



# The Presbyterian Panel

*Listening to Presbyterians*



**REPORT**

## PEACEMAKING, INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT, AND RELATED ISSUES The May 2002 Survey

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## HIGHLIGHTS

- ✓ Majorities list three situations as just causes for war: *to protect our country after foreign attack; to protect an ally after foreign attack; and to live up to treaty demands.* (p. 1)
- ✓ More than one-third of panelists are *greatly concerned* about the *possibility of one or more major terrorist attacks in the United States*; most of the rest are *somewhat concerned*. (p. 1)
- ✓ More panelists see war as just in each of several circumstances than was true in a 1992 survey. (p. 2)
- ✓ Most panelists, like most Americans, think that *the events of September 11<sup>th</sup> have changed this country in a lasting way*, but Americans generally are more likely than Presbyterians to see that change as *for the better*. (p. 2)
- ✓ Almost all ministers and around one-half of laity have some familiarity with the Presbyterian Peacemaking Program. (p. 3)
- ✓ Slightly less than one-half of congregations served by Panel pastors have adopted the “Commitment to Peacemaking.” (p. 3)
- ✓ One in four pastors report that at least one member in their congregation has attended a peacemaking conference. (p. 3)
- ✓ Half of congregations received the 2001 Peacemaking Offering, according to pastors, identical to the percentage that reported receiving the 1991 Peacemaking Offering on a 1992 Panel survey. (p. 4)
- ✓ Only a minority of members and elders report involvement in their congregations’ peacemaking activities, with only 1% and 2%, respectively, indicating they are *very involved*. (p. 4)
- ✓ Larger-membership congregations are more likely to have a peacemaking committee, and to have had a *study of the war on terrorism since September 11*; however, the largest congregations are the least likely to report *use of Bible studies or other printed resources of the Peacemaking Program*. (p. 5)
- ✓ Large majorities in every sample *agree that peacemaking is a central declaration of the Gospel of Jesus Christ and that it is important that peacemaking be central to the ministries of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.)*. (p. 6)
- ✓ Views on the centrality of peacemaking to the Gospel and the importance of incorporating peacemaking in the ministries of the PC(USA) stayed the same between 1992 and 2002. (p. 6)
- ✓ Half of congregations took part in an interfaith event in the prior year, according to pastors, including 40% who participated in an interfaith worship service. (p. 7)
- ✓ Majorities would like to see the PC(USA) *take a more active role in providing news stories on war-torn areas of the world by collecting and disseminating information provided by our partner churches*. (p. 7)
- ✓ Panelists are split on whether or not *war is a necessary evil in an unjust world*, with more laity disagreeing than agreeing, and more ministers agreeing than disagreeing. (p. 7)
- ✓ Most panelists *disagree that the church should quit trying to influence the government on matters of war and peace*. (p. 7)
- ✓ Majorities of two-thirds or more support a two-state solution in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict (both a state of Israel and a state of Palestine), and an agreement to have Israel withdraw from occupied Palestinian lands in exchange for recognition by Arab governments of Israel’s right to exist. (p. 8)
- ✓ Majorities *agree that it would be unwise for the U.S. to unilaterally back out of treaties that limit the testing of nuclear weapons*. (p. 8)

## OVERVIEW

The Presbyterian Panel consists of three nationally representative samples of groups affiliated with the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.): members, elders (lay leaders), and ordained ministers. For analysis, ministers are split into two groups based on current call: *pastors*, serving in a congregation, and *specialized clergy*, serving elsewhere. New samples are drawn every three years.

These pages summarize major findings from the eleventh survey completed by the 2000-2002 Panel. The first half uses text and graphics to highlight important and useful findings. An appendix follows with comparative tables that display the percentage distribution of responses to every question for each of the four Panel groups.

Questionnaires were mailed May 20, 2002. Non-responders were sent a postcard reminder on June 13. Returns were accepted through mid-August 2002. Response rates for this survey are: members, 50%; elders, 51%; ministers, 61%. Results are subject to sampling and other errors. As a general rule, differences of less than 8% are not statistically meaningful.

Panelists had the option to complete the survey on the Web, and 8% of members and elders, and 10% of ministers, did so.

In this report, the term *median* refers to the middle number in an ordered distribution. For example, the median age for a group of people aged 12, 21, 28, 35, and 64 years would be 28 years. The term *mean* refers to the mathematical average of values in a distribution; in the example, the mean age would be calculated as:  $(12+21+28+35+64)/5$ , or 32 years.

Like the median, a *quartile* is also a number that divides an ordered distribution. The *first quartile* is the number that divides an ordered distribution so that three-fourths of the values are greater, and one-fourth is lower. The *second quartile* is the number that divides an ordered distribution exactly in half (its value is identical to the median). The *third quartile* is the number that divides an ordered distribution such that one-fourth of the values is lower, and three-fourths are greater.

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**Sponsor:** The questions were developed by the staff of the Panel in cooperation with Sara Lisherness, Coordinator, Presbyterian Peacemaking Program, Congregational Ministries Division, General Assembly Council. For more information on this office, contact Sara Lisherness (888-728-7228 ext. 5779; [slishern@ctr.pcusa.org](mailto:slishern@ctr.pcusa.org)).

**Additional Copies:** Additional copies of this *Report* may be purchased for \$6 from PDS—call 800-524-2612 and request item number 65100-02273. Copies of a four-page *Summary* of results are available for \$2 each directly from Research Services. Call for information on quantity discounts (888-728-7228 ext. 2040).

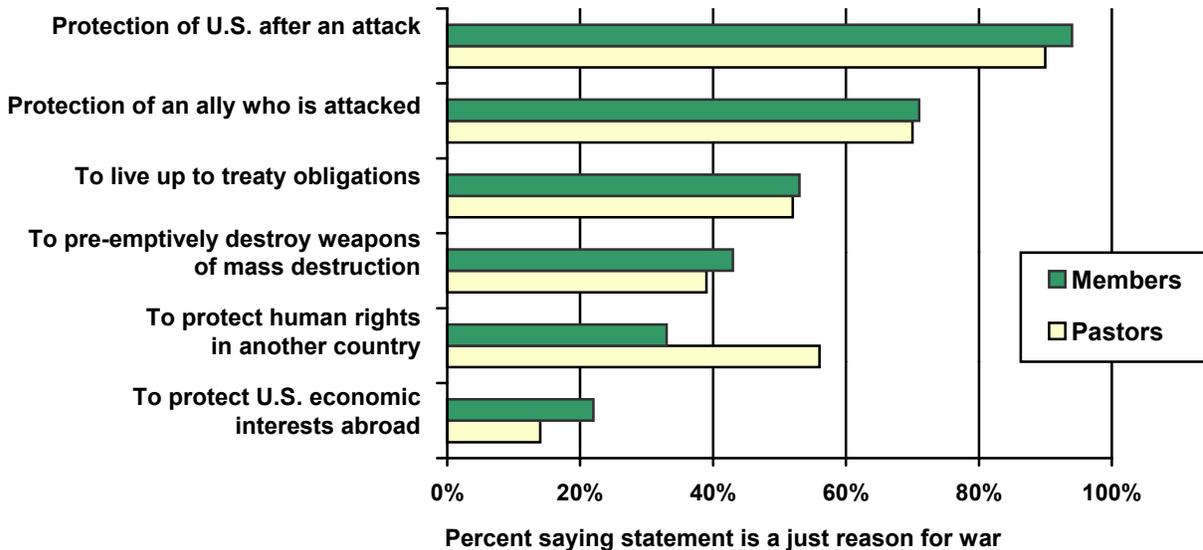
**Panel on the Web:** A catalogue of Panel topics and *Summaries* of recent surveys are available on-line at the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) Web site: <http://www.pcusa.org/research>.

**Sampling Details:** For more information on methods used to draw the samples, see *Background Report for the 2000-2002 Presbyterian Panel* (PDS# 65100-99263; cost: \$6).

