



The Presbyterian Panel

Listening to Presbyterians



REPORT

Current Issues in Church and Society The November 2004 Survey

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What is the Presbyterian Panel?

The Presbyterian Panel consists of three nationally representative samples of groups affiliated with the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.): members, elders (lay leaders) currently on session, and ordained ministers. (The session is the governing body in Presbyterian congregations.) 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. Panel surveys are conducted quarterly, primarily by mail, but with an online completion option.

For more information on methods used to draw the samples, see the technical appendix in the *Background Report for the 2003-2005 Presbyterian Panel* (see next page for Web availability and ordering information).

The Panel is maintained and directed by the office of Research Services of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.). The first Panel was created in 1973 to provide a means for informing leaders of the opinions and activities of the rank and file across the church. Survey topics and questions are usually developed at the request of, and in consultation with, staff or elected members of national church entities. However, ultimate decisions on content and the disposition of Panel data are those of Research Services. Standards developed by the American Association of Public Opinion Research guide Panel surveys.

This Survey

These pages summarize major findings from the tenth survey completed by the 2003-2005 Panel. The first half uses text and graphics to highlight important and useful findings. A data appendix follows with comparative tables that display the percentage distribution of responses to every question for each of the four Panel groups.

Questionnaires were distributed November 11, 2004. Most panelists received their copy by U.S. mail, but a subset (n = 383, or 13%) who had signed up for the service was notified via email. Non-responders were sent a postcard reminder December 3. Returns were accepted through early February 2005. Response rates for this survey are: members, 54%; elders, 57%; ministers, 64%. All panelists had the option to complete the survey on the Web, and 16% of responding members, 16% of responding elders, 21% of responding pastors, and 26% of responding specialized clergy did so.

Results are subject to sampling and other errors. As a general rule, differences of less than 8% are not statistically meaningful.

Some analyses in this report, including those using gender, income, and indicators of religious belief and behavior (see the box on p. 4), rely on responses of panelists to the initial questionnaire they completed in the fall of 2002. For more information on this earlier survey and responses of panelists to these questions, see the *Background Report for the 2003-2005 Presbyterian Panel* (see next page for Web availability and ordering information).

A Note on Terminology

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 arithmetic 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.

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OVERVIEW

Author Note

John Marcum wrote this report and was assisted by the other staff members of the office of Research Services. John Marcum developed the questionnaire.

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Sponsor and Topics

Research Services sponsored the survey and chose two of the topics covered, “Issues in the Church” and “Faith in the 2004 Presidential Election.” The other two topics, “Economic Security” and “Security and Terrorism,” were requested by Rick Ufford-Chase, moderator of the 216th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) (2004), after Research Services had invited him to suggest topics he would like to see covered on a Panel survey.

Questions related to Jews and Israel (“Issues in the Church”) are in response to actions taken at the 2004 General Assembly meeting. For more details on those actions, go to <http://www.pcusa.org/ogaresources/journal2004.pdf>. Another document (<http://www.pcusa.org/oga/newsstories/divestmentfaqpart2.pdf>) provides a discussion of how the 2004 policy on divestment from Israel/Palestine was subsequently revised by the 2006 General Assembly.

Additional Copies

Additional copies of this *Report* may be purchased for \$10 from Presbyterian Distribution Services (PDS)—call 800-524-2612 and request item #02056-04285. This *Report* is also available on the Web for free download in Adobe Acrobat format; go to www.pcusa.org/research/panel/index.htm#2004 and click on the appropriate link. Copies of a four-page *Summary* of results are available for \$2 each directly from Research Services, or for free download from the same Web site. Call for information on quantity discounts on printed copies of either this *Report* or its *Summary* (888-728-7228 ext. 2040).

Background Report

The *Background Report for the 2003-2005 Presbyterian Panel* is available for free download in Adobe Acrobat format on the Web (www.pcusa.org/research/panel/reports/2003_05_full_bgrndreport.pdf), or may be purchased for \$10 from Presbyterian Distribution Services (PDS)—call 800-524-2612 and request item #65100-02276.

Panel on the Web

A catalogue of Panel topics, and *Summaries* and *Reports* of surveys since 1994, are available on-line at the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) Web site: www.pcusa.org/research/panel/index. A catalogue of all surveys since the first Panel was created in 1973 is available here: www.pcusa.org/research/panel/catalog.htm.

Interested in Learning More about *Your* Congregation?

- ✓ *10-Year Trend Report for Congregations*—available for free: www.pcusa.org/tenyeartrends.
- ✓ Research Services can help you conduct a congregational survey to learn more about your worshipers and identify your congregation’s strengths. Call 1-888-728-7228 ext. 2040 and ask about the *U.S. Congregational Life Survey* or visit: www.USCongregations.org.

HIGHLIGHTS

- ✓ Most ministers are aware but most laity are not of the action by the 216th General Assembly to begin a process “that may lead to a phased, selective divestment of its holdings in corporations doing business in Israel.” (p. 1)
- ✓ More laity oppose than favor the divestment policy adopted by the General Assembly, while the reverse is found among ministers. (p. 1)
- ✓ More women than men, and more theological liberals than conservatives, favor the divestment policy. (p. 2)
- ✓ In all groups, more panelists oppose than favor Israel’s construction of a security barrier between it and occupied Palestinian territories. (p. 3)
- ✓ On whether “the modern state of Israel, and Zionism in general, are divinely mandated and the fulfillment of God’s promise to Abraham in Genesis 12:3,” more laity agree than disagree, but more ministers disagree than agree. (p. 3)
- ✓ Examining views separately for evangelical and other Presbyterians reveals that many more evangelicals than others support Christian Zionism. (p. 4)
- ✓ More panelists disagree than agree that “Christians should seek to convert Jews to Christianity.” (p. 4)
- ✓ Large majorities report that they have enough income “to live simply,” including many who have “more than enough.” Nevertheless, large minorities are worried about maintaining their standard of living. (p. 5)
- ✓ More panelists with lower than higher incomes believe they do not have enough income to live simply and are worried about keeping their standard of living. (p. 5)
- ✓ More laity think the United States is “more safe” than “less safe” after the attacks of 9/11, while the reverse is true among ministers. In all groups, more feel personally “less safe” than “more safe” now. (p. 6)
- ✓ Laity are evenly split on whether “the situation in Iraq was worth going to war over,” while large majorities of ministers believe it was not worth going to war. (p. 6)
- ✓ A majority of laity believes the war on terrorism is going “very well” or “somewhat well,” while a majority of ministers believes it is going “very poorly” or “somewhat poorly.” (p. 6)
- ✓ Majorities report that their faith has helped them cope with the post-9/11 world, and disagree that the Bible is *not* “a very useful guide for responding to 21st century terrorism.” (p. 7)
- ✓ Almost all panelists report voting in the 2004 presidential election, and around half of these indicate that the faith or religion of the presidential candidates influenced their vote. (p. 8)
- ✓ More panelists report voting *for* than *against* a candidate because of various religious factors. (p. 8)
- ✓ One in six pastors report that their congregation helped register persons to vote before the 2004 elections, and one in eight that their congregation helped people get to the polls. (p. 8)
- ✓ Majorities believe it is appropriate for pastors to use the pulpit to encourage people to vote, but very few believe it is appropriate for pastors to use the pulpit to argue for or against a particular candidate. (p. 9)
- ✓ The faith of candidates influenced more Republicans than Democrats or Independents, and more Republicans report voting for or against a candidate because of specific religious factors. (p. 9)

