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Religious Targets: Where 2016 Presidential Candidates Used Religious Rhetoric

Rachel Day and Adam Johnson[1]

Introduction

The dynamics of elections have drastically changed over time. Elections in the past have involved everything from smoke-filled-room nominations to riots. As the dynamics of elections have changed, so has the strategy to win elections. Media now makes candidates' words widely available.

Virtually every word a candidate says in public or writes on social media will be heard or read by the people. A candidate's word choice matters now more than ever. As a result, candidates must be precise with the words they use. Political scientists have examined the strategy behind candidate language (Hart 2006; Chapp 2013). Others have written handbooks on how to effectively write speeches for them (Moffitt 1999; Trent 2000). Researchers observe that a key component of any speech is creating an atmosphere where audience members feel attached to the speaker. This attachment needs to build trust and create a lasting candidate likeability.

Therefore, this study examines how religious rhetoric is used by presidential candidates to connect with Christian audiences specifically. Because roughly 78 percent of Americans have faith in a religion, it is disappointing that religion and politics have not been studied together more (Pew Research Center 2016). While a wealth of research has been done on behalf of campaign talk and on the importance of using religious rhetoric, not much research currently connects the two (Hart 2006).

This paper seeks to combine the literature from campaign talk and religious rhetoric in order to examine current strategies that employ religious campaign talk in certain geographical areas. Rather than examining the *how* or the *what* of a speech, we are looking to see trends in *where* Christian religious rhetoric is more likely to be used.

Literature Review

One common concept in speech writing is that of *stock speeches* (also known as *module speeches*). Candidates employ these speech templates of their main message components while travelling around the country in order to maintain message purity. The candidates then tailor them for every audience along the campaign trail (Trent 2000). This forms a foundation for our theory regarding regional variance, which candidates apply in their speeches while maintaining message purity.

We are interested in assessing whether presidential candidates add general Christian rhetoric to their stock speeches in areas of higher Christian adherence rates. We examine this theory by using a list of keywords that imply Christian beliefs. The best way to describe this keyword idea comes from "Political Keywords: Using Language That Uses Us" by Hart (2006, p. 247):

> Such a scenario puts special demands on keywords. Because they are only *words* they must compete for attention in a world of sight and sound. . . . But because they are *keywords*, because they are (1) repeated with special frequency in (2) high- profile environments by (3) persons of considerable stature and, especially, because (4) they are easily overlooked (being only words after all), they can slowly, teasingly, affect our hearts and minds. Keywords are at their most powerful when they are taken for granted.

Choosing appropriate keywords is vital in speech design because they can resonate with an individual for months after the speech. Moffitt (1999, p. 158) describes this designing as a "deductive process," which consists of creating messages thematically and then choosing the ones that best fit the audience. From here, the speech authors then attract specific audiences by choosing keywords that will resonate within them. To test if candidates try to resonate with voters through specific language, we will analyze words common in Christian rhetoric, such as "God" and "Jesus." The importance of invoking spiritual feelings cannot be underestimated when studying religion and campaign strategy. Religious rhetoric, when used by a candidate, can positively influence an individual (Albertson 2010, p. 127). Albertson continues:

> [O]verall, this study demonstrates that a politicians' use of religious rhetoric led to attitude change at an implicit level. . . . It is particularly impressive that religious language shifted implicit attitudes for such well known figures, and that attitudes shifted even for people who would prefer less religious expression in politics.

Albertson's study provoked us to question whether presidential candidates implement religious vocabulary to appeal to a variety of regional audiences. Therefore, we conclude that politicians may effectively target specific audiences by using religious rhetoric in their speeches.

Although many candidates may invoke religious terms, McLaughlin and Wise state that "the effectiveness of religious cues depends on a citizen's level of religios-

ity" (2014). Therefore, we seek to improve upon existing literature to discover if candidates use religious rhetoric in areas of higher Christian adherence rates.

H1: As the religious adherence of a geographic region increases, the candidates will use more religious rhetoric when they address the people in the region.

The underlying assumption of this hypothesis is that some areas are perceived to be more Christian than others. Consequently, a campaign attempts to capitalize on this by including familiar Christian terminology in their speeches when in areas highly populated with Christians.

We decided to use general Christian rhetoric for our keywords instead of rhetoric specific to any particular religious tradition. According to Chapp, "The data indicate that, when candidates use religious language, voters respond in predictable and politically powerful ways" (2013). It is essential for a candidate speaking to a regional audience to connect with as many individuals as possible. Using general rather than specific Christian rhetoric is a better measure because people notice overt clues more than subtle ones (which are typically tradition-specific) (Karpowitz 2016). The use of language is not an appeal to specific religions in regional speeches but an appeal to all Christians. Chapp continues, "[L]anguage intended to excite religious predispositions in a nonsectarian manner affects candidate evaluations for those most committed to religion" (2013). Thus, for presidential candidates to influence the greatest number of religious voters, they are better off using general Christian rhetoric instead of tradition-specific rhetoric only.

