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**Political Preferences of American Catholics at
the Time of Election 2000**

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CARA was founded by Catholic leaders in 1964 to put social science research tools at the service of the Catholic Church in the United States.

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Political Preferences of American Catholics at the Time of Election 2000

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report presents major findings from a study of American Catholics in the Public Square. The study was designed by the Center for Applied Research in the Apostolate (CARA) at Georgetown University in collaboration with the Commonwealth Foundation and the Faith and Reason Institute and is part of the Faith in the Public Square studies funded by the Pew Charitable Trusts. This part of the study is based on a national random sample telephone survey of 1,200 self-identified adult Catholics in the United States conducted September 13-18, 2000.

The survey included questions on various social and political topics:

- Candidate preference for the 2000 presidential election.
- Preference for control of the United States Congress.
- Political party identification.
- Attitudes on specific social and political issues.
- Policy priorities.

In addition, the survey also included questions on the relationship between faith and politics:

- The role of faith and values in political decision-making.
- Influences on how Catholics apply their faith to politics.
- The desire for political guidance from the clergy.
- Awareness of political advocacy by Church leaders.
- Perceptions of anti-Catholic bias in American culture.

Major Findings

- At the time the poll was taken in mid-September, likely Catholic voters favored Vice President Al Gore over Texas Governor George W. Bush by a margin of 42 percent to 35 percent. Nearly one in five Catholic voters remained undecided at that time.
- Demographic differences in Catholics' political preferences tend to mirror those present within the electorate as a whole. Support for Gore and for a Democratic Congress is especially high among African Americans and Hispanics/Latinos, those from union and low-income households, women, and those from the generation born between 1943 and 1960. Catholic men and those in their 30s are relatively strong supporters of Bush and of a Republican Congress.
- Catholic voters residing in most of the closely-contested "swing" states in the presidential race favor Gore by a margin similar to that among Catholics overall. Catholics in the Midwestern "toss-up" states of Michigan, Missouri, Ohio, and Wisconsin, however, prefer Bush by a narrow margin.
- About a third of Catholic voters say that the character and leadership qualities of the candidates will be more important than issues in their vote for president. These voters tend to support Bush. Gore's support is especially strong among Catholics who will vote on the strength of the economy.
- Bush's "compassionate conservatism" and Gore's choice of a running mate who is outspoken about religion and public life are disproportionately appealing to Catholics who are religiously active. Among most voters, however, neither candidate's religious themes have greatly influenced feelings toward him.
- Like most Americans, a majority of Catholics tend to favor school vouchers, capital punishment, and legalized abortion. Catholics tend to oppose debt forgiveness for poor nations and the use of U.S. troops as peacekeepers. They are divided in their opinion on physician-assisted suicide.
- Catholics are almost evenly divided in describing themselves as "pro-life" or "pro-choice." Although a majority of Catholics favor the death penalty, a significant percentage of Catholics have recently changed their view and now oppose it. Catholics express a wide range of opinion on abortion depending on the specific circumstance involved.
- Frequent Mass attendance, high levels of involvement in religious activities, and an important role for religious faith in daily life increase the likelihood that Catholics agree that society is responsible for helping the poor out of poverty.

- More than three-fourths of Catholics say they draw on their Catholic faith and values at least “a little” in making political choices. When it comes to the specific Church teachings on which they draw, Catholics are most likely to say that “the need for moral values in society” is most important to them.
- Slightly over half of Catholics say they would want a priest to urge parishioners to support or oppose specific laws or to contact their elected officials. Only one in ten Catholics would want a priest to urge parishioners to support or oppose a specific political party or candidate.
- Regardless of whether Catholics are aware of the Pope or the bishops speaking out on particular issues, most correctly identify the position Church leaders take.
- One-third of Catholics perceive an anti-Catholic bias in America. About one in three thinks politically active evangelical Protestant groups, the entertainment media, and liberals are hostile toward Catholics.

Political Preferences of American Catholics at the Time of Election 2000

Introduction

This report presents major findings from a study of American Catholics in the Public Square designed by the Center for Applied Research in the Apostolate (CARA) at Georgetown University in collaboration with the Commonwealth Foundation and the Faith and Reason Institute. The study is part of the Faith in the Public Square studies funded by the Pew Charitable Trusts. Original data for the American Catholics in the Public Square study come from three sources: an initial national random telephone survey of 2,635 self-identified Catholics conducted in January and February 2000 as part of the *CARA Catholic Poll 2000*, a series of 18 focus groups with Catholics representing various levels of Church and political life conducted at sites throughout the country during Spring 2000, and a final telephone survey of a national random sample of 1,200 self-identified Catholics in the United States conducted in mid-September 2000.

The initial research findings from the focus groups and the first telephone survey informed the content and design of the questionnaire used in the September 2000 survey. The current report presents the preliminary findings from this poll. A final report that integrates the findings from all three parts of the American Catholics in the Public Square study will be released in November 2000.

The September 2000 survey included questions on various social and political topics as well as questions on the relationship between faith and politics:

- Candidate preference for the 2000 presidential election.
- Preference for control of the United States Congress.
- Political party identification.
- Attitudes on specific social and political issues.
- Policy priorities.
- The role of faith and values in political decision-making.

- Influences on how Catholics apply their faith to politics.
- The desire for political guidance from the clergy.
- Awareness of political advocacy by Church leaders.
- Perceptions of anti-Catholic bias in American culture.

Survey Design and Reliability

Data for this report come from a national random sample telephone survey of 1,200 self-identified adult Catholics in the United States that was conducted from September 13-18, 2000. The survey instrument was designed by the Center for Applied Research in the Apostolate (CARA) at Georgetown University in collaboration with the Commonweal Foundation and the Faith and Reason Institute. Interviews were conducted by Issues and Answers of Virginia Beach, Virginia using standard random digit dialing sampling and a nine call-back protocol. Bilingual interviewers were available for Spanish-speaking respondents.

Standard sampling assumptions allow us to assume that responses from a sample of this size are within ± 2.8 percentage points of the actual distribution of responses from all adult Catholics in the United States. The margin of error for sub-groups varies depending on the size of group in question. Unless otherwise noted, all findings presented in this report, including those that compare sub-groups, are statistically significant at at least the $p \leq .05$ level. Standard statistical tests allow us to assume that there is at least a 95 percent probability that differences between sub-groups are real and accurately represent the attitudes of these groups in the Catholic population of the United States as a whole.

All questions used in the survey allow respondents to volunteer a “do not know” or “refused” response. Unless otherwise noted, these responses are excluded from the analyses. The percentages presented throughout this report, therefore, are generally those for respondents who express an opinion. The exact wording of all questions used in this study as well as the frequency distribution of all responses can be found in the Appendix at the end of this report.

The Catholic Vote in 2000

It has become commonplace for political pundits either to assert that Catholics constitute a critical “swing vote” in American elections or to insist that there is no such thing as a “Catholic vote” in American politics. At one time, Catholics formed a dependable constituency within the New Deal coalition and routinely provided a large share of the Democratic vote in presidential elections. In recent decades, however, Catholics have become less reliably Democratic in both their party identification and their vote choice. Contrary to what many analysts have predicted, however, they have yet to realign with the Republican Party. Instead, Catholics have maintained a moderately high level of allegiance to the Democratic Party and have repeatedly defied conventional partisan and ideological categories and expectations. The tendency of Catholics to be both divided and distinctive in their political preferences and their willingness to cross traditional partisan and ideological lines continues to confound political analysts and makes the “Catholic vote” an elusive prize.

Perhaps even more than in previous national elections, American Catholics are poised to play a decisive role in 2000. By virtue of their large numbers, their tendency to turn out to vote at higher rates than other citizens, and their concentration in many of the so-called “battleground” states, Catholics are in a position to determine the outcome of the election. By most estimates, Catholics constitute approximately one-fourth of the total population¹ and provide nearly 30 percent of the total votes in national elections² in the United States. Indeed, the Catholic Church is the single largest religious body in the United States, with more members than the next 12 largest religious bodies combined.³ The presence of large numbers of Catholics in electorally

¹ According to figures in *The Official Catholic Directory*, Catholics currently number about 60 million, or about 23 percent of the population of the United States. According to most polling data, however, the percentage of *self-identified* Catholics is somewhat higher. For example, the large national surveys used by political and social scientists, such as the American National Election Studies of the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan and the General Social Surveys of the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago, typically find that Catholics comprise about 25 percent of the respondents in these surveys. Recent Gallup surveys estimate the size of the Catholic population to be slightly larger, at about 27 or 28 percent of the total population.

²The exit polls in 1996, for example, show that Catholics provided 29 percent of the votes for president.

³According to data reported in the *Yearbook of American & Canadian Churches 2000*, the total membership of the next 12 largest religious bodies totals 61,790,290. The total membership of the Catholic Church, according to that source, is 62,018,436. It is important to note, however, that religious bodies differ in their definitions of membership as well as in how they calculate and report their membership statistics. The membership figures presented in the annual *Yearbook of American & Canadian Churches* are those reported by officials from their

volatile regions of the industrial Northeast and Midwest and certain parts of the South and Southwest further contributes to their electoral significance.

Candidate Preference

As of mid-September, a time when national polls were showing that Texas Governor George W. Bush and Vice President Al Gore were about even among likely voters, Gore was ahead of Bush by 6.6 percentage points among likely Catholic voters who were asked their prospective vote choice. This is just outside the margin of error of ± 3.1 percentage points for the sample of 982 survey respondents who say they are both registered to vote and plan to vote in the November elections. These likely voters represent 82 percent of the entire sample.⁴ The full range of their responses on candidate preference are presented in the table below.

Candidate Preference*	
Gore	41.8%
Bush	35.2
Nader	2.6
Buchanan	.5
Other	1.0
Undecided	18.8

*Likely voters only.

Among likely voters who express a preference for a candidate, that is, when undecided voters are excluded, Gore is ahead of Bush by a margin of 8.1 percentage points, with 51.5 percent favoring Gore and 43.4 favoring Bush. If the two-party vote is considered alone, that is, if only the preferences for Bush and Gore are taken into account, the Gore advantage among likely Catholic voters reaches 8.6 percentage points.

In presidential elections since 1972, Catholics have voted for the Democratic candidate by

respective religious bodies. According to the most recent edition of *The Official Catholic Directory*, the total Catholic population in the United States as of January 1, 2000 is 62,391,484.

⁴Throughout this study, “likely voters” are those who say that they are registered to vote for the November elections *and* that they plan to vote in the elections this November

an average of 6 percentage points more than the rest of the electorate. If current trends prevail, with Bush and Gore virtually even among the whole electorate and Catholics favoring Gore by a margin of 6 or 8 percentage points, the pattern of Catholics being somewhat more likely to vote Democratic than other Americans citizens will continue for another election.

Perhaps just as significant as Gore's lead over Bush is the fact that nearly one in five likely Catholic voters is undecided, leaving much opportunity for both candidates in the remaining weeks of the campaign. Of those who are undecided, 48 percent say they are Democrats or lean Democratic, 33 percent are Republicans or lean Republican, and 19 percent describe themselves as independent.

Demographic Differences in Candidate Preference

The table below shows differences in prospective vote choice among likely voters from various demographic groups.⁵ Bush's biggest advantage is among men and young adults. For

⁵This analysis used four generational categories: The World War II Generation was born between 1901 and 1924 and its members are age 76 or older in 2000. This generation's worldview was affected primarily by World War II and the Great Depression. The Silent Generation was born between 1925 and 1942. Its members, ages 58-75 in 2000, came of age primarily in the 1950s. The Vatican II Generation includes the Baby Boomers. Its members were born between 1943 and 1960 and are between the ages of 40 and 57 in 2000. The Young Adult Generation, born between 1961 and 1982, includes those who are age 18 to 39 in 2000. This generation is sometimes called "Generation X" and is the first post-Vatican II generation. The percentages of respondents from each generation in this poll overall are as follows: World War II, 4 percent; Silent, 18 percent; Vatican II, 37 percent; and Young Adult, 41 percent.

This generational breakdown is relevant not only for social and political reasons, but for religious reasons as well. Members of the World War II Generation, often labeled the "builders," played a crucial role in helping create many of the institutions of twentieth century social and religious life. Like their predecessors, members of the Silent Generation were born and formed before the Second Vatican Council. Members of this generation tend to exhibit relatively high levels of institutional loyalty, including to the institutional Church. Members of the Vatican II Generation came of age during the time of the Second Vatican Council and their formative years spanned a period of profound changes in the Church. In general, members of this generation are more likely than those before them to emphasize concerns of individual self-actualization over institutional commitment. Young Adults have no lived experience of the pre-Vatican II Church. Their religious training occurred during the 1970s and 1980s, a time when the "Catholic ghetto" of former decades had largely disappeared and religious education patterns were very different from the methods used up to the late 1960s. They are relatively less likely to make long-term commitments, are more pragmatic and less ideological, and are relatively more interested in issues of identity and community.

Gore, it is among African Americans and Hispanics/Latinos, those from union and lower-income households, women, the Vatican II Generation, and the less-well educated.

