Morality or Locality?: The Political Context of Marriage Definition
Direct Democracy Voting Outcomes

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Abstract

In 2004, voters in thirteen states approved amendments to their state constitutions defining marriage as involving one man and one woman. This paper examines the political context of those voting outcomes. It analyzes the influence of religion on the county-level votes for the marriage definition amendments, controlling for various political, demographic, and socioeconomic variables. The analysis reveals that while religious affiliation was an important fact in the political environment, the relationship between support for marriage definition and the 2004 Republican presidential vote was more important. The analysis also exhibits evidence that counties with large African-American populations strongly supported marriage definition amendments.
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Same-sex marriage became legal in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts on May 17, 2004, the result of a judicial decision. Reacting to that event and what many believed to be a movement toward allowing same-sex marriage in other states, voters in thirteen states approved marriage definition amendments to their state constitutions in 2004.¹ Missouri voters approved a legislative referendum at the August 3 primary election. A legislative referendum was approved in Louisiana² at the September 18 primary. Voters in the other nine states approved ballot questions at the November 2 general election. In Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, Oklahoma, and Utah, the question was referred by the legislature. Voters in Arkansas, Michigan, Montana, North Dakota, Ohio, and Oregon, approved citizen initiatives.³

Using a method similar to the method used by Morgan and Meier (1980) in their study of voting on moral issues in Oklahoma, this paper examines the voting patterns on the question of marriage definition in the thirteen states that considered the issue in 2004. Morgan and Meier used multiple regression analysis to study the county-level vote on several ballot questions. Their dependent variable was the percentage of each county’s voters supporting the question. They used a number of independent variables including rural isolation, socioeconomic status, liquor consumption, and three categories of religion. They found that support for referenda on


²Louisiana is subdivided into parishes and not counties. For the purposes of the present research, parishes are synonymous with counties.

³There is a difference between referenda and initiatives, despite the common use of the terms as synonyms. A referendum is a piece of legislation on which the voters are allowed to decide. These measures usually are constitutional amendments proposed by the state legislature that then have to be ratified by the voters. There is a form of referendum that occurs after the legislature enacts legislation and citizens petition to have the right to vote on that legislation. Some states allow the citizen initiative that allows citizens to make law without the legislature having a role. In Oklahoma, for example, a citizen initiative was circulated, but the legislature proposed the constitutional amendment before the initiative could be approved for the ballot.
liberalizing liquor and gambling laws was found in Oklahoma counties with high socioeconomic status, a larger percentage of Catholics, and smaller percentages of both fundamentalist and other Protestants (Morgan and Meier 1980; Satterthwaite 2005a). Despite the relative simplicity of the method and the level at which the data are aggregated, Morgan and Meier’s findings have been cited numerous times, especially on questions related to issues of morality (see Gibson 2004; Haider-Markel and Meier 1996; LeDuc and Pammett 1995; Oldmixon 2002; Satterthwaite 2005a, 2005b; Wald, Button, Rienzo 1996; Wilcox and Jelen 1990). Rausch (1994) uses a similar methodology to examine the politics of legislative constraint in Oklahoma.

Several hypotheses emerge to explain support for marriage definition state questions. One hypothesis is that votes on marriage definition were determined by religious affiliation. Public opinion research demonstrates that religion has an influence on opinions about homosexuality (Cochran and Beeghley 1991; Cotten-Huston and Waite 2000; Finlay and Walther 2003; Glenn and Weaver 1979; Roof and McKinney 1987), although Cadge, Olson, and Harrison (2005) show that religious affiliation may not specifically affect opinion on allowing same-sex marriages.

A second hypothesis considers the urban and rural populations in a state. Voters in rural areas are more likely to vote in support of marriage definition amendments while those in urban areas would oppose the measures. There has been little research on locality as a factor in voter outcomes on marriage definition amendments, except that some research has included “rural and urban” as variables (see, for example, Smith, DeSantis, and Kassel 2005). Examining Ohio and Michigan, Smith, DeSantis, and Kassel (2005, 16) find that rural counties were significantly more likely to support the marriage definition measure in Ohio. Gay-rights activists in Houston, Texas, who during the summer of 2005 were organizing to oppose a proposed constitutional
amendment in the Lone Star State, based their strategy on the likelihood that residents of urban areas were less likely to support same-sex marriage prohibitions.\(^4\) Texas voters will consider the amendment, along with eight other constitutional changes, on November 8, 2005.

