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**THE DIMINISHING DIVIDE ...
AMERICAN CHURCHES, AMERICAN POLITICS**

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:

Andrew Kohut, Director
Kimberly Parker, Research Director
Margaret Petrella & Claudia Deane, Survey Analysts
Pew Research Center for The People & The Press
202/293-3126
<http://www.people-press.org>

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Religion is a strong and growing force in the way Americans think about politics. It has a bearing on political affiliation, political values, policy attitudes and candidate choice. Its increasing influence on political opinion and behavior rivals factors such as race, region, age, social class and gender.

More specifically, religion has a strong impact on the political views of Christian Americans who represent 84% of the voting age population. Christian political conservatism is associated with every religious dimension covered in *The Pew Research Center For The People & The Press* survey. Regardless of denomination, people who express more faith are more conservative. People who engage in more religious practices are more conservative. Those who say religion plays a very important role in their lives are more conservative. The Center's polling finds indications that religious influences lead to a more liberal position on some issues, but there is little indication of a coherent pattern of liberal belief associated with any major religion or religious group.

The full effect of religion on American politics is best observed when race is factored into the equation. The conservatism of white evangelical Protestants is clearly the most powerful religious force in politics today. Analysis of the survey reveals that the most meaningful distinction is between Protestants who self-identify as evangelical or born again vs. those who do not. While the classification cuts across denominational lines, Baptists make up the largest share of evangelicals. Mainline denominations such as Methodists, Lutherans and Presbyterians are predominant among non-evangelical Protestants.¹

White evangelical Protestants are not only much more conservative on policy questions that involve moral issues such as abortion, laws regarding homosexuality and family issues. But, they are also more conservative on a range of political values including environmentalism and beliefs about international security. Their greater conservatism on non-moral issues is independent of *other* factors in their backgrounds, such as income or the prevalence of evangelicals in the South according to analyses conducted for this study.

¹ Throughout the report, the terms "non-evangelical Protestant" and "mainline Protestant" are used interchangeably.

Rather these patterns reflect the increased politicalization of white evangelical Protestants. Compared to a decade ago, a greater percentage of them now self-identify as Republicans. The GOP has not made as many conversions among non-evangelical Protestants nor among white Catholics. Republican affiliation among white evangelical Protestants grew 9% points between 1978 and 1987 and 7% points more between 1987 and 1995.²

White evangelical Protestants have been much more critical of Bill Clinton than other white Christians. For example, in June of 1988 white evangelical Protestants gave 7% points more support than did non-evangelicals to George Bush when pitted against Michael Dukakis. That margin has swelled to 18% points in comparative support for Bob Dole.

	Trend In Party ID					
	--- 1987 ---			--- 1994-95* ---		
	<u>Rep</u> %	<u>Dem</u> %	<u>Indep</u> %	<u>Rep</u> %	<u>Dem</u> %	<u>Indep</u> %
Total	25	37	38	30	31	35
White Evangelical Prot	35	29	36	42	25	29
White Mainline Prot	31	29	40	34	26	37
White Catholics	25	38	37	30	32	34

* Based on 9,652 interviews conducted from July 1994-October 1995

White evangelical Protestants now represent 24% of registered voters, up from 19% in 1987. They also make up a greater share of voters who self-identify as Republicans (34% vs. 26%)³. White Catholics and white non-evangelical Protestants also now each represent about one-fourth of the electorate. Black Christians constitute 8% of registered voters, non-religious Americans⁴ 6%, Hispanic Catholics 2%, Mormons 2%, Jews 2%, Orthodox Christians 1% and other religions 2%.

Americans report a significant amount of politicking from the pulpit, but it is not only occurring in the Baptist churches of white evangelical Protestants. Divisive moral issues such as abortion and prayer in school are being raised in church almost as often as traditional issues of conscience such as hunger and poverty and world trouble spots like Rwanda or Bosnia. Fully 60% of churchgoers say their clergy speak out about abortion and almost as many, 56%, cite prayer in

² CBS/New York Times survey, June 1978 (N=1,527).
"The People, the Press, & Politics: The Times Mirror Study of the American Electorate." Times Mirror Center for the People & the Press, 1988. Washington, DC.

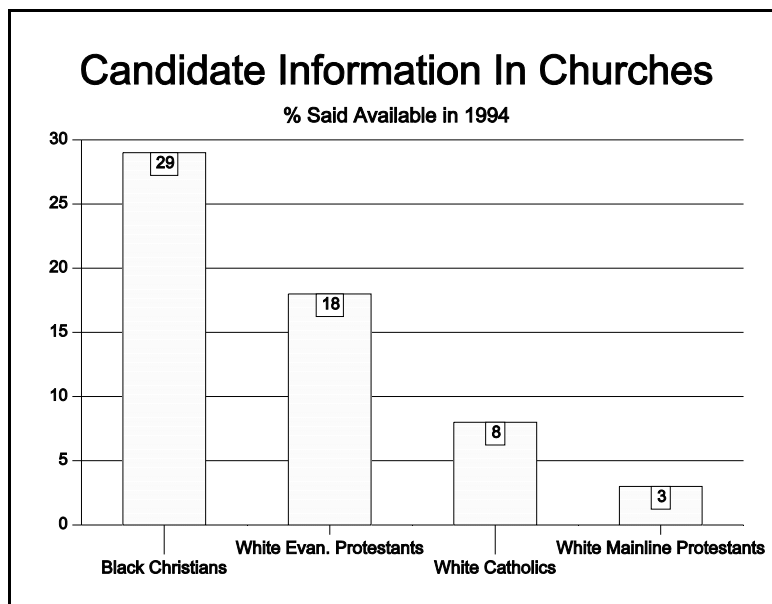
³ "The People, the Press & Politics: The Times Mirror Study of the American Electorate," 1988.

⁴ Non-religious refers to those respondents who express no religious preference or say they are atheist or agnostic.

schools. Individual churches clearly differ in the issues they speak out on.

Catholics hear about abortion (75%) and right to die laws (38%) more often than other churchgoers. White evangelical Protestants hear more frequently about abortion (66%), but their clergy also talk about pornography laws (59%), prayer in schools (71%) and laws about homosexuality (45%) more often than the average. African American churches have a mixed liberal/conservative political agenda. Black Christians are much more likely to have heard about health care reform (62%) from their ministers than white Christians (19%), but they just as often hear them speak out on prayer in schools (73%). Mainline Protestants report *less* talk in their churches about a range of contemporary political issues than do other religious groups.

As many as one-in-five churchgoers say that their clergy speak out on candidates and elections. However partisan politicking from the pulpit is reported much more often by African American Christians (47%) and by white evangelical Protestants (20%) than by white Catholics (12%) or by white mainline Protestants (12%). Reflecting this pattern, nearly one-in-five white evangelical Protestants (18%) and an even larger percentage of black Christians (29%) said that campaign information was made available in their churches prior to the 1994 midterm elections. About one-in-twenty mainline Protestants or Catholics made such reports.



The connection between politicking from the pulpit and public opinion is more apparent

among some religious groups than others. White evangelical Protestants have the most ideologically consistent point of view. Besides taking strong conservative positions on the moral issues (such as opposition to abortion and gay marriages), they also are more apt than other white Christians to oppose handgun control and sending troops to Bosnia. White evangelical Protestants are less in favor of disseminating birth control information to teenagers and less certain that women in the work force is a good thing.

A Catholic Schism

White Catholics and mainline Protestants are less consistently conservative on moral issues. Majorities oppose gay marriages, but most in both groups take a pro-choice position on abortion. There is an indication of a clear ideological schism within the Catholic population. As many as 41% of self-defined "progressives" favor gay marriages, compared to 24% among "traditionalist" Catholics. The two groups, which divide the Catholic population about evenly, also differ on abortion. Fully 73% of progressive Catholics support the availability of abortion, versus 43% among traditionalists. Few differences are seen in the views of the two Catholic groups on non-moral issues, except on the question of immigration and sending U.S. troops to Bosnia. Progressive Catholics divide evenly as to whether immigrants are a burden to the country or strengthen it. But a clear majority of traditional Catholics have a negative view of newcomers to the United States. On the issue of Bosnia, a majority of progressive Catholics favor U.S. involvement while a majority of traditional Catholics oppose it.

Progressive Catholics come closest to fitting the description of a religiously-based liberal group -- but they are nowhere near as consistently liberal on a broad range of issues as white evangelical Protestants are conservative. They are better described as moderates, which is the political label a 51% majority of the group applies to themselves.

The views of black Christians reflect the mixed liberal/conservative agenda of their clergy. On the one hand, they express less support for the death penalty and more support for helping the poor than do other Christians. On the other hand, they oppose gay marriages and on balance take a pro-life position.

Those who profess no religion, who are mostly people under the age of 40, are predictably more liberal on moral issues -- 74% are pro-choice, 45% favor gay marriages -- but they are *not* much more liberal on issues such as helping the needy, support for the environment, opposition to the death penalty or having a favorable opinion of immigrants.

Acknowledging Religion's Impact

In follow-up questions the Center survey respondents acknowledged the importance of religion to their thinking about important policy questions, particularly those that their clergy emphasize. A 37% plurality said religion most influenced their views about gay marriages. Education (17%) and personal experiences (10%) were the factors mentioned next most often. Religion was also most often cited as shaping views about abortion. Many interviewees (18%) said that religion is the most influential factor in their opinion of the death penalty, but about as many mentioned education (21%) and media (21%). In contrast, relatively few thought that religion was central to their opinions about welfare, the environment or women in the work force.

	Reli- gious Belief	Educ- ation	Per- sonal Exper	Media
	%	%	%	%
<i>On Views About ...</i>				
Gay Marriages	37	17	10	9
Abortion	28	22	18	7
Death Penalty	18	21	13	21
Bosnia	6	18	15	35
Welfare	6	24	26	22
Working Women	4	23	45	7
The Environment	3	36	22	24

NOTE: See questions 13-15 in the questionnaire for wording.

Personal experience was often cited as the dominant influence on views about working women, helping the needy and the environment. The news media was given credit by respondents for its effect on their thinking about Bosnia, the environment, welfare and the death penalty. Education was mentioned by a significant percentage as an important influence on every issue, but particularly with regard to the environment.

Not too surprisingly those who say their views on abortion and gay marriages were influenced by religion take more conservative positions than those who cite other factors. But those with religion-based views on the death penalty more often oppose it (41%) than do those who attribute their positions to their education (17%) or to the news media (10%). Similarly, the small number of Americans who say that their views about welfare are religion-based are much more apt to favor more money for the needy (75%) than those who point to other factors (47%).

Church, State Divide Slipping

There is more public acceptance of the role of religion and clergy in the political process than there was 30 years ago, but concerns nonetheless remain about how much political power specific religions have these days. In 1965 the Gallup Poll found that Americans by a margin of 53% to 40% thought that churches should keep out of political matters, and only 22% thought it was ever right for clergy to discuss political candidates or issues from the pulpit. In 1996 the balance of opinion has changed -- by a 54% to 43% margin, the public thinks the churches *should* express their views on day to day political and social issues, rather than staying out of politics. And 29% now favor outright politicking from the pulpit.

The division of opinion on these issues surprisingly occurs more along religious lines than along partisan ones. By a margin of almost three-to-one black Christians and white evangelical Protestants think that it is okay for the churches to be involved in politics. However, white Catholics and white mainline Protestants split evenly on the issue. Only majorities of progressive Catholics and the non-religious think the churches should stay out of politics. Remarkably similar majorities of Republicans, Democrats and Independents express support for church political involvement.

Less Political Power For "Them"

While in principle Americans approve of churches expressing their views on political matters, a plurality of Americans wants each of the major religious groups in America to have less influence on politics and government than they now do. By a margin of 44% to 33% the public thinks that Protestants should have less rather than more political power. Somewhat greater margins want to see Roman Catholics (53% to 27%), evangelicals (51% to 27%) and Jews (49% to 27%) have less power.

Most white evangelical Protestants want to see Protestants and evangelicals have more political power. But non-evangelical Protestants want these religious groups to have less political power and influence. Protestants of all varieties favor less influence for Roman Catholics. Catholics themselves are divided about the political influence of their own church -- traditionalists, on balance, want to see the church have more power, while progressives want to see it less influential. White mainline Protestants and white Catholics, as well as the non-religious, think Jews should have less political influence, but black Christians and white evangelicals are more evenly divided on the question.

Other Findings...

- ◆ Just 16% think of Bill Clinton as very religious and 52% consider him somewhat religious. Somewhat fewer see Hillary Clinton as religious -- 11% very, 45% somewhat. Reagan was rated similarly to Clinton (18% very, 50% somewhat). But, fully 48% rated Jimmy Carter as *very* religious. While fewer Americans know about Bob Dole's religious commitment, those who have an opinion judge him about the way Clinton is rated.
- ◆ About one-in-three Americans think that the news media portray very religious people unfairly (35%). A similar percentage (36%) believes news organizations are biased against fundamentalist Christians. However, discontent with media coverage is much greater among people with strong religious commitment (50% complain) and among white evangelical Protestants and black Christians (58% and 44% are displeased, respectively).
- ◆ By a 59% to 40% margin, swing voters (those loosely committed to Clinton or Dole plus the undecideds) reject strict limits on, or the prohibition of, abortion. But, they oppose gay marriages 65% to 27%.
- ◆ The Christian Coalition gets a mixed rating from the public at large (45% favorable, 35% unfavorable), but a better one than Pat Robertson receives (29% favorable, 48% unfavorable). The Christian Coalition gets a 64% favorable rating from white evangelical Protestants.
- ◆ Only 7% of voters think of themselves as members of the "religious right".
- ◆ Although the Pope gets a 93% favorable rating from American Catholics, only 40% of progressive Catholics have a very favorable opinion of the Pontiff.
- ◆ The GOP is preferred over the Democrats by a 45% to 34% margin as the party most concerned with protecting religious values. That margin swells to 56% to 26% among white evangelical Protestants. Even as many as 34% of black Christians think the Republicans care more about religion than the Democrats.
- ◆ Most Americans (62%) feel neither party is too closely tied to religious leaders these days -- 19% believe the Republicans are, 4% say the Democrats. But, 35% of those who profess no religious affiliation fault the GOP for its religious connections.
- ◆ Christian media have large audiences -- 45% say they tune in to religious programs on radio or TV, and 45% listen to religious music. A 57% majority of those 50 years of age and older use Christian broadcast media.

In the sections that follow, the relationship between religion and politics is examined in more detail. Section I provides a profile of religion in America today, including religious affiliations, religious practices and beliefs. The link between religion and basic *political attitudes* is covered in Section II, and the connection between religion and *values* is presented in Section III. Section IV looks at the extent to which religion influences views on policy issues. Finally, Section V addresses politicking in American churches, outlining the issues discussed from the pulpit, as well as churchgoers' opinions about the role of the church in political debates.

Academic consultants to the Center for this project included John C. Green, Director of the Ray C. Bliss Institute of Applied Politics, University of Akron; Scott Keeter, Professor, Virginia Commonwealth University; and Michael J. Robinson, Fellow, Pew Research Center for The People & The Press.

I. RELIGION IN AMERICA

Basic Religious Identification

America is overwhelmingly a Christian nation. Protestants (58%) and Catholics (24%) account for more than 80% of the voting age population. Those who profess no religion or say they are atheists are 8%. Two percent are Jews, 2% Mormon, 1% Orthodox and 3% other non-Christian.⁵

Among the Protestant groups, Baptists comprise the largest denomination (18%), followed by Methodists (10%) and Lutherans (6%). All other denominations are only 5% or less of the voting age population.

White Protestants divide evenly between those who say they are evangelical or born again (23%) and mainline Protestants who do not self-identify this way (22%). Among white mainline Protestants, Methodists are the largest group (6%), closely followed by Lutherans (4%) and Baptists (3%)⁶. But Baptists outnumber Methodists by a three-to-one margin (10% vs. 3%) among white evangelical Protestants. Catholics divide evenly between those who say they are "traditional" in their faith (11%) and those who label their religious beliefs as "progressive" (10%).

Blacks are predominantly Protestant (8 of 10%), while Hispanics are mostly Catholic (2 of 4%). But many Hispanics are Protestant (1 of 4%). Evangelicals predominate among black Protestants and Hispanic Protestants.

---PROTESTANTS---			
	<u>All</u>	White	White
	%	Main-	Evang-
		line	elical
		%	%
Total Protestants	53	22	23
<i>Denominations:</i>			
Baptist	18	3	10
Methodist	10	6	3
Lutheran	6	4	2
Non-Denom. or			
Independent	5	1	2
Presbyterian	4	2	1
Congregat'l/UCC	3	2	1
Pentecostal	3	*	2
Episcopalian	2	2	*
Reformed	*	*	*
Other	2	1	1
Nothing in			
Particular	1	1	1
DK/Refused	*	*	*

How to read the table: 18% of total pop'n are Baptist; 3% of the total pop'n are mainline Baptist; and 10% of the total pop'n are evangelical Baptist.

⁵ This analysis is based on 9,652 interviews conducted from July 1994 - October 1995.

⁶ These represent percentages of the total population.

