

# PRESBYTERIAN PANEL REPORT

*Listening to Presbyterians*



## PEACEMAKING THE NOVEMBER 1995 PRESBYTERIAN PANEL

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RESEARCH SERVICES  
Congregational Ministries Division  
Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.)  
100 Witherspoon Street  
Louisville, Kentucky 40202

## THE PRESBYTERIAN PANEL: AN OVERVIEW

The Presbyterian Panel (1994-1996) consists of several thousand Presbyterians in the United States and Puerto Rico who agreed to respond to a quarterly mail survey beginning February 1994. The Panel contains independent, representative samples of four groups affiliated with the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.): members, elders, pastors, and clergy in specialized ministries. (The exact number of cases in each sample may be found at the beginning of the appendix.)

Participants in each of these samples were selected according to scientific sampling procedures, a detailed description of which can be found in Appendix B of the *Background Report for the 1994-1996 Panel* (Louisville: Research Services, Division of Congregational Ministries, Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), 1994). The member sample was drawn in two stages. First, 425 congregations were sampled, with the probability of selection proportional to membership size. Each of the 425 congregations was, in turn, requested to supply the names of eight members, based on applying a set of random numbers to its current list of active members. The elder sample was drawn from a denominationally-maintained list of all elders currently serving on sessions of Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) congregations. To ensure geographical representation, elders were sampled proportionately according to their overall distribution across the church's 16 synods. The pastor sample is a random sample of all ordained ministers of the Word and Sacrament who, at the time of sampling, occupied a staff position in a congregation or other parish. The specialized clergy sample is a random sample of all ordained ministers in the denomination who, at the time of sampling, worked outside a parish (e.g., chaplains, counselors, teachers, church officials). Retired clergy were excluded from the Panel. Pastors and specialized clergy were both slightly oversampled to permit individuals who had served in the 1991-1993 cycle of the Panel to be excluded from the new samples.

The Office of Research Services, lodged in the Congregational Ministries Division of the national offices of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), maintains the Panel as a service to the General Assembly, its agencies, councils, committees, and other entities. The primary purpose of the Panel is to aid these national bodies within the church by gathering information on Presbyterian opinions and behavior for use in planning and evaluation. Secondly, the Panel exists to provide the church as a whole and the larger society with information of general interest on Presbyterians.

All Panel data are publicly available, with the exception that no data will be released that might compromise the confidentiality of respondents. Requests for Panel data in computer-readable format for research purposes will be considered on an individual basis. Responsibility for the maintenance and disposition of Panel files ultimately rests with the Office of Research Services.

### SAMPLING ERROR

Time and costs preclude inclusive surveys of all but the smallest populations. With larger populations, representative samples are drawn and the responses of smaller subsets are used to extrapolate to the total population—much as medicine draws a sample of blood to profile the entire blood supply within the human body. The values obtained from a scientifically-selected sample will not necessarily be the same ones that would have been obtained if the entire population had been surveyed, but we can know, within a certain degree of probability, the range above and below the sample value within which the actual population value is likely to fall. By convention, surveys usually report 95% “confidence intervals,” that is, the range above and below a sample value that, in 19 out of 20 samples (in other words, 95% of the time), will contain the true population value. This range is also known as sampling error.

Sampling error is dependent largely on the number of cases in the sample and, with percentages, how large or how small the particular values are. In general, the larger the sample, the smaller the sampling error, and the closer a percentage is to 50% (as opposed to 0% or 100%), the larger the sampling error. Approximate sampling errors for Panel samples are:

REPORTED PERCENTAGE	MEMBERS	ELDERS	PASTORS	SPECIALIZED CLERGY
	95% CONFIDENCE INTERVAL			
50%	±4%	±4%	±4%	±5%
30% or 70%	±4%	±4%	±4%	±5%
20% or 80%	±4%	±4%	±4%	±4%
10% or 90%	±3%	±3%	±3%	±3%
5% or 95%	±2%	±2%	±2%	±2%

## HIGHLIGHTS

- Majorities of panelists view peacemaking as integral to both the Gospel and to the church's ministry. [pp. 1-2]
- All pastors and over one-half of members are aware of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.)'s ongoing emphasis on peacemaking. [p. 2]
- According to pastors, only two of 13 peacemaking-related programs, activities, and structures are intentionally part of the life and work of a majority of congregations: worship and peacemaking ministries in the community. [pp. 2-3]
- Just under one-half of pastors report that their congregations received the Peacemaking Offering in 1995. [p. 3]
- According to pastors, over two-thirds of congregations have committed to include peacemaking as part of their ministries and programs, and about two-thirds of this subset of congregations have adopted the Presbyterian Peacemaking Program's "Commitment to Peacemaking." [p. 4]
- Sizable minorities of panelists report that in the year prior to the survey there was at least one major conflict within their congregations. [p. 5]
- Few panelists view racism as "the most serious problem" facing the United States, but one-half or more view it as "one of the top two or three." Majorities believe that opposing racism should be an "urgent ministry" of the church, but many fewer believe that Presbyterian congregations are well-equipped for such a task. [p. 6]
- Majorities in every sample agree that "making peace with the earth" should be an urgent part of the peacemaking ministry of the PCUSA. [p. 7]
- Large majorities of pastors and specialized clergy agree that the church has a role to play in peacemaking efforts in world "hot spots" such as Bosnia and Northern Ireland, but only a minority of members do. [p. 7]
- Over eight in ten panelists in every sample support a worldwide nuclear test ban. [p. 7]
- At least seven in ten panelists in every sample support the participation of Christians in public life. In the previous five years, majorities in every sample reported such participation, mainly active involvement in elections, and/or writing letters to public officials. [p. 8]
- Over a series of six Panel surveys, reported familiarity with peacemaking as an emphasis of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) has generally been high, ranging from 44% (1992) to 73% (1984) among members. Reported familiarity is greater when the survey was taken shortly after the Peacemaking Offering was received in congregations. [p. 9]
- For unknown reasons, support for peacemaking as a ministry of the church declined slightly between 1989 and 1995. [p. 10]

## **PEACEMAKING**

### **The November 1995 Presbyterian Panel**

The Presbyterian Peacemaking Program is a remarkable success story. Established in 1980 in the United Presbyterian Church in the USA, the Peacemaking Program has continued and extended its ministry following reunion in 1983. Among other things, it produces a number of resources, including Bible studies; organizes programs, conferences, and tours; and sponsors a churchwide special offering—the Peacemaking Offering, which is received on the first Sunday in October (World Communion Sunday). The Peacemaking Program has emphasized the role of congregations in peacemaking, through a “Commitment to Peacemaking” that it encourages sessions to adopt and through a unique feature of the Peacemaking Offering, which allows each congregation to determine the recipient(s) of 25% of the total donations that congregation receives for this offering. Since restructuring of national offices in 1993, the Presbyterian Peacemaking Program has been lodged in the Congregational Ministries Division of the General Assembly Council.

### **PEACEMAKING AND THE PANEL**

Planning for the current questionnaire began in early 1995 when the then-director of the Peacemaking Program, the Reverend Richard Killmer, requested its use. The November survey was available, and the questionnaire was developed jointly by staff members of the Peacemaking Program and the Presbyterian Panel in October 1995, using many questions from earlier Panel surveys, either verbatim or with slight modifications. (The Peacemaking Program is a consistent repeat user of the Presbyterian Panel; the current survey is the sixth on this topic, dating back to January 1982. A discussion of trends is found later in this *Report*.)

Questionnaires were mailed to panelists in mid-November 1995, with responses accepted until early February 1996. Response rates are: members, 61%; elders, 67%; pastors, 72%; and specialized clergy, 71%.