**Just War**

- ✓ Majorities view as *just* a war waged by the United States government *to protect our country after foreign attack* (95% of elders, 83% of specialized clergy), *to protect an allied country that is attacked* (74% of elders, 64% of specialized clergy), or *to live up to treaty demands* (57% of elders, 54% of specialized clergy).
- ✓ Somewhat fewer panelists view as *just* a war begun *to pre-emptively destroy weapons of mass destruction* (members, 43%; elders, 39%; pastors, 39%; specialized clergy, 34%).
- ✓ Ministers are more likely than laity to view as *just* a war *to protect human rights of people in another country* (members, 33%; pastors, 56%), while the reverse is true for a war *to protect U.S. economic interests abroad* (members, 22%; pastors, 14%).
- ✓ The item that the fewest panelists indicate would be a just reason for the United States to go to war is *the replacement of a government that seems to be hostile to our way of life* (rated as *just* by 15% of members, 14% of elders, 8% of pastors, and 5% of specialized clergy).

**Figure 1**  
**Just Reasons for the U.S. Government Going to War**



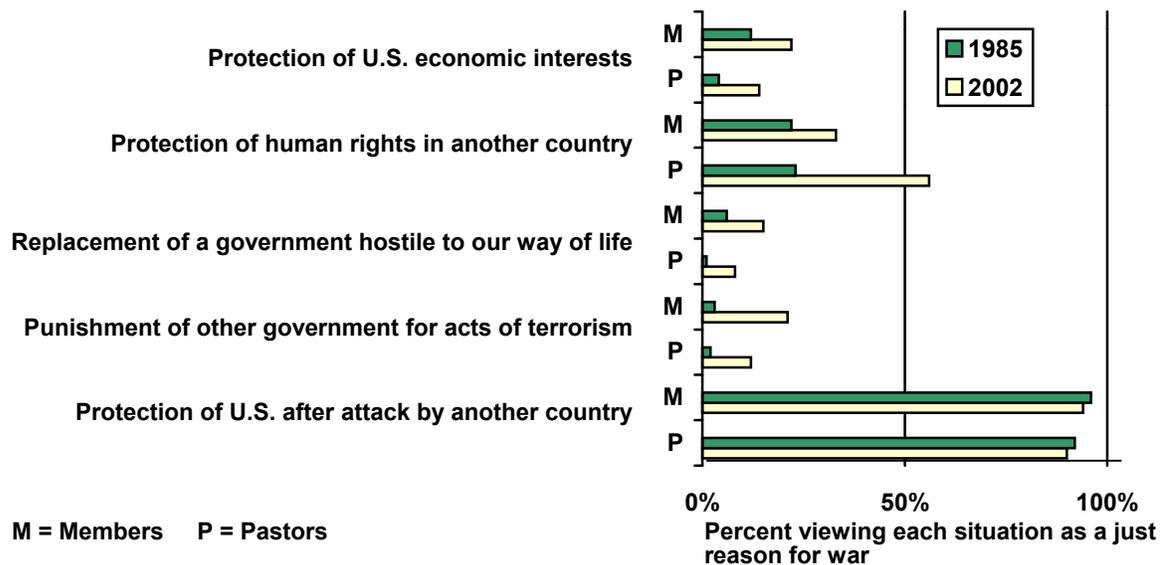
**Terrorism and September 11**

- ✓ Few think the U.S. campaign against terrorism is going *very well* (elders, 11%; specialized clergy, 6%). Most think it is going *fairly well* (74%; 54%).
- ✓ Almost all panelists are either *greatly concerned* (elders, 41%; specialized clergy, 36%) or *somewhat concerned* (51%; 54%) *about the possibility of more major terrorist attacks in the United States*.
- ✓ Large majorities in all samples *think the events of September 11 have changed this country in a lasting way*. While more laity and pastors think that change is *for the better* (e.g., elders, 48%) than *for the worse* (20%), a large number are *not sure* (31%). The pattern is reversed among specialized clergy: *better*, 25%; *worse*, 32%; *not sure*, 43%.

**Comparing “Just War” Opinions: 1985 and 2002**

A 1985 Presbyterian Panel survey had asked whether or not war would be just in each of five situations, and the same five situations (Q18a-Q18e), plus three others (Q18f-Q18h), were included on the 2002 survey. The differences in response are striking, with the exception of *protection of our country after having been attacked by another country*, which 90% or more of laity and ministers in both years view as a just reason for the United States to declare war. In the other four situations, many more panelists in 2002 than in 1985 rate each as a just reason for war. A possible hypothesis for this pattern would be that Presbyterians are more accepting of armed conflict today, after the successes of the 1991 Gulf War and the 2001 conflict in Afghanistan, than they were in the years after the Vietnam War.

**Figure 2  
Opinions on Just Reasons for War, 1985 and 2002**



**Comparing Panelists’ Opinions on Terrorism to those of the U.S. Population**

✓ Table 1 shows members’ responses side by side with those of the U.S. adult population for three questions that had also appeared on a March 2002 Washington Post-ABC News Poll.

**Table 1  
Comparing U.S. and Panel Member Opinions on Terrorism and the Consequences of September 11**

|                                                                                                                                  | <u>Members</u> | <u>U.S. Population</u> |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|------------------------|
| Q. Do you think the U.S. campaign against terrorism is going very well, fairly well, not too well, or not well at all?           |                |                        |
| very well .....                                                                                                                  | 12%            | 21%                    |
| fairly well.....                                                                                                                 | 74%            | 63%                    |
| not too well [not an option on Panel].....                                                                                       | —              | 10%                    |
| not well at all .....                                                                                                            | 13%            | 6%                     |
| Q. On another subject, do you think the events of September 11 <sup>th</sup> have changed this country in a lasting way, or not? |                |                        |
| yes.....                                                                                                                         | 81%            | 86%                    |
| no .....                                                                                                                         | 10%            | 13%                    |
| not sure [Panel]/no opinion [Washington Post] .....                                                                              | 9%             | 1%                     |
| Q. If yes, is it a change for the better or a change for the worse?                                                              |                |                        |
| better .....                                                                                                                     | 46%            | 78%                    |
| worse.....                                                                                                                       | 20%            | 18%                    |
| not sure [Panel]/no opinion [Washington Post] .....                                                                              | 34%            | 4%                     |

**PC(USA) Peacemaking Program**

- ✓ Around one in five ministers but only 1% of members and 4% of elders are *very familiar* with the PC(USA) Peacemaking Program. Overall, 44% of members, 58% of elders, and 98% of pastors have some level of familiarity with this program.
- ✓ Similarly, 78% of pastors but only 14% of members are aware that the Peacemaking Program has an office at the United Nations.

**“Commitment to Peacemaking” Tool**

- ✓ Almost all pastors (96%) but only 28% of elders are aware of the “Commitment to Peacemaking,” a *tool through which sessions are asked to make a promise to do peacemaking by integrating it into the life and mission of their congregations.*
- ✓ Of pastors aware of it, 46% report their congregation has adopted the “Commitment to Peacemaking.”

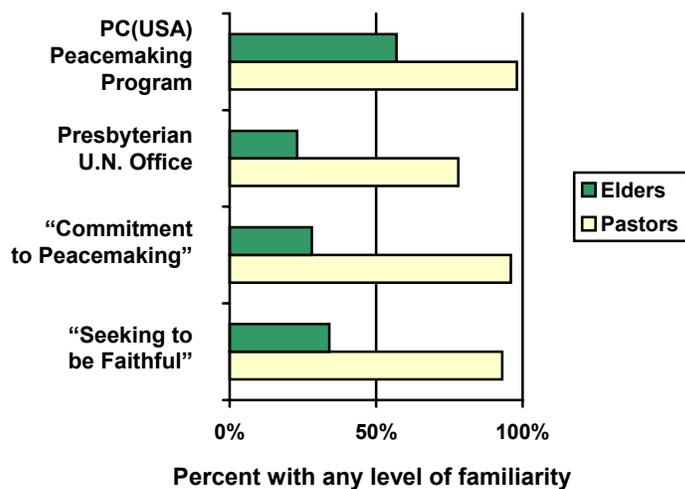
**“Seeking to Be Faithful” Resource**

- ✓ Most pastors are either *very familiar* (45%) or *somewhat familiar* (38%) with the resource “Seeking to Be Faithful Together: Guidelines for Presbyterians During Times of Disagreement.”
- ✓ Among the 60% of pastors who report a conflict in their congregation in the last five years, a third (31%) report that “Seeking to Be Faithful” was used by the session in addressing the conflict, and 32% of those in turn report that the resource was *of help in resolving the conflict.*

**Other Peacemaking Program Resources and Opportunities**

- ✓ Four in ten pastors (38%) and one in seven elders (14%) report that their congregations have used *a Bible study or other printed resource of the Presbyterian Peacemaking Program.*
- ✓ A quarter of pastors (23%) report that a member of their congregation has attended a PC(USA) peacemaking conference, while half that many, 11%, report their congregation has hosted an International Peacemaker.
- ✓ 6% of members, 8% of elders, 24% of pastors, and 23% of specialized clergy have visited the Web site of the Peacemaking Program.

