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# Religion and Politics: The Ambivalent Majority 

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## Religion and Politics: The Ambivalent Majority

Americans embrace a role for religion in the nation's political life, but they are conflicted over the extent and contours of that involvement. Compared to a generation ago, more people are comfortable with churches expressing opinions on social and political matters, yet a solid majority of voters say they are uneasy with members of the clergy espousing their political views from the pulpit. While seven-in-ten voters believe it is important for the president to have religious faith, there is widespread discomfort over politicians who speak publicly about how religious they are.

Churches, synagogues and other religious institutions are overwhelmingly seen as positive forces in addressing society's problems. Yet the public's ambivalence over religion and politics is also reflected in divisions over "charitable choice" - an initiative, approved as part of the 1996 welfare reform bill, which permits faith-based organizations to participate in government-funded social service programs. A narrow majority (54\%) supports funding religious organizations so they can run such government programs as job training or drug treatment services. There is considerably more backing (67\%) when the issue is recast as allowing such groups to apply for government funding, along with other organizations, for these purposes.

At a time when Joe Lieberman's appointment as the first Jew on a major party's

## Mixed Views on Religion's Role

(Based on Registered Voters)
Churches should ...
Express their views 51
Keep out of political matters 45
Don't know $\underline{4}$
Clergymen should ...
Discuss politics 32
Not discuss politics 64
Don't know $\underline{4}$
100
It is important for a president to have strong religious beliefs ...
Agree 70
Disagree 27
Don't know $\underline{3}$
I'm uncomfortable when politicians discuss how religious they are ...
Agree 50
Disagree 45
Don't know $\frac{5}{100}$ presidential ticket has cast a spotlight on religion and politics, the latest Pew Research Center survey shows that 77\% have favorable attitudes toward Jews. That rating has slipped somewhat from $84 \%$ in 1997, but the current favorability mark for Jews is virtually the same as for Catholics (78\%). There actually has been no increase in the number of voters who hold unfavorable impressions of Jews; rather, slightly more voters say they are unable to give an opinion of Jews compared with three years ago.

The image of evangelical Christians has improved markedly in recent years - as the political visibility, if not the influence, of Christian conservatives has waned. Overall, some 63\% of voters rate evangelical Christians favorably, compared with just $41 \%$ in 1996. Some of the biggest
gains have come among Democrats and senior citizens, which are groups that tend to express the most concern about overt expressions of religious beliefs in politics. Six-in-ten Democrats now have favorable impressions of evangelicals, compared with 27\% four years ago.

More Americans regard the Republican Party as the protector of religious values compared with the Democrats (39\% to 30\%, respectively). But the GOP's advantage on this issue has declined over the past four years; in 1996, $47 \%$ saw the Republicans as protectors of religious values while just 32\% named the Democrats. In a more positive trend for the GOP, fewer voters now see the party as too closely tied to religious leaders ( $13 \%$ vs. $20 \%$ in 1996).

This survey of nearly 2,000 registered voters, conducted Aug. 24-Sept. 10, is a collaborative project of The Pew Research Center and The Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life. The Forum is a new organization dedicated to research, discussion and debate on the role of religion in civic engagement, politics and public policy.

## The Observant Majority

A solid majority of voters (61\%) say they attend religious services at least once or twice a month - and 45\% go at least once a week. This is little changed from recent years: in 1997, 59\% of the electorate said they frequently attended services (at least once a month), and virtually the same percentage (60\%) reported frequent attendance in 1996. And nearly six-in-ten (59\%) of those who attend services on a regular or even infrequent basis (at least a few times a year) say they are involved in church activities.

With the high level of religious participation, it is probably not surprising that most Americans see churches, synagogues and other religious organizations as contributing meaningfully to society. Fully $72 \%$ say these organizations help solve important social problems ( $28 \%$ say a great deal, while $44 \%$ say some). Just one-in-four believe religious groups do little or nothing to alleviate the nation's problems.

Republicans are somewhat more likely to see religious groups playing a positive role. Fully one-third of rank-and-file Republicans (34\%) say churches, synagogues and other religious organizations contribute a great deal, compared with just $24 \%$ of Democrats and independents.

## Democrats Favor Charitable Choice

A majority of voters also support funding religious organizations so they can provide social services, although $44 \%$ are opposed. Given that George W. Bush has made charitable choice a centerpiece of his presidential campaign (although it has also been endorsed by Al Gore), the partisan divisions on this question - and the related issue of merely permitting religious groups to apply for government funding - are somewhat surprising.