Half of Evangelicals in South⁷

White mainline Protestants and white Catholics mirror the general public on basic demographic measures such as sex, age, education, and income. However, perhaps contrary to their public image, white evangelical Protestants are also mostly in the demographic mainstream. Compared to the nation as a whole, they have only somewhat less formal education and their ranks include a *slightly* larger percentage of low income families. But, white evangelical Protestants *are* distinguished by their concentration in the South (49%), and large numbers live in either small cities and towns or rural areas (69%).

Among Jews, one-half are college educated, compared to one-fifth of the public (51% vs. 21%). Jews are also more likely to earn \$75,000 or more in annual income (20% vs. 8%), to reside in the East (45% vs. 21%), and to live in either a large city (39% vs. 20%) or a suburb (32% vs. 22%). Those who profess no religious affiliation are predominantly male (64%) and highly likely to be under 30 years of age (37%), college educated (31%), and to live in the West (34%). Only one-third (32%) of this group were not active members of a church when they were growing up; one-third were Protestants and slightly more than one-fifth (22%) were Catholics.

While black Christians tend to be female (57%) and live in the South (57%), black non-Christians are predominantly male (53%), and they are almost as likely to live in the Northeast (33%) as in the South (40%). In addition, black non-Christians are more likely than black Christians to be under 30 years of age (41% vs. 27%) and to live in large cities (51% vs. 36%). [See Demographic Profile, p.36]

	General <u>Public</u> %	Registered <u>Voters</u> %
White Mainline Protestants	24	25
White Evangelical Protestants	24	24
White Catholic	21	22
Jewish	2	2
White Non-Religious	7	6
Black Christians	9	8
Black Non-Christians	1	1
Hispanic Catholics	2	2
Hispanic Non-Catholics	2	2
Orthodox	1	1
Mormons	2	2

Based on 9,652 interviews conducted from July 1994-October 1995

Some Slippage of Religious Faith Since '60's

Americans hold very strong religious beliefs. Six-in-ten (59%) Americans feel religion is very important in their life, and nearly three-quarters are absolutely certain about their belief in God (72%). But more faith was expressed in a 1965 Gallup survey, in which 70% of respondents said religion was very important to them, and 81% professed certainty about belief in God. The decline

⁷ The following analysis is based primarily on 9,652 interviews conducted from July 1994-October 1995.

in the importance of religion became apparent in Gallup Organization surveys in the late 1970's.

A large majority of the public feel the Bible is the actual word of God (82%), though there is a division of opinion as to whether or not the Bible should be taken literally, word for word (35% vs. 47%). Fully four-fifths of the public currently believes in the after-life, and not surprisingly, belief in heaven is more prevalent than belief in hell (70% vs. 57%).

Thirty-nine percent of Americans go to church at least once a week, and 17% say they attend once or twice a month. Only one-fifth say they attend services seldom (13%) or never (9%). A substantial percentage report *daily* religious activities. Fully 51% pray at least once a day, and 29% pray several times a day. And 60% of Americans say grace before meals.

Almost Half Watch Religious TV

Large pluralities watch religious TV programs and/or listen to religious radio shows (45%) or listen to Christian music (45%). More than one-half of Americans are involved in community volunteer work through their place of worship (55%). A smaller, though substantial number attend prayer group meetings or Bible study (31%), and only 15% report sending a son or daughter to a religious school.

More women than men say religion is very important in their life (69% vs. 47%). Blacks, those 50 years and older and less well educated Americans are more apt to report that religion is personally important to them than are their demographic counterparts. (See table, p.41)

The two groups that are farthest apart in political terms -- white evangelical Christians and Black Christians -- are close in their strong religious beliefs and practices. White Catholics, especially progressives, typically express less religious faith and commitment than either of these groups. In this regard, mainline Protestants are the least religious of the major Christian groupings.

Nearly all white evangelical Protestants and black Christians say religion is very important in their life (85% and 93%, respectively). Slightly more than one-half of white Catholics profess the importance of religion (54%), as do 46% of white mainline Protestants. Traditional Catholics, however, view religion as more important than do progressives (64% vs. 47%).

The same pattern emerges on religious practices, particularly with respect to church attendance and prayer. In addition, evangelical Protestants and black Christians are significantly more likely than all other groups to listen to Christian music, watch religious programs and attend prayer groups or Bible study. White Catholics are least likely to listen to Christian music, watch religious programs or attend Bible study; however, they are twice as likely to send a son or daughter

to a religious school (30% vs. 15% for the general public).

Religious Beliefs and Practices By Religious Groups								
	<u>Total</u>	White Mainline	White Evang	----Catholic----			Black Chris-	Non Relig-
	<u>%</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Tot.*</u>	<u>Trad'l</u>	<u>Prog.</u>	<u>tian</u>	<u>ious</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<i>Importance of Religion</i>								
Very important	59	46	85	54	64	47	93	15
Fairly important	26	41	13	35	30	42	5	18
Not very important	15	13	2	11	6	11	2	65
DK/Refused	<u>*</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Belief in God</i>								
Absolutely certain	72	64	94	71	74	70	89	29
Fairly certain	14	22	4	20	18	21	8	15
Not quite certain	8	10	2	8	7	9	3	16
Not at all sure	1	1	0	1	0	*	0	9
Do not believe	4	2	*	*	1	0	0	25
DK/Refused	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Beliefs About Bible</i>								
Word of God, to be taken literally	35	23	67	20	29	13	60	11
Word of God, not all true	47	59	29	67	60	75	34	31
Not the word of God	14	15	2	10	8	10	3	48
Other	2	2	1	1	1	*	1	4
DK/Refused	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Attend Religious Services</i>								
More than once a week	14	3	30	8	11	5	30	*
Once a week	25	18	39	32	36	31	25	3
Once/twice a month	17	24	14	20	18	23	28	4
A few times a year	21	33	10	24	20	28	12	21
Seldom/Never	22	22	6	16	15	13	4	71
DK/Refused	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Pray</i>								
Several times a day	29	15	51	23	28	20	52	6
Once a day	22	25	25	28	26	31	25	7
Few times a week	19	26	15	22	19	25	16	11
Once a week or less	18	26	7	20	18	21	4	28
Never	10	7	1	6	8	2	1	45
Dk/Refused	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
* Refers to white Catholic								

II. RELIGION AND POLITICS

Four major elements were considered in evaluating the relationship between politics and religion: affiliation, commitment, belief, and Evangelicalism. Affiliation refers to an individual's self-described religious preference. Commitment is measured by salience of religion in one's life, church attendance and frequency of prayer. Christian belief is measured by belief in God, the afterlife, heaven and hell. And Evangelicalism is a measure of whether individuals consider themselves born again or evangelical Christians.

All of these elements are interrelated and each is clearly linked to political views and attitudes. Strong religious commitment and strong belief contribute to conservative political views, and religious affiliation is a good indicator of political attitudes. However, one element stands out among all others. Self-identification as an evangelical Christian is the strongest link between religion and politics. Evangelicalism when combined with race is more *politically* significant than affiliation, commitment and belief; and when viewed in combination with commitment, it is an extraordinarily powerful predictor of political views.

White evangelical Protestants are more conservative, more Republican, and more anti-Clinton than any other major religious group in America. Furthermore, those evangelicals who are also strongly committed to their faith are among the most politically active citizens in the country. Nearly two-thirds of committed evangelicals are highly likely to vote in the 1996 election, compared to about half of the general public. The fact that this group expresses a consistent set of conservative political attitudes *and* is extremely active politically makes evangelical Christians a powerful voting bloc.

1996 Presidential Preference			
Commitment, Belief and Evangelicalism			
(Based on Whites)			
	<u>Clinton/ Lean Clinton</u>	<u>Dole/ Lean Dole</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
	%	%	%
Total	52	44	4=100
Evangelical Protestants			
Total	36	60	4=100
Highly Committed	32	66	2=100
Commitment			
High	41	56	3=100
Moderate	56	39	5=100
Low	57	37	6=100
Belief			
Strong	40	56	4=100
Moderate	62	34	4=100
Low	61	34	5=100

The Politics of Evangelical Protestants

White evangelical Protestants constitute 23% of the voting age population and 25% of all registered voters, approximately the same proportion represented by white mainline Protestants. They are more likely than any other major religious group to identify themselves as Republicans. Forty-one percent of all white evangelical Protestants are Republican, and nearly half (49%) of highly committed evangelicals assume the GOP label. This is roughly 20% points above the national average; 30% of all Americans identify themselves as Republicans.

The partisanship of white evangelicals is also expressed through their extreme dislike of Bill Clinton. While 54% of the public approves of the job the president is doing, only a third of committed evangelicals concur. Fully 60% of this group disapproves of Clinton and nearly as many hold an unfavorable opinion of the president. Evangelicals do not share the public's skepticism about the policies of the GOP Congress; more than half of highly committed evangelicals endorse the Republican congressional agenda, compared to only 36% of the public.

White evangelical Protestants favor Dole over Clinton in a hypothetical 1996 match-up by a margin of 60% to 36%. Among the public at large, Clinton holds a commanding 15 percentage point lead over Dole. The same pattern holds true at the congressional level. Two-thirds of highly committed evangelicals say they would vote for the Republican candidate from their congressional district (as do 59% of all white evangelical Protestants). Only 28% say they would vote for the Democrat. The general public favors Democrats over Republicans by a margin of 50% to 44%.

Evangelicals are highly critical of Hillary Clinton, even more so than they are of her husband; 62% of highly committed evangelicals have an unfavorable opinion of the First Lady. Interestingly, they are less likely than the general public to perceive the First Lady as a religious person. Among the public 25% characterize Mrs. Clinton as "not too religious" or "not at all religious." Among committed evangelicals, that number is as high as 44%.

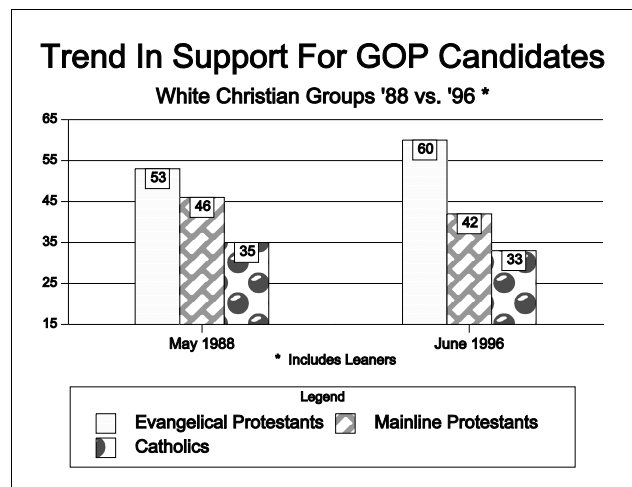
They hold a generally favorable view of Dole and are more likely than the public at large to view the Congress in a favorable light. Committed evangelicals are the only religious group that holds a clear majority favorable opinion of Congress.

Not surprisingly, evangelical Christians are more likely than members of other religious groups to give high favorability ratings to Pat Robertson. Nearly half of all white evangelical Protestants express a favorable opinion of the conservative Christian leader and former presidential candidate (compared to 29% of the general public). They are even more likely to express a favorable view of the Christian Coalition; 64% of all white evangelical Protestants and 78% of the

most committed among them give the Christian Coalition a favorable rating. Only 35% of mainline Protestants hold this political arm of the Christian right in such high esteem. More (44%) have a negative opinion of it.

Trend analysis suggests that over the last decade or so, white evangelical Protestants have become increasingly politicized. In 1987, 35% of white evangelical Protestants described themselves as Republicans, 29% were Democrats and 36% were Independents. Today, 41% of white evangelical Protestants call themselves Republicans, a full 11% points higher than the general public. Only 28% are Democrats and 29% are Independents. Over that same period of time, the party affiliation of white mainline Protestants has remained much more constant. Looking over a longer period, GOP affiliation among white evangelicals has climbed 16% points since 1978, while Republican adherence increased by 8% points among other Americans. While the GOP's growing popularity among white evangelicals is a national phenomenon, the trend is more pronounced in the South than in other regions of the country.

The politicalization of the evangelical right can be seen even more clearly in terms of presidential preference. In May of 1988 white evangelical Protestants supported George Bush over Michael Dukakis by a margin of 53% to 40%; mainline Protestants favored Dukakis over Bush by a narrow 48% to 46% margin. Eight years later, the evangelicals support Dole over Clinton by a staggering 60% to 36% margin; while the "mainliners" support Clinton over Dole by a margin of 52% to 42%. The gap between evangelical and mainline Protestants has grown substantially over the last eight years, and most of that can be attributed to the movement among evangelicals toward the Republican party.



The Politics of Other Religious Groups

The other major racial and religious groups identified in the survey also show distinct partisan patterns.

Religion and Party Affiliation*					
	<u>Repub- lican</u>	<u>Demo- crat</u>	<u>Indep- endent</u>	<u>No pref/ Other/DK</u>	<u>(N)</u>
	%	%	%	%	
Total	30	31	35	4=100	9,652
White Mainline Prot.**	34	26	37	3=100	2,312
White Evangelical Prot.	42	25	29	4=100	2,156
White Catholic	30	32	34	4=100	1,955
Jewish	15	46	37	2=100	217
White Non-Religious	18	26	52	4=100	615
Black Christian	6	66	24	4=100	856
Black Non-Christian	6	52	39	3=100	141
Hispanic Catholic	18	39	41	2=100	285
Hispanic Non-Catholic	24	35	37	4=100	262
Mormon	45	20	32	3=100	168

* Based on 9,652 interviews conducted from July 1994-October 1995
 ** In this and other categories "white" designates white, non-Hispanic

Black Christians: Black Christians are as partisan in their political views as are white evangelical Protestants, if not more so. Just as these two groups stand out in terms of their religious beliefs and levels of commitment, they express some of the strongest and most consistent political views.

Black Christians are more likely than any other major religious group to approve of the job Bill Clinton is doing and to disapprove of the policies of the GOP Congress. They are also the most likely to say they will vote for Clinton over Dole in 1996 and the Democratic candidate for Congress in their district. It is important to note that *race*, rather than religious faith, is the dominant force driving the political beliefs of black Christians. Even so, black non-Christians are less partisan than black Christians.

Black Christians hold highly favorable opinions of both President Clinton (85% favorable) and Hillary Clinton (75% favorable). Only one-in-five say their opinion of Bob Dole is favorable while fully 64% express an unfavorable opinion of the former Senate majority leader. Not surprisingly, black Christians are more likely than any other religious group to give high favorability ratings to Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan. Still, even among blacks, Farrakhan remains a polarizing figure: 44% of blacks give him a favorable rating; 38% rate him unfavorably.

In spite of their strong partisanship, black Christians are less politicized than white evangelical Protestants in one very important respect -- they are less politically active. Only 30% of Black Christians say they follow what's going on in government most of the time, compared to 42% of white evangelical Protestants. Perhaps more importantly, only 45% of black Christians could be characterized as likely 1996 voters, this compares with 54% of white evangelical Protestants and 64% of highly committed white evangelicals.

White Mainline Protestants: White mainline Protestants express less partisan political attitudes than their evangelical counterparts. They are more Republican than the public at large, but no less approving of Bill Clinton. Even among highly committed mainline Protestants, a majority (54%) approves of the job Clinton is doing. This is in stark contrast to the 33% of highly committed evangelicals who say they approve.

In short, mainline Protestants resemble the general public politically. Their political views mirror those of the public on approval of the GOP Congress as well as on presidential and congressional preference. Traditionally, mainline Protestants have been strong supporters of GOP presidential candidates. Today, however, they favor Clinton over Dole by a 10% point margin. Commitment does not seem to translate into a more conservative viewpoint for mainliners as it does for white evangelical Protestants. Highly committed mainline Protestants are not significantly more conservative than less committed mainliners.

White mainline Protestants do differ from the general public in one important respect; they are more interested in politics and more likely to vote in the 1996 election.

Jewish Americans: Jewish Americans are among the most Democratic of all religious groups, second only to black Christians. Nearly half of all Jews (46%) are Democrats, 37% are Independents, and a mere 15% are Republicans. They give President Clinton higher approval ratings than any other major religious group, with the exception of black Christians. It should be noted, however, that more highly religious Jews tend to be more conservative on moral issues and on some key political measures than less religious Jews.

Mormons: At the other end of the partisan spectrum are Mormons. Representing about 2% of the population, Mormons are the most Republican religious group in America, surpassing even white evangelical Protestants. Some 45% of Mormons claim GOP party allegiance, 32% are Independents, and only one-in-five are Democrats.

Hispanic Americans: Hispanics are more Democratic than Republican, but large numbers identify themselves as Independents (37%, 21%, and 39%, respectively). Slight differences exist between Hispanic Catholics and non-Catholics, with non-Catholics more likely to ally themselves with the Republican party (24% vs. 18% of Catholics).

The Non-Religious: Whites who express no religious preference are a largely non-partisan group. More than half (52%) are political Independents. Those that do claim a party affiliation are more Democratic than Republican (26% vs. 18%).

