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introduction

At a moment of extraordinary political opportunity, some conservatives are waving the white flag. Paul Weyrich for one — founder of the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress (CSFC), founder of National Empowerment Television (NET), conservative gadfly — he has put his despair in a letter to supporters: “...efforts to return some semblance of moral order to the nation through the political process have failed. If there really were a ‘moral majority’ in the country, Bill Clinton would have been driven from office.” It isn’t the President’s exoneration in the Senate so much as his continuing high approval ratings from the American people in the face of incredible revelations which so disturbs Mr. Weyrich.

David Gelertner, Yale University professor and surviving victim of the Unabomber, is another. In his courageous book, Drawing Life, he surveys the damaged state of American society, and writes, “I have to confess that the only society I care deeply about in the end is my family and a few friends, and I am not sure whether each man cultivating his garden is not our only shot at saving the world.”

While the temptations to recoil are great just now, conservatives must not turn their backs on politics. In part for the reasons of which Henry Hyde spoke on December 19, 1998 — the day the U.S. House of Representatives voted to impeach President Clinton. Mr. Hyde quoted Abraham Lincoln’s 1838 Lyceum Address, in which Lincoln argues that if one loves this country, then one must also love its Constitution, its laws and (I extrapolate) the political process embodied in that Constitution. Another reason not to give up on politics is provided by the Crisis

Magazine nationwide survey of American Catholics.

Politics in America is being transformed. Like the painfully slow but inexorable movements of tectonic plates, profound migrations of voters are afoot, and these present to conservatives a rare historic opportunity — so long as we do not quit the field. Catholic voters are central to this drama. In its November, 1998, issue, Crisis Magazine published two articles which chronicled the migration of Catholic voters toward more conservative habits of voting. And in particular what Crisis spied was a dramatic divergence in political behavior between those Catholics who attend mass once a week or more, and those who do not. The evidence is that religiously active Catholics are at last aligning politically with born-again, evangelical Christians.

From 1960 to 1996, inactive Catholics have voted consistently just a bit more for Democratic presidential candidates than the country as a whole, but have adhered to the national ebb and flow in the fortunes of the Democratic Party’s nominees, and have never awarded a Democratic candidate with a smaller percentage of their votes than did the entire electorate.

Not so active Catholics. Beginning from a higher plateau in 1960 (they gave John Kennedy 87% versus 69% from inactive Catholics), mass-attending Catholics voted against McGovern in 1972, for Carter in 1976, against Carter in 1980, against Mondale in 1984, for Dukakis in 1988, against Clinton in 1992, and apparently against Clinton in 1996 — although the latter election was really too close to call statistically. Consider voting against George Bush in 1988 then voting for him in 1992: this is a pretty fair definition of a swing vote.

The other provocative trends which Crisis identified were:

- ☑ The decline in Democratic Party affiliation among religiously active Catholics, 1960-1996.
- ☑ The ideological divergence between active and inactive Catholics, with active Catholics becoming more likely to identify themselves as conservative, and inactive Catholics becoming more liberal.
- ☑ The decline, then stabilization of the portion of Catholics who are religiously active.

The question Crisis was not able to answer from its careful analysis of national exit polls and other extant survey data (such as the superb University of Michigan National Election Study biennial survey series) was why this migration was occurring. So a national survey of 1000 randomly selected Catholics was commissioned to find an answer — and to determine if these trends could be encouraged.

What emerges from this study (arguably the most comprehensive survey of Catholics on these topics) is that while Catholics still show up with all their kaleidoscopic variety of political attitudes, values, perceptions and behavior, the central tendency, the center of gravity, of Catholic political opinion has shifted. Replacing that old stereotypical “social justice” orientation of Catholics (and old loyalties based on ethnicity, economic status and urbanization) is a new, cosmopolitan “social renewal” orientation, which is leading active Catholics to abandon their traditional home in the Democratic Party. By properly understanding this new Catholic orientation, conservatives can make the

migrating Catholics, and those on the verge of migrating, feel more comfortable in their new home.