ISSUES IN THE CHURCH

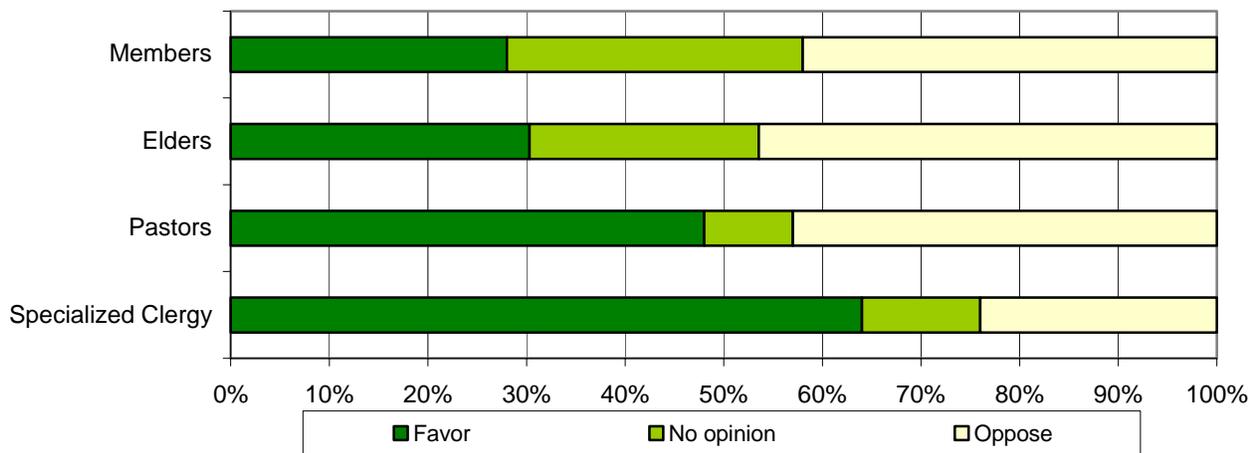
Awareness of the Divestment Policy Issue

- ✓ Most lay panelists are “not aware” (members, 61%; elders, 51%) of actions taken by the 216th General Assembly (2004) “to begin a process that may lead to a phased, selective divestment by the PC(USA) of its holdings in corporations doing business in Israel.” Of those who report some awareness (overall, 39% of members and 49% of elders), less than half (14% and 19%, respectively) are “very aware.”
- ✓ In contrast, almost all ministers are either “very aware” (pastors, 65%; specialized clergy, 50%) or “somewhat aware” (30%; 36%) of the General Assembly action regarding divestment.

Opinions on Divestment Policy

- ✓ Overall (among all panelists, both those aware and those not aware of the GA action), more laity “oppose” (members, 42%; elders, 46%) than “favor” (28%; 30%) “the PC(USA) undertaking a phased, selective sale (‘divestment’) of the stock it owns in multinational corporations whose dealings in Israel support the Israeli occupation of Palestinian territories.” Others have “no opinion” (30%; 23%).
- ✓ In contrast, more pastors (48%) and specialized clergy (64%) “favor” than “oppose” (43%; 24%) divestment. Relatively few have “no opinion” (9%; 12%).

Figure 1. Opinions on PC(USA) Policy Concerning Divestment from Israel



The Effect of Awareness on Opinion

- ✓ In general, panelists who are more aware of the GA action on divestment are more likely to oppose the policy on divestment contained therein. Among members, 73% of those “very aware” of the issue “oppose” possible divestment, compared to 46% of those “somewhat aware” and 34% of those “not aware.” Still, at every level of awareness, more members oppose than favor divestment. (See Table 1, next page.)
- ✓ Among pastors, the same pattern is found, with greater awareness of the GA action associated with more opposition. The differentials are smaller, though: among those “very aware” of the action, 46% oppose divestment; among those “somewhat aware,” 38% oppose it; among those “not aware,” 36% oppose it.
- ✓ Also among pastors, more of those with some level of awareness of the GA action favor (very aware, 51%; somewhat aware, 45%) than oppose (46%; 38%) divestment, while the reverse is true for pastors who are “not aware” (favor, 28%; oppose, 36%). Note, however, the high level of “no opinion” for pastors (36%) among those “not aware” of the decision.

ISSUES IN THE CHURCH

Table 1. Opinions on PC(USA) Divestment Policy by Awareness of the General Assembly Action Creating the Policy

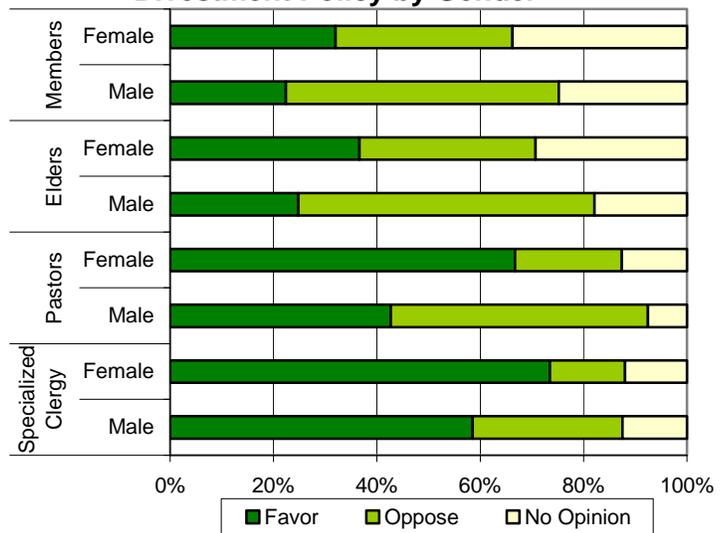
	Members			Pastors		
	Very Aware	Somewhat Aware	Not Aware	Very Aware	Somewhat Aware	Not Aware
Favor	24%	38%	24%	51%	45%	28%
Oppose.....	73%	46%	34%	46%	38%	36%
No opinion	4%	16%	42%	3%	17%	36%
Total.....	101%*	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

*Does not total 100% because of rounding

Gender and the Divestment Policy

- ✓ In each of the four Panel groups, more females than males favor the divestment policy approved by the General Assembly. The gap is the largest among pastors, with 67% of women but only 43% of men favoring the policy. (See Figure 2.)
- ✓ More women than men in three of the four groups (specialized clergy being the exception) have “no opinion” on the divestment policy. This pattern (fewer women than men expressing an opinion) has been found repeatedly in Panel surveys for a variety of issues, and is indeed commonly found in much of social science research.

