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Growing Number Says Islam Encourages Violence Among Followers **RELIGION AND POLITICS: CONTENTION AND CONSENSUS**

Also Inside:

- ✧ Gay marriage more acceptable
- ✧ Public comfortable with Bush's religiosity
- ✧ Religion matters in Mideast views
- ✧ 38% would not vote for a Muslim for president
- ✧ Blacks, evangelicals in sync on religion, not politics
- ✧ Demographic profiles of religious groups (p. 34)

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Growing Number Says Islam Encourages Violence Among Followers

RELIGION AND POLITICS: CONTENTION AND CONSENSUS

Religion is a critical factor these days in the public's thinking about contentious policy issues and political matters. An increasing number of Americans have come to view Islam as a religion that encourages violence while a declining number say Islam has a lot in common with their own religion. The public remains divided over whether churches should stay out of politics, even as large numbers say they are comfortable with expressions of faith by political leaders. There also is evidence that next year's presidential vote may again provoke deep religious divisions over social issues, especially homosexual marriage.

The new nationwide survey of 2,002 adults, conducted June 24-July 8 by the Pew Research Center and the Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, shows that there has been an important shift in public perceptions of Islam. Fully 44% now believe that Islam is more likely than other religions "to encourage violence among its believers." As recently as March 2002, just 25% expressed this view. A separate study by the Pew Research Center in June 2003 found a similar change in the number of Americans who see Muslims as anti-American: 49% believe that a significant portion of Muslims around the world hold anti-American views, up from 36% in March 2002.

In the new survey, most Americans continue to rate Muslim-Americans favorably, though the percentage is inching downward. A declining number of Americans say their own religion has a lot in common with Islam – 22% now, compared with 27% in 2002 and 31% shortly after the terrorist attacks in the fall of 2001. Views of Muslims and Islam are influenced heavily by a person's ideology and religious affiliation. White evangelical Christians and political conservatives hold more negative views of Muslims and are more likely than other Americans to say that Islam encourages violence among its followers.

As the presidential campaign takes shape, religious divisions over some controversial social issues – homosexuality in particular – are as wide as ever. Overall, 53% oppose

Religion in Politics

<i>Should churches express views on political matters?</i>		%
Should		52
Should not		44
Don't know		<u>4</u>
		100
<i>Expressions of faith and prayer by political leaders</i>		
Too much		21
Too little		41
Right amount		29
Don't know		<u>9</u>
		100

Changing Views of Islam

	March	July
<i>Islam encourages violence?</i>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2003</u>
	%	%
Yes	25	44
No	51	41
Neither/DK	<u>24</u>	<u>15</u>
	100	100
<i>Muslims are anti-American?</i>	March	June
	<u>2002</u>	<u>2003</u>
All/Most	18	24
About half	18	25
Some	24	24
Just a few	21	15
Don't know	<u>19</u>	<u>12</u>
	100	100

allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally compared with 38% who support the idea. Opposition to gay marriage has decreased significantly since the mid-1990s, from 65% in 1996. But notably, the shift in favor of gay marriage is seen in nearly every segment of society with two significant exceptions – white evangelical Protestants and African-Americans. While a higher percentage of white evangelicals (83%) than blacks (64%) oppose legalizing gay marriages, neither group has changed its views significantly since 1996.

	June 1996	Mar 2001	July 2003
<i>Allow gays and lesbians to marry</i>	%	%	%
Strongly favor	6	8	10
Favor	21	27	28
Oppose	24	23	23
Strongly oppose	41	34	30
Don't know	<u>8</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>
	100	100	100

The survey also finds conflicting sentiments about the use of religious rhetoric by politicians. The public at large is quite comfortable with President Bush’s evocation of faith and what many perceive as his reliance on religious beliefs in making policy decisions. A 62% majority thinks Bush strikes the right balance in how much he mentions his religious faith, and nearly as many (58%) believe the president’s reliance on religion in policymaking is appropriate. Yet in spite of the widespread acceptance of politicians – and the president in particular – referencing religion in their speeches and political decisions, many Americans express a general discomfort when exposed to actual religious statements by various politicians.

For the most part, people say religion does not frequently affect their voting decisions. Nearly six-in-ten (58%) say their religious beliefs seldom if ever affect their voting decisions, while 38% say their vote choices are at least occasionally affected by their beliefs. White evangelicals and African-American Protestants are most likely to report that their religion shapes their votes at least occasionally, while white mainline Protestants and Catholics mostly say that religion has little or no impact on their votes.

At the same time, significant numbers of Americans say they would be reluctant to vote for a presidential candidate – even if generally well-qualified – if the candidate was a member of a specific faith. Nearly four-in-ten (38%) say they would not vote for a well-qualified Muslim for president, and 15% express concern about voting for a well-qualified evangelical Christian. Far fewer say they would not vote for a Jewish (10%) or Catholic (8%) candidate. But fully half say they would not vote for a well-qualified atheist.

The Republican Party is more widely viewed as being friendly toward religion than the Democrats, and the margin is much wider among whites. By more than two-to-one, white respondents view the Republican Party as friendly toward religion rather than neutral (58% vs. 26%), while just 7% think the GOP is unfriendly toward religion. Whites are divided in their perceptions of the Democratic Party’s treatment of religion (41% friendly, 37% neutral, 13%

unfriendly). By comparison, African-Americans are nearly twice as likely to say that the Democratic Party is friendly toward religion as say that about the Republicans (53% vs. 27%).

The survey underscores an important and often overlooked fact of American politics: African-Americans and white evangelical Christians are remarkably similar in their views about the role of religion in politics, yet they come to sharply different partisan conclusions. Both groups think the country would be better off if religion were more influential, both defend the role of religious leaders as political spokesmen, and both share similar views on important social issues, such as assisted suicide and gay marriage. Yet their attitudes toward President Bush and partisan politics are almost diametrically opposed. White evangelicals lean strongly toward Bush and the Republicans, and African-Americans lean strongly against both the president and his party. These two groups – both of them highly engaged and religious – stand as important countervailing forces in American public life.

The polling finds that religious beliefs play an important role in where people stand on important issues of the day, including the dispute in the Middle East. Fully 44% of Americans believe that God gave the land that is now Israel to the Jewish people while a substantial minority (36%) thinks that “the state of Israel is a fulfillment of the biblical prophecy about the second coming of Jesus.” White evangelical Protestants and, to a lesser degree, African-Americans accept both of these propositions. Significantly fewer white Catholics and mainline Protestants believe Israel was granted to the Jews by God or think that Israel represents a fulfillment of the Bible’s prophecy of a second coming.

Mideast Views Linked to Religious Beliefs			
<i>Israel fulfills biblical prophecy</i> %			
Yes	36		
No	46		
Don't know	18		
	100		
		<i>Israel fulfills prophecy</i>	
		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
<i>Sympathize more with...</i>		%	%
Israel	41	57	34
Palestinians	13	9	18
Both (Vol.)	8	6	8
Neither (Vol.)	18	10	23
Don't know	20	18	17
	100	100	100

The survey finds that there is no consensus on whether churches and other houses of worship should weigh in on social and political issues. Roughly half (52%) support the idea of churches expressing opinions on the issues of the day, while 44% are opposed. If clergy do speak out on political matters, most people think they should express their own views, even if most members of their congregations disagree with them.

President Bush’s reelection prospects have not changed dramatically in recent months, as 47% of registered voters say they would like to see Bush reelected and 37% prefer to see the Democratic candidate win. The president continues to draw strong support among white evangelicals, 69% of whom favor his reelection. Roughly half of white Catholics (52%) and white mainline Protestants (47%) also support the president’s reelection.

I: RELIGION AND POLITICS

Relatively few Americans express concern about the use of religious rhetoric by political leaders. In fact, nearly twice as many say there has been too *little* reference to religious faith and prayer by politicians (41%) than say there has been too *much* (21%). President Bush receives particularly positive ratings in this regard. Most (62%) say the president mentions his religious faith the right amount – with only a minority saying he does this too much (14%) or too little (11%).

Expressions of Religious Faith and Prayer by...

	Political <u>leaders</u> %	G.W. <u>Bush</u> %
Too little	41	11
Too much	21	14
Right amount	29	62
Don't know	<u>9</u>	<u>13</u>
	100	100

This same sentiment carries over to religion's influence on the president's policymaking as well. Overall, six-in-ten Americans say the president relies a great deal (20%) or a fair amount (40%) on his own religious beliefs in making policy decisions. Roughly three-quarters of those who believe this say the influence of religion on the president's policy decisions is appropriate. Just 22% of those who see Bush influenced a great deal by his religion say it is inappropriate.

If anything, there is more criticism of the president for taking his faith into account too little, rather than too much. While most (58%) say the president relies on his faith the right amount, twice as many (21%) would like to see religion play a larger role in the president's policymaking as see it as excessive (10%). This view is particularly strong among those who think the president's decisions are currently not affected by his faith. Of the 31% who say the president does *not* rely on his own religious beliefs when making policy decisions, most (51%) would like to see him do so more.

Faith and Policymaking

<i>Bush's religious beliefs affect policy...</i>	<u>Total</u> %	<i>Bush reliance on religion</i>		
		<u>A great deal</u> %	<u>Fair amount</u> %	<u>Not very much</u> %
Too little	21	4	9	51
Too much	10	22	9	7
Right amount	58	72	78	35
Don't know	<u>11</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>7</u>
	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	(2002)	(425)	(799)	(592)

White respondents, particularly evangelical Protestants, are comfortable with the influence of the president's personal faith on his policymaking. Fully 63% of whites – and 78% of white evangelical Protestants – say Bush's religion has the right amount of influence on his policy decisions, compared with 16% who say his religion has too little influence. Black respondents,

particularly black Protestants, are critical of how *little* Bush relies on his religious faith. Half of all blacks, and 56% of black Protestants, say the president relies on his religious beliefs too little in making policy decisions. Only about a quarter of blacks and black Protestants say he takes his faith into account the right amount.

Seculars – those who identify themselves as agnostic or atheist, or who claim no religious affiliation and rarely, if ever, attend religious services – are the only group in which a significant number express concern about religion affecting Bush’s policymaking too much. Three-in-ten seculars are critical in this regard, though a plurality (40%) believes religion has an appropriate impact on the president’s policymaking.

Bush’s Religion Affects Policy...

	Too <u>much</u> %	Too <u>little</u> %	Right <u>amount</u> %	<u>DK</u> %
White	11	16	63	10=100
Evangelical*	1	16	78	5=100
Mainline*	9	15	62	14=100
Catholic	9	17	68	6=100
Black	8	50	28	14=100
Protestant	6	56	24	14=100
Hispanic	10	28	50	12=100
Catholic	6	32	48	14=100
Secular**	30	18	40	12=100

* Evangelical Protestants are those who identify themselves as “born again or evangelical Christians.” Mainline Protestants do not.
 ** Seculars include atheists, agnostics and those with no religious preference who rarely, if ever, attend religious services.

A Survey Experiment: Reactions to Religious Rhetoric

Although there is widespread comfort with the idea of politicians – and the president in particular – referencing religion in their speeches and political decisions, many Americans express a general discomfort when exposed to *actual* religious statements by various politicians. As part of the survey, half the respondents were asked whether they were comfortable or uncomfortable with a series of statements about politics and religion, with no reference to who made the statements. The other half of respondents were read the same statements with their speakers identified.

Some statements were broadly accepted by the public in both formats. For example, 71% were comfortable with this statement by Sen. Joe Lieberman: “[T]he Constitution promises freedom OF religion, not freedom FROM religion.” Similarly, there was broad acceptance of the following statement by President Bush: “The liberty we prize is not America’s gift to the world, it is God’s gift to humanity.” Only about one-in-four Americans expressed discomfort with either of these statements when they were read anonymously, and the public’s reactions did not change markedly when the quotations were attributed to their speakers.

But some statements raised concerns among a number of respondents. Nearly four-in-ten (38%) felt uncomfortable with a statement made by Attorney General John Ashcroft: “Unique among the nations, America recognized the source of our character as being godly and eternal....” This reaction did not change noticeably when the statement was attributed to the attorney general.

Religious/Political Rhetoric – Anonymous vs. Attributed

	Comfor- <u>table</u> %	Uncom- <u>fortable</u> %	Don't <u>know</u> %
“[T]he Constitution promises freedom OF religion, not freedom FROM religion.” <i>Senator Joe Lieberman said...</i>	71 70	24 23	5=100 7=100
“The liberty we prize is not America’s gift to the world, it is God’s gift to humanity.” <i>President George W. Bush said...</i>	67 73	27 22	6=100 5=100
“Unique among the nations, America recognized the source of our character as being godly and eternal....” <i>Attorney General John Ashcroft said...</i>	54 56	38 34	8=100 10=100
“I have never believed the Constitution required our schools to be religion-free zones....” <i>President Bill Clinton said...</i>	44 59	49 34	7=100 7=100

The statement that raised the most concern among respondents was the following: “I have never believed the Constitution required our schools to be religion-free zones....” Nearly half (49%) said they felt uncomfortable with this statement, when presented anonymously, while 44% were comfortable with it. But comfort with this quote was significantly higher when it was attributed to its source – former President Bill Clinton. When tested with Clinton’s name attached to it, discomfort was lower (34% vs. 49%).

Compared with Democrats and independents, Republicans were somewhat more comfortable with the statements of Bush and Ashcroft when the speakers were identified, and Democrats and independents were much more comfortable with Clinton’s statement when they learned it came from the former president. But another important effect of providing the source of the quote is the added legitimacy it can provide, even to people of a different party. The results suggest that this effect is particularly strong when the statement comes from a current or past president.