Were the 2000 Presidential election being held today — it isn't, of course, and much can change between now and November, 2000 — and were the candidates Vice President Al Gore and Texas Governor George Bush, Bush would win among all Catholics by 45 percent to 27 percent (with 29 percent undecided or not saying), an 18 point spread; among weekly mass attendees, Bush wins 49 percent to 24 percent, a 25 point spread.

Catholics are still thought to be part of the traditional Democratic base vote. Obviously 2000 is not shaping up that way: it is mathematically impossible for a Democratic Presidential nominee to be victorious while losing the Catholic vote by such a wide margin (that is, with Bush the younger getting 63% among Catholics with a preference at this point). One of the important previous contributions made by Crisis Magazine to the scholarship of the Catholic voter was to show the geographic centrality of the Catholic vote. A plurality of Catholic voters is found in the upper Midwest, a region which will be carried — must be carried — by whomever wins the presidency in 2000. In 1996, Clinton carried these states (Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Missouri, Kentucky), while nationwide receiving 54 percent of Catholic votes cast, versus 38 percent for Bob Dole and 8 percent for Ross Perot. According to our electoral vote modeling, had just 15 percent of the Catholic vote shifted to Dole — had he received 53 percent of the Catholic vote while everything else stayed the same — Dole would have been elected President. And Governor Bush is doing 10 points

better than that mark. The question is,
why?

the catholic social justice constituency

Was that stereotypical “social justice” political orientation of Catholics ever really a fair characterization of the mainstream Catholic voter? Because the Crisis Magazine survey was conducted at one point in time, and because most of our questions are unique to this survey, we cannot answer that question, except insofar as we do know that liberal self-identification has been waning among active Catholics since at least 1960. But we can tell you how many “social justice” Catholics there are today — and it is well short of a majority.

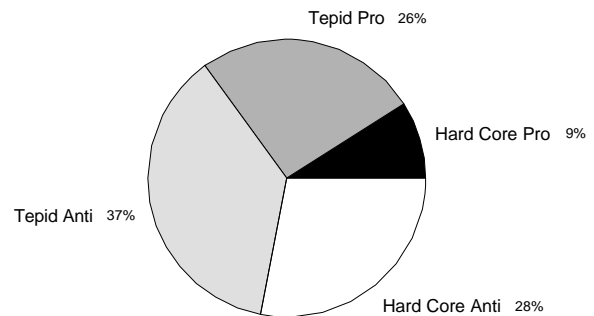
As we conceive of the “social justice” Catholic in today’s political context, we have in mind voters with these characteristics: they ...

- have a negative critique of America’s efforts to provide opportunities to minorities;
- have a negative critique of America’s efforts to aid the poor;
- desire activist government, “to do more to help people like [them]”;
- support hiring preferences based on race and gender;
- perceive America is more in need of tolerance than courage;
- reject subsidiarity (preferring to provide aid to the needy via national government);

FIGURE 1

The Crisis Magazine Survey of American Catholics

“Social Justice” Catholics in the Minority
[composite opinion toward the “social justice” agenda]



Conducted by QEV Analytics, February/March, 1999, 1001 interviews

- evidence multiculturalism, or at least an indifference to the cultural assimilation of immigrants;
- identify themselves as liberal.

Doubtless readers can come up with other characteristics. But one particular thread runs through all these attitudes: the perception that there is a class of victims excluded from fully participating in the benefits of the American economy and society. The Crisis Magazine survey contained one question which corresponded to each of these eight “social justice” indicators, above. And the techniques of statistical analysis offer a vital confirmation of this conception, namely that these questions are not being arbitrarily thrown together, but rather that there tends to be a consistent pattern of acceptance or rejection in respondents’ answers to each of these eight questions. We got that confirmation.

In sum, 35 percent of all Catholics have this “social justice” orientation, and 9 percent are hard core “social justice” Catholics. A majority of 65 percent stand in opposition

to the “social justice” agenda as we have defined it.