Chapp also writes, "Candidates adopt different emotive styles to resonate with the identities of the audience members and to accommodate existing partisan patterns of voting behavior" (2013). Studies show that the right wing has a higher proportion of Christians than does the left wing (Maniam 2016), so we questioned if party could affect regional Christian targeting. Previous research concludes that the politically right will mobilize the religious base more so than the politically left (Monson and Oliphant 2007). Our study examines the truth in these findings, and based on this literature, we are led to the following hypothesis:

H2: As the religious adherence of a geographic region increases, the Republican candidates will use more religious rhetoric when they address audiences than will their Democratic counterparts.

Our null hypothesis states that no relationship exists between the uses of religious rhetoric in presidential campaign speeches in different regions of the U.S., even when accounting for party. It is possible that certain candidates are more likely to use religious rhetoric than others simply due to their own personal religious behavior and beliefs. However, we believe our analysis includes enough variables to come to a preliminary conclusion and open the door for future research on the topic.

Data

Much of the data comes from the specific language used in presidential campaign speeches. The speeches used were given by Democratic and Republican candidates during the 2016 presidential race. Included in this broad "speeches" category are press releases and statements made by the candidates during the election season. The database was created by hand for this project (Quinton 2017). The source web site for the speeches does not contain every speech given by the candidates.

This limited collection disproportionally underrepresents private events, which lack sufficient press coverage. However, because these events are intended for fund-raising, the candidates' language may be different than it would otherwise be in more public venues. Since we are focusing on campaign language, the lack of private speeches does not affect our theory. However, some private event speeches may be in the database unknowingly.

Additionally, we dropped a few candidates from the analysis. These candidates include Democrats Martin O'Malley, Lincoln Chafee, and Jim Webb, and Republicans Carly Fiorina and George Pataki. Dropping them from the analysis appeared inconsequential, because we lacked confidence to include them due to their small number of speeches combined with their short presidential campaigns. Overall, the source web site does contain thousands of documented speeches, making the dataset reliable for this research. With the available data, we measure the dependent variable by the number of times a candidate uses a religious keyword in his or her remarks (making our dependent variable continuous).

To make this dependent variable possible to analyze, we first needed to operationalize terms. Initially, we searched for a list of Christian rhetorical terms created by other scholars but to no avail. We then searched web sites to find common words used among various dictionaries. These sources contained lists specific to common Christian rhetoric. The following list contains the most common religious keywords and constitutes the terms we used when analyzing the campaign texts: baptism, Bible, born again, Christian, Christianity, faith, God, gospel, heaven, hell, Jesus, pray, prayer, prophet, prophecy, redemption, religion, sacred, Satan, scripture, testify, worship, yoked.

The Census Bureau provided the state boundary shapefile at the 5m level (Geographic Products Branch 2012). We manually entered our statistical and locational data for mapmaking. The title of each speech provided the location data needed.

For purposes of basic analyses, we included non-geographic texts to determine candidates' religious rhetoric patterns in speeches intended for a more universal audience. To see the difference, we compare text based on geographic locations to those intended for a broader media audience.

To better analyze geographically based religious rhetoric, we included the religious adherence of the geographic region (state). We measure a state's religiosity based on the rate of religious adherence per 1,000 people, using data provided by the American Reli-

gion Data Archives (ARDA). All states' religiosity index were coded as the difference of the state's religious adherence and the national mean's religious adherence, going either positive or negative (for example, if the national average was 400 per 1,000, then a state with a religious adherence of 300 per 1,000 would have a score of -100 in our data). For the non-geographic texts (such as statements made from the campaign office that were intended for everyone and not just a specific region), we coded their religious adherence rate with a 0 (representing the national mean), assuming that the remarks were nationally intended. Although the measurement includes those of non-Christian religions, the U.S. is a predominantly Christian nation (Gallup reported that roughly 75 percent of Americans identify with Christianity in 2015 (Newport 2015)). Thus, with the unit of analysis at the state level, the percentage of those of other faiths is proportionally low and does not affect our analysis.