White Catholics: Unlike the days when Catholics were a stronghold of the Democratic party, today's white Catholics divide themselves evenly among the Republican, Democratic and Independent parties. They give the President high approval ratings (60% approve vs. 34% disapprove), and most are inclined to vote for Clinton over Dole in 1996 (62% vs. 33%).

Catholics who describe themselves as "progressive" express slightly more liberal political views than those that call themselves "traditional." Progressive Catholics are slightly more likely than traditionalists to approve of the job Bill Clinton is doing, less likely to approve of the GOP congressional agenda, and less likely to have a favorable opinion of Bob Dole. They are also less likely than traditionalists to say they would vote for a Republican for Congress in 1996.

In religious terms, these two groups diverge in their opinions of Pope John Paul II. While an overwhelming majority of Catholics give the Pope a favorable rating, traditional Catholics are far more likely than progressive Catholics to characterize their opinion as "very favorable" (60% vs. 40%, respectively).

Denominational Politics: The various Protestant denominations differ significantly in their political leanings. Non-denominational white Protestants and white Presbyterians are the two most Republican groups; they are also the two groups most likely to describe themselves as conservative (63% of Presbyterians and 56% of Non-denominationals are conservative, compared to 41% of the general public). One important difference between these two groups is that while a majority of Non-denominationals are born again or evangelical, most Presbyterians do not self-identify as such. They are the only clearly conservative group among the mainline denominations.

Both the Non-denominationals and the Presbyterians are less likely to have a favorable opinion of Clinton and more likely to vote for Dole in 1996 than members of most other Protestant denominations. They are also much more likely than the public at large to express unfavorable views about Hillary Clinton. Fully six-in-ten Non-denominationals hold an unfavorable opinion of the First Lady, compared to 46% of the general public.

At the other end of the ideological spectrum are liberal-leaning white Methodists. They are more supportive of President Clinton, more disapproving of the GOP Congress, and more likely to give Hillary Clinton -- a fellow Methodist -- a favorable rating than any other major Protestant denomination.

Commitment and Belief

Aside from religious affiliation, the intensity of religious commitment and belief also has an impact on political attitudes. Religious commitment among whites is linked to party identification, with more highly committed individuals showing much stronger alliance with the Republican party when compared to whites with a low level of commitment. Four-in-ten highly committed whites are Republicans compared to only 28% of weakly committed whites. The same pattern holds true among whites for strong vs. weak believers. Nearly 40% of those with strong Christian beliefs identify themselves as Republicans; the same can be said of only 24% of the nonbelievers.

Political Activism

White Protestants are slightly more likely than Catholics and significantly more likely than black Christians to vote in 1996. And highly committed Protestants are the most likely of all to turn out (65% of highly committed white evangelical Protestants and 61% of committed white mainline Protestants are very likely to vote in 1996). The non-religious are less likely than any other group to participate next November.

No one religious group stands out as more politically active. Less than 10% of the general public report having attended a political meeting, rally, speech, or other such event in 1994. By this measure, religious Americans are no more politically active than the non-religious. Some 8% of white mainline Protestants say they attended such an event in 1994; 6% of white evangelical Protestants report doing the same as do 8% of white Catholics and 10% of black Christians. But among the small group of Americans (7%) who say they are members of the religious right political movement, 14% report attending a political meeting or rally in 1994.

III. RELIGION AND POLITICAL VALUES ⁸

White evangelical Protestants and Mormons hold much more conservative values than members of other religious groups. They are the least accepting of homosexuality, the most in favor of keeping "dangerous" books off public library shelves, and take a hard line on security issues. Significant minorities of white evangelicals oppose environmental regulations and doubt the wisdom of sending women into the workplace. Though white mainline Protestants and Catholics are more moderate on issues like homosexuality, they join evangelicals in expressing unsympathetic attitudes toward the poor and immigrants. Jews consistently express the most liberal values. They are the most tolerant of gays, the most likely to think environmental regulations are worth the cost, and among whites the most liberal on racial issues. Black Christians occasionally move toward the conservative end of the policy spectrum, expressing significant concern about the economic cost of environmental regulations, but also show the most support for the poor and are among the most likely to favor non-military solutions to international problems.

Social Tolerance: The Big Divide

Americans of different faiths differ most notably on questions of social tolerance, particularly homosexuality. For example, a large majority of Jews (79%) and non-religious whites (66%) believe that society should *accept* homosexuality as a way of life, while a near equal number of white Protestant evangelicals (72%) believe that society should *discourage* the gay lifestyle. White mainline Protestants and Catholics are more narrowly divided on the question, with a bare majority agreeing that society should accept homosexuals (52%). Black Christians split evenly on the question.

A similarly powerful divide appears on the question of banning books, with white Protestant evangelicals more likely (60%) than white mainline Protestants (39%) to say that books containing dangerous ideas should be banned from public school libraries. Black Christians are the only religious group aside from evangelicals and Mormons in which a majority favors banning dangerous books (53% in favor). More than two-thirds of Jews and non-religious whites believe that public school libraries should be allowed to carry any books they want.

⁸ The following analysis is based primarily on 9,652 interviews conducted from July 1994-October 1995.

Social Tolerance*

	---Homosexuality---			---Banning Books from Public Schools---		
	Society Should Accept %	Society Should Discourage %	Both/ Neither/ DK %	Ban Dangerous Books %	Schools Carry What Want %	Both/ Neither DK %
Total	46	49	5=100	45	52	3=100
White Mainline Protestants	52	42	6=100	39	58	3=100
White Evangelical Protestants	25	72	3=100	60	38	2=100
White Catholic	52	43	5=100	42	56	2=100
Jewish	79	18	3=100	25	71	4=100
White Non-Religious	66	30	4=100	24	74	2=100
Black Christian	47	48	5=100	53	46	1=100
Black Non-Christian	56	38	6=100	44	53	3=100
Hispanic Catholic	55	42	3=100	47	51	2=100
Hispanic Non-Catholic	50	45	5=100	45	52	3=100
Orthodox**	52	42	6=100	48	51	1=100
Mormon	34	63	3=100	51	47	2=100
White Other	48	50	2=100	44	53	3=100

* The tables in this section are based on 9,652 interviews conducted from July 1994-October 1995.
 ** Caution: for this table and those that follow, small sample size for Orthodox (N=64).

Persistent Religious Patterns

It is no surprise that religion matters on moral issues such as homosexuality. More surprising, perhaps, is the fact that on a whole host of political values less directly tied to morality, religious differences persist.

Social Welfare: White Christians and Hispanics take a less sympathetic view of the poor than Jews or blacks. In a rare show of unanimity among white Christian denominations, over half of white Protestants, Catholics and the non-religious believe that poor people today have it easy because they can get government benefits. They are joined in this belief by a narrow majority of Hispanic Catholics and non-Catholics. On the other hand, 44% of Jews think that poor people have *hard* lives, compared to 39% who think the poor have it easy. The strongest sympathy for the plight of the poor is found among black Christians (66% think the poor have hard lives).

A slim majority of mainline and evangelical Christians also share the view that the government today can't afford to do much to help the needy. White Catholics are more divided on this question. Jews are the only white group in the population who favor more government aid. Large percentages of blacks, and to a lesser extent Hispanics, also favor such measures.

Social Welfare						
	<i>---Government Benefits---</i>			<i>---Helping Needy Americans---</i>		
	Poor Have <u>It Easy</u> %	Poor Don't <u>Have Enough</u> %	Both/ Neither/ <u>DK</u> %	Do More <u>For Poor</u> %	Can't Afford <u>More</u> %	Both/ Neither/ <u>DK</u> %
Total	52	39	9=100	48	46	6=100
White Mainline Protestant	56	35	9=100	42	52	6=100
White Evangelical Protestant	58	32	10=100	42	53	5=100
White Catholic	56	36	8=100	48	46	6=100
Jewish	39	44	17=100	55	34	11=100
White Non-Religious	51	39	10=100	46	48	6=100
Black Christian	28	66	6=100	72	25	3=100
Black Non-Christian	33	57	10=100	72	20	8=100
Hispanic Catholic	52	43	5=100	55	42	3=100
Hispanic Non-Catholic	51	42	7=100	60	35	5=100
Orthodox	53	41	6=100	51	44	5=100
Mormon	65	26	9=100	46	47	7=100
White Other	41	46	13=100	48	42	10=100

The Environment: Most Americans feel that environmental regulations are worth the cost, but there is less support for this position among white evangelical Protestants than among their Protestant brethren. Over forty percent of white evangelical Protestants (42%) and Mormons (46%) agree that stricter environmental laws cost too many jobs and hurt the economy, compared to less than a third of white mainline Protestants and white Catholics. Black Christians and Hispanics tend more toward the evangelical position on the issue. Jewish Americans express the most support for the worth of environmental regulations.

Environmental Regulations			
	<u>Hurt the Economy</u> %	<u>Worth the Cost</u> %	Both/ Neither/ <u>DK</u> %
Total	34	61	5=100
White Mainline Protestant	33	62	5=100
White Evangelical Protestant	42	52	6=100
White Catholic	31	65	4=100
Jewish	19	77	4=100
White Non-Religious	26	71	3=100
Black Christian	36	60	4=100
Black Non-Christian	32	64	4=100
Hispanic Catholic	39	58	3=100
Hispanic Non-Catholic	36	60	4=100
Orthodox	36	61	3=100
Mormon	46	50	4=100
White Other	32	63	5=100

Security Issues: On security issues, white evangelical Protestants and Mormons take the hardest line. While almost 60% of Americans believe that the best way to insure peace is through diplomacy, evangelicals are split on the issue, with almost half agreeing that peace is best insured through military strength. Mormons follow a similar path, trailed by mainline Protestants and Catholics. In contrast, about two-thirds of Jews and minority groups feel diplomacy is a more effective way of ensuring peace.

Race: A substantial majority of Christians feel the problems of blacks are of their own making, rather than a consequence of racial discrimination. Jews are the only white group where there is a close division of opinion on this issue. Among white Christians, evangelical Protestants are marginally more likely to say that blacks who cannot get ahead are responsible for their own condition (66%), but mainline Protestants and Catholics are not far behind. A majority of Hispanic Catholics also believe blacks are responsible (56%), unlike non-Catholic Hispanics, who are more divided on the issue. Finally, a majority of blacks point to racial discrimination (though one-third agree that blacks themselves are responsible).

	Race		
	Discrimination Stops Black <u>Progress</u>	Blacks <u>Responsible</u>	Both/ Neither/ <u>DK</u>
	%	%	%
Total	34	56	10=100
White Mainline Protestant	30	60	10=100
White Evangelical Protestant	24	66	10=100
White Catholic	32	59	9=100
Jewish	42	44	14=100
White Non-Religious	38	51	11=100
Black Christian	57	35	8=100
Black Non-Christian	56	34	10=100
Hispanic Catholic	38	56	6=100
Hispanic Non-Catholic	48	44	8=100
Orthodox	31	60	9=100
Mormon	30	57	13=100
White Other	44	42	14=100

Women in the Workplace: Despite the increasing demand for a revival of traditional family values, three-quarters of Americans think that society has benefited from women's presence in the workplace. Support for this position is weakest, however, among white evangelical Protestants, and particularly among those who have a high commitment to their faith. Among this latter group of high-commitment evangelicals, 37% claim that society made a mistake in encouraging so many women with families to work.

Religious Consensus: Political Cynicism

Finally, there are a few political values which are shared. There are virtually no differences by religious affiliation on the issue of corporate power in America (most people think too much power is concentrated in the hands of a few large companies.) Across church and synagogue Americans also do not differ in their impressions of elected officials. Within each religious denomination, at least two-thirds of respondents agree that elected officials in Washington lose touch with the people pretty quickly. A similar number feel that most elected officials do not care what they think.

Religion and Other Factors

The significance of religious orientation is independent of other traditional political influences such as age, race, sex, education and region. While religion is certainly correlated with these factors, its influence is not just a consequence of this correlation. Analysis shows that this is true both for moral issues such as homosexuality and for policy issues such as environmental regulation and racial progress.⁹

For example, strong support for the military among evangelicals is not just a consequence of the fact that evangelicals tend to live in the pro-military south. Even in the South, evangelicals take a stronger pro-military point of view than mainline Protestants.

Attitudes Toward Ensuring Peace (Among Southerners)			
	Peace by <u>Military</u> %	Peace by <u>Diplomacy</u> %	DK/Both/ <u>Neither</u> %
Total	41	52	7=100
White Mainline Protestant	41	50	9=100
White Evangelical Protestant	51	43	6=100
White Catholic	39	56	5=100

Similarly, lower levels of support for environmental regulation among evangelicals are not

⁹ Multiple regression analyses were used to test the significance of religion in predicting political values. Control variables included: age, education, sex, race and region.

a consequence of socio-economic status. College-educated evangelicals express less support than similarly educated mainline Protestants for environmental regulation.

Attitudes Toward Environmental Regulations			
(Among College Graduates)			
	Hurt <u>Economy</u>	<u>Worth Cost</u>	DK/Both/ <u>Neither</u>
	%	%	%
Total	28	69	3=100
White Mainline Protestants	27	69	4=100
White Evangelical Protestants	42	55	3=100

IV. RELIGION AND POLICY ISSUES

Moral Issues: An Explicit and Conservative Religious Connection

The U.S. public remains divided over abortion, with just over half believing that abortion should be generally available, or available with minor restrictions, while 42% believe that it should be prohibited entirely, or available only in cases of rape, incest, or threat to the life of the mother. These divisions are drawn largely along religious lines, with mainline Protestants (72%), progressive Catholics (73%), and the non-religious (74%) generally pro-choice in orientation, evangelical Protestants strongly pro-life, and black Christians and traditional Catholics falling in between but tipping toward the pro-life side (57% and 55% pro-life, respectively). Among white evangelical Protestants, roughly two-thirds (65%) believe abortion should be prohibited or highly restricted, and among white evangelicals with a strong religious commitment, 83% take this conservative view.

About half (51%) of the pro-life respondents in the survey said that their religious beliefs were the most important influence on their opinion about abortion. Among the highly religious evangelical Protestants holding pro-life views, three fourths attributed their abortion opinions to their religious beliefs. And among pro-life black Christians and traditional Catholics, nearly six-in-ten did so (56% and 58% respectively).

A similar pattern is evident on the issue of gay and lesbian marriage. By a 65% to 28% margin the public opposes legalized gay and lesbian marriage. Opposition is even more intense among white evangelical Protestants, 84% of whom are opposed (64% *strongly* opposed). And among the most religiously committed evangelicals, 89% are opposed. There is a 17% point difference in opinion between progressive and traditional Catholics, with 68% of traditional Catholics opposed to gay and lesbian marriage, compared with 51% among progressives. Non-religious respondents divide nearly evenly on the question, with 45% in favor and 46% opposed. Mainline Protestants and black Christians break down much like the sample as a whole.

Religious beliefs are at the heart of conservative opinion on this issue by people's own accounts. A little over half (52%) of those opposed to gay and lesbian marriage say that their religious views are the most important influence on their attitude. Among highly committed white evangelical Protestants, 84% of those opposed to gay and lesbian marriage credit their religious beliefs as responsible for their opinion.

Higher levels of education generally bring more tolerant or liberal attitudes on social issues such as homosexuality. But the power of religious belief is such that among born again respondents, the liberalizing influence of education on attitudes about homosexuality is neutralized. There is no difference in attitude by educational level among the born again.

	Percent Who Say Society Should Accept Homosexuality				
	----- <i>Educational level</i> -----				
	Less than High School	High School	Some College	College Graduate	
	<u>All</u>	<u>Diploma</u>	<u>Graduate</u>	<u>College</u>	<u>Graduate</u>
	%	%	%	%	%
Total	46	36	43	50	55
Born again	29	28	30	31	27
Not born again	56	46	52	60	64

Over three-fourths (76%) of Americans support allowing schools to distribute information about birth control. Even among traditional Catholics, 71% are supportive. But a 52% to 45% majority of highly committed evangelicals are opposed.

Many evangelicals also take a different view from the rest of the nation on the question of whether society has made a mistake in encouraging women with families to enter the work force. As with birth control information in the schools, there is a strong national consensus that society has benefited from women entering the work force rather than made a mistake in encouraging women to work (76% to 19%). Religious commitment makes very little difference to most people’s opinions, except among the most committed white evangelical Protestants, 37% of whom feel that society has made a mistake. Among highly committed evangelicals concerned about women entering the work force, about 30% said that their religious beliefs were the most important influence on their opinion.

Religion and the Death Penalty: “An Eye for an Eye” or “Thou Shalt Not Kill”?

Americans evidence a strong consensus in favor of the death penalty. The Center survey found 78% in favor of the death penalty for persons convicted of murder with just 18% opposed. There is relatively little difference in opinion across religious groups, except black Christians who are less supportive than others (54% in favor, 35% opposed). But the lack of variation across religions masks a relatively strong role for religious beliefs in opinions on this issue.

Overall, 19% of Pew’s respondents cited religious beliefs as the most important influence on their opinion about the death penalty, a level of influence about equal to that of the mass media, education, and miscellaneous other factors. What is especially interesting about the role of religion

is that, unlike the social issues of abortion and homosexuality, religion’s influence is about equally divided between the liberal and conservative positions on this issue. Among those citing religion as most important, about half (52%) favor the death penalty, while 41% are opposed.