Conservatives were far more likely than liberals to say they were comfortable with the anonymous statement, “I have never believed the Constitution required our schools to be religion-free zones....” Six-in-ten conservative Republicans were untroubled by a major politician making such a statement, compared with just 35% of liberal Democrats. However, when the statement is attributed to its source – former President Bill Clinton – this ideological gap largely disappears. Liberal Democrats were much more comfortable with the quote (59%), nearly on par with their more conservative counterparts.

A different pattern is evident in responses to the statement, “The liberty we prize is not America’s gift to the world, it is God’s gift to humanity.” When the statement was presented anonymously, liberals were less comfortable than conservatives. When the quote was attributed to President Bush, conservatives became significantly more comfortable with the statement, and independents and moderate Democrats became somewhat more comfortable. Only liberal Democrats were unaffected by knowing that the statement came from the president.

While some Americans became more comfortable with certain statements when they were attributed to current or past presidents, connecting statements with other major politicians did not have the same legitimizing effect. Attributing the quote “Unique among the nations, America recognized the source of our character as being godly and eternal...” to John Ashcroft increased comfort among Republicans, but it had no effect on independents and Democrats and did not significantly affect overall comfort. And knowing that Sen. Joe Lieberman said, “[T]he Constitution promises freedom OF religion, not freedom FROM religion” had no effect on the public’s comfort level in the aggregate, but liberal Democrats actually were *less* comfortable with the statement when they knew it came from Lieberman.

Reactions to the statements also varied according to the nature of the religious references in them. Specifically, the two items that expressly refer to God or godliness

Partisan Reactions to Statement Sources					
Percent comfortable with the statement	Lib/		Cons/		
	Cons	Mod	Mod	Lib	
<i>“[Schools need not be] religion-free zones...”</i>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Ind</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Dem</u>
	%	%	%	%	%
Anonymous	60	48	41	40	35
Bill Clinton said...	64	55	61	63	59
<i>Difference</i>	+4	+7	+20	+23	+24
<i>“The liberty we prize... is God’s gift to humanity.”</i>					
Anonymous	79	70	63	65	57
George W. Bush said...	89	84	69	73	55
<i>Difference</i>	+10	+14	+6	+8	-2
<i>“...source of our character as being godly and eternal...”</i>					
Anonymous	72	57	52	52	40
John Ashcroft said...	84	68	51	50	38
<i>Difference</i>	+12	+11	-1	-2	-2
<i>“...freedom OF religion, not freedom FROM religion.”</i>					
Anonymous	80	70	71	67	70
Joe Lieberman said...	78	81	69	73	60
<i>Difference</i>	-2	+11	-2	+6	-10

Religious Reactions to Statements			
Comfortable with the statement...	<i>Religious Commitment</i>		
	<u>High</u>	<u>Moderate</u>	<u>Low</u>
	%	%	%
“[T]he Constitution promises freedom OF religion, not freedom FROM religion.”	73	70	69
“The liberty we prize is not America’s gift to the world, it is God’s gift to humanity.”	76	75	49
“Unique among the nations, America recognized the source of our character as being godly and eternal...”	65	55	41
“I have never believed the Const. required our schools to be religion-free zones....”	47	45	42

were widely accepted by highly religious Americans but made many less religious Americans uncomfortable. The two statements referring to the constitutional border between church and state without reference to God or faith were viewed with equal comfort (or discomfort, depending on the quote) across all levels of religious commitment.

Evangelicals, Blacks Favor Churches Expressing Views

The public is divided over the proper role of churches and other houses of worship in political matters. As has been the case in surveys conducted over the past decade, a slight majority (52%) say churches should express their views on day-to-day social and political questions, while somewhat fewer (44%) say they should keep out of political matters. If clergy do speak out on the issues, most say they should express their own views, rather than reflect the views of their congregation.

As in the past, a person’s age and ethnic/religious background shape views on church involvement in political issues. Most people under age 50 think churches should express their views on day-to-day social and political questions, while most over age 65 think they should keep out of political matters. Overall, blacks are far more supportive of church involvement in political issues than are whites or Hispanics. Two-thirds of African-Americans say churches should express their views, compared with half of whites and Hispanics (50% and 53%, respectively).

White evangelical Protestants, particularly those who are the most religiously committed, also support church activism. Roughly two-thirds (68%) of white evangelicals say churches should express their opinions on political issues, including 73% of those who are the most religiously active. By comparison, fewer than half of white mainline Protestants (43%) and white non-Hispanic Catholics (46%) share this view.

The majority position across all ages and religious groups is that if clergy do speak out, they should express their own views, even if most members of their congregations disagree with them. Overall, 52% take this position, while 36% say clergy should reflect the views of the congregation. Unlike the issue of *whether* churches should take a position or not, on this issue there is little

	<u>Should</u> %	<u>out</u> %	<u>DK</u> %
Total	52	44	4=100
18-29	59	36	5=100
30-49	55	41	4=100
50-64	49	47	4=100
65+	38	54	8=100
White	50	46	4=100
Evangelical	68	27	5=100
High commitment*	73	23	4=100
Less commitment	59	36	5=100
Mainline	43	53	4=100
Catholic	46	51	3=100
Black	66	30	4=100
Protestant	72	24	4=100
Hispanic	53	40	7=100
Catholic	55	42	3=100

* “High commitment” refers to respondents who attend religious services often and say religion is very important in their lives.

variation across ethnic and religious lines. Slight majorities in all major religious groups, and at all levels of religious intensity, share this position.

Religious Leaders in Politics: Yes But...

Americans are divided, largely along religious lines, about the role religious leaders should play in the political system. About as many would like to see more religious leaders serving as advisers for elected officials (33%) as would like to see less of this (28%). The same pattern holds for public views of religious leaders running for public office

(30% more, 29% less) and appearing on television talk shows (26% more, 32% less). There is notably less enthusiasm for religious leaders forming political movements – just 22% would like to see more of this, while nearly twice as many (42%) would like to see less.

<i>Want to see religious leaders...</i>	<u>More</u> %	<u>Less</u> %	<u>Same</u> %	<u>DK</u> %
Advising elected officials	33	28	37	2=100
Running for public office	30	29	38	3=100
Appearing on talk shows	26	32	39	3=100
Forming political movements	22	42	33	3=100

There are wide denominational and racial differences of opinion on this issue. For example, two-thirds of white evangelical Protestants (65%) and nearly as many black Protestants (61%) say they would like to see more religious leaders serving as advisers to politicians. Just 19% of white mainline Protestants and white Catholics agree. Similarly, there is significant enthusiasm for more religious leaders running for public office among white evangelicals and blacks, but significant opposition to this from white mainline Protestants and Catholics.

Most Favor Journalists Asking About Religion

Most Americans (57%) say it is proper for journalists to ask politicians how their religious beliefs affect their opinions on issues of the day. Roughly four-in-ten (39%) disagree, but about half of those who object (20% of the overall sample) say it is okay for journalists to inquire about a politician’s religious beliefs if the politician raises the issue first.

	<u>Proper</u> %	<u>Improper</u> %	<u>DK</u> %
Total	57	39	4=100
White	57	39	4=100
Evangelical	66	31	3=100
Mainline	56	40	4=100
Catholic	50	47	3=100
Black	59	39	2=100
Protestant	58	41	1=100
Hispanic	50	43	7=100
Catholic	48	47	5=100
Secular	58	36	6=100

While there is no partisan or ideological divide on this issue, there is a substantial difference across religious lines. White evangelical Protestants, by more than two-to-one (66% to 31%), have no problem with journalists asking politicians how religious beliefs affect their political views. Catholics, both Hispanic and non-Hispanic, are more divided on whether this is appropriate or not.

II: RELIGION, VOTING, AND THE CAMPAIGN

Most people (67%) say that their religious beliefs play at least an occasional role in helping them decide what to do in their lives. But far fewer (38%) say religion has the same influence on their voting decisions. Overall, 45% say they *frequently* find themselves using their religious beliefs to help make choices and decisions on a typical day. But just 22% say they frequently rely on their religious beliefs to help them decide how to vote and 16% say they do so occasionally.

Women are more likely than men to say religion frequently affects their vote (26% vs.17%). And religion plays a larger role in the voting decisions of Republicans (31% frequently) than Democrats (20%) or independents (17%). Twice as many people who say they voted for Bush in 2000 as for Gore say they rely frequently on their religious beliefs in making voting decisions (32% Bush, 16% Gore).

Nearly half (48%) of white evangelical Protestants – and fully 60% of highly committed evangelicals – say their religious beliefs frequently affect their electoral choices, compared with 10% of white mainline Protestants, 12% of white non-Hispanic Catholics, and 12% of Hispanic Catholics. Black Protestants fall between these extremes, with 31% saying their religion frequently affects how they vote.

	Fre- quently %	Occa- sionally %	Less Often %	Other/ DK %
Total	22	16	58	4=100
White	21	16	59	4=100
Evangelical	48	20	29	3=100
Mainline	10	14	72	4=100
Catholic	12	20	68	*=100
Black	26	20	51	3=100
Protestant	31	20	46	3=100
Hispanic	17	12	58	13=100
Catholic	12	12	64	12=100
Secular	1	3	86	10=100
18-29	16	17	59	8=100
30-49	23	16	59	2=100
50-64	26	17	53	4=100
65+	21	14	58	7=100
College grad	20	20	58	2=100
Some college	23	16	58	3=100
H.S. or less	22	14	57	7=100
East	13	13	69	5=100
Midwest	21	18	59	2=100
South	29	17	48	6=100
West	19	14	61	6=100
Republican	31	18	48	3=100
Democrat	20	16	60	4=100
Independent	17	14	64	5=100

Many Wary of Voting For an Atheist or a Muslim

The survey shows that a significant number of Americans would be reluctant to vote for a well-qualified candidate if he or she were a member of a particular religious group, especially a Muslim (38%). But many more express reservations about voting for a candidate *without* religion than one with a specific faith (52%). In all, 64% of Americans admit that a candidate's religion, or lack thereof, could lead them to vote against a well-qualified candidate from their own party.

The same pattern is evident among respondents who were given a different form of the question, which asked if there are “any reasons” not to vote for a candidate with a particular religious affiliation if he or she were nominated by the respondent’s preferred party. In this case, slightly fewer (41%) say there are reasons why they would not vote for an atheist – far more than say that about a Muslim, an evangelical Christian, a Catholic or a Jew.

Atheism is a particular concern for white evangelical Protestants and African-Americans – majorities of each say there are reasons why they might not vote for an atheist if one received their party’s presidential nomination.

Nearly a third of the public (31%) says there are reasons they might not vote for a Muslim presidential candidate. Again, white

evangelicals are the most skeptical – 42% say this could be a sticking point for them. Not surprisingly, the tendency not to vote for a Muslim presidential candidate is closely related to perceptions of the Islamic faith. People who think Islam encourages violence more than other religions are more likely to say they have reason not to vote for a Muslim candidate than people who think Islam is no more violent than other faiths (43% vs. 23% margin).

<i>% saying they have reasons not to vote for someone who is...</i>	<u>Total</u>	-----White-----					<u>Sec-ular</u>
		<u>Evang Prot</u>	<u>Main Prot</u>	<u>Catho-lic</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Hisp-anic</u>	
<i>an Atheist</i>	41	63	33	42	51	32	15
<i>One or more of the following:</i>							
Muslim	31	42	28	28	30	31	24
Evangelical	20	19	17	18	19	31	20
Catholic	15	16	12	10	17	30	10
Jewish	14	21	11	9	12	25	7

The 2004 Campaign

Just under half of registered voters (47%) say they would like to see the president reelected in 2004 compared with 37% who say they would like to see a Democratic candidate win the election. While it is still early in the political season, Bush goes into his campaign for reelection with his political base intact. He draws strong support among white evangelical Protestants, gun owners, and social conservatives who support the death penalty and oppose gay marriage.

Among registered voters, nearly seven-in-ten white evangelicals (69%) say they want to see the president reelected, while just 21% prefer a Democrat. Among white voters, the president holds a 60% to 28% lead among those for whom religion is very important, but trails by 44% to 35% among those who say religion is not very important in their lives. The president is current favored by a majority of white Catholics (52% vs. 31% who favor a Democrat).

Policy issues also shape the opinions of voters. Among those who oppose allowing gays and lesbians to legally marry, 54% would like to see Bush reelected. Among those who favor gay marriage, just 31% favor his reelection. Most Americans support providing universal health insurance even if that means repealing recent tax cuts. A plurality of this group (45%) favors the Democrat while 36% back Bush. The president has an advantage over the Democratic candidate among voters who oppose this idea (71% to 17%).

Major differences in voter preferences also are seen between those who display the American flag and those who do not, and between gun owners and those without guns. For example, those who display the flag at their home, office, or on their automobile support the president's reelection by a margin of 52% to 32%. About half of those who do not display the flag (51%) would prefer that a Democrat win the election while 30% favor the president's reelection.

But there is a narrower gap in presidential preferences between those who trade stock and those who do not. The president has a large advantage among Americans who say they trade stocks (54%-33%) and a smaller edge among those who do not (43%-39%). At this point in the election cycle, voter preferences are more strongly related to displaying the flag or owning a gun – or to views on policy issues – than to trading stocks in the market.