To measure the seriousness of a candidate's campaign, we created a few versions to measure viability. The measure indicates whether a candidate's ability to win the election influences his or her willingness to use Christian religious rhetoric. The apparent weakness here is that we cannot measure how viable a candidate thinks he or she is, but this is the best we can do with what is available. The Green Papers provided a popular vote percentage from the primaries, and we ranked each candidate, beginning at 1, by who had received the most votes.[2]

We included standard control variables to account for social differences that may influence the candidates' language. These candidate characteristics include age, education level (some college, bachelor's degree, and graduate degree, on a continuous scale), and the binary variables of gender (1 being male), political party (1 being Republican), and whether Christian or not (1 being Christian). We wanted to add a control for religious activeness, but we did not have information to gather this data, so we added the religious views of the candidate instead. Originally, it was unclear if the religious views of the candidates themselves should be included, but we decided to include this information due to the direction of Campbell, Green, and Layman, who state, "Here we focus on candidate religion, not because it is more important than other social characteristics to partisan voting, but because it is especially illustrative" (2011). This quote means that there is a possibility that a candidate's religious affiliation may affect his or her campaigning and thus must be included in the data.

Results

Table 1 shows the percentage of texts with at least one religious keyword for every candidate, as well as the percentage of religious keywords used in all (including nongeographic, which applies to both percentages) texts. If a candidate used at least one religious keyword in a speech (our list of religious keywords is found on the previous page), it was coded on a binary scale as a 1. We then used the software R to determine the percentage of texts with at least one religious keyword. We performed this analysis for each candidate. To analyze the percentage of religious keywords used in all texts, we ran a different analysis in R to extract the number of keywords used throughout all the speeches and divided

it by the total word count of all the speeches. Again, we repeated the process for each candidate. Those results are found in Table 1. (All tables and figures are in the Appendix.) The data show that Republicans use more religious rhetoric than Democrats overall. Out of all the texts from the Democratic Party, only 4 percent contained a religious keyword, compared to 6 percent for the Republican Party.

Of the Republican candidates, Ted Cruz came in first for both the percentage of texts containing at least one religious keyword and for the percentage of total religious rhetoric used. In other words, Ted Cruz used more religious rhetoric than any other candidate in the race. Donald Trump ranked last among the Republicans for percentage of texts with at least one religious keyword. Out of all his texts, only 3.3 percent contained a religious keyword. Rick Santorum came in second to last with 7.3 percent of his text containing at least one religious keyword (still a much higher percentage than Trump's). Yet Trump ranked seventh out of fourteen among the Republicans for the percentage of religious keywords used in total. From this preliminary analysis, it appears that Trump strategically used religious rhetoric, using religious rhetoric in highly concentrated instances. While the number of his speeches containing at least one keyword remained low, he used more religious keywords than half of his competitors.

On the other side of the aisle, Hillary Clinton had a much larger percentage of texts that used a religious keyword (4.5) compared to Bernie Sanders (2.5). Yet, it is interesting to note that Bernie Sanders and Hillary Clinton are basically identical with the percentage of total religious keywords spoken (Clinton at 0.21 percent and Sanders at 0.22 percent). Similar to Trump, Sanders might have strategically used religious rhetoric based on his audience. It appears that both candidates might have reserved the use of religious rhetoric for audiences with greater religiosity (see Table 1 Percentage of Religious Rhetoric during the Primaries).

Table 2 tests the usage of religious rhetoric by Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton during the general election. We hypothesized that Clinton would use more religious rhetoric during the general election than she did during the primaries to appeal more to soft-leaning Republicans or Independent voters with religious affiliation. We predicted the opposite from Trump, as the Republican nominee, because he would want to appeal to soft-leaning Democrats and Independent voters who tend to be more secularist. Surprisingly, the exact opposite occurred. Clinton used less religious rhetoric than she did during the primaries. The percent of her texts containing at least one religious keyword dropped from the primaries as well. Trump included more texts during the general election with at least one religious keyword than he did during the primaries, but the percentage of total religious keywords he used decreased from .22 percent during the primaries to .05 percent during the general election. From these results, we cannot draw any firm conclusions because there are many unknowns; nonetheless, this table seems to have some exciting numbers (see Table 2 Percent of Religious Rhetoric during the General Election).

Column 2 of Table 1 shows that Trump used relatively few religious words, yet in the general election he received 58 percent of the Protestant or other Christian vote and 52 percent of the Catholic vote (Kent 2016). During the primaries, "two-thirds of regular churchgoing Republicans were not supporting Trump for the GOP nomination even in April" (Smith 2016). This study does not determine the effects that religious rhetoric has on voting, but it is interesting to see the actual abundance of a candidate's religious rhetoric and compare that to the preferences of churchgoers. There are many reasons why churchgoers might be swayed to a candidate, but that is a topic for another paper.