**Figure 3  
Familiarity with Peacemaking Programs and Resources**



**Peacemaking Offering**

- ✓ Half of pastors, four in ten elders, and three in ten members recall that their congregations took the Peacemaking Offering in 2001. The percentage of pastors reporting collection of the 2001 Peacemaking Offering, 51%, was almost identical to the percentage who received the 1991 Peacemaking Offering, 50%, according to responses of pastors to a 1992 Panel survey on peacemaking.
- ✓ Three-fourths of these elders, pastors, and other clergy report contributing to the 2001 Peacemaking Offering, as do 64% of members who recall congregational participation.

**Involvement in Peacemaking**

- ✓ 79% of members and 62% of elders are *not involved* in congregational peacemaking activities. Only 1% and 2%, respectively, are *very involved*, and another 4% and 9%, *generally involved*.
- ✓ Most pastors (82%) report that their congregation’s involvement in peacemaking since September 11, 2001, has *stayed about the same*, but of the rest, more report *an increase* (15%) than *a decrease* (<0.5%).

**Peacemaking Activities in Congregations**

- ✓ Peacemaking activities, and the percentage of congregations that have had each one in the last two years, according to pastors, include:
  - Passing the peace, prayers for peace, other peace-related worship activities (90%)
  - Recycling, energy reduction, and other “making peace with the earth” activities (56%)
  - A study of international conflict (32%)
  - A study on peacemaking in the Bible (27%)
  - Teaching non-violent conflict-resolution skills to children and youth (27%)
  - A study of the war on terrorism since September 11 (22%)
  - An established peacemaking committee or by incorporating peacemaking into the work of another committee (21%)
  - Letter writing or other public policy advocacy efforts that support legislation on peace and justice issues (20%)
  - A study of human rights, arms control and disarmament, globalization, or sustainable development (14%)

**Comparisons with 1992**

- ✓ The percentages of congregations with each of several peacemaking activities or programs were similar in the 1992 and 2002 surveys, as Table 2 shows.

**Table 2**  
**Comparison of Peacemaking Activities in Congregations, 1992 and 2002:**  
**Pastors’ Responses**

|                                                           | <b>1992</b> | <b>2002</b> |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|-------------|-------------|
| Hosting an International Peacemaker .....                 | 16%         | 11%         |
| One or more members participating in a U.N. Seminar ..... | 7%          | 6%          |
| Peacemaking in worship .....                              | 81%         | 90%         |
| Efforts to “make peace with the earth” .....              | 65%         | 56%         |
| Letter writing efforts .....                              | 30%         | 20%         |
| Peacemaking committee .....                               | 20%         | 21%         |

**Congregational Peacemaking Activities by Membership Size**

Using quartiles of congregational membership size to divide pastors into four groups, we find that small congregations are as likely as large ones to participate in certain peacemaking activities, including: having *one or more members attend a PC(USA) peacemaking conference; hosting an International Peacekeeper; participation by one or more members in a United Nations Seminar; participation by one or more members in a Peacemaking Travel Study Seminar; visiting the Peacemaking Program’s Web site for information or resources; incorporating peacemaking in worship; having a study group on peacemaking in the Bible; and promoting recycling, energy reduction, and other concerns for the environment.* Only one activity is reported by pastors to be more common in smaller- and medium-sized congregations than in large ones: using *a Bible study or other resources produced by the Presbyterian Peacemaking Program* (40% in smallest congregations, with less than 201 members; 38% in smaller-medium congregations, with 201-400 members; 45% in larger-medium congregations, with 401-800 members, and 28% in the largest congregations, with 801 or more members). Several other activities are reported more frequently by pastors of the largest congregations. These include: *teaching non-violent conflict resolution skills to children and youth in the church and/or community; a study of human rights, arms control and disarmament, globalization, or sustainable development; a study of the war on terrorism since September 11; a study of other international issues involving conflict (for example, in the Middle East, Northern Ireland, the Balkans, etc.); and letter writing or other public policy advocacy efforts that support legislation on peace and justice issues.*

**Table 3**  
**Membership Size and Peacemaking Activities in Congregations: Pastors’ Responses**

| Number of cases:                                                                                     | Activity | Membership Size |                  |                  |               |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|-----------------|------------------|------------------|---------------|
|                                                                                                      |          | <201<br>(161)   | 201-400<br>(157) | 401-800<br>(142) | 801+<br>(149) |
| Attendance by one or more members at a PC(USA) peacemaking conference.....                           |          | 20%             | 20%              | 28%              | 24%           |
| Hosting an International Peacemaker.....                                                             |          | 11%             | 10%              | 13%              | 10%           |
| Participation by one or more members in a United Nations Seminar.....                                |          | 6%              | 4%               | 6%               | 7%            |
| Use of Bible studies or other printed resources of the Peacemaking Program <sup>1</sup> .....        |          | 40%             | 38%              | 45%              | 28%           |
| Participation by one or more members in a Peacemaking Travel Study Seminar.....                      |          | 5%              | 6%               | 5%               | 11%           |
| Visited the Peacemaking Program’s Web site for information/resources.....                            |          | 24%             | 18%              | 30%              | 22%           |
| Peacemaking in worship.....                                                                          |          | 90%             | 91%              | 93%              | 88%           |
| A study group or study course on peacemaking in the Bible.....                                       |          | 24%             | 26%              | 28%              | 31%           |
| A peacemaking committee <sup>1</sup> .....                                                           |          | 16%             | 17%              | 28%              | 24%           |
| Teaching non-violent conflict resolution skills to children and youth <sup>1</sup> .....             |          | 6%              | 26%              | 31%              | 35%           |
| A study of human rights, disarmament, globalization, or sustainable development <sup>1</sup> .....   |          | 8%              | 13%              | 15%              | 20%           |
| A study of the war on terrorism since September 11 <sup>1</sup> .....                                |          | 14%             | 19%              | 25%              | 33%           |
| A study of other international issues involving conflict <sup>1</sup> .....                          |          | 17%             | 27%              | 37%              | 48%           |
| Letter writing or other public policy advocacy regarding peace and justice issues <sup>1</sup> ..... |          | 17%             | 17%              | 20%              | 29%           |
| Recycling, energy reduction, and other concerns for the environment.....                             |          | 54%             | 59%              | 57%              | 56%           |

<sup>1</sup>Differences by size significant at p<.05, based on a chi-square test; all others are not significant.

**Peacemaking and the Gospel**

- ✓ At least 82% *strongly agree* or *agree* that *peacemaking is a central declaration of the Gospel of Jesus Christ*.
- ✓ Even larger numbers (members, 87%; pastors, 93%) *strongly agree* or *agree* that *Christians are called to be peacemakers wherever they encounter brokenness and injustice*.