Fully $61 \%$ of Democrats favor funding religious institutions for these purposes, compared with $46 \%$ of Republicans and $52 \%$ of independents. Support for charitable choice among Democrats is partially driven by strong backing among African-Americans: 74\% of blacks endorse direct funding for these programs (compared with $51 \%$ of whites), while $87 \%$ of blacks favor permitting the churches and other faith-based institutions to apply for government grants (compared with $64 \%$ of whites).

The Center's voter typology highlights these unusual political and ideological disparities. For instance, among Democrat-oriented groups, 74\% of the Partisan Poor - which has a large percentage of minorities and low-income voters - favor the direct funding proposal, compared with $61 \%$ of New Democrats,

| Support for Charitable Choice |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Give government funding | Favor | Oppose | Don't know |
| to religious organizations .. | \% | \% | \% |
| All registered voters | 54 | 44 | $2=100$ |
| Men | 50 | 48 | $2=100$ |
| Women | 58 | 39 | $3=100$ |
| White | 51 | 46 | $3=100$ |
| Black | 74 | 24 | $2=100$ |
| Republican | 46 | 51 | $3=100$ |
| Democrat | 61 | 36 | $3=100$ |
| Independent | 52 | 47 | $1=100$ |
| Allow religious organization to apply for funding ... <br> All registered voters | 67 | 29 | $4=100$ |
| Men | 60 | 37 | $3=100$ |
| Women | 74 | 22 | $4=100$ |
| White | 64 | 32 | $4=100$ |
| Black | 87 | 11 | $2=100$ |
| Republican | 63 | 33 | $4=100$ |
| Democrat | 74 | 23 | $3=100$ |
| Independent | 64 | 33 | $3=100$ | $56 \%$ of Social Conservatives and just 42\% of Liberals. Among GOP-oriented groups, majorities of Moderate Republicans and Populist Republicans (55\% and 54\%, respectively) support funding religious institutions so they can provide social services, compared with $41 \%$ of Staunch Conservatives. ${ }^{1}$

While more women than men are more supportive of both charitable choice alternatives, there also is strong backing for these proposals among those under age 30, who tend to support secular positions on many questions. Nearly seven-in-ten of those under age 30 (68\%) favor direct government funding for faith-based groups; just $46 \%$ of those over age 50 agree.

[^0]College graduates are among the most likely to oppose charitable choice when the question is posed as direct government help to religious institutions (just 44\% support this alternative). But when the issue is presented as a question of religious institutions applying for government grants, along with other organizations, support rises to $63 \%$.

Interestingly, there are not large differences between those who attend religious services often and those who seldom attend on the question of providing direct government funding for church-based institutions. While 59\% of those who attend services more than once a week support that proposal, $52 \%$ of those who seldom attend (less than a few times a year) agree.

## Politicians and Religion

Most voters (70\%) want the president to be a person of faith. But half of the electorate expresses unease with politicians, presidential contenders and others, who talk too much about their religious beliefs.

Overall, women are somewhat more likely than men to want a president with strong religious beliefs ( $74 \%$ vs. 65\%). At the same time, women are slightly less likely than men to feel uncomfortable when politicians talk about their faith (46\% vs. $54 \%$ ). By contrast, young people and particularly young men, are less concerned about the religious beliefs of the president. Less than half of men under age 30 (47\%) say it is important that he or she have religious beliefs.

While the Republican-oriented typology groups are fairly unified in saying it is important for the president to have strong religious beliefs, there are divisions among Democrats. Fully $84 \%$ of the Partisan Poor identify this as an important characteristic for the president, and $82 \%$ of Social Conservatives agree. That number falls to 67\% among New Democrats and just 34\% among Liberals.

Clearly, the distinction between being religious and talking about religion is more important to some groups than others. For instance, nearly eight-in-ten senior citizens (78\%) say it's crucial for the president to have strong religious beliefs, but more than half (56\%) also say they are uneasy over excessive public expressions of faith by politicians. Similarly, by a lopsided margin of $79 \%-$ $18 \%$, African-Americans say it is important for the president to be religious; by a narrower margin (48\%-43\%) blacks also express discomfort over politicians who talk publicly about their faith.

## Drawing the Line at the Pulpit

Just as Americans are split over questions relating to religion's influence on politics, so too they are divided over whether churches and other religious institutions are appropriate forums for political discussions. Support for religious institutions and clergy expressing their views on politics is higher now than in the mid-1960s - although a substantial number of voters still have reservations.