The appendix presents the relative frequency distribution of responses (i.e., the percentage who chose each of the response options) to all questions for each of the four samples. In general, keep in mind that the Panel consists of samples of individuals, *not* congregations. Because more Presbyterians belong to or serve larger-membership congregations, any questions on congregations tend to yield findings more descriptive of larger-than of smaller-membership congregations. (For more technical detail, please read “The Presbyterian Panel: An Overview,” on page *ii* of this *Report*.)

### **PEACEMAKING IN THE GOSPEL AND THE CHURCH**

Responses to the first questions on the November 1995 survey reveal that most Presbyterians view peacemaking as a core element of both Christianity and the ministry of the church.

#### **GENERAL VIEWS**

##### **The Gospel**

Around eight in ten panelists in each of the four Panel samples agreed with the statement, “Peacemaking is a central declaration of the Gospel of Jesus Christ” (Q-1a). Consistently, similar proportions also agreed that “Christians are called to be peacemakers wherever they encounter brokenness and injustice” (Q-1b).

## The Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.)

Given these opinions on peacemaking and Christianity in general, it is not surprising that majorities in all Panel samples also view peacemaking as: “central to the ministries of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.)” (e.g., 67% of members and 69% of pastors so responded; Q-1c), and “. . . an *urgent* ministry of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) in the 1990s” (54% of members, 58% of pastors; Q-1d). The larger proportions expressing agreement with Q-1a and Q-1b, as compared to Q-1c and Q-1d, do not result from higher rates of disagreement to the latter questions, but rather from larger proportions of panelists responding to the latter two with ambivalence (that is, more panelists responded “both agree and disagree” when asked to comment on the connection between peacemaking and the church than when asked about the proper connection between peacemaking and the Gospel).<sup>1</sup>

Most panelists reported that they knew of the emphasis of the PCUSA on peacemaking. In the Panel survey, almost every minister (100% of pastors, 99% of specialized clergy), and majorities of members (59%) and elders (75%), indicated awareness that “peacemaking has been an important, ongoing emphasis of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.)”(Q-2). These proportions are especially large in light of panelists’ lower levels of familiarity with other, longer-established national church programs addressed in Panel studies in recent years (e.g., the PCUSA Foundation and the Mission Responsibility Through Investment committee).

### PEACEMAKING IN PRESBYTERIAN CONGREGATIONS

A large part of the questionnaire asked for information about peacemaking activities and actions in each panelist’s congregation. Because sizable proportions of members and elders responded “don’t know” or “not sure” to many of these questions and because many specialized clergy do not participate regularly in the life of a particular congregation, we rely primarily on the responses of pastors in this discussion.<sup>2</sup>

### PEACEMAKING ACTIVITIES IN CONGREGATIONS

To develop at least a partial picture of congregational involvement in peacemaking, we asked every panelist to indicate whether or not each of 13 different peacemaking-related programs, activities, and structures had been “intentionally incorporated” into congregational life in the previous two years (Q-8). Only two of the 13 items were so reported by a majority of pastors: “worship” (Q-8a; 82% of pastors so responded), and “participation in peacemaking ministries in our community” (Q-8g; 62%). Other items that at least one-third of pastors indicated had been included in their congregational programs or activities were: “making peace with the earth (concern with the environment),” 49% (Q-8j); “a Bible study,” 41% (Q-8i); “encouraging members to use peacemaking devotions,” 34% (Q-8d); and “including peacemaking in the church school curriculum for children,” 32% (Q-8k). At the other extreme, few pastors reported that these two items were part of the

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<sup>1</sup> This ambivalence was particularly strong among responses to another statement, “The congregations of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) need to be *more* involved in peacemaking” (Q-1e). To this statement, 27% of members, 25% of elders, and 21% of pastors responded “both agree and disagree.” Still, it is important to note that even this statement received a *majority* of agree responses in all four samples, including 53% of members, 61% of elders, and 63% of pastors.

<sup>2</sup> We don’t want to leave the impression that specialized clergy are church dropouts. Some may be, of course, given the heterogeneity of the group and the loose ties some may have with the PCUSA. Others, however, may not be part of a PCUSA congregation because of other responsibilities (e.g., a prison chaplain who leads services elsewhere on Sunday or a governing body executive who regularly itinerates among area congregations). In the cover letter that accompanied the questionnaire, we invited such specialized clergy, as appropriate, to skip questions on congregations. (To address another potential problem—the pastor who serves more than one congregation—we invited such pastors to respond in terms of the one with the *smallest membership*).

peacemaking ministry of their congregations: “an established peacemaking committee,” 12% (Q-8b) or “a workshop on “Peacemaking in the Family,” 10% (Q-8e).

Members who had agreed, in response to Q-1e, that “the congregations of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) need to be *more* involved in peacemaking,” were also more likely to report that their own congregations offered many of the specific peacemaking activities included in Q-8. While this result may mean that greater congregational involvement in peacemaking ministries leads to greater support for such ministries, it may also be that individuals who support peacemaking ministries in all congregations in general are more likely to recall those ministries in their own.

Adding some support for the latter interpretation is the finding that 74% of members who indicated (in response to Q-10) that they are either “very” or “somewhat” involved in their own congregations’ peacemaking activities agreed that PCUSA congregations, in general, need to be more involved in peacemaking (Q-1e), while the corresponding proportion who agree with Q-1e is only 47% among members who indicated that they are “not very” or “not at all” involved in peacemaking in their own congregations.

## CONGREGATIONS AND PEACEMAKING PROGRAM RESOURCES

We also asked panelists about their congregations’ (or their members’) participation in several other activities or programs with *specific connections* to the Presbyterian Peacemaking Program. These include the Peacemaking Offering; the “Commitment to Peacemaking”; and a variety of other printed resources, conferences, and special events.

### The Peacemaking Offering

Just under one-half of pastors (48%) reported that their congregations had taken the Peacemaking Offering in 1995 (Q-9f), and around the same proportion—50%—indicated that there were congregational plans to take it in 1996 (Q-9e). (Note that a 2% “jump” is well within the sampling error for the Panel pastor sample, so no conclusions about an increase in participation should be made from these results. Similarly, we would not conclude that there was a decline in congregations taking the offering from 1994 to 1995 based solely on the finding that 52% of this same sample of pastors indicated that their congregations had taken this special offering in 1994.)<sup>3</sup>

Of the pastors who reported that their congregations had received the 1995 Peacemaking Offering, almost all—97%—indicated their belief that the congregation would do so again in 1996. On the other hand, of pastors who reported that their congregations had not taken the 1995 Peacemaking Offering, 7% indicated that they would likely do so in 1996, and another 4% responded “don’t know.”

### The Commitment to Peacemaking

With the exception of the Peacemaking Offering, the “Commitment to Peacemaking” is probably the most systematic effort of the Peacemaking Program to encourage individual Presbyterian congregations to be more intentional about peacemaking issues. The commitment itself is a guide to ways that a congregation can become more involved in peacemaking. If adopted by the session, it pledges the congregation to incorporate (or to continue to incorporate) peacemaking in a conscious way in its life and decision making. According to pastors in the current Panel survey, almost all—98%—are familiar with the “Commitment to Peacemaking,” as

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<sup>3</sup>A finding from the May 1995 Panel survey on “Churchwide Special Offerings.”

are a large majority (84%) of specialized clergy (Q-3). Even among elders, a near-majority (47%) indicated awareness of the commitment, although only about one-fourth of members (24%) did so.

