ideology (Republican). While we have some expectation regarding the direction of the coefficients, we are agnostic as to the effects of these controls on Latino attitudes, as all of the previous research is based on samples with non-Hispanic whites. Our agnosticism is also founded on recent scholarship showing that the traditional socio-demographic predictors of political participation and attitudes do not neatly apply to Latinos and other ethnic or racial minorities<sup>44</sup>. However, we have some expectations regarding the effects of political ideology given the strong connection between conservatives, the Republican Party and religious sentiments. Thus, we expect that self-identified Latino Republicans will be stronger supporters of religion's participation in politics.

( Table 2 here )

In Table 2, two columns of results are presented for both of our models. The first reports the logistic coefficients with the standard errors in parenthesis while the second set of results report changes in the predicted probability that the dependent variable will take on a value of one, given a fixed change in the independent variable from its minimum to its maximum value, holding all others constant at their mean<sup>45</sup>.

Among the religious expression variables, only religiosity has a statistically significant effect on attitudes towards the convergence of religion and politics. Latino Catholics who attend mass and pray more frequently and read the Bible are much more likely to support their church being more involved in political issues, as well as to support religious leaders having influence in public affairs. Thus, for Latino Catholics who are the most religious, they would like to see religion injected into the political sphere. Interestingly, there was no difference in how born-again Catholics, espiritismo Catholics, and traditional Catholics viewed the connection between religion and politics.

The data strongly suggest that the political context (*Political Information* and *Encouraged to Participate*) exerts a significant effect across both models. Receiving political information, or being asked to get involved in politics through the church leaves Latinos Catholics wanting even more. The effects for political information were robust in both models, with Latinos about 12% more likely to support more political involvement from their church and 20% more likely to support religious leaders influencing public affairs if their church talked about social and political issues of the day. When the Catholic Church encourages Latinos to get involved in political issues, they likewise support additional involvement in political affairs by the church and by religious leaders.

In short, belonging to a politically active church leads followers to develop a positive outlook toward religion's involvement in politics.

The effects of the socio-demographic variables also yielded interesting patterns. Older and more educated, and higher income individuals were less supportive of the church or religious leaders taking a role in political affairs. Perhaps older individuals hold a more traditional view of the Catholic Church as an apolitical institution, given the historically passive role of the Catholic Church in politics. Because education is found to have a politically liberalizing effect<sup>46</sup>, it may be the case that Latinos with higher levels of education are skeptical of a politically active church since its involvement may largely be equated with support for conservative candidates. With respect to just church involvement in politics (Model I), we find that U.S. born Latinos are less likely to be supportive than foreign born, and that Latinos of Mexican origin are more likely to be supportive.

### **Discussion and Conclusion**

Evangelicals and Latinos are increasingly becoming influential actors in American politics. While the nexus between these two groups has yet to be fully explored by social scientists, it is increasingly evident that the future political success of the Christian Right depends on their ability to recruit emerging minority groups such as Latinos. This sentiment is noted by Green, Rozell and Wilcox<sup>47</sup> who write, "Ethnic diversity presented both a challenge and a largely untapped opportunity for the movement...in most states...Hispanic Catholics shared many of the religious values of the movement's core

supporters but rarely backed movement organizations...few [Hispanic Catholics] joined the movement in backing Republican candidates."

It is well known that Latinos are deeply religious and hold many values, beliefs and political attitudes similar to evangelical Christians. For example, in the survey analyzed here, 60% of Latino Catholics supported the teaching of evolution and creationism side-by-side, while an additional 20% think only creationism should be taught in biology class. Further, we find 64% are strongly opposed to abortion and 62% are opposed to homosexuality. All three of these religious-influenced issues are topical political issues today as well. We also find a strong desire among Latinos for a politically active Catholic Church. However, within Hispanic communities the Catholic Church has historically been reluctant to promote participation in electoral politics. In our survey only a small percentage of respondents reported being politically mobilized by their church. Only 10% stated their church distributed campaign materials, and 8% asked parishioners to support a specific candidate. These findings then paint a pessimistic picture regarding the role of the Catholic Church in mobilizing Latino voters and may present an opportunity for recruitment by evangelicals seeking to make inroads into the Hispanic community. This of course, presumes that Latino evangelical groups are more likely to politically mobilize Latinos. Would evangelical churches spur Latino political participation and foster beliefs favoring greater ties between religion and politics?