Figure 2. Opinions on Presbyterian Divestment Policy by Gender



Theological Orientation and the Divestment Policy

Opinions on the denominational divestment policy are related to theological orientation. Among panelists who describe themselves as theologically liberal, more favor than oppose the divestment policy approved by the General Assembly, while the reverse is true for those who are theologically conservative. (See Table 2.)

Table 2. Divestment Policy Opinion by Theological Orientation

	Elders			Pastors		
	Conservative	Moderate	Liberal	Conservative	Moderate	Liberal
Favor	21%	34%	46%	17%	50%	77%
Oppose.....	58%	38%	34%	75%	38%	18%
No opinion	21%	28%	20%	9%	12%	4%
Total	100%	100%	100%	101%*	100%	99%*

*Does not total 100% because of rounding

This pattern is especially marked among ministers. As Table 2 shows for pastors, 75% of theological conservatives oppose the PC(USA) policy on divestment, while 77% of theological liberals favor it. Theological moderates are more evenly split in their opinions than liberals or conservatives. Among moderate laity, the percent of theological moderates in favor of the denominational policy (elders, 34%) is almost identical to that opposed (elders, 38%). Among pastors, more moderates favor (50%) than oppose (38%) the policy.

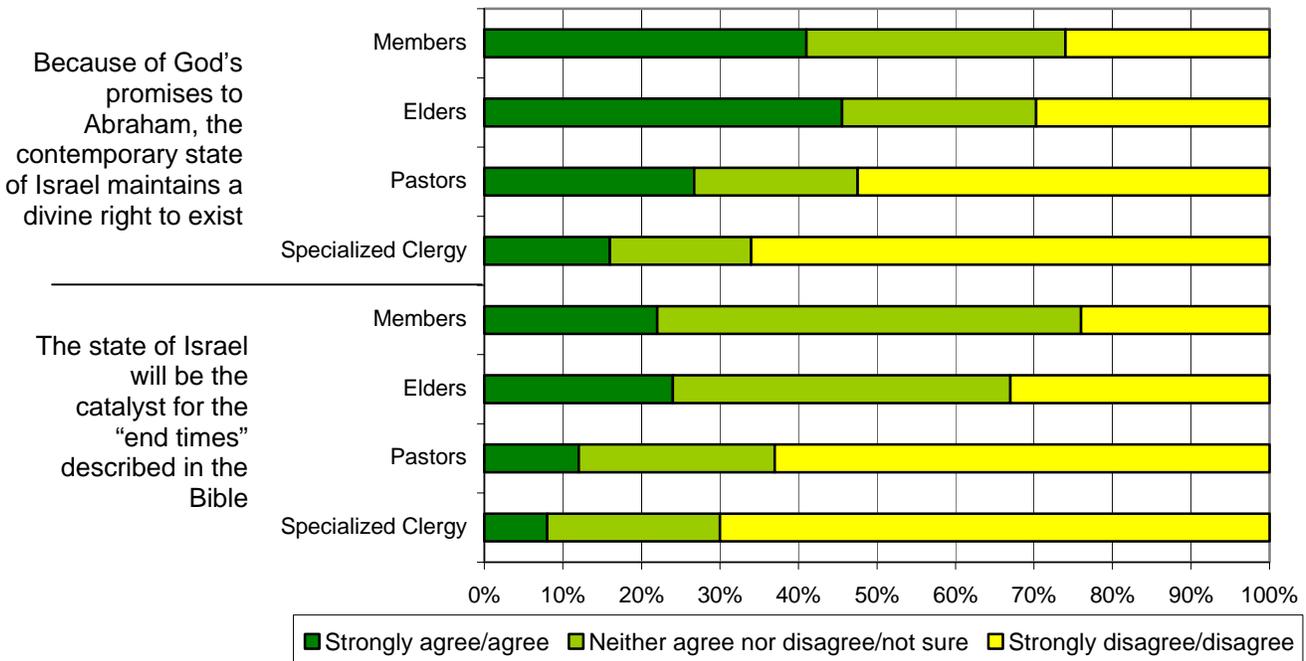
Security Barrier between Israel and Palestine

- ✓ A third of members (35%), 43% of elders, and large majorities of pastors (87%) and specialized clergy (78%) are either “very aware” or “somewhat aware” of the General Assembly action (2004) “to oppose the construction of a separation barrier (‘wall’) between Israel and occupied Palestinian territories.”
- ✓ Overall, more “oppose” than “favor” Israel’s construction of a security barrier (members: 41% oppose, 30% favor; elders: 46%, 29%; pastors: 66%, 22%; specialized clergy: 72%, 17%). The rest have “no opinion.”

Christian Zionism

- ✓ Few laity (members, 17%; elders, 26%) but most ministers (pastors, 72%; specialized clergy, 63%) are “very aware” or “somewhat aware” that the 216th General Assembly acted to “declare ‘Christian Zionism’ inconsistent with the basic values of Reformed theology.” (“Christian Zionism” was defined on the questionnaire as “the belief that the modern state of Israel, and Zionism in general, are divinely mandated and the fulfillment of God’s promise to Abraham in Genesis 12:3.”) (See Figure 3.)
- ✓ More laity “strongly agree” or “agree” (members, 41%) than “strongly disagree” or “disagree” (26%) that “because of God’s promises to Abraham, the contemporary state of Israel maintains a divine right to exist.” The pattern is reversed for ministers, with majorities responding strongly disagree/disagree (pastors, 53%).
- ✓ Responses of ministers to a related statement, “The state of Israel will be the catalyst for the ‘end times’ described in the Bible,” are similar, with only 12% of pastors and 8% of specialized clergy responding in agreement, and 63% and 70% in disagreement.
- ✓ Among laity, the strongly agree/agree totals (members, 22%; elders, 24%) are also relatively low for the “end times” question, but also few strongly disagree/disagree (24%; 33%). Even more respond “neither agree nor disagree” (26%; 26%) or “not sure” (28%; 17%).

Figure 3. Opinions on Christian Zionism



How Religious Beliefs and Experiences Affect Views on Christian Zionism

In the United States at large, support for Christian Zionism is concentrated among evangelical Christians, a pattern found as well among Presbyterians in this survey. Seven evangelical indicators were examined and, as Table 3 shows for elders, comparisons based on these indicators reveal a large gap between the evangelicals and all others concerning support for Christian Zionism. (One, though, fails to achieve statistical significance.) In fact, in most comparisons, more than twice as many evangelical Presbyterians than other Presbyterians support Christian Zionism. This pattern holds as well for the other samples.