Religious beliefs are particularly important for the pro-death penalty sentiments of highly committed white evangelical Protestants (39% of whom cite religious beliefs as the most important influence), and for the anti-death penalty views of black Christians (57% cite religious reasons as most important).

U.S. Involvement in Bosnia

Attitudes about the U.S. military mission in Bosnia draw upon a range of conflicting considerations, some of which are religiously-based. On the one hand, the humanitarian nature of the mission, and in particular, the effort to stop war crimes that have a religious origin, may lead many religious Americans to support the U.S. efforts. On the other hand, a general skepticism about the use of military force has been a hallmark of several religious traditions in America and may lead many citizens to oppose the mission.

Despite the seeming success of the mission, Americans continue to be divided on support of President Clinton’s Bosnian decision, with 43% favoring involvement and 52% opposing it. Support for the mission is lower among white evangelicals (34%) than among white mainline Protestants (44%). Those who profess no religious affiliation (50%) and progressive Catholics (58%) are the most supportive. Differences between mainline and evangelical Protestants are not simply a consequence of greater Republican identification, and thus opposition to President Clinton, among the evangelicals. Among Republicans, there was no difference in support between mainline and evangelical Protestants, but among Democrats and Independents, the evangelicals are considerably less supportive.

	<u>All</u> %	<u>Rep</u> %	<u>Dem</u> %	<u>Indep</u> %
White Mainline Protestant	44	28	61	50
White Evangelical Protestant	34	28	48	30

Government Assistance for the Poor

Although the plight of the poor is a common theme in most religious traditions, and was the issue most commonly mentioned by church-going respondents as being discussed by their clergy (87%), there is little evidence of direct religious influence on public opinion about government assistance to the poor. Differences across religious groups in the survey are relatively modest, with the exception of black Christians, who are substantially more liberal than the average (77% in favor of more government assistance, compared with 48% for the general public) and highly committed white evangelicals, who are somewhat more conservative (36% in favor of more government help). Traditional Catholics are 9% points more liberal on the issue than are self-described progressive Catholics.

Only about 6% of respondents said that religious beliefs were the most important influence on their attitudes about government aid to the poor. But, of these, three-fourths (75%) took the liberal position on the issue.

On another issue related to the poor -- the provision of welfare benefits to unwed teenagers who have children -- there are only modest differences among religious groups. Interestingly, among Republicans, evangelicals are 13% points less likely than non-evangelicals to favor denying benefits to teenage parents. Although the survey did not probe the issue specifically, this difference is consistent with the interpretation that many evangelicals oppose the cutoff because of fears that such a move would encourage more teens to have abortions.

Attitudes about Blacks

Most Americans -- 57% overall -- feel that blacks who cannot get ahead bear more responsibility for this condition than does racial discrimination. White evangelicals are slightly more likely than other religious groups (67%) to blame blacks rather than discrimination. And progressive Catholics (64%) are 10% points more likely than traditional Catholics (54%) to feel this way.

V. POLITICKING IN THE CHURCH

Americans who attend church at least once or twice a month report hearing their clergy speak out from the pulpit on a whole range of social and political issues. Hunger and poverty are addressed by clergy more often than any other topic; 87% of churchgoers say their clergy preaches on these issues. Abortion and world trouble spots such as Bosnia and Rwanda are popular topics for ministers and other clergy; 60% of churchgoers say they hear about these issues in church. Prayer in public schools, pornography and homosexuality are also discussed frequently. Less prevalent, though still talked about, are euthanasia, the death penalty, health care reform, and candidates and elections.

The extent to which different issues are addressed from the pulpit varies widely across Christian denominations, and the starkest contrasts can be found between mainline Protestant churches and white evangelical churches. Moral issues, such as abortion, prayer in school, and homosexuality are addressed much more frequently by evangelical clergy than by mainline Protestant ministers.

The Evangelical Agenda

Two-thirds of all churchgoing white evangelical Protestants say their minister speaks out on abortion. Just over a third of all white mainline Protestants say their preacher addresses this issue. Seven-in-ten evangelicals report hearing about prayer in school from their clergy compared to less than half of mainliners. Many more evangelicals than mainliners report that their ministers have preached on pornography (59% vs. 26%). And nearly twice as many evangelicals have heard their clergy address the issue of homosexuality from the pulpit. In each case, *highly committed* evangelicals report an even higher incidence of politicking from the pulpit, possibly because this group is spending even more time in church than their less committed fellow evangelicals.

Only on the issue of world trouble spots do mainline Protestants report significantly more discussion by clergy than their evangelical counterparts. Nearly 70% of white mainline Protestants say their clergy speaks out on these types of issues, compared to 55% of evangelicals. Next to hunger and poverty, this is the issue that mainliners report hearing about most often in church.

The death penalty, right to die laws, and health care reform are brought up slightly more often in evangelical churches than in mainline churches, according to those who attend. However, these issues do not appear to dominate the agendas of the clergy in either venue.

The Catholic Agenda

White Catholics report hearing about abortion in church at a higher rate than any other major religious group. Three out of every four white Catholics who attend church say their clergy speaks out on this issue. Catholics are much less likely than evangelicals to say their clergy speaks out on other moral issues such as prayer in school (40% vs. 71% of evangelicals) and homosexuality (19% vs. 45% of evangelicals).

On certain issues, self-described traditional and progressive Catholics report different levels of politicking by their clergy. Traditional Catholics are much more likely than progressives to say their priest speaks out on pornography (42% vs. 26%). Traditional Catholics are also more likely than progressives to have heard about right to die laws, homosexuality, and health care reform in church.

The Black Christian Agenda

Black Christians are more likely than any other major religious group to report that their clergy speaks out on overtly political issues. Nearly half (47%) say their minister speaks out on candidates and elections -- more than twice the percentage of white evangelicals who report the same. And more than 60% say their minister speaks out on health care reform.

Blacks are also more likely than most others churchgoers to hear about school prayer, homosexuality, and the death penalty in church. They are less likely than both evangelicals and Catholics to say their preacher addresses the issue of abortion.

The Southern Agenda

Regional patterns also emerge. Churchgoers in the South hear their ministers preach on moral issues such as school prayer, homosexuality and pornography more often than those in other parts of the country. Relative to other regions, clergy in southern churches, according to their parishioners, preach less often about world trouble spots and right to die laws.

In the East, more church politicking is done on abortion, hunger and world trouble spots. Pornography and homosexuality are discussed less often in the East than elsewhere.

On a whole range of issues, churchgoers in the West report far less politicking by clergy than those in other regions of the country. This is most apparent on the issue of prayer in school, where only 40% of westerners say their clergy speaks out on the issue. This compares with 60% of church attenders in other parts of the country.

While people of various religious faiths report hearing their clergy speak out on certain issues, *far fewer* say their clergy or any other religious group urged them to vote in a particular way in the 1994 congressional elections. Only 4% of white mainline Protestants say they were urged to vote one way or another. White Catholics report this type of politicking in church at about an equal rate. Twice as many (8%) white evangelical Protestants say they were urged to vote in a particular way either by their clergy or by some religious group. Among the major religious groups, black Christians are the most likely to report a direct religious influence on their 1994 vote; 13% say their clergy or some other religious group tried to affect their vote choice.

Campaign Politics in Church						
(Based on Churchgoers)						
	Did clergy/religious group urge you to vote in a particular ---way?---			Was campaign info. made available to you ---in church?---		
	<u>Yes</u> %	<u>No</u> %	<u>DK</u> %	<u>Yes</u> %	<u>No</u> %	<u>DK</u> %
All Churchgoers	7	91	2=100	14	83	3=100
White Mainline Prots.	4	94	2=100	3	93	4=100
White Evangel. Prots.	8	91	1=100	18	80	2=100
White Catholics	4	92	4=100	8	88	4=100
Black Christians	13	87	0=100	29	69	2=100

Churchgoers more often report having received information on candidates or parties through their churches before the 1994 election. Nearly 15% of all churchgoers said such information was made available to them. White evangelical Protestants are much more likely than white mainline Protestants to report this (18% vs. 3%), and highly committed evangelicals report receiving campaign materials at an ever greater rate (24%).

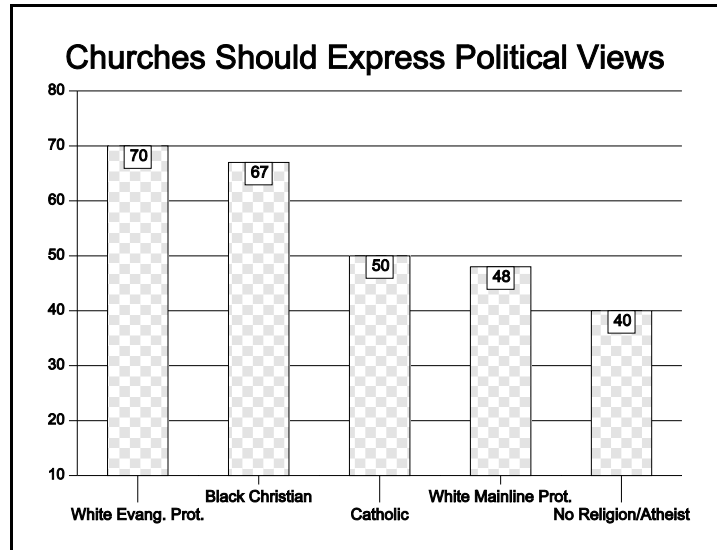
Again, this type of politicking appears to be most prevalent in black Christian churches. Nearly 30% of black Christians say they received political information at church prior to the election.

Opinion About Politicking in the Church

Although white evangelical Protestants and black Christians stand far apart in their politics, they are united in feeling that churches should speak out on politics. More than two-in-three in each group take that position (70% and 67%, respectively).

White mainline Protestants and white Catholics divide evenly on the general question of whether churches should express their political views. But, highly committed mainline Protestants do not favor church involvement in politics any more than other mainline Protestants.

Surprisingly, younger Americans more often than seniors feel that churches should express their views on politics (58% vs. 42%), and they are also more supportive of clergy speaking on politics directly from the pulpit (34% vs. 19%). College graduates are more likely than high school graduates to favor politicking from the pulpit (36% vs. 26%), as are Republicans compared to Democrats (34% vs. 26%).



Large majorities of churchgoers whose leaders speak out on specific issues feel this is a good thing. Clergy who discuss prayer in public schools get a good reaction from 92% of parishioners. Discussion of laws regarding homosexuals draws a favorable response from 83%. Somewhat fewer (78%) give their clergy a good response for speaking about candidates and elections.

White evangelical Protestants and black Christians again are most supportive of their clergy discussing laws about homosexuality (88% and 87%, respectively). White mainline Protestants and white Catholics are decidedly less supportive (74% and 68%, respectively). Black Christians are more likely than other religious groups to feel it is a good thing for clergy to discuss candidates from the pulpit (87%).

A Christian Nation?

Six -in-ten Americans consider the United States a Christian nation. Dissent on this question comes from the least religious and most religious elements in the county. People under 30 years of age and those who profess no religion are least likely to feel this way (48%, 46%, respectively). Similarly, the highly committed white evangelical Christians and black Christians are less likely than the average to consider the U.S. a Christian nation (53% and 48% respectively). Seven-in-ten white mainline Protestants (69%) and white Catholics (70%) say the U.S. is a Christian nation.

TABLES

PROFILE OF RELIGIOUS GROUPS†

	<u>Total</u>	<u>White*</u> <u>Mainline</u> <u>Protestant</u>	<u>White*</u> <u>Evangelical</u> <u>Protestant</u>	<u>White*</u> <u>Catholic</u>	<u>Mormon</u>	<u>Black</u> <u>Christian</u>	<u>Black</u> <u>Non-</u> <u>Christian</u>	<u>Hispanic</u> <u>Catholic</u>	<u>Hispanic</u> <u>Non-</u> <u>Catholic</u>	<u>Orthodox</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Non-</u> <u>Religious</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Sex												
Male	48	48	44	47	40	43	53	54	50	60	43	64
Female	<u>52</u>	<u>52</u>	<u>56</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>60</u>	<u>57</u>	<u>47</u>	<u>46</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>57</u>	<u>36</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Race												
White	85	100	100	100	94	0	0	43	53	88	98	100
Non-white	14	0	0	0	5	0	0	56	46	12	2	0
Black	10	0	0	0	3	100	100	4	11	10	1	0
Age												
Under 30	22	17	17	21	20	27	41	41	40	39	18	37
30-49	42	42	39	42	41	44	39	39	39	46	42	46
50-64	19	23	23	18	17	16	8	14	11	10	14	11
65+	17	18	21	18	22	12	11	6	10	5	26	7
Education												
College Grad.	21	25	16	22	16	13	11	13	13	17	51	31
Some College	23	22	20	24	29	23	28	21	25	32	17	24
High School Grad.	38	37	42	42	42	40	38	38	33	31	27	32
<H.S. Grad	17	16	22	12	14	24	24	27	29	19	4	13
Number of Interviews	(9652)	(2312)	(2156)	(1955)	(168)	(856)	(141)	(285)	(262)	(64)	(217)	(615)

NOTE: Some columns don't add to 100% because not all categories are shown.

† This analysis is based on 9,652 interviews conducted from July 1994 - October 1995.

* For this analysis, the term 'white' refers to white, non-Hispanic respondents.

Continued ...

	<u>Total</u>	<u>White* Mainline Protestant</u>	<u>White* Evangelical Protestant</u>	<u>White* Catholic</u>	<u>Mormon</u>	<u>Black Christian</u>	<u>Black Non- Christian</u>	<u>Hispanic Catholic</u>	<u>Hispanic Non- Catholic</u>	<u>Orthodox</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Non- Religious</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Family Income												
\$75,000+	8	11	6	10	5	3	4	3	7	6	20	11
\$50,000-\$74,999	13	14	12	15	13	8	7	11	10	21	14	12
\$30,000-\$49,999	27	27	28	28	33	21	13	26	26	32	23	28
\$20,000-\$29,999	19	18	19	17	24	21	22	24	21	14	11	18
<\$20,000	25	21	27	21	21	38	41	31	27	20	18	23
Region												
East	21	18	10	37	5	16	33	23	14	24	45	22
Midwest	25	28	26	30	10	18	13	9	11	36	10	18
South	34	32	49	18	12	57	41	29	32	26	26	26
West	20	22	15	15	73	9	14	39	43	14	19	34
Community Size^{††}												
Large City	20	15	15	18	14	36	51	31	27	27	39	23
Suburb	22	24	16	28	25	18	13	18	22	37	32	27
Small City/Town	36	37	41	36	44	32	31	35	36	25	22	29
Rural Area	21	24	28	17	15	14	5	14	15	11	7	20
Party ID												
Republican	30	34	42	30	46	6	6	18	24	28	15	18
Democrat	31	26	25	32	20	66	52	39	35	34	46	26
Independent	35	37	29	34	32	24	39	42	37	38	37	52
1992 Presidential Vote												
Clinton	33	30	23	34	21	60	50	29	34	36	64	35
Bush	26	29	39	27	38	4	6	12	15	18	8	16
Perot	13	15	12	15	18	3	2	14	12	6	5	13

†† This question was asked of a smaller sample, N=7852.

Continued ...

	<u>Total</u> %	White* <u>Mainline</u> <u>Protestant</u> %	White* <u>Evangelical</u> <u>Protestant</u> %	White* <u>Catholic</u> %	<u>Mormon</u> %	Black <u>Christian</u> %	Black Non- <u>Christian</u> %	Hispanic <u>Catholic</u> %	Hispanic Non- <u>Catholic</u> %	<u>Orthodox</u> %	<u>Jewish</u> %	Non- <u>Religious</u> %
<i>Clinton Approval</i>												
Approve	45	43	33	47	37	70	57	56	51	52	62	48
Disapprove	45	47	58	44	54	19	30	33	38	40	26	42
No Opinion	10	10	9	9	9	11	13	11	11	8	13	10
<i>GOP Cong. Approval‡</i>												
Approve	40	42	52	41	45	17	9	37	34	42	24	30
Disapprove	47	44	35	46	42	72	77	55	52	35	69	58
No Opinion	13	14	13	13	13	11	14	8	14	23	7	12
<i>Listens To Talk Radio</i>												
Regularly	17	17	16	18	15	19	15	14	20	17	25	15
Sometimes	30	28	31	28	38	36	38	31	32	28	26	25
Rarely/Never	53	56	52	55	48	44	47	54	47	55	49	60

‡ This question was asked of a smaller sample, N=3800.