A slim majority of voters (51\%) say it is appropriate for churches and other religious organizations to make their views known on political and social topics, while 45\% believe these institutions should stay out of politics. In 1968, a majority of the public (53\%) said churches should remain on the sidelines in political debates, while just $40 \%$ supported a political role for

| Politics in Church, But Not the Pulpit |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Keep | Express | No |
| Should churches express | Out | Views | Opinion |
| views on politics? | \% | \% | \% |
| All registered voters | 45 | 51 | $4=100$ |
| White | 47 | 50 | $3=100$ |
| Black | 33 | 61 | $6=100$ |
| 18-29 | 41 | 58 | $1=100$ |
| 30-49 | 39 | 58 | $3=100$ |
| 50-64 | 49 | 47 | $4=100$ |
| 65+ | 57 | 36 | $7=100$ |
|  |  |  | Don't |
| Right for clergymen to discuss politics from the pulpit? | $\frac{\mathrm{Yes}}{\%}$ | $\frac{\mathrm{No}}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { Know }}{\text { \% }}$ |
| All registered voters | \% | 64 | $\stackrel{\%}{\%}$ |
| White | 31 | 66 | $3=100$ |
| Black | 43 | 51 | $6=100$ |
| 18-29 | 43 | 52 | $5=100$ |
| 30-49 | 36 | 61 | $3=100$ |
| 50-64 | 29 | 68 | $3=100$ |
| 65+ | 23 | 73 | $4=100$ | religious groups, according to a Gallup poll from that year.

But a solid majority (64\%) believes it is wrong for members of the clergy to discuss political matters from the pulpit, while just one-in-three voters (32\%) find that acceptable. There has been some movement on this question as well, in support of greater political involvement by the clergy. A 1965 Gallup survey found that $68 \%$ opposed religious leaders expressing their political views, while just $22 \%$ favored such expressions.

African-Americans, white evangelical Protestants and voters under the age of 50 are among the most likely to favor including political discussions as part of church activities. Fully $61 \%$ of blacks support this, compared with just half of whites. Nearly six-in-ten of all voters under 50 (58\%) agree that such political discussions are appropriate.

But a strong majority of those 65 and over (57\%) believe that churches and other religious organizations should steer clear of political discussions; just $36 \%$ of senior citizens are comfortable with such discussions. And while $63 \%$ of white evangelicals say churches should express their political views, $50 \%$ of white Catholics and $41 \%$ of white mainline Protestants agree. Partisan differences over this issue are relatively small: 53\% of Republicans, $48 \%$ of Democrats and $52 \%$ of independents say it is acceptable for churches to weigh in on political and social issues.

Many of those who are otherwise comfortable with churches and other religious institutions expressing political opinions draw the line at having members of the clergy discussing politics from the pulpit. Majorities in every major demographic group - including African-Americans and white evangelicals - find this unacceptable. But again, senior citizens are among the most reluctant to cross the lines between religion and politics: fully $73 \%$ of senior citizens reject this idea while just $23 \%$ favor clergymen airing their political views from the pulpit.

## More Support for Evangelicals

While nearly eight-in-ten voters have positive impressions of Catholics and Jews, and six-inten feel the same about evangelicals, just half of voters see Muslim-Americans in a favorable light. Nonetheless, voters have a far more favorable impression of every religion tested than they do of atheists. Just 32\% hold a favorable opinion of atheists.

While, on balance, those in every major demographic group hold a negative view of atheists, they are viewed favorably by Liberal Democrats, a group that is the least religious of all typology groups. Fully 65\% of Liberals have a positive impression of atheists, far more than other groups in Pew's voter typology.

Evangelical Christians are now viewed much more favorably by many groups than they were four years ago. While the percentage of Democrats holding positive impressions of evangelicals has more than doubled (from $27 \%$ to $60 \%$ ), more Republicans and independents also have favorable opinions of evangelicals. In addition, support for evangelicals has increased across every age group.

| Evangelical Christians |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Favorable opinion of <br> evangelical Christians <br> All registered voters | $\frac{1996}{\%}$ | $\frac{2000}{\%}$ |
|  | 41 | 63 |
| $18-29$ | 41 | 59 |
| $30-49$ | 40 | 61 |
| $50-64$ | 43 | 63 |
| $65+$ | 41 | 68 |
|  | 27 | 60 |
| Democrats | 60 | 73 |
| Republicans | 36 | 57 |
| Independents |  |  |

## Democrats Close the Gap

The Republican Party is less identified with protecting religious values than it was four years ago, and this has narrowed the gap between the two parties on this issue (from 15 points to nine points). Today, $39 \%$ of voters say the GOP is most concerned with protecting religious values, compared with $30 \%$ who name the Democrats.

Much of the shift on this question has come among independents. In 1996, $45 \%$ of independents saw the GOP as most concerned with protecting religious values, while $26 \%$ cited the Democrats. Now, independents are more closely divided, with $33 \%$ citing the Republicans and $28 \%$ pointing to the Democrats.