Table 3. Support for Christian Zionism* by Evangelical Status: Elders' Responses

	Classification Based on Response to Each Question	
	Evangelical	All Other
	Percent Who Support Christian Zionism	
Theological stance (evangelical=conservative).....	53%	19%
Ever encouraged someone to accept Jesus as Savior (evangelical=yes).....	40%	17%
Ever had a conversion experience (evangelical=yes).....	46%	22%
Overall view of the Bible (evangelical=literal word of God).....	64%	28%
All religions are equally good ways to find Truth (evangelical=disagree).....	40%	23%
Only followers of Jesus Christ can be saved (evangelical=agree).....	50%	19%
Important to share my faith with others** (evangelical=agree).....	35%	16%

*Defined as a "strongly agree" or "agree" response to Q3a, "God's blessing of Abraham in Genesis 12:3 . . . applies directly to the modern state of Israel"; the pattern of response is quite similar for Q3b and Q3c

**Not significant based on chi-square test (p > .05); all other comparisons significant (p < .05)

Converting Jews: General Opinions

- ✓ In response to the statement, "Christians should seek to convert Jews to Christianity," more panelists "strongly disagree" or "disagree" than "strongly agree" or "agree." The gap, however, is greater for laity (members: 46%, strongly disagree/disagree; 30%, strongly agree/agree) than for ministers (pastors: 43%; 39%). Sizable numbers (15% to 24%) respond "neither agree nor disagree" or "not sure."
- ✓ Consistently, in three of the four groups more panelists strongly agree/agree (members, 39%; pastors, 47%; specialized clergy, 62%) than strongly disagree/disagree (27%; 33%; 16%) that "Jews are already in covenant with God, and do not need to become Christians to achieve salvation." (Among elders, 36% strongly agree/agree while 35% strongly disagree/disagree.)

Converting Jews: "Messianic" Congregations

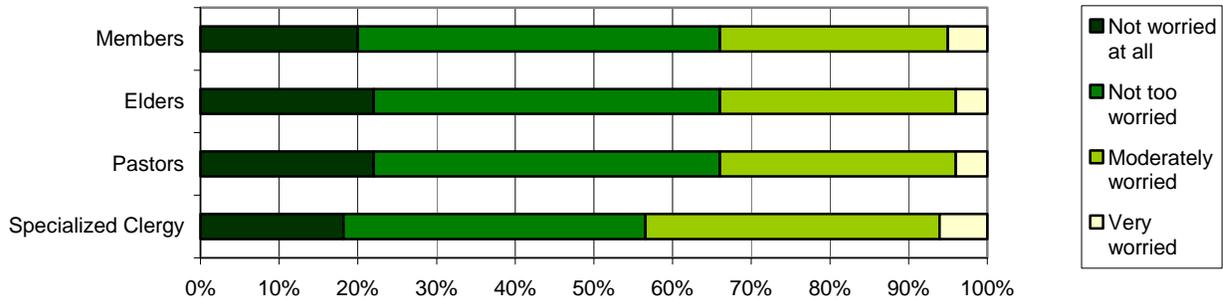
- ✓ When asked "Should the PC(USA) seek to establish 'Messianic' congregations . . . inviting those of Jewish background to explore Christian faith while maintaining Jewish religious and cultural practices," more laity and pastors respond "yes" (members, 44%; elders, 44%; pastors, 54%) than "no" (28%; 31%; 35%), while the reverse is true for specialized clergy (35%, yes; 46%, no).
- ✓ Few laity (members, 12%) but most ministers (pastors, 78%) are "very familiar" or "familiar" with the controversy over a Presbyterian "Messianic" congregation organized in Philadelphia in 2003.

ECONOMIC SECURITY

Economic Security

- ✓ Almost all panelists report that they have “enough income” (members, 60%; pastors, 45%) or “more than enough income” (32%; 48%) “to live simply.” Only a few (7%; 7%) report having “not enough.”
- ✓ Nevertheless, 43% of specialized clergy and 34% of the other groups are either “very worried” or “moderately worried” about “not being able to maintain the standard of living” they now have.

Figure 4. Worries About Maintaining One’s Current Standard of Living



- ✓ Among the employed, however, relatively few (elders, 18%; specialized clergy, 15%) are “very concerned” or “concerned” about “losing your job in the next six months.”

Economic Security and Family Income

More panelists with lower than with higher family incomes feel that they do not have “enough income to live simply” and are worried “about not being able to maintain the standard of living” they now have. Still, as Table 4 shows, even at lower income levels majorities feel that they have sufficient incomes, including a sizable share who perceive that they have “more than enough.” At the same time, fewer with higher than lower incomes feel that they do not have enough income to live simply, yet even among those making \$100,000 or more, one-fourth are “moderately” or “very worried” about keeping their standard of living.

Table 4. Opinions on Economic Security by Family Income Levels: Members’ Responses

	Less Than \$40,000	\$40,000- \$69,999	\$70,000- \$99,999	\$100,000 or More
<i>Percent Choosing Each Response</i>				
Have enough income to live simply?*				
Yes, more than enough.....	14%	22%	35%	54%
Yes, enough.....	71%	71%	58%	42%
No, not enough.....	14%	7%	7%	4%
Worried about maintaining standard of living?*				
Very/moderately worried.....	44%	38%	35%	25%
Not too worried.....	45%	46%	45%	45%
Not at all worried.....	11%	16%	20%	30%

*“No opinion” responses excluded

SECURITY AND TERRORISM

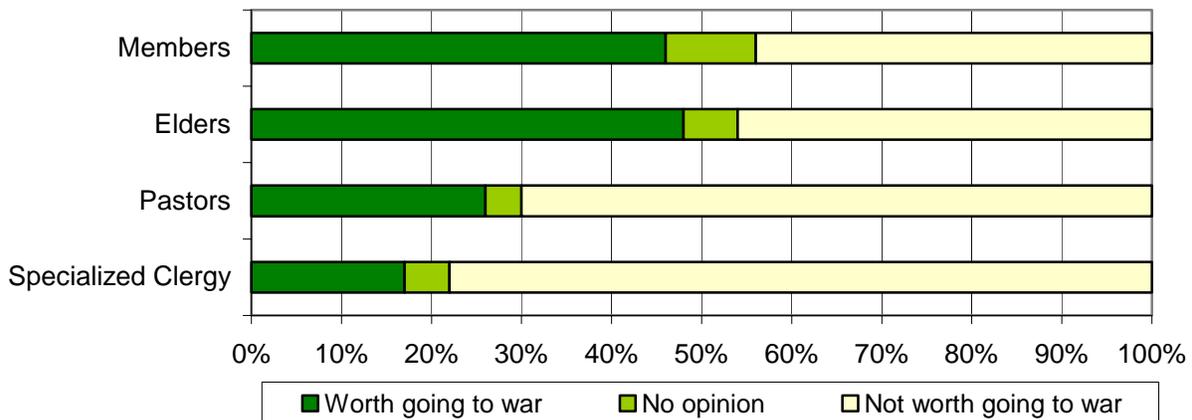
September 11 and Its Aftermath

- ✓ Panelists are split in their opinions of the safety of the United States in the years after 9/11. More laity believe the U.S. is “more safe” (members, 38%; elders, 39%) than “less safe” (25%; 25%), while the opposite is true among pastors (22%, more safe; 40%, less safe) and specialized clergy (12%; 52%). Around one-third in every group believe the nation’s safety is “about the same.”
- ✓ In all groups, more panelists themselves feel “less safe” (members, 26%; pastors, 28%) than “more safe” (20%; 12%) following 9/11. A majority, though, feels “about as safe” now as before 9/11 (54%; 60%).