The much-discussed “gender gap” in party identification and candidate preference is very evident among Catholics. Catholic men support Bush by a margin of 8 percentage points, while Catholic women support Gore by 17 percentage points. While Gore’s advantage among women is well outside the margin of error of ± 4 percentage points, Bush’s advantage among men is within the margin of error of ± 5 percentage points. Compared to Catholic men, there is a relatively high percentage of Catholic women who are still undecided. The “Catholic vote” may ultimately hinge on what these women decide.

There are also substantial political differences among Catholics along racial and ethnic lines. Gore leads among white Catholics by only 3 percentage points, well within the margin of error. In contrast, Gore currently has substantial support among African American and Hispanic/Latino Catholics. Note, however, that while Hispanics represent one of the fastest growing segments of the Catholic population, and while the Census Bureau reports that Hispanic voting rose sharply during the 1990s, this poll indicates that Hispanics/Latinos still represent only 12 percent of likely Catholic voters.⁶

As with Americans nationally, Catholics who are from union and low income households represent a strong base of support for Democrats. Gore is ahead of Bush by 22 percentage points among the 20 percent of likely Catholic voters who live in households where at least one member belongs to a labor union. Among Catholics from households with annual incomes of less than \$40,000, Gore is ahead by 16 percentage points among those from the \$20,000-39,999 income bracket and by 19 percentage points among those from the less than \$20,000 income bracket. Together, respondents from these two income categories represent 38 percent of likely voters among Catholics.

⁶The racial and ethnic comparisons in this report are limited to whites, Hispanics/Latinos, and African Americans because there are too few respondents from other groups for reliable statistical analysis.

Candidate Preference by Selected Characteristics*

	George W. Bush	Al Gore	Undecided
All Likely Catholic Voters	35%	42%	19%
<u>Generation</u>			
World War II (5%)**	33%	36%	22%
Silent (21%)	36	44	16
Vatican II (40%)	29	46	21
Young Adults (34%)	43	36	17
<u>Gender</u>			
Men (41%)	45%	37%	14%
Women (59%)	29	46	22
<u>Race/Ethnicity</u>			
White (84%)	37%	40%	19%
Hispanic/Latino (12%)	29	52	16
African American (3%)	10	60	30
<u>Education</u>			
High School or Less (24%)	27%	40%	28%
Some College (29%)	35	46	16
College Graduate (31%)	37	40	18
Post-Graduate (15%)	44	40	12
<u>Household Income</u>			
Less than \$20,000 (13%)	25%	44%	22%
\$20,000 to \$39,999 (25%)	29	45	23
\$40,000 to \$59,999 (22%)	35	43	18
\$60,000 to \$79,999 (18%)	42	39	16
\$80,000 and Over (22%)	41	41	15
<u>Union Household</u>			
Non-Union (80%)	38	40	18
Union (20%)	26	48	21

*Likely voters only. Percentages may not add to 100 due to votes for Nader, Buchanan, or other third party candidates.

**Figures in parentheses indicate the percentage of likely Catholics voters in each category.

The data in the previous table reveal that young adults, those currently 18 to 39 years of age, are the one Catholic generational group in which Bush not only leads Gore, but does so by a significant margin. The table below breaks down the vote choice of young adult Catholics by gender and age. While Bush is indeed dominant among the men of this generation, the bigger story may be that women – generally strong backers of Clinton in the past two elections – are ambivalent. When the Young Adult Generation is broken down into those who are under age 30 and those who are age 30 and over, however, a somewhat different picture emerges: Bush’s advantage among young adults is primarily among those who are in their 30s. Catholic voters in their 20s favor Gore, although again there is a split between men and women.

The clearest picture of young adult Catholics emerges when both gender and age are taken into consideration. Young adult men from both age categories are more likely to support Bush, while young adult women are divided in their support for the two candidates. Those under the age of 30 favor Gore over Bush by a margin of 23 percentage points. Those between the ages of 30 and 39 favor Bush over Gore by a margin of 20 percentage points. Although the number of respondents in these sub-groups is relatively small, the differences between them are robust enough to reach statistical significance.

Candidate Preference of Young Adult Catholics by Gender and Age*			
	George W. Bush	Al Gore	Undecided
All Young Adult Catholics (34%)**	43%	36%	17%
Young Adult Men (15%)	50%	33%	13%
Young Adult Women (18%)	37	38	20
Young Adults Ages 18-29 (15%)	33%	43%	16%
Young Adults Ages 30-39 (19%)	50	31	18
<u>Men</u>			
Ages 18-29 (5%)	48%	37%	12%
Ages 30-39 (10%)	51	32	14
<u>Women</u>			
Ages 18-29 (9%)	24%	47%	19%
Ages 30-39 (9%)	49	29	21
*Likely voters only. Percentages may not add to 100 due to votes for Nader, Buchanan, or other third party candidates.			
**Figures in parentheses indicate the percentage of likely Catholics voters in each category.			

The Catholic Vote in Swing States

If recent polls are any indication, the 2000 election could turn out to be the closest presidential election since 1976. The final outcome may well be determined by the results in several “swing” states that are currently considered to be “toss-ups.” Catholics represent a substantial proportion of the population of several of these states where the race may be close right to election day. Catholics could prove to be one of several key groups that swing the election.

As the table below shows, Catholics living in the Northeast and West favor Gore relatively strongly, while those from the Midwest and South are almost evenly divided.⁷ When the focus is narrowed to states where the race is currently a toss-up, the contest among Catholics is close only in the Midwest. Catholics in the likely swing states of Michigan, Missouri, Ohio, and Wisconsin narrowly favor Bush over Gore, 41 to 38 percent, a difference within the margin of error. Otherwise, to the extent that Catholics are indeed a swing group, they appear to have already “swung” to Gore. In the group of closely-contested Southern states of Arkansas, Florida, and Louisiana, Gore has the edge, due largely to a strong showing among Catholic Floridians. The Pennsylvania Catholics in this poll also appear to be solid Gore supporters. Still, these results should be evaluated with extreme caution due to small numbers of respondents in any one state – even the larger ones.

⁷Respondents are grouped into four geographical regions based on U.S. Census categories:

The Northeast includes the New England states (Connecticut, Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont) and the Middle Atlantic states (New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania). In this poll, 26 percent of the respondents are from the Northeast.

The Midwest includes the East North Central states (Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, and Wisconsin) and the West North Central states (Kansas, Iowa, Missouri, Minnesota, North Dakota, Nebraska, and South Dakota). In this poll, 26 percent of the respondents are from the Midwest.

The South includes the South Atlantic states (the District of Columbia, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, and West Virginia); the East South Central states (Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Alabama); and the West South Central states (Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas). In this poll, 26 percent of the respondents are from the South.

The West includes the Mountain states (Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, New Mexico, Nevada, Utah, and Wyoming) and the Pacific states (Alaska, California, Hawaii, Oregon, and Washington). In this poll, 21 percent of the respondents are from the West.

Candidate Preference by Geographical Region*

	George W. Bush	Al Gore	Undecided
All Likely Catholic Voters	35%	42%	19%
<u>Geographical Region</u>			
Northeast (26%)**	27%	45%	22%
Midwest (27%)	38	38	21
South (26%)	41	38	18
West (21%)	35	47	13
<u>Closely Contested States***</u>			
Northeast: NH, PA	29	42	24
Midwest: MI, MO, OH, WI	41	38	18
South: AR, FL, LA	34	48	18
West: AZ, NM, NV, OR, WA	36	45	12
All Closely Contested States	36	43	18

*Likely voters only.

**Figures in parentheses indicate the percentage of likely Catholic voters in each category.

***States identified by various national news agencies as “toss-ups” at the time the poll was taken.

Religious Differences in Candidate Preference

The table that follows shows differences in candidate preference based on religious commitment. Two of the religious variables are measures of religious practice: frequency of Mass attendance and involvement in parish or other religious activities.⁸ The other two variables are measures of religious salience. The first asks respondents how important religion is to them; the second asks about the importance of their Catholic faith in their daily lives.

Support for Bush tends to be higher among those who participate more frequently and who place greater importance on their religious faith than among those who participate less frequently and who place less importance on their religious faith. Support for Gore, on the other hand, is strongest among those for whom religion is not important at all, those who are not involved in religious activities, and those who do not attend Mass or who do so infrequently.

⁸Four categories are used to analyze Mass attendance: those who say attend “rarely or never,” “a few times a year,” “once or twice a month” and “almost every week,” and “every week” and “more than once a week.”

Bush actually leads Gore, however, only among those who attend Mass every week or more, those who are somewhat or very involved in religious activities, and those who say their Catholic faith is among the most important parts of their lives. On the latter two measures, Bush has a statistically insignificant 1 or 2 percentage point advantage. His lead among weekly Mass attenders is a more robust, statistically significant 5 percentage points.

Candidate Preference by Selected Religious Characteristics*

	George W. Bush	Al Gore	Undecided
All Likely Catholic Voters	35%	42%	19%
<u>Mass Attendance</u>			
Rarely or never (19%)**	29%	47%	17%
A few times a year (14%)	39	43	13
A few times a month (30%)	30	46	21
Every week or more (37%)	41	36	20
<u>Religious Involvement</u>			
Not involved at all (37%)	32%	48%	16%
Involved a little (25%)	33	39	23
Somewhat involved (25%)	40	38	21
Very involved (13%)	40	39	15
<u>Importance of Religion</u>			
Not important at all (6%)	7%	66%	24%
A little important (7%)	36	41	15
Somewhat important (24%)	36	40	19
Very important (63%)	38	40	19
<u>Importance of Catholic Faith in Daily Life</u>			
Not important at all (6%)	16%	62%	21%
Not too important (10%)	30	42	18
Important, but so are other areas (35%)	34	43	19
Among the most important parts (30%)	40	38	19
The most important part (19%)	39	38	18

*Likely voters only. Percentages may not add to 100 due to votes for Nader, Buchanan, or other third party candidates.

**Figures in parentheses indicate the percentage of likely Catholics voters in each category.

This election year, the Bush and Gore campaigns have tried to reach out to religious voters in various ways. Respondents were asked about two of these ways. The first question asked respondents whether the fact that Bush calls himself a “compassionate conservative” makes them feel more or less favorable toward him. This aspect of Bush’s political philosophy and public rhetoric may have special appeal to Catholics since some of the language he uses comes from Catholic teaching. The second question asked whether Gore’s choice of a running mate who is an orthodox Jew who speaks regularly about religious faith in public life makes them feel more or less favorable towards Gore.

Reaction to Religious Themes in the 2000 Campaign*	
<u>Bush’s “Compassionate Conservatism”</u>	
More favorable toward Bush	14%
Less favorable toward Bush	16
No difference/Don’t know	67
<u>Gore’s Choice of Lieberman</u>	
More favorable toward Gore	22%
Less favorable toward Gore	10
No difference/Don’t know	67
*Likely voters only.	

As the table above shows, each of the campaign themes makes no difference in the feelings of about two-thirds of respondents toward the candidates. The choice of Lieberman makes 22 percent of Catholic voters more favorable toward Gore, and Bush’s compassionate conservatism makes 14 percent of Catholic voters more favorable toward him.

A potential difficulty for Bush is that 16 percent of Catholic voters say his compassionate conservatism makes them *less* favorable toward him, more than those who say it makes them more favorable. However, 88 percent of those who are less favorable to Bush for this reason are Democrats; only 10 percent are Republicans. Though only 10 percent of Catholic voters are less favorable toward Gore because of Lieberman’s religiosity, a potential difficulty for Gore is that 38 percent of those who are less favorable toward him for this reason are Democrats.

Both of these campaign themes, Bush's compassionate conservatism and Lieberman's outspokenness on religion, appeal most strongly to religiously active Catholics. Bush's compassionate conservatism is also more attractive to Catholics who say they draw on their faith in making political choices than to those who do not draw on their faith in making those choices.

Reaction to Religious Themes in the 2000 Campaign*		
	More Favorable Toward Bush	More Favorable Toward Gore
<u>Mass Attendance</u>		
Rarely or never (19%)**	6%	18%
A few times a year (14%)	12	19
A few times a month (30%)	12	20
Every week or more (37%)	22	29
<u>Religious Involvement</u>		
Not involved at all (37%)	10%	17%
Involved a little (25%)	16	21
Somewhat involved (25%)	17	23
Very involved (13%)	17	39
<u>Drawing on Faith and Values</u>		
Not at all (23%)	6%	21%
A little (38%)	10	17
Somewhat (17%)	15	24
Very much (22%)	23	26
*Likely voters only.		
**Figures in parentheses indicate the percentage of likely Catholics voters in each		

Preference for Congress

In addition to being asked about their preference for president, respondents were also asked about their preference for control of Congress. Specifically, they were asked whether they favor the Democratic Party or the Republican Party controlling the U.S. Congress. Among likely voters, there is a preference for the Democrats by a margin of 6.4 percentage points. As was the case with presidential preference, this is just outside the margin of error of ± 3.1 percentage points for the sample of likely voters. When all respondents are taken into consideration, that is, not just those who say they are registered and intend to vote, the difference increases to 8 percentage points, comfortably outside the margin of error of ± 2.8 percentage points for the entire sample of 1,200 U.S. Catholics.

<i>Do you favor the Democratic Party or the Republican Party controlling the U.S. Congress?*</i>	
The Democratic Party	43.6%
The Republican Party	37.2
No Preference	12.8
Don't Know	6.4

*Likely voters only.