More See GOP As 'Friendly' to Religion

The public generally believes both political parties are friendly toward religion, though somewhat more say this about Republicans than Democrats (52% vs. 42%). But there is a much bigger gap in views of whether conservatives and liberals have a favorable

Religion and Issues in 2004			
(Based on registered voters)			
	Reelect <u>Bush</u> %	Prefer <u>Democrat</u> %	Other/ <u>DK</u> %
Total	47	37	16=100
Republican	89	3	8=100
Democrat	11	76	13=100
Independent	41	32	27=100
White	53	31	16=100
Evangelical	69	21	10=100
High commitment	72	20	8=100
Less commitment	62	24	14=100
Mainline	47	35	18=100
Catholic	52	31	17=100
Black	11	70	19=100
Hispanic	41	47	12=100
Secular	26	45	29=100
<i>Importance of religion (whites)</i>			
Very	60	28	12=100
Fairly	47	33	20=100
Not very	35	44	21=100
<i>Repeal tax cuts for health insurance</i>			
Agree (72%)	36	45	19=100
Disagree (24%)	71	17	12=100
<i>Difference</i>	35		
<i>Death penalty</i>			
Favor (64%)	52	28	20=100
Oppose (30%)	25	58	17=100
<i>Difference</i>	27		
<i>Gay marriage</i>			
Favor (38%)	31	48	21=100
Oppose (53%)	54	28	18=100
<i>Difference</i>	23		
<i>Display a flag?</i>			
Yes (69%)	52	32	16=100
No (29%)	30	51	19=100
<i>Difference</i>	22		
<i>Own a gun?</i>			
Yes (34%)	61	26	13=100
No (63%)	38	44	18=100
<i>Difference</i>	23		
<i>Trade stocks?</i>			
Yes (29%)	54	33	13=100
No (69%)	43	39	18=100
<i>Difference</i>	11		

approach toward religion. Nearly twice as many people say conservatives are friendly toward religion than say that about liberals (51% vs. 26%).

For the most part, however, people do not see liberals as *unfriendly* to religion. Rather, opinion is divided, with a plurality (33%) saying that liberals are neutral toward religion. Larger pluralities say the news media and university professors are neutral to religion (41%, 40%, respectively), though substantial minorities in both cases think these groups are unfriendly to religion (34% news media, 26% university professors).

As might be expected, Hollywood and the entertainment industry are seen as more unfriendly toward religion than are the other groups that were tested. Nearly half of Americans (45%) say Hollywood and the makers of movies and TV entertainment shows treat religion unfavorably, compared with 31% who see them as neutral and 16% who believe they are friendly toward religion.

	Friendly	Neu- tral	Un- friendly	DK/Ref
	%	%	%	%
Republican Party	52	27	10	11=100
Conservatives	51	25	10	14=100
Democratic Party	42	36	12	10=100
Liberals	26	33	27	14=100
Professors	18	40	26	16=100
News media	16	41	34	9=100
Hollywood	16	31	45	8=100

Partisanship and ideology strongly influence views of how the political parties approach religion. Majorities of Republicans and Democrats both say their own party is friendly toward religion, with Republicans more likely to hold this view than Democrats (73% vs. 56%). Yet there are differences within parties over whether Republicans and Democrats – and conservatives and liberals – are friendly toward religion.

For example, while three-quarters of conservative Republicans see conservatives as friendly toward religion, 59% of moderate and liberal Republicans agree. These groups have different views of the Democratic Party as well, with moderate and liberal Republicans more likely than conservative Republicans to say that the Democratic Party is friendly toward religion (44% vs. 28%).

Among Democrats, a different pattern is evident. Liberal Democrats tend to view both parties as more religious than do conservative and moderate Democrats. More than six-in-ten liberal Democrats (64%) say the GOP is friendly toward religion; four-in-ten conservative and moderate Democrats agree. About the same percentage of liberal Democrats (65%) believe the Democratic Party is friendly toward religion compared with about half of conservative and moderate Democrats (53%).

Solid majorities of white Catholics and Protestants see the Republican Party as friendly toward religion (59% of white evangelical Protestants, 58% of white Catholics, and 56% of white mainline Protestants). There are somewhat larger differences in views of the Democratic Party's approach toward religion; roughly four-in-ten white mainline Protestants (45%) and Catholics (41%) say the Democratic Party is favorable toward religion compared with 34% of white evangelicals.

Divisions among religious groups in views of how Hollywood, the news media and university professors treat religion are much more substantial. Just 8% of white evangelical Protestants believe the entertainment industry is friendly toward religion, while nearly two-thirds (65%) think it is unfriendly and 23% say it is neutral. White mainline Protestants and Catholics are more divided, and fewer than half in each group see Hollywood as unfriendly toward religion (44% each).

The gap is nearly as large when it comes to the news media and religion; about half of white evangelicals (48%) see the news media as unfriendly to religion, compared with a third of white Catholics and about the same number of mainline Protestants (32%). A smaller proportion of these groups believe university professors are unfriendly toward religion. About four-in-ten white evangelicals (39%), a third of white Catholics (34%) and 18% of white mainline Protestants say university professors are unfriendly toward religion.

III: RELIGION, BELIEF AND POLICY

Religious belief plays an important role in shaping public attitudes on several policy issues, from the dispute in the Middle East to the question of whether gays and lesbians should be permitted to marry. In particular, there is no doubt that belief in the biblical importance of Israel has a major impact on public opinion toward the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Overall, a plurality of Americans (44%) believe God gave the land that is now Israel to the Jewish people, while 36% say this is not literally true. Fewer people believe that the state of Israel fulfills a biblical prophecy about Jesus' second coming; 36% say this, while 46% disagree.

White evangelical Protestants are by far the most likely to believe that Israel was given to the Jews by God and that it fulfills a biblical prophecy of the second coming. Fully seven-in-ten white evangelicals (72%) say Israel was given to the Jews by God, a figure that rises to 77% among those evangelicals with a high degree of religious commitment. Fewer than half as many white Catholics (33%) and mainline Protestants (31%) agree.

The differences are equally stark when it comes to views of Israel as a fulfillment of the Bible's prophecy of Jesus' second coming. Three times as many white evangelicals as white mainline Protestants believe this is the case (63% vs. 21%). Just a quarter of white Catholics say Israel fulfills the biblical prophecy about the second coming. Interestingly, white Catholics who are the most religiously committed are far less likely than less-religious Catholics to say that Israel represents fulfillment of a biblical prophecy regarding the second coming (16% vs. 30%).

Race is also a factor in beliefs about Israel and the Bible, though it is not as significant as religion. Roughly half of blacks (51%) believe that Israel is a fulfillment of a biblical prophecy about Jesus' second coming, compared with 41% of Hispanics and barely a third of all whites (34%). This is consistent with African-Americans' broader views of biblical literalism. Blacks are twice as likely as whites (62% vs. 31%) to say that the Bible is the actual word of God and is to be taken literally, and this is significantly higher than among Hispanics (38%) and other non-whites (32%) as well.

	<u>Yes</u> %	<u>No</u> %	<u>DK</u> %
Total	36	46	18=100
White	34	48	18=100
Evangelical	63	22	15=100
Mainline	21	58	21=100
Catholic	25	55	20=100
Black	51	33	16=100
Hispanic	41	41	18=100
Secular*	7	76	17=100

* Evangelical Protestants are those who identify themselves as "born again or evangelical Christians." Mainline Protestants do not.
 ** Seculars include atheists, agnostics and those with no religious preference who rarely, if ever, attend religious services.

Mideast Sympathies Stable

Americans continue to side with Israel in its dispute with the Palestinians. Currently, 41% say they sympathize more with Israel, while 13% sympathize more with the Palestinians, a margin that has remained relatively stable in recent years; 8% volunteer feelings of sympathy for both sides of the conflict, and 18% for neither. Religion continues to play an important factor in shaping these attitudes, with evangelical Christians far more likely than members of other religious groups to express sympathy for Israel. More than half of white evangelicals (55%) sympathize with Israel, compared with 41% of black Protestants, 39% of white Catholics, and 34% of white mainline Protestants. Seculars are split on this issue, with fewer than a quarter (24%) sympathizing with Israel over the Palestinians, and nearly as many (20%) siding with the Palestinians.

	Religion Shapes Mideast Sympathies				
	<i>Sympathize more with...</i>				
	Israel		Palest- (Vol.)		DK
	<u>inians</u>	<u>Both</u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>DK</u>
	%	%	%	%	%
Total	41	13	8	18	20=100
White	41	12	7	19	21=100
Evangelical	55	6	6	12	21=100
Mainline	34	17	10	19	20=100
Catholic	39	13	6	22	20=100
Black	40	14	8	16	22=100
Hispanic	40	13	7	20	20=100
Secular	24	20	11	26	19=100
<i>Israel fulfills biblical prophecy?</i>					
Yes	57	9	6	10	18=100
No	34	18	8	23	17=100

There is no doubt that Americans’ religious beliefs about biblical prophecy play a role in shaping views on the Mideast situation. Among the 36% of Americans who see Israel as a fulfilment of prophecy about the second coming of Jesus, the vast majority sympathize with Israel over the Palestinians (by a 57% to 9% margin). Sympathy for the Palestinians is twice as high (18%) among the 46% who do not believe Israel fulfills a biblical prophecy, and far fewer side with Israel (34%). The relevance of biblical prophecy is powerful even within religious denominations. For example, nearly two-thirds (64%) of white evangelical Protestants who believe Israel fulfills a biblical prophecy say they sympathize with Israel, compared with 47% of white evangelicals who do not hold this belief.

A third of Americans say media coverage of the Middle East has had the biggest influence on their thinking about the issue, followed by education (21%) and religious beliefs (20%). Religion’s role in shaping views on this issue is far more significant among supporters of Israel than

<i>Biggest influence on Mideast views</i>	News Coverage Cited as Biggest Influence	
	<i>Have more sympathy for...</i>	
	Israel	Palest- inians
	%	%
Seen on news	34	37
Education	18	30
Religious beliefs	26	11
Personal experience	7	10
Friends/family	6	2
Something else	7	9
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
	100	100
Number of cases	(819)	(266)

among those who sympathize more with the Palestinians. Overall, 26% of those who sympathize more with Israel cite religion as having the biggest influence on their views. Among those who side with the Palestinians, just 11% say religion shaped their views, while 30% cite education as the biggest factor.

As might be expected given their views about Israel’s biblical importance, white evangelicals – especially those who are highly committed – are far more likely than members of most other religious groups to cite their religious belief as the biggest factor shaping their opinions on the Mideast conflict. Nearly four-in-ten white evangelicals (39%) cite their religious beliefs as the biggest influence on their thinking about the Middle East, compared with only about one-in-ten white mainline Protestants (10%) and Catholics (9%). Highly committed white evangelicals are even more likely to cite their religious beliefs as the biggest factor in their thinking about the Middle East conflict (46%).

Less Opposition to Gay Marriage

The issue of gay marriage recently returned to the public’s agenda after the Supreme Court overturned a Texas anti-sodomy law and enunciated what many observers believe is a broad prohibition against government regulation of private sexual behavior. While a majority of the public continues to oppose gay marriage, support has been gradually building over the past few years and the intensity of the opposition has been declining. Overall, 53% say they oppose allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally, while 38% favor the idea. But support is up from 27% in 1996, and strong opposition now stands at 30%, down from 41% in 1996.

	June 1996	Mar 2001	July 2003
<i>Allow gays and lesbians to marry</i>	%	%	%
Strongly favor	6	8	10
Favor	21	27	28
Oppose	24	23	23
Strongly oppose	41	34	30
Don't know	8	8	9
	100	100	100

There is a growing gap of opinion on this issue along racial and religious lines. Opposition to gay marriage is widespread among white evangelical Protestants and blacks, and opinion within these groups has changed little over the past seven years. White evangelicals remain the most firmly opposed on this issue: 84% opposed it in 1996, 83% do so now.

	---1996---		---Today---		Change % Oppose
	Favor	Oppose	Favor	Oppose	
Total	28	65	38	53	-12
White	27	65	39	51	-14
Evangelical	13	84	12	83	-1
Mainline	27	64	45	44	-20
Catholic	31	60	47	41	-19
Black	26	65	28	64	-1
Hispanic	32	64	36	54	-10
Secular	45	46	55	30	-16

And opposition among African-Americans is also unchanged (65% opposed gay marriage in 1996, 64% today).

By comparison, seculars, white Catholics, white mainline Protestants, and Hispanics have become increasingly open to the idea of legalized gay and lesbian marriage. Opposition to gay marriage among white mainline Protestants dropped from 63% seven years ago to 44% today. White Catholic opposition also dropped 19 points (from 60% to 41%) over this same time period. Even among seculars, who were more supportive of gay marriage than most other groups in 1996, there is less opposition today: 46% opposed gay marriage in 1996, compared with only 30% who do so now. And while most Hispanics (54%) oppose gay marriage, this is somewhat lower than in 1996 (64%).

While most Americans remain opposed to gay marriage, fewer people now say they are strongly opposed. Strong opposition declined even among white evangelicals, from 64% in 1996 to 56% today, and it dropped even more among mainline Protestants, Catholics, and seculars.

This issue divides the public in many other ways as well. Young people are twice as likely as their elders to approve of gay marriage: 52% of those age 18-29 favor it, compared with only 22% among those 65 and older. Women are eight percentage points more supportive than are men (41% to 33%), and people living in the East (48%) and West (43%) are more supportive than Southerners (31%) and those in the Midwest (34%). Far more Democrats and independents (at 45% each) favor gay marriage than do Republicans (24%). Perhaps not surprisingly, people who have a gay friend, family member, or co-worker are more than twice as likely to favor gay marriage (55%) as those who do not (24%).

More Reservations About Death Penalty

A gradual shift in public opinion is also seen on the death penalty. While large majorities still favor the ultimate sanction for persons convicted of murder, support is slipping, especially strong support. Moreover, a small but growing religious divide has opened on this issue. The survey also finds an important qualification in people’s support for the death penalty; majorities oppose the execution of persons who committed murder when they were under the age of 18.