The War in Iraq

- ✓ Laity are split over whether “the situation in Iraq was worth going to war over, or not,” with 46% of members and 48% of elders responding “worth going to war,” and 44% and 46%, respectively, “not worth going to war.” Another 10% and 6% have “no opinion.”
- ✓ In sharp contrast, large majorities of pastors (70%) and specialized clergy (78%) believe the situation in Iraq was “not worth going to war.”

Figure 5. Opinions on Going to War in Iraq



- ✓ Small majorities of members (53%) and elders (53%) but larger majorities of pastors (73%) and specialized clergy (82%) believe the war in Iraq has “not been worth” the cost “in U.S. military lives.”
- ✓ A similar pattern is found for the “financial cost to the U.S.” of the war in Iraq, with half of laity, but 70% of pastors and 80% of specialized clergy, viewing the war as “not worth the cost.”
- ✓ More panelists believe the “U.S. is winning” (elders, 44%; pastors, 30%) than the “insurgents are winning” in Iraq (5%; 10%), but even more believe “neither is winning” (47%; 56%). A small share have “no opinion” (4%; 3%).

Service in Iraq and Afghanistan

- ✓ Few panelists (no more than 1% in any group) report having “served in the military in Iraq or Afghanistan” during the prior three years. Another one in 11 (members, 9%; pastors, 9%) report having “one or more relatives” who have served in one or both of these countries.

SECURITY AND TERRORISM

The Fight against Terrorism

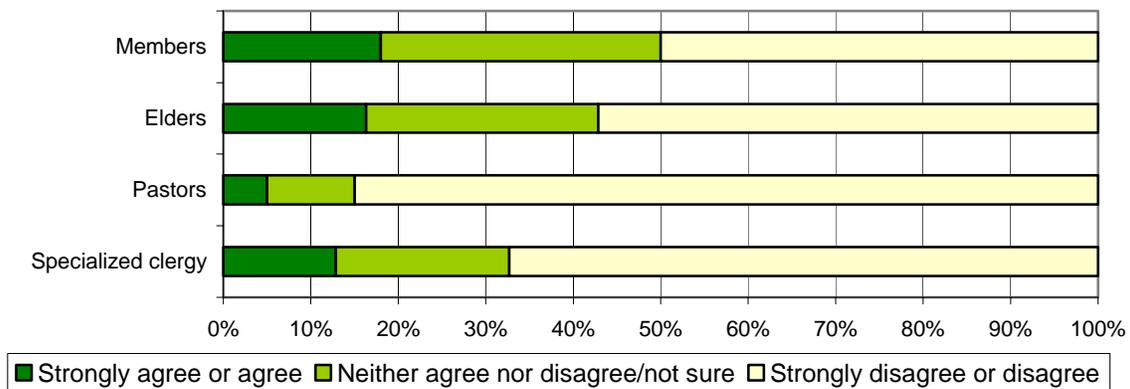
- ✓ A small majority of laity judge the U.S. war on terrorism to be going “very well” (members, 6%; elders, 7%) or “somewhat well” (47%; 45%), while larger majorities of ministers rate the war as going “somewhat poorly” (pastors, 30%; specialized clergy, 30%) or “very poorly” (34%; 51%).
- ✓ Most laity (members, 58%; elders, 54%) deem the war in Iraq to be “part of the war on terrorism that began on September 11, 2001,” while most ministers (pastors, 60%; specialized clergy, 73%) deem the war in Iraq to be “an entirely separate military action.”

Faith, War, and the Post-9/11 World

- ✓ Large majorities “strongly agree” or “agree” that “Christians have a mandate to resolve conflict peacefully” (members, 70%; elders, 74%; pastors, 91%; specialized clergy, 93%). Among the rest, more “neither agree nor disagree” or are “not sure” (17%; 14%; 6%; 5%) than “strongly disagree” or “disagree” (13%; 12%; 2%; 2%).
- ✓ Large majorities of ministers (91%; 79%) but many fewer laity (41%; 48%) “strongly agree” or “agree” with the statement, “my personal beliefs about war and security are biblically based.” Most of the rest “neither agree nor disagree”; only 20% of members, 18% of elders, less than 0.5% of pastors, and 6% of specialized clergy “strongly disagree” or “disagree.”
- ✓ Very large majorities “strongly agree” or “agree” that “my faith has helped me cope with the insecurity of the post-9/11 world” (members, 82%; elders, 91%; pastors, 97%; specialized clergy, 95%). Almost no one responds “strongly disagree” or “disagree” (2%; 2%; less than 0.5%; 1%).
- ✓ Half of members and majorities of the other groups “strongly disagree” or “disagree” that “the Bible is not a very useful guide for responding to 21st century terrorism” (members, 50%; elders, 56%; pastors, 85%; specialized clergy, 68%). Few “strongly agree” or “agree” with the statement (18%; 16%; 5%; 13%), while many, especially among laity, are “not sure” or respond “neither agree nor disagree” (32%; 26%; 10%; 20%).

Figure 6. Opinions on the Bible’s Applicability to 21st Century Terrorism

Q. The Bible is not a very useful guide for responding to 21st century terrorism

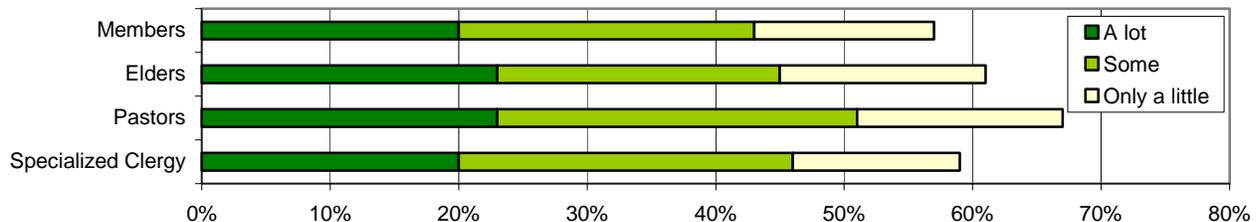


FAITH AND THE 2004 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

Faith and Presidential Voting in 2004

- ✓ Almost all panelists—98% or more—report voting in the 2004 presidential election. That contrasts markedly with the 64% of adults in the United States who reported voting in a Census Bureau survey.
- ✓ Among panelists who voted, large minorities (members, 43%) or small majorities (pastors, 51%) report “the faith/religion of the presidential candidates” influenced their vote “some” or “a lot.”