A third possible hypothesis considers the role of political party in the vote on marriage definition amendments. A growing body of research (Campbell and Monson 2005; Donovan, et al. 2005; Hillygus and Shields 2005; Smith, DeSantis, and Kassel 2005) links the success of President George W. Bush’s re-election campaign with the state-level votes on marriage definition. This line of research supports the public opinion data that emerged out of the 2004 presidential election indicating that voters chose President Bush largely because of his positions on moral issues, including gay marriage. The challenge, recognized by Smith, DeSantis, and Kassel 2005, 12), lies in identifying the number of Democratic and Republican party identifiers at the county-level, especially in states that do not register voters by party. This is discussed further below.

Using data collected from a variety of sources, the present research assesses the alternative hypotheses while testing for other potential explanations of support for state constitutional amendments defining marriage. Data were collected on each of 1,037 counties in the thirteen states. The counties are in states located in different parts of the country, providing some control on political culture. In addition, the counties vary on their support for the 2004 Republican presidential candidate. The Democratic candidate for president won several of the states included in this analysis. In addition, there is a high degree of variability between the counties in terms of their populations.

History and Politics of Marriage Definition

The state campaigns to define marriage in their constitutions in 2004 were one dramatic point in a decades-long conflict over the ability of same-sex couples to obtain marriage licenses (Barclay and Fisher 2003; Cadge, Olson, and Harrison 2005, 5-8). In 1970, the first gay male couple applied for a marriage license from Hennepin County, Minnesota. After the county clerk denied their application, they sued in state court. The Minnesota Supreme Court held that the men had no federal due process or equal protection right to marry (Baker v. Nelson, 291 Minn. 310, 314-15, 191 N.W.2d 185, 187 [1971]). A number of same-sex couples tried to obtain marriage licenses during the 1970s and 1980s and failed in court (Dupuis 2002).

Gay marriage entered the national political agenda in the early 1990s when the Hawaii Supreme Court ruled that the state’s ban on granting same-sex couples marriage licenses violated the equal protection clause found in the Hawaii Constitution (Baehr v. Lewin, 852 P.2d 44 [Haw. 1993]). This decision was upheld by a Hawaii appeals court in 1996. During the period between the two decisions, same-sex marriage opponents organized. The opponents were able to persuade the Hawaii Legislature to propose a state constitutional amendment that was ratified by 69 percent of the state’s voters in November 1998. In 1996, while several states were debating same-sex marriage, Congress passed the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA) defining marriage as an institution between a man and woman. The legislation prohibited federal recognition of same-sex marriages and permitted each state to ignore same-sex marriages performed in other states. President Bill Clinton signed the bill that was followed by similar legislation in a number of states.

The next legal action occurred in Vermont in 1999. The Vermont Supreme Court ruled that limiting marriage opposite-sex couples violated the Vermont Constitution’s “Common
Benefits Clause” (*Baker v. State*, 744 A.2d 864 [Vt. 1999]). The decision forced the Vermont Legislature to develop a way for benefits and protections to same-sex couples. In 2000, the legislature passed a “civil unions” law, granting to same-sex couples “all the same benefits, protections and responsibilities under law, whether they derive from statute, administrative or court rule, policy, common law or any other source of civil law, as are granted to spouses in marriage.” This was the first legislative measure to provide the benefits and protections of marriage without the label of “marriage.”

Same-sex couples received additional support for their ability to obtain marriage licenses with the 2003 Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court ruling *Goodridge v. Department of Public Health* (798 N.E.2d 941 [Mass. 2003]). The court ruled “the marriage ban does not meet the rational basis test for either due process or equal protection.” The first same-sex marriage licenses were granted in Massachusetts on May 14, 2004, over the objection of Governor Mitt Romney, a Republican.