This composite picture also gives a pretty good sense of the responses to the individual indicator questions. The aspect of the “social justice” agenda which enjoys the broadest support among all Catholics is the desire for an activist government which “does more to help people like [me].” Fifty percent (50%) selected this option, over the desire that “government just leave them alone” (selected by 40%, nearly an even split). As we reported in the November issue of *Crisis*, Catholics in the main are not anti-government. But the complete picture isn’t so simple: this survey also found that by the margin of 3-to-1 (60% to 20%), Catholics believe the federal government is doing more to harm than to help the nation’s moral climate.

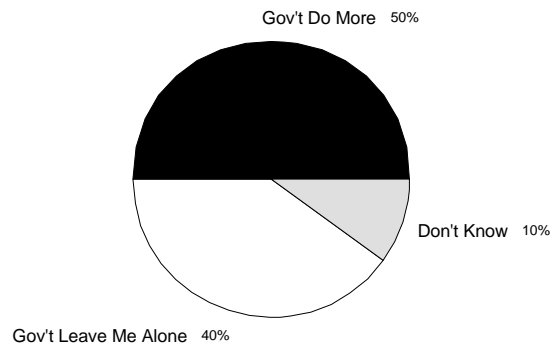
We gave the principle of subsidiarity a test drive by asking if the poor are better off receiving the assistance they need directly from a government agency, or from churches and religious organizations. Roughly a third (31%) selected the government option, and we find this to be characteristic of the “social justice” orientation. Thirty-six percent (36%) said churches were the better vehicle for providing assistance to the poor, and 30 percent said it depends.

By a large margin, Catholics are of the opinion the nation is more in need of “courage to stand up for what is right” than of “tolerance for values other than our own.” Now the virtue of tolerance is important to Catholics, and they consistently exhibit this virtue in their responses to other survey questions. For example, Catholics are more inclined than other religious groups to

FIGURE 2

The Crisis Magazine Survey of American Catholics

Half of Catholics Want Government to Do More to Help People Like Them



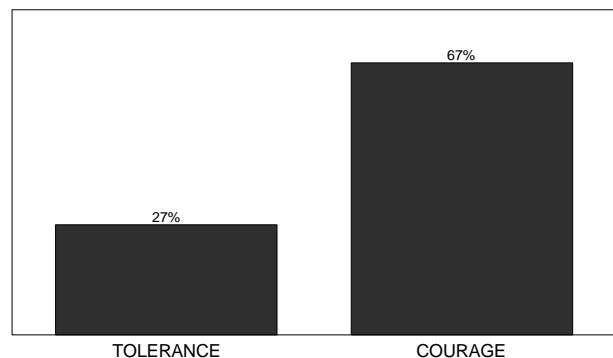
Conducted by QEV Analytics, February/March, 1999, 1001 interviews

express positive sentiments toward virtually any segment of the population — minorities, gays, immigrants, and so forth. But at this point in time, a large majority are of the view that courage is the virtue of the two in shorter supply. We consider this to be contrary to the “social justice” orientation, on the grounds that moral pluralism is more typical of that tradition, and indeed our statistical analysis bears this out.

FIGURE 3

The Crisis Magazine Survey of American Catholics

America More in Need of "Courage to Stand Up for What's Right" than of Tolerance for Other Values



Conducted by QEV Analytics, February/March, 1999, 1001 interviews

Pluralism is also an element of the question on the assimilation of immigrants. Thirty percent (30%) tell us it is “better for America if different racial and ethnic groups which live here maintain their own distinct values and culture.” But 52 percent say it is better “for such groups to blend in by adopting American values and culture.” We reported last November that the perception of American exceptionalism, a sense of this country’s unique historic mission and global role coupled with confidence in the moral superiority of our founding principles, is characteristic of the Catholic mentality. This survey question lends some support to that view, although it does so by putting the “social justice” orientation (anti-assimilation) in conflict with American exceptionalism (represented here by pro-assimilation).