The two parties attract similar levels of support when it comes to protecting religious freedom. Some 35\% of voters name the Democrats as most concerned with protecting religious liberty, while 32\% name the GOP. By large margins, Democratic and Republican partisans see their party as most concerned with religious

| Religion and the Parties |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Rep | Dem | Neither/ |
| Which party is most concerned | Party | Party | Equal/DK |
| with protecting religious values? | \% | \% | \% |
| All registered voters | 39 | 30 | $31=100$ |
| Republicans | 68 | 11 | $21=100$ |
| Democrats | 22 | 50 | 28=100 |
| Independents | 33 | 28 | $39=100$ |
| Is either party too closely tied to religious leaders? |  |  |  |
| All registered voters | 13 | 6 | $81=100$ |
| College Grad | 21 | 5 | $74=100$ |
| Some College | 12 | 7 | $81=100$ |
| H.S. Grad \& Below | 8 | 7 | 85=100 |
| \$75,000 + | 18 | 4 | $78=100$ |
| \$50,000-\$75,000 | 13 | 5 | 82=100 |
| Under \$50,000 | 10 | 8 | $82=100$ | freedom, while independents are split (30\% cite Republicans and 29\% choose Democrats).

Most Americans do not see either party as too closely linked with religious leaders. Still, while only $13 \%$ see the Republican Party in that way (down from $20 \%$ four years ago), sizable minorities in key demographic groups believe the GOP is too closely linked with religious leaders. For instance, one-in five college graduates (21\%) identify the Republicans in this way, compared with just 5\% who cite the Democrats. In addition, upper-income voters are more likely to say that the GOP is tied too closely with religious leaders.

## FAVORABILITY OF RELIGIOUS GROUPS

(Based on Registered Voters)

|  | --- Evangelical Christians --- |  |  | --- Jews --- |  |  | --- Catholics --- |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Favorable | Unfavorable | Can't <br> Rate | Favorable | Unfavorable | Can't <br> Rate | Favorable | Unfavorable | Can't <br> Rate |
|  | \% | \% | \% | \% | \% | \% | \% | \% | \% |
| Total | 63 | 16 | $21=100$ | 77 | 8 | $15=100$ | 78 | 9 | $13=100$ |
| Sex |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Male | 64 | 20 | 16 | 76 | 9 | 15 | 80 | 9 | 11 |
| Female | 62 | 14 | 24 | 77 | 6 | 17 | 76 | 10 | 14 |
| Race |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| White | 63 | 18 | 19 | 81 | 7 | 12 | 79 | 10 | 11 |
| Non-white | 60 | 12 | 28 | 56 | 13 | 31 | 71 | 10 | 19 |
| Black | 68 | 9 | 23 | 58 | 10 | 32 | 71 | 9 | 20 |
| Hispanict | 64 | 14 | 22 | 70 | 15 | 15 | 81 | 12 | 7 |
| Race and Sex |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| White Men | 64 | 20 | 16 | 79 | 9 | 12 | 79 | 10 | 11 |
| White Women | 63 | 15 | 22 | 82 | 5 | 13 | 79 | 10 | 11 |
| Age |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Under 30 | 59 | 18 | 23 | 72 | 13 | 15 | 74 | 13 | 13 |
| 30-49 | 61 | 20 | 19 | 76 | 9 | 15 | 79 | 10 | 11 |
| 50-64 | 63 | 16 | 21 | 77 | 6 | 17 | 76 | 11 | 13 |
| 65+ | 68 | 10 | 22 | 82 | 4 | 14 | 79 | 5 | 16 |
| Sex and Age |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Men 18-29 | 61 | 23 | 16 | 74 | 13 | 13 | 76 | 14 | 10 |
| Women 18-29 | 57 | 14 | 29 | 69 | 13 | 18 | 72 | 13 | 15 |
| Men 30-49 | 62 | 21 | 17 | 71 | 11 | 18 | 80 | 9 | 11 |
| Women 30-49 | 61 | 19 | 20 | 81 | 6 | 13 | 78 | 11 | 11 |
| Men 50+ | 67 | 18 | 15 | 83 | 6 | 11 | 81 | 8 | 11 |
| Women 50+ | 65 | 9 | 26 | 77 | 4 | 19 | 75 | 9 | 16 |
| Education |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| College Grad. | 58 | 26 | 16 | 84 | 5 | 11 | 81 | 8 | 11 |
| Some College | 61 | 17 | 22 | 78 | 3 | 19 | 77 | 9 | 14 |
| High School Grad. | 65 | 12 | 23 | 73 | 10 | 17 | 78 | 10 | 12 |
| <H.S. Grad. | 67 | 8 | 25 | 68 | 15 | 17 | 71 | 14 | 15 |

† The designation Hispanic is unrelated to the white-black categorization.
Question: Now I'd like your opinion of some religious groups. (First,) would you say your overall opinion of... (Evangelical Christians/Jews/Catholics) is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable?