A slightly different picture emerges when we look at only those with a preference, that is, when those who have no preference or who are unsure are excluded from the analysis. In that case, the Democrats have an 8 percentage point advantage among likely voters and a 10.4 percentage point advantage among Catholics overall.

The table below shows the differences in preference for control of Congress among likely voters from selected demographic groups. The patterns of support for each party are very similar to support for each party's presidential candidate. Preference for a Republican-controlled Congress is highest among men, young adults, and those with higher levels of education and income. African Americans, Hispanics/Latinos, respondents from union and lower income households, women, those from the Vatican II Generation, and those with lower levels of education are much more likely to prefer a Democratic-controlled Congress.

Preference for Control of Congress by Selected Characteristics*

	Republican Party	Democratic Party	No Preference/ Don't Know
All Likely Catholic Voters	37%	44%	19%
<u>Generation</u>			
World War II (5%)**	39%	44%	17%
Silent (21%)	40	42	18
Vatican II (40%)	30	49	22
Young Adults (34%)	45	38	17
<u>Gender</u>			
Men (41%)	48%	36%	16%
Women (59%)	30	49	21
<u>Race/Ethnicity</u>			
White (84%)	40%	41%	19%
Hispanic/Latino (12%)	24	53	23
African American (3%)	10	74	16
<u>Education</u>			
High School or Less (24%)	30%	45%	25%
Some College (29%)	35	46	19
College Graduate (31%)	41	43	16
Post-Graduate (15%)	45	38	18
<u>Household Income</u>			
Less than \$20,000 (13%)	30%	50%	20%
\$20,000 to \$39,999 (25%)	31	50	19
\$40,000 to \$59,999 (22%)	35	44	22
\$60,000 to \$79,999 (18%)	42	41	17
\$80,000 and Over (22%)	46	38	16
<u>Union Household</u>			
Non-Union (80%)	40%	42%	19%
Union (20%)	26	52	22

*Likely voters only.

**Figures in parentheses indicate the percentage of likely Catholic voters in each category.

Rationale in Voting

The survey included several questions designed to gauge the factors that Catholics will consider when they go to the polls in November. First, they were asked whether the candidates' stands on issues or their character and leadership qualities is more important. A slim majority of Catholics say they will vote based on the issues and about a third say they will vote on personal characteristics.

In making your decision about who to vote for in November, which would you say is more important to you?*

How the candidates stand on the issues	53%
Their character and leadership qualities	33
Equally important/Don't know	14

*Likely voters only.

Next, respondents were asked what issues will most influence their vote choice. The majority plan to vote on either "taxing, spending, and government programs" or on "the strength of the economy." Thus, economic prosperity and how to allocate the wealth generated by it seem to be foremost in the minds of most Catholics. Only slightly more than one in five Catholics say that "social or moral issues like abortion" will have the largest influence on their vote. And, as the data below will show, it would be wrong to assume that most of these Catholics oppose abortion or will vote for Bush.

When you vote in November, what type of issues will influence your choice the most?*

Issues of taxing, spending, and government programs	42%
The strength of the economy	23
Social or moral issues like abortion	22
Foreign policy	5
Can't choose/Don't know	8

*Likely voters only.

The table below shows the relationships between candidate qualities and issue priorities and candidate preference. Not surprisingly, given the various scandals surrounding the Clinton presidency, Catholics who will vote primarily on character and leadership qualities prefer Bush over Gore (46 to 36 percent). When it comes to policy issues, those who will be most influenced by the strength of the economy strongly prefer Gore over Bush (58 to 21 percent). Bush leads slightly among those who will vote on issues of “taxing, spending, and government programs.”

Perhaps the most remarkable finding is that Catholics who say they will vote on “social or moral issues like abortion” slightly favor Gore. Fifty-five percent of the Catholics who will vote for Gore on these types of issues say that abortion should be legal. They are also disproportionately members of the younger two generations (Vatican II and Young Adult). Though they attend Mass less frequently than the average adult Catholic, over 60 percent of these Gore voters say they attend Mass at least monthly.

Candidate Preference by Rationale for Vote*			
	George W. Bush	Al Gore	Undecided
<u>Most Important in Voting</u>			
Stand on issues	27%	48%	20%
Character and leadership qualities	46	36	15
Equally important/Don't know	43	30	23
<u>Most Important Issue in Vote Choice</u>			
Issues of taxing, spending, and government programs	42%	37%	18%
The strength of the economy	21	58	19
Social or moral issues like abortion	34	41	16
Foreign policy	50	41	4
Can't choose/Don't know	34	25	38
*Likely voters only. Percentages may not add to 100 due to votes for Nader, Buchanan, or other third party candidates.			

In summary, economic prosperity appears to be Gore's greatest asset when it comes to reaching out to Catholic voters. Bush benefits more from concerns about “character” than from his stands on cultural issues *per se*.

Party Identification

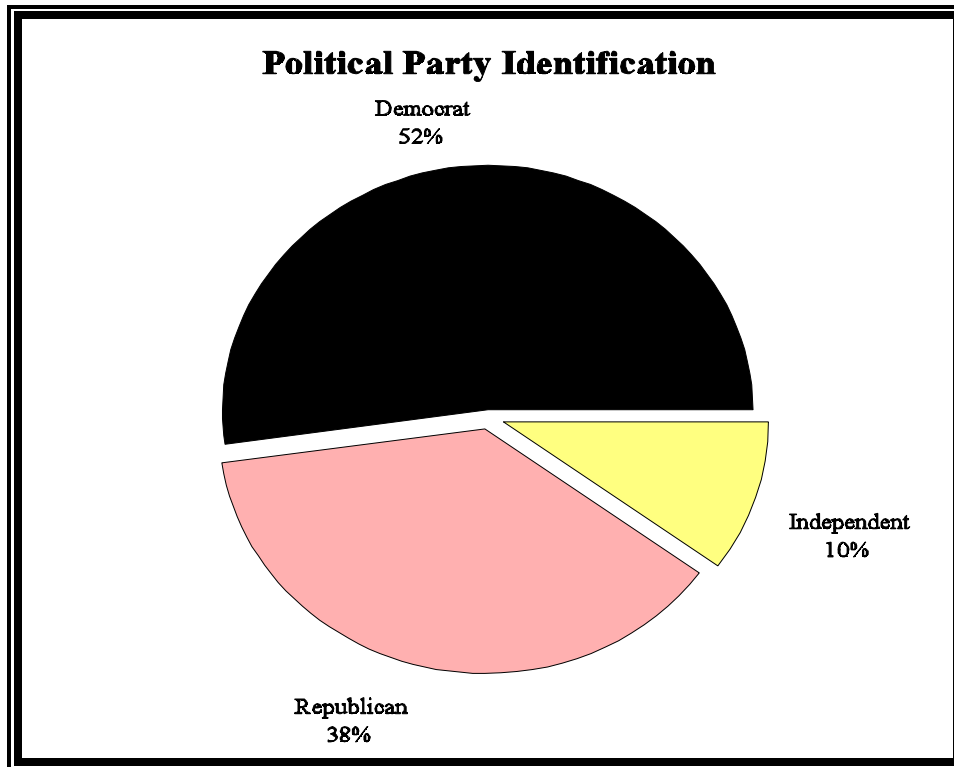
As already noted, Democratic party identification and vote choice among Catholics have both declined considerably among Catholics in recent decades. Nonetheless, Catholics have remained a relatively Democratic group, particularly when they are compared to those from the mainline and evangelical traditions. Recent public opinion polls typically find that at least a plurality of Catholics continue to identify with the Democratic Party.

The data for 2000 support recent findings on continued Catholic affinity with the Democratic Party. As of mid-September, 37 percent of Catholics think of themselves as Democrats and 28 percent think of themselves as Republicans. When “independent leaners” are included with party identifiers, 52 percent identify with or lean toward the Democratic Party and 38 percent identify with or lean toward the Republican Party. Only 10 percent are “pure independents.” The full range of responses to standard party identification questions is presented in the table below.

Party Identification	
Strong Democrat	19%
Weak Democrat	18
Independent Democrat	15
Independent	10
Independent Republican	10
Weak Republican	13
Strong Republican	15

The chart below shows the party identification of Catholics when responses are collapsed into three categories, with those who lean toward one party or the other counted among party identifiers. The analyses that follow use this three category party identification variable. This approach is supported by research that finds “independent leaners” to be more partisan in vote choice and issue attitudes than those who express a weak party affiliation.

The 14 percentage point gap in partisan identification among Catholics found in this poll is similar to that found in the CARA Catholic Poll 2000. In that poll, conducted in January and February 2000, 48 percent of Catholics considered themselves Democrats and 35 percent considered themselves Republicans. The largest shift in party allegiance from the previous study to the present one is among independents. In the earlier poll, 17 percent thought of themselves as independents who did not feel close to either of the major parties.



The table on the next page shows patterns of party identification among Catholics by selected demographic characteristics. All of the sub-group differences in the table are statistically significant.

These data reveal a number of important patterns: young adults, men, whites, those with the highest levels of education and income, and those from non-union households are less likely than those who are older, women, Hispanics/Latinos or African Americans, those with lower levels of education and income, and those from union households to identify with the Democratic Party. These data also show, however, that almost all sub-groups of Catholics are more likely to identify with the Democratic Party than with the Republican Party. The only exception to this is among men, who are slightly more likely to identify with the Republican Party than with the Democratic Party. Those with a graduate or professional school education and those with annual household incomes of \$80,000 or more are evenly split in their party identification.

In addition to the differences shown in the table, there are also some regional differences in party identification among Catholics. In all four regions, there are more Catholic Democrats than Catholic Republicans. The Democratic advantage is much greater in the Northeast and West than in the Midwest and South, however. In the Northeast and West, 57 percent and 55 percent of Catholics, respectively, identify with the Democratic party while 32 percent and 36 percent identify with the Republican Party. In the South and West, however, the Democratic advantage is

only 6 percentage and 7 percentage points, respectively. Unlike the regional differences in presidential preference, these regional differences in party identification are not statistically significant.

Party Identification by Selected Characteristics			
	Democrat	Independent	Republican
All Catholics	52%	10%	38%
<u>Generation</u>			
World War II (4%)*	50%	8%	42%
Silent (18%)	56	5	39
Vatican II (37%)	57	10	33
Young Adult (41%)	45	12	43
<u>Gender</u>			
Male (42%)	42%	11%	46%
Female (58%)	59	9	33
<u>Race/Ethnicity</u>			
White (80%)	50%	10%	41%
Hispanic/Latino (14%)	57	15	27
African American (3%)	89	5	5
<u>Education</u>			
High School or Less (28%)	56%	13%	31%
Some College (29%)	54	10	36
College Graduate (30%)	49	9	42
Post-Graduate (14%)	47	7	47
<u>Household Income</u>			
Less than \$20,000 (14%)	60%	9%	31%
\$20,000-39,999 (26%)	56	12	32
\$40,000-59,999 (23%)	52	12	36
\$60,000-79,999 (17%)	49	7	44
\$80,000 or More (20%)	47	6	47
<u>Union Household</u>			
Non-Union Household (80%)	50%	10%	40%
Union Household (20%)	60	10	29
*Figures in parentheses indicate the percentage of all Catholic respondents in each category.			

The table below shows differences in partisanship based on various religious commitment categories. At every level of Mass attendance, religious involvement, and religious salience, there are more Catholics who identify with the Democratic Party than with the Republican Party. For the two religious participation variables, Mass attendance and involvement in parish or other religious activities, the differences in party preference are smallest at the highest levels of participation. However, only the differences in partisanship based on Mass attendance are statistically significant. These data suggest that religious commitment plays a greater role in candidate preference than in party affiliation.

Party Identification by Selected Religious Characteristics			
	Democrat	Independent	Republican
All Catholics	52%	10%	38%
<u>Mass Attendance</u>			
Rarely or never (21%)*	52%	14%	34%
A few times a year (15%)	50	9	41
A few times a month (31%)	58	9	33
Every week or more (33%)	47	9	44
<u>Religious Involvement</u>			
Not involved at all (40%)	54%	11%	35%
Involved a little (25%)	49	12	39
Somewhat involved (23%)	55	8	38
Very involved (11%)	48	7	45
<u>Importance of Religion</u>			
Not important at all (9%)	59%	16%	25%
A little important (8%)	48	10	32
Somewhat important (25%)	50	10	40
Very important (59%)	52	10	38
<u>Importance of Catholic Faith in Daily Life</u>			
Not important at all (7%)	59%	15%	26%
Not too important (12%)	47	15	38
Important, but so are other areas (35%)	52	10	38
Among the most important parts (28%)	52	9	39
The most important part (18%)	52	8	40
*Figures in parentheses indicate the percentage of all Catholic respondents in each category.			