One reason for this widespread familiarity is that, in many PC(USA) congregations, the session *has* adopted the “Commitment to Peacemaking”—around one-half (47%), in fact, according to pastors (Q-4).<sup>4</sup> (Because of the large proportion of “not sure” responses for the other three samples we will limit our discussion in this section to the responses of pastors.) Most pastors who indicated that the sessions in their congregations had adopted the “Commitment to Peacemaking” further indicated that it had adopted “the exact text suggested by the General Assembly” (73% of these pastors so responded; Q-4a). Only 12% of this subset of pastors reported that the session had revised the suggested text before adoption. (Curiously, another 15% responded “don’t know.”)

Among congregations whose sessions have *not* adopted the “Commitment to Peacemaking,” about one-half (47%, here again relying on pastors’ responses) nevertheless reported that the session has “in some other way promised to incorporate peacemaking into the life and mission” of the congregation (Q-4b).

If we put these responses together, we find that among Panel pastors:

- one-third, or 32%, serve congregations whose sessions have adopted the “Commitment to Peacemaking” using the text suggested by the Peacemaking Program;
- another 5% serve congregations whose sessions have adopted the “Commitment to Peacemaking,” but only *after making changes* in the suggested text;
- another 10% serve congregations whose sessions have adopted the “Commitment to Peacemaking,” but do not report, or report that it is unknown, whether the session used the suggested text or revised it; and
- another 22% serve congregations whose sessions have *not* adopted the “Commitment to Peacemaking,” but have nevertheless, in some other way, “promised to incorporate peacemaking into the life and mission” of their congregations.

In sum, then, the sessions of 69% of the congregations served by these pastors have, through some means, committed their congregations to include peacemaking as part of their ministries and programs.

That proportion is impressive, but what does it actually mean? As already noted, with a few exceptions, most specific peacemaking opportunities asked about in this survey (such as those listed in Q-8 and Q-9) are offered in only a minority of congregations. Furthermore, 76% of members indicated that they had never heard of the “Commitment to Peacemaking,” and of the 24% who did indicate some familiarity, 77% reported that they were “not sure” if their sessions had adopted it. One interpretation is that the significance of adopting the “Commitment to Peacemaking” for subsequent congregational life may not be all that great in many congregations. In this view, the adoption of the commitment was more of a one-time act, rather than the beginning of an ongoing orientation. At the same time, we should be cautious about coming to such a seemingly obvious conclusion. It is also possible that a congregation so thoroughly incorporated peacemaking into its various programs and ministries that a (or possibly *the*) major impetus for that shift—adoption of the commitment—has been forgotten by most long-term members and, as a result, is rarely mentioned to newer members.

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<sup>4</sup> The actual figure is probably somewhat different since, as noted earlier, the Panel pastor sample tends to over represent larger-membership congregations (i.e., congregations that have multiple-pastor staffs). A similar question on the 1994 “Congregational Annual Report” (a form sent to all congregations) yielded the figure of 42%.

Of the other Presbyterian Peacemaking Program items and events listed in Q-9, two were reported by one-third or more of pastors as descriptive of their congregations over the last two years: “use of Bible studies or other printed resources of the Presbyterian Peacemaking Program” (45%; Q-9g), and “participation by one or more members on a travel study seminar to another area of the world” (33%; Q-9c). In addition, 28% reported that, over the last 14 years, at least one member of their congregations had attended a “PC(USA) peacemaking conference” (Q-8a).

## CONFLICT IN CONGREGATIONS

Large minorities of panelists in every sample, ranging from 37% of both members and elders, to 44% of pastors, indicated that, in the year prior to the survey, there have been “one or more *major conflicts* between individuals or groups” in their congregations (Q-6a). (Since the “don’t know” response was 28% among members and 12% among elders, the actual proportions for the congregations these panelists represent may well be higher, and thus even more similar to those of pastors.) Overall, how were these conflicts resolved? Without specifics on each case, we can’t answer such a question in depth, but we hoped to gain some insight on the process by asking panelists from “conflicted congregations” to evaluate how the conflict(s) was handled in term of “effectiveness.”

### Conflict Resolution

In general, panelists did not rate the process of conflict resolution at the extremes; few thought what happened in their congregations was handled either “very effectively” or “very ineffectively.” The most frequent response was “effectively,” chosen by large minorities of members (47%) and elders (46%), and by a clear majority of pastors (60%). The “ineffectively” response was also chosen by sizable proportions of these three samples, ranging from 24% of pastors to 29% of members. In short, while majorities of panelists *in the minority of congregations with recent major conflict* indicated that that conflict had been resolved either “very effectively” or “effectively,” minorities of one-third or greater in these conflicted congregations indicated that it had not. Overall, then, and relying on pastors’ responses, we can conclude that around one in eight Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) congregations had, in the prior year, a major conflict that was rated by the pastor as resolved ineffectively. That’s a small relative number, of course, but with 11,399 congregations, we are talking about around 1,450 congregations so affected adversely.

### Knowledge of Conflict Resolution Resource

An important and—at least anecdotally—well-received publication of the Peacemaking Program is a relatively brief resource, *Seeking to Be Faithful Together: Guidelines for Presbyterians During Times of Disagreement*. The reported rates of conflict in congregations suggest a large need among Presbyterians for such a resource, yet a question on awareness found it largely unknown among laity. In fact, only 4% of members and 14% of elders reported familiarity with *Guidelines* (Q-7). Even among clergy, there is room for further “market penetration”: familiarity of pastors is 79%; of specialized clergy, 54%.



## OPINIONS ON DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL PEACEMAKING ISSUES

We asked panelists for opinions on several peacemaking-related topics current in American society and abroad, including: racism, environmental protection, nuclear weapons testing, and the need for international institutions such as the United Nations. Also, we asked panelists their views on the appropriateness of the church's involvement in two of these areas, opposing racism and working for environmental justice. This section discusses findings from these questions, plus those from a more general question about the appropriateness of "Christian witness in the public arena" (Q-17).

### DOMESTIC ISSUES

#### Racism

Relatively few panelists indicated that racism is "the most serious problem" that confronts the United States today (Q-13). No more than 4% of any one sample (elders, specialized clergy) so responded. At the same time, majorities of pastors (64%) and specialized clergy (68%), one-half of members (50%), and just under one-half of elders (48%) labeled racism "among the two or three most serious problems" in the country. Most other panelists chose "a serious problem, not among the top two or three" (members, 43%; pastors, 33%).

Should the church work to counteract racism? The results of a follow-up question (Q-15) revealed that large majorities of all samples (65% or greater) support each PCUSA governing body—session, presbytery, synod, and General Assembly—making opposition to racism an "urgent ministry." Very few panelists viewed opposition to racism as inappropriate for any governing body; most of the remaining responses were of the "both agree and disagree" or "not sure" variety.

If there is a dark lining to this silver cloud, it is that, among the member and elder samples, more panelists responded "agree" than "strongly agree," suggesting that support for the church's ministry against racism may be broader than it is deep. Part of this less-than-wholehearted endorsement of such a ministry may be due to panelists' overall assessment—expressed in response to another question—that Presbyterian congregations do not have the resources to "deal with racism in our society." In fact, only 2% in each sample indicated that Presbyterian congregations are "very well equipped" to deal with racism, and fewer than 30% indicated that the congregations were "well equipped" (Q-12c).

#### The Environment

For some years, the Peacemaking Program has been concerned with issues of environmental protection, often using the phrases "environmental justice" and "making peace with the earth" to emphasize the connection between "human-to-human" and "human-to-ecosystem" peacemaking. When we asked panelists their opinions on including "making peace with the earth" as an "urgent part of the peacemaking ministry" of their congregations, presbyteries, synods, and the General Assembly (Q-16), a majority in each sample agreed on the urgency of such a ministry for each of the governing bodies, with support slightly higher among the minister samples than among the members and elders. For example, when the focus was the General Assembly (Q-16d), 65% of pastors and 71% of specialized clergy agreed on environmental justice as an appropriate ministry, compared to 55% of members and 58% of elders. (Some of the clergy/non-clergy difference owes to a slightly higher "not sure" response among the latter.) As with the racism issue, however, except for specialized clergy, more panelists responded "agree" than "strongly agree" on the need for such an urgent ministry.