After reviewing these numbers, we performed some qualitative analysis of the speeches and found examples of the religious rhetoric used. Even with this qualitative measure, it appears that candidates use religious rhetoric with more religious audiences. For example, when Bernie Sanders visited Salt Lake City, Utah, a state known for its LDS population, he gave a speech addressing the issues of immigration, in which he used a fair amount of religious rhetoric. In one remark he said, "We have seen too many wars, too much killing, too much suffering. And let us all together—people of good faith—do everything we can to finally, finally bring peace and stability to that region" (2016). In another speech, with a higher than normal religious audience at Liberty University, Sanders said, "I am not a theologian or an expert on the Bible or a Catholic, but I agree with Pope Francis when he says: "The current financial crisis . . . originated in a profound human crisis: the denial of the primacy of the human person! We have created new idols. The worship of the ancient golden calf has returned in a new and ruthless guise in the idolatry of money and the dictatorship of an impersonal economy lacking a truly human purpose" (2016). In two speeches of religiously strong audiences, Sanders uses religious rhetoric to appeal to the people—even though he is not a Christian himself. Most interestingly, he quoted the pope. It could be that he was attempting to establish credibility by aligning his views with those of the pope because Catholics view the pope as an authority figure. Just as Catholics follow the pope, research suggests that Latter-day Saints are more willing to change their views to follow what their prophet says (Campbell, Monson, and Green; 2014). If Catholics view the pope in the same manner that the average Latter-day Saint views the prophet of their church, then Sanders might be trying to demonstrate his agreeability with their religious leaders.

Clinton provided us with other interesting cases of attempting to connect with religious audiences. In a speech in North Carolina and two speeches in Ohio, she emphasized her passion to help children "live up to their God-given potential" (2016). In another speech given at the University of North Carolina–Greensboro, she talked about how her family and her Methodist faith have taught her the importance of helping children live up to their God-given potential (2016). We also found at least two speeches Clinton gave in Iowa where she used similar religious rhetoric. It appears she focused on the family (especially children), and relates love for family back to devotion to God. We do not know the exact effects this religious language has on voters, but, noting studies from Albertson

and from other scholars, we would not be surprised to see voters be more inclined to support a candidate who cares for children and God.

From the Republicans, we will analyze the two main front-runners: Ted Cruz and Donald Trump. Comparing them provides insight into two candidates who used religious rhetoric to very different degrees.

Cruz opened his presidential bid with a speech given at Liberty University. In that speech, he used the word "God" nine times, the word "Jesus" three times, and the word "faith" three times. In the speech, Cruz used religion to talk about his upbringing and how religion shaped his life. He commonly used such phrases as "our God-given rights" and "God bless" in many other speeches as well. From this brief qualitative analysis, it seems he might be using religion to establish his background and to convey to others why he holds the ideological beliefs he does.

Trump used religious rhetoric in a totally different manner than Ted Cruz. When Trump declared his candidacy, he only used one religious keyword. He said, "I will be the greatest jobs president that God ever created. I tell you that" (2015). Cruz used religious language in his opening speech to build his background and his viability, whereas Trump used religious rhetoric in his opening speech to say that God had created him superior to others. In one speech at a rally in North Carolina, Trump said the following: "Let me quote the same passage from the Bible I read on Saturday, from 1 John 4: 'No one has ever seen God; but, if we love one another, God lives in us and his love is made complete in us.' . . . Imagine what we our country could accomplish if we started working together as One People, under One God, saluting One Flag" (2016). In a separate speech in North Carolina, Trump talked about what we could accomplish if we started working as one people under God (2016).

After running a simple test to measure percentages and after analyzing speeches qualitatively, we decided to follow-up with quantitative measures. We ran three OLS models, one for all observations, one for just the primaries, and one for just the general election. We also ran a probit model based on a binary variable of whether or not a speech contained at least one religious keyword. Our OLS model came back with statistically significant results. We used the percentage of religious keywords as the dependent variable, with the key independent variable as the difference of religious adherence rates for the states from the national mean. We have multiple observations for various states, so we decided to run the regression by clustering the states together. We broke down the analysis even further by analyzing the percentage of religious rhetoric during both the primaries and the general election (Model 1), the primaries only (Model 2), and the general election only (Model 3).