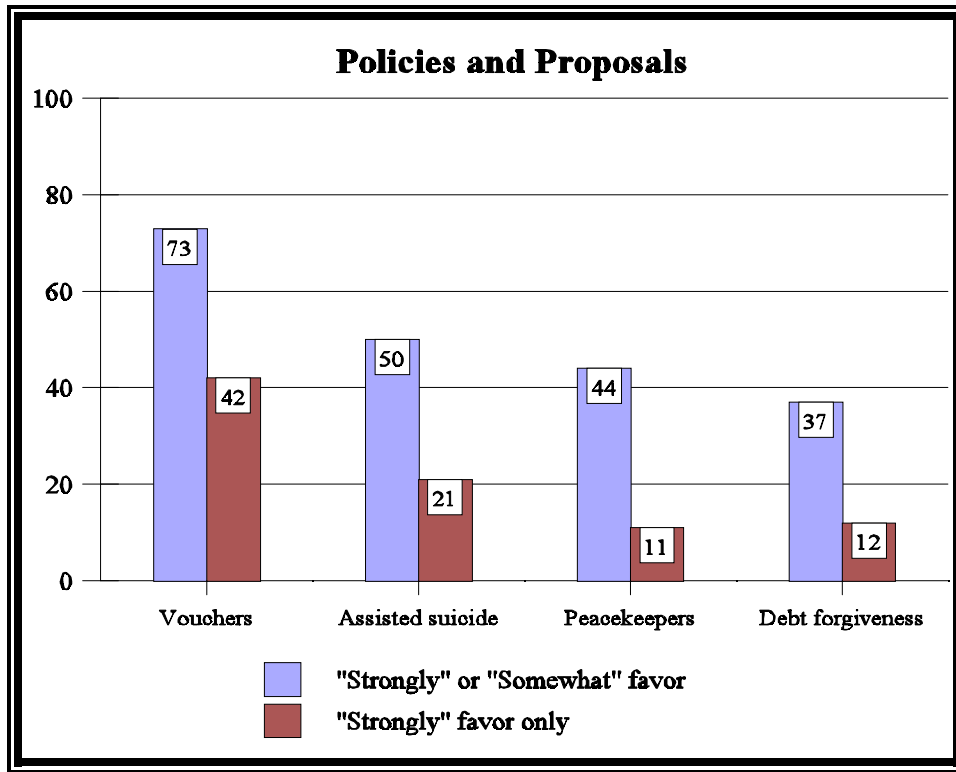
To assess changes in party identification, respondents were asked if they have always had the party identification they now claim now or if their partisanship has changed over time. A total of 72 percent of respondents say they have always had their current party affiliation and 26 percent say they have changed over time. Another 3 percent say they have switched back and forth between parties. The table below shows the stability and change for current Democrats and current Republicans.

Party Switching	
<u>Currently Democrat*</u>	
Always Democrat or leaned Democrat	87%
Switched from Republican to Democrat	7
Switched from independent to Democrat	4
Switched from a third party or switched multiple times	<u>2</u>
	100
<u>Currently Republican*</u>	
Always Republican or leaned Republican	70%
Switched from Democrat to Republican	18
Switched from independent to Republican	10
Switched from a third party or switched multiple times	<u>2</u>
	100
*Includes independents who lean Democrat/Republican.	

The data show that 87 percent of Democrats have always been Democrats while only 70 percent of Republicans have always been Republican. In other words, Republicans can claim that nearly 30 percent of their current members are former Democrats or independents. About one in ten current Democrats were once Republicans or independents.

Social and Political Issues

In addition to their party and candidate preferences, respondents were asked about their



attitudes on several specific policies and proposals.

Nearly three-fourths of the respondents favor “vouchers that provide funds to help parents send their children to the school of their choice.” They are more divided in support for and opposition to “making it legal for a physician to help a dying person commit suicide” and “using U.S. troops as peacekeepers in other countries, even when U.S. security is not directly involved.” They are least supportive of “forgiving the debts owed by Third World countries.” Although Catholics are evenly split on physician-assisted suicide, those who are opposed are stronger in their opposition. While 21 percent strongly support its legalization, 32 percent strongly *oppose* it.

Capital Punishment and Abortion

In addition to the question about physician-assisted suicide noted above, the survey also included a series of questions about two other life issues about which leaders of the Catholic Church have been particularly outspoken: the death penalty and abortion. Before asking about these particular issues, respondents were asked whether they would describe themselves as “more pro-life” or “more pro-choice” (without reference to abortion or any other issue). Framed this way, Catholics are almost evenly divided: 52 percent describe themselves as “pro-choice” and 48 percent describe themselves as “pro-life.” Relatively few respondents, only 5 percent, were unable or unwilling to place themselves in one of the two categories.

As is the case with other Americans in general, a majority of Catholics support both capital punishment and abortion rights. In this poll, 62 percent favor the death penalty – 35 percent “strongly” and 27 percent “somewhat” – and 66 percent think abortion should be legal.

Although this poll shows that support for capital punishment is relatively high, it is important to note that the level of support is somewhat lower than has typically been the case in recent years.⁹ This suggests that opposition to the death penalty among Catholics may be increasing. Such an increase could be due to one of several factors. Gallup poll data show that the proportion of all Americans favoring the death penalty has dropped from a high of 80 percent in 1994 to 67 percent in August 2000.¹⁰ Catholic attitudes may simply be part of this larger national trend. However, it is also possible that changing Catholic attitudes toward the death penalty result from more vocal opposition from Church leaders in recent times.

When asked to choose among three reasons for opposing capital punishment, just over half cite the “possibility of executing an innocent person” as their primary reason for opposition. One-third believe that “it is wrong for the government to put people to death.”

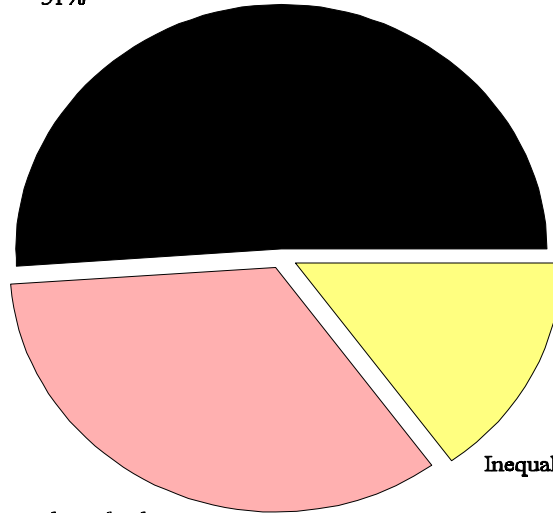
To test whether opposition to the death penalty is a recent phenomenon, death penalty opponents were asked if they have opposed the death penalty for a long time or if they have only recently begun to oppose it. One-third of the respondents indicate their opposition is recent. There are no statistically significant differences in respondents’ reasons for opposing the death penalty based on the length of time they say they have opposed it.

⁹The General Social Survey [GSS], conducted by the National Opinion Research Center, found that 75 percent of Catholics favored capital punishment in 1996. In the same year, the National Election Studies found that 78 percent of Catholics favored capital punishment.

¹⁰This trend is summarized at http://www.gallup.com/poll/indicators/indeath_pen.asp

Reasons for Opposition to the Death Penalty

Possibility of innocence
51%



Inequalities in application
15%

Wrong to put people to death
34%

Although Catholics are generally supportive of abortion being legal, their approval depends on the circumstances involved. As the table below shows, Catholics are most supportive of abortion in cases where the life or physical health of the mother is in danger and only a little less supportive in cases where the pregnancy is the result of rape. Catholics are almost evenly divided when the circumstances involve the likelihood of serious birth defect.

In all other circumstances, a majority of Catholics disapprove of abortion. Their opposition is strongest in cases of late-term abortion and abortion for reasons of sex selection. Opposition is also fairly strong in cases where the woman is unable to support the child financially or emotionally and when she simply does not want the child.

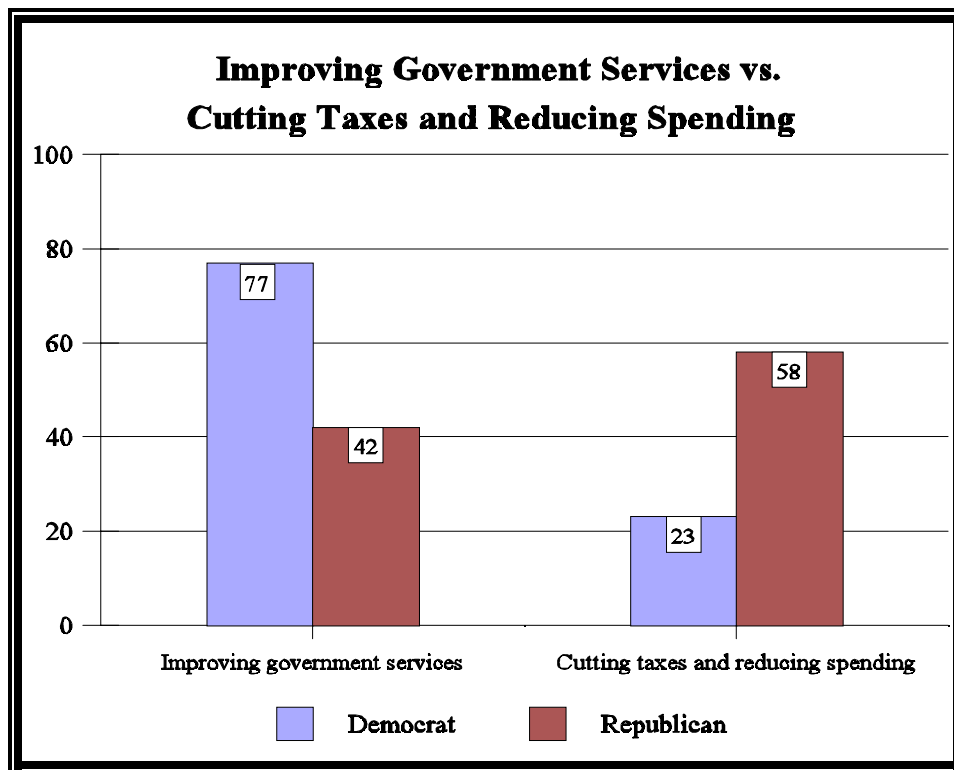
Approval of Abortion	
Percentage who approve of abortion in each circumstance:	
The woman's life is in danger	83%
The woman's physical health is in danger	78
The pregnancy is the result of rape	71
The child is likely to have a serious birth defect	51
The woman's emotional health is in danger	42
The woman is unable to support a child emotionally	23
The woman does not want the child	21
The woman is unable to support a child financially	19
The woman is more than six months pregnant	6
The woman wants the child to be a different sex	5

Nearly half of all respondents, 49 percent, approve of abortion in only three or fewer of the circumstances listed above. Fifteen percent disapprove in all ten circumstances, while only 2 percent approve in all ten.

Among those who describe themselves as “pro-life,” 27 percent disapprove of the practice in all situations while 72 percent approve in one, two, or three of the circumstances. Among those who call themselves “pro-choice,” 25 percent approve of abortion in only three or fewer of these situations. This may suggest that attitudes on abortion are much more complex and nuanced than the terms “pro-life” and “pro-choice” alone imply.

The Role of Government

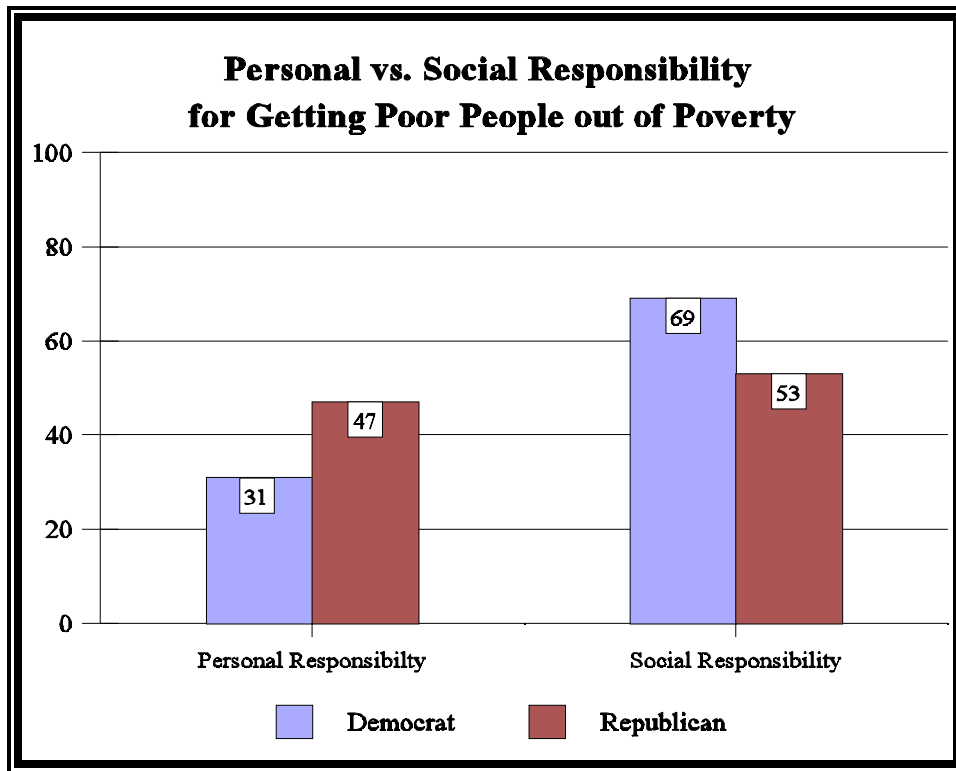
In addition to stating their attitudes on specific issues, respondents were also asked to rank issues or to choose among options. On one item, respondents were asked whether they think “improving government services such as education and health care, even if it means higher spending” or “cutting taxes and reducing government spending” is more important. Some 62 percent choose the former and 38 percent the latter. Not surprisingly, there are partisan differences in responses: 77 percent of Democrats favor improving services while 59 percent of Republicans favor cutting taxes and reducing spending. What is surprising, perhaps, is the relatively large percentage of Republicans, 41 percent, who favor improving services even if it entails increased spending.