PROFILE OF RELIGIOUS GROUPS

May 1996

	<u>Total</u> %	White Mainline ----Protestant----		White Evangelical ----Protestant----		-----Catholic-----	
		<u>High</u> %	<u>Low</u> %	<u>High</u> %	<u>Low</u> %	<u>Traditional</u> %	<u>Progressive</u> %
Sex							
Male	47	39	54	34	43	48	41
Female	<u>53</u>	<u>61</u>	<u>46</u>	<u>66</u>	<u>57</u>	<u>52</u>	<u>59</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Race							
White	84	100	100	100	100	88	88
Non-white	15	0	0	0	0	12	12
Black	10	0	0	0	0	3	4
Age							
Under 30	23	15	19	10	16	23	28
30-49	42	35	44	46	43	42	46
50-64	18	26	19	19	16	19	15
65+	15	24	16	23	24	15	9
Education							
College Grad.	22	27	26	16	13	20	31
Some College	23	22	23	24	23	26	29
High School Grad.	39	41	39	47	41	44	33
<H.S. Grad	15	10	12	14	24	11	7
Family Income							
\$75,000+	11	12	13	8	8	15	16
\$50,000-\$74,999	13	13	19	12	12	14	15
\$30,000-\$49,999	25	27	24	28	28	25	26
\$20,000-\$29,999	17	18	16	18	17	16	16
<\$20,000	22	19	17	22	25	22	17
Region							
East	20	17	21	11	6	39	27
Midwest	25	28	29	24	32	27	28
South	34	35	28	51	49	17	28
West	21	20	22	14	13	17	17
Number of Interviews	(1975)	(174)	(262)	(196)	(225)	(237)	(212)

NOTE: Some columns do not add to 100% because not all categories are shown.

Continued ...

	<u>Total</u> %	White Mainline ----Protestant----		White Evangelical ----Protestant----		-----Catholic-----	
		<u>High</u> %	<u>Low</u> %	<u>High</u> %	<u>Low</u> %	<u>Traditional</u> %	<u>Progressive</u> %
<i>Community Size</i>							
Large City	19	14	15	15	12	21	15
Suburb	24	20	24	17	21	26	36
Small City/Town	37	40	37	41	38	38	32
Rural Area	20	25	24	26	28	15	18
<i>Party ID</i>							
Republican	29	35	36	49	34	30	27
Democrat	33	33	30	28	27	31	36
Independent	34	30	30	18	37	37	35
<i>1992 Pres. Vote</i>							
Clinton	33	36	31	25	26	31	39
Bush	25	27	26	48	34	28	22
Perot	11	12	14	7	13	13	12
<i>1994 Cong. Vote</i>							
Democrat	24	26	22	19	20	26	28
Republican	24	35	28	43	27	25	16
Didn't Vote/DK	46	35	47	33	47	45	51
<i>Clinton Approval</i>							
Approve	54	54	56	33	39	60	64
Disapprove	38	38	35	60	52	33	31
No Opinion	8	8	9	7	9	7	5
<i>GOP Cong. Approval</i>							
Approve	36	37	36	54	36	47	38
Disapprove	50	48	49	36	47	42	51
No Opinion	14	15	15	10	17	11	11
<i>Listens to Talk Radio</i>							
Regularly	17	18	21	17	14	14	16
Sometimes	25	23	23	30	24	26	24
Rarely/Never	57	59	56	52	62	60	60

BELIEFS AND PRACTICES BY BASIC DEMOGRAPHICS

	Religion Very Important <u>in Own Life</u> %	Absolutely Certain About <u>Belief in God</u> %	Bible is Word of God, to be <u>taken literally</u> %	Attend services Once a <u>Week or More</u> %	Pray Once a Day <u>or More</u> %	<u>N</u>
Total	59	72	35	39	51	(1975)
Sex						
Male	47	62	29	32	39	(941)
Female	69	80	41	45	63	(1034)
Race						
White	55	70	33	37	49	(1604)
Non-white	76	80	48	48	65	(358)
Black	87	86	53	52	73	(169)
Age						
Under 30	47	65	30	28	39	(472)
30-49	57	72	35	36	51	(855)
50-64	62	75	35	44	58	(345)
65+	75	78	43	55	63	(279)
Education						
College Grad.	49	62	17	39	48	(626)
Some College	54	73	29	39	52	(485)
High School Grad.	63	75	42	39	53	(705)
<H.S. Grad	68	76	53	38	53	(154)
Family Income						
\$75,000+	44	58	14	34	46	(265)
\$50,000-\$74,999	52	73	26	37	49	(290)
\$30,000-\$49,999	58	71	36	39	53	(513)
\$20,000-\$29,999	60	74	40	38	49	(332)
<\$20,000	65	74	43	37	54	(367)
Region						
East	48	63	23	33	46	(367)
Midwest	60	75	35	40	50	(516)
South	69	79	48	47	60	(705)
West	51	64	26	31	45	(387)

PRESIDENTIAL TRIAL HEAT
(Based on Registered Voters)

	-----Clinton-----			-----Dole-----			<u>Undecided</u> %	<u>N</u>
	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Strong</u> %	<u>Soft</u> %	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Strong</u> %	<u>Soft</u> %		
Total	55	22	33	40	13	27	5	(1500)
Sex								
Male	51	20	32	44	14	30	5	(703)
Female	59	24	34	37	12	25	4	(797)
Race								
White	52	19	33	44	14	30	4	(1260)
Non-white	79	42	38	16	4	11	5	(228)
Black	85	48	37	11	2	9	4	(125)
Age								
Under 30	56	15	40	40	8	32	4	(272)
30-49	52	22	31	43	12	31	5	(656)
50-64	59	25	34	38	14	24	3	(297)
65+	58	27	31	36	16	20	6	(254)
Education								
College Grad.	56	24	32	41	17	24	3	(528)
Some College	52	20	32	44	12	32	4	(379)
High School Grad.	54	21	32	40	12	28	6	(502)
<H.S. Grad	67	25	42	32	7	25	1	(88)
Family Income								
\$75,000+	46	17	29	51	22	29	3	(224)
\$50,000-\$74,999	61	25	36	37	9	27	2	(237)
\$30,000-\$49,999	51	21	30	45	14	31	4	(398)
\$20,000-\$29,999	59	26	34	36	10	27	5	(231)
<\$20,000	64	24	40	30	10	20	6	(239)
Region								
East	62	26	36	35	11	24	3	(280)
Midwest	56	20	36	39	12	26	5	(409)
South	51	20	31	44	14	29	5	(535)
West	54	24	31	42	13	29	4	(276)

NOTE: "Strong" and "Soft" support may not add to "Total" support due to rounding

Question: Suppose the 1996 Presidential election were being held today and the candidates were Bill Clinton, the Democrat, and Bob Dole, the Republican. Who would you vote for?
Do you support (INSERT CHOICE) strongly or only moderately?
As of today, do you lean more to Clinton, the Democrat, or Dole, the Republican?

Continued ...

	-----Clinton-----			-----Dole-----			Undecided	N
	Total	Strong	Soft	Total	Strong	Soft		
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Total	55	22	33	40	13	27	5	(1500)
Community Size								
Large City	64	28	36	31	10	20	5	(277)
Suburb	60	22	38	35	10	24	5	(401)
Small City/Town	52	22	30	44	14	30	4	(512)
Rural Area	47	16	31	48	15	33	5	(299)
Religious Affiliation								
Total White Mainline Protestant	53	20	32	42	14	28	5	(344)
High Commitment Mainline	53	20	33	44	16	27	3	(140)
Low Commitment Mainline	52	21	32	41	13	29	7	(204)
White Evangelical Protestant	36	14	22	60	20	40	4	(352)
High Commitment Evangelical	32	14	18	66	26	40	2	(173)
Low Commitment Evangelical	40	14	26	54	15	40	6	(179)
Total White Catholic	62	22	41	34	11	23	4	(303)
Traditional Catholic	62	23	38	36	17	19	2	(170)
Progressive Catholic	66	26	40	30	5	26	4	(164)
Black Christian	88	54	34	8	0	8	4	(108)
Non-Religious	67	20	46	30	6	23	3	(143)
Party ID								
Republican	17	4	13	81	32	49	2	(502)
Democrat	90	49	41	8	1	7	2	(506)
Independent	56	12	45	36	6	29	8	(456)
1992 Presidential Vote								
Clinton	89	45	44	9	2	7	2	(578)
Bush	16	3	13	81	32	49	3	(484)
Perot	48	8	40	46	10	36	6	(197)
1994 Congressional Vote								
Democrat	85	48	38	12	3	9	3	(448)
Republican	21	3	17	77	32	45	2	(475)
Didn't Vote	58	17	41	34	6	29	8	(567)
Clinton Approval								
Approve	90	40	50	8	2	7	2	(794)
Disapprove	10	1	9	84	29	55	6	(587)
No Opinion	45	6	39	38	7	31	17	(119)
GOP Congressional Approval								
Approve	21	4	17	76	30	46	3	(588)
Disapprove	82	38	44	14	1	12	4	(739)
No Opinion	51	10	41	37	4	33	12	(173)
Listens To Talk Radio								
Regularly	52	25	27	44	17	27	4	(273)
Sometimes	53	21	32	43	15	28	4	(407)
Rarely/Never	57	22	36	38	10	27	5	(815)

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AND POLITICAL ATTITUDES

	<u>Total</u> %	White Mainline ----Protestant----			White Evangel. ----Protestant----			----Catholic-----			Black	Non- Religious
		<u>Tot.</u> %	<u>High</u> %	<u>Low</u> %	<u>Tot.</u> %	<u>High</u> %	<u>Low</u> %	<u>Tot.*</u> %	<u>Trad'l</u> %	<u>Prog.</u> %	Chris- tian	
Party ID												
Republican	30	36	35	36	41	49	34	29	30	27	7	16
Democrat	33	31	33	30	28	28	27	32	31	36	62	26
Independent	34	30	30	30	29	18	37	37	37	35	26	51
Other/DK	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Clinton Approval												
Approve	54	55	54	55	36	33	39	60	60	64	76	58
Disapprove	38	36	38	35	56	60	52	34	33	31	16	31
Don't know	8	8	8	9	8	7	9	6	7	5	8	11
GOP Congress Approval												
Approve	36	36	36	36	44	54	36	41	47	38	20	25
Disapprove	50	49	48	49	42	36	47	45	42	51	65	57
Don't know	14	15	15	14	14	10	17	13	11	11	15	18
1996 Presidential Preference												
Clinton/Lean Clinton	55	52	53	52	36	32	40	62	62	65	88	67
Dole/Lean Dole	40	42	44	41	60	66	54	33	36	30	8	30
1996 Congress Preference												
Republican/Lean Republican	44	48	51	47	59	67	52	40	44	35	9	37
Democrat/Lean Democrat	50	44	42	45	35	28	41	55	53	59	85	55
Favorability Ratings												
Bill Clinton												
Favorable	61	64	62	65	45	41	47	64	65	68	85	65
Unfavorable	37	35	36	34	55	58	52	34	33	32	13	33
Don't know	2	2	2	1	1	*	1	2	2	0	2	2
Hillary Clinton												
Favorable	53	57	54	59	37	36	39	57	60	59	75	50
Unfavorable	43	42	45	39	59	62	57	40	38	38	20	44
Don't know	4	2	2	2	3	3	4	3	2	2	5	6
Bob Dole												
Favorable	52	56	57	56	67	68	66	53	55	50	20	39
Unfavorable	42	40	39	40	30	28	32	42	40	48	64	54
Don't know	6	4	4	5	3	4	2	5	5	2	16	7
Congress												
Favorable	45	42	44	42	51	54	49	46	52	46	45	34
Unfavorable	50	54	52	55	41	36	45	49	45	51	49	62
Don't know	5	4	4	4	8	9	7	5	3	3	6	4
Number of Interviews	(1975)	(436)	(174)	(262)	(421)	(196)	(225)	(393)	(237)	(212)	(145)	(212)

*'Total' represents total white Catholics.

NOTE: Some columns do not add to 100% because not all categories are shown.

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AND POLITICAL ACTIVISM

	<u>Total</u> %	White Mainline ----Protestant----			White Evangel. ----Protestant----			-----Catholic-----			Black	Non-
		<u>Tot.</u> %	<u>High</u> %	<u>Low</u> %	<u>Tot.</u> %	<u>High</u> %	<u>Low</u> %	<u>Tot.*</u> %	<u>Trad'l</u> %	<u>Prog.</u> %	Chris- tian %	Religious %
<i>Follows What's Going On In Government And Public Affairs</i>												
Most of the time	41	47	47	47	43	44	41	41	39	43	30	39
Some of the time	34	34	33	34	35	36	35	34	31	37	43	29
Only now and then	17	13	13	14	14	15	14	17	23	14	19	21
Hardly at all	8	6	7	5	8	5	10	8	7	6	7	11
Don't know	<u>*</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Voter Scale</i>												
Most likely	49	56	61	53	54	65	46	52	52	47	45	35
Somewhat likely	23	18	16	20	27	22	30	21	18	28	27	21
Not likely	<u>28</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>44</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Interviews	(1975)	(436)	(174)	(262)	(421)	(196)	(225)	(393)	(237)	(212)	(145)	(212)

*'Total' represents total white Catholics.

RELIGIOSITY AND POLITICAL ATTITUDES

	<u>Total</u> %	---Commitment---			-----Belief-----		
		<u>High</u> %	<u>Moderate</u> %	<u>Low</u> %	<u>High</u> %	<u>Moderate</u> %	<u>Low</u> %
Party ID							
Republican	30	34	28	26	34	28	22
Democrat	33	38	33	27	33	34	33
Independent	34	25	36	42	30	36	40
Other/DK	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Clinton Approval							
Approve	54	47	58	58	46	61	64
Disapprove	38	45	34	33	46	31	27
Don't know	8	8	8	9	8	8	9
GOP Congress Approval							
Approve	36	40	36	32	41	36	27
Disapprove	50	48	50	50	45	49	58
Don't know	14	12	14	18	14	15	15
1996 Presidential Preference							
Clinton/Lean Clinton	55	50	58	59	47	64	62
Dole/Lean Dole	40	47	37	35	49	33	32
1996 Congress Preference							
Republican/Lean Republican	44	48	41	42	49	39	38
Democrat/Lean Democrat	50	48	52	50	45	55	55
Favorability Ratings							
Bill Clinton							
Favorable	61	56	64	65	54	67	70
Unfavorable	37	42	35	33	44	32	28
Don't know	2	2	1	2	2	1	2
Hillary Clinton							
Favorable	53	49	57	52	47	58	59
Unfavorable	43	47	39	44	49	40	36
Don't know	4	4	4	4	4	3	5
Bob Dole							
Favorable	52	54	53	48	56	53	43
Unfavorable	42	39	43	45	39	42	49
Don't know	6	7	4	7	5	5	8
Congress							
Favorable	45	48	45	40	49	46	36
Unfavorable	50	46	50	54	45	50	58
Don't know	5	6	5	6	6	4	6
Number of Interviews	(1975)	(676)	(781)	(517)	(924)	(578)	(473)

NOTE: Some columns do not add to 100% because not all categories are shown.