## INTERNATIONAL PEACEMAKING

### Church Involvement in World Trouble Spots

We asked panelists whether or not the church should be involved in peacemaking efforts in several specific areas around the world where there is, or has recently been, armed conflict (Q-14). In general, few members or elders were certain that the church had a role in any of the locations—the greatest proportions of “yes, definitely” responses were 12% and 15%, respectively, for Northern Ireland, an area in which many residents belong to Presbyterian churches or come from Presbyterian backgrounds (and where, interestingly, the conflict is often described as that between religious groups). Still, when we add in the “yes, probably” responses, more members and elders responded “yes” than “no” to involvement in each of the locations, but the differences were typically small, especially among members (e.g., for Rwanda, 40% of members responded “yes,” while 39% responded “no”), and around one-fifth of both groups responded “don’t know” for each of the areas of conflict.

By comparison, over one-third of pastors and specialized clergy responded “yes, definitely” to church involvement in each of the listed settings, and similar proportions—often even slightly greater proportions—responded “yes, probably.” Combined, at least three-fourths of pastors indicated their support for church involvement in peacemaking efforts in various locations around the world. Pastors’ lowest support for church involvement, 76%, was expressed for Sudan, and the greatest, 84%, for Northern Ireland. The responses of specialized clergy were almost identical.

### The U.N. and the World Bank

A majority of panelists in each sample indicated that world peacemaking “requires strong, *international/political/economic institutions*” such as the United Nations and the World Bank (Q-18). Around two-thirds of pastors (67%) and specialized clergy (69%) responded “strongly agree” or “agree” on this need, as did 63% of both members and elders. Despite these very similar subtotals, as with responses to many other questions, more clergy panelists in both samples selected “strongly agree” than “agree,” while more members and elders selected “agree” than “strongly agree.” Few panelists expressed opposition to such organizations: around two-thirds of the remaining panelists in every sample—overall, about one-fourth of the entire samples of both members and elders, and around one-fifth of pastors and other clergy panelists—responded either “both agree and disagree” or “not sure.”

### Nuclear Testing

Majorities of elders (54%), pastors (68%), and specialized clergy (69%), and just under one-half of members (49%), “strongly favor” an “*agreement among the nations of the world to ban the testing of nuclear weapons.*” Combined, 84% of members, 88% of elders, 92% of pastors, and 91% of specialized clergy either “strongly favor” or “favor” such a ban (Q-20a).

Consistently, when panelists who reported they were aware of France’s underground nuclear testing in the South Pacific Ocean earlier in 1995 (Q-19) were asked about their approval or disapproval of this testing, majorities of three-fourths or greater (ranging from 76% for member to 89% for specialized clergy) responded that they did *not* approve (Q-19a).

## **U.S.-Cuban Relations**

Over a fourth of pastors and specialized clergy indicated that they “strongly favor” “normalization of relations [between the U.S. and] Cuba” (Q-20b), and an additional 37% in both samples responded “favor.” Put differently, 63% of pastors and 67% of specialized clergy support normalization. Overt support is not quite so great among laity; 40% of members and 44% of elders either “strongly favor” or “favor” normalization (mostly “favor”). Nevertheless, few members and elders expressed opposition. Most others responded “both favor and oppose” (another one-third of both samples) or “not sure” (one in seven). In short, it would appear that Presbyterians, as a group (and especially clergy), would provide little opposition and much support were the United States government to move to normalize relations between Cuba and our country.

## **CHRISTIAN PARTICIPATION IN PUBLIC LIFE**

Panelists support participation of Christians, as Christians, in public life. Large majorities in all Panel samples (71% among members; 93% among specialized clergy) either “strongly agree” or “agree” that “it is important for Presbyterians to exercise their Christian witness in the public arena” (Q-17). Not only did relatively more ministers support this statement; more of them chose “strongly agree” to express their opinions (among pastors, 58%, and among specialized clergy, 60%). Among members and elders, around one-third of the total responded “strongly agree,” and over four in ten (43% and 44%, respectively) responded “agree.” Few panelists expressed any degree of disagreement, especially in the two clergy samples; most of the remaining responses were “both agree and disagree.”

### **Exercising One’s Witness**

When asked whether or not in the prior five years they had “exercised [their] Christian witness” in each of seven particular ways (Q-21), majorities of panelists in only two samples confirmed their own participation, and then only for two of the listed activities: almost two-thirds of both pastors (63%) and specialized clergy (64%) reported “writing a letter to an elected or other public official,” and just over one-half of specialized clergy (51%) reported “actively participating in an election campaign.” In addition, exactly one-half of pastors reported “taking the initiative to become personally acquainted with a public official.” Among members and elders, the two most commonly reported activities—writing letters and participating in campaigns—were both listed by over 40% in both samples. Overall, two-thirds of members (68%) and more than eight in ten pastors (83%) reported participation in at least one of the seven activities described in Q-21.

### **Panelists in Public Office**

At the other extreme, few panelists reported involvement in two interrelated activities that in most contexts would require extensive time commitments, “running for public office” and “being elected to public office.” Anywhere from 2% (members and pastors) to 4% (elders) indicated that they had run for office, and 1% (pastors) to 3% (members, elders, and specialized clergy) indicated that they had been elected to public office. Among others, panelists holding elective office include two mayors, six city councilpersons or county commissioners, and fourteen who serve on other local (e.g., school) boards.

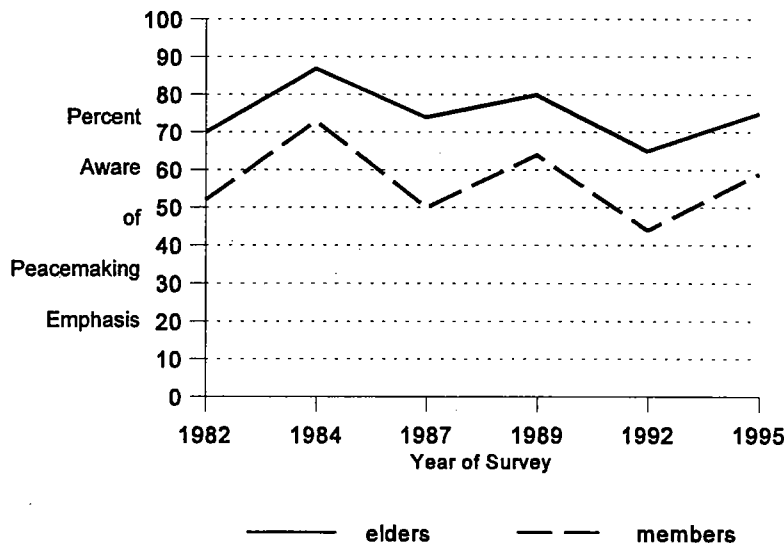
## TRENDS IN PEACEMAKING ACTIVITIES AND OPINIONS

An extensive review and comparison of the previous five Panel surveys on peacemaking issues may be found in the last Panel *Report* (May 1992) on this topic.<sup>5</sup> In general, the results of the current survey reveal few changes from the patterns or trends described there (e.g., reported familiarity with the “Commitment to Peacemaking” is lower among members and elders in the 1990s than in the 1980s; with each survey, a higher proportion of members report that they themselves are “not at all involved” in their congregations’ peacemaking activities). Only two items are singled out for further emphasis here, both found only among the two lay samples: (1) an intriguing “roller coaster” pattern of familiarity with the priority designation of peacemaking by the PCUSA, and (2) recent small (but statistically significant) declines in support for peacemaking as a ministry of the PCUSA.