We can see in Table 3 that there is statistical significance for the use of religious rhetoric on religious adherence. Although statistically significant, the substantive significance proves difficult to measure. For one, this paper is not concerned with the effect of religious rhetoric on the voters; it is merely concerned with testing the usage of religious rhetoric according to geography. Second, it should not be of any great sur-

prise that the coefficients are small; if anything, it should be a surprise that we found significance in all three models. Considering that Cruz used the most religious rhetoric out of all the candidates, and only 1.64 percent of his words were religious key words, we expected to receive small numbers from our regression. We are working with a dataset we assembled ourselves and with a dependent variable that is small in nature (a percentage of religious keywords the candidates used). Additionally, although Model 1 has an increase of just 0.000372 percent per one unit of religious adherence, the case of Utah is a multiplier of 306.

We also analyzed the effect in battleground states and found it to be statistically significant. We defined battleground states by using measures from FiveThirtyEight as competitive states that could have gone either way in the election (FiveThirtyEight 2016). In total, there were fourteen battleground states (see Appendix for list of states). These states were coded as a binary variable, with 1 indicating a battleground state.

A predictive measure for our OLS model produces nothing truly significant at the 95 percent confidence interval. It was close, but the confidence intervals overlap slightly.

Although, the means of the religious rhetoric do increase with the religious adherence rate. It is still a mystery how the confidence intervals for the religious adherence rates of -200 and -150 fall below zero (as explained on page 5, a state's religious adherence is the difference between a state's religious adherence rate per 1,000 and the national average religious adherence rate per 1,000). It is impossible for a candidate to use negative religious talk (see Table 3 Predicted Percent of Religious Rhetoric (OLS model), as well as Figure 1 Predictive Margins for Model 1 of Table 3).

We then decided to run a probit test, using a binary variable of whether or not a text had at least one religious keyword. If a speech contained any religious keyword, then the variable was coded as a 1, and if there were no religious keywords, the variable was coded as a 0. The numbers are still small, but again, they are statistically significant in indicating that states with a religious adherence rate above the national mean are more likely to use religious rhetoric than states with adherence rates below the mean. Table 4 show the probit model with a predictive margins plot (Probit Model).

The probit model is statistically significant, but it is hard to interpret the significance of a probit model. In order to better analyze the model, we ran a predictive margins command (see Figure 2 Predictive Margins for Table 4). This model shows a statistical significance between states with a negative religious rate and states with a positive religious rate from the baseline. There is not a strong statistical significance between states that have religious adherence above the national mean, but this model, just like the OLS model, supports our hypothesis that candidates will use more religious rhetoric in states with higher religious adherence rates.

While small, the statistically significant percentages are exciting in demonstrating the difference between the states with a negative adherence rate below the baseline and states with a positive adherence rate above the baseline. The fact that there is a statistically significant difference between the states with negative and positive

adherence rates supports our hypothesis that candidates will use more religious rhetoric in more religious states.

Conclusion

Our results suggest that candidates are predicted to use more Christian religious rhetoric as the religiosity of the state increases (see Figure 3 Statistical Significance in the Geographic Dispersion of Religious Rhetoric Use by Presidential Candidates for a visual representation of the results). We also found that party matters. Republican candidates are more likely to use religious rhetoric than Democratic candidates. The substantive significance is much harder to assess than the statistical significance. Further study on the effect of Christian religious rhetoric on voters, especially compared to tradition-specific targeting, would help to interpret the substantive significance.

The 2016 presidential election was not a common election. An outsider to Washington, Donald Trump won the election, contrary to many predictions. He also stood out by using less religious rhetoric than his competitors. This could imply that the stereotypically religious right no longer places as much value on the role of religion in politics. For this reason, further research should be performed on the effect of religious rhetoric on citizens' voting habits. Research in the past on the effect of religious rhetoric (Albertson 2010; Djupe and Calfano 2014) primarily deals with individuals' perceptions of public office-holders who use religious rhetoric. The research does not gauge the effect of religious rhetoric in an election. Thus, our research contributes by suggesting that candidates target religious individuals in predominantly religious areas. Does this strategy actually help the candidates win the presidency? Questions like this one could be answered by further researching and analyzing content of the speeches given by presidential candidates.

NOTES
1. We would like to thank Professor Gubler, Devon Tenney, and James from the statistics lab for helping us with some of our questions about R. Their help was instrumental for our project.
2. We created a few versions of the viability measure and determined that this one was the simplest, but it also provided similar results as the others. Due to multi-collinearity, we had to choose only one version. The simplest measure consisted of ranking all the candidates of each party by the end date of his or her campaign We assumed that the closer the campaign was to the general election, the more viable the candidate was. This consisted of ranking Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton as 1, then proceeding up in value until the first candidate who exited the primaries. A similar method of ranking records the date each candidate announced his or her candidacy in the primaries. A second variable takes the percentage of delegate votes each candidate received from their respective national conventions. Many candidates were not viable at this point, and consequently received zero percent. However, nearly every candidate was on the ballot (in at least some states) and received part of the popular vote. We included all of the previously mentioned candidates that we had dropped in these measures to include their effect in the race on other candidates.