RELIGIOSITY AND POLITICAL ACTIVISM

	<u>Total</u> %	---Commitment---			-----Belief-----		
		<u>High</u> %	<u>Moderate</u> %	<u>Low</u> %	<u>High</u> %	<u>Moderate</u> %	<u>Low</u> %
<i>Follows What's Going On In Government And Public Affairs</i>							
Most of the time	41	42	42	38	38	41	46
Some of the time	34	35	35	32	35	38	29
Only now and then	17	17	15	19	18	15	16
Hardly at all	8	6	8	11	9	6	9
Don't know	<u>*</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>0</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Voter Scale</i>							
Most likely	49	61	46	39	50	52	46
Somewhat likely	23	22	24	23	24	22	21
Not likely	<u>28</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>33</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Interviews	(1975)	(676)	(781)	(517)	(924)	(578)	(473)

PROTESTANT DENOMINATIONS AND POLITICAL ATTITUDES

Based on Whites Only

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Baptist</u>	<u>Methodist</u>	<u>Lutheran</u>	<u>Non-</u>	<u>Presby-</u>	<u>Congre-</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>Protestant</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Denom-</u>	<u>terian</u>	<u>gational</u>
		<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>inational</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>/UCC*</u>
						<u>%</u>		<u>%</u>
Party ID								
Republican	32	38	31	34	43	46	60	26
Democrat	30	30	35	33	32	25	16	24
Independent	35	29	32	30	21	25	24	48
Other/DK	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Clinton Approval								
Approve	52	46	42	56	53	46	38	54
Disapprove	40	46	50	37	42	52	51	35
Don't know	8	8	8	7	5	2	11	11
GOP Congress Approval								
Approve	38	40	37	40	43	42	52	26
Disapprove	48	45	48	51	41	50	38	47
Don't know	14	15	15	9	16	8	10	27
1996 Presidential Preference								
Clinton/Lean Clinton	52	44	44	53	46	42	33	52
Dole/Lean Dole	44	52	52	45	48	53	56	45
1996 Congress Preference								
Republican/Lean Republican	48	54	52	49	50	61	70	44
Democrat/Lean Democrat	46	39	42	46	39	33	26	47
Favorability Ratings								
Bill Clinton								
Favorable	58	54	52	63	60	45	44	65
Unfavorable	40	45	47	36	40	54	55	35
Don't know	2	1	1	1	0	1	1	0
Hillary Clinton								
Favorable	50	47	44	56	51	40	42	55
Unfavorable	46	50	52	41	49	60	56	43
Don't know	4	3	4	3	0	0	2	2
Bob Dole								
Favorable	56	62	62	55	62	56	77	58
Unfavorable	39	35	33	43	36	42	22	40
Don't know	5	3	5	2	2	2	1	2
Congress								
Favorable	45	47	47	43	47	49	53	46
Unfavorable	50	47	45	56	46	46	45	45
Don't know	5	6	8	1	7	5	2	9
Number of Interviews	(1604)	(857)	(235)	(172)	(116)	(81)	(82)	(58)

* Small Sample

PROTESTANT DENOMINATIONS AND POLITICAL ACTIVISM

Based on Whites Only

	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Total</u> <u>Protestant</u> %	<u>Baptist</u> %	<u>Methodist</u> %	<u>Lutheran</u> %	<u>Non-</u> <u>Denom-</u> <u>inational</u> %	<u>Presby-</u> <u>terian</u> %	<u>Congre-</u> <u>gational</u> <u>/UCC*</u> %
<i>Follows What's Going On In Government And Public Affairs</i>								
Most of the time	43	44	41	46	49	47	51	41
Some of the time	33	35	36	34	27	38	31	39
Only now and then	16	14	15	14	18	10	15	13
Hardly at all	8	7	8	6	6	5	3	7
Don't know	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Voter Scale</i>								
Most likely	52	55	46	60	61	52	61	74
Somewhat likely	22	23	29	18	22	22	20	9
Not likely	<u>26</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>17</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Interviews	(1604)	(857)	(235)	(172)	(116)	(81)	(82)	(58)

* Small Sample

POLITICKING IN THE CHURCH

	<u>Total</u> %	White Mainline ----Protestant----			White Evangel. ----Protestant----			----Catholic-----			Black Chris- tian %
		<u>Tot.</u> %	<u>High</u> %	<u>Low</u> %	<u>Tot.</u> %	<u>High</u> %	<u>Low</u> %	<u>Tot.*</u> %	<u>Trad'l</u> %	<u>Prog.</u> %	
<i>Abortion</i>											
Yes	60	35	36	34	66	72	58	75	78	76	56
No	39	63	62	65	34	27	42	24	22	23	42
Don't Know	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Hunger and Poverty</i>											
Yes	87	91	93	85	86	83	89	90	89	92	93
No	12	8	6	15	13	15	11	9	11	7	6
Don't Know	1	1	1	0	1	2	*	1	*	1	1
<i>World Trouble Spots</i>											
Yes	59	68	68	69	55	54	56	59	62	62	69
No	39	31	31	31	44	44	44	40	37	37	29
Don't Know	2	1	1	0	1	2	*	1	1	1	2
<i>Prayer in School</i>											
Yes	56	46	50	36	71	73	68	40	47	38	73
No	41	50	45	64	27	24	30	58	52	60	23
Don't Know	3	4	5	0	2	3	2	2	1	2	4
<i>Pornography Laws</i>											
Yes	41	26	30	19	59	67	50	34	42	26	33
No	56	72	69	78	40	32	49	61	56	71	64
Don't Know	3	2	1	3	1	1	1	5	2	3	3
<i>Death Penalty</i>											
Yes	27	19	19	20	26	30	22	27	31	28	39
No	71	79	79	79	71	66	76	70	66	70	59
Don't Know	2	2	2	1	3	4	2	3	3	2	2
<i>Right to Die Laws</i>											
Yes	29	21	22	17	25	28	22	38	43	31	31
No	66	75	72	82	69	66	72	56	53	64	63
Don't Know	5	4	6	1	6	6	6	6	4	5	6

* 'Total' represents total white Catholics.

Question: As I read a list of issues, please tell me whether or not the clergy at your place of worship speaks out on this issue?

Continued ...

		White Mainline ----Protestant----			White Evangel. ----Protestant----			----Catholic-----			Black Chris- tian
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Tot.</u>	<u>High</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>Tot.</u>	<u>High</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>Tot.*</u>	<u>Trad'l</u>	<u>Prog.</u>	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<i>Health Care Reform</i>											
Yes	26	16	15	16	21	21	22	18	31	13	62
No	71	79	80	78	75	74	76	80	68	84	37
Don't Know	3	5	5	6	4	5	2	2	1	3	1
<i>Candidates/Elections</i>											
Yes	21	12	14	8	20	29	9	12	22	9	47
No	77	86	84	90	78	69	89	86	76	90	51
Don't Know	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2
<i>Laws Regarding Homosexuals</i>											
Yes	36	24	24	22	45	51	38	19	26	15	51
No	62	75	74	78	53	47	60	79	73	83	47
Don't Know	2	1	2	0	2	2	2	2	1	2	2

OPINIONS ABOUT POLITICKING IN THE CHURCH
(Among Those Who Hear Politicking In Their Church)

	<u>Total</u> %	White Mainline ----Protestant----			White Evangel. ----Protestant----			----Catholic----			Black Chris- tian %
		<u>Tot.</u> %	<u>High</u> %	<u>Low</u> %	<u>Tot.</u> %	<u>High</u> %	<u>Low</u> %	<u>Tot.*</u> %	<u>Trad'l</u> %	<u>Prog.</u> %	
<i>Prayer in School</i>											
Good	92	89	92	80	95	95	95	88	91	86	96
Bad	5	8	6	13	2	2	3	6	6	6	1
Neither	2	1	1	0	2	2	2	3	3	2	1
Don't Know	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Candidates/Elections</i>											
Good	78	60	56	78	78	81	67	63	73	79	87
Bad	14	22	26	0	14	11	25	37	27	21	7
Neither	6	14	18	0	3	4	0	0	0	0	6
Don't Know	2	4	0	22	5	4	8	0	0	0	0
<i>Laws Regarding Homosexuals</i>											
Good	83	74	73	74	88	91	83	68	77	63	87
Bad	10	10	9	12	5	1	11	30	20	37	8
Neither	3	8	10	5	3	3	3	0	0	0	2
Don't Know	4	8	8	9	4	5	3	2	3	0	3

* 'Total' represents total white Catholics.

Question: Do you think it is a good thing or a bad thing that your clergy speaks out on this issue?

OPINIONS ABOUT POLITICKING IN THE CHURCH

		White Mainline			White Evangel.			-----Catholic-----			Black	Non-
		----Protestant----			----Protestant----						Chris-	Religious
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Tot.</u>	<u>High</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>Tot.</u>	<u>High</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>Tot.*</u>	<u>Trad'l</u>	<u>Prog.</u>	<u>tian</u>	<u>Religious</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<i>Church Activity</i>												
<i>In Political Matters</i>												
Should Keep Out	43	49	48	49	26	19	32	49	44	54	27	55
Should Express Views	54	48	47	49	70	77	64	50	55	46	67	40
No Opinion	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Should Clergy Discuss Political Issues From The Pulpit?</i>												
Yes	29	21	22	21	35	42	28	28	32	23	40	33
No	66	76	75	77	61	54	68	70	64	75	52	59
Don't Know/Refused	5	3	3	2	4	4	4	2	4	2	8	8

* 'Total' represents total white Catholics.

Question: In your opinion, should the churches keep out of political matters -- or should they express their views on day-to-day social and political questions?

Do you think it is ever right for clergymen to discuss political candidates or issues from the pulpit?

OPINIONS ABOUT THE INFLUENCE OF RELIGIOUS GROUPS

	<u>Total</u>	White Mainline ----Protestant----			White Evangel. ----Protestant----			-----Catholic-----			Black Chris- tian	Non- Relig- ious
		<u>Tot.</u>	<u>High</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>Tot.</u>	<u>High</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>Tot.*</u>	<u>Trad'l</u>	<u>Prog.</u>		
<i>The Protestants</i>												
More Influence	33	29	36	25	52	61	45	27	34	22	40	16
Less Influence	44	47	42	51	28	21	33	47	43	54	37	65
About Right	7	9	7	10	4	3	6	10	9	10	2	5
Don't Know	<u>16</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>14</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>The Roman Catholics</i>												
More Influence	27	18	28	12	33	39	29	35	46	28	32	16
Less Influence	53	63	56	67	46	39	52	43	36	49	39	69
About Right	7	8	6	9	6	6	6	10	9	10	8	4
Don't Know	13	11	10	12	15	16	13	12	9	13	21	11
<i>The Jews</i>												
More Influence	27	20	25	16	34	40	29	27	32	25	34	19
Less Influence	49	56	58	55	39	31	46	49	47	50	39	64
About Right	8	9	5	11	8	8	8	10	9	11	5	4
Don't Know	16	15	12	18	19	21	17	14	12	14	22	13
<i>The Evangelical Christians</i>												
More Influence	27	18	25	14	45	63	31	19	25	15	43	11
Less Influence	51	59	52	63	33	18	45	57	53	64	32	72
About Right	5	6	5	6	5	3	6	7	7	6	2	2
Don't Know	17	17	18	17	17	16	18	17	15	15	23	15

* 'Total' represents total white Catholics.

Question: Now I'm going to mention certain groups and organizations. Please tell me whether you would like to see them have more influence in government and political matters than they have now, or less influence than they have now?

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

ABOUT THIS SURVEY

The survey results are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates among a nationwide sample of 1,975 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period May 31-June 9, 1996. For results based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 3 percentage points. For results based on either Form 1 (N=998) or Form 2 (N=977), the sampling error is plus or minus 4 percentage points.

In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

Supplemental analysis for this survey is based on a compilation of nationwide surveys. The total number of interviews included in this data set is 9,652. Surveys were conducted during the following time periods: July 12-25, 1994; October 20-24, 1994; April 6-9, 1995; October 25-30, 1995.

SURVEY METHODOLOGY IN DETAIL

The sample for this survey is a random digit sample of telephone numbers selected from telephone exchanges in the continental United States. The random digit aspect of the sample is used to avoid "listing" bias and provides representation of both listed and unlisted numbers (including not-yet-listed). The design of the sample ensures this representation by random generation of the last two digits of telephone numbers selected on the basis of their area code, telephone exchange, and bank number.

The telephone exchanges were selected with probabilities proportional to their size. The first eight digits of the sampled telephone numbers (area code, telephone exchange, bank number) were selected to be proportionally stratified by county and by telephone exchange within county. That is, the number of telephone numbers randomly sampled from within a given county is proportional to that county's share of telephone households in the U.S. Estimates of the number of telephone households within each county are derived from 1990 Census data on residential telephone incidence that have been updated with state-level information on new telephone installations and county-level projections of the number of households. Only working banks of telephone numbers are selected. A working bank is defined as 100 contiguous telephone numbers containing three or more residential listings.

The sample was released for interviewing in replicates. Using replicates to control the release of sample to the field ensures that the complete call procedures are followed for the entire sample.

At least eight attempts were made to complete an interview at every sampled telephone number. The calls were staggered over times of day and days of the week to maximize the chances of making a contact with a potential respondent. All interview breakoffs and refusals were re-contacted at least once in order to attempt to convert them to completed interviews. In each contacted household, interviewers asked to speak with the "youngest male 18 or older who is at home". If there is no eligible man at home, interviewers asked to speak with "the oldest woman 18 or older who lives in the household". This systematic respondent selection technique has been shown empirically to produce samples that closely mirror the population in terms of age and gender.

Non-response in telephone interview surveys produces some known biases in survey-derived estimates because participation tends to vary for different subgroups of the population, and these subgroups are likely to vary also on questions of substantive interest. In order to compensate for these known biases, the sample data are weighted in analysis.

The demographic weighting parameters are derived from a special analysis of the most recently available Census Bureau's Current Population Survey (March 1992). This analysis produced population parameters for the demographic characteristics of households with adults 18 or older, which are then compared with the sample characteristics to construct sample weights. The analysis only included households in the continental United States that contain a telephone.

The weights are derived using an iterative technique that simultaneously balances the distributions of all weighting parameters. After an optimum sample balancing solution is reached, the weights were constrained to fall within the range of 1 to 5. This constraint is useful to ensure that individual respondents do not exert an inordinate effect on the survey's overall results.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
MAY 1996 RELIGION AND POLITICS SURVEY
-- TOPLINE --
May 31 - June 9, 1996
N =1,975

Hello, I am _____ calling for Princeton Survey Research Associates in Princeton, New Jersey. We are conducting a telephone opinion survey for leading newspapers and TV stations around the country. I'd like to ask a few questions of the youngest male, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home. **[IF NO MALE, ASK: May I please speak with the oldest female, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home?]**

Q.1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling his job as president? **(IF "DON'T KNOW," ENTER AS CODE 9. IF "DEPENDS," PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling his job as president?)**

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
June, 1996	54	38	8=100
April, 1996	53	39	8=100
March, 1996	55	38	7=100
February, 1996	51	39	10=100
January, 1996	50	43	7=100
October, 1995	48	42	10=100
September, 1995	45	42	13=100
August, 1995	44	44	12=100
June, 1995	50	40	10=100
April, 1995	47	43	10=100
March, 1995	44	44	12=100
February, 1995	44	44	12=100
December, 1994	41	47	12=100
November, 1994	48	40	12=100
October, 1994	41	47	12=100
Early October, 1994	38	47	15=100
September, 1994	41	52	7=100
July, 1994	45	46	9=100
June, 1994	42	44	14=100
May, 1994	46	42	12=100
March, 1994	45	42	13=100
January, 1994	51	35	14=100
Early January, 1994	48	35	17=100
December, 1993	48	36	16=100
October, 1993	44	42	14=100
September, 1993	49	35	16=100
Early September, 1993	43	43	14=100
August, 1993	39	46	15=100
May, 1993	39	43	18=100
Early May, 1993	45	37	18=100
April, 1993	49	29	22=100
February, 1993	56	25	19=100

Q.1a Do you approve or disapprove of the policies and proposals of the Republican leaders in Congress? **(IF DON'T KNOW," ENTER AS CODE 9. IF "DEPENDS," PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the policies and proposals of the Republican leaders in Congress?)**

		<u>April</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>March</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>Feb</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>Sept</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>Aug</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>June</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>April</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>March</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>Dec</u> <u>1994</u> ¹⁰
36	Approve	39	35	33	36	36	36	38	41	44	43	52
50	Disapprove	46	51	53	54	51	50	45	45	43	39	28
<u>14</u> <u>100</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>15</u> <u>100</u>	<u>14</u> <u>100</u>	<u>14</u> <u>100</u>	<u>10</u> <u>100</u>	<u>13</u> <u>100</u>	<u>14</u> <u>100</u>	<u>17</u> <u>100</u>	<u>14</u> <u>100</u>	<u>13</u> <u>100</u>	<u>18</u> <u>100</u>	<u>20</u> <u>100</u>

Q.2 How much thought have you given to the coming Presidential election... quite a lot or only a little?

		<u>Oct</u> <u>1992</u> ¹¹	<u>Sept</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Aug</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>June</u> <u>1992</u>	<i>---- Gallup ----</i>	
						<u>Aug</u> <u>1988</u>	<u>Sept</u> <u>1988</u>
43	Quite a lot	77	63	72	55	61	57
5	Some (VOL)	5	3	4	6	10	18
47	Only a little	16	31	23	36	27	23
4	None (VOL)	1	2	1	2	2	2
<u>1</u> <u>100</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>1</u> <u>100</u>	<u>1</u> <u>100</u>	<u>*</u> <u>100</u>	<u>1</u> <u>100</u>	<u>0</u> <u>100</u>	<u>0</u> <u>100</u>

¹⁰ In December the question asked "As best you can tell, do you approve or disapprove of Republican congressional leaders' policies and plans for the future?"

¹¹ The October 1992 and August 1992 figures are based on registered voters.

- Q.3 Suppose the 1996 presidential election were being held TODAY, and the candidates were Bill Clinton, the Democrat and Bob Dole, the Republican. Who would you vote for?
- Q.3a Do you support (INSERT CHOICE FROM Q.3) strongly or only moderately?
IF "OTHER/UNDECIDED" IN Q.3, ASK:
- Q.4 As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to Clinton, the Democrat, or Dole, the Republican?

		<u>April</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>March</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>Feb</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>1996</u>
BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS: [N=1500]					
55	Clinton/Lean Clinton	54	53	52	53
22	Strongly	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
29	Only moderately	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1	Don't know	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
40	Dole/Lean Dole	40	41	44	41
13	Strongly	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
23	Only moderately	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1	Don't know	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
<u>5</u>	Other/Don't know/Refused	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>
100		100	100	100	100
		(N=1277)	(N=1116)	(N=567)	(N=895)

- Q.5 What's your opinion of the presidential candidates this year? Would you say that you are very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not too satisfied, or not at all satisfied with the choices?

		<u>Oct</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Aug</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>June</u> <u>1992</u>
9	Very satisfied	10	11	6
37	Fairly satisfied	41	42	31
31	Not too satisfied	33	31	35
19	Not at all satisfied	14	15	26
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>
100		100	100	100

Q.6 These days, many people are so busy they can't find time to register to vote, or move around so often they don't get a chance to re-register... Are you NOW registered to vote in your precinct or election district, or haven't you been able to register so far?