### FAMILIARITY WITH PEACEMAKING EMPHASIS

Familiarity with peacemaking as an emphasis of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) has varied widely from survey to survey among members and elders (see Figure 1). While the proportion reporting awareness in every survey is greater among elders than members, the up-and-down pattern is consistent in both samples. Taken together, these findings led us to hypothesize in the May 1992 *Report* that such fluctuations in recall are linked to the timing of the Panel survey in relation to the timing of the Peacemaking Offering. Awareness was, after all, at a relative low in 1992, when the survey was taken seven months *after* the last Peacemaking Offering, and a relative high in 1984 and 1989, when the survey was taken in the fall at about the same time as the Peacemaking Offering.

**Figure 1**  
**Trends in Awareness of Peacemaking Emphasis in PC(USA), 1982—1995**



Based on that hypothesis, we would have expected rates of reported familiarity to be higher in response to the 1995 survey than they were in 1992 and, in fact, they were—15 percentage points higher among members (59% compared to 44%) and 10 percentage points higher among elders (75% compared to 65%).

<sup>5</sup> Available for \$5 from Research Services.

## DECLINES IN SUPPORT FOR PEACEMAKING MINISTRY

Support for peacemaking as a ministry of the Presbyterian church continues to be high, but the results of the current survey indicate a decline in that support over the last three years. On Q-1c, 67% of members and 68% of elders agreed that "it is important that peacemaking be central to ministries of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A)." Previously, no fewer than 78% of members (1987 and 1992) and 73% of elders (1987; it was 80% in 1992) had ever failed to agree with this statement. (Note that the question wording was not identical over the years.) However, the lower rates of agreement in 1995 regarding the urgency of peacemaking show an even stronger long-term downward trend (see Table 1). The downward trend seems to have accelerated with the end of the Cold War, but we can only speculate on whether or not that is coincidence or cause and effect.

**Table 1**  
**Changes in Response over Time to**  
**Questions on the Urgency of Peacemaking Ministry by the Presbyterian Church**

1982-1989 surveys: To what extent do you personally feel that peacemaking should be an *urgent* concern of the Presbyterian Church in [year of survey]? (Percent responding "yes, an urgent concern" or "an important but not an urgent concern")

Year	Members	Elders
1984	77	74
1987	69	70
1989	69	71

1992 and 1995 surveys: Peacemaking should be an *urgent* ministry of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) in the 1990s [agree/disagree]. (Percent responding "strongly agree" or "agree")

Year	Members	Elders
1992	64	66
1995	54	57

## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The results of this Panel survey provide an interesting mix of information about Presbyterians and peacemaking. From the perspective of the Peacemaking Program, much of the information is positive, especially when viewed from the larger context of Panel surveys on other national church programs. In particular, majorities in all Panel samples (often large majorities) view peacemaking as an important, ongoing

ministry of the church with strong roots in the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Essentially every minister in the Panel knows that peacemaking is a denominational emphasis, as do sizable majorities of both members and elders. In fact, almost one-half of the congregations represented by Panel pastors have adopted the Peacemaking Program's "Commitment to Peacemaking," and of the remainder, almost one-half report that the session has, in some other way, agreed to include peacemaking as an integral part of the congregation's ministry. Just under one-half of the pastors reported that their congregations received the 1995 Peacemaking Offering, and the projected proportion for 1996 is up to 50%.

Even the negative findings—a lack of familiarity with the "Commitment to Peacemaking" among members, or the high proportion of congregations reporting recent conflicts—can be viewed as opportunities for further education and programming. For example, the resource *Seeking to Be Faithful Together: Guidelines for Presbyterians during Times of Disagreement*—well-received by national leaders—would seem to fill an important need and have a ready market. The challenges faced by the Peacemaking program are more in the area of communication (e.g., increasing the awareness among members) rather than in the (theoretically, at least) more difficult task of convincing individuals and congregations that peacemaking is a worthwhile focus of the church. (Still, the low involvement in peacemaking by most individual members and elders, the lack of a variety of peacemaking activities in most congregations, and the absence of peacemaking committees in most as well, suggest that Presbyterians are more convinced about the need for a peacemaking ministry by the *national* rather than the *local* church.)

If there is an area in which the Peacemaking Program may want to tread carefully, it is that of international peacemaking. In the United States generally, the end of the Cold War seems to have thrown some confusion into what role the American military should have internationally. Perhaps a parallel ambivalence has emerged among Presbyterians as to the role of the church in overseas conflicts. At any rate, the finding that only about one in ten members believe that the church "definitely" has a part to play in peacemaking efforts in Bosnia, the Middle East, and Northern Ireland, among others (about the same proportion as believe that the church should "definitely not" be involved in such conflicts), indicates little support for a visible, active role for the church in current world conflicts. Further complicating the picture is the finding that significantly more pastors and other clergy—around four in ten—strongly support such a role for the church.

More fruitful would likely be an emphasis on racism and violence issues in the United States. There is more support among members and elders for a ministry opposing domestic racism than for a ministry promoting peacemaking internationally. Furthermore, the response patterns of laity and clergy are much closer to each other on this issue than they are for international peacemaking, suggesting fewer problems in building support in congregations for anti-racism ministries. Finally, majorities in all samples but members (where it is 42%) believe that Presbyterian congregations are "not well equipped" to "deal with racism in our society," increasing the likelihood that educational resources would be welcomed. Presumably, the widespread attention given to race-related church burnings since the Panel survey would also work to increase interest.

In short, leaders and supporters of the Presbyterian Peacemaking Program should be very pleased with the results of this Panel survey. Not only is there strong support for principles that undergird this ministry, there are several opportunities for further emphasis. The overall challenge will be to make the second 15 years of the program as successful as the first 15 have been.

**NOVEMBER 1995 PRESBYTERIAN PANEL  
PEACEMAKING  
APPENDIX**

	Members	Elders	Pastors	Specialized Clergy
Questionnaires sent: . . . . .	1,071	1,069	1,127	600
Questionnaires returned: . . . . .	655	714	812	427
Percent returned: . . . . .	61%	67%	72%	71%

Q-1. Please indicate your degree of agreement or disagreement with each of the following statements. (Please circle the appropriate number.)

	Members	Elders	Pastors	Specialized Clergy
<b>a. Peacemaking is a central declaration of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.</b>				
strongly agree . . . . .	33%	33%	41%	52%
agree . . . . .	46%	47%	38%	27%
both agree and disagree . . . . .	12%	14%	15%	16%
disagree . . . . .	5%	3%	4%	3%
strongly disagree . . . . .	1%	1%	2%	1%
no opinion . . . . .	3%	2%	—	*
<b>b. Christians are called to be peacemakers wherever they encounter brokenness and injustice.</b>				
strongly agree . . . . .	32%	31%	48%	54%
agree . . . . .	48%	52%	41%	34%
both agree and disagree . . . . .	13%	13%	10%	10%
disagree . . . . .	3%	3%	1%	1%
strongly disagree . . . . .	1%	*	1%	1%
no opinion . . . . .	3%	1%	—	1%
<b>c. It is important that peacemaking be central to the ministries of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.).</b>				
strongly agree . . . . .	25%	23%	35%	44%
agree . . . . .	42%	45%	34%	31%
both agree and disagree . . . . .	21%	20%	21%	16%
disagree . . . . .	7%	7%	8%	7%
strongly disagree . . . . .	1%	2%	3%	2%
no opinion . . . . .	4%	3%	*	*
<b>d. Peacemaking should be an urgent ministry of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) in the 1990s.</b>				
strongly agree . . . . .	21%	23%	29%	36%
agree . . . . .	33%	34%	29%	29%
both agree and disagree . . . . .	24%	27%	23%	20%
disagree . . . . .	16%	11%	15%	10%
strongly disagree . . . . .	3%	3%	4%	3%
no opinion . . . . .	4%	3%	1%	1%
<b>e. The congregations of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) need to be more involved in peacemaking.</b>				
strongly agree . . . . .	18%	21%	29%	38%
agree . . . . .	35%	40%	34%	31%
both agree and disagree . . . . .	27%	25%	21%	19%
disagree . . . . .	10%	8%	12%	6%
strongly disagree . . . . .	2%	2%	2%	3%
no opinion . . . . .	8%	5%	1%	3%

\* = less than 0.5%  
 - = zero (0.0); no cases in this category  
 + = nonresponses of 10% or more for this sample on this question (reported percentages for all questions omit nonresponses)  
 n = number of respondents eligible to answer this question  
 ◆ = percentages may add to more than 100 because panelists could choose more than one response for this question

Q-2. Before receiving this questionnaire, were you aware that peacemaking has been an important, ongoing emphasis of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.)?