In their classic work on political participation, Verba, Schlozman and Brady found Latino Catholics to be less politically engaged than Latino Protestants, while the latter were as engaged as Anglo Protestants<sup>48</sup>. Verba, Schlozman and Brady concluded that the Catholic Church was a politically demobilizing institution. Lee et. al. found that

being Catholic per se did not lead to lower political involvement among Latinos<sup>49</sup>. Instead, the Catholic church tended to offer Latinos less opportunities to become politically engaged within the church – however, Latino Catholics who were politicized at church were as likely as any other denomination to be politically active outside the church. Espinosa has sought to challenge the belief that Hispanic Catholics are more politically disengaged than other groups<sup>50</sup>. Drawing on the same data analyzed here, Espinosa finds evidence that the Catholic Church can be politically mobilizing. Yet, he also confirms the findings by Verba, Scholzman and Brady by noting that “Latino Protestants are more proactive than Catholics in most forms of political and social action”<sup>51</sup>. While Latino Protestants claimed higher levels of religious-based mobilization than Latino Catholics in the HCAPL survey, the differences were for the most part negligible, suggesting that under multivariate scrutiny those differences might wash out when controlling for other factors beyond denominational affiliation. This is precisely what Jones-Correa and Leal found using data from the Latino National Political Survey. When differences were observed between Latino Catholics and Protestants, it was the former who participated at higher rates<sup>52</sup>. In short, the differences in Latino civic engagement and politico-religious attitudes may not be as stark across denominational affiliations as previously believed.

Taking our results as a whole, it appears that high levels of Latino politico-religious mobilization by Catholics has yet to occur. Nonetheless, there is a relatively strong interest on the part of Latino Catholics to have politically engaged churches. We believe Latino parishioners on the whole will be responsive to any religious group seeking their recruitment and political mobilization. Whether Latino religious

politicization is undertaken by the Catholic Church, evangelical or mainline Protestant churches remains to be seen. What is clear is that the political influence of any religious group will be significantly enhanced by the presence of large numbers of politically engaged Latinos.

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**Tables**

<b>Table 1.1 Latinos and Church Activity in Political Issues</b>	<b>Agree</b>
I. Would you like your church to become more involved than it is now with social, educational, or political issues	60%
II. Religious leaders should try to influence public affairs	48%
III. How often do the leaders at your local church or place of worship talk about the pressing social or political issues of the day	39%
IV. During the past two years, have you been asked by your church or religious organization to engage in activities on behalf of specific social, educational, or political issues?	22%

<b>Table 1.2 Political Activities of Church in Last Five Years</b>	<b>Yes</b>
Voter registration	22%
Rides to polling places	14%
Distributing campaign materials	10%
Advocating for ballot issue, proposition or referendum	12%
Asked people to support specific candidates	8%
Organized/Participated in political protest or rally	9%
Church has done at least one of these activities	39%

<b>Table 1.3 Religiosity of Latino Catholics</b>	<b>Yes</b>
Religion provides a great deal of guidance in daily life	47%
Religion provides quite a bit of guidance in daily life	22%
Attend mass every week	48%
Attend mass once or twice a month	20%
Read Bible weekly (outside of mass)	23%
Never read Bible (outside of mass)	28%
Attended religious school as child	31%
Are faith and morals relevant to vote choice?	70%

**Table 2. Determinants of Support for Religious Involvement in Politics among Latino Catholics**

	Model I Church More Involved		Model II Influence Public Affairs	
	Coefficients	Min-Max	Coefficients	Min-Max
<b>Religious Expressions</b>				
<i>Religiosity</i>	0.074*** (0.023)	0.211	0.048* (0.022)	0.145
<i>Guidance</i>	0.060 (0.063)	0.059	0.093 (0.062)	0.091
<i>Born-again</i>	0.168 (0.149)	0.040	0.178 (0.142)	0.045
<i>Espiritismo</i>	-0.211 (0.167)	-0.051	0.106 (0.163)	0.026
<b>Religious Context</b>				
<i>Political Information</i>	0.166** (0.064)	0.118	0.269*** (0.062)	0.199
<i>Encouraged to Participate</i>	0.830*** (0.179)	0.186	0.467** (0.160)	0.116
<b>Socio-demographics and Ideological Characteristics</b>				
<i>Age</i>	-0.009* (0.004)	-0.163	-0.013** (0.004)	-0.218
<i>Education</i>	-0.082† (0.047)	-0.099	-0.016 (0.046)	-0.019
<i>Income</i>	-0.616** (0.256)	-0.152	-0.612* (0.257)	-0.147
<i>Married</i>	-0.163 (0.130)	-0.039	-0.115 (0.127)	-0.029
<i>Female</i>	0.057 (0.131)	0.014	-0.002 (0.128)	-0.001
<i>US Born</i>	-0.495*** (0.140)	-0.120	-0.020 (0.136)	-0.005
<i>Mexican origin</i>	0.314* (0.135)	0.076	-0.182 (0.132)	-0.045
<i>Republican</i>	-0.021 (0.199)	-0.005	0.080 (0.196)	-0.020
Constant	-0.130 (0.347)		-0.779* (0.341)	
PPC	63.8%		59.9%	
PRE	0.124		0.152	
Sample Size	1,171		1,171	

Significance levels: † p<=.100, \* p<=.05, \*\* p<=.01, \*\*\*p<=.001, one-tailed.

**End Notes**

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