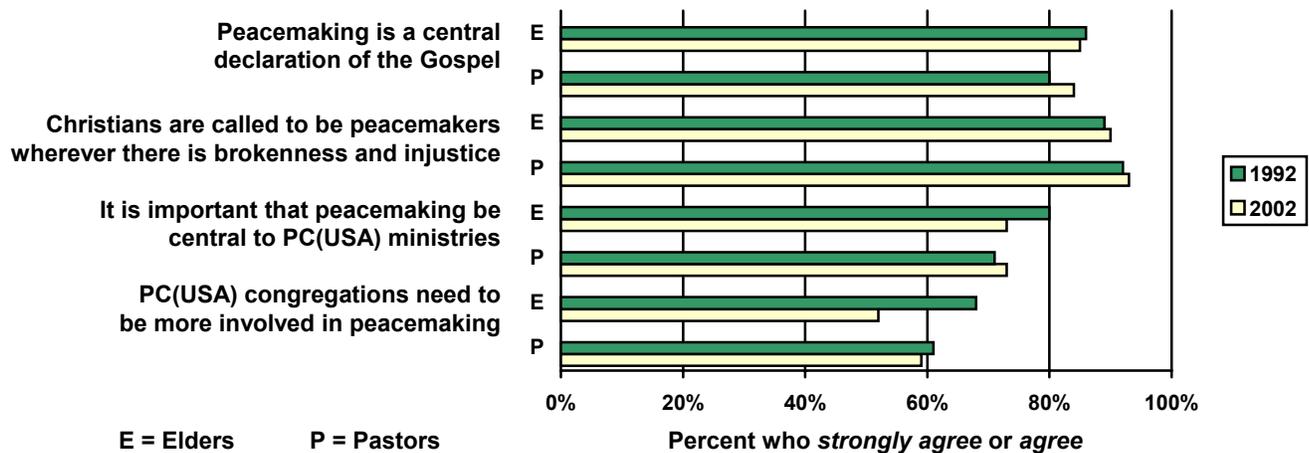
**Place of Peacemaking in the PC(USA)**

- ✓ Three in four members, elders, and pastors, and 85% of specialized clergy, *strongly agree* or *agree* that *it is important that peacemaking be central to the ministries of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.)*.
- ✓ Majorities (elders, 52%; pastors, 59%) *strongly agree* or *agree* that *Presbyterian congregations need to be more involved in peacemaking*, but few panelists (elders, 11%; pastors, 22%) *strongly agree* or *agree* that *the PC(USA) devotes too much attention to peacemaking issues*.

**Changes over Time in Views of Peacemaking and the Church**

Figure 4

Changes over Time in Views of Peacemaking and the Church



Opinions on the importance of peacemaking in faith generally and in the PC(USA) specifically show little change between 1992 and 2002, with one exception: among elders, the percentage who *strongly agree* or *agree* that *the congregations of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) need to be more involved in peacemaking* dropped from 68% to 52% over the decade. The results for members are similar (64% and 51%). A detailed look (Table 4) reveals that the change is a shift to the *neither agree nor disagree* and the *not sure* categories. In short, few lay panelists in either year believe that PC(USA) congregations are sufficiently involved in peacemaking.

**Table 4**  
Opinions on Whether “The Congregations of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) Need to be More Involved in Peacemaking”

|                                  | Members |      | Elders |      |
|----------------------------------|---------|------|--------|------|
|                                  | 1992    | 2002 | 1992   | 2002 |
| Strongly agree.....              | 21%     | 11%  | 23%    | 14%  |
| Agree .....                      | 43%     | 40%  | 45%    | 38%  |
| Neither agree nor disagree ..... | 24%     | 29%  | 20%    | 30%  |
| Disagree/strongly disagree.....  | 6%      | 8%   | 10%    | 9%   |
| Not sure.....                    | 2%      | 12%  | 2%     | 8%   |

**Interfaith Gatherings**

- ✓ Half of pastors report their congregations took part in an interfaith gathering over the last two years, including 40% who report participation in an interfaith worship service.
- ✓ Large majorities believe the peacemaking ministry of the PC(USA) should *encourage and develop interfaith dialogue between Christians and followers of other religious groups*, ranging from 79% of members (combined *yes, definitely* and *yes, probably* responses) to 95% of specialized clergy.

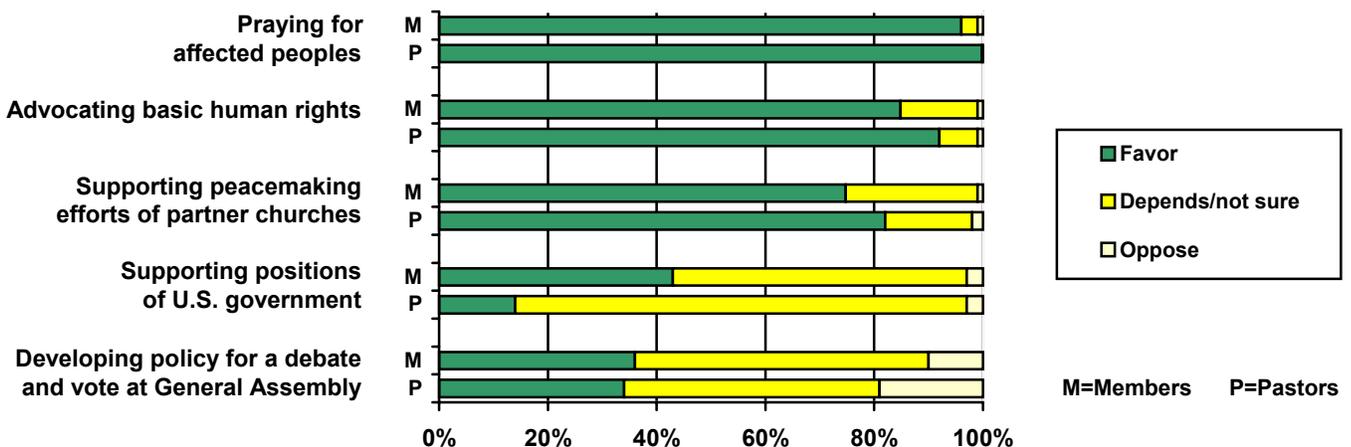
**PC(USA)'s Role in Armed Conflicts**

- ✓ Most panelists (elders, 65%; specialized clergy, 85%) would *definitely or probably* like to see the PC(USA) *take a more active role in providing news stories on war-torn areas of the world by collecting and disseminating information provided by our partner churches*.
- ✓ Other possible church actions regarding armed conflict, and the percentage of elders and pastors who *favor* the PC(USA) taking them, include:
  - *Praying for the affected peoples* (98%; 100%)
  - *Encouraging humanitarian efforts* (87%; 95%)
  - *Advocating basic human rights* (86%; 92%)
  - *Supporting the peacemaking work of our partner churches in the area* (76%; 82%)

**Church, Government, and Peacemaking**

- ✓ Only a minority of panelists *favor* the PC(USA) *supporting the positions of the U.S. government in armed conflicts around the world* (elders, 38%; pastors, 14%). Most choose *depends on the situation* (55%; 81%).
- ✓ Most panelists (elders, 57%; specialized clergy, 86%) *strongly disagree or disagree* that *the church should quit trying to influence the government on matters of war and peace*.
- ✓ More members *strongly disagree or disagree* (40%) than *strongly agree or agree* (31%) that *war is a necessary evil in an unjust world*. Pastors split the other way—30% *disagree*; 49% *agree*.
- ✓ Most panelists (82% or more) *strongly agree or agree* that the church has a role in *defending other faith communities that are the targets of hate crime*.