	Members	Elders	Pastors	Specialized Clergy
yes .....	59%	75%	100%	99%
no .....	41%	25%	*	1%

Q-3. Are you at all familiar with the "Commitment to Peacemaking," a tool through which sessions are being asked to make a promise to do peacemaking by integrating it into the life and mission of their congregations?

	Members	Elders	Pastors	Specialized Clergy
yes .....	24%	47%	98%	84%
no .....	76%	53%	2%	16%

Q-4. Has your session adopted the "Commitment to Peacemaking"?

	Members	Elders	Pastors	Specialized Clergy
yes .....	12%	24%	47%	37% +
no .....	11%	27%	48%	37%
don't know .....	77%	48%	5%	26%

Q-4a. If "yes," did the session adopt the exact text suggested by the General Assembly, or did it revise the suggested text?

	Members (n=78)	Elders (n=171)	Pastors (n=370)	Specialized Clergy (n=135)
	+			
exact text of General Assembly .....	30%	45%	73%	65%
revision of suggested text .....	6%	12%	12%	7%
don't know .....	64%	42%	15%	29%

Q-4b. If "no," has your session in some other way promised to incorporate peacemaking into the life and mission of your congregation?

	Members (n=68)	Elders (n=190)	Pastors (n=377)	Specialized Clergy (n=134)
yes .....	14%	29%	47%	46%
no .....	50%	45%	48%	45%
don't know .....	36%	26%	5%	9%

Q-5. In general, when conflicts have arisen in your congregation *over the last several years*, how effectively have they been handled?

	Members	Elders	Pastors	Specialized Clergy
very effectively .....	8%	12%	15%	9%
effectively .....	53%	56%	56%	48%
ineffectively .....	16%	18%	18%	25%
very ineffectively .....	5%	7%	6%	8%
don't know .....	18%	7%	4%	11%

\* = less than 0.5%

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

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

n = number of respondents eligible to answer this question

◆ = percentages may add to more than 100 because panelists could choose more than one response for this question



Q-6. To your knowledge, *in the last year* have there been one or more *major conflicts* between individuals or groups in your congregation?

	Members	Elders	Pastors	Specialized Clergy
				+
yes . . . . .	37%	37%	44%	42%
no . . . . .	35%	51%	54%	46%
don't know . . . . .	28%	12%	3%	12%

Q-6a. If "yes," overall, how effectively was/were the conflict(s) handled?

	Members (n=243)	Elders (n=262)	Pastors (n=347)	Specialized Clergy (n=162)
very effectively . . . . .	6%	8%	9%	8%
effectively . . . . .	47%	46%	60%	44%
ineffectively . . . . .	29%	28%	24%	36%
very ineffectively . . . . .	8%	12%	5%	8%
don't know . . . . .	9%	6%	1%	4%

Q-7. Are you familiar with the resource "*Seeking to Be Faithful Together: Guidelines for Presbyterians During Times of Disagreement*"?

	Members	Elders	Pastors	Specialized Clergy
yes . . . . .	4%	14%	79%	54%
no . . . . .	87%	79%	19%	42%
not sure . . . . .	8%	6%	2%	4%

Q-7a. If "yes," were these *Guidelines* helpful to the session as they handled these major conflicts in your congregation?

	Members (n=27)	Elders (n=101)	Pastors (n=641)	Specialized Clergy (n=226)
				+
yes . . . . .	31%	34%	22%	25%
no . . . . .	15%	10%	13%	9%
not used . . . . .	19%	34%	57%	41%
don't know . . . . .	35%	22%	8%	26%

Q-8. Many congregations throughout the denomination have intentionally incorporated peacemaking into their programs and activities. Below is a list of some of the specific ways they have done so. Please let us know about your own congregation's peacemaking efforts by indicating whether or not it has been involved in each of the following ways over the past *two* years. (Please circle a number for *every* item; do not leave any item blank.)

My Congregation Has Been Involved in Peacemaking through . . .

	Members	Elders	Pastors	Specialized Clergy
a. worship				+
yes . . . . .	61%	70%	82%	77%
no . . . . .	12%	16%	15%	14%
not sure . . . . .	27%	14%	4%	10%
b. an established peacemaking committee				+
yes . . . . .	12%	16%	12%	16%
no . . . . .	38%	69%	86%	70%
not sure . . . . .	50%	15%	2%	14%

\* = less than 0.5%  
 - = zero (0.0); no cases in this category  
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**My Congregation Has Been Involved in Peacemaking through . . .**

	Members	Elders	Pastors	Specialized Clergy
c. explicitly incorporating peacemaking into the work of another committee(s)				+
yes . . . . .	14%	20%	31%	27%
no . . . . .	24%	49%	64%	53%
not sure . . . . .	62%	30%	6%	20%
d. encouraging members to use peacemaking devotions				+
yes . . . . .	29%	30%	34%	34%
no . . . . .	30%	42%	60%	48%
not sure . . . . .	41%	28%	6%	18%
e. a workshop on "Peacemaking in the Family"				+
yes . . . . .	7%	6%	10%	7%
no . . . . .	50%	72%	85%	76%
not sure . . . . .	43%	22%	5%	17%
f. a study on domestic violence				+
yes . . . . .	15%	11%	22%	26%
no . . . . .	44%	71%	73%	57%
not sure . . . . .	41%	18%	5%	17%
g. participation in peacemaking ministries in our community				+
yes . . . . .	31%	37%	62%	56%
no . . . . .	21%	39%	34%	34%
not sure . . . . .	48%	24%	4%	9%
h. peacemaking studies or efforts by junior or senior high fellowship				+
yes . . . . .	14%	14%	28%	20%
no . . . . .	21%	43%	61%	53%
not sure . . . . .	65%	42%	10%	27%
i. a Bible Study				+
yes . . . . .	27%	28%	41%	40%
no . . . . .	22%	44%	53%	39%
not sure . . . . .	50%	29%	6%	21%
j. making peace with the earth (concern with the environment)				+
yes . . . . .	29%	36%	49%	45%
no . . . . .	26%	42%	45%	36%
not sure . . . . .	44%	22%	6%	18%
k. including peacemaking in the church school curriculum for children			+	+
yes . . . . .	19%	25%	39%	32%
no . . . . .	16%	29%	51%	42%
not sure . . . . .	65%	46%	10%	26%
l. study of international issues related to Central America, the Balkans, the Middle East, Northern Ireland, Southern Africa, the United Nations, etc.				+
yes . . . . .	18%	18%	32%	36%
no . . . . .	34%	57%	62%	50%
not sure . . . . .	47%	25%	6%	14%

\* = less than 0.5%

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

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

n = number of respondents eligible to answer this question

◆ = percentages may add to more than 100 because panelists could choose more than one response for this question

Q-8. Many congregations throughout the denomination have intentionally incorporated peacemaking into their programs and activities. Below is a list of some of the specific ways they have done so. Please let us know about your own congregation's peacemaking efforts by indicating whether or not it has been involved in each of the following ways over the past *two* years. (Please circle a number for *every* item; do not leave any item blank.)