Figure 7. Influence of Candidates’ Faith on Panelists’ Vote for President



Faith’s Positive Influence on Presidential Voting

- ✓ At least seven in ten of panelists who report that the faith or religion of candidates influenced their vote indicate that such factors led them to vote for a particular candidate (members, 84%; elders, 86%; pastors, 80%; specialized clergy, 70%).
- ✓ Of these, from one in five to six in ten report voting for a presidential candidate for each of these five reasons:
 - His religious beliefs were congruent with mine (members, 44%; elders, 45%; pastors, 32%; specialized clergy, 31%)
 - I was impressed with his religious beliefs (45%; 45%; 31%; 21%)
 - I was impressed with how he lived his faith (60%; 60%; 52%; 44%)
 - I thought he had the stronger faith (44%; 44%; 24%; 19%)
 - One of his positions was congruent with my beliefs (44%; 40%; 44%; 41%)

Faith’s Negative Effects on Presidential Voting

- ✓ Among the panelists who report that the faith or religion of candidates influenced their vote, majorities (members, 59%; elders, 65%; pastors, 71%; specialized clergy, 76%) indicate that such factors led them to vote against a particular candidate.
- ✓ Of these, from one in 12 to more than four in ten report voting against a presidential candidate for each of these five reasons:
 - His religion/beliefs were contrary to mine (members, 18%; elders, 16%; pastors, 27%; specialized clergy, 36%)
 - His lack of values (37%; 39%; 31%; 37%)
 - One of his positions was contrary to my beliefs (32%; 37%; 43%; 45%)
 - His religious beliefs were too conservative (12%; 14%; 32%; 46%)
 - His religious beliefs were too liberal (41%; 35%; 29%; 24%)

Congregational Involvement in the 2004 Election

- ✓ According to pastors, 17% of their congregations “helped people register to vote” prior to the 2004 elections. An overlapping 12% “helped people get to the polls on November 2.”
- ✓ One in four pastors (25%) reports that his or her congregation “made an effort to inform people about particular issues in the presidential election,” while only 2% report that it “supported a particular candidate.”

FAITH AND THE 2004 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

The Role of Pastors in Political Campaigns

- ✓ Majorities (61% to 79%) believe it is “always” appropriate for pastors “to use the pulpit to encourage people to vote.” Most of the rest (16% to 25%) respond “occasionally”; less than one in ten respond “never.”
- ✓ However, almost no one believes it is “always” (1% or less) or even “occasionally” (4% or less) appropriate for pastors “to use the pulpit to argue for or against a candidate for political office.”
- ✓ Many members (44%) and elders (45%) believe it is “always” or “occasionally” appropriate for pastors “to use the pulpit to discuss political issues factually.” Even more ministers hold that view (pastors, 64%; specialized clergy, 77%). But a third of members and 10% of pastors think that it’s “never” appropriate.
- ✓ Many fewer believe it is “always” or “occasionally” appropriate for pastors “to use the pulpit to discuss political issues in a partisan way” (members, 10%; elders, 8%; pastors, 6%; specialized clergy, 11%).

Influence of Religion

- ✓ More panelists think “churches and religious groups” have “too little” (members, 28%; elders, 32%; pastors, 31%) than “too much” (20%; 22%; 23%) “power and influence in Washington,” with the exception of specialized clergy (too much, 35%; too little, 27%). But many others think religion’s influence is “about right” (32%; 26%; 24%; 19%). The rest have “no opinion” (20%; 20%; 22%; 18%).
- ✓ More laity and specialized clergy believe “religion as a whole” is “increasing” (members, 43%; elders, 42%; specialized clergy, 42%) rather than “decreasing” (30%; 36%; 33%) its “influence on American life,” while pastors are more evenly split (increasing, 39%; decreasing, 41%).

Political Party Preference and Opinions on the 2004 Presidential Election

- The “faith/religion” of the presidential candidates influenced “a lot” the vote of more Republicans (members, 26%; elders, 34%; pastors, 37%) than Democrats (10%; 8%; 19%) or Independents (17%; 16%; 16%).
- All panelists who report any influence of a candidate’s faith or religion on their vote were asked whether they had voted for or against someone because of various religious factors. Consistently, more Republicans than Democrats report voting *for* a particular candidate because of religious factors. For example, when asked whether they had “voted for a candidate because his religious beliefs were congruent with mine,” more Republicans (members, 53%; pastors, 50%) than Democrats (22%; 23%) so reported. (Independents were closer to Democrats: 33%, 18%.)
- The same pattern is also found when panelists are asked about voting *against* a candidate because of various religious factors. For example, more Republicans (members, 88%; pastors, 82%) than Democrats (60%; 66%) report voting against a candidate because of contrary religious beliefs. (Independents are intermediate: 79%, 72%.)
- More Republicans (members, 30%; pastors, 38%) than Democrats (5%; 1%) voted against a candidate because his views were too liberal, while more Democrats (57%; 61%) than Republicans (1%; 3%) voted against a candidate because his views were too conservative. (Relatively few Independents voted against a candidate because his religious beliefs were too conservative (members, 12%; pastors, 22%) or because his religious beliefs were too liberal (12%; 15%).)
- More Democrats (members, 43%; pastors, 35%) than Republicans (10%; 5%) believe that churches and religious groups have “too much power and influence in Washington.” (Independents are intermediate: 20%; 20%).

THE PRESBYTERIAN PANEL

CURRENT ISSUES IN CHURCH AND SOCIETY—THE NOVEMBER 2004 SURVEY

DATA APPENDIX

	Members	Elders	Ministers
Number of surveys mailed	730	1,052	1,213
Number of surveys returned.....	398	603	781‡
Percent of surveys returned.....	54%	57%	64%
‡ 516 pastors; 265 specialized clergy			

Issues in the Church

Q-1. Do you favor or oppose the PC(USA) undertaking a phased, selective sale (“divestment”) of the stock it owns in multinational corporations whose dealings in Israel support the Israeli occupation of Palestinian territories?

	Members	Elders	Pastors	Specialized Clergy
Favor.....	28%	30%	48%	64%
Oppose.....	42%	46%	43%	24%
No opinion.....	30%	23%	9%	12%

Q-2. Do you favor or oppose the current construction by Israel of a security barrier or “wall” between it and occupied Palestinian territories?

Favor.....	30%	29%	22%	17%
Oppose.....	41%	46%	66%	72%
No opinion.....	29%	25%	12%	11%

Q-3. Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements:

a. God’s blessing of Abraham in Genesis 12:3 (“I will bless those who bless you, but I will curse those who curse you. And through you I will bless all the nations.”) applies directly to the modern state of Israel

Strongly agree	9%	11%	7%	6%
Agree.....	25%	23%	14%	11%
Neither agree nor disagree	21%	22%	16%	15%
Disagree	18%	24%	33%	32%
Strongly disagree	9%	9%	28%	34%
Not sure.....	18%	11%	2%	3%

b. Because of God’s promises to Abraham, the contemporary state of Israel maintains a divine right to exist

Strongly agree	11%	16%	8%	5%
Agree.....	30%	30%	19%	11%
Neither agree nor disagree	19%	18%	18%	15%
Disagree	16%	20%	30%	33%
Strongly disagree	10%	10%	23%	33%
Not sure.....	14%	7%	3%	3%

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

Q-3. Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements:
(Cont.)

c. The state of Israel will be the catalyst for the “end times” described in the Bible