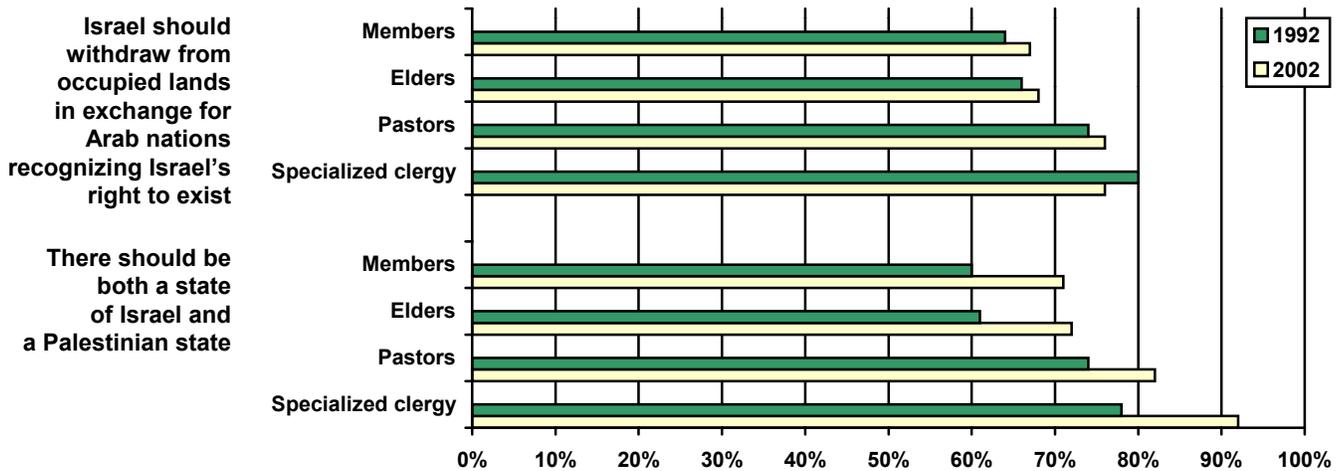
**Figure 5**  
Opinions on Possible PC(USA) Actions Regarding Armed Conflict



**Middle East**

- ✓ Large majorities favor a “two-state solution” in the Middle East, with both a state of Israel and a state of Palestine. That view is held by 71% of members, 72% of elders, 82% of pastors, and 92% of specialized clergy. A Gallup Poll taken in May 2002 found that 48% of American adults favor “establishment of an independent Palestinian state on the West Bank and the Gaza strip.”
- ✓ Large but slightly smaller majorities of panelists favor a proposal to have Israel withdraw from occupied Arab lands in exchange for Arab nations recognizing *Israel’s right to exist as a nation* (members, 67%; pastors, 67%).

**Figure 6  
Opinions on Arab-Israeli Issues, 1992 and 2002**



**Foreign Military Aid**

- ✓ Panelists split on whether the *U.S. government should reduce its military support to Israel, Egypt, and other Middle East governments*. A few more members *strongly agree* or *agree* (33%) than *strongly disagree* or *disagree* (31%), but large numbers are *not sure* (18%) or *neither agree nor disagree* (19%). Elders’ responses are almost identical. Pastors and specialized clergy tilt by larger margins toward agreement on this issue.
- ✓ A similar pattern of results obtains for the issue of reducing U.S. military support to Colombia.

**Nuclear Weapons**

- ✓ Large majorities of 82% or more *strongly agree* or *agree* that the *U.S. government should do more to prevent nuclear bomb materials from the former Soviet Union getting into the hands of terrorists or rogue governments*.
- ✓ Majorities, ranging from 55% of elders to 75% of specialized clergy, *strongly agree* or *agree* that *it would be unwise for the U.S. to unilaterally back out of treaties that limit the testing of nuclear weapons*.
- ✓ Among laity, more *strongly agree* or *agree* (elders, 34%) than *strongly disagree* or *disagree* (23%) that *the potential long-run benefits of developing a missile defense shield for the U.S. outweigh any short-run problems from breaking the ABM Treaty with Russia*. But many respond *not sure* (26%) or *neither agree nor disagree* (17%).
- ✓ Ministers lean the other way on the ABM Treaty question. For example, more pastors *strongly disagree* or *disagree* (48%) than *strongly agree* or *agree* (20%), although here also many respond *not sure* (15%) or *neither agree nor disagree* (17%).

# THE PRESBYTERIAN PANEL

## PEACEMAKING, INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT, AND RELATED ISSUES

### The May 2002 Survey

#### Appendix

|                                        | Members | Elders | Ministers |
|----------------------------------------|---------|--------|-----------|
| Number of questionnaires mailed.....   | 898     | 945    | 1,299     |
| Number of questionnaires returned..... | 451     | 487    | 800 *     |
| Percent returned.....                  | 50%     | 51%    | 61%       |
| *623 pastors; 177 specialized clergy   |         |        |           |

Q1. Please indicate your degree of agreement or disagreement with each of the following statements.

|                                                                                                             | Members | Elders | Pastors | Specialized Clergy |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|--------|---------|--------------------|
| <b>a. Peacemaking is a central declaration of the Gospel of Jesus Christ</b>                                |         |        |         |                    |
| Strongly agree.....                                                                                         | 39%     | 41%    | 45%     | 60%                |
| Agree.....                                                                                                  | 43%     | 44%    | 39%     | 29%                |
| Neither agree nor disagree.....                                                                             | 10%     | 7%     | 7%      | 6%                 |
| Strongly disagree.....                                                                                      | 3%      | 1%     | 3%      | 3%                 |
| Disagree.....                                                                                               | 2%      | 3%     | 4%      | 2%                 |
| Not sure.....                                                                                               | 4%      | 3%     | 1%      | —                  |
| <b>b. Christians are called to be peacemakers wherever they encounter brokenness and injustice</b>          |         |        |         |                    |
| Strongly agree.....                                                                                         | 37%     | 39%    | 52%     | 63%                |
| Agree.....                                                                                                  | 50%     | 51%    | 41%     | 33%                |
| Neither agree nor disagree.....                                                                             | 7%      | 6%     | 4%      | 3%                 |
| Strongly disagree.....                                                                                      | 2%      | 1%     | 1%      | 1%                 |
| Disagree.....                                                                                               | 1%      | 2%     | 1%      | —                  |
| Not sure.....                                                                                               | 2%      | 2%     | 1%      | 1%                 |
| <b>c. It is important that peacemaking be central to the ministries of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.)</b> |         |        |         |                    |
| Strongly agree.....                                                                                         | 30%     | 30%    | 36%     | 52%                |
| Agree.....                                                                                                  | 43%     | 43%    | 37%     | 33%                |
| Neither agree nor disagree.....                                                                             | 16%     | 16%    | 14%     | 10%                |
| Strongly disagree.....                                                                                      | 4%      | 4%     | 5%      | 4%                 |
| Disagree.....                                                                                               | 4%      | 4%     | 7%      | 1%                 |
| Not sure.....                                                                                               | 3%      | 2%     | 1%      | —                  |
| <b>d. The Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) devotes too much attention to peacemaking issues</b>                 |         |        |         |                    |
| Strongly agree.....                                                                                         | 2%      | 3%     | 6%      | 5%                 |
| Agree.....                                                                                                  | 5%      | 8%     | 16%     | 6%                 |
| Neither agree nor disagree.....                                                                             | 32%     | 34%    | 23%     | 17%                |
| Strongly disagree.....                                                                                      | 20%     | 18%    | 22%     | 34%                |
| Disagree.....                                                                                               | 26%     | 27%    | 31%     | 34%                |
| Not sure.....                                                                                               | 15%     | 11%    | 3%      | 5%                 |

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding

\* = less than 0.5%; rounds to zero

— = zero (0.0); no cases in this category

+ = nonresponses of 10% or more on this question (reported percentages for all questions omit nonresponses)

n = number of respondents eligible to answer this question

◆ = percentages add to more than 100 because respondents could make more than one response

Q1. Please indicate your degree of agreement or disagreement with each of the following statements.  
(Cont.)

|                                                                                                  |     |     |     |     |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| e. The congregations of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) need to be more involved in peacemaking |     |     |     |     |
| Strongly agree.....                                                                              | 11% | 14% | 18% | 36% |
| Agree.....                                                                                       | 40% | 38% | 41% | 38% |
| Neither agree nor disagree.....                                                                  | 29% | 30% | 25% | 16% |
| Strongly disagree.....                                                                           | 3%  | 4%  | 5%  | 4%  |
| Disagree.....                                                                                    | 5%  | 5%  | 7%  | 2%  |
| Not sure.....                                                                                    | 12% | 8%  | 3%  | 4%  |

Q2. How familiar are you with the Peacemaking Program of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.)?