Continued ...

|  | --- Evangelical Christians --- |  |  | --- Jews --- |  |  | --- Catholics --- |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Favor- | Unfavor- | Can't | Favor- <br> able | Unfavor- | Can't | Favor- | Unfavor- | Can't |
|  | $\frac{\text { dole }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\mathrm{dote}}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { nate }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { dule }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { dute }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { Kdte }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { able }}{\%}$ | $\frac{1}{\%}$ | $\frac{1}{\%}$ |
| Total | 63 | 16 | $21=100$ | 77 | 8 | $15=100$ | 78 | 9 | $13=100$ |
| Family Income |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| \$75,000+ | 62 | 21 | 17 | 83 | 5 | 12 | 82 | 7 | 11 |
| \$50,000-\$74,999 | 63 | 20 | 17 | 82 | 6 | 12 | 79 | 10 | 11 |
| \$30,000-\$49,999 | 62 | 18 | 20 | 73 | 9 | 18 | 76 | 12 | 12 |
| \$20,000-\$29,999 | 66 | 16 | 18 | 80 | 6 | 14 | 77 | 11 | 12 |
| <\$20,000 | 67 | 12 | 21 | 82 | 10 | 8 | 81 | 10 | 9 |
| Region |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| East | 59 | 19 | 22 | 79 | 7 | 14 | 76 | 12 | 12 |
| Midwest | 63 | 15 | 22 | 78 | 7 | 15 | 81 | 5 | 14 |
| South | 63 | 16 | 21 | 74 | 8 | 18 | 76 | 10 | 14 |
| West | 64 | 18 | 18 | 77 | 9 | 14 | 78 | 13 | 9 |
| Religious Affiliation |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Total White Protestant | 71 | 12 | 17 | 82 | 7 | 11 | 81 | 8 | 11 |
| White Protestant Evangelical | 81 | 5 | 14 | 80 | 9 | 11 | 78 | 10 | 12 |
| White Prot. Non-Evangelical | 62 | 18 | 20 | 84 | 4 | 12 | 83 | 6 | 11 |
| White Catholic | 56 | 20 | 24 | 79 | 6 | 15 | 86 | 4 | 10 |
| Secular | 40 | 44 | 16 | 73 | 15 | 12 | 55 | 35 | 10 |
| Community Size |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Large City | 63 | 21 | 16 | 72 | 9 | 19 | 79 | 9 | 12 |
| Suburb | 60 | 16 | 24 | 80 | 5 | 15 | 79 | 9 | 12 |
| Small City/Town | 61 | 15 | 24 | 77 | 8 | 15 | 77 | 10 | 13 |
| Rural Area | 69 | 16 | 15 | 78 | 8 | 14 | 77 | 11 | 12 |
| Party ID |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Republican | 73 | 11 | 16 | 80 | 7 | 13 | 77 | 13 | 10 |
| Democrat | 59 | 19 | 22 | 74 | 8 | 18 | 80 | 7 | 13 |
| Independent | 57 | 21 | 22 | 78 | 7 | 15 | 77 | 10 | 13 |
| Marital Status |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Married | 63 | 18 | 19 | 81 | 6 | 13 | 79 | 9 | 12 |
| Unmarried | 62 | 15 | 23 | 71 | 10 | 19 | 75 | 11 | 14 |
| Parental Status |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Parent | 64 | 16 | 20 | 74 | 9 | 17 | 75 | 12 | 13 |
| Non-parent | 61 | 17 | 22 | 78 | 7 | 15 | 79 | 9 | 12 |
| Labor Union |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Union Household | 66 | 15 | 19 | 77 | 7 | 16 | 80 | 7 | 13 |
| Non-Union Household | 62 | 17 | 21 | 76 | 8 | 16 | 77 | 11 | 12 |