Another characteristic of Catholics, one which Alexis de Tocqueville observed in his travels around America 168 years ago, is a deep sympathy with the principle of human equity, which both de Tocqueville and Abraham Lincoln considered to be the preeminent principle of the American founding. Perhaps it is an outgrowth of that commitment, perhaps it is self-interest, but Catholics consistently evidence opposition to hiring preferences to correct for past discrimination against minorities or women, arguably an affront to the principle of equality. This survey finds the same: 21 percent favor preferences, 67 percent oppose them. And preferences are equally opposed by Hispanic and white/non-Hispanic Catholics. Again, statistical analysis supports the incorporation of the former response as an indicator of the “social justice” orientation.

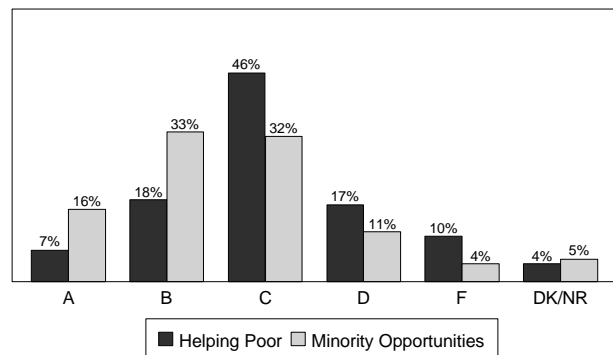
Our final “social justice” indicators were two questions grading America’s efforts to

help the poor and create opportunities for minorities. A plurality of all Catholics grade efforts to help the poor “C”, while 27 percent give a grade of “D” or “F.” Fewer give our efforts to create opportunities for minorities a poor grade of “D” or “F” (15%); the average grade on this dimension is roughly a B-.

FIGURE 4

The Crisis Magazine Survey of American Catholics

America's Grade for Minority Opportunities Higher than for Help to the Poor



Conducted by QEV Analytics, February/March, 1999, 1001 interviews

While a minority of Catholics fall into the “social justice” constituency, “social justice” Catholics are about as equally prevalent among mass-attending and inactive Catholics. Of Catholics who attend mass at least weekly (this is 42% of our sample), 30 percent embrace the “social justice” agenda. Of Catholics who rarely if ever attend mass (fewer than 4 times in a typical month, 58% of our sample), 37 percent embrace the “social justice” agenda. This means it is probably not the decline in the “social justice” sensibility among active Catholics which alone explains why there has been such dramatic change in their political behavior. Some other dynamic is afoot, to account for active Catholics becoming more conservative in their voting behavior.

the emergence of the “social renewal” constituency

And that dynamic is the emergence of a “social renewal” constituency, rooted in the perception that the United States is in the throes of a moral crisis. It is unlikely that this constituency would have been discernible back in 1960, because the critique of American society upon which it rests would have been virtually unknown.

These are the characteristics of “social renewal” Catholics: they ...

- perceive there to be a crisis of declining individual morality in America today;
- believe the federal government is exacerbating this decline;
- affirm an absolute standard of morality;
- perceive the popular culture is undermining the character and values of our youth;
- do not identify themselves as liberal;
- reject the “social justice” agenda, as we have defined it above.

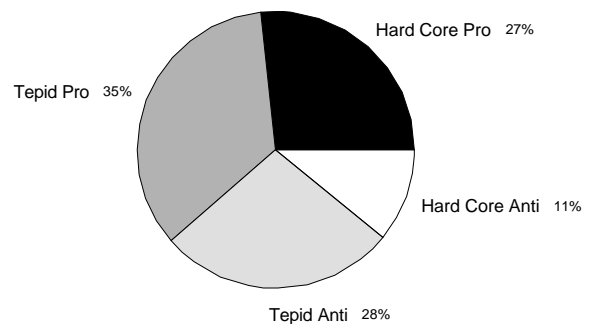
As with the “social justice” agenda, the Crisis survey included one question for each of these indications of “social renewal” (save the last, which is a scale composed of several questions). And again, statistical analysis confirms that these questions each reveal different aspects of a common underlying orientation.