**My Congregation Has Been Involved in Peacemaking through . . .**

	Members	Elders	Pastors	Specialized Clergy
m. letter writing efforts which support legislation on peace and justice issues				+
yes . . . . .	10%	15%	18%	23%
no . . . . .	37%	59%	75%	58%
not sure . . . . .	53%	26%	7%	19%
n. other				
[not tabulated]				

Q-9. Please indicate whether or not in the last *two* years (unless specified otherwise) your congregation has made use of the following resources or events available through the Presbyterian Peacemaking Program. (Please circle a number for *every* item; do not leave any item blank.)

	Members	Elders	Pastors	Specialized Clergy
a. attendance by one or more members at a PC(USA) peacemaking conference during the last 14 years				+
yes . . . . .	18%	22%	28%	31%
no . . . . .	14%	35%	61%	47%
don't know . . . . .	69%	43%	11%	22%
b. hosting an International Peacemaker				+
yes . . . . .	7%	8%	16%	11%
no . . . . .	44%	68%	79%	69%
don't know . . . . .	49%	24%	5%	20%
c. participation by one or more members on a travel study seminar to another area of the world				+
yes . . . . .	29%	25%	33%	36%
no . . . . .	34%	58%	61%	50%
don't know . . . . .	38%	16%	5%	14%
d. participation by one or more members in a United Nations Seminar				+
yes . . . . .	6%	5%	11%	10%
no . . . . .	41%	72%	84%	67%
don't know . . . . .	53%	23%	5%	24%
e. plans to receive the 1996 Peacemaking Offering				+
yes . . . . .	27%	40%	50%	52%
no . . . . .	14%	21%	43%	30%
don't know . . . . .	59%	38%	6%	17%
f. receiving the 1995 Peacemaking Offering				+
yes . . . . .	30%	44%	48%	56%
no . . . . .	16%	27%	48%	33%
don't know . . . . .	54%	29%	4%	11%
g. use of Bible studies or other printed resources of the Presbyterian Peacemaking Program				+
yes . . . . .	16%	23%	45%	41%
no . . . . .	19%	36%	49%	34%
don't know . . . . .	65%	41%	6%	25%

\* = less than 0.5%  
 - = zero (0.0); no cases in this category  
 + = nonresponses of 10% or more for this sample on this question (reported percentages for all questions omit nonresponses)  
 n = number of respondents eligible to answer this question  
 ♦ = percentages may add to more than 100 because panelists could choose more than one response for this question

Q-10. How involved are you, *personally*, in your congregation's peacemaking activities?

	Members	Elders	Pastors	Specialized Clergy +
very involved . . . . .	2%	4%	28%	16%
somewhat involved . . . . .	10%	20%	39%	37%
not very involved . . . . .	20%	30%	16%	22%
not at all involved . . . . .	49%	22%	4%	15%
my congregation has no such activities . . . . .	19%	24%	12%	11%

Q-11. Does your presbytery have a Peacemaking Committee?

	Members	Elders	Pastors	Specialized Clergy
yes . . . . .	20%	32%	70%	67%
no . . . . .	10%	15%	17%	13%
don't know . . . . .	69%	53%	13%	20%

Q-12. In general, how well equipped would you say Presbyterian congregations are to . . .

	Members	Elders	Pastors	Specialized Clergy
<b>a. deal with violence in our cities and communities?</b>				
very well equipped . . . . .	1%	1%	1%	1%
well equipped . . . . .	15%	14%	16%	12%
not well equipped . . . . .	55%	67%	75%	80%
don't know . . . . .	29%	19%	9%	7%
<b>b. deal with conflict and brokenness within our families?</b>				
very well equipped . . . . .	7%	3%	2%	2%
well equipped . . . . .	37%	36%	34%	31%
not well equipped . . . . .	32%	44%	57%	61%
don't know . . . . .	24%	17%	7%	6%
<b>c. deal with racism in our society?</b>				
very well equipped . . . . .	2%	2%	2%	2%
well equipped . . . . .	29%	24%	23%	20%
not well equipped . . . . .	42%	54%	69%	74%
don't know . . . . .	28%	20%	7%	5%

Q-13. Compared to other problems we as a society face, how best would you describe racism as a problem confronting the United States in 1995?

	Members	Elders	Pastors	Specialized Clergy
the most serious problem . . . . .	3%	4%	2%	4%
among the two or three most serious problems . . . . .	50%	48%	64%	68%
a serious problem, not among the top two or three . . . . .	43%	44%	33%	26%
hardly a problem at all . . . . .	2%	2%	1%	*
no opinion/not sure . . . . .	2%	2%	*	1%

\* = less than 0.5%

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

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

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Q-14. In your opinion, should the church be involved in peacemaking efforts in regions of the world where there are armed conflicts? Answer by indicating the extent to which, if any, you think the church should be involved in each of the following areas with current conflicts.

		Members	Elders	Pastors	Specialized Clergy
Should the church be involved in peacemaking in . . .					
a.	Bosnia?				
	yes, definitely . . . . .	10%	14%	38%	42%
	yes, probably . . . . .	34%	39%	42%	39%
	no, probably not . . . . .	23%	20%	8%	9%
	no, definitely not . . . . .	14%	10%	5%	3%
	not sure/no opinion . . . . .	18%	16%	7%	6%
b.	Guatemala?				
	yes, definitely . . . . .	10%	11%	39%	40%
	yes, probably . . . . .	33%	38%	40%	39%
	no, probably not . . . . .	23%	20%	8%	10%
	no, definitely not . . . . .	12%	8%	4%	3%
	not sure/no opinion . . . . .	22%	22%	9%	8%
c.	Haiti?				
	yes, definitely . . . . .	11%	14%	38%	40%
	yes, probably . . . . .	34%	38%	41%	41%
	no, probably not . . . . .	22%	21%	9%	9%
	no, definitely not . . . . .	13%	8%	4%	3%
	not sure/no opinion . . . . .	21%	18%	8%	7%
d.	the Middle East?				
	yes, definitely . . . . .	9%	14%	43%	43%
	yes, probably . . . . .	30%	34%	38%	40%
	no, probably not . . . . .	26%	24%	8%	10%
	no, definitely not . . . . .	14%	9%	4%	3%
	not sure/no opinion . . . . .	21%	19%	6%	5%
e.	Northern Ireland?				
	yes, definitely . . . . .	12%	15%	46%	44%
	yes, probably . . . . .	32%	37%	38%	37%
	no, probably not . . . . .	24%	21%	6%	10%
	no, definitely not . . . . .	13%	10%	4%	3%
	not sure/no opinion . . . . .	19%	18%	6%	6%
f.	Rwanda?				
	yes, definitely . . . . .	9%	11%	38%	39%
	yes, probably . . . . .	31%	34%	41%	38%
	no, probably not . . . . .	25%	23%	8%	11%
	no, definitely not . . . . .	14%	9%	4%	3%
	not sure/no opinion . . . . .	22%	23%	9%	9%
g.	Sudan?				
	yes, definitely . . . . .	8%	11%	36%	38%
	yes, probably . . . . .	30%	34%	40%	37%
	no, probably not . . . . .	25%	23%	9%	12%
	no, definitely not . . . . .	14%	9%	4%	2%
	not sure/no opinion . . . . .	23%	23%	10%	10%

\* = less than 0.5%

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n = number of respondents eligible to answer this question

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PLEASE INDICATE THE EXTENT TO WHICH YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE WITH EACH OF THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS (Q-15 to Q-18).