APPENDIX

Table 1: Percentage of Religious Rhetoric During the Primaries

Candidates	Percentage of Texts with at least one Religous Keyword	Candidates	Percentage of Religious Keywords
Democratic Candidates	4.0	Democratic Candidates	0.49
Hillary Clinton	(1) 4.5	Hillary Clinton	(1) 0.21
Bernie Sanders	(2) 2.5	Bernie Sanders	(2) 0.20
Republican Candidates	6.0	Republican Candidates	1.71
Ted Cruz	(1) 33.5	Ted Cruz	(1) 1.64
Mike Huckabee	(2) 31.7	Marco Rubio	(2) 0.45
Ben Carson	(3) 31.0	Ben Carson	(3) 0.41
Lindsey Graham	(4) 28.1	Mike Huckabee	(4) 0.38
Rand Paul	(5) 18.5	Jeb Bush	(5) 0.35
Rick Perry	(6) 17.0	Lindsey Graham	(6) 0.24
Bobby Jindal	(7) 16.4	Donald Trump	(7) 0.22
Chris Christie	(8) 16.1	John Kasich	(8) 0.21
Jeb Bush	(9) 13.4	Bobby Jindal	(9) 0.14
Scott Walker	(10) 13.0	Rick Santorum	(10) 0.09
Marco Rubio	(11) 9.2	Rand Paul	(11) 0.05
John Kasich	(12) 7.63	Rick Perry	(12) 0.05
Rick Santorum	(13) 7.3	Scott Walker	(13) 0.05
Donald Trump	(14) 3.3	Chris Christie	(14) 0.04

*Candidates listed in descending order of religious rhetoric use. A definition of these percentages can be found on page 7.

Table 2: Percentage of Religious Rhetoric During the General Election

Candidate	Percentage of texts with at least one religious keyword	Percentage of religious keywords used in all texts	Number of Texts (n)
Hillary Clinton	3.3	0.17	1734
Donald Trump	6.5	0.05	764

Table 3: Predicted Percentage of Religious Rhetoric (OLS model)

Variables	Model 1 percentage	Model 2 Percentage	Model 3 Percentage
State Religious	3.72e-04*	7.84e-04**	2.71e-04*
Adherence	(1.96e-04)	(3.68e-04)	(1.52e-04)
Popular Vote	-3.52e-03*	-3.47e-03*	-0.0281**
Ranking	(2.01e-03)	(2.00e-03)	(0.0135)
Battle Ground	0.0388*	0.103**	-0.0117
State	(0.0226)	(0.0395)	(0.0293)
State	3.17e-03 (2.12e-03)	7.28e-03 (4.42e-03)	-8.51e-04 (1.19e-03)
Candidate Gender	0.0348*** (9.90e-03)	0.0492*** (0.0107)	---
Candidate Education Level	0.0340*** (4.66e-05)	0.0492*** 0.0339***	---
Popular Vote	1.81e-04	3.04e-04	-5.79e-03**
Ranking	(1.77e-04)	(1.88e-04)	(2.36e-03)
Party	0.0745*** (8.11e-03)	0.0786*** (5.39e-03)	0.0564* (0.0331)
Constant	-0.0995 (0.0590)	-0.193* (0.100)	0.502*** (0.155)
Observations	4,084	3,859	225
R-Squared	0.019	0.021	0.023

Robust standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
Model 1 is for all observations. Model 2 is for the primaries. Model 3 is for the general election.

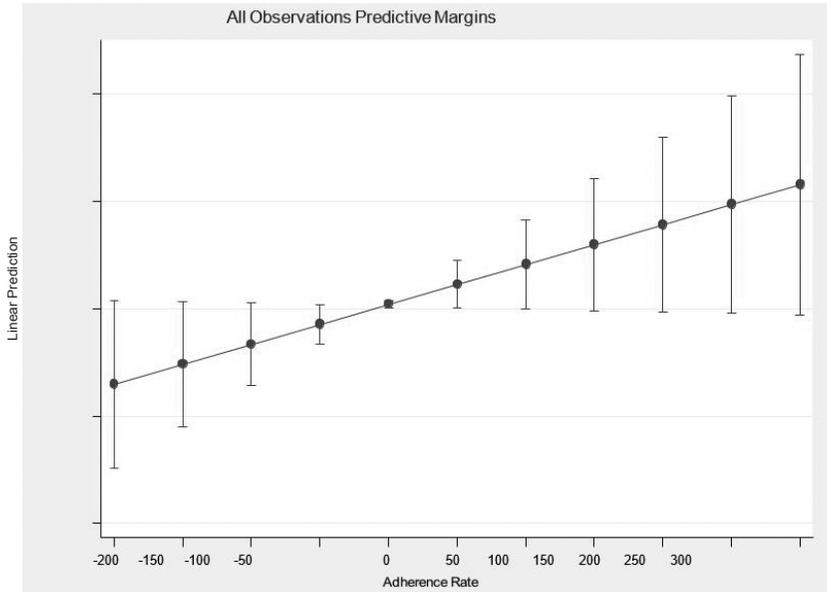**Figure 1: Predictive Margins for Model 1 of Table 3**