Among all Catholics, the “social renewal” orientation is affirmed by 62 percent, revealing the much greater affinity Catholics have for this perspective than the “social justice” orientation. A bit over a third of all Catholics (39%) are hostile to the “social renewal” agenda.

FIGURE 5

The Crisis Magazine Survey of American Catholics

“Social Renewal” Catholics in the Majority
[composite opinion toward the “social renewal” agenda]



Conducted by QEV Analytics, February/March, 1999, 1001 interviews

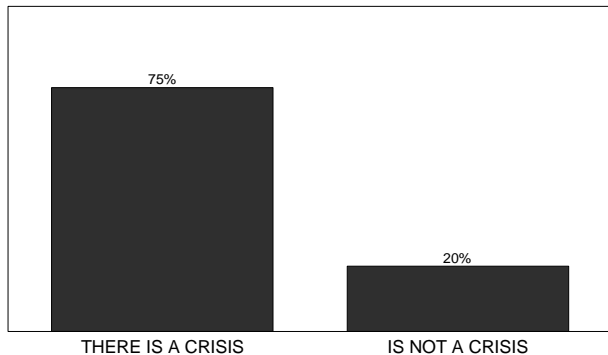
Unlike the “social justice” orientation, affinity for the “social renewal” agenda is more prevalent among religiously active Catholics than among the inactive, embraced by 71 percent of weekly mass attendees versus 53 percent of Catholics who attend mass less frequently.

The foundation of the “social renewal” constituency is the perception of a deteriorating social environment in America today. This perception is very widespread among all Catholics, as it is among all Americans. Three-fourths (75%) of all Catholics and 79 percent of religiously active Catholics perceive there to be a “crisis of declining individual morality” affecting the nation today, which is how we quantified that perception of moral deterioration.

FIGURE 6

The Crisis Magazine Survey of American Catholics

America in the Throes of a "Crisis of Declining Individual Morality" Say Catholics



Conducted by QEV Analytics, February/March, 1999, 1001 interviews

A large majority of Catholics (60%) hold the view that the federal government is exacerbating our moral decline. Twenty percent (20%) say the federal government is helping the moral climate, 21 percent say either it is doing neither or they "don't know." We do not know what respondents had in mind in giving us this answer, but this is an attitude which certainly mitigates against the enthusiasm for government which is characteristic of many Catholics, and of the "social justice" Catholics in particular.

There is even less ambiguity among Catholics about the role of the popular culture in our moral decline: 66 percent of all Catholics and 73 percent of active Catholics are of the opinion the popular culture is "seriously undermining the character and values" of our young people.

In calculating which respondents qualify as "social renewal" Catholics, we included a question which attempted to measure the perception that there exists an absolute standard of morality. We were dissatisfied with the results of this question, in that only 29 percent agreed that "what is right and wrong is always the same in all places

and at all times," while 64 percent said that "what is right and wrong always depends on the circumstances." Clearly our question failed to successfully measure the sense of moral confidence we were after. Still, those who affirm in this way the existence of an absolute standard of morality demonstrably belong to the "social renewal" constituency. We considered this question to be relevant in the first place because it is difficult to be sensitive to the moral decline in American society while holding to the relativism of moral standards.

Our summary critique of the "social renewal" Catholics is that they perceive and are concerned about the nation's moral direction; that they are open to the argument the federal government and the popular culture are making things worse; that they hunger for hope that this moral deterioration can be arrested. We also believe these Catholics will be receptive to politically conservative programs and candidates for public office who share their concerns about society and offer ameliorative programs, either by getting government to stop doing those things which are injurious, or by more affirmative means. Of course, the proposition that government can positively influence the moral climate is controversial.