Respondents were also asked about responsibility for getting poor people out of poverty.

Only 37 percent of Catholics say that “the responsibility rests primarily with poor people themselves” while 63 percent say that “society has a responsibility for helping poor people get out of poverty.” The partisan differences on this item are also significant but not as large as on the previous item. A majority of both Democrats and Republicans opt for the responsibility of society to help poor people – 69 percent of Democrats and 53 percent of Republicans.

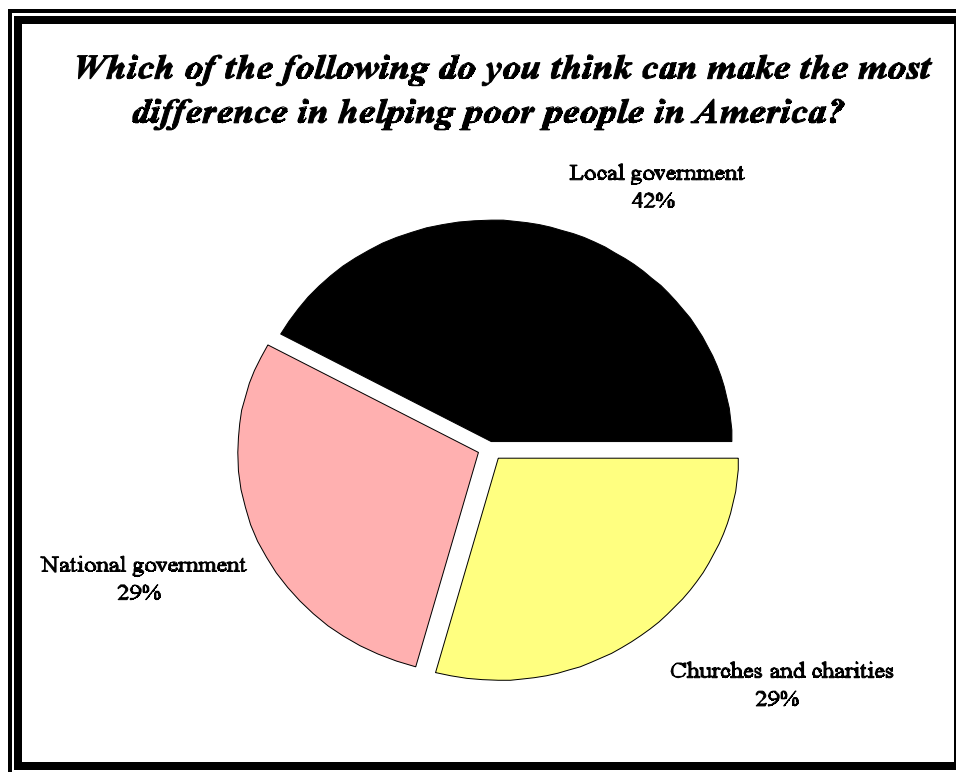
These data lend support to the notion that Catholics have a more communitarian ethic that



emphasizes solidarity, interdependence, and the common good rather than the individualism, independence, and self-help characteristic of the Protestant ethic. This argument is further supported by a direct correlation between the various measures of religious commitment and religious salience used in this study and the likelihood that the respondent believes that society has a responsibility for helping poor people. For example, among those who attend Mass at least every week or who say that their faith is the most important part of their life, more than 70 percent say society has a responsibility to help the poor. This is about 15 to 20 percentage points higher than for those who do not attend Mass regularly or for whom their Catholic faith is not a very important part of their lives.

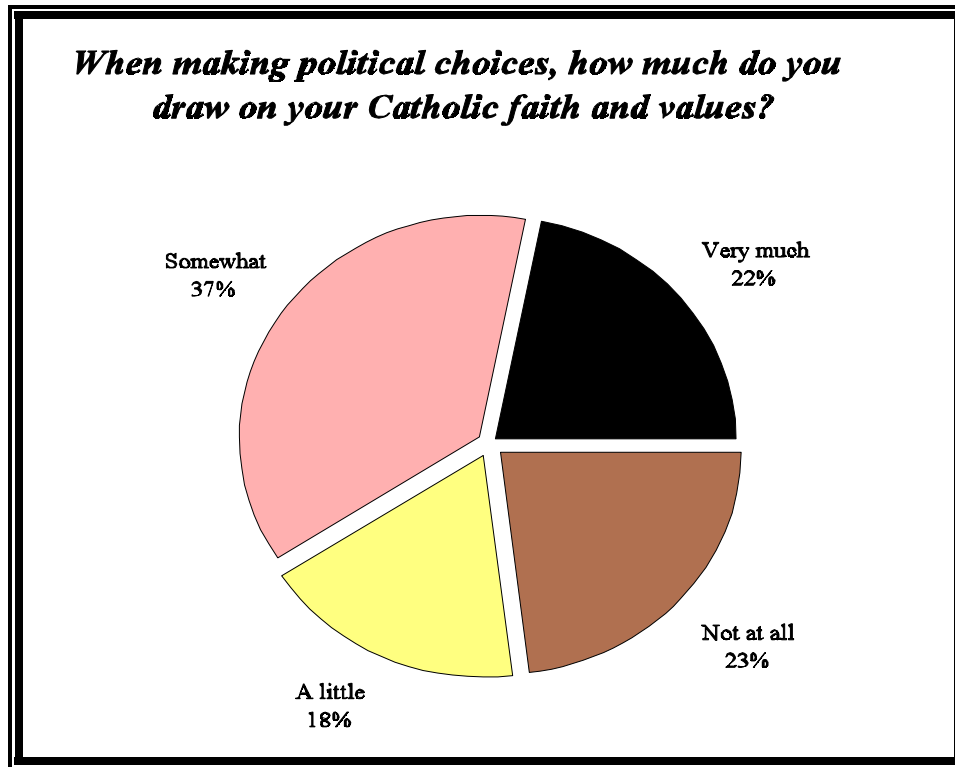
When asked to choose among local government, the national government in Washington, or churches and charitable organizations as the type of organization that can make the most difference in helping poor people, a plurality say that local government is best suited to the task. Looking to local rather than national government as better able to help poor people may reflect support for the Catholic principle of subsidiarity. The finding that Catholics do not see churches and charitable agencies as being particularly able to help poor people may further underline Catholic confidence in the traditionally Catholic, natural law position that government can be a positive force for the common good. By a ratio of nearly three to one, respondents think government – rather than religious or charitable institutions – can make the most difference for poor people.

Again, there are some important differences between Democrat and Republican Catholics. Among Democrats, 44 percent think local government can do the most to help poor people, while 36 percent think it is the national government and 20 percent churches and charitable organizations. Republicans are similar to Democrats on local government, with 42 percent saying it can make the most difference for poor people. An equal percentage of Republicans and Democrats thinks churches and charitable organizations can help the most. But only 16 percent think the national government in Washington can make the most difference.



Applying Faith to Politics

Catholics are mixed in the extent to which they draw on their faith and values when making political choices. The most common response is that they draw on their faith and values “somewhat.”



Not surprisingly, there is a strong, positive correlation between religious commitment and one’s faith and values in political decision-making. Those who participate frequently in Church life and who say their religion and their Catholic faith are important to them are much more likely than those who do not share their high levels of religious commitment to say they draw on their faith and values “very much.”

There are many teachings of the Catholic Church that could influence the political outlooks of Catholics. To test the salience of several religious themes, respondents were asked to identify which of four sets of teachings is “most important” for their political choices. As the table below shows, respondents consider the need for moral values as “most important” and personal responsibility as next most important. The two themes from Catholic social teaching on the sacredness of human life and the need to care for the poor and needy are ranked as most important by relatively fewer Catholics.

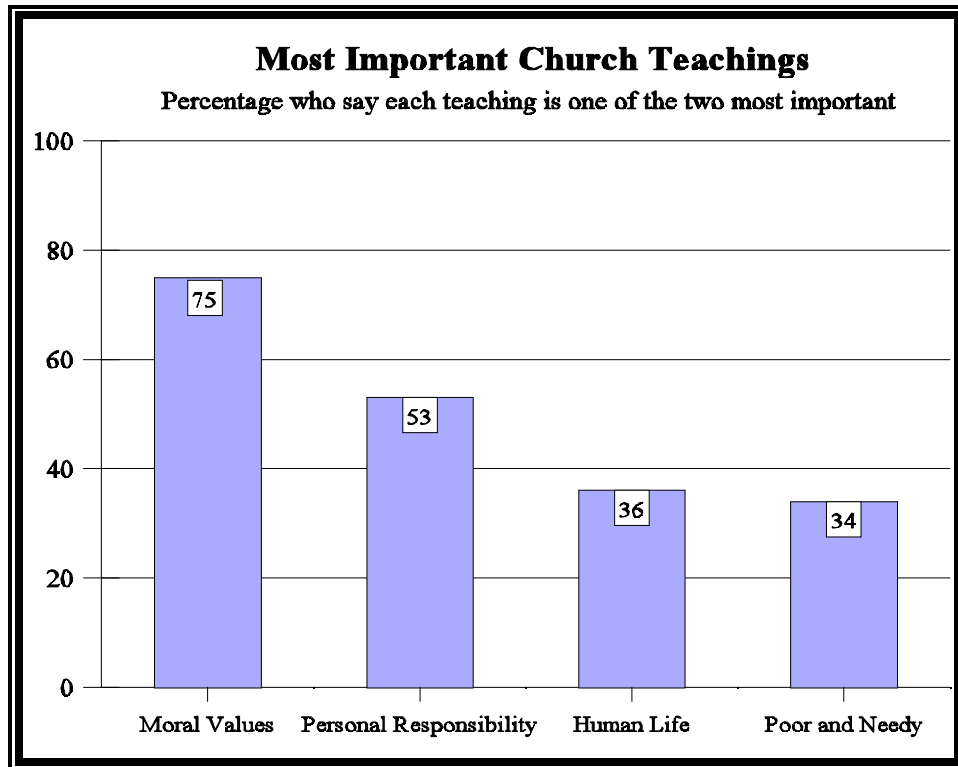
Catholic Teachings	
Percentage who identify each as “most important” for their political choices:	
The need for moral values in society	43%
The importance of personal responsibility	27
The sacredness of human life	16
The need to care for the poor and needy	14

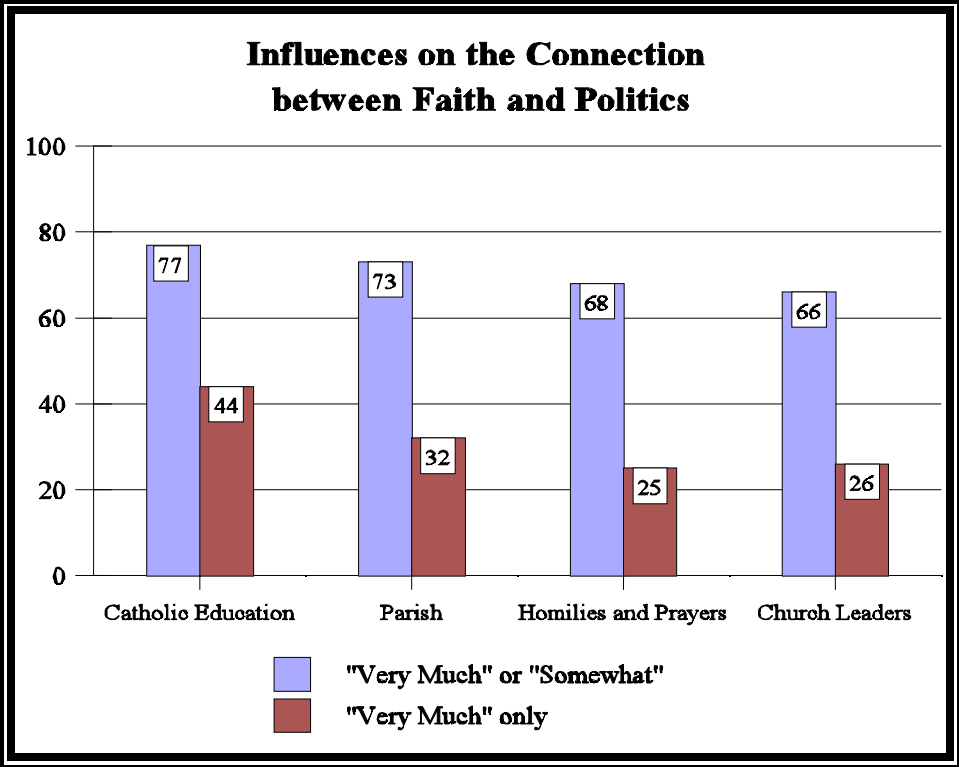
Respondents were also asked to name the teaching that they think is next most important. In the chart below, the two responses are combined.