Reacting to these court rulings and events like San Francisco Mayor Gavin Newsom’s granting of marriage licenses in his city in February 2004, conservative groups increased their efforts to amend state constitutions to prohibit same-sex marriage. Voters in thirteen states approved these amendments in 2004.\(^5\) The present research assesses the political context of the voting outcomes on these referenda.

**Method**

Data to test the hypotheses that the way the voters in thirteen states voted on marriage definition referenda was guided by religious affiliation, residence in rural areas, or by political

\(^5\)For a summary of recent state activity on same-sex marriage, see Kavan Peterson, “Same-Sex Unions – A Constitutional Race,” *Stateline.org*,
party, were collected from a variety of sources. This study employs aggregate data collected at the county level. While individual-level data collected by a survey would be preferable to county-level data, the level of aggregation I have chosen is more practical for a study that includes a number of states. County-level data are useful for examining the political, economic, and social environment in which voters made their decisions on referenda (Giles 1977; Hero 1998; Key 1950; Morgan and Meier 1980; Oliver and Mendelberg 2000; Rausch 1994; Satterthwaite 2005a, 2005b; Smith, DeSantis, and Kassel 2005; Tolbert and Hero 2001). Of course, national surveys include respondents from a number of the subject states, but very few from some of the smaller states examined in this research, such as Montana and North Dakota.

Election return data were collected from the Secretaries of State or the state election boards of the states examined. The data on religion were compiled from the Glenmary Research Center’s *Religious Congregations and Membership in the United States, 2000* (Jones, 2002). Demographic data are from the United States Census.

**Measures**

**Support for Marriage Definition Amendment**

The dependent variable, support for marriage definition amendment, is measured by the percentage of voters in each of the 1,037 counties who cast a ballot in favor of the marriage definition amendment. While the statewide votes on the question appear to have little variation, the county-level data exhibit greater variation. The highest percentage of “Yes” votes was 94.06 percent in Itawamba County, Mississippi. The lowest support was 38.55 percent in Summit County, Utah. The mean county vote was 78.25 percent with a standard deviation of 9.45 percent. Table 1 presents the counties where less than 50 percent of the voters supported the amendments. These counties primarily are either urban or have large university populations.
Using Census data available at www.gaydemographics.org, no relationship was found between the number of same-sex couples in a county and its level of support for marriage definition, as suggested by Overby and Barth (2002).

[Table 1 about here]

**Religion**

Data were collected on the proportions of county residents affiliated with different religions. Although religion has been involved in American political life for a long time, social scientists have only seriously researched the role of religion in politics for about the past quarter century (Jelen 1998; Satterthwaite 2005a, 2005b; Wald, Silverman, and Fridy 2005). Jelen (1998) reviews much of literature that specifically examines the role of religion in political behavior. For example, the Catholic Church has worked in coalition with other groups to enact restrictions on abortion at the state level (Day 1992; O’Hara 1992). Religious conservatives became actively involved in the Republican Party in the late 1970s and early 1980s to advocate their positions on a number of social issues (Guth 1983; Oldfield 1996). Interestingly, it was during the period when religious conservatives began to strongly participate in politics that social science experienced a growth in interest in the role of religion in American politics. Recent research has found that religious affiliation played a role in the results of the marriage definition amendment votes (Cadge, Olson, and Harrison 2005; Campbell and Monson 2005; Sattertwhaite 2005b; Smith, DeSantis, and Kassel 2005).

The present research incorporates four variables for religious affiliation: evangelical Protestants; mainline Protestants; Catholics; and Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons). The Mormon variable presented some difficulty as will be discussed below. Using data from the Glenmary Research Center (Jones 2002), the proportion of county residents who
are *Evangelical Protestants* was calculated using the “List of Religious Bodies” found at the American Religion Data Archive website. The percentages ranged from a high of 97.9 to a low of zero. The mean was 29.19 with a standard deviation of 18.12. It is expected that counties with greater percentages of evangelical Protestants will exhibit greater support for the marriage definition amendments (see Satterthwaite 2005b). In fact, this could be considered the key independent variable.