	June 1996	Sept 1999	Mar 2001	Mar 2002	July 2003
<i>Death penalty for murder</i>	%	%	%	%	%
Strongly favor	43	41	30	33	28
Favor	35	33	36	34	36
Oppose	11	15	17	17	20
Strongly oppose	7	7	10	9	10
No opinion	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100	100	100

Just under two-thirds (64%) of the public now support the death penalty, compared with 78% in 1996. And 43% felt strongly about their support seven year ago, compared with just 28% today. While still a minority view, opposition to the death penalty over this period has grown from 18% to 30%.

In 1996 views on the death penalty were largely unrelated to religious differences. White evangelicals, mainline Protestants, Catholics, and seculars held similar views. The views of white evangelicals have changed relatively little since that time – dropping from 82% support to 76% today – but members of other groups have moved further. Support for capital punishment among mainline Protestants has dropped from 85% to

	---1996---		---Today---		<i>Change % Favor</i>
	<u>Favor</u> %	<u>Oppose</u> %	<u>Favor</u> %	<u>Oppose</u> %	
Total	78	18	64	30	-14
White	81	15	69	25	-12
Evangelical	82	13	76	17	-6
Mainline	85	13	70	22	-15
Catholic	79	17	69	27	-10
Black	54	36	39	55	-15
Hispanic	75	17	50	43	-25
Secular	78	17	60	32	-18

70%, and among white Catholics it has declined from 79% to 69%. Seculars also are less supportive of the death penalty than they were in 1996 (78% then, 60% today).

Support for the death penalty among African-Americans, which has been consistently lower than among whites, also has declined. Seven years ago, a 54% majority of African-Americans favored the death penalty while 36% were opposed. Today, these figures are reversed, with just 39% in favor of capital punishment and 55% opposed. Hispanics, too, have become increasingly skeptical on this issue. Just half favor the death penalty today, compared with three-in-four in 1996.

While a majority favors capital punishment as a general policy, there is far less support for executing persons who committed murder when they were under the age of 18. Just 35% support such a policy, while 58% are opposed.¹ Only 11% strongly favor execution in this circumstance, compared with 20% who strongly oppose it. There is little religious division on this issue. Similar percentages of white mainline Protestants (43%), white evangelicals (42%), and seculars (41%) favor capital punishment for minors, compared with 31% of white Catholics. As with the death penalty in general, African-Americans are the most opposed to capital punishment for minors. Fully 80% oppose this, while just 16% favor it.

¹ In a survey experiment, half of the sample received this question rather than the standard death penalty item.

Physician-Assisted Suicide

Although not as prominent in recent news as gay marriage, the issue of physician-assisted suicide engenders religious divisions that are just as large. As with many issues, how the question is worded matters greatly. When respondents are asked about making it legal for doctors to “assist terminally ill patients in committing suicide,” 43% are in favor while 48% are opposed. But when the issue is described as making it legal for doctors to “give terminally ill patients the means to end their lives,” a majority of 54% gives its approval; 39% are opposed.

Regardless of how the question is phrased, large majorities of white evangelicals and black Protestants are opposed to physician-assisted suicide. When the word “suicide” is used, white evangelicals oppose the idea by two-to-one (61%-29%). White Catholics are divided (47% opposed, 45% in favor), while majorities of mainline Protestants (52%) and seculars (62%) approve. Support among these latter two groups rises to 70% and 75%, respectively, when “end their lives” is used instead of “suicide.” In this latter version, even a majority of Catholics approve (58% to 37%), while evangelical Protestants remain firmly opposed (58% oppose/38% favor).

Euthanasia Support			
<i>Making it legal for doctors to...</i>	<u>Favor</u> %	<u>Oppose</u> %	<u>DK</u> %
Assist terminally ill patients in committing suicide ⁺	43	48	9=100
Give terminally ill patients the means to end their lives*	54	39	7=100
*Asked of Form 1	+Asked of Form 2		

Beyond religious affiliation, physician-assisted suicide is strongly related to a person’s own religiosity. Regardless of how the question is phrased, the policy is opposed by the majority of people who attend church regularly and say religion plays an important role in their lives, whereas the policy is supported by a majority of Americans who are not religious. For example, 72% of those with little religious commitment favor allowing doctors to give terminally ill patients the means to end their lives, while just 22% are opposed. By comparison, fewer than a third (32%) of those with a high level of religious commitment favor such a policy, while 61% are opposed.

Scrap Tax Cuts for Health Insurance

Fully 72% of Americans agree that the government should provide universal health care, even if it means repealing most tax cuts passed since Bush took office. Democrats overwhelmingly favor this proposal (86%-11%) and independents largely agree (78%-19%). Even a narrow majority of Republicans (51%) favor providing health insurance for all even if it means canceling the tax cuts, while 44% disagree.

In addition, most Americans – especially those who support repealing tax cuts to provide universal health coverage – see this as a moral issue as well as a political issue. Just a third believes this is strictly a political issue, while a narrow majority (52%) views it also as a moral question. A big majority of those who support this proposal – 61% – think of it as a moral as well as a political issue, while most opponents tend to see this in strictly political terms (58%).

Anti-SUV Campaign Gets Little Traction

The unusual advertising campaign invoking Jesus’ name to generate opposition to sports utility vehicles (SUVs) does not appear to be resonating with the public. Fewer than a third of Americans (31%) say they have heard about the campaign, whose theme is “What Would Jesus Drive?”

On that question itself, Americans have divided opinions. A third (33%) say Jesus would not drive an SUV, while 29% say he would, and 7% volunteered that Jesus would not drive any vehicle since he would walk. A large percentage (31%) offered no opinion. More SUV drivers (37%) than non-SUV drivers (29%) say they’ve heard about the campaign. And, not surprisingly, SUV drivers are more likely to say that Jesus would drive one (46% say he would, compared with only 25% among non-SUV drivers).

Religion’s Influence Seen As Waning

A solid majority of Americans (56%) believe that religion is losing its influence on American life, while just 30% think religion’s influence is increasing. That is in keeping with the trend on this measure dating back more than 30 years – with one major exception. In November 2001, shortly after the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks, the percentage of Americans who said religion’s influence was increasing rose sharply to 78%, from just 37% eight months earlier.

	March 2001	Nov 2001	March 2002	July 2003
	%	%	%	%
Increasing	37	78	37	30
Losing	55	12	52	56
Same	4	3	3	5
No opinion	4	7	8	9
	100	100	100	100

But in March 2002, the percentage saying that religion’s influence is gaining dropped back to its pre-Sept. 11 level of 37%. The current survey shows that number has fallen a bit further, to 30%. In addition, most Americans think that religion is losing, not increasing, its influence worldwide by 51% to 36%.

IV: CHANGING PERCEPTIONS OF ISLAM

Substantially higher numbers of Americans today than in 2002 believe that Islam is more likely than other religions to encourage violence among its followers. At the same time, there has been a significant increase in the percentage of people who say that, in general, religion plays a large role in causing wars. Nearly half of the public thinks that half or more of Muslims worldwide hold anti-American views, up from just over a third who felt this way in 2002. Despite these shifting views, however, there has been only a modest growth in negative sentiment toward Muslim-Americans.

In the current poll, 44% of Americans say that Islam is more likely to encourage violence than other religions, up from 25% in the March 2002 poll. This opinion is as prevalent among better educated individuals and those who are more knowledgeable about Islam as among the less educated and less knowledgeable. And where white evangelicals once stood out for their belief that Islam is more likely to encourage violence, there are fewer religious differences now.

In 2002, more highly committed white evangelical Protestants than people of other religious traditions held this opinion – 41% compared with 25% of white mainline Protestants, 24% of white Catholics, and 24% of black Protestants. Seculars were least likely to hold this view; only 18% agreed in 2002. Today, evangelicals and mainline Protestants have the same opinion: 51% of evangelicals and 50% of mainline Protestants agree that the Islamic religion is more likely than others to encourage violence, while this opinion also has grown among white Catholics (39%), black Protestants (37%), and seculars (38%).

People who consider themselves politically conservative are most likely to connect Islam and violence. More than half of conservatives (54%) say Islam is more likely than other religions to encourage violence, compared with 43% of moderates and just 32% of liberals. And while this

Is Islam More Likely to Encourage Violence?			
	March	July	
	<u>2002</u>	<u>2003</u>	<u>Diff</u>
	%	%	
Yes	25	44	+19
No	51	41	
Neither/DK	<u>24</u>	<u>15</u>	
	100	100	
<hr/>			
<i>Percent "Yes" among...</i>			
Men	28	46	+18
Women	22	41	+19
College grad	24	41	+17
Some college	26	45	+19
H.S. or less	25	44	+19
East	24	47	+23
Midwest	23	44	+21
South	31	43	+12
West	18	40	+22
White Evangelical	36	51	+15
High commitment	41	52	+11
Less commitment	32	51	+19
White Mainline	25	50	+25
White Catholic	24	39	+15
Black Protestant	24	37	+13
Secular	18	38	+20
Conservative	33	54	+21
Moderate	22	43	+21
Liberal	20	32	+12
<i>Knowledge of Islam</i>			
High	26	43	+17
Medium	21	45	+24
Low	26	43	+17

sentiment has increased among all three ideological groups, the liberal-conservative gap is greater today than a year ago. Similarly, the South stood out in 2002, with 31% saying Islam was more violent (compared with 24% or fewer in other parts of the country); now, people in all regions have roughly comparable views on this issue.

In addition, more than four-in-ten Americans (44%) believe that religion in general plays a large role in causing wars, compared with 34% last year. Growth in this view has been greatest among mainline Protestants; 44% of white mainline Protestants now express this view compared with 30% in March 2002. By contrast, the percentage of white evangelicals believing this has grown by only five percentage points (from 31% to 36%). Seculars (at 56%, up from 46%) remain the most committed to this perception; black Protestants are the least (30%, up from 24%).

How Much of a Role Does Religion Play in Causing Wars?

	% saying "great deal"		
	March	July	Change
	<u>2002</u>	<u>2003</u>	
	%	%	
Total	34	44	+10
Men	40	46	+6
Women	28	42	+14
College grad	39	47	+8
Some college	33	46	+13
H.S. or less	31	42	+11
White Evangelical	31	36	+5
High commitment	31	38	+7
Less commitment	30	33	+3
White Mainline	30	44	+14
White Catholic	35	45	+10
Black Protestant	24	30	+6
Secular	46	56	+10

In 2002, far fewer women than men thought religion had a great deal to do with starting wars; only 28% said this, compared with 40% of men. Today, men and women are much closer in this perception: 42% for women, 46% for men.

More See Muslims Abroad as Anti-American

In addition to growing concerns about Islam and violence, the public increasingly perceives anti-Americanism among Muslims around the world. In a separate survey conducted June 4-8 by the Pew Research Center, nearly a quarter (24%) say most or almost all Muslims around the world hold anti-American views, and 25% say about half do.

In March 2002, by comparison, only 18% thought most or almost all Muslims felt this way, and an additional 18% thought about half were anti-American. This change in perception tracks closely with the actual trend in unfavorable views of the United States in many Muslim nations, as documented by the *Pew Global*

Perceived Number of Anti-American Muslims around the World?

	March	June
	<u>2002</u>	<u>2003</u>
	%	%
Almost all	6	7
Most	12	17
About half	18	25
Some	24	24
Just a few	21	15
Don't know	<u>19</u>	<u>12</u>
	100	100
<i>NET about half or more</i>	36	49

Attitudes Project. The percentage of Indonesians who hold favorable opinions of the U.S., for example, fell from 61% last summer to 15% in March 2003.

But Opinions of Muslim-Americans Mostly Unchanged

Yet growing views of Islam as a religion that encourages violence have not resulted in a significant change in American views of Muslims, Muslim-Americans, or even of Islam in general. A narrow majority of the public – 51% – has a favorable view of Muslim-Americans, and only 24% have an unfavorable view (25% have no opinion). This is about the same rating as last year (54% favorable), but down from the 59% rating in a November 2001 poll, just a few months after 9/11.

Unfavorable ratings for Muslim-Americans have inched upward over this same time period from 17% soon after the attacks to 24% today. But Muslim-Americans remain slightly better regarded now than they were before 9/11; in March 2001, 45% had a favorable opinion of Muslim-Americans.

Opinions are slightly less favorable of Muslims who are not identified as Americans: 47% favorable, 31% unfavorable.² Neither measure has changed significantly since last year.

Ratings of the Islamic faith remain lower than ratings for Muslims. In spite of the growing sense that Islam is a religion that encourages violence, however, general perceptions of Islam have not changed. Four-in-ten have a favorable impression of the religion, while 34% have an unfavorable opinion (26% have no opinion), virtually unchanged from 15 months ago.

As has been true in previous years, Muslims are less popular than people of other religious faiths but more popular than atheists. Muslim-Americans and Muslims are seen less favorably than Jews (72% favorable), Protestants (70%), and Catholics (69%), and slightly below evangelical

		March	Nov	March	
		2001	2001	2002	Today
		%	%	%	%
<i>Opinion of ...</i>					
Protestants	Fav	–	77	74	70
	Unfav	–	5	8	10
Catholics	Fav	74	78	74	69
	Unfav	13	8	13	18
Jews	Fav	72	75	74	72
	Unfav	16	7	9	9
Evangelical Christians	Fav	55	--	55	58
	Unfav	16	--	18	18
Muslim Americans*	Fav	45	59	54	51
	Unfav	24	17	22	24
Non-religious people ⁺	Fav	–	–	51	50
	Unfav	–	–	30	33
Muslims⁺	Fav	–	–	47	47
	Unfav	–	–	29	31
Atheists*	Fav	29	32	34	34
	Unfav	57	49	54	52

* asked on Form 1 + asked on Form 2

² In a survey experiment, half of the sample was asked to rate “Muslims” and the other half was asked to rate “Muslim-Americans.”