Strongly agree	6%	11%	3%	2%
Agree	16%	13%	9%	6%
Neither agree nor disagree	26%	26%	17%	16%
Disagree	12%	19%	25%	22%
Strongly disagree	12%	14%	38%	48%
Not sure	28%	17%	8%	7%

d. Christians should seek to convert Jews to Christianity

Strongly agree	9%	12%	15%	9%
Agree	21%	23%	24%	17%
Neither agree nor disagree	16%	18%	17%	14%
Disagree	27%	27%	19%	22%
Strongly disagree	19%	19%	24%	37%
Not sure	8%	1%	1%	1%

e. Jews are already in covenant with God, and do not need to become Christians to achieve salvation

Strongly agree	10%	10%	21%	27%
Agree	29%	26%	26%	35%
Neither agree nor disagree	19%	20%	15%	19%
Disagree	18%	22%	20%	9%
Strongly disagree	9%	13%	13%	7%
Not sure	16%	10%	4%	2%

Q-4. Should the PC(USA) seek to establish “Messianic” congregations, that is, congregations inviting those of Jewish background to explore Christian faith while maintaining Jewish religious and cultural practices?

Yes	44%	44%	54%	35%
No	28%	31%	35%	46%
No opinion	28%	25%	12%	18%

Q-5. Are you familiar with the controversy over a Presbyterian “Messianic” congregation organized in Philadelphia in 2003?

Yes, very familiar	2%	2%	22%	20%
Yes, somewhat familiar	10%	17%	56%	42%
No, not familiar	88%	81%	22%	38%

Q-6. Are you aware of actions taken by the 2004 General Assembly of the PC(USA) to:

a. Continue to allow national-level funds of the PC(USA) to be used to fund Presbyterian “Messianic” congregations

Yes, very aware	3%	3%	31%	22%
Yes, somewhat aware	12%	17%	45%	40%
No, not aware	85%	80%	24%	38%

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	Members	Elders	Pastors	Specialized Clergy
Q-6. Are you aware of actions taken by the 2004 General Assembly of the PC(USA) to: (Cont.)				
b. Begin a process that may lead to a phased, selective divestment by the PC(USA) of its holdings in corporations doing business in Israel				
Yes, very aware.....	14%	19%	65%	50%
Yes, somewhat aware.....	25%	30%	30%	36%
No, not aware.....	61%	51%	5%	15%
c. Oppose the construction of a separation barrier (“wall”) between Israel and occupied Palestinian territories				
Yes, very aware.....	13%	16%	56%	44%
Yes, somewhat aware.....	22%	27%	31%	34%
No, not aware.....	65%	57%	12%	22%
d. Declare “Christian Zionism” inconsistent with the basic values of Reformed theology (“Christian Zionism” is the belief that the modern State of Israel, and Zionism is general, are divinely mandated and the fulfillment of God’s promise to Abraham in Genesis 12:3)				
Yes, very aware.....	5%	6%	37%	30%
Yes, somewhat aware.....	12%	20%	35%	33%
No, not aware.....	83%	74%	28%	37%

Economic Security

Q-7. Do you feel that you have enough income to live simply?				
Yes, more than enough.....	32%	40%	48%	42%
Yes, enough.....	60%	52%	45%	49%
No, not enough.....	7%	6%	7%	10%
No opinion.....	2%	1%	1%	—
Q-8. How worried are you about not being able to maintain the standard of living you now enjoy?				
Very worried.....	5%	4%	4%	6%
Moderately worried.....	29%	30%	30%	37%
Not too worried.....	46%	43%	43%	38%
Not worried at all.....	20%	22%	22%	18%
No opinion.....	1%	1%	1%	—
Q-9. If employed: How concerned are you about losing your job in the next six months?				
Very concerned.....	3%	2%	2%	3%
Concerned.....	6%	5%	6%	9%
Not too concerned.....	16%	20%	32%	30%
Not at all concerned.....	22%	30%	56%	37%
No opinion.....	1%	1%	*	—
Not employed (retired, full-time homemaker, student, etc.).....	52%	41%	4%	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

Security and Terrorism

Q-10. Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements:

a. Christians have a mandate to resolve conflict peacefully				
Strongly agree	25%	28%	55%	59%
Agree.....	45%	46%	36%	34%
Neither agree nor disagree	14%	12%	6%	5%
Disagree	11%	9%	2%	1%
Strongly disagree	2%	3%	*	1%
Not sure.....	3%	2%	*	—
b. My personal beliefs about war and security are biblically based				
Strongly agree	7%	10%	37%	28%
Agree.....	34%	38%	54%	51%
Neither agree nor disagree	29%	26%	9%	13%
Disagree	15%	16%	*	5%
Strongly disagree	5%	2%	—	1%
Not sure.....	10%	7%	*	2%
c. The Bible is not a very useful guide for responding to 21 st century terrorism				
Strongly agree	4%	2%	*	2%
Agree.....	14%	14%	5%	11%
Neither agree nor disagree	22%	21%	9%	17%
Disagree	40%	38%	50%	41%
Strongly disagree	10%	18%	35%	27%
Not sure.....	10%	5%	1%	3%
d. My faith has helped me cope with the insecurity of the post-9/11 world				
Strongly agree	27%	38%	63%	50%
Agree.....	55%	53%	34%	45%
Neither agree nor disagree	13%	6%	2%	3%
Disagree	1%	1%	*	1%
Strongly disagree	1%	*	*	*
Not sure.....	3%	1%	—	*

Q-11. Do you think the United States is more safe, less safe, or about as safe as it was prior to September 11, 2001?

More safe	38%	39%	22%	12%
Less safe	25%	25%	40%	52%
About the same	37%	36%	36%	35%
No opinion.....	1%	—	1%	1%

Q-12. Do you personally feel more safe, less safe, or about as safe as you did prior to September 11, 2001?

More safe	20%	20%	12%	8%
Less safe	26%	24%	28%	33%
About the same	54%	57%	60%	59%
No opinion.....	*	*	*	*

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n = number of respondents eligible to answer this question

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Q-13. Have you or any members of your family served in the military in Iraq or Afghanistan during the past three years?

	Members	Elders	Pastors	Specialized Clergy
Yes, I served.....*	◆	◆	◆	◆
Yes, one or more relatives served	9%	9%	9%	8%
No → → <i>Skip to Q-14</i>	90%	90%	91%	91%
[If “Yes, one or more relatives served,] How many? n=36	n=36	n=53	n=44	n=21
	+	+	+	
One served.....	71%	72%	70%	76%
Two served	23%	26%	28%	19%
Three served	3%	2%	2%	—
Four served.....	3%	—	—	5%

Q-13a. If one or more relatives served, please indicate how the person(s) who served is (are) related to you.
(Check the for *all* that apply.)

	Members	Elders	Pastors	Specialized Clergy
	n=36	n=53	n=44	n=21
	◆	◆	◆	◆
Spouse	3%	—	—	5%
Son or daughter	15%	26%	20%	5%
Parent.....	—	—	—	—
Grandchild.....	18%	13%	—	10%
Other (specify):	74%	68%	83%	81%

Q-14. How would you rate the way things are going for the United States in the war on terrorism?