## FAVORABILITY OF RELIGIOUS GROUPS

(Based on Registered Voters)

|  | --- Muslim Americans --- |  |  | --- Atheists --- |  |  | (N) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Favorable | Unfavor- <br> able | Can't <br> Rate | Favorable | Unfavorable | Can't <br> Rate |  |
|  | \% | \% | \% | \% | \% | \% |  |
| Total | 50 | 21 | $29=100$ | 32 | 52 | $16=100$ | (974) |
| Sex |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Male | 54 | 23 | 23 | 36 | 50 | 14 | (419) |
| Female | 47 | 19 | 34 | 28 | 53 | 19 | (555) |
| Race |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| White | 50 | 21 | 29 | 33 | 51 | 16 | (797) |
| Non-white | 50 | 23 | 27 | 21 | 59 | 20 | (164) |
| Black | 51 | 21 | 28 | 18 | 68 | 14 | (100) |
| Hispanict | 55 | 28 | 17 | 32 | 50 | 18 | (65) |
| Race and Sex |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| White Men | 52 | 24 | 24 | 37 | 49 | 14 | (341) |
| White Women | 48 | 19 | 33 | 31 | 52 | 17 | (456) |
| Age |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Under 30 | 58 | 22 | 20 | 35 | 51 | 14 | (149) |
| 30-49 | 56 | 20 | 24 | 33 | 51 | 16 | (413) |
| 50-64 | 48 | 24 | 28 | 30 | 51 | 19 | (224) |
| 65+ | 34 | 21 | 45 | 27 | 57 | 16 | (177) |
| Sex and Age |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Men 18-29 | 65 | 21 | 14 | 49 | 41 | 10 | (75) |
| Women 18-29 | 52 | 23 | 25 | 24 | 59 | 17 | (74) |
| Men 30-49 | 57 | 19 | 24 | 32 | 52 | 16 | (177) |
| Women 30-49 | 55 | 20 | 25 | 34 | 50 | 16 | (236) |
| Men 50+ | 46 | 29 | 25 | 34 | 52 | 14 | (163) |
| Women 50+ | 38 | 18 | 44 | 24 | 55 | 21 | (238) |
| Education |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| College Grad. | 61 | 18 | 21 | 41 | 42 | 17 | (357) |
| Some College | 49 | 21 | 30 | 28 | 53 | 19 | (255) |
| H.S. Grad \& Below | 44 | 23 | 33 | 27 | 57 | 16 | (359) |

$\dagger$ The designation Hispanic is unrelated to the white-black categorization. Note small sample size.

Question: Now I'd like your opinion of some religious groups. (First,) would you say your overall opinion of... (Muslim Americans/Atheists, that is, people who don't believe in God) is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable?

Continued ...

|  | --- Muslim Americans --- |  |  | --- Atheists --- |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Favorable | Unfavorable | Can't <br> Rate | Favorable | Unfavorable | Can't <br> Rate | (N) |
|  | \% | \% | \% | \% | \% | \% |  |
| Total | 50 | 21 | $29=100$ | 32 | 52 | $16=100$ | (974) |
| Family Income |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| \$75,000+ | 65 | 15 | 20 | 40 | 44 | 16 | (185) |
| \$50,000-\$74,999 | 53 | 25 | 22 | 33 | 53 | 14 | (166) |
| \$30,000-\$49,999 | 47 | 21 | 32 | 28 | 53 | 19 | (237) |
| \$20,000-\$29,999 | 54 | 19 | 27 | 35 | 49 | 16 | (96) |
| <\$20,000 | 47 | 24 | 29 | 27 | 63 | 10 | (101) |
| Region |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| East | 53 | 20 | 27 | 39 | 46 | 15 | (172) |
| Midwest | 50 | 21 | 29 | 30 | 52 | 18 | (248) |
| South | 44 | 26 | 30 | 25 | 58 | 17 | (373) |
| West | 56 | 16 | 28 | 38 | 46 | 16 | (181) |
| Religious Affiliation |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Total White Protestant | 47 | 24 | 29 | 28 | 57 | 15 | (473) |
| White Protestant Evangelical | 41 | 31 | 28 | 21 | 67 | 12 | (213) |
| White Prot. Non-Evangelical | 52 | 18 | 30 | 34 | 48 | 18 | (260) |
| White Catholic | 55 | 17 | 28 | 38 | 43 | 19 | (168) |
| Secular* | 52 | 29 | 19 | 61 | 30 | 9 | (60) |
| Community Size |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Large City | 54 | 20 | 26 | 32 | 51 | 17 | (200) |
| Suburb | 50 | 19 | 31 | 33 | 50 | 17 | (243) |
| Small City/Town | 49 | 20 | 31 | 32 | 50 | 18 | (367) |
| Rural Area | 47 | 27 | 26 | 28 | 59 | 13 | (157) |
| Party ID |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Republican | 50 | 25 | 25 | 27 | 59 | 14 | (304) |
| Democrat | 50 | 20 | 30 | 29 | 52 | 19 | (347) |
| Independent | 53 | 18 | 29 | 41 | 43 | 16 | (274) |
| Marital Status |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Married | 50 | 22 | 28 | 28 | 56 | 16 | (543) |
| Unmarried | 50 | 20 | 30 | 36 | 46 | 18 | (428) |
| Parental Status |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Parent | 51 | 25 | 24 | 29 | 55 | 16 | (332) |
| Non-parent | 49 | 20 | 31 | 33 | 50 | 17 | (641) |
| Labor Union |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Union Household | 54 | 22 | 24 | 32 | 55 | 13 | (164) |
| Non-Union Household | 49 | 21 | 30 | 31 | 51 | 18 | (803) |