Christians (58% favorable, 18% unfavorable). “People who aren’t religious” receive favorable ratings similar to Muslims (50%), but the public has a more unfavorable view of the non-religious (33% unfavorable). Majorities of the public continue to give atheists an unfavorable rating: 52%, compared with 34% favorable. Views of each of these groups have changed very little since March 2002.

Somewhat fewer people now than last year say that Islam and their own religion have a lot in common: 22% this year, compared with 27% in March 2002 and 31% in November of 2001. Catholics have changed the most on this measure, with 14% fewer saying their religion has a lot in common with Islam. Evangelicals and mainline Protestants have changed very little. Overall, far more among the college educated than the less educated see commonality between Islam and their religion, and the views of the college educated have changed very little since last year.

ABOUT THIS SURVEY

Results for the survey are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates among a nationwide sample of 2,002 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period June 24 - July 8, 2003. 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 2.5 percentage points. For results based on either Form 1 (N=1,001) or Form 2 (N=1001), the sampling error is plus or minus 3.5 percentage points. Respondents who indicated they would prefer to complete the interview in Spanish, plus Spanish-speaking households in which no eligible English-speaking adult was available, were contacted by a Spanish-speaking interviewer. A total of 68 interviews were conducted in Spanish.

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.

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 numbers in the U.S. Only working banks of telephone numbers are selected. A working bank is defined as 100 contiguous telephone numbers containing one 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. The use of replicates also insures that the regional distribution of numbers called is appropriate. Again, this works to increase the representativeness of the sample.

At least 10 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 is at home." 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 2002). 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.

This study was conducted jointly by the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press and the Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life. Professor John Green of the University of Akron made important contributions to the project.

VIEWS ON ISSUES

	General Population	----- White -----			----- Total -----		
		Evangelical Protestant	Mainline Protestant	Catholic	Religious commitment		
					High	Mod	Low
<i>Death penalty for murder*</i>							
Favor	64	76	70	69	60	66	66
Oppose	29	17	22	27	32	26	30
Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Death penalty for murder committed by a minor+</i>							
Favor	35	42	43	31	32	33	41
Oppose	58	48	52	64	58	61	55
Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Legalize doctors giving terminally ill patients means to end their lives*</i>							
Favor	54	38	70	58	32	59	73
Oppose	39	58	23	37	61	33	22
Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Legalize doctors assisting terminally ill patients in committing suicide+</i>							
Favor	43	29	52	45	25	50	59
Oppose	48	61	38	47	67	41	31
Don't know	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Allowing gays and lesbians to marry*</i>							
Favor	37	12	45	47	21	40	52
Oppose	53	83	43	41	71	50	37
Don't know	<u>10</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Government guaranteed health insurance even if repeal of tax cuts is required</i>							
Completely Agree	38	27	34	39	32	43	41
Mostly Agree	34	34	33	37	34	35	32
Mostly Disagree	14	21	17	15	17	11	13
Completely Disagree	10	13	12	8	11	8	10
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

* Asked of Form 1 only

+ Asked of Form 2 only

GEORGE W. BUSH AND HIS RELIGION

	<i>Bush mentions religious faith...</i>				<i>Bush relies on religious beliefs...††</i>				<i>(N)††</i>
	<i>Too Much</i>	<i>Too Little</i>	<i>Right Amount</i>	<i>DK</i>	<i>Too Much</i>	<i>Too Little</i>	<i>Right Amount</i>	<i>DK</i>	
	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	
Total	14	11	62	13=100	10	21	58	11=100	(2002)
Sex									
Male	19	10	60	11	12	21	58	9	(956)
Female	10	13	63	14	9	21	58	12	(1046)
Race									
White	15	9	66	10	11	16	63	10	(1596)
Non-white	13	20	45	22	11	39	38	12	(362)
Black	12	23	44	21	8	50	28	14	(180)
Hispanic†	15	16	50	19	10	28	50	12	(196)
Race and Sex									
White Men	19	8	63	10	11	18	62	9	(765)
White Women	11	10	69	10	10	15	64	11	(831)
Age									
Under 30	14	17	52	17	14	26	53	7	(401)
30-49	15	9	66	10	10	21	60	9	(753)
50-64	12	14	63	11	8	18	62	12	(479)
65+	19	6	60	15	9	17	56	18	(332)
Sex and Age									
Men under 50	17	10	62	11	14	22	57	7	(595)
Women under 50	12	13	61	14	9	24	57	10	(559)
Men 50+	24	10	55	11	10	18	59	13	(350)
Women 50+	8	11	67	14	8	18	59	15	(461)
Education									
College Grad.	21	4	64	11	16	15	58	11	(747)
Some College	16	13	59	12	12	22	57	9	(489)
High School Grad.	10	14	65	11	7	21	62	10	(583)
<H.S. Grad.	14	14	53	19	6	30	49	15	(168)
Family Income									
\$75,000+	18	5	69	8	13	12	65	10	(445)
\$50,000-\$74,999	12	8	71	9	12	17	64	7	(321)
\$30,000-\$49,999	14	13	65	8	12	22	58	8	(405)
\$20,000-\$29,999	13	13	58	16	8	26	59	7	(237)
<\$20,000	17	13	54	16	9	31	44	16	(311)

† The designation Hispanic is unrelated to the white-black categorization.

Questions: Do you think George W. Bush mentions his religious faith and prayer too much, too little, or about the right amount?

In making policy decisions, do you think he relies on his religious beliefs too much, too little or about the right amount? (Ns apply to this question; previous question is form split)††

Continued ...

Table continued from previous page

	<i>Bush mentions religious faith...</i>				<i>Bush relies on religious beliefs...††</i>				<i>(N)††</i>
	<i>Too Much</i>	<i>Too Little</i>	<i>Right Amount</i>	<i>DK</i>	<i>Too Much</i>	<i>Too Little</i>	<i>Right Amount</i>	<i>DK</i>	
	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	
Total	14	11	62	13=100	10	21	58	11=100	(2002)
Region									
East	22	12	58	8	15	20	55	10	(385)
Midwest	16	12	61	11	9	16	63	12	(508)
South	10	12	62	16	6	26	58	10	(712)
West	14	8	64	14	14	21	54	11	(397)
Religious Affiliation									
Total White Mainline Protestant	10	6	70	14	9	15	62	14	(379)
Total Wh. Evangelical Protestant	5	18	70	7	1	16	78	5	(447)
Total Wh. Non-Hispanic Catholic	14	3	78	5	9	17	68	6	(320)
Total Black Protestant	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	6	56	24	14	(130)
Secular	41	6	41	12	30	18	40	12	(224)
Community Size									
Large City	17	17	52	14	11	30	49	10	(412)
Suburb	15	7	67	11	13	16	59	12	(475)
Small City/Town	15	12	61	12	11	19	60	10	(695)
Rural Area	11	10	68	11	6	20	63	11	(383)
Party ID									
Republican	5	10	80	5	3	9	82	6	(628)
Democrat	19	11	53	17	15	33	40	12	(598)
Independent	20	12	56	12	13	21	55	11	(622)
Party and Ideology									
Conservative Republican	5	8	82	5	2	9	85	4	(406)
Moderate/Liberal Republican	7	13	77	3	5	11	77	7	(213)
Conservative/Moderate Democrat	10	14	61	15	10	37	43	10	(382)
Liberal Democrat	35	8	39	18	28	27	32	13	(195)
Bush Approval									
Approve	6	10	78	6	4	10	80	6	(1159)
Disapprove	31	13	38	18	22	41	24	13	(660)
2000 Presidential Vote									
Bush	4	9	80	7	3	8	84	5	(760)
Gore	30	11	44	15	22	34	33	11	(539)
Marital Status									
Married	13	10	68	9	10	16	65	9	(1077)
Unmarried	17	12	55	16	11	27	50	12	(910)
Parental Status									
Parent	11	14	63	12	8	22	61	9	(643)
Non-Parent	16	10	61	13	12	20	57	11	(1347)
Labor Union									
Union Household	15	18	59	8	17	20	54	9	(261)
Non-Union Household	15	10	62	13	9	21	59	11	(1710)

VIEWS OF WHETHER ISLAM ENCOURAGES VIOLENCE

	----- March 2002 -----			----- July 2003 -----			Change in more likely to encourage violence
	Islam more likely to encourage violence	Islam does not encourage violence more than others	Neither/ DK/Ref	Islam more likely to encourage violence	Islam does note encourage violence more than others	Neither/ DK/Ref	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Total	25	51	24=100	44	41	15=100	+19
Sex							
Male	28	52	20	46	41	13	+18
Female	22	50	28	41	42	17	+19
Race							
White	26	51	23	45	41	14	+19
Non-white	22	52	26	38	42	20	+16
Black	24	50	26	38	46	16	+14
Hispanic†	n/a	n/a	n/a	45	35	20	--
Race and Sex							
White Men	30	50	20	49	40	11	+19
White Women	23	51	26	41	43	16	+18
Age							
Under 30	25	57	18	34	56	10	+9
30-49	24	53	23	48	41	11	+24
50-64	26	50	24	49	37	14	+23
65+	26	42	32	39	31	30	+13
Sex and Age							
Men under 50	25	56	19	44	46	10	+19
Women under 50	23	53	24	42	46	12	+19
Men 50+	33	47	20	51	32	17	+18
Women 50+	20	46	34	40	36	24	+20
Education							
College Grad.	24	63	13	41	51	8	+17
Some College	26	52	22	45	43	12	+19
High School Grad.	25	47	28	46	37	17	+21
<H.S. Grad.	28	37	35	41	33	26	+13
Family Income							
\$75,000+	25	64	11	44	46	10	+19
\$50,000-\$74,999	24	60	16	51	43	6	+27
\$30,000-\$49,999	20	53	27	46	42	12	+26
\$20,000-\$29,999	35	49	16	44	36	20	+9
<\$20,000	28	43	29	46	39	15	+18

† The designation Hispanic is unrelated to the white-black categorization.

Questions: As I read you a pair of statements, tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your own views even if neither is exactly right... The Islamic religion is more likely than others to encourage violence among its believers, OR The Islamic religion does not encourage violence more than others.

Continued ...

Table continued from previous page

	----- March 2002 -----			----- July 2003 -----			Change in more likely to encourage violence
	Islam more likely to encourage violence	Islam does not encourage violence more than others	Neither/DK/Ref	Islam more likely to encourage violence	Islam does not encourage violence more than others	Neither/DK/Ref	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Total	25	51	24=100	44	41	15=100	+19
Region							
East	24	55	21	47	41	12	+23
Midwest	23	50	27	44	41	15	+21
South	31	44	25	43	38	19	+12
West	18	61	21	40	48	12	+22
Religious Affiliation							
Tot White Mainline Protestant	25	54	21	50	33	17	+25
Tot. Wh. Evangelical Protestant	36	36	28	51	36	13	+15
Tot. Wh. Non-Hispanic Catholic	25	57	18	39	49	12	+14
Secular	18	61	21	38	48	14	+20
Community Size							
Large City	20	56	24	41	48	11	+21
Suburb	28	56	16	43	46	11	+15
Small City/Town	24	49	27	44	39	17	+20
Rural Area	29	46	25	47	35	18	+18
Party ID							
Republican	33	47	20	53	33	14	+20
Democrat	22	55	23	44	42	14	+22
Independent	26	53	21	34	53	13	+8
Party and Ideology							
Conservative Republican	38	43	19	60	29	11	+22
Moderate/Liberal Republican	27	53	20	44	39	17	+17
Conserv./Moderate Democrat	25	51	24	52	35	13	+27
Liberal Democrat	20	65	15	30	61	9	+10
2000 Presidential Vote							
Bush	30	51	19	51	34	15	+21
Gore	22	60	18	41	47	12	+19
Bush Approval							
Approve	n/a	n/a	n/a	48	39	13	--
Disapprove	n/a	n/a	n/a	38	48	14	--
Marital Status							
Married	23	53	24	46	40	14	+23
Unmarried	28	49	23	41	44	15	+13
Parental Status							
Parent	27	48	25	46	43	11	+19
Non-Parent	24	53	23	42	41	17	+18
Labor Union							
Yes	24	54	22	44	41	15	+20
No	25	51	24	44	41	15	+19

VIEWS OF THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN CONFLICT

	<i>Sympathize More with...</i>				<i>Most Important Influence among Those Who Sympathize with Israel</i>		<i>Believe in Biblical Prophecy about Israel and Jesus</i>		
	<u>Israel</u>	<u>Palestinians</u>	<u>Both</u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>Religion Most Important</u>	<u>Other Factors/DK</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total	41	13	8	18	26	74=100	36	46	18=100
Sex									
Male	43	15	7	20	21	79	33	50	17
Female	39	11	9	17	30	70	40	41	19
Race									
White	41	12	8	19	24	76	34	48	18
Non-white	41	15	9	18	32	68	47	37	16
Black	40	14	7	16	36	64	51	33	16
Hispanic†	40	13	7	21	24	76	41	41	18
Race and Sex									
White Men	44	14	7	21	20	80	30	54	16
White Women	39	10	8	17	29	71	37	42	20
Age									
Under 30	44	12	6	18	23	77	40	44	16
30-49	41	13	8	17	25	75	40	44	16
50-64	45	11	8	21	26	74	34	47	19
65+	33	14	8	20	27	73	27	48	25
Sex and Age									
Men under 50	43	15	6	19	21	79	37	47	16
Women under 50	41	11	9	16	29	71	42	41	17
Men 50+	43	14	7	22	22	78	25	56	19
Women 50+	37	11	9	19	31	69	36	41	23
Education									
College Grad.	39	17	10	18	22	78	24	60	16
Some College	46	9	8	19	24	76	35	48	17
High School or Less	40	12	7	19	29	71	43	37	20
Family Income									
\$75,000+	45	14	9	17	26	74	27	58	15
\$50,000-\$74,999	41	16	8	19	23	77	33	50	17
\$30,000-\$49,999	47	11	8	17	22	78	35	47	18
\$20,000-\$29,999	37	10	4	21	31	69	40	41	19
<\$20,000	36	12	9	19	24	76	50	34	16

† The designation Hispanic is unrelated to the white-black categorization.