Very well.....	6%	7%	4%	1%
Somewhat well	47%	45%	30%	17%
Somewhat poorly	23%	25%	30%	30%
Very poorly	20%	19%	34%	51%
No opinion.....	4%	4%	1%	1%

Q-15. All in all, do you think the situation in Iraq was worth going to war over, or not?

Worth going to war	46%	48%	26%	17%
Not worth going to war	44%	46%	70%	78%
No opinion.....	10%	6%	4%	5%

Q-16. Generally speaking, do you think the war in Iraq has been worth . . .

a. The cost in U.S. military lives?

Worth the cost.....	36%	40%	23%	14%
Not worth the cost.....	53%	53%	73%	82%
No opinion	11%	7%	4%	4%

b. The financial cost to the U.S.?

Worth the cost.....	40%	44%	26%	17%
Not worth the cost.....	50%	50%	70%	80%
No opinion	10%	7%	4%	3%

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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
Q-17. Do you think the U.S. is winning the war in Iraq, or do you think the anti-U.S. insurgents in Iraq are winning the war, or is neither side winning the war in Iraq?				
U.S. winning	38%	44%	30%	18%
Insurgents winning	7%	5%	10%	16%
Neither winning	49%	47%	56%	65%
No opinion.....	6%	4%	3%	1%

Q-18. Do you consider the war in Iraq to be part of the war on terrorism that began on September 11, 2001, or do you consider it to be an entirely separate military action?				
Part of the war on terrorism	58%	54%	37%	25%
Entirely separate military action	38%	43%	60%	73%
No opinion.....	4%	4%	2%	2%

Faith in the 2004 Presidential Election

Q-19. Did you vote in the recent presidential election?

Yes	98%	99%	99%	98%
No.....	2%	1%	1%	2%
[If “No, ”] Why not? n=10		n=7	n=6	n=5
◆	◆	◆	◆	◆
Didn't register to vote.....	20%	14%	—	—
Work/family responsibilities	—	14%	—	—
My vote doesn't matter.....	—	—	17%	—
Did not like any candidate.....	20%	—	—	—
Traveling/out of town and did not get absentee ballot	—	29%	33%	40%
Sick/disabled	—	29%	—	—
Not eligible to vote	30%	—	33%	40%
Other (specify):	30%	29%	33%	20%

Q-20. Did the faith/religion of the presidential candidates influence your vote?

Yes, a lot	20%	23%	23%	20%
Yes, some	23%	22%	28%	26%
Yes, but only a little	14%	16%	16%	13%
No.....	42%	38%	32%	39%
Did not vote → → <i>Skip to Q-22</i>	1%	1%	1%	2%

Q-21. If yes, in what ways? (✓ the □ for *all* that apply.)

	n=221	n=364	n=343	n=156
I voted <i>for</i> a candidate because his religious beliefs were congruent with mine	44% ◆	45% ◆	32% ◆	31% ◆
I voted <i>for</i> a candidate because I was impressed with his religious beliefs.....	45%	45%	31%	21%
I voted <i>for</i> a candidate because I was impressed with how he lived his faith	60%	60%	52%	44%
I voted <i>for</i> a candidate because I thought he had the stronger faith.....	44%	44%	24%	19%
I voted <i>for</i> a candidate because one of his positions was congruent with my beliefs	44%	40%	44%	41%
[Did not check any of the five “for” choices]	16%	14%	20%	30%

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	Members	Elders	Pastors	Specialized Clergy
Q-21. If yes, in what ways? (✓ the □ for <i>all</i> that apply.) (Cont.)	n=221	n=364	n=343	n=156
I voted <i>against</i> a candidate because his religion/beliefs were contrary to mine	18% ♦	16%	27%	36%
I voted <i>against</i> a candidate because of his lack of values	37%	39%	31%	37%
I voted <i>against</i> a candidate because one of his positions was contrary to my beliefs.....	32%	37%	43%	45%
I voted <i>against</i> a candidate because his religious beliefs were too conservative	12%	14%	32%	46%
I voted <i>against</i> a candidate because his religious beliefs were too liberal	23%	25%	17%	10%
[Did not check any of the five “against” choices].....	41%	35%	29%	24%
Other (specify): _____	13%	12%	13%	21%
Q-22. Do you think it is appropriate for pastors to use the pulpit to . . .				
a. Encourage people to vote?				
Yes, always	61%	69%	75%	79%
Yes, occasionally	25%	20%	20%	16%
Yes, rarely	5%	5%	3%	2%
No, never.....	8%	5%	2%	2%
No opinion	1%	1%	*	*
b. Discuss political issues factually?				
Yes, always	10%	12%	21%	27%
Yes, occasionally	34%	33%	43%	50%
Yes, rarely	24%	24%	26%	14%
No, never.....	31%	31%	10%	8%
No opinion	2%	1%	1%	1%
c. Discuss political issues in a partisan way?				
Yes, always	2%	2%	2%	2%
Yes, occasionally	8%	6%	4%	9%
Yes, rarely	9%	11%	18%	19%
No, never.....	79%	79%	75%	70%
No opinion	2%	3%	1%	1%
d. Argue for or against a candidate for political office?				
Yes, always	1%	1%	1%	*
Yes, occasionally	3%	3%	2%	4%
Yes, rarely	6%	6%	13%	18%
No, never.....	87%	88%	83%	77%
No opinion	3%	2%	1%	1%
Q-23. Did your congregation in 2004 make any effort to . . .				
a. Help people register to vote?				
Yes	13%	11%	17%	16%
No.....	52%	72%	83%	63%
Don’t know	35%	17%	*	21%
b. Help people get to the polls on November 2?				
Yes	13%	10%	12%	16%
No.....	48%	67%	87%	58%
Don’t know	39%	23%	1%	25%

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	Members	Elders	Pastors	Specialized Clergy
Q-23. Did your congregation in 2004 make any effort to . . . (Cont.)				
c. Inform people about particular issues in the presidential election?				
Yes	14%	15%	25%	26%
No.....	56%	73%	74%	58%
Don't know	30%	12%	1%	16%
d. Support a particular candidate?				
Yes	2%	2%	1%	2%
No.....	73%	91%	99%	84%
Don't know	25%	7%	*	14%
Q-24. Do you think churches and religious groups have too much or too little power and influence in Washington?				
Too much	20%	22%	23%	35%
Too little.....	28%	32%	31%	27%
About the right amount	32%	26%	24%	19%
No opinion.....	20%	20%	22%	18%
Q-25. At the present time, do you think religion as a whole is increasing its influence on American life or losing its influence?				
Increasing influence	43%	42%	39%	42%
Losing influence.....	30%	36%	41%	33%
Staying about the same.....	22%	19%	17%	19%
No opinion.....	5%	3%	2%	6%
Q-26. Please use the space below for additional comments. [Not tabulated]				
Form used:				
Paper	84%	84%	79%	74%
Web.....	16%	16%	21%	26%