Religious Sources of Political Orientations

To better understand the religious orientation, Catholics who say they draw on their faith at least “somewhat” were asked about the extent to which the way they connect Catholic faith and politics was influenced by Catholic education, their parish, homilies and prayers at Mass, and the statements by Church leaders such as the Pope and bishops.

Between two-thirds and three-fourths of respondents say they were influenced “very much” or “somewhat” by each of these factors. Of the four religious sources of political orientations about which respondents were queried, they were most likely to say they were influenced by Catholic education and their parish and somewhat less likely to say they were influenced by homilies and prayers at Mass or by the statements of Church leaders.





Advocacy by Church Leaders

Respondents are mixed in their support for political guidance and political advocacy from the pulpit. While a small majority want the clergy to urge support or opposition to certain laws, they are almost evenly divided in their desire for priests to urge parishioners to contact their elected officials and to state the Church's teaching and urge parishioners to reflect of the political implications. When it comes to support or opposition for a specific candidate or political party, however, the vast majority of American Catholic do not favor such endorsements. Only about one in ten Catholics say they want this kind of guidance.

Political Guidance in Sermons or Homilies

Percentage saying they would want a priest to offer each type of guidance:

Urge parishioners to support or oppose specific laws	58%
Urge parishioners to contact their elected officials	52
State the Church's teaching on a particular issue and urge parishioners to reflect on the political implications	49
Urge parishioners to support or oppose a specific candidate for political office	13
Urge parishioners to support or oppose a specific political party	10

Awareness of Political Cues

Catholics have various levels of awareness of political cues from Church leaders. Respondents are much more aware of Church leaders speaking out on the death penalty than on the issue of debts owed by Third World countries, with more than two-thirds having heard of the former and only about one-fourth of the latter. A small majority have heard of the Pope or the bishops speaking out on physician-assisted suicide.

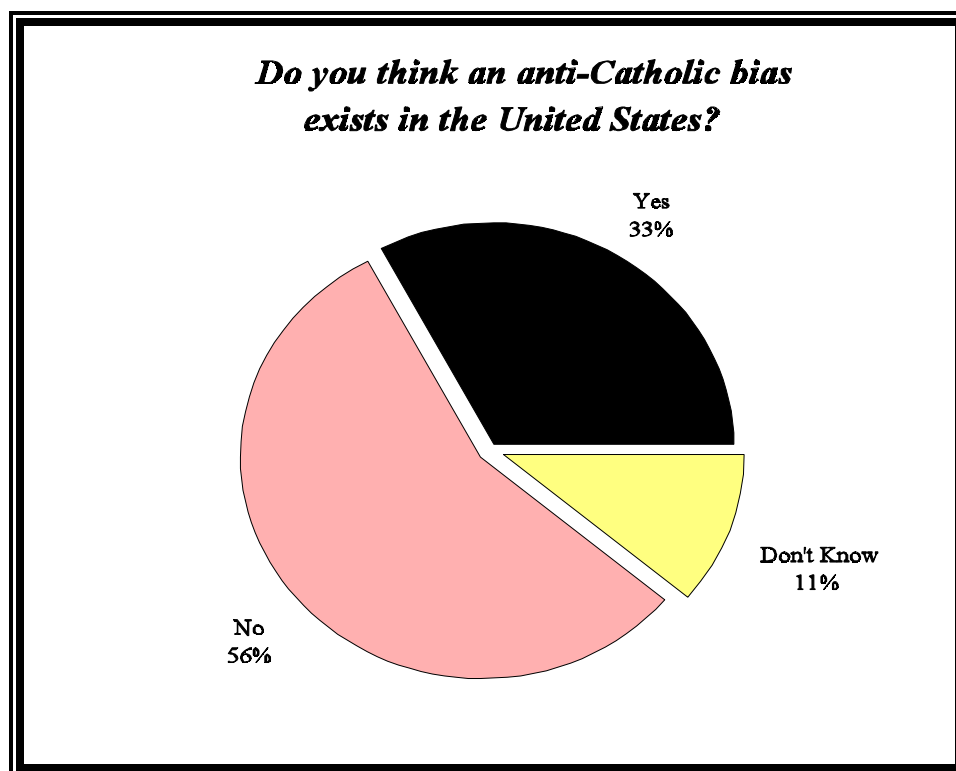
Awareness of Political Cues from Church Leaders	
Percentage who say they have heard about leaders speaking out on each issue:	
The death penalty	68%
Making it legal for a physician to help a dying person commit suicide	57
Debts owed by Third World countries to organizations such as the Word Bank	28

Among Catholics who have heard about the Pope or the bishops speaking out on these issues, almost all correctly identify the Church's position: 97 percent say the Church opposes physician-assisted suicide, 95 percent say the Church opposes the death penalty, and 83 percent say the Church favors debt forgiveness. Most of those who have *not* heard of the of Church leaders speaking out on these issues also correctly identify the Church's stance: 96 percent on physician-assisted suicide, 94 percent on the death penalty, and 75 percent on Third World debt. In other words, regardless of whether or not Catholics have heard of Church leaders speaking out on particular issues, most are able to sense the Church's position.

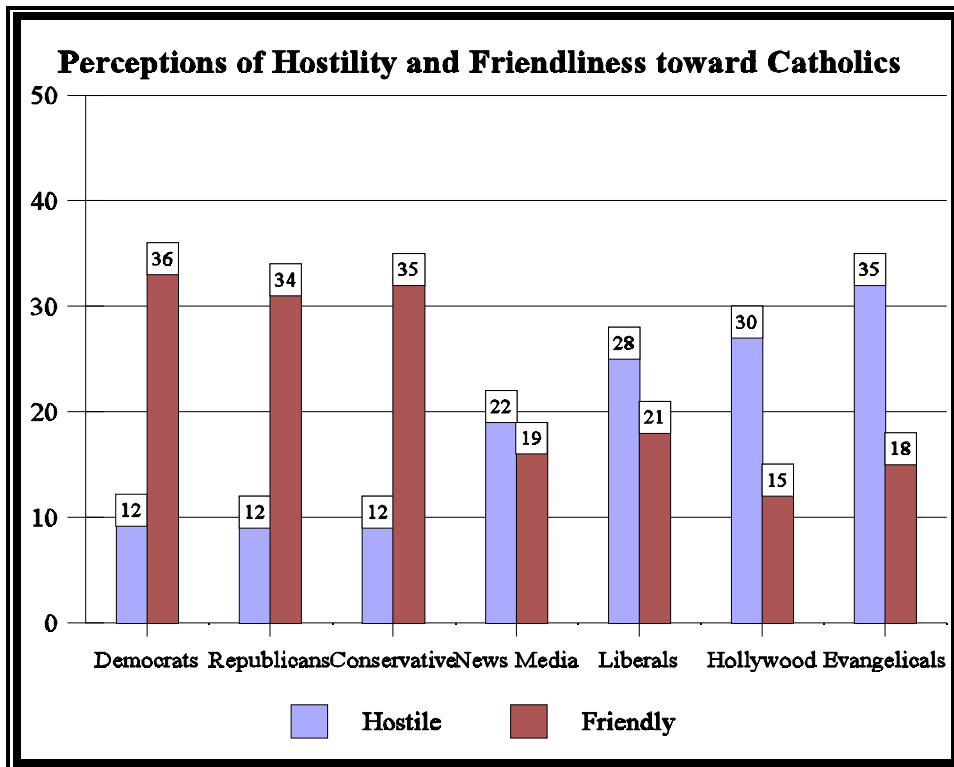
Anti-Catholic Bias

Events during the spring of 2000 brought renewed attention to the issue of anti-Catholicism in the United States. The controversies over the appointment of a Roman Catholic priest as the chaplain of the United States House of Representatives and George W. Bush's appearance at the avowedly anti-Catholic Bob Jones University during the South Carolina primary campaign raised questions in some quarters about lingering hostility toward Catholics and the Catholic Church.

Although a majority of Catholics do not think there is an anti-Catholic bias in the United States, one-third believe such a bias does indeed exist. About one in ten Catholics either do not know or have no opinion on this question.



When asked about specific groups that might be perceived as hostile toward Catholics, only “evangelical Protestant groups active in politics,” “Hollywood and the makers of movies and TV entertainment shows,” and “liberals” are viewed as hostile to Catholics, by roughly one in three respondents. While most do not consider these groups particularly hostile, most do not consider them particularly friendly either. The Democratic Party, the Republican Party, and Conservatives are each thought of as friendly by a little more than one-third of these Catholics. “News reporters and the news media” are perceived to be friendly and hostile by almost equal percentages. With only one exception, a majority of respondents think each group is neutral toward Catholics. A little less than a majority, 47 percent, think politically active evangelical groups are neutral toward Catholics.



Appendix

Question Wording and Response Frequencies¹¹

POLITICAL INTEREST

Some people are not very interested in politics or political issues. How about you? Would you say you are very interested, somewhat interested, a little interested, or not interested at all in politics?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Very interested	394	32.8%
2 Somewhat interested	457	38.1%
3 A little interested	190	15.8%
4 Not interested at all	147	12.3%
5 (DO NOT READ) Neither interested nor disinterested	2	.2%
6 (DO NOT READ) Don't know	8	.7%
7 (DO NOT READ) Refused	2	.2%
Total	1200	100.0%

RELIGIOUS SALIENCE

Some people consider their religious faith to be an important part of their lives. For others, religion is not important at all. How important is religion to you personally? Is it ...

	Frequency	Percent
1 Very important	710	59.2%
2 Somewhat important	303	25.3%
3 A little important	97	8.1%
4 Not important at all	82	6.8%
5 (DO NOT READ) Neither important nor unimportant	1	.1%
6 (DO NOT READ) Don't know	6	.5%
7 (DO NOT READ) Refused	1	.1%
Total	1200	100.0%

INTERVIEWER RECORDS GENDER BY VOICE

	Frequency	Percent
1 Male	502	41.8%
2 Female	698	58.2%
Total	1200	100.0%

¹¹Except where questions were randomized within a block of questions, all questions were asked in the order in which they are presented.

POLICIES, PROPOSALS, AND PRIORITIES

We would like to hear your opinions about certain issues. I am going to name several political proposals that have been in the news lately. For each one, please tell me whether you strongly favor, favor somewhat, oppose somewhat, or strongly oppose the issue.

The (first/next) political proposal is ... Making it legal for a physician to help a dying person commit suicide.

(PROBE IF NEEDED:) Do you strongly favor this, favor it somewhat, oppose it somewhat, or strongly oppose it?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Strongly favor	236	19.7%
2 Favor somewhat	326	27.2%
3 Oppose somewhat	194	16.2%
4 Strongly oppose	358	29.8%
5 (DO NOT READ) Neither favor nor oppose	44	3.7%
6 (DO NOT READ) Don't know	40	3.3%
7 (DO NOT READ) Refused	2	.2%
Total	1200	100.0%

The (first/next) political proposal is ... Vouchers that provide funds to help parents send their children to the school of their choice.

(PROBE IF NEEDED:) Do you strongly favor this, favor it somewhat, oppose it somewhat, or strongly oppose it?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Strongly favor	475	39.6%
2 Favor somewhat	348	29.0%
3 Oppose somewhat	165	13.8%
4 Strongly oppose	147	12.3%
5 (DO NOT READ) Neither favor nor oppose	27	2.3%
6 (DO NOT READ) Don't know	38	3.2%
Total	1200	100.0%

The (first/next) political proposal is ... Using U.S. troops as peacekeepers in other countries, even when U.S. security is not directly involved.

(PROBE IF NEEDED:) Do you strongly favor this, favor it somewhat, oppose it somewhat, or strongly oppose it?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Strongly favor	88	10.6%
2 Favor somewhat	256	30.8%
3 Oppose somewhat	225	27.0%
4 Strongly oppose	211	25.4%
5 (DO NOT READ) Neither favor nor oppose	28	3.4%
6 (DO NOT READ) Don't know	24	2.9%
Total	832	100.0%

The (first/next) political proposal is ... Forgive the debts owed by third world countries.
 (PROBE IF NEEDED:) Do you strongly favor this, favor it somewhat, oppose it somewhat, or strongly oppose it?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Strongly favor	131	10.9%
2 Favor somewhat	271	22.6%
3 Oppose somewhat	338	28.2%
4 Strongly oppose	341	28.4%
5 (DO NOT READ) Neither favor nor oppose	43	3.6%
6 (DO NOT READ) Don't know	72	6.0%
7 (DO NOT READ) Refused	4	.3%
Total	1200	100.0%

If you had to choose, would you describe yourself as more pro-life or more pro-choice?

	Frequency	Percent
1 More pro-life	548	45.7%
2 More pro-choice	588	49.0%
3 (DO NOT READ) Neither	18	1.5%
4 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/No opinion	43	3.6%
5 (DO NOT READ) Refused	3	.3%
Total	1200	100.0%

If you had to choose, which do you think is more important:

	Frequency	Percent
1 Improving government services such as education and health care, even if it means higher spending	704	58.7%
2 Cutting taxes and reducing government spending	438	36.5%
3 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/can't choose	55	4.6%
4 (DO NOT READ) Refused	3	.3%
Total	1200	100.0%

Which of the following statements comes closest to your view?