Questions: In the dispute between Israel and the Palestinians, which side do you sympathize with more, Israel or the Palestinians? **IF ANSWER GIVEN, ASK:** Which one of the following has had the biggest influence on your thinking on this issue? A personal experience, the views of your friends and family, what you have seen or read in the media, your religious beliefs, your education, or something else (**RANDOMIZE**)?

Some people say that the state of Israel is a fulfillment of the biblical prophecy about the second coming of Jesus. Do you believe that this is true, or not? **Continued ...**

Table Continued from previous page

	<i>Sympathize More with...</i>				<i>Most Important Influence among Those Who Sympathize with Israel</i>		<i>Believe in Biblical Prophecy about Israel and Jesus</i>			
	<u>Israel</u>	<u>Palestinians</u>	<u>Both</u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>Religion Most Important</u>	<u>Other Factors/DK</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK</u>	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Total	41	13	8	18	26	74=100	36	46	18=100	
Region										
East	36	15	10	20	18	82	30	52	18	
Midwest	38	13	6	22	24	76	28	50	22	
South	46	10	8	15	32	68	49	34	17	
West	39	14	9	19	24	76	30	55	15	
Religious Affiliation										
Total White Mainline Protestant	34	17	10	19	8	92	44	38	18	
Total Wh. Evangelical Protestant	55	6	6	12	46	54	21	58	21	
Total Wh. Non-Hispanic Catholic	40	13	6	22	6	94	25	55	20	
Total Black Protestant	41	12	6	18	N/A	N/A	55	26	19	
Secular	24	20	11	26	N/A	N/A	7	76	17	
Community Size										
Large City	40	14	8	17	32	68	36	48	16	
Suburb	43	11	10	19	21	79	31	51	18	
Small City/Town	41	12	6	18	25	75	41	40	19	
Rural Area	40	12	7	21	28	72	37	44	19	
Party ID										
Republican	53	10	5	13	27	73	40	44	16	
Democrat	37	16	9	17	27	73	38	45	17	
Independent	36	13	9	24	23	77	33	49	18	
Party and Ideology										
Conservative Republican	58	8	6	13	34	66	48	38	14	
Moderate/Liberal Republican	47	14	4	11	14	86	27	54	19	
Conservative/Moderate Democrat	43	13	7	17	27	73	42	41	17	
Liberal Democrat	26	23	11	17	N/A	N/A	29	56	15	
Bush Approval										
Approve	49	10	7	16	27	73	41	41	18	
Disapprove	33	19	10	19	23	77	29	56	15	
2000 Presidential Vote										
Bush	51	9	8	15	30	70	41	41	18	
Gore	36	17	10	20	24	76	27	56	17	
Marital Status										
Married	45	12	7	19	29	71	36	46	18	
Unmarried	37	13	8	18	22	78	37	45	18	
Parental Status										
Parent	45	11	7	17	27	73	40	43	17	
Non-Parent	39	13	8	19	26	74	35	47	19	
Labor Union										
Union Household	38	18	7	22	28	72	33	51	16	
Non-Union Household	42	12	8	18	26	74	37	45	18	

PROFILE OF RELIGIOUS GROUPS†

	<u>Total</u> %	<u>White Mainline Protestant</u> %	<u>White Evangelical Protestant</u> %	<u>White Non-Hispanic Catholic</u> %	<u>Mormon</u> %	<u>Black Mainline Protestant</u> %	<u>Black Evangelical Protestant</u> %	<u>Black Non-Christian</u> %	<u>Hispanic Catholic</u> %	<u>Hispanic Non-Catholic</u> %	<u>Jewish</u> %	<u>Secular†</u> %
Sex												
Male	48	49	43	47	48	48	36	52	53	49	56	60
Female	<u>52</u> 100	<u>51</u> 100	<u>57</u> 100	<u>53</u> 100	<u>52</u> 100	<u>52</u> 100	<u>64</u> 100	<u>48</u> 100	<u>47</u> 100	<u>51</u> 100	<u>44</u> 100	<u>40</u> 100
Race												
White	80	100	100	100	92	--	--	--	66	61	90	80
Non-white	18	--	--	--	7	100	100	100	26	32	10	18
Black	12	--	--	--	2	100	100	100	4	12	4	8
Age												
Under 30	21	15	14	15	27	31	21	43	33	41	18	35
30-49	40	38	37	44	40	41	43	40	45	39	36	41
50-64	22	25	24	22	18	20	23	11	15	13	30	16
65+	16	21	24	18	14	7	13	5	7	6	15	7
Education												
College Grad.	26	30	19	29	21	16	16	18	15	16	50	29
Some College	27	26	26	29	36	28	27	29	28	28	29	27
High School Grad.	32	31	37	34	32	36	36	37	32	35	19	28
<H.S. Grad	15	13	18	8	10	19	20	16	25	20	2	16
Region												
East	20	19	9	37	5	22	13	28	16	15	44	19
Midwest	23	28	26	30	5	16	18	21	8	10	10	24
South	36	34	50	20	16	52	62	39	32	38	22	27
West	21	19	15	13	74	10	7	12	44	37	24	30
# of Interviews	(15,261)	(3,468)	(3,604)	(2,856)	(259)	(349)	(675)	(197)	(552)	(472)	(282)	(1565)
Percent of total population	100%	21%	23%	17%	2%	3%	6%	2%	6%	5%	2%	11%

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

† This analysis is based on 15,261 interviews conducted from January - July 2003.

† "Secular" (in this table only) is defined as those answering as "No religion; Not a believer; Atheist, or Agnostic."

Continued ...

PROFILE OF RELIGIOUS GROUPS Continued

	<u>Total</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>White Non-</u>	<u>Mormon</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Hispanic</u>	<u>Hispanic</u>	<u>Hispanic</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Secularist</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>Mainline</u>	<u>Evangelical</u>	<u>Protestant</u>	<u>Hispanic</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Mainline</u>	<u>Evangelical</u>	<u>Protestant</u>	<u>Non-</u>	<u>Catholic</u>	<u>Catholic</u>	<u>Catholic</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
		<u>Protestant</u>	<u>Protestant</u>	<u>Protestant</u>	<u>Catholic</u>		<u>Protestant</u>	<u>Protestant</u>	<u>Protestant</u>	<u>Christian</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>		
Family Income															
\$75,000+	18	22	15	15	24	16	12	9	12	12	10	11	10	34	20
\$50,000-\$74,999	15	16	16	16	18	15	12	10	8	8	13	15	13	14	15
\$30,000-\$49,999	22	21	23	23	22	26	20	22	26	26	23	25	23	15	22
\$20,000-\$29,999	13	11	14	14	10	10	18	19	19	19	15	15	15	8	14
<\$20,000	18	16	18	18	12	18	23	29	25	25	25	23	25	10	18
Community Size															
Large City	20	15	13	13	15	17	38	37	43	43	29	32	29	35	23
Suburb	23	22	18	18	31	27	19	16	21	21	24	19	24	38	25
Small City/Town	36	38	38	38	34	38	32	34	26	26	34	39	34	19	33
Rural Area	20	24	30	30	19	18	10	11	7	7	11	9	11	7	18
Party ID															
Republican	31	35	49	49	33	50	4	9	6	6	25	19	25	23	15
Democrat	31	26	22	22	29	12	71	68	46	46	32	41	32	43	28
Independent	31	32	23	23	33	32	19	17	37	37	32	30	32	28	48
Bush Approval															
Approve	63	66	80	80	70	82	32	32	23	23	60	61	60	49	48
Disapprove	28	25	13	13	23	11	56	58	66	66	30	29	30	44	42
No Opinion	9	9	7	7	7	7	12	10	11	11	10	10	10	7	10
# of Interviews	(15,261)	(3,468)	(3,604)	(3,604)	(2,856)	(259)	(349)	(675)	(197)	(197)	(472)	(552)	(472)	(282)	(1565)
Percent of total population	100%	21%	23%	23%	17%	2%	3%	6%	2%	2%	5%	6%	5%	2%	11%

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

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS
AND PEW FORUM ON RELIGION AND PUBLIC LIFE
2003 RELIGION AND PUBLIC LIFE SURVEY
FINAL TOPLINE
June 24 - July 8, 2003
N=2002**

Q.1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling his job as president? **[IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF DEPENDS PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling his job as President? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]**

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
Mid-July, 2003	58	32	10=100
Early July, 2003	60	29	11=100
June, 2003	62	27	11=100
May, 2003	65	27	8=100
April 10-16, 2003	72	22	6=100
April 9, 2003	74	20	6=100
April 2-7, 2003	69	25	6=100
March 28-April 1, 2003	71	23	6=100
March 25-27, 2003	70	24	6=100
March 20-24, 2003	67	26	7=100
March 13-16, 2003	55	34	11=100
February, 2003	54	36	10=100
January, 2003	58	32	10=100
December, 2002	61	28	11=100
Late October, 2002	59	29	12=100
Early October, 2002	61	30	9=100
Mid-September, 2002	67	22	11=100
Early September, 2002	63	26	11=100
Late August, 2002	60	27	13=100
August, 2002	67	21	12=100
Late July, 2002	65	25	10=100
July, 2002	67	21	12=100
June, 2002	70	20	10=100
April, 2002	69	18	13=100
Early April, 2002	74	16	10=100
February, 2002	78	13	9=100
January, 2002	80	11	9=100
Mid-November, 2001	84	9	7=100
Early October, 2001	84	8	8=100
Late September, 2001	86	7	7=100
Mid-September, 2001	80	9	11=100
Early September, 2001	51	34	15=100
August, 2001	50	32	18=100
July, 2001	51	32	17=100
June, 2001	50	33	17=100
May, 2001	53	32	15=100
April, 2001	56	27	17=100
March, 2001	55	25	20=100
February, 2001	53	21	26=100

Q.2 I'd like to get your views on some issues that are being discussed in this country today. All in all, do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose [READ AND RANDOMIZE; OBSERVE FORM SPLITS] Do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose [NEXT ITEM]

		Strongly		Strongly		DK/
		Favor	Favor	Oppose	Oppose	Ref
ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=1001]:						
a.F1	The death penalty for persons convicted of murder	28	36	20	10	6=100
	March, 2002	33	34	17	9	7=100
	March, 2001	30	36	17	10	7=100
	September, 1999	41	33	15	7	4=100
	June, 1996	43	35	11	7	4=100

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1001]:

b.F2	The death penalty for persons convicted of murder when they were under the age of 18?	11	24	38	20	7=100
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ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=1001]:

c.F1	Making it legal for doctors to give terminally ill patients the means to end their lives	18	36	22	17	7=100
	March, 2001	19	34	22	18	7=100

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1001]:

d.F2	Making it legal for doctors to assist terminally ill patients in committing suicide	14	29	24	24	9=100
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ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=1001]:

e.F1	Allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally	10	28	23	30	9=100
	March, 2001	8	27	23	34	8=100
	June, 1996	6	21	24	41	8=100

ASK ALL:

Q.3 Looking ahead, would you like to see George W. Bush re-elected President in 2004 or would you prefer that a Democratic candidate win the election? [INTERVIEWER: IF R SAYS "OTHER" OR "SOMEONE ELSE," PROBE ONCE BEFORE CODING AS OTHER]

	----- Total -----			----- Registered Voters -----		
	Bush Re-elected	Prefer Democrat	Other/ DK	Bush Re-elected	Prefer Democrat	Other/ DK
Mid-July, 2003	45	37	18=100	47	37	16=100 (N=1546)
April, 2003	46	35	19=100	48	34	18=100
Late March, 2003 ³ (Gallup)	51	36	13=100	51	36	13=100
Mid-March, 2003 (Gallup)	45	42	13=100	45	42	13=100
February, 1992	40	48	12=100	39	49	12=100
January, 1992	42	42	16=100	41	45	14=100
November, 1991	41	43	16=100	41	44	15=100

³ The March 2003 trends are from Gallup and were worded: "If George W. Bush runs for re-election in 2004, in general are you more likely to vote for Bush or for the Democratic Party's candidate for president?"

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=1001]:

Q.4F1 At the present time, do you think religion as a whole is increasing its influence on American life or losing its influence?