A similar procedure was used to calculate the percentage of *Mainline Protestants*. The range among all counties was from zero to 88.40 percent with a mean of 11.38 and a standard deviation of 10.48. Because mainline Protestants tend to be more liberal on social issues (see Fowler, Hertzke, Olson, and Den Dulk 2004, 93), mainline Protestant counties are expected to exhibit lower support for the amendments. In fact, the United Church of Christ voted in July 2005 to affirm equal marriage rights for couples regardless of gender. Interestingly, Satterthwaite (2005b) finds that mainline Protestant population is positively related to vote on marriage definition, at least in Oklahoma.

The percentage of *Catholics* in each county was determined using the Glenmary data. Only the category labeled “Catholic” was included in this classification. The percentage of Catholics ranged from zero to 88.90 percent. The mean was 9.55 percent with a standard deviation of 13.79. Counties with greater populations of Catholics are expected to show more support for marriage definition.

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6http://www.thearda.com/RCMS/2000/Denoms/Denominations.html. According to the American Religion Data Archive, their classification scheme was derived from Steensland, et al. (2000). When denominations were not included in the Steensland, et al., classification, the religious bodies were classified based on Melton (1999) and Mead and Hill (1995).

The fourth religious category *Mormons* is a little more difficult to include in this research. In fact, had the state of Utah not voted on a marriage definition amendment in 2004, Mormons likely would have been excluded from this analysis. Across the thirteen states, the percentage of Mormons ranges from zero to 88 percent with a mean of 2.55 percent. Removing the 29 Utah counties produces a range of zero to 11 percent with a mean of 0.66 percent. In Utah, the range is 29 percent to 88 percent with a mean of 68.33 percent. For this reason, Mormons are combined with evangelical Protestants in several models and analyzed separately in others. The Mormon counties are expected to support marriage definition.

**Voters in Rural Areas**

The independent variable tapping the effect of residence in rural areas is the percentage of county residents who are rural according to the United States Bureau of the Census. For simplicity, this research uses “percent rural”; therefore, the remainder of the county population can be considered urban. It is expected that counties with a greater percentage of rural population will exhibit more support for the marriage definition amendments.

**Political Party Affiliation**

The third hypothesis holds that counties with differing proportions of party identifiers will exhibit different levels of voting on the marriage definition amendments. The challenge is defining party affiliation. Some states report the number of party registrants by county while other states do not. Smith, DeSantis, and Kassel (2005, 12) indicate that neither Ohio nor Michigan records the party affiliation of registered voters. North Dakota does not register voters.

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8The Census Bureau's classification of "rural" consists of all territory, population, and housing units located outside of “urbanized areas” and “urbanized clusters.” Urbanized areas and urbanized clusters are core census block groups or blocks that have a population density of at least 1,000 people per square mile and the surrounding census blocks that have an overall density of at least 500 people per square mile. The rural component contains both place and nonplace territory. Geographic entities, such as census tracts, counties, metropolitan areas, and the territory outside metropolitan areas, often are "split" between urban and rural territory, and the population and housing units they contain often are partly classified as urban and partly classified as rural.
at all. In their analysis, Smith, DeSantis, and Kassel use data on the 2002 gubernatorial elections in the two states. This also may be problematic because gubernatorial contests could be affected as much by candidate personalities as by party affiliation.

In the present research, the percentage of each county that could be considered Democratic was calculated as follows. In Kentucky, Louisiana, Oklahoma and Oregon, the actual party registration numbers were used. The election results from the 2002 Secretary of State races in Arkansas and Georgia, and in Montana in 2000, were used to determine county Democratic percentages in those states. The election results from Attorney General races in 2000, 2002, and 2003, were used to represent the Democratic vote in Utah, Michigan, and Mississippi, respectively. The 2002 Public Service Commissioner results were used in North Dakota and the 2002 State Auditor results were used in Missouri and Ohio.

In order to simplify the research and to be more certain in what I am measuring, I decided to use a different measure of county-level party attachment: “2004 Republican Presidential Vote”. This measure also has shortcomings, primarily the fact that the data, election results, were primarily collected at the same time as the data on the dependent variable “Support for Marriage Definition Amendments”. The protection against problems using 2004 presidential vote as a measure is the fact that two of the states included in the present research had marriage definition questions on their ballots at an election other than the November general election. Models will be tested by separating these states from the other eleven. It is hypothesized that the 2004 presidential vote will be related to the vote on the marriage definition amendments in a positive direction and that this relationship will hold in Missouri and Louisiana even though these states did not vote on marriage definition in November.