|                         |     |     |     |     |
|-------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Very familiar.....      | 1%  | 4%  | 22% | 24% |
| Generally familiar..... | 13% | 22% | 59% | 52% |
| A little familiar.....  | 30% | 32% | 16% | 15% |
| Not familiar.....       | 56% | 43% | 2%  | 8%  |

Q3. Are you aware that the PC(USA) Peacemaking Program includes the Presbyterian United Nations Office in New York?

|          |     |     |     |     |
|----------|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Yes..... | 14% | 23% | 78% | 75% |
| No.....  | 86% | 77% | 22% | 25% |

Q4. Are you at all familiar with the “Commitment to Peacemaking,” a tool through which sessions are asked to make a promise to do peacemaking by integrating it into the life and mission of their congregations?

|          |     |     |     |     |
|----------|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Yes..... | 15% | 28% | 96% | 82% |
| No.....  | 85% | 72% | 4%  | 18% |

Q4a. [If “Yes, ”] Has your session adopted the “Commitment to Peacemaking”?

|                  |      |       |       |       |
|------------------|------|-------|-------|-------|
|                  | n=65 | n=134 | n=593 | n=144 |
| Yes.....         | 25%  | 37%   | 46%   | 35%   |
| No.....          | 25%  | 21%   | 44%   | 34%   |
| Don’t know ..... | 51%  | 41%   | 10%   | 30%   |

Q5. Are you familiar with the resource “Seeking to Be Faithful Together: Guidelines for Presbyterians During Times of Disagreement”?

|                                                  |     |     |     |     |
|--------------------------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Yes, very familiar.....                          | 2%  | 2%  | 45% | 34% |
| Yes, somewhat familiar.....                      | 5%  | 10% | 38% | 34% |
| I’ve heard of it but never seen or read it ..... | 17% | 22% | 10% | 12% |
| No.....                                          | 76% | 66% | 7%  | 20% |

Q6. Have you had any conflicts in your congregation over the last several years?

|                  |     |     |     |     |
|------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Yes.....         | 46% | 54% | 60% | 48% |
| No.....          | 28% | 37% | 38% | 35% |
| Don’t know ..... | 26% | 9%  | 2%  | 16% |

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+ = nonresponses of 10% or more on this question (reported percentages for all questions omit nonresponses)

n = number of respondents eligible to answer this question

◆ = percentages add to more than 100 because respondents could make more than one response

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | Members | Elders | Pastors | Specialized Clergy |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|--------|---------|--------------------|
| Q6a. [If “Yes, ”] Was “Seeking to Be Faithful” used by the session as it addressed such conflict?                                                                                                                              |         |        |         |                    |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | n=204   | n=258  | n=374   | n=82               |
| Yes.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | 4%      | 5%     | 31%     | 24%                |
| No.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | 22%     | 45%    | 60%     | 48%                |
| Don’t know .....                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 74%     | 50%    | 9%      | 28%                |
| Q6b. [If “Yes, ”] Was “Seeking to Be Faithful” of help in resolving the conflict?                                                                                                                                              |         |        |         |                    |
| Yes.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | 2%      | 5%     | 32%     | 21%                |
| No.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | 13%     | 23%    | 43%     | 38%                |
| Don’t know .....                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 85%     | 72%    | 25%     | 41%                |
| Q7. Please indicate which of the following resources or events available through the Presbyterian Peacemaking Program your congregation has made use of. ( the for <i>all</i> that apply.)                                     |         |        |         |                    |
| Attendance by one or more members at a PC(USA) peacemaking conference .....                                                                                                                                                    | 10%     | 15%    | 23%     | 28%                |
| Hosting an International Peacemaker .....                                                                                                                                                                                      | 3%      | 3%     | 11%     | 16%                |
| Participation by one or more members in a United Nations Seminar.....                                                                                                                                                          | 2%      | 2%     | 6%      | 7%                 |
| Use of Bible studies or other printed resources of the Presbyterian Peacemaking Program.....                                                                                                                                   | 12%     | 14%    | 38%     | 37%                |
| Participation by one or more members in a Peacemaking Travel Study Seminar .....                                                                                                                                               | 4%      | 3%     | 7%      | 10%                |
| Visited the Peacemaking Program’s Web site ( <a href="http://www.pcusa.org/peacemaking">www.pcusa.org/peacemaking</a> ) for information or resources.....                                                                      | 6%      | 8%     | 24%     | 23%                |
| Q8. Please let us know about your own congregation’s peacemaking efforts. Indicate the areas in the list below in which your congregation has been involved <i>over the past two years</i> . ( the for <i>all</i> that apply.) |         |        |         |                    |
| Worship (passing the peace, prayers for peace, etc.).....                                                                                                                                                                      | 77%     | 80%    | 90%     | 89%                |
| A study group or study course on peacemaking in the Bible .....                                                                                                                                                                | 10%     | 14%    | 27%     | 30%                |
| An established peacemaking committee or by incorporating peacemaking into the work of another committee(s) .....                                                                                                               | 8%      | 11%    | 21%     | 20%                |
| Teaching non-violent conflict resolution skills to children and youth in the church and/or community .....                                                                                                                     | 16%     | 15%    | 27%     | 20%                |
| A study of human rights, arms control and disarmament, globalization, or sustainable development.....                                                                                                                          | 4%      | 6%     | 14%     | 19%                |
| A study of the war on terrorism since September 11.....                                                                                                                                                                        | 6%      | 7%     | 22%     | 17%                |
| A study of other international issues involving conflict (for example, in the Middle East, Northern Ireland, the Balkans, etc.).....                                                                                           | 11%     | 16%    | 32%     | 30%                |
| Letter writing or other public policy advocacy efforts that support legislation on peace and justice issues .....                                                                                                              | 7%      | 11%    | 20%     | 19%                |
| Recycling, energy reduction, and other concerns for the environment (“making peace with the earth”).....                                                                                                                       | 30%     | 35%    | 56%     | 48%                |
| Other (specify): .....                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 4%      | 4%     | 12%     | 8%                 |

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n = number of respondents eligible to answer this question

◆ = percentages add to more than 100 because respondents could make more than one response

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | Members | Elders | Pastors | Specialized Clergy |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|--------|---------|--------------------|
| Q9. Since September 11, has your congregation's involvement in peacemaking:                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |         |        |         |                    |
| Increased?.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | 12%     | 9%     | 15%     | 14%                |
| Decreased?.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | 1%      | *      | *       | —                  |
| Stayed about the same?.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | 45%     | 68%    | 82%     | 70%                |
| Don't know .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 42%     | 23%    | 3%      | 17%                |
| Q10. Did your congregation receive the Peacemaking Offering in 2001 (usually taken on the first Sunday in October)?                                                                                                                                                                                                                |         |        |         |                    |
| Yes.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | 30%     | 41%    | 51%     | 48%                |
| No.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | 14%     | 21%    | 45%     | 32%                |
| Don't know .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 56%     | 38%    | 4%      | 20%                |
| Q10a. [If "Yes,"] Did you or another member of your household make a contribution to this special offering?                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |         |        |         |                    |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | n=130   | n=192  | n=314   | n=80               |
| Yes.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | 64%     | 76%    | 78%     | 76%                |
| No.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | 19%     | 18%    | 17%     | 22%                |
| Don't know .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 16%     | 6%     | 4%      | 1%                 |
| Q11. How involved are you, <i>personally</i> , in your congregation's peacemaking activities?                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |         |        |         |                    |
| Very involved.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 1%      | 2%     | 20%     | 14%                |
| Generally involved .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | 4%      | 9%     | 42%     | 26%                |
| A little involved.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | 15%     | 27%    | 23%     | 28%                |
| Not involved .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 79%     | 62%    | 14%     | 32%                |
| Q12. Has your congregation participated in an interfaith worship service or other interfaith gathering in the last two years, that is, a service or gathering involving Presbyterians or other Christians and members of one or more other religions, such as Jews, Muslims, Bahá'ís, or Hindus? ( the for <i>all</i> that apply.) |         |        |         |                    |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | ◆       | ◆      | ◆       | ◆                  |
| An interfaith worship service.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 37%     | 37%    | 40%     | 42%                |
| Other interfaith gathering (describe):.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | 12%     | 17%    | 21%     | 19%                |
| Q13. As part of its peacemaking ministry, should the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) be involved in encouraging and developing interfaith dialogue between Christians and followers of other religious groups?                                                                                                                        |         |        |         |                    |
| Yes, definitely .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | 46%     | 44%    | 57%     | 74%                |
| Yes, probably .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | 33%     | 39%    | 29%     | 21%                |
| No.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | 5%      | 6%     | 10%     | 2%                 |
| Not sure.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | 16%     | 12%    | 4%      | 4%                 |
| Q14. Does your presbytery have a Peacemaking Committee?                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |         |        |         |                    |
| Yes.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | 16%     | 26%    | 68%     | 66%                |
| No.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | 10%     | 14%    | 17%     | 14%                |
| Don't know .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 74%     | 60%    | 15%     | 20%                |