IF REGISTERED, ASK:

Q.6a Are you absolutely certain you are registered to vote, or is there a chance your registration has lapsed because you moved or for some other reason?

		Oct <u>1995</u>	April <u>1995</u>	Nov <u>1994</u>	Oct <u>1994</u>	Early Oct <u>1994</u>	July <u>1994</u>	June <u>1992</u>
79	Yes, registered	76	76	73	77	76	79	76
	75 Absolutely sure	73	74	70	74	72	75	73
	4 Chance	3	2	2	3	4	4	3
	0 Don't know	*	0	1	0	*	0	0
21	No	23	23	26	22	23	20	23
<u>*</u> <u>100</u>	Not sure/Don't know	<u>1</u> <u>100</u>	<u>1</u> <u>100</u>	<u>1</u> <u>100</u>	<u>1</u> <u>100</u>	<u>1</u> <u>100</u>	<u>1</u> <u>100</u>	<u>1</u> <u>100</u>

ASK ALL:

Q.7 Do you yourself plan to vote in the election this November?

IF YES, ASK:

Q.7a How certain are you that you will vote? Are you absolutely certain, fairly certain, or not certain?

IF NO, ASK:

Q.7b How certain are you that you will NOT vote? Are you absolutely certain, fairly certain, or not certain?

-- Based on Registered Voters --

		Oct <u>1992</u>	Sept <u>1992</u>	Aug <u>1992</u>	June <u>1992</u>
88	Yes -- GO TO Q.7a	98	98	97	89
	71 Absolutely certain	91	85	89	75
	15 Fairly certain	6	11	8	12
	2 Not certain	1	2	*	2
8	No -- GO TO Q.7b	1	1	1	7
	5 Absolutely certain	n/a	n/a	n/a	1
	2 Fairly certain	n/a	n/a	n/a	1
	1 Not certain	n/a	n/a	n/a	5
<u>4</u> <u>100</u>	Don't know/Refused -- GO TO Q.8	<u>1</u> <u>100</u>	<u>1</u> <u>100</u>	<u>2</u> <u>100</u>	<u>4</u> <u>100</u>

ASK ALL:

Q.8 How often would you say you vote... **(READ)**

		<u>Feb</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>April</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>July</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>June</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>1991</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1990</u>	<u>Feb</u> <u>1989</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>1988</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1987</u>
41	Always	32	41	42	43	43	40	47	41	38	33	45	39	34
30	Nearly always	34	32	29	24	28	30	26	32	37	35	30	33	37
12	Part of the time	15	12	12	11	13	14	10	13	13	12	10	12	11
12	Seldom	11	11	11	13	10	11	11	11	9	10	8	8	6
1	(VOL) Other	1	*	*	1	5	*	1	*	0	1	1	1	2
4	(VOL) Never vote	6	3	6	8	1	5	5	3	3	8	6	6	9
$\frac{*}{100}$	Don't know	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$

Q.9 Are you more interested or less interested in politics this year than you were in 1992?¹²

		<u>June</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>March</u> <u>1992</u>
41	More	55	57
35	Less	24	27
22	Same (VOL)	19	14
$\frac{2}{100}$	Don't know/Refused	$\frac{2}{100}$	$\frac{2}{100}$

¹² In 1992 question referenced politics in 1988.

- Q.10 Suppose the 1996 elections for U.S. Congress were being held TODAY, would you vote for the Republican Party's candidate or the Democratic Party's candidate for Congress in your district?
- Q.11 As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to the Republican or the Democrat?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS: [N=1500]

		March <u>1996</u>	Jan <u>1996</u>	Oct <u>1995</u>	Aug <u>1995</u>	Nov <u>1994</u>	Oct <u>1994</u>	Early Oct <u>1994</u>	Sept <u>1994</u>	July <u>1994</u>
44	Republican/Lean Republican	44	46	48	50	45	47	52	48	45
50	Democrat/Lean Democrat	49	47	48	43	43	44	40	46	47
<u>6</u> 100	Other candidate/Undecided (VOL.)	<u>7</u> 100	<u>7</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>7</u> 100	<u>12</u> 100	<u>9</u> 100	<u>8</u> 100	<u>6</u> 100	<u>8</u> 100

(NO QUESTION 12)

- Q.13 Now I am going to read you a list of some programs and proposals that are being discussed in this country today. For each one, please tell me whether you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose it. The first one is... (**READ AND ROTATE**).

		Strongly <u>Favor</u>	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	Strongly <u>Oppose</u>	<u>DK</u>
a.	The death penalty for persons convicted of murder (Influence)	43	35	11	7	4=100
b.	Restricting the sale of handguns	29	24	26	19	2=100
	July, 1994	35	23	19	21	2=100
	May, 1993	28	27	26	17	2=100
	May, 1990	38	27	20	13	2=100
c.	President Clinton's decision to send 20,000 U.S. troops to Bosnia as part of an international peacekeeping force (Influence)	8	35	32	20	5=100
d.	Allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally (Influence)	6	21	24	41	8=100
e.	Denying welfare benefits to unwed teenagers who have children	11	25	40	16	8=100
	September, 1995		39		53	8=100
f.	Allowing Christmas nativity scenes and Christmas carols in public schools during the holidays	45	45	5	3	2=100

Q.13 con't ...

		<u>Strongly Favor</u>	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>Strongly Oppose</u>	<u>DK</u>
g.	Allowing public schools to provide students with information on birth control methods	37	39	13	9	2=100

Q.14 Which comes closer to your view?... Abortion should be generally available to those who want it; Abortion should be available but under stricter limits than it is now; Abortion should be against the law except in cases of rape, incest, and to save the woman's life; Abortion should not be permitted at all. **(Influence)**

--- CBS/NYT ---
Feb 1996

32	Generally available	36
24	Available, but under stricter limits	22
33	Against law except rape/incest/save life	34
9	Abortion should not be permitted at all	7
<u>2</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>1</u> 100

NOW, ON A DIFFERENT SUBJECT...

Q.15 I am going to read you some pairs of statements that will help us understand how you feel about a number of things. As I read each pair, tell me whether the **FIRST** statement or the **SECOND** statement comes closer to your own views -- even if neither is exactly right. The first is ...**(READ AND ROTATE)**

		<u>April</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>April</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>July</u> <u>1994</u>
a.	The government should do more to help needy Americans, even if it means going deeper into debt	49	47	46	50	48
	The government today can't afford to do much more to help the needy (Influence)	44	47	47	43	47
	Neither/Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100
			<u>Oct</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>April</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>July</u> <u>1994</u>
b.	Racial discrimination is the main reason why many black people can't get ahead these days		37	34	34	32
	Blacks who can't get ahead in this country are mostly responsible for their own condition		53	56	54	59
	Neither/Don't know		<u>10</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>9</u>
	100		100	100	100	100
c.	This country should do whatever it takes to protect the environment		77	74	77	78
	This country has gone too far in its efforts to protect the environment (Influence)		20	22	19	19
	Neither/Don't know		<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>
	100		100	100	100	100
d.	Society has been improved because women are now represented in the work place					
	Society made a mistake in encouraging so many women with families to work (Influence)					
	Neither/Don't know					
	100					
						<u>July</u> <u>1994</u>
e.	Immigrants today strengthen our country because of their hard work and talents					31
	Immigrants today are a burden on our country because they take our jobs, housing and health care					63
	Neither/Don't know					<u>6</u>
	100					100

--- INFLUENCE SUMMARY TABLE ---

INTERVIEWER NOTE: FOR QUESTIONS 13-15, THE FOLLOWING FOLLOW-UP QUESTION WILL BE USED WHERE THE DESIGNATION "Influence" IS LISTED.

Which one of the following has had the biggest influence on your thinking on this issue... **(READ AND ROTATE)**: 1) A personal experience, 2) The views of your friends and family, 3) What you have seen or read in the media, 4) Your religious beliefs, 5) Your education, 6) OR Something else **(ALWAYS END WITH THIS)**, 9) Don't know/Refused.

		<u>Personal Experience</u>	<u>Friends/ Family Views</u>	<u>Media</u>	<u>Religious Belief</u>	<u>Education</u>	<u>Some-thing Else</u>	<u>DK</u>
13a.	The death penalty for persons convicted of murder	13	6	21	18	21	18	3=100
13c.	President Clinton's decision to send 20,000 U.S. troops to Bosnia as part of an international peacekeeping force	15	7	35	6	18	16	3=100
13d.	Allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally	10	7	9	37	17	17	3=100
14.	Which comes closer to your view?... Abortion should be generally available, ... available but under stricter limits, ... against the law except in cases of rape, incest, and to save the woman's life, ... not permitted at all.	18	7	7	28	22	16	2=100
15a.	The government should do more to help needy Americans, even if it means going deeper into debt The government today can't afford to do much more to help the needy	26	7	22	6	24	13	2=100
15c.	This country should do whatever it takes to protect the environment This country has gone too far in its efforts to protect the environment	22	3	24	3	36	10	2=100
15d.	Society has been improved because women are now represented in the work place, Society made a mistake in encouraging so many women with families to work	45	8	7	4	23	11	2=100

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...

Q.16 Now I'd like your views on some people and things in the news. As I read from a list, please tell me which category best describes your overall opinion of who or what I name. (First,) would you say your overall opinion of... **(INSERT ITEM. ROTATE ITEMS a.-h.; i.-k.)** is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? **(INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE")**

		Very Favorable	Mostly Favorable	Mostly Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable	Never Heard of	Can't Rate
a.	Bill Clinton	16	45	23	14	*	2=100
	April, 1996	16	41	24	16	0	3=100
	February, 1996	20	35	22	21	0	2=100
	January, 1996	13	43	27	15	0	2=100
	August, 1995	13	36	29	20	0	2=100
	February, 1995	14	41	25	17	0	3=100
	December, 1994	17	34	24	22	0	3=100
	July, 1994	15	43	25	16	*	1=100
	May, 1993	18	42	23	12	0	5=100
	July, 1992	17	42	25	9	0	7=100
	June, 1992	10	36	33	14	1	6=100
	May, 1992	11	42	32	10	*	5=100
	March, 1992	10	43	29	11	1	6=100
	February, 1992	15	44	24	7	2	8=100
	January, 1992	9	28	11	4	27	21=100
	November, 1991	5	25	8	2	39	21=100
b.	Hillary Clinton	13	40	26	17	*	4=100
	April, 1996	12	37	27	19	0	5=100
	February, 1996	14	28	27	27	0	4=100
	January, 1996	10	32	28	26	0	4=100
	October, 1995	14	44	24	14	-	4=100
	August, 1995	16	33	25	22	*	4=100
	July, 1994	19	38	22	18	1	2=100
	May, 1993	19	41	18	11	1	10=100
c.	Louis Farrakhan	3	13	25	30	21	8=100
	July, 1994	2	8	14	24	44	8=100
d.	Bob Dole	10	42	27	15	*	6=100
	April, 1996	10	38	29	15	1	7=100
	February, 1996	12	43	24	15	1	5=100
	January, 1996	8	44	28	15	*	5=100
	August, 1995	12	37	26	12	2	11=100
	February, 1995	17	41	18	10	4	10=100
	December, 1994	17	41	18	10	5	9=100
	July, 1994	14	45	19	9	6	7=100
	May, 1993	11	37	20	8	11	13=100
	May, 1990	7	45	15	5	13	15=100
	May, 1987	9	51	11	3	9	17=100

Q.16 con't ...

		<u>Very Favorable</u>	<u>Mostly Favorable</u>	<u>Mostly Unfavorable</u>	<u>Very Unfavorable</u>	<u>Never Heard of</u>	<u>Can't Rate</u>
e.	Pope John Paul II	28	48	9	4	1	10=100
	May, 1990	31	48	7	4	1	9=100
	May, 1987	28	48	10	4	1	9=100
f.	Pat Robertson	5	24	30	18	15	8=100
	September, 1987	5	22	24	18	11	20=100
g.	The Congress	6	39	38	12	*	5=100
	April, 1996	6	39	37	13	0	5=100
	January, 1996	4	38	38	16	*	4=100
	October, 1995	4	38	42	13	0	3=100
	August, 1995	5	40	34	13	*	7=100
	June, 1995	8	45	31	11	*	5=100
	February, 1995	10	44	27	10	0	9=100
	July, 1994	7	46	34	9	*	4=100
	May, 1993	8	35	35	13	0	9=100
	November, 1991	7	44	34	9	0	6=100
	May, 1990	6	53	25	9	1	6=100
	May, 1988	8	56	23	5	0	8=100
	January, 1988	6	58	25	4	0	7=100
	May, 1987	10	64	16	4	*	6=100
	January, 1987	7	52	23	8	0	10=100
	June, 1985	9	58	21	5	*	7=100
h.	The Christian Coalition	10	35	23	12	6	14=100
i.	Business Corporations	10	52	25	6	*	7=100
	February, 1996	9	50	24	10	1	6=100
	October, 1995	6	54	29	7	-	4=100
	July, 1994	8	62	19	5	*	6=100
	November, 1991	8	57	22	6	0	7=100
	January, 1988	6	53	27	5	*	9=100
	June, 1985	8	50	24	7	1	10=100

ASK Q.17 OF FORM 1 ONLY: [N=998]

Q.17F1 Thinking about the two major political parties in this country, which one would you say is most concerned with protecting religious values... the Republicans or the Democrats? (**ROTATE REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS**)

45	The Republicans
34	The Democrats
8	Neither (VOL)
3	Both equally (VOL)
<u>10</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

ASK Q.18 OF FORM 2 ONLY: [N=977]

Q.18F2 In your opinion, is either the Democratic party or the Republican party too closely tied to religious leaders these days, or not? **IF YES, ASK:** Which party would you say is too closely tied to religious leaders these days?

19	Republican
4	Democrat
5	Both equally (VOL)
62	Neither is too closely tied
<u>10</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

ON A DIFFERENT SUBJECT...

Q.19 Are you now employed full-time, part-time or not employed?

		<u>Feb</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>March</u> <u>1994</u>
57	Full-time	55	53
13	Part-time	11	14
30	Not employed	34	32
<u>*</u>	Don't Know/Refused	<u>*</u>	<u>1</u>
100		100	100

IF EMPLOYED, ASK: [N=1440]

Q.20 Do you now earn enough money to lead the kind of life you want, or not?

		<i>-- U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT --</i>					
		<u>Feb</u>	<u>March</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>Aug</u>	<u>May</u>	<u>Jan</u>
		<u>1995</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>
44	Yes		41	44	36	33	34
39							
56	No	58	56	63	66	65	61
<u>*</u>	Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100
		(N=816)					

IF EMPLOYED, ASK:

Q.21 Do you think you will be able to earn enough money in the future to lead the kind of life you want, or not?

		<i>-- U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT --</i>					
		<u>Feb</u>	<u>March</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>Aug</u>	<u>May</u>	<u>Jan</u>
		<u>1995</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>
34	Yes	35	33	35	36	34	34
20	No	20	20	23	25	28	22
<u>2</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>
56%		58%	54%	63%	66%	65%	61%
(N=1440)		(N=816)	(N=2001)	(N=817)	(N=777)	(N=852)	(N=1002)

ASK ALL:

NOW A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION.

Q.22 What is your religious preference -- do you consider yourself Christian, Jewish, Muslim, other non-Christian, or don't you have a religious preference?

84	Christian
1	Jewish
*	Muslim
3	Other non-Christian
11	No preference
*	Something else [SPECIFY] (VOL)
*	Agnostic (VOL)
*	Atheist (VOL)
<u>1</u>	Don't Know/Refused
100	

IF CHRISTIAN, ASK:

Q.22a Are you Protestant, Catholic, Mormon, Orthodox -- such as Greek or Russian Orthodox, or something else?

53	Protestant
23	Catholic -- GO TO Q.23
2	Mormon -- GO TO Q.23
1	Orthodox -- GO TO Q.23
1	Non-Denominational
1	Something else [SPECIFY]
1	Not practicing any religion (VOL)
<u>2</u>	Don't know/Refused -- GO TO Q.23
84%	Christian

IF 1 "PROTESTANT" OR 5 "SOMETHING ELSE", ASK:

Q.22b As I read a list, tell me which if any of these denominations you are affiliated with. **(READ LIST)**

18 Baptist
10 Methodist
6 Lutheran
4 Presbyterian
3 Congregational or United Church of Christ
5 Nondenominational or Independent Church
3 Pentecostal
2 Episcopalian
* Reformed
2 Other [SPECIFY] **(DO NOT READ)**
1 Nothing in particular **(DO NOT READ)**
3 Don't Know/Refused **(DO NOT READ)**
54% Protestant/Something else

ASK ONLY THOSE WHO ANSWERED 1 "CHRISTIAN" OR 6 "SOMETHING ELSE" IN Q. 22

Q.23 Would you describe yourself as a "born-again" or evangelical Christian, or not?

34 Yes
47 No
3 Don't Know/Refused
84% Christian/Something else

IF "YES", ASK:

Q.23a By "born again" do you mean a specific, one-time conversion experience or a gradual development of faith over time?