	<u>Increasing Influence</u>	<u>Losing Influence</u>	<u>Same (VOL)</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
Mid-July, 2003	30	56	5	9=100
March, 2002	37	52	3	8=100
December, 2001 (<i>Gallup</i>)	71	24	2	3=100
Mid-November, 2001	78	12	3	7=100
March, 2001	37	55	4	4=100
March, 2000 (<i>Gallup</i>)	37	58	0	5=100
June, 1998 (<i>Gallup</i>)	37	56	4	3=100
March, 1994 (<i>Gallup</i>)	27	69	2	2=100
March, 1988 (<i>Gallup</i>)	36	49	6	9=100
June, 1984 (<i>Gallup</i>)	42	39	14	6=100
December, 1978 (<i>Gallup</i>)	37	48	10	5=100
December, 1974 (<i>Gallup</i>)	31	56	8	5=100
April, 1968 (<i>Gallup</i>)	19	67	8	7=100
February, 1965 (<i>Gallup</i>)	33	45	13	8=100
February, 1962 (<i>Gallup</i>)	45	32	17	7=100
March, 1957 (<i>Gallup</i>)	69	14	10	6=100

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1001]:

Q.5F2 At the present time, do you think religion as a whole is increasing its influence in THE WORLD or losing its influence?

	<u>Increasing Influence</u>	<u>Losing Influence</u>	<u>Same (VOL)</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
Mid-July, 2003	36	51	4	9=100
March, 2002	38	50	3	9=100

ASK ALL:

Q.6 Now thinking about some specific religious groups... Is your overall opinion of [INSERT FIRST ITEM, RANDOMIZE; ITEM g/h SHOULD ALWAYS COME LAST. OBSERVE FORM SPLITS] very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? [INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE."]

		<u>Very Favor- able</u>	<u>Mostly Favor- able</u>	<u>Mostly Unfavor- able</u>	<u>Very Unfavor- able</u>	<u>Never Heard Of</u>	<u>Can't Rate</u>
a.	Catholics	21	48	12	6	*	13=100
	March, 2002	19	55	9	4	*	13=100
	Mid-November, 2001	29	49	5	3	*	14=100
	March, 2001	19	55	10	3	1	12=100
	September, 2000 (<i>RVs</i>)	29	49	6	3	*	13=100

Q.6 CONTINUED...

		Very Favorable	Mostly Favorable	Mostly Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable	Never Heard Of	Can't Rate
b.	Jews	20	52	6	3	1	18=100
	March, 2002	18	56	7	2	*	17=100
	Mid-November, 2001	24	51	5	2	*	18=100
	March, 2001	16	56	8	2	*	18=100
	September, 2000 (RVs)	27	50	5	3	*	15=100
	June, 1997	26	56	7	2	1	8=100
c.	Evangelical Christians	18	40	12	6	3	21=100
	March, 2002	13	42	13	5	7	20=100
	March, 2001	13	42	12	4	8	21=100
	September, 2000 (RVs)	21	42	13	3	3	18=100
	February, 1996	13	26	23	15	11	12=100
	July, 1994	10	33	22	10	11	14=100
	May, 1990	12	31	19	19	7	12=100
d.	Protestants	20	50	7	3	2	18=100
	March, 2002	20	54	6	2	1	17=100
	Mid-November, 2001	28	49	3	2	1	17=100
ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=1001]:							
e.F1	Muslim Americans	10	41	15	9	1	24=100
	March, 2002	8	46	14	8	2	22=100
	Mid-November, 2001	15	44	12	5	1	23=100
	March, 2001	7	38	16	8	4	27=100
	September, 2000 (RVs)	11	39	13	8	2	27=100
ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1001]:							
f.F2	Muslims	9	38	19	12	1	21=100
	March, 2002	7	40	18	11	1	23=100
ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=1001]:							
g.F1	Atheists, that is, people who don't believe in God	7	27	19	33	*	14=100
	March, 2002	5	29	23	31	*	12=100
	Mid-November, 2001	7	25	21	28	*	19=100
	March, 2001	4	25	22	35	*	14=100
	September, 2000 (RVs)	8	24	20	32	*	16=100
ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1001]:							
h.F2	People who are not religious	9	41	19	14	*	17=100
	March, 2002	9	42	19	11	*	19=100

ASK ALL:

On another subject...

Q.7 In your opinion, should churches and other houses of worship keep out of political matters — or should they express their views on day-to-day social and political questions?

		March <u>2001</u>	Sept <u>2000⁴</u>	June <u>1996</u>	— <i>Gallup</i> —	
					<u>Feb 1968</u>	<u>March 1957</u>
44	Should keep out	43	45	43	53	44
52	Should express views	51	51	54	40	48
<u>4</u>	No opinion	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100

Q.8 If clergy **DO** speak out on issues, should they reflect the views of the members of their congregation, or should they express their own views, even if most members disagree?

36	Reflect views of members
52	Express their own views
4	Should not give views (VOL.)
<u>8</u>	No opinion (VOL.)
100	

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=1001]:

Q.9F1 Do you think there has been too much, too little or the right amount of expressions of religious faith and prayer by political leaders?

		March <u>2002⁵</u>	Early Oct <u>2001⁶</u>
21	Too much	16	12
41	Too little	24	22
29	Right amount	53	60
<u>9</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>
100		100	100

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1001]:

Q.10F2 Do you think George W. Bush mentions his religious faith and prayer too much, too little, or about the right amount?

14	Too much
11	Too little
62	About the right amount
<u>13</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100	

⁴ September 2000 results are based on registered voters. In 2000 and earlier, the question did not include “and other houses of worship.”

⁵ In March 2002 the question was worded, “Since September 11th, has there been too much, too little or the right amount of expressions of religious faith and prayer by political leaders?”

⁶ In Early October 2001 the question was part of a series and began, “As I read from a list, tell me if you think there has been too much, too little or the right amount of what I mention.”

ASK ALL:

Q.11 How much do you think George W. Bush relies on his own religious beliefs in making policy decisions – a great deal, a fair amount, or not very much?

20 A great deal
 40 A fair amount
 31 Not very much
9 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
 100

Q.12 In making policy decisions, do you think he relies on his religious beliefs too much, too little or about the right amount?

10 Too much
 21 Too little
 58 About the right amount
11 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
 100

Q.13 In the dispute between Israel and the Palestinians, which side do you sympathize with more, Israel or the Palestinians?

	<u>Israel</u>	<u>Palestinians</u>	<u>Both</u> (VOL)	<u>Neither</u> (VOL)	<u>DK/Ref</u>
Mid-July, 2003	41	13	8	18	20=100
June, 2002	46	12	6	19	17=100
Early April, 2002	41	13	6	21	19=100
Mid-October, 2001	47	10	8	18	17=100
Early September, 2001	40	17	6	23	14=100
September, 1997	48	13	5	16	18=100
September, 1993	45	21	3	18	12=100
Chicago CFR: 1990	34	13	7	26	20=100
Chicago CFR: 1982	41	17	8	19	16=100
Chicago CFR: 1978	39	12	8	15	13=100

IF ANSWER GIVEN (1-4 IN Q.13), ASK [N=1610]:

Q.14 Which one of the following has had the biggest influence on your thinking on this issue (The dispute between Israel and the Palestinians)... (READ; RANDOMIZE OPTIONS 1 THRU 5)

		<i>Sympathize more with...</i>	
		<u>Israel</u>	<u>Palestinians</u>
8	A personal experience	7	10
4	The views of your friends and family	6	2
33	What you have seen or read in the media	34	37
20	Your religious beliefs	26	11
21	Your education	18	30
10	OR Something else (ALWAYS END WITH THIS)	7	9
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
100		100	100
		(N=819)	(N=266)

ASK ALL:

Q.15 Some people believe God gave the land that is now Israel to the Jewish people. Other people do not believe this is literally true. Which comes closer to your own view?

44 Believe Israel given to the Jewish people by God
 36 Don't believe this is literally true
20 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
 100

Q.16 Some people say that the state of Israel is a fulfillment of the biblical prophecy about the second coming of Jesus. Do you believe that this is true, or not?

36 Yes, true
 46 No, not true
18 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
 100

Now, a few questions about your religious affiliation.

Q.17 What is your religious preference – do you consider yourself Christian, Jewish, Muslim, other non-Christian such as Buddhist or Hindu, atheist, agnostic, something else, or don't you have a religious preference?

		March <u>2002</u>	March <u>2001</u>	June <u>1996</u> ⁷
81	Christian	82	82	84
2	Jewish	1	1	1
*	Muslim	*	1	*
4	Other non-Christian	1	2	3
2	Atheist	1	1	n/a
3	Agnostic	2	2	n/a
1	Something else (SPECIFY)	2	1	n/a
6	No preference	10	8	11
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
100		100	100	100

IF 1 'CHRISTIAN' IN Q.17, ASK:

Q.18 Are you Protestant, Catholic, Mormon, Orthodox – such as Greek or Russian Orthodox, or something else?

		March <u>2002</u>	March <u>2001</u>	June <u>1996</u>
52	Protestant	52	53	54
23	Catholic	24	23	23
1	Mormon	2	2	2
*	Orthodox	*	1	1
1	Something else (SPECIFY)	2	*	1
-	Not practicing any religion	-	-	1
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>
81%	Christian	82%	82%	84%

⁷ In 1996, question was worded: "What is your religious preference – do you consider yourself Christian, Jewish, Muslim, other non-Christian, or don't you have a religious preference?"

IF 1 'CHRISTIAN' OR 7 'SOMETHING ELSE' IN Q.17, ASK:

Q.19 Would you describe yourself as a "born again" or evangelical Christian, or not?

		March <u>2002</u>	March <u>2001</u>	June <u>1996</u>
37	Yes	35	36	34
41	No	44	43	47
<u>4</u>	Don't Know/Refused	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>
82%	Christian/Something else	84%	83%	84%

IF CATHOLIC (Q.18=2), ASK:

Q.20 Please tell me which if any of the following descriptions apply to you: traditional Catholic, or progressive Catholic?

		June <u>1996</u>
13	Traditional Catholic, OR	11
8	Progressive Catholic	10
1	Neither (VOL)	1
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL)	<u>1</u>
23%	Catholic	23%

ASK ALL:

Q.21 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?

		March <u>2003</u>	March <u>2002</u>	Mid-Nov <u>2001</u>	March <u>2001</u>	Sept <u>2000</u> ⁸	June <u>1997</u>	June <u>1996</u>
16	More than once a week	15	15	16	17	17	12	14
27	Once a week	24	25	26	26	28	26	25
15	Once or twice a month	15	17	14	17	16	17	17
18	A few times a year	21	18	17	17	17	20	21
14	Seldom	15	15	16	15	13	15	13
10	Never	9	9	10	7	8	10	9
<u>*</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>1</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.22 How important would you say religion is in your own life – very important, fairly important, or not very important?

	Very <u>Important</u>	Fairly <u>Important</u>	Not very <u>Important</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
Mid-July, 2003	61	24	14	1=100
December, 2002	60	27	12	1=100
March, 2002	63	24	12	1=100
Mid-November, 2001	61	24	14	1=100
March, 2001	64	23	12	1=100
March, 2000 (<i>Gallup</i>)	61	27	12	*=100

⁸ September 2000 results are based on registered voters.

Q.22 CONTINUED...

	Very <u>Important</u>	Fairly <u>Important</u>	Not very <u>Important</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
June, 1998 (<i>Gallup</i>)	62	25	12	1=100
June, 1996	59	26	15	*=100
March, 1994 (<i>Gallup</i>)	59	29	11	1=100
March, 1988 (<i>Gallup</i>)	54	31	14	1=100
March, 1984 (<i>Gallup</i>)	56	30	13	1=100
April, 1978 (<i>Gallup</i>)	52	32	14	2=100
November, 1965 (<i>Gallup</i>)	70	22	7	1=100

Q.23 In recent years do you attend religious services more often, less often, or has there been no change?

New York Times
Dec 1995

24	More often	20
19	Less often	21
56	No change	58
<u>1</u>	Don't know/No answer (VOL.)	<u>1</u>
100		100

Q.24F1/

Q.25F2 Which of these statements comes closest to describing your feelings about the Bible?

<u>Total</u>	Standard <u>Order</u> ⁹	Reverse <u>Order</u>		March <u>2001</u>	June <u>1996</u>
35	32	38	The Bible is the actual word of God and is to be taken literally, word for word, OR	36	35
43	42	44	The Bible is the word of God, but not everything in it should be taken literally, word for word, OR	43	47
16	19	13	The Bible is a book written by men and is not the word of God.	14	14
2	2	2	Other (VOL.)	3	2
<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>
100	100	100		100	100

(N=1001)(N=1001)

ASK ALL:

On another subject...

Q.26 How much would you say you know about the Muslim religion and its practices? [**READ, IN ORDER**]

		March <u>2002</u>	Mid-Nov <u>2001</u>
4	A great deal	5	6
27	Some	29	32
39	Not very much	37	37
29	Nothing at all	28	24
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
100		100	100

⁹ Form 1 of this question was asked in the order in which the response categories appear. Form 2 of the question was asked in the reverse order.

ASK FORM 1 ONLY:

ASK ONLY IF R HAS A RELIGION OTHER THAN ISLAM (1,2,4,7 IN Q.17) [N=858]:

Q.27F1 From what you know, do you think that the Muslim religion and your own religion have a lot in common, or do you think that the Muslim religion and your religion are very different?

		March <u>2002</u>	Mid-Nov <u>2001</u>
22	A lot in common	27	31
60	Very different	57	52
<u>18</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>16</u>	<u>17</u>
100		100	100

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1001]:

Q.28F2 Would you say you have a generally favorable or unfavorable opinion of Islam?