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n = number of respondents eligible to answer this question

◆ = percentages add to more than 100 because respondents could make more than one response

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | Members | Elders | Pastors | Specialized Clergy |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|--------|---------|--------------------|
| <b>Q15. As a general rule, where there are armed conflicts around the world, would you favor or oppose the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) taking each of the following actions?</b>                                                                |         |        |         |                    |
| <b>a. Praying for the affected peoples</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                       |         |        |         |                    |
| Favor .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | 96%     | 98%    | 100%    | 100%               |
| Oppose .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 1%      | —      | —       | —                  |
| Depends on the situation .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 3%      | 2%     | *       | —                  |
| Not sure.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | *       | *      | —       | —                  |
| <b>b. Advocating basic human rights</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                          |         |        |         |                    |
| Favor .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | 84%     | 86%    | 92%     | 98%                |
| Oppose .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 1%      | *      | 1%      | —                  |
| Depends on the situation .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 12%     | 11%    | 6%      | 2%                 |
| Not sure.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | 2%      | 2%     | 1%      | —                  |
| <b>c. Supporting the peacemaking work of our partner churches in the area</b>                                                                                                                                                                    |         |        |         |                    |
| Favor .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | 74%     | 76%    | 82%     | 89%                |
| Oppose .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 1%      | 1%     | 2%      | —                  |
| Depends on the situation .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 18%     | 20%    | 15%     | 11%                |
| Not sure.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | 6%      | 3%     | 1%      | —                  |
| <b>d. Encouraging humanitarian efforts</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                       |         |        |         |                    |
| Favor .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | 86%     | 87%    | 95%     | 96%                |
| Oppose .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 1%      | *      | 1%      | —                  |
| Depends on the situation .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 11%     | 11%    | 4%      | 4%                 |
| Not sure.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | 2%      | 2%     | 1%      | —                  |
| <b>e. Supporting the positions of the U.S. government</b>                                                                                                                                                                                        |         |        |         |                    |
| Favor .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | 43%     | 38%    | 14%     | 11%                |
| Oppose .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 3%      | 2%     | 3%      | 4%                 |
| Depends on the situation .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 49%     | 55%    | 81%     | 84%                |
| Not sure.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | 5%      | 4%     | 2%      | 1%                 |
| <b>f. Developing relevant policy that is debated and voted on at an annual General Assembly meeting</b>                                                                                                                                          |         |        |         |                    |
| Favor .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | 36%     | 35%    | 34%     | 49%                |
| Oppose .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 10%     | 13%    | 19%     | 10%                |
| Depends on the situation .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 29%     | 32%    | 37%     | 33%                |
| Not sure.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | 25%     | 20%    | 10%     | 8%                 |
| <b>Q16. Would you like to see the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) take a more active role in providing news stories on war-torn areas of the world by collecting and disseminating information provided by our partner churches in those areas?</b> |         |        |         |                    |
| Yes, definitely .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | 21%     | 23%    | 40%     | 48%                |
| Yes, probably .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | 40%     | 42%    | 36%     | 37%                |
| No, probably not.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | 14%     | 14%    | 13%     | 7%                 |
| No, definitely not.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | 6%      | 5%     | 5%      | 3%                 |
| Not sure.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | 20%     | 16%    | 6%      | 5%                 |

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+ = nonresponses of 10% or more on this question (reported percentages for all questions omit nonresponses)

n = number of respondents eligible to answer this question

◆ = percentages add to more than 100 because respondents could make more than one response

Q17. Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

|    |                                                                                                                                                             |     |     |     |     |
|----|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| a. | The U.S. government should do more to prevent nuclear bomb materials from the former Soviet Union getting into the hands of terrorists or rogue governments |     |     |     |     |
|    | Strongly agree.....                                                                                                                                         | 48% | 44% | 46% | 57% |
|    | Agree.....                                                                                                                                                  | 37% | 38% | 38% | 27% |
|    | Neither agree nor disagree.....                                                                                                                             | 8%  | 10% | 9%  | 6%  |
|    | Disagree.....                                                                                                                                               | 1%  | 2%  | 2%  | 1%  |
|    | Strongly disagree.....                                                                                                                                      | *   | 1%  | *   | 1%  |
|    | Not sure.....                                                                                                                                               | 5%  | 6%  | 5%  | 7%  |
| b. | The church should quit trying to influence the government on matters of war and peace                                                                       |     |     |     |     |
|    | Strongly agree.....                                                                                                                                         | 4%  | 4%  | 3%  | 2%  |
|    | Agree.....                                                                                                                                                  | 15% | 15% | 7%  | 3%  |
|    | Neither agree nor disagree.....                                                                                                                             | 23% | 19% | 12% | 6%  |
|    | Disagree.....                                                                                                                                               | 37% | 40% | 39% | 37% |
|    | Strongly disagree.....                                                                                                                                      | 16% | 17% | 38% | 49% |
|    | Not sure.....                                                                                                                                               | 6%  | 5%  | 1%  | 2%  |
| c. | The church has a role in defending other faith communities that are the targets of hate crime                                                               |     |     |     |     |
|    | Strongly agree.....                                                                                                                                         | 28% | 30% | 47% | 60% |
|    | Agree.....                                                                                                                                                  | 54% | 55% | 46% | 38% |
|    | Neither agree nor disagree.....                                                                                                                             | 9%  | 10% | 4%  | 2%  |
|    | Disagree.....                                                                                                                                               | 3%  | 2%  | 2%  | —   |
|    | Strongly disagree.....                                                                                                                                      | *   | 1%  | 1%  | —   |
|    | Not sure.....                                                                                                                                               | 6%  | 3%  | 1%  | —   |
| d. | Peacemaking requires strong international institutions such as the United Nations                                                                           |     |     |     |     |
|    | Strongly agree.....                                                                                                                                         | 31% | 28% | 36% | 51% |
|    | Agree.....                                                                                                                                                  | 46% | 45% | 36% | 34% |
|    | Neither agree nor disagree.....                                                                                                                             | 6%  | 11% | 11% | 10% |
|    | Disagree.....                                                                                                                                               | 7%  | 7%  | 7%  | 3%  |
|    | Strongly disagree.....                                                                                                                                      | 4%  | 4%  | 5%  | 1%  |
|    | Not sure.....                                                                                                                                               | 6%  | 5%  | 4%  | 1%  |
| e. | It would be unwise for the U.S. to unilaterally back out of treaties that limit the testing of nuclear weapons                                              |     |     |     |     |
|    | Strongly agree.....                                                                                                                                         | 18% | 20% | 28% | 41% |
|    | Agree.....                                                                                                                                                  | 39% | 35% | 35% | 34% |
|    | Neither agree nor disagree.....                                                                                                                             | 15% | 15% | 15% | 11% |
|    | Disagree.....                                                                                                                                               | 8%  | 10% | 8%  | 4%  |
|    | Strongly disagree.....                                                                                                                                      | 3%  | 4%  | 5%  | 4%  |
|    | Not sure.....                                                                                                                                               | 17% | 15% | 9%  | 6%  |