	Frequency	Percent
1 The responsibility for getting out of poverty rests primarily with the poor themselves.	402	33.5%
2 Society has a responsibility for helping poor people get out of poverty.	673	56.1%
3 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/can't choose	124	10.3%
4 (DO NOT READ) Refused	1	.1%
Total	1200	100.0%

Which of the following do you think can make the most difference in helping poor people in America?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Local government	462	38.5%
2 The national government in Washington	316	26.3%
3 Churches and charitable organizations	325	27.1%
4 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/can't choose	94	7.8%
5 (DO NOT READ) Refused	3	.3%
Total	1200	100.0%

I would like to ask you a few questions about some other issues. Generally speaking, do you favor or oppose the death penalty? Do you strongly favor it, somewhat favor it, somewhat oppose it, or strongly oppose it?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Strongly favor	387	32.3%
2 Somewhat favor	297	24.8%
3 Somewhat oppose	186	15.5%
4 Strongly oppose	240	20.0%
5 (DO NOT READ) Neither favor nor oppose	60	5.0%
6 (DO NOT READ) Don't know	27	2.3%
7 (DO NOT READ) Refused	3	.3%
Total	1200	100.0%

Which of the following comes closest to your PRIMARY reason for opposing the death penalty?

	Frequency	Percent
1 There is a possibility of executing an innocent person	202	47.4%
2 It is wrong for the government to put people to people to death, even criminals	133	31.2%
3 There are inequalities in who receives the death penalty	59	13.8%
4 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/can't choose	31	7.3%
5 (DO NOT READ) Refused	1	.2%
Total	426	100.0%

Have you been opposed to the death penalty for a long time or have you begun to oppose it more recently?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Opposed for a long time	276	64.8%
2 Opposed more recently	145	34.0%
3 (DO NOT READ) Don't know	4	.9%
4 (DO NOT READ) Refused	1	.2%
Total	426	100.0%

I am going to quickly name some circumstances in which a woman might want to have an abortion. Tell me whether or not you personally approve of abortion in each case. Please respond “yes” if you approve or “no” if you disapprove.

The (first/next) circumstance in which a woman might want to have an abortion is ... The pregnancy is the result of a rape.

(READ IF NECESSARY:) Do you approve or disapprove?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Yes, approve	790	65.8%
2 No, disapprove	328	27.3%
3 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/no opinion	73	6.1%
Total	1200	100.0%

The (first/next) circumstance in which a woman might want to have an abortion is ... The child is likely to have a serious birth defect.

(READ IF NECESSARY:) Do you approve or disapprove?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Yes, approve	559	46.6%
2 No, disapprove	533	44.4%
3 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/no opinion	101	8.4%
4 (DO NOT READ) Refused	7	.6%
Total	1200	100.0%

The (first/next) circumstance in which a woman might want to have an abortion is ... The woman is unable to support a child financially.

(READ IF NECESSARY:) Do you approve or disapprove?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Yes, approve	217	18.1%
2 No, disapprove	942	78.5%
3 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/no opinion	35	2.9%
4 (DO NOT READ) Refused	6	.5%
Total	1200	100.0%

The (first/next) circumstance in which a woman might want to have an abortion is ... The woman is unable to support a child emotionally.

(READ IF NECESSARY:) Do you approve or disapprove?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Yes, approve	257	21.4%
2 No, disapprove	882	73.5%
3 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/no opinion	54	4.5%
4 (DO NOT READ) Refused	7	.6%
Total	1200	100.0%

The (first/next) circumstance in which a woman might want to have an abortion is ... The woman's physical health is in danger.

(READ IF NECESSARY:) Do you approve or disapprove?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Yes, approve	877	73.1%
2 No, disapprove	245	20.4%
3 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/no opinion	69	5.8%
4 (DO NOT READ) Refused	9	.8%
Total	1200	100.0%

The (first/next) circumstance in which a woman might want to have an abortion is ... The woman's emotional health is in danger.

(READ IF NECESSARY:) Do you approve or disapprove?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Yes, approve	466	38.8%
2 No, disapprove	642	53.5%
3 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/no opinion	85	7.1%
4 (DO NOT READ) Refused	7	.6%
Total	1200	100.0%

The (first/next) circumstance in which a woman might want to have an abortion is ... The woman's life is in danger.

(READ IF NECESSARY:) Do you approve or disapprove?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Yes, approve	923	76.9%
2 No, disapprove	186	15.5%
3 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/no opinion	84	7.0%
4 (DO NOT READ) Refused	7	.6%
Total	1200	100.0%

The (first/next) circumstance in which a woman might want to have an abortion is ... The woman wants the child to be a different sex.

(READ IF NECESSARY:) Do you approve or disapprove?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Yes, approve	57	4.8%
2 No, disapprove	1112	92.7%
3 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/no opinion	24	2.0%
4 (DO NOT READ) Refused	7	.6%
Total	1200	100.0%

The (first/next) circumstance in which a woman might want to have an abortion is ... The woman does not want the child.

(READ IF NECESSARY:) Do you approve or disapprove?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Yes, approve	236	19.7%
2 No, disapprove	917	76.4%
3 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/no opinion	41	3.4%
4 (DO NOT READ) Refused	6	.5%
Total	1200	100.0%

The (first/next) circumstance in which a woman might want to have an abortion is ... The woman is more than six months pregnant.

(READ IF NECESSARY:) Do you approve or disapprove?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Yes, approve	70	5.8%
2 No, disapprove	1088	90.7%
3 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/no opinion	35	2.9%
4 (DO NOT READ) Refused	7	.6%
Total	1200	100.0%

Regardless of your own views on abortion, do you think abortion should be LEGAL?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Yes, it should be legal	745	62.1%
2 No, it should be outlawed	377	31.4%
3 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/no opinion	71	5.9%
4 (DO NOT READ) Refused	7	.6%
Total	1200	100.0%

PERCEPTIONS OF ATTITUDES TOWARD CATHOLICS

In general, do you think there is an anti-Catholic bias in the United States?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Yes	274	33.0%
2 No	464	55.9%
3 (DO NOT READ) Don't know	91	11.0%
4 (DO NOT READ) Refused	1	.1%
Total	830	100.0%

I am going to name several types of groups or organizations. For each, please tell me whether you feel that group is generally friendly toward Catholics, neutral toward Catholics, or hostile toward Catholics.

The (first/next) group is ... The Democratic Party.

(PROBE IF NEEDED:) Is it primarily friendly, neutral, or hostile toward Catholics?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Friendly	256	30.8%
2 Neutral	376	45.3%
3 Hostile	87	10.5%
4 (DO NOT READ) Mixed/Both	12	1.4%
5 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/no opinion	98	11.8%
6 (DO NOT READ) Refused	1	.1%
Total	830	100.0%

The (first/next) group is ... The Republican Party.

(PROBE IF NEEDED:) Is it primarily friendly, neutral, or hostile toward Catholics?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Friendly	239	28.8%
2 Neutral	380	45.8%
3 Hostile	88	10.6%
4 (DO NOT READ) Mixed/Both	14	1.7%
5 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/no opinion	107	12.9%
6 (DO NOT READ) Refused	2	.2%
Total	830	100.0%

The (first/next) group is ... Hollywood and the makers of movies and TV entertainment shows.

(PROBE IF NEEDED:) Are they primarily friendly, neutral, or hostile toward Catholics?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Friendly	107	12.9%
2 Neutral	402	48.4%
3 Hostile	218	26.3%
4 (DO NOT READ) Mixed/Both	10	1.2%
5 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/no opinion	92	11.1%
6 (DO NOT READ) Refused	1	.1%
Total	830	100.0%

The (first/next) group is ... News reporters and the news media.

(PROBE IF NEEDED:) Are they primarily friendly, neutral, or hostile toward Catholics?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Friendly	139	16.7%
2 Neutral	426	51.3%
3 Hostile	163	19.6%
4 (DO NOT READ) Mixed/Both	24	2.9%
5 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/no opinion	77	9.3%
6 (DO NOT READ) Refused	1	.1%
Total	830	100.0%

The (first/next) group is ... Evangelical Protestant groups active in politics?

(PROBE IF NEEDED:) Are they primarily friendly, neutral, or hostile toward Catholics?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Friendly	114	13.7%
2 Neutral	309	37.2%
3 Hostile	230	27.7%
4 (DO NOT READ) Mixed/Both	12	1.4%
5 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/no opinion	163	19.6%
6 (DO NOT READ) Refused	2	.2%
Total	830	100.0%

The (first/next) group is ... Liberals.

(PROBE IF NEEDED:) Are they primarily friendly, neutral, or hostile toward Catholics?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Friendly	145	17.5%
2 Neutral	351	42.3%
3 Hostile	192	23.1%
4 (DO NOT READ) Mixed/Both	12	1.4%
5 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/no opinion	128	15.4%
6 (DO NOT READ) Refused	2	.2%
Total	830	100.0%

The (first/next) group is ... Conservatives.

(PROBE IF NEEDED:) Are they primarily friendly, neutral, or hostile toward Catholics?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Friendly	244	29.4%
2 Neutral	369	44.5%
3 Hostile	87	10.5%
4 (DO NOT READ) Mixed/Both	10	1.2%
5 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/no opinion	119	14.3%
6 (DO NOT READ) Refused	1	.1%
Total	830	100.0%

PARTY IDENTIFICATION

Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Republican	319	26.6%
2 Democrat	420	35.0%
3 Independent	366	30.5%
4 Other (Specify:)	25	2.1%
5 (DO NOT READ) No preference	70	5.8%
Total	1200	100.0%

If Republican: Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Strong Republican	169	53.0%
2 Not very strong Republican	150	47.0%
Total	319	100.0%

If Democrat: Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Strong Democrat	214	51.0%
2 Not very strong Democrat	206	49.0%
Total	420	100.0%

If any response besides Democrat or Republican: Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or the Democratic party?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Closer to Republican	118	25.6%
2 Closer to Democrat	179	38.8%
3 Neither	117	25.4%
4 Other (Specify:)	7	1.5%
5 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/no opinion	37	8.0%
6 (DO NOT READ) Refused	3	.7%
Total	461	100.0%

If Democrat or Republican or Independent: Have you always thought of yourself as a [Republican, Democrat, Independent] or have you changed your party identification over time?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Always a Republican/Democrat/Independent	784	71.0%
2 Changed over time	286	25.9%
3 (DO NOT READ) Changed back and forth	21	1.9%
4 (DO NOT READ) Don't know	14	1.3%
Total	1105	100.0%

If changed party identification: About how many years ago did you change your party identification?

Average=20.5

If changed party identification: And [number] years ago, did you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Republican	71	25.4%
2 Democrat	130	46.6%
3 Independent	60	21.5%
4 Other (Specify:)	7	2.5%
5 (DO NOT READ) No preference	11	3.9%
Total	279	100.0%

VOTING AND THE CURRENT ELECTION

Are you registered to vote for the November elections?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Yes	1024	85.3%
2 No	170	14.2%
3 (DO NOT READ) Don't know	6	.5%
Total	1200	100.0%

Do you plan to vote in the elections this November?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Yes	1044	87.0%
2 No	122	10.2%
3 (DO NOT READ) Undecided/Don't know	34	2.8%
Total	1200	100.0%

If plans to vote: The election is still some time away and people are not certain who they will vote for. Still, who do you think you will vote for in the presidential election?

	Frequency	Percent
1 George W. Bush	358	34.3%
2 Al Gore	430	41.2%
3 Ralph Nader	26	2.5%
4 Pat Buchanan	5	.5%
5 (DO NOT READ) Other	10	1.0%
6 (DO NOT READ) Undecided	198	19.0%
7 (DO NOT READ) Refused	17	1.6%
Total	1044	100.0%

If does not plan to vote: If you were going to vote, who do you think you would vote for in the presidential election?

	Frequency	Percent
1 George W. Bush	42	34.4%
2 Al Gore	41	33.6%
3 Ralph Nader	5	4.1%
4 Pat Buchanan	1	.8%
5 (DO NOT READ) Other	0	0%
6 (DO NOT READ) Undecided	23	18.9%
7 (DO NOT READ) Refused	10	8.2%
Total	122	100.0%

As you may know, George W. Bush describes himself as a “compassionate conservative.” Does this make you feel more favorable toward him, less favorable toward him, or does it make no difference at all?

	Frequency	Percent
1 More favorable	123	14.8%
2 Less favorable	127	15.3%
3 No difference	558	67.2%
4 (DO NOT READ) Don’t know	18	2.2%
5 (DO NOT READ) Refused	4	.5%
Total	830	100.0%

As you may know, Al Gore chose Joe Lieberman, a practicing, orthodox Jew who speaks regularly about religious faith in public life, to be his vice presidential running mate. Does this make you feel more favorable toward Gore, less favorable toward Gore, or does it make no difference at all?

	Frequency	Percent
1 More favorable	165	19.9%
2 Less favorable	85	10.2%
3 No difference	571	68.8%
4 (DO NOT READ) Don’t know	6	.7%
5 (DO NOT READ) Refused	3	.4%
Total	830	100.0%

We’re also interested in your preferences for Congress. Do you favor the Democratic Party or the Republican Party controlling the U.S. Congress?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Democratic Party	513	42.8%
2 Republican Party	417	34.8%
3 (DO NOT READ) No preference	179	14.9%
4 (DO NOT READ) Don’t know	86	7.2%
5 (DO NOT READ) Refused	5	.4%
Total	1200	100.0%

If plans to vote: In making your decision about who to vote for in November, which would you say is more important to you:

	Frequency	Percent
1 How the candidates stand on the issues	555	53.2%
2 Their character and leadership qualities	350	33.5%
3 (DO NOT READ) Equally important	115	11.0%
4 (DO NOT READ) Don't know	23	2.2%
5 (DO NOT READ) Refused	1	.1%
Total	1044	100.0%

If plans to vote: When you vote in November, what type of issues will influence your choice the most?