		Members	Elders	Pastors	Specialized Clergy
Q-15.	Opposing racism should be an urgent ministry of . . .				
a.	my congregation				
	strongly agree . . . . .	26%	27%	37%	43%
	agree . . . . .	41%	38%	34%	32%
	both agree and disagree . . . . .	19%	20%	21%	21%
	disagree . . . . .	9%	8%	6%	3%
	strongly disagree . . . . .	1%	2%	1%	1%
	not sure/no opinion . . . . .	4%	4%	2%	1%
b.	my presbytery				
	strongly agree . . . . .	26%	26%	37%	44%
	agree . . . . .	40%	42%	37%	36%
	both agree and disagree . . . . .	19%	20%	18%	16%
	disagree . . . . .	8%	5%	5%	3%
	strongly disagree . . . . .	1%	2%	1%	1%
	not sure/no opinion . . . . .	5%	5%	1%	1%
c.	my synod				
	strongly agree . . . . .	26%	26%	34%	43%
	agree . . . . .	39%	41%	35%	32%
	both agree and disagree . . . . .	19%	19%	18%	17%
	disagree . . . . .	8%	5%	8%	3%
	strongly disagree . . . . .	2%	2%	2%	2%
	not sure/no opinion . . . . .	6%	6%	3%	2%
d.	the General Assembly (including national offices of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.))				
	strongly agree . . . . .	28%	29%	39%	47%
	agree . . . . .	40%	40%	36%	32%
	both agree and disagree . . . . .	17%	19%	17%	15%
	disagree . . . . .	7%	5%	6%	3%
	strongly disagree . . . . .	2%	2%	1%	2%
	not sure/no opinion . . . . .	6%	5%	1%	1%

Q-16. "Making peace with the earth"—environmental justice—should be an urgent part of the peacemaking ministry of . . .

		Members	Elders	Pastors	Specialized Clergy
a.	my congregation				
	strongly agree . . . . .	20%	18%	27%	39%
	agree . . . . .	35%	40%	41%	34%
	both agree and disagree . . . . .	22%	25%	19%	18%
	disagree . . . . .	13%	8%	8%	6%
	strongly disagree . . . . .	4%	4%	3%	2%
	not sure/no opinion . . . . .	7%	5%	2%	1%
b.	my presbytery				
	strongly agree . . . . .	18%	17%	25%	37%
	agree . . . . .	36%	40%	40%	35%
	both agree and disagree . . . . .	23%	24%	20%	19%
	disagree . . . . .	12%	8%	10%	6%
	strongly disagree . . . . .	4%	4%	3%	3%
	not sure/no opinion . . . . .	8%	6%	2%	1%

\* = less than 0.5%

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

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Q-16. "Making peace with the earth"—environmental justice—should be an urgent part of the peacemaking ministry of . . .  
(cont.)

	Members	Elders	Pastors	Specialized Clergy
c. my synod				
strongly agree . . . . .	17%	17%	22%	36%
agree . . . . .	36%	40%	38%	31%
both agree and disagree . . . . .	23%	24%	22%	20%
disagree . . . . .	12%	8%	12%	7%
strongly disagree . . . . .	4%	5%	4%	3%
not sure/no opinion . . . . .	9%	7%	3%	3%
d. the General Assembly (including national offices of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.))				
strongly agree . . . . .	19%	18%	25%	40%
agree . . . . .	36%	40%	40%	31%
both agree and disagree . . . . .	22%	23%	20%	19%
disagree . . . . .	10%	8%	9%	6%
strongly disagree . . . . .	5%	5%	4%	3%
not sure/no opinion . . . . .	8%	6%	2%	1%

Q-17. It is important for Presbyterians to exercise their Christian witness in the public arena

	Members	Elders	Pastors	Specialized Clergy
strongly agree . . . . .	28%	33%	58%	60%
agree . . . . .	43%	44%	34%	33%
both agree and disagree . . . . .	19%	18%	7%	6%
disagree . . . . .	5%	2%	*	—
strongly disagree . . . . .	1%	*	*	*
not sure/no opinion . . . . .	4%	3%	*	—

Q-18. Peacemaking requires strong, *international/political/economic institutions*, e.g., the United Nations, the World Bank, the World Health Organization, etc.

	Members	Elders	Pastors	Specialized Clergy
strongly agree . . . . .	27%	22%	37%	42%
agree . . . . .	36%	41%	30%	27%
both agree and disagree . . . . .	19%	23%	19%	19%
disagree . . . . .	7%	4%	6%	4%
strongly disagree . . . . .	5%	5%	5%	6%
not sure/no opinion . . . . .	6%	4%	3%	2%

Q-19. Are you aware of France's recent underground nuclear tests on an island in the South Pacific Ocean?

	Members	Elders	Pastors	Specialized Clergy
yes . . . . .	73%	76%	91%	92%
no . . . . .	27%	24%	9%	8%

Q-19a. If "yes," do you approve of this testing?

	Members	Elders	Pastors	Specialized Clergy
	(n=469)	(n=526)	(n=726)	(n=390)
yes . . . . .	7%	6%	4%	4%
no . . . . .	76%	81%	84%	89%
not sure/no opinion . . . . .	16%	13%	12%	8%

\* = less than 0.5%  
 - = zero (0.0); no cases in this category  
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Q-20. In general, would you favor or oppose . . .

a. *an agreement* among the nations of the world to ban the testing of nuclear weapons?

	Members	Elders	Pastors	Specialized Clergy
strongly favor . . . . .	49%	54%	68%	69%
favor . . . . .	35%	34%	24%	22%
both favor and oppose . . . . .	8%	7%	5%	5%
oppose . . . . .	3%	2%	2%	1%
strongly oppose . . . . .	1%	1%	*	1%
not sure/no opinion . . . . .	3%	2%	1%	1%

b. normalization of relations with Cuba?

strongly favor . . . . .	10%	12%	26%	30%
favor . . . . .	30%	32%	37%	37%
both favor and oppose . . . . .	27%	31%	18%	21%
oppose . . . . .	15%	10%	9%	6%
strongly oppose . . . . .	5%	4%	4%	3%
not sure/no opinion . . . . .	14%	12%	6%	4%

Q-21. In the last five years, have you exercised your Christian witness by . . . (Please circle the number for *all* that apply.) ♦

	Members	Elders	Pastors	Specialized Clergy
actively participating in an election campaign? . . . . .	43%	44%	45%	51%
being elected to public office? [see specific offices listed below] . . . . .	2%	2%	1%	2%
lobbying on behalf of a legislative action? . . . . .	16%	21%	31%	36%
running for public office including school board, local, and state government, etc.? . . . . .	2%	4%	1%	2%
taking the initiative to become personally acquainted with a public official? . . . . .	27%	35%	50%	43%
visiting a public official? . . . . .	20%	29%	40%	36%
writing a letter to an elected or other public official? . . . . .	47%	46%	63%	64%

If elected to public office, which one(s)?

	Members (n=12)	Elders (n=17)	Pastors (n=8)	Specialized Clergy (n=10)
legislator . . . . .	+	+	+	+
mayor . . . . .	8%	—	—	10%
city council, village council or county commission . . . . .	33%	6%	12%	—
other local . . . . .	—	—	—	30%
local boards . . . . .	25%	24%	25%	30%
judicial (judge, district attorney) . . . . .	17%	6%	—	10%
other . . . . .	—	6%	12%	10%

Q-22. Please use this space for other comments about the issues raised by this questionnaire.

[not tabulated]

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