Figure 2: State Religious

Adherence	Margins	P-Value	Confidence Intervals	
-200	0.029	0.509	-0.048	0.108
-150	0.049	0.101	-0.01	0.106
-100	0.067	0.001	0.028	0.105
-50	0.085	0	0.067	0.104
0	0.104	0	0.1	0.107
50	0.123	0	0.101	0.144
100	0.141	0	0.099	0.183
150	0.16	0	0.098	0.221
200	0.178	0	0.097	0.26
250	0.197	0	0.096	0.298
300	0.215	0.001	0.094	0.337

Table 4: Probit Mode

VARIABLES	Texts with at least one religious keyword
State Religious Adherence	0.00545** (0.00217)
Population Rating	0.00930 (0.0114)
Battle Ground State	2.122*** (0.198)
State	-0.0193 (0.0139)
Candidate Gender	-0.323** (0.144)
Candidate Education Level	0.149*** (0.0419)
Popular Vote Rating	(0.00313 (0.00213)
Party	0.518*** (0.0953)
Constant	-1.162*** (0.352)
Observations	4,088

Robust standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
Pseudo – R2 0.0880

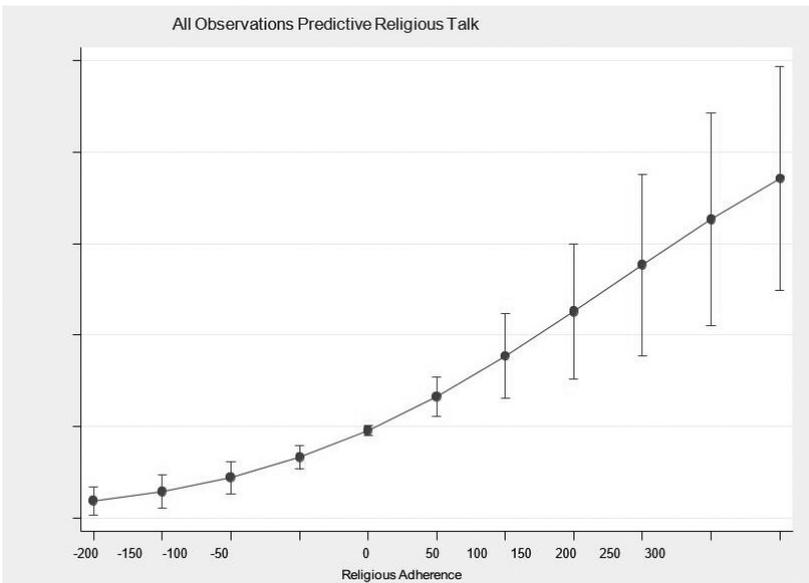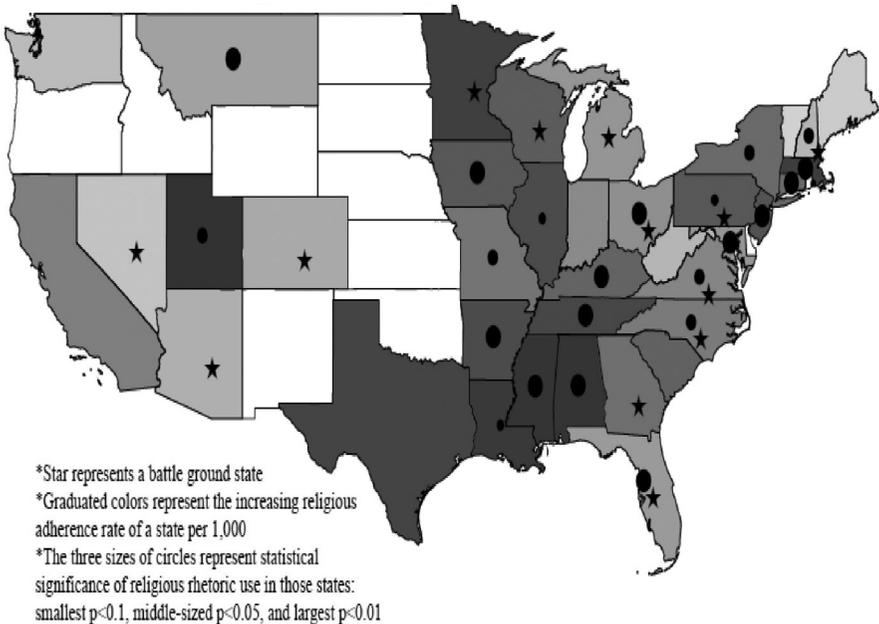**Figure 3: Predictive Margins for Table 4**