		March <u>2002</u>	----- <i>ABC/Beliefnet</i> ----- <u>Jan 2002</u>	<u>Oct 2001</u>
40	Favorable	38	41	47
34	Unfavorable	33	24	39
<u>26</u>	No Opinion	<u>29</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>13</u>
100		100	100	100

ASK ALL:

Q.29 Next, I would like to ask you some questions about the Muslim religion. Not everyone will know about them. First **[READ AND RANDOMIZE]**

		Correct <u>Answer</u>	Incorrect <u>Answer</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
a.	Do you happen to know what name Muslims use to refer to God? [<i>Allah</i>]	45	9	46=100
	March, 2002	47	11	42=100
b.	Do you happen to know the name of the Islamic equivalent to the Bible? [<i>Koran</i>]	42	4	54=100
	March, 2002	43	8	49=100

On another subject...

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=1001]:

Q.30F1 Here are some statements made by prominent U.S. political leaders. For each statement, please tell me whether you are comfortable or uncomfortable with a political leader making this kind of religious reference. First, **[READ AND RANDOMIZE]**

	<u>Comfortable</u>	<u>Uncomfortable</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
a. "The liberty we prize is not America's gift to the world, it is God's gift to humanity."	67	27	6=100
b. "I have never believed the Constitution required our schools to be religion-free zones...."	44	49	7=100
c. "Unique among the nations, America recognized the source of our character as being godly and eternal...."	54	38	8=100
d. "...[T]he Constitution promises freedom OF religion, not freedom FROM religion."	71	24	5=100

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1001]:

Q.31F2 Here are some statements made by prominent U.S. political leaders. For each statement, please tell me whether you are comfortable or uncomfortable with a political leader making this kind of religious reference. First, **[READ AND RANDOMIZE]**

	<u>Comfortable</u>	<u>Uncomfortable</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
a. President George W. Bush said "The liberty we prize is not America's gift to the world, it is God's gift to humanity."	73	22	5=100
b. President Bill Clinton said "I have never believed the Constitution required our schools to be religion-free zones...."	59	34	7=100
c. Attorney General John Ashcroft said "Unique among the nations, America recognized the source of our character as being godly and eternal...."	56	34	10=100
d. Senator Joe Lieberman said "...[T]he Constitution promises freedom OF religion, not freedom FROM religion."	70	23	7=100

ASK ALL:

Q.32 Do you believe that it is proper or improper for journalists to ask politicians how their religious beliefs affect their opinions on issues of the day?

IF "IMPROPER" (2 IN Q.32) ASK:

Q.33 Do you think it's proper or improper for journalists to do this if the politician talks about his or her religious beliefs first?

57	Proper
39	Improper
20	Proper, if politician talks about it first
17	Improper, if politician talks about it first
2	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100	

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=1001]:

Q.34F1 Between now and the 2004 political conventions, there will be discussion about the qualifications of presidential candidates--their education, age, religion, race, and so on. If your party nominated a generally well-qualified person for president who happened to be...[INSERT ITEM, RANDOMIZE], would you vote for that person?

		Yes, would			Don't Know/			-Rotation Experiment ¹⁰ -			
		<u>vote for</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Refused</u>				DK/			
						<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Refused</u>			
a.	Catholic - <i>Precedes item c.</i>	90	8	2=100	(N=521)	<i>Follows item c.</i>	85	10	5=100	(N=480)	
	May, 2003 (<i>Gallup</i>)	93	5	2=100							
	February, 1999 (<i>Gallup</i>)	94	4	2=100							
	April, 1983 (<i>Gallup</i>)	92	5	3=100							
	July, 1978 (<i>Gallup</i>)	91	4	5=100							
	March, 1969 (<i>Gallup</i>)	87	7	5=100							
	April, 1967 (<i>Gallup</i>)	90	8	2=100							
	July, 1965 (<i>Gallup</i>)	87	10	3=100							
	August, 1963 (<i>Gallup</i>)	84	13	3=100							
	August, 1961 (<i>Gallup</i>)	82	13	5=100							
	May, 1960 (<i>Gallup</i>)	71	21	8=100							
	December, 1959 (<i>Gallup</i>)	70	25	5=100							
	April, 1959 (<i>Gallup</i>)	70	21	9=100							
	September, 1958 (<i>Gallup</i>)	67	27	6=100							
	August, 1958 (<i>Gallup</i>)	69	24	7=100							
	July, 1958 (<i>Gallup</i>)	72	24	4=100							
	May, 1958 (<i>Gallup</i>)	72	21	7=100							
	April, 1958 (<i>Gallup</i>)	70	22	8=100							
	June, 1956 (<i>Gallup</i>)	72	22	5=100							
	January, 1955 (<i>Gallup</i>)	69	23	8=100							
	March, 1940 (<i>Gallup</i>)	61	33	7=100							
	February, 1937 (<i>Gallup</i>)	60	30	10=100							
b.	Jewish - <i>Precedes item c.</i>	85	10	5=100	(N=525)	<i>Follows item c.</i>	80	15	5=100	(N=476)	
	May, 2003 (<i>Gallup</i>)	89	8	3=100							
	February, 1999 (<i>Gallup</i>)	92	6	2=100							
	July, 1987 (<i>Gallup</i>)	89	6	5=100							
	April, 1983 (<i>Gallup</i>)	88	7	5=100							
	July, 1978 (<i>Gallup</i>)	82	12	6=100							
	March, 1969 (<i>Gallup</i>)	86	8	6=100							
	April, 1967 (<i>Gallup</i>)	82	13	5=100							
	July, 1965 (<i>Gallup</i>)	80	15	5=100							
	August, 1963 (<i>Gallup</i>)	77	17	6=100							
	August, 1961 (<i>Gallup</i>)	68	23	9=100							
	December, 1959 (<i>Gallup</i>)	72	22	6=100							
	September, 1958 (<i>Gallup</i>)	63	29	7=100							
	August, 1958 (<i>Gallup</i>)	62	28	10=100							
	February, 1937 (<i>Gallup</i>)	46	47	8=100							
c.	Muslim	56	38	6=100	(N=1001)						

¹⁰ ROTATION EXPERIMENT: Q.34F1 items a. through e. were read to respondents in a random order. Past Gallup surveys did not include the "Muslim" item. To see whether the presence of the Muslim item affects responses to other religious items, responses are shown here based on whether the Muslim item came before or after the item in question. Instances where the item *preceeded* the Muslim item are reported here as consistent with the Gallup trend.

		Yes, would			Don't Know/			-Rotation Experiment ⁸ -		
		<u>vote for</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Refused</u>	DK/			<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Refused</u>
d.	An atheist - <i>Precedes item c.</i>	46	50	4=100	(N=513)	<i>Follows item c.</i>	43	54	3=100	(N=488)
	February, 1999 (<i>Gallup</i>)	49	48	3=100						
	August, 1987 (<i>Gallup</i>)	44	48	8=100						
	April, 1983 (<i>Gallup</i>)	42	51	7=100						
	July, 1978 (<i>Gallup</i>)	40	53	7=100						
	December, 1959 (<i>Gallup</i>)	22	74	5=100						
	September, 1958 (<i>Gallup</i>)	18	77	5=100						
	August, 1958 (<i>Gallup</i>)	18	75	7=100						
e.	An Evangelical Christian - <i>Precedes item c.</i>	79	15	6=100	(N=531)	<i>Follows item c.</i>	74	19	7=100	(N=470)

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1001]:

Q.35F2 Between now and the 2004 political conventions, there will be discussion about the qualifications of presidential candidates--their education, age, religion, race, and so on. Are there any reasons why you might not vote for [INSERT ITEM, RANDOMIZE] for president if he or she were nominated by the party you usually prefer?

		Yes, there are reasons	No,	Don't Know/	
		<u>NOT to vote for</u>	<u>No reasons</u>	<u>Refused</u>	
a.	A Catholic	15	78	7=100	
	<i>Precedes item c.</i> ¹¹	13	80	7=100	(N=480)
	<i>Follows item c.</i>	17	77	6=100	(N=521)
b.	A Jew	14	80	6=100	
	<i>Precedes item c.</i>	9	85	6=100	(N=492)
	<i>Follows item c.</i>	19	75	6=100	(N=509)
c.	A Muslim	31	58	11=100	
d.	An atheist	41	53	6=100	
	<i>Precedes item c.</i>	38	56	6=100	(N=489)
	<i>Follows item c.</i>	43	50	7=100	(N=512)
e.	An Evangelical Christian	20	70	10=100	
	<i>Precedes item c.</i>	19	72	9=100	(N=510)
	<i>Follows item c.</i>	21	67	12=100	(N=491)

¹¹ ROTATION EXPERIMENT: Q.35F2 items a. through e. were read to respondents in a random order. To see whether the presence of the Muslim item affects responses to other religious items, responses are shown here based on whether the Muslim item came before or after the item in question.

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=1001]:

Q.36F1 As I read from a list, please tell me if you would like to see more of this, less of this, or no change in the amount of this in the next few years. First, **[RANDOMIZE]**

		<u>More</u>	<u>Less</u>	<u>No Change</u>	<u>Don't Know/Refused</u>
a.	Religious leaders appearing on television talk shows	26	32	39	3=100
b.	Religious leaders serving as advisers for elected officials	33	28	37	2=100
c.	Religious leaders running for public office	30	29	38	3=100
d.	Religious leaders forming political movements	22	42	33	3=100

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1001]:

Q.37F2 I am going to name several types of groups or organizations. For each, please tell me whether you feel that group is generally friendly toward religion, neutral toward religion, or unfriendly toward religion? Do you think ... **[INSERT ITEM AND RANDOMIZE]** is/are generally friendly, neutral, or unfriendly toward religion?

		<u>Friendly</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Unfriendly</u>	<u>Don't Know/Refused</u>
a.	The Democratic party	42	36	12	10=100
b.	The Republican party	52	27	10	11=100
c.	Hollywood and the makers of movies and TV entertainment shows	16	31	45	8=100
d.	News reporters and the news media	16	41	34	9=100
e.	University professors	18	40	26	16=100
f.	Liberals	26	33	27	14=100
g.	Conservatives	51	25	10	14=100

ASK ALL:

ROTATE Q.38 AND Q.39

Q.38 In the choices and decisions you make in a typical day, how often do you find yourself using your religious beliefs to help you decide what to do – frequently, occasionally, only once in a while, or hardly ever?

		<i>CBS News/New York Times</i>	
		<u>April 2002</u>	<u>Sept 1995¹²</u>
45	Frequently	50	49
22	Occasionally	21	24
14	Only once in a while	14	15
14	Hardly ever	12	10
4	Never (VOL.)	3	2
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>0</u>	<u>n/a</u>
100		100	100

¹² The September 1995 trend is based on those with a religious preference.

Q.39 When you vote in an election, how often do you find yourself using your religious beliefs to help you decide how to vote – frequently, occasionally, only once in a while, or hardly ever?

22	Frequently
16	Occasionally
11	Only once in a while
36	Hardly ever
11	Never (VOL.)
<u>4</u>	Don't vote/Can't vote/Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100	

Q.40 Please tell me if you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly DISagree, or completely disagree with this statement... The government should guarantee health insurance for all citizens, even if it means repealing most of the tax cuts passed under President Bush.

38	Completely agree
34	Mostly agree
14	Mostly disagree
10	Completely disagree
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused [VOL.]
100	

Q.41 Do you see this as strictly a political issue or is it also a moral issue?

33	Strictly a political issue
52	Also a moral issue
11	Both (VOL.)
1	Neither (VOL.)
<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

Q.42 As I read you a pair of statements, tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your own views even if neither is exactly right.

		March 2002
ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=1001]:		
a.F1	Some religions are more likely than others to encourage violence among believers	47
	-OR-	
	Religions are all about the same in this regard	41
	Neither (VOL)	4
	Don't know/Refused	<u>8</u>
		100

		March 2002
ASK FORM 2 ONLY ONLY [N=1001]:		
b.F2	The Islamic religion is more likely than others to encourage violence among its believers	25
	-OR-	
	The Islamic religion does not encourage violence more than others	51
	Neither (VOL)	3
	Don't know/Refused	<u>21</u>
		100

ASK ALL:

Q.43 How much of a role does religion play in causing most wars and conflicts in the world? [**READ, IN ORDER**]

		March <u>2002</u>
44	A great deal	34
35	A fair amount	31
12	Only a little [OR]	20
6	None at all	9
<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>6</u>
100		100

Q.44 Have you heard or read anything about the effort to discourage people from buying Sport Utility Vehicles that asks the question "What would Jesus drive?"

31	Yes
67	No
<u>2</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100	

Q.45 What's your opinion, do you think that Jesus WOULD or WOULD NOT drive an SUV?

29	Would
33	Would not
7	Would not drive/would walk (VOL.)
<u>31</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100	

D.17 And one last short list... [**RANDOMIZE**]

		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
a.	Do you have a friend, colleague, or family member who is gay?	45	52	3=100
	August, 2002	45	53	2=100
	August, 1999	39	60	1=100
b.	Do you own an SUV (Sports Utility Vehicle)?	21	77	2=100
	August, 2002	22	78	*=100
c.	Display the flag at your home, in your office, or on your car	69	29	2=100
	August, 2002	75	25	*=100
d.	Do you happen to have any guns or revolvers in your home?	34	63	3=100
	August, 2002	35	62	3=100
	April, 2000	35	62	3=100
	June, 1997	40	57	3=100
	December, 1993	45	53	2=100
e.	Trade stocks or bonds in the stock markets	29	69	2=100
	August, 2002	34	65	1=100
	August, 1999	25	75	*=100

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2003 METHODOLOGY STUDY/JUNE NII
June 4 - 8, 2003
N=1000

Q.12 What's your impression - how many Muslims around the world are anti-American? **[READ, IN ORDER]**

		March <u>2002</u>
7	Almost all	6
17	Most	12
25	About half	18
24	Some	24
15	Just a few	21
<u>12</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>19</u>
100		100