#### Abstract

ABOUT THE SURVEY Results for the Campaign 2000 Typology Survey are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates among a nationwide sample of 2,799 adults (1,999 registered voters), 18 years of age or older, during the period August 24 - September 10, 2000. For results based on the total sample, one can say with $95 \%$ confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 2 percentage points. For results based on registered voters, the sampling error is plus or minus 2.5 percentage points. For results based on likely voters ( $\mathrm{N}=1495$ ), the sampling error is plus or minus 3 percentage points. For results based on either Form 1 ( $\mathrm{N}=1025$ ) or Form $2(\mathrm{~N}=974)$ registered voters, the sampling error is plus or minus 3.5 percentage points.

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


## ABOUT THE TYPOLOGY

The 10-group political typology was developed by the Pew Research Center to classify people on the basis of their political value orientations, partisanship, and political activism. The typology groups presented in this report are a replication of the first typology created for this electoral season, in the fall of 1999. That typology was developed through a two-step statistical procedure involving factor analysis and cluster analysis. This procedure is described in more detail in the November 1999 report. ${ }^{2}$

The current typology is an approximation of the earlier classification, using the same eight value scales to predict in which typology group a respondent belongs. To increase the efficiency of the procedure, some items that were only moderately associated with a value scale were omitted from the analysis. This procedure has been

| Political Typology Groups |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Adult Population | Registered Voters |
| Typology groups ... | \% | \% |
| Staunch Conservatives | 11 | 14 |
| Moderate Republicans | 9 | 11 |
| Populist Republicans | 8 | 9 |
| New Prosperity Independents | 6 | 7 |
| Disaffecteds | 11 | 11 |
| Liberal Democrats | 10 | 12 |
| Socially Conservative Democrats | ts 9 | 11 |
| New Democrats | 11 | 13 |
| Partisan Poor | 11 | 12 |
| Bystanders | 13 | -- | shown to be a close approximation of the full cluster analysis procedure, predicting the same typology group for respondents in fully $84 \%$ of all cases.

[^1]PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE \& THE PRESS
CAMPAIGN 2000 TYPOLOGY SURVEY
FINAL TOPLINE
August 24 - September 10, 2000
N = 2,799 General Public
N $=1,999$ Registered Voters

## NOTE: ALL NUMBERS IN SURVEY, INCLUDING TREND FIGURES, ARE BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS EXCEPT WHERE NOTED

| ASK FORM 2 ONLY: [ $\mathbf{N = 9 7 4 ]}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Q. 22 | Now I'd like your opinion of some religious groups. (First,) would you say your overall opinion of... (INSERT ITEM; ROTATE. ITEM h SHOULD ALWAYS COME LAST) is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? (INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE") |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| d.F2 | Evangelical Christians February, 1996 May, 1990 | Very | Mostly | Mostly | Very | Never |  |
|  |  | Favorable | Favorable | Unfavorable | Unfavorable | Heard Of | Can't <br> Rate |
|  |  | 21 | 42 | 13 | 3 | 3 | $18=100$ |
|  |  | 14 | 27 | 24 | 13 | 10 | $12=100$ |
|  |  | 13 | 33 | 20 | 17 | 6 | $11=100$ |
| e.F2 | Jews | 27 | 50 | 5 | 3 | * | $15=100$ |
|  | June, 1997 | 25 | 59 | 6 | 2 | * | $8=100$ |
| f.F2 | Catholics | 29 | 49 | 6 | 3 | * | $13=100$ |
| g.F2 | Muslim Americans | 11 | 39 | 13 | 8 | 2 | $27=100$ |
| h.F2 | Atheists, that is, people who don't believe in God | 8 | 24 | 20 | 32 | * | $16=100$ |

On another subject...
ASK FORM 1 ONLY: [ $\mathbf{N}=\mathbf{1 , 0 2 5 ]}$
Q.23F1 These days, how much do you think churches, synagogues and mosques contribute to solving important social problems... a great deal, some, not much, nothing at all?

| 28 | A great deal |
| :---: | :--- |
| 44 | Some |
| 21 | Not much |
| 4 | Nothing at all |
| $\frac{3}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused |

## ASK FORM 2 ONLY: [N=974]

Q.24F2 In your opinion, is either the Democratic party or the Republican party TOO CLOSELY tied to religious leaders these days, or not? IF YES, ASK: Which party would you say is too closely tied to religious leaders these days?