	Frequency	Percent
1 The strength of the economy	236	22.6%
2 Issues of taxing, spending, and government programs	447	42.8%
3 Social or moral issues like abortion	231	22.1%
4 Foreign policy	48	4.6%
5 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/can't choose	81	7.8%
6 (DO NOT READ) Refused	1	.1%
Total	1044	100.0%

WAYS OF APPLYING CATHOLICISM TO POLITICS

I am going to name several Catholic teachings that some people draw on for political choices. Please tell me which teaching is most important for your choices:

	Frequency	Percent
1 The sacredness of human life	178	14.8%
2 The need to care for the poor and needy	158	13.2%
3 The importance of personal responsibility	302	25.2%
4 The need for moral values in society	483	40.3%
5 (DO NOT READ) Don't know	70	5.8%
6 (DO NOT READ) Refused	9	.8%
Total	1200	100.0%

If named any issue: Which of these teachings is next most important? (READ LIST IF NECESSARY)

	Frequency	Percent
1 The sacredness of human life	230	20.5%
2 The need to care for the poor and needy	222	19.8%
3 The importance of personal responsibility	290	25.9%
4 The need for moral values in society	352	31.4%
5 (DO NOT READ) Don't know	24	2.1%
6 (DO NOT READ) Only one teaching mentioned	3	.3%

Total	1121	100.0%
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SALIENCE OF RELIGION IN POLITICS

When making political choices, how much do you draw on your Catholic faith and values?

Do you draw on your faith ...

	Frequency	Percent
1 Very much	255	21.3%
2 Somewhat	442	36.8%
3 A little, or	214	17.8%
4 Not at all	269	22.4%
5 (DO NOT READ) Don't know	18	1.5%
6 (DO NOT READ) Refused	2	.2%
Total	1200	100.0%

If very much or somewhat: Thinking about how your faith and values apply to politics, would you say that Catholicism provides a special perspective or that other religions provide a similar perspective?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Catholicism provides a special perspective	180	25.8%
2 Other religions provide a similar perspective	415	59.5%
3 (DO NOT READ) Don't know	97	13.9%
4 (DO NOT READ) Refused	5	.7%
Total	697	100.0%

If very much or somewhat: I am going to name some things that may have influenced the way that you connect your Catholic faith with politics. For each one, tell me if you think they influenced you very much, somewhat, only a little, or not at all.

The (first/next) item is ... Catholic education.

(PROBE IF NEEDED:) Has it influenced you very much, somewhat, only a little, or not at all?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Very much	207	43.2%
2 Somewhat	155	32.4%
3 Only a little	55	11.5%
4 Not at all	54	11.3%
5 (DO NOT READ) Don't know	7	1.5%
6 (DO NOT READ) Refused	1	.2%
Total	479	100.0%

The (first/next) item is ... Your parish.

(PROBE IF NEEDED:) Has it influenced you very much, somewhat, only a little, or not at all?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Very much	123	25.7%
2 Somewhat	187	39.0%
3 Only a little	68	14.2%
4 Not at all	89	18.6%
5 (DO NOT READ) Don't know	11	2.3%
6 (DO NOT READ) Refused	1	.2%
Total	479	100.0%

The (first/next) item is ... Homilies and prayers at Mass.

(PROBE IF NEEDED:) Have they influenced you very much, somewhat, only a little, or not at all?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Very much	149	31.1%
2 Somewhat	193	40.3%
3 Only a little	56	11.7%
4 Not at all	70	14.6%
5 (DO NOT READ) Don't know	10	2.1%
6 (DO NOT READ) Refused	1	.2%
Total	479	100.0%

The (first/next) item is ... Statements by the Church leaders such as the Pope and bishops.

(PROBE IF NEEDED:) Have they influenced you very much, somewhat, only a little, or not at all?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Very much	118	24.6%
2 Somewhat	200	41.8%
3 Only a little	72	15.0%
4 Not at all	81	16.9%
5 (DO NOT READ) Don't know	6	1.3%
6 (DO NOT READ) Refused	2	.4%
Total	479	100.0%

When you think about the policies advocated by the political parties, do you think of the Democratic Party or the Republican Party as being closer to the teachings of the Catholic Church?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Democratic Party	365	30.4%
2 Republican Party	321	26.8%
3 (DO NOT READ) Both	38	3.2%
4 (DO NOT READ) Neither/ Depends	238	19.8%
5 (DO NOT READ) Don't know	225	18.8%
6 (DO NOT READ) Refused	13	1.1%
Total	1200	100.0%

If either the Democratic or Republican Party: Would you say the [Democratic or Republican] Party is much closer or somewhat closer?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Much closer	223	32.5%
2 Somewhat closer	450	65.6%
3 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/Depends	11	1.6%
4 (DO NOT READ) Refused	2	.3%
Total	686	100.0%

SUPPORT FOR POLITICAL ADVOCACY BY CHURCH LEADERS

I am going to name some ways that political issues might come up in sermons or homilies. For each one, tell me if you would want a priest to offer this kind of guidance in a sermon or homily during Mass.

Would you want a priest to ... State the Church's teaching on a particular issue and urge parishioners to reflect on the political implications.

	Frequency	Percent
1 Yes	387	46.8%
2 No	397	48.0%
3 (DO NOT READ) Don't know	41	5.0%
4 (DO NOT READ) Refused	2	.2%
Total	827	100.0%

Would you want a priest to ... Urge parishioners to support or oppose specific laws.

	Frequency	Percent
1 Yes	667	55.6%
2 No	483	40.3%
3 (DO NOT READ) Don't know	47	3.9%
4 (DO NOT READ) Refused	3	.3%

Total	1200	100.0%
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Would you want a priest to ... Urge parishioners to contact their elected officials.

	Frequency	Percent
1 Yes	407	49.2%
2 No	375	45.3%
3 (DO NOT READ) Don't know	42	5.1%
4 (DO NOT READ) Refused	3	.4%
Total	827	100.0%

Would you want a priest to ... Urge parishioners to support or oppose a specific candidate for political office.

	Frequency	Percent
1 Yes	104	12.6%
2 No	691	83.6%
3 (DO NOT READ) Don't know	27	3.3%
4 (DO NOT READ) Refused	5	.6%
Total	827	100.0%

Would you want a priest to ... Urge parishioners to support or oppose a specific political party.

	Frequency	Percent
1 Yes	84	10.2%
2 No	714	86.3%
3 (DO NOT READ) Don't know	24	2.9%
4 (DO NOT READ) Refused	5	.6%
Total	827	100.0%

AWARENESS OF THE CHURCH'S POLITICAL CUES

Catholic leaders sometimes take positions on political issues. We are interested in whether you have heard about some of these positions. I am going to name some issues. Please tell me if you've heard about the Pope or the bishops speaking out on them. Just answer yes or no.

Making it legal for a physician to help a dying person commit suicide?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Yes	676	56.3%
2 No	501	41.8%
3 (DO NOT READ) Don't know	21	1.8%
4 (DO NOT READ) Refused	2	.2%
Total	1200	100.0%

The death penalty?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Yes	803	66.9%
2 No	377	31.4%
3 (DO NOT READ) Don't know	19	1.6%
4 (DO NOT READ) Refused	1	.1%
Total	1200	100.0%

The debts owed by third world countries to organizations such as the World Bank?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Yes	319	26.6%
2 No	836	69.7%
3 (DO NOT READ) Don't know	44	3.7%
4 (DO NOT READ) Refused	1	.1%
Total	1200	100.0%

Would you say the Pope and bishops support or oppose making it legal for a physician to help a dying person commit suicide?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Support	41	3.4%
2 Oppose	1078	89.8%
3 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/Not sure	79	6.6%
4 (DO NOT READ) Refused	2	.2%
Total	1200	100.0%

Would you say the Pope and bishops support or oppose the death penalty?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Support	62	5.2%
2 Oppose	1064	88.7%
3 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/Not sure	73	6.1%
4 (DO NOT READ) Refused	1	.1%
Total	1200	100.0%

Would you say the Pope and bishops support or oppose forgiving the debts owed by third world countries?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Support	674	56.2%
2 Oppose	196	16.3%
3 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/Not sure	328	27.3%
4 (DO NOT READ) Refused	2	.2%
Total	1200	100.0%

MASS ATTENDANCE AND RELIGIOUS COMMITMENT

Aside from weddings and funerals, about how often do you attend Mass?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Rarely or never	246	20.5%
2 A few times a year	182	15.2%
3 Once or twice a month	222	18.5%
4 Almost every week	146	12.2%
5 Every week	309	25.8%
6 More than once a week	82	6.8%
7 (DO NOT READ) Don't know	8	.7%
8 (DO NOT READ) Refused	5	.4%
Total	1200	100.0%

Besides attending Mass, how involved are you in parish or other religious activities? Are you very involved, somewhat involved, involved a little, or not involved at all?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Very involved	135	11.3%
2 Somewhat involved	277	23.1%
3 Involved a little	301	25.1%
4 Not involved at all	480	40.0%
5 (DO NOT READ) Don't know	4	.3%
6 (DO NOT READ) Refused	3	.3%
Total	1200	100.0%

Which of the following best describes the importance of your Catholic faith in your daily life?

	Frequency	Percent
1 The most important part of your life	211	17.6%
2 Among the most important parts of your life	330	27.5%
3 Important, but so are many other areas of your life	408	34.0%
4 Not too important in your life	140	11.7%
5 Not important in your life at all	83	6.9%
6 (DO NOT READ) Don't know	20	1.7%
7 (DO NOT READ) Refused	8	.7%
Total	1200	100.0%

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHICS

How old are you?

Mean=44.96

Coded age range:

	Frequency	Percent
1 Under 25	125	10.4%
2 25 to 34	227	18.9%
3 35 to 44	274	22.8%
4 45 to 54	231	19.3%
5 55 to 64	144	12.0%
6 65 to 74	111	9.3%
7 75 and over	66	5.5%
8 (DO NOT READ) Refused	22	1.8%
Total	1200	100.0%

What best describes your marital status?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Married	689	57.4%
2 Separated	24	2.0%
3 Divorced	124	10.3%
4 Widowed	91	7.6%
5 Single, never married	262	21.8%
6 (DO NOT READ) Living with a partner	3	.3%
7 (DO NOT READ) Refused	7	.6%
Total	1200	100.0%

What best describes your highest level of education?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Less than high school graduate	54	4.5%
2 High school graduate	275	22.9%
3 Some college	308	25.7%
4 College graduate	359	29.9%
5 Graduate or professional school (law, medical school, NOT vocational school)	165	13.8%
6 Vocational or trade school graduate	33	2.8%
7 (DO NOT READ) Refused	6	.5%
Total	1200	100.0%

Did you ever attend a Catholic school for any of your education?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Yes	620	51.7%
2 No	576	48.0%
3 (DO NOT READ) Refused	4	.3%
Total	1200	100.0%

If attended a Catholic school: How many TOTAL years of education did you receive in Catholic elementary or high schools?

Average=10.86

If attended a Catholic school: Did you attend a Catholic elementary school?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Yes	521	89.7%
2 No	59	10.2%
3 (DO NOT READ) Don't know	1	.2%
Total	581	100.0%

If attended a Catholic school: Did you attend a Catholic high school?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Yes	287	49.4%
2 No	293	50.4%
3 (DO NOT READ) Don't know	1	.2%
Total	581	100.0%

If attended a Catholic school: Did you attend a Catholic college or university?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Yes	93	16.0%
2 No	487	83.8%
3 (DO NOT READ) Don't know	1	.2%
Total	581	100.0%

Do you or does anyone in your household belong to a labor union?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Yes	236	19.7%
2 No	948	79.0%
3 (DO NOT READ) Don't know	13	1.1%
4 (DO NOT READ) Refused	3	.3%
Total	1200	100.0%

Are you of Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino decent?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Yes	168	14.0%
2 No	1026	85.5%
3 (DO NOT READ) Refused	6	.5%
Total	1200	100.0%

And what is your race? Are you ...

	Frequency	Percent
1 White	976	81.3%
2 Black or African American	41	3.4%
3 American Indian or Alaskan Native	10	.8%
4 Asian	5	.4%
5 Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander	10	.8%
6 Other (Specify:)	155	12.9%
7 (DO NOT READ) Refused	12	1.0%
Total	1200	100.0%

What best describes your total annual household income?

	Frequency	Percent
1 Less than \$20,000	152	12.7%
2 \$20,000-39,999	276	23.0%
3 \$40,000-59,999	247	20.6%
4 \$60,000-79,999	178	14.8%
5 \$80,000-99,999	82	6.8%
6 \$100,000 or more	129	10.8%
7 (DO NOT READ) Don't know	29	2.4%
8 (DO NOT READ) Refused	107	8.9%
Total	1200	100.0%