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9The North Dakota Secretary of State’s webpage on voting opens, “Welcome to the only state that does not have voter registration.” [http://www.state.nd.us/sec/electvote/voting/voter-qualifi.html](http://www.state.nd.us/sec/electvote/voting/voter-qualifi.html) (visited July 15, 1005).
The mean county Republican vote for president in the 2004 election was 61.39 percent with a standard deviation of 11.41 percent. The county that provided the most support to President Bush was Garfield County, Montana, at 90.77 percent. The president received the least support from the voters in Claiborne County, Mississippi, with 17.80 percent. The population of Claiborne County is 83.61 percent African-American. The marriage definition amendment was popular in Claiborne County receiving the support of 76.37 percent of the voters.

Control Variables

Additional independent variables are entered into the analysis as controls. They are the percentage of each county’s population with a high school diploma, each county’s median age, and the median household income in each county. The percentage of each county’s population who are African-American also is included in the analysis.

Analysis and Findings

The present research examines the political context in which voters in thirteen states in 2004 approved state constitutional amendments defining marriage by prohibiting same-sex marriage. In order to allay concerns about multicollinearity and to determine if there are any potential relationships, a correlation matrix was calculated for all of the variables. This matrix is presented as Table 2.

[Table 2 about here]

Table 2 presents few surprises. The percentage of a county’s population affiliated with an evangelical Protestant denomination is strongly correlated with the percentage of the county’s voters who supported a marriage definition amendment. Rural counties also showed greater support for the amendments. The marriage amendment vote is significantly correlated with the 2004 Republican presidential vote. Two surprises are the correlations between Catholic
population and Mormon population. The Mormon population correlation is suspect because the county percentages are small outside of Utah. The negative correlation on the Catholic population is more intriguing, suggesting that counties with larger Catholic populations show less support for the marriage definition amendments. Of course, since this research uses aggregate data, it is difficult to argue that Catholics voted against the amendments.

Multiple regression analyses were run to produce several models. The first two are presented in Table 3. These models include all 1,037 counties. The variables included in the first model were percent of evangelical Protestants in the county, the percent of mainline Protestants, percent Catholic, percent rural population, the percent of voters who supported the Republican presidential candidate in 2004, the percent of county residents who graduated from high school, the median age, the median income, and the percent African-American population. The first model explains a respectable amount of the variance in the dependent variable \(R^2=.727\) and the model is significant.

[Table 3 about here]

The second model presented in Table 3 combines the evangelical Protestant population with the Mormon population. The level of predication, or explanation, is reduced slightly to .674. Both models indicate that there is a strong relationship between the 2004 Republican presidential vote and the vote on the marriage definition amendments. The other important variable is the size of the African-American population. Counties with larger African-American populations voted at higher rates for the marriage definition amendments. Counties with large rural populations supported the marriage amendments. The control variables (education, income, and age) are as expected with the exception of age. The data show that counties with higher median ages had less support for the marriage definition amendments.
While most of the states examined this research considered marriage definition amendments on general election day in November 2004, two states voted on the amendments earlier in the year. This fact is presented in the models in Table 4. The first model includes the eleven general election states. The second model only considers counties in Missouri and Louisiana.

[Table 4 about here]

There are few dramatic changes from the models in Table 3. The best predictor variable remains 2004 Republican presidential vote; in fact, its predictive abilities become even stronger in Missouri and Louisiana. The African-American population also is a strong predictor with less strength in the Missouri and Louisiana model.

**Discussion and Conclusions**

The present research seeks to understand the political context in which voters approved marriage definition amendments in thirteen states in 2004. Three hypotheses were tested. The first suggests that counties with large evangelical Protestant populations would strongly support marriage definition amendments. The second hypothesis posits that rural populations would be more supportive of such amendments. Finally, the third hypothesis indicates that counties that voted strongly in support of the Republican presidential candidate in 2004 also would exhibit higher levels of support for marriage definition.