|  |  | June 1996 |
| :---: | :--- | :---: |
| 13 | YES, Republican | 20 |
| 6 | YES, Democratic | 3 |
| 7 | Both equally (VOL.) | 5 |
| 65 | NO, Neither is too closely tied | 63 |
| $\underline{9}$ | Don't know/Refused | $\underline{9}$ |
| 100 |  | 100 |

Now on another subject...
Q. 30 I'd like your opinion of some programs and proposals being discussed in this country today. Please tell me if you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose each one. The first one is... (READ AND ROTATE)
Strongly
Favor $\quad$ Strongly
Favor Oppose Oppose $\quad \underline{\text { OK/Ref. }}$

## ASK FORM 1 ONLY: [ $\mathbf{N = 1 , 0 2 5 ]}$

b.F1 Giving government funding to religious organizations so they can provide social services such as job training or drug treatment counseling to people who need them
$2133 \quad 27 \quad 17 \quad 2=100$

## ASK FORM 2 ONLY: [N=974]

c.F2 Allowing religious organizations to apply, along with other organizations, for government funding to provide social services such as job training or drug treatment counseling to people who need them

| 32 | 35 | 17 | 12 | $4=100$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

On a different subject...
Q. 35 In your opinion, should the churches keep out of political matters - or should they express their views on day-to-day social and political questions?

|  |  | June 1996 | --- General Public --- |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | June 1996 | Gallup: 1968 |
| 45 | Should keep out |  | 44 | 43 | 53 |
| 51 | Should express views | 53 | 54 | 40 |
| $\underline{4}$ | No opinion | $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{3}$ | 7 |
| 100 |  | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Q. 36 Do you think it is ever right for clergymen to discuss political candidates or issues from the pulpit?

|  |  | --- General Public --- <br> 32 |  | Yes | $\underline{\text { June 1996 }}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |

Q. 37 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?

|  |  | June 1997 | June 1996 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 17 | More than once a week | 13 | 15 |
| 28 | Once a week | 29 | 28 |
| 16 | Once or twice a month | 17 | 17 |
| 17 | A few times a year | 19 | 20 |
| 13 | Seldom | 13 | 12 |
| 8 | Never | 9 | 7 |
| 1 | Don't know/Refused | * | 1 |
| 100 |  | 100 | 100 |

## IF RESPONDENT ATTENDS CHURCH AT LEAST A FEW TIMES A YEAR (Q.37=1-4), ASK: [N=1,584]

Q. 38 Aside from attending religious services, how involved are you in church activities, would you say you're very involved, somewhat involved, not too involved, or not at all involved

| 25 | Very involved |
| :--- | :--- |
| 34 | Somewhat involved |
| 25 | Not too involved |
| 16 | Not at all involved |
| $\frac{*}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused |

## ASK FORM 1 ONLY: [ $\mathbf{N = 1 , 0 2 5 ]}$

Q.39F1 Thinking about the two major political parties in this country, which one would you say is most concerned with protecting religious values... the Republicans or the Democrats? (ROTATE REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS)

|  |  | June 1996 |
| :---: | :--- | :---: |
|  | The Republicans | 47 |
| 30 | The Democrats | 32 |
| 6 | Neither (VOL.) | 8 |
| 7 | Both equally (VOL.) | 3 |
| $\frac{18}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused | $\underline{10}$ |
|  |  | $\mathbf{1 0 0}$ |

## ASK FORM 2 ONLY: [N=974]

Q.40F2 Thinking about the two major political parties in this country, which one would you say is most concerned with protecting religious freedom... the Republicans or the Democrats? (ROTATE REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS)

32 The Republicans<br>35 The Democrats<br>5 Neither (VOL.)<br>6 Both equally (VOL.)<br>22 Don't know/Refused

## ASK ALL:

Q. 50 Now I am going to read some statements about the candidates and political parties. For each, please tell me if you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly DISagree with it, or completely DISagree with it. (The first one is...) (INSERT ITEM; ROTATE ITEMS)

## FORM 1 ONLY: [ $\mathbf{N}=\mathbf{1 , 0 2 5 ]}$

h.F1 It makes me uncomfortable when politicians talk about how religious they are

ASK FORM 2 ONLY: [N=974]
q.F2 It's important to me that a president have strong religious beliefs

35
35
$17 \quad 10$
$3=100$


[^0]:    1 For more information on the typology see "Issues and Continuity Now Working for Gore," September 14, 2000 (people-press.org/typo00rpt.htm).

[^1]:    2 "Retropolitics: The Political Typology, Version 3.0," November 1999.