The emergence of the "social renewal" constituency presents an opportunity to conservatives to attract a new class of voters in part because conservatives characteristically share the perception of the moral decline in American society. In this, they have common ground with "social renewal" Catholics. But more fundamentally, conservatism (properly defined) appreciates that the moral ecology of the society is inextricably linked to quality of lives of its citizens — that is,

political conservatives appreciate that the moral climate matters, and so are more apt to take seriously the concerns of “social renewal” Catholics. That is, so long as conservatives are not seduced by the now prevalent argument that social issues ought to be avoided at all costs.

Libertarianism: the third dimension of catholic political opinion

Catholic political orientation isn't binary, with "social justice" Catholics at one end of a continuum and "social renewal" Catholics at the other. Even though the "social renewal" constituency is partially defined by its opposition to the "social justice" agenda, there is some overlap. Twelve percent (12%) are both "social justice" and "social renewal" Catholics, and 15 percent are neither. More than this, there is a third dimension to the Catholic political consciousness; because it is focused on attitudes toward freedom and limited government, we have labeled it libertarianism.

Libertarianism is defined by four variables, two of which we have already discussed. One is the question of government activism, which yielded the finding that 50 percent of Catholics want the government "to do more to help people like them," while 40 percent want government "to just leave them alone." The latter response is indicative of this Catholic libertarianism (while the former was indicative of the "social justice" agenda). The second question is the one regarding subsidiarity, with libertarians being found among those 36 percent who think the poor would be better off receiving their assistance from religious organizations, rather than from the government.

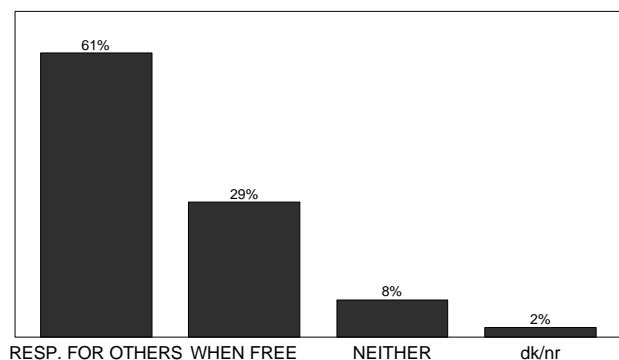
The other two questions used to define the libertarian constituency go to the heart of the question of individualism. In one of the most prescient passages in *Democracy in America*, de Tocqueville argues that democracies are prone by

their nature to excessive individualism, the kind of individualism which induces estrangement in our personal relationships; the kind of individualism of which Robert Putnam wrote in his seminal article, "Bowling Alone in America" (*Journal of Democracy*). De Tocqueville perceives that in a democracy, a man is "apt to imagine that their whole destiny is in their own hands." "Not only does democracy make every man forget his ancestors, it hides his descendants and separates his contemporaries from him; it throws him back forever upon himself alone and threatens in the end to confine him entirely within the solitude of his own heart." De Tocqueville thought, 168 years ago, that the United States had insulated itself from excessive individualism by its thoroughgoing recognition of human equality, but alas, as Dr. Putnam's article argues, we have succumbed. Concern for imprudent individualism motivated Henry Hyde's remarks to a *Crisis Magazine* dinner last year, when he spoke movingly of the sense of proportion which comes from recognizing that we stand on the shoulders of our ancestors.

FIGURE 7

The *Crisis Magazine* Survey of American Catholics

Are We Happiest When ... Responsible for Others or Free to do Whatever We Want?



Conducted by QEV Analytics, February/March, 1999, 1001 interviews

In light of the gravity of this issue, it is encouraging to see that a large majority of Catholics (61%) consider a person to be more likely to achieve happiness “when responsible for the well-being of other people” rather than when “free to do whatever they want” (the opinion of 29%). We take the latter response to be indicative of libertarianism. Doubtless defenders of libertarianism will take issue with this, arguing that libertarianism is only about political freedom, freedom from government. Our experience, however, is that the libertarian sentiment, an aversion to being told what to do, carries over into other, non-political arenas. Is it accidental that hard-core libertarians by our definition have a lower rate of mass attendance than non-libertarians? Obviously we think not.