The findings presented here suggest that there is a strong association between 2004 presidential vote and the vote on the constitutional amendments. This association is maintained even in those states that did not consider the amendments at the same time as the presidential general election. Evangelical Protestant population also contributed to county vote as did the amount of rural population.
An intriguing finding, and one that suggests the need for future research at the level of individual voter, is the level of support for the marriage definition amendments in counties with large African-American populations. The data collected in this research do not allow for interpretation at the level of individual voter, but it would be informative to examine the intersection of race, religion, and vote on marriage definition amendments.

The findings presented in this paper come with caveats. The data collected for this study are aggregate in nature. This situation introduces concerns about the ecological fallacy. A second caveat involves the nature of state politics in each of the thirteen states examined. It is possible that there were factors other than the ones included in the regression analyses acting on one or more states and not involved in the others. For example, all Democratic, Republican, and Libertarian candidates for attorney general in Utah issued a joint statement opposing that state’s marriage definition amendment. They were not united in their opposition to the idea of marriage definition, but they each had significant concerns about the second part of the amendment: “No other domestic union, however denominated, may be recognized as a marriage or given the same or substantially equivalent effect.” The candidates were concerned about the clause’s effect on heterosexual common law marriages.\(^\text{10}\) It is important to recognize that the voters in the thirteen states that approved marriage definition constitutional amendments in 2004 did not consider identical pieces of legislation. Voters in Arkansas, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Michigan, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, and Utah, also constitutionally proscribed civil unions; the voters in the remaining states did not ban civil unions.

Despite the caveats, this research presents several model of county-level voting outcomes that can be tested in other states, especially in states that vote on marriage definition

constitutional amendments in non-presidential election years. Does the relationship between the 2004 Republican presidential vote and marriage definition hold in those elections? Voters in Kansas approved an amendment in early 2005 and voters in Texas (with its 254 counties) will vote on marriage definition in November. These states are the next test.
References


Table 1. Counties with Less than 50 Percent Support for the Marriage Definition Amendments in 2004.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County (County Seat)</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Summit County, Utah (Coalville)¹¹</td>
<td>38.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multnomah County, Oregon (Portland)</td>
<td>40.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washtenaw County, Michigan (Ann Arbor)</td>
<td>40.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athens County, Ohio (Athens)</td>
<td>44.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benton County, Oregon (Corvallis)</td>
<td>45.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand County, Utah (Moab)</td>
<td>45.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Louis City, Missouri</td>
<td>47.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ingham County, Michigan (Mason)¹²</td>
<td>47.03</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹¹The largest city in the county is Park City.

¹²East Lansing can be found in Ingham County, Michigan.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2. Correlations</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) % Yes on marriage definition amendment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) % Evangelical Protestant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) % Catholic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) % Mainline Protestant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5) % Mormon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6) % Rural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7) % 2004 GOP Presidential Vote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8) % HS Graduate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9) Median Age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10) Median Income</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(11) % African-American</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evangelical Protestant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evangelical Protestant plus LDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mainline Protestant LDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004 GOP Presidential Vote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School Graduate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Income African-American</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R$^2$ = .727 Adj. R$^2$ = .724</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4. OLS Regression of County Vote on Marriage Definition Amendments (With the Eleven General Election States and With Missouri and Louisiana Analyzed Separately).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Eleven General Election States</th>
<th>Missouri and Louisiana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Beta</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evangelical Protestant plus LDS</td>
<td>.182</td>
<td>.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>-.067</td>
<td>.005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mainline Protestant</td>
<td>.101</td>
<td>.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>.183</td>
<td>.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004 GOP Presidential Vote</td>
<td>.507</td>
<td>.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School Graduate</td>
<td>.066</td>
<td>.002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Income</td>
<td>-.340</td>
<td>.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Age</td>
<td>-.054</td>
<td>.030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African-American</td>
<td>.430</td>
<td>.0001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R²=.690  Adj. R²=.686  p=.0001  N=857
R²=.732  Adj. R²=.717  p=.0001  N=178