38 Specific experience
55 Gradual over time
7 Don't know/Refused
100

IF PROTESTANT (Q.22a=1), ASK:

Q.24 As I read from a list, please tell me which if any of the following descriptions apply to you. **(READ ALL ITEMS)**

- 10 Fundamentalist Christian
- 5 Pentecostal or Charismatic Christian, OR
- 14 Progressive Christian
- 9 None of the above **(DO NOT READ)**
- 4 Don't know/Refused **(DO NOT READ)**
42% Protestant¹³

IF CATHOLIC (Q.22a=2), ASK:

Q.24a As I read from a list, please tell me which if any of the following descriptions apply to you. **(READ ALL ITEMS)**

- 11 Traditional Catholic, OR
- 10 Progressive Catholic
- 1 None of the above **(DO NOT READ)**
- 1 Don't know/Refused **(DO NOT READ)**
23% Catholic

¹³ Respondents who answered some specific Protestant denomination in Q.22a (such as Baptist, Lutheran, etc.) were not asked Q.24. These respondents were eventually included in the "Protestant" category.

ASK ALL:

Q.25 Aside from weddings and funerals how often do you attend religious services... more than once a week, once a week, once or twice a month, a few times a year, seldom, or never?

14 More than once a week

25 Once a week

17 Once or twice a month

21 A few times a year

13 Seldom

9 Never

$\frac{1}{100}$ Don't know/Refused

Q.26 Did you yourself happen to attend church, synagogue or any other place of worship in the last seven days?

42 Yes

58 No

$\frac{*}{100}$ Don't know/Refused

Q.27 When you were growing up, were you and your family active members of a church, synagogue, or other place of religious worship?

82 Yes

18 No -- **GO TO Q.29**

0 Don't remember (VOL) -- **GO TO Q.29**

$\frac{*}{100}$ Don't know/Refused -- **GO TO Q.29**

IF "YES", ASK:

Q.28 What faith or denomination did you and your family belong to? (open-end) **(IF RESPONDENT GIVES A GENERAL RESPONSE SUCH AS PROTESTANT OR CHRISTIAN, PROBE FOR DENOMINATION)**

24	Catholic
19	Baptist
9	Methodist
6	Lutheran
4	Presbyterian
4	Protestant
3	Congregational or United Church of Christ
2	Pentecostal
2	Episcopalian
1	Mormon
1	Nondenominational or Independent Church
1	Jewish
*	Assemblies of God
*	Reformed
*	Orthodox
*	Seventh Day Adventist
*	Muslim
1	Other non-Christian
4	Other [SPECIFY] (DO NOT READ)
*	Can't remember (DO NOT READ)
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused (DO NOT READ)
82%	

ASK ALL:

Q.29 How important would you say religion is in your own life -- very important, fairly important, or not very important?

		-- Gallup --
		<u>1965</u>
59	Very important	70
26	Fairly important	22
15	Not very important	7
<u>*</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>*</u>
100		100

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...

Q.30 In your opinion, should the churches keep out of political matters -- or should they express their views on day-to-day social and political questions?

-- Gallup --
1968

43	Should keep out	53
54	Should express views	40
$\frac{3}{100}$	No opinion	$\frac{7}{100}$

Q.31 Do you think it is ever right for clergymen to discuss political candidates or issues from the pulpit?

-- Gallup --
1965

29	Yes	22
66	No	68
$\frac{5}{100}$	Don't know/Refused	$\frac{10}{100}$

ASK ONLY THOSE WHO ATTEND CHURCH AT LEAST ONCE OR TWICE A MONTH (Q.25=1,2,3), [N=1138]

Q.32 As I read a list of issues, please tell me whether or not the clergy at your place of worship speaks out on this issue... First, **(READ AND ROTATE)**

		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK</u>
a.	Abortion	60	39	1=100
b.	Hunger and poverty	87	12	1=100
c.	World trouble spots ... such as Bosnia or Rwanda	59	39	2=100
d.	Prayer in public schools	56	41	3=100
e.	Pornography laws	41	56	3=100
f.	The death penalty	27	70	3=100
g.	Right to die laws	29	66	5=100
h.	Health care reform	26	71	3=100
i.	Candidates and elections	21	77	2=100
j.	Laws regarding homosexuals	36	62	2=100

--- FOLLOW-UP SUMMARY TABLE ---

INTERVIEWER NOTE: FOR ITEMS d., i., j. IN Q.32, IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS "YES," ASK THIS FOLLOW-UP QUESTION:

Do you think it is a good thing or a bad thing that your clergy speaks out on this issue?

		<u>Good</u>	<u>Bad</u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>DK</u>
32d.	Prayer in public schools	92	5	2	1=100
32i.	Candidates and elections	78	14	6	2=100
32j.	Laws regarding homosexuals	83	10	3	4=100

ASK ALL:

ON A DIFFERENT SUBJECT...

Q.33 Do you consider the United States a Christian nation, or not?

60 Yes

34 No

$\frac{6}{100}$ Don't know/Refused

ASK Q.34-35 ONLY THOSE WHO ATTEND CHURCH AT LEAST ONCE OR TWICE A MONTH

(Q.25=1,2,3), [N=1138]

Q.34 Now, thinking back to the 1994 congressional elections in your state, did the clergy at your place of worship or any other religious groups urge you to vote a particular way?

7 Yes

91 No

$\frac{2}{100}$ Don't know/Refused

Q.35 Was information on candidates or parties made available in your place of worship before the election?

14 Yes

83 No

$\frac{3}{100}$ Don't know/Refused

(NO QUESTION 36)

**ASK ALL:
ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...**

Q.37 Do you believe in a God? **IF "YES" ASK:** How strong would you say this belief is? Are you absolutely certain there is a God, fairly sure there is, not quite sure but like to think there is, OR not at all sure but not sure there isn't?

-- Gallup --
1965

72	Believe in God absolutely certain	81
14	Believe in a God fairly sure	12
8	Believe in a God not quite sure	3
1	Believe in God not at all sure	1
4	Do not believe	2
<u>1</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>1</u> 100

Q.38 Which of these statements comes closest to describing your feelings about the Bible?

35	The Bible is the actual word of God and is to be taken literally, word for word, OR The Bible is the word of God, but not everything in it should be taken literally, word for word,
47	OR
14	The Bible is a book written by men and is not the word of God.
2	Other (VOL)
<u>2</u> 100	Don't Know/Refused

Q.39 Do you think your soul will live on after death?

-- Gallup --
1965

80	Yes	75
10	No -- GO TO Q.41	10
<u>10</u> 100	Don't know -- GO TO Q.41	<u>15</u> 100

IF "YES" IN Q.39, ASK:

Q.40 Do you think there is a heaven, where people who have led good lives are eternally rewarded?

-- Gallup --
1965

70	Yes ,Believe in heaven	68
7	No, Don't believe in heaven	3
<u>3</u> 80%	Don't know if believe in heaven/Refused	<u>4</u> 75%

Q.40a Do you think there is a hell, to which people who have led bad lives and die without being sorry are eternally damned?

-- Gallup --
1965

57	Yes, Believe in hell	54
18	No, Don't believe in hell	13
<u>5</u> 80%	Don't know if believe in hell/Refused	<u>8</u> 75%

ASK ALL:

Q.41 Which do you think is most important for the church to do -- to convert people to a spiritual belief so that they can earn a happy life after death, or to teach people how to live better every day with all other people?

14	Convert to spiritual belief
73	Teach people how to live better
10	Both (VOL)
1	Neither (VOL)
<u>2</u> 100	Undecided

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...

Q.42 People practice their religion in different ways... Outside of attending religious services, do you pray several times a day, once a day, a few times a week, once a week or less, or never?

29	Several times a day
22	Once a day
19	A few times a week
18	Once a week or less
10	Never
$\frac{2}{100}$	Don't know/Refused

(NO QUESTION 43)

Q.44 At your family meals at home, does anyone say grace, or give thanks to God aloud, before the meal?

		-- Gallup --
		<u>July 1962</u>
60	Yes	60
39	No	36
$\frac{1}{100}$	Don't know/Refused	$\frac{4}{100}$

(NO QUESTION 45 OR 46)

Q.47 Now I am going to read you a list of some political figures. For each name that I read, please tell me how religious you think that person is -- very religious, somewhat religious, not too religious, or not at all religious. First, **(INSERT NAME; ROTATE)**.

ASK ITEMS a., c., e. OF FORM 1 ONLY: [N=998]; ASK ITEMS b., d., f. OF FORM 2 ONLY: [N=977].

		<u>Very</u>	<u>Some- what</u>	<u>Not too</u>	<u>Not at all</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
a.F1	Bill Clinton	16	52	14	7	11=100
b.F2	Ronald Reagan	18	50	11	5	16=100
c.F1	Bob Dole	11	51	12	5	21=100
d.F2	Hillary Clinton	11	45	18	7	19=100
e.F1	Newt Gingrich	5	30	22	13	30=100
f.F2	Jimmy Carter	48	30	5	2	15=100

ASK ALL:

Q.48 Now I'm going to mention certain groups and organizations. Please tell me whether you would like to see them have MORE influence in government and political matters than they have now, or LESS influence than they have now. **(READ AND ROTATE)**

		<u>More</u>	<u>Less</u>	<u>(VOL) About Right</u>	<u>DK</u>
1.	The Protestants	33	44	7	16=100
2.	The Roman Catholics	27	53	7	13=100
3.	The Jews	27	49	8	16=100
4.	Evangelical Christians	27	51	5	17=100

Q.49 Which of the following, if any, do you personally do... (First,) do you... **(INSERT ITEM; ROTATE)**

		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK</u>
a.	Watch religious TV programs or listen to religious radio shows	45	55	*=100
b.	Listen to Christian music on radio, CD, or cassette	45	55	*=100

Q.49 con't ...

		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK</u>
c.	Attend prayer group meetings or Bible study groups	31	69	*=100
d.	Send a son or daughter to a religious school	15	84	1=100

FILTER ITEM e. BASED ON CHURCH ATTENDANCE (Q.25=1,2,3), [N=1138]

e.	Do community volunteer work through your place of worship	55	45	0=100
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ASK ALL:

NOW ON A COMPLETELY DIFFERENT SUBJECT...

Q.50 In politics TODAY, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or Independent?

		Early															
		<u>Feb 1996</u>	<u>Oct 1995</u>	<u>April 1995</u>	<u>Mar 1995</u>	<u>Feb 1995</u>	<u>Dec 1994</u>	<u>Nov 1994</u>	<u>Oct 1994</u>	<u>Oct 1994</u>	<u>July 1994</u>	<u>June 1992</u>	<u>May 1990</u>	<u>Feb 1989</u>	<u>May 1988</u>	<u>Jan 1988</u>	<u>May 1987</u>
30	Republican	30	30	30	35	33	35	28	31	33	29	28	28	31	28	27	25
33	Democrat	32	30	29	28	30	31	31	32	30	33	32	33	38	38	39	37
34	Independent	32	35	37	32	33	30	35	33	32	35	36	28	23	26	26	28
2	No preference	3	3	3	-	-	-	4	3	-	2	1	9	7	6	6	8
*	Other party	1	*	*	2	2	2	*	*	2	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
<u>1</u> 100	Don't know	<u>2</u> 100	<u>2</u> 100	<u>1</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100	<u>2</u> 100	<u>2</u> 100	<u>2</u> 100	<u>1</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100	<u>1</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100	<u>2</u> 100	<u>1</u> 100	<u>2</u> 100	<u>2</u> 100	<u>2</u> 100

(NO QUESTION 51 OR 52)

Q.53 As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to the Republican Party or the Democratic Party?

		<u>Feb 1996</u>	<u>Oct 1995</u>	<u>April 1995</u>	<u>Nov 1994</u>	<u>Oct 1994</u>	<u>July 1994</u>	<u>June 1992</u>	<u>May 1990</u>	<u>Feb 1989</u>	<u>May 1988</u>	<u>Jan 1988</u>	<u>May 1987</u>
11	Republican	13	14	18	13	14	17	14	13	9	12	11	13
17	Democratic	13	16	14	13	12	14	13	13	11	12	13	13
<u>9</u> 37%	Neither	<u>12</u> 38	<u>10</u> 40	<u>9</u> 41	<u>15</u> 41	<u>8</u> 34	<u>7</u> 38	<u>13</u> 40	<u>13</u> 39	<u>11</u> 31	<u>10</u> 34	<u>10</u> 34	<u>12</u> 38

ASK ALL:

Q.54 In general, would you describe your political views as...(READ)

		<u>April</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>July</u> <u>1994</u>
7	Very conservative	7	7
32	Conservative	31	32
38	Moderate	39	39
14	Liberal, OR	14	15
6	Very liberal?	5	4
<u>3</u> 100	Don't know/Refused (DO NOT READ)	<u>4</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100

Q.54a Do you consider yourself a member of the Religious Right political movement, or not?

7	Yes
88	No
<u>5</u> 100	Don't know/Refused

Q.55 How often, if ever, do you listen to radio shows that invite listeners to call in to discuss current events, public issues and politics... (READ)

		<u>April</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>March</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>April</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>July</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>Dec</u> <u>1993</u>	<u>April</u> <u>1993</u>
17	Regularly	13	18	18	19	16	17	23	23
25	Sometimes	23	28	33	30	31	29	22	32
26	Rarely	25	24	25	24	26	24	25	23
31	Never	39	30	24	27	26	30	30	22
<u>1</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>*</u> 100	<u>*</u> 100	<u>*</u> 100	<u>*</u> 100	<u>1</u> 100	<u>*</u> 100	<u>0</u> 100	<u>*</u> 100

(NO QUESTION 56)

Q.57 Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs... **(READ)**

		<u>Oct</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>April</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>July</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1990</u>	<u>Feb</u> <u>1989</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1988</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>1988</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1987</u>
41	Most of the time	46	43	49	45	46	39	47	37	37	41
34	Some of the time	35	35	30	35	33	34	34	37	35	35
17	Only now and then	14	16	13	14	15	18	14	17	18	15
8	Hardly at all	5	6	7	6	6	9	4	6	8	7
<u>*</u> <u>100</u>	Don't know	<u>*</u> <u>100</u>	<u>*</u> <u>100</u>	<u>1</u> <u>100</u>	<u>*</u> <u>100</u>	<u>*</u> <u>100</u>	<u>*</u> <u>100</u>	<u>1</u> <u>100</u>	<u>3</u> <u>100</u>	<u>2</u> <u>100</u>	<u>2</u> <u>100</u>

Q.58 In the 1992 Presidential election, did things come up which kept you from voting, or did you happen to vote? **IF VOTED, ASK:** Did you vote for Clinton, Bush or Perot?

		<u>July</u> <u>1994</u>
33	Yes, Clinton	35
25	Yes, Bush	25
11	Yes, Perot	11
*	Yes, other candidate	1
1	Yes, don't remember which candidate	1
27	No, didn't vote/Too young	22
0	Don't remember if voted	1
<u>3</u> <u>100</u>	Refused	<u>4</u> <u>100</u>

Q.59 In the 1994 elections for Congress last November, did things come up which kept you from voting, or did you happen to vote?

		<u>Oct</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>April</u> <u>1995</u>
58	Yes, voted	62	62
38	No, didn't vote/Too young	35	37
$\frac{4}{100}$	Don't Remember if voted/Refused	$\frac{3}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED "YES" IN Q.59, ASK:

Q.59a Are you absolutely certain you voted, or is there a chance you may not have?

		<u>Oct</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>April</u> <u>1995</u>
53	Absolutely certain	57	58
$\frac{5}{58\%}$	Didn't vote/may not have voted	$\frac{5}{62\%}$	$\frac{4}{62\%}$

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED "YES, CERTAIN" IN Q.59a, ASK:

Q.59b Did you happen to vote for a Republican candidate or a Democratic candidate for U.S. Congress in your district?

		<u>Oct</u> <u>1995</u>	<u>April</u> <u>1995</u>
45	Republican	47	50
46	Democrat	43	40
1	Other/Independent candidate	1	2
*	Didn't vote for Congress	*	1
7	Don't Remember which candidate	6	5
$\frac{1}{100}$	Refused	$\frac{3}{100}$	$\frac{2}{100}$
(N=2262)		(N=1219)	(N=1101)

(NO QUESTION 60)

ASK ALL:

Q.61 In 1994, did you go to any political meetings, rallies, speeches, dinners, or things like that in support of a particular candidate?

8 Yes

91 No

1 Don't know/Refused
100

(NO QUESTION 62)

ASK Q.63 OF FORM 1 ONLY: [N=998]

Q.63F1 Sometimes the media are accused of being biased for or against certain people or groups of people. For example, do you think television and the newspapers and magazines and radio are fair in their treatment of fundamentalist Christians or do you think they make them look better than they are, or make them look worse than they are?

18 Better

29 Fair

36 Worse

17 DK/Refused
100

ASK Q.64 OF FORM 2 ONLY:[N=977]

Q.64F2 Sometimes the media are accused of being biased for or against certain people or groups of people. For example, do you think television and the newspapers and magazines and radio are fair in their treatment of very religious people, or do you think they make them look better than they are, or make them look worse than they are?

19 Better

29 Fair

35 Worse

17 DK/Refused
100