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding

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— = zero (0.0); no cases in this category

+ = nonresponses of 10% or more on this question (reported percentages for all questions omit nonresponses)

n = number of respondents eligible to answer this question

◆ = percentages add to more than 100 because respondents could make more than one response

Q17. Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

(Cont.)

|                                                                                                                                                                                                   |     |     |     |     |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| f. Government actions since September 11 pose a threat to civil liberties in the United States                                                                                                    |     |     |     |     |
| Strongly agree.....                                                                                                                                                                               | 5%  | 5%  | 9%  | 19% |
| Agree.....                                                                                                                                                                                        | 17% | 18% | 27% | 38% |
| Neither agree nor disagree.....                                                                                                                                                                   | 18% | 17% | 19% | 13% |
| Disagree.....                                                                                                                                                                                     | 38% | 33% | 26% | 17% |
| Strongly disagree.....                                                                                                                                                                            | 14% | 19% | 13% | 6%  |
| Not sure.....                                                                                                                                                                                     | 9%  | 7%  | 7%  | 8%  |
| g. The potential long-run benefits of developing a missile defense shield for the United States outweigh any short-run problems from breaking the ABM (anti-ballistic missile) Treaty with Russia |     |     |     |     |
| Strongly agree.....                                                                                                                                                                               | 10% | 10% | 6%  | 4%  |
| Agree.....                                                                                                                                                                                        | 24% | 24% | 14% | 11% |
| Neither agree nor disagree.....                                                                                                                                                                   | 19% | 17% | 17% | 13% |
| Disagree.....                                                                                                                                                                                     | 12% | 13% | 25% | 23% |
| Strongly disagree.....                                                                                                                                                                            | 8%  | 10% | 23% | 33% |
| Not sure.....                                                                                                                                                                                     | 26% | 26% | 15% | 16% |
| h. War is a necessary evil in an unjust world                                                                                                                                                     |     |     |     |     |
| Strongly agree.....                                                                                                                                                                               | 5%  | 7%  | 8%  | 5%  |
| Agree.....                                                                                                                                                                                        | 26% | 27% | 41% | 37% |
| Neither agree nor disagree.....                                                                                                                                                                   | 21% | 19% | 16% | 15% |
| Disagree.....                                                                                                                                                                                     | 28% | 28% | 22% | 17% |
| Strongly disagree.....                                                                                                                                                                            | 12% | 12% | 8%  | 19% |
| Not sure.....                                                                                                                                                                                     | 8%  | 7%  | 6%  | 6%  |
| i. The U.S. government should lessen its military support to Israel, Egypt, and other Middle East governments                                                                                     |     |     |     |     |
| Strongly agree.....                                                                                                                                                                               | 8%  | 8%  | 12% | 18% |
| Agree.....                                                                                                                                                                                        | 25% | 23% | 33% | 31% |
| Neither agree nor disagree.....                                                                                                                                                                   | 19% | 21% | 20% | 15% |
| Disagree.....                                                                                                                                                                                     | 23% | 23% | 17% | 17% |
| Strongly disagree.....                                                                                                                                                                            | 8%  | 7%  | 5%  | 5%  |
| Not sure.....                                                                                                                                                                                     | 18% | 18% | 14% | 13% |
| j. The U.S. government should reduce its military support to the government of Colombia                                                                                                           |     |     |     |     |
| Strongly agree.....                                                                                                                                                                               | 5%  | 6%  | 12% | 17% |
| Agree.....                                                                                                                                                                                        | 25% | 20% | 28% | 34% |
| Neither agree nor disagree.....                                                                                                                                                                   | 24% | 24% | 25% | 13% |
| Disagree.....                                                                                                                                                                                     | 18% | 18% | 12% | 9%  |
| Strongly disagree.....                                                                                                                                                                            | 3%  | 4%  | 3%  | 4%  |
| Not sure.....                                                                                                                                                                                     | 24% | 28% | 20% | 22% |

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— = zero (0.0); no cases in this category

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Q18. Which of the following do you believe would be *just* reasons for the United States government to go to war?  
( the for *all* that apply.)

|                                                                                                                              |     |     |     |     |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|
|                                                                                                                              | ◆   | ◆   | ◆   | ◆   |
| The protection of U.S. economic interests abroad.....                                                                        | 22% | 26% | 14% | 10% |
| The protection of human rights of people in another country.....                                                             | 33% | 38% | 56% | 52% |
| The replacement of a government that seems to be hostile<br>to our way of life .....                                         | 15% | 14% | 8%  | 5%  |
| The punishment of another government for acts of terrorism<br>believed but not proven to be supported by that government ... | 21% | 18% | 12% | 7%  |
| The protection of our country after having been attacked<br>by another country.....                                          | 94% | 95% | 90% | 83% |
| The protection of a country closely allied with us that had<br>been attacked by another country.....                         | 71% | 74% | 70% | 64% |
| To live up to the demands of treaties that we have signed.....                                                               | 53% | 57% | 52% | 54% |
| To pre-emptively destroy weapons of mass destruction .....                                                                   | 43% | 39% | 39% | 34% |
| None of the above.....                                                                                                       | 2%  | 2%  | 5%  | 9%  |
| Other (please specify): _____.....                                                                                           | 4%  | 2%  | 4%  | 4%  |

Q19. Do you support a “two state solution” in the Middle East—that there should be both the state of Israel and a state of Palestine?

|               |     |     |     |     |
|---------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Yes.....      | 71% | 72% | 82% | 92% |
| No.....       | 5%  | 4%  | 5%  | 1%  |
| Not sure..... | 24% | 24% | 13% | 6%  |

Q20. As a way to bring peace to the Middle East, it has been proposed that Israel withdraw from occupied Arab lands if Arab nations in return recognize Israel’s right to exist as a nation. Do you favor or oppose this proposal?

|               |     |     |     |     |
|---------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Favor .....   | 67% | 68% | 76% | 76% |
| Oppose .....  | 7%  | 6%  | 7%  | 6%  |
| Not sure..... | 26% | 26% | 17% | 18% |

Q21. On another subject, do you think the events of September 11 have changed this country in a lasting way, or not?

|               |     |     |     |     |
|---------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Yes.....      | 81% | 82% | 75% | 70% |
| No.....       | 10% | 9%  | 12% | 16% |
| Not sure..... | 9%  | 9%  | 13% | 14% |

Q21a. [If “Yes, ”] Is it a change for the better or a change for the worse?

|               |        |       |       |       |
|---------------|--------|-------|-------|-------|
|               | n= 360 | n=393 | n=466 | n=121 |
| Better.....   | 46%    | 48%   | 32%   | 25%   |
| Worse.....    | 20%    | 20%   | 21%   | 32%   |
| Not sure..... | 34%    | 31%   | 47%   | 43%   |

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Q22. Do you think the U.S. campaign against terrorism is going very well, fairly well, or not well at all?

|                      |     |     |     |     |
|----------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Very well .....      | 12% | 11% | 9%  | 6%  |
| Fairly well.....     | 74% | 74% | 64% | 54% |
| Not well at all..... | 13% | 15% | 27% | 41% |

Q23. To what extent, if any, does your Christian faith influence your perspective on the war on terrorism?

|                            |     |     |     |     |
|----------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Great extent.....          | 37% | 47% | 78% | 80% |
| Some extent .....          | 51% | 44% | 21% | 19% |
| Only a little extent ..... | 8%  | 6%  | 1%  | 1%  |
| None.....                  | 4%  | 4%  | —   | —   |

Q24. How concerned are you about the possibility there will be more major terrorist attacks in the United States?

|                         |     |     |     |     |
|-------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Greatly concerned.....  | 46% | 41% | 37% | 36% |
| Somewhat concerned..... | 47% | 51% | 52% | 54% |
| Not much concerned..... | 5%  | 5%  | 9%  | 9%  |
| Not concerned.....      | 1%  | 1%  | 2%  | 1%  |
| Not sure.....           | 1%  | 1%  | *   | —   |

Q25. Please use this space for additional comments.

[Not tabulated]

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