Table 5: *Percentage on the Y- axis Religious

Adherence	Margins P-Value		Confidence Intervals	
-200	0.034	0.021	0.006	0.07
-150	0.058	0.002	0.022	0.094
-100	0.089	0	0.053	0.124
-50	0.133	0	0.106	0.158
0	0.192	0	0.18	0.202
50	0.266	0	0.223	0.308
100	0.355	0	0.261	0.447
150	0.453	0	0.303	0.6
200	0.554	0	0.359	0.752
250	0.653	0	0.42	0.885
300	0.742	0	0.497	0.986

*Data of the margins plot in a table

Figure 4: Statistical Significance in the Geographic Dispersion of Religious Rhetoric Use by President Candidates

*Star represents a battle ground state
*Graduated colors represent the increasing religious adherence rate of a state per 1,000
*The three sizes of circles represent statistical significance of religious rhetoric use in those states: smallest p<0.1, middle-sized p<0.05, and largest p<0.01

This is the predictive margins plot for our second OLS model, which is analyzing texts only from the prima-ries. As one can see, the religious adherence rates for -200, -150, and -100 all have confidence intervals below zero. This does not make sense since it is impossible for a candidate to use negative religious rhetoric.
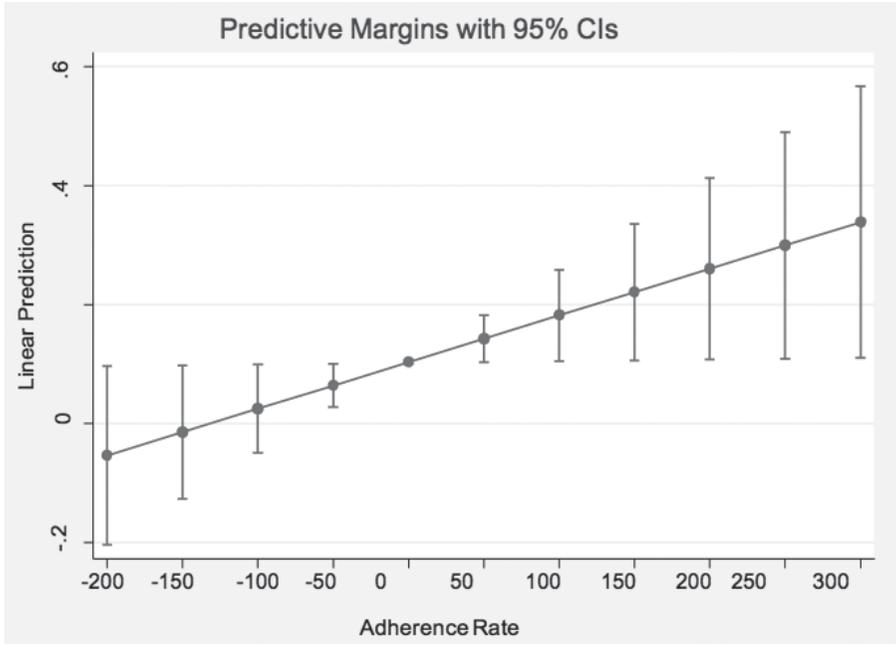
Figure 5

Table 6

Religious Adherence	Margins	P-Value	Confidence Intervals	
-200	-0.053	0.471	-0.203	0.097
-150	-0.014	0.797	-0.126	0.098
-100	0.025	0.496	-0.049	0.099
-50	0.064	0.001	0.028	0.101
0	0.103	0	0.101	0.107
50	0.143	0	0.103	0.182
100	0.182	0	0.105	0.259
150	0.221	0.001	0.106	0.336
200	0.26	0.002	0.107	0.413
250	0.23	0.003	0.109	0.49
300	0.339	0.005	0.11	0.567

*Data of the margins plot in a table

The battleground states include Florida, Pennsylvania, Michigan, North Carolina, Virginia, Colorado, Ohio, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Nevada, Arizona, New Mexico, New Hampshire, and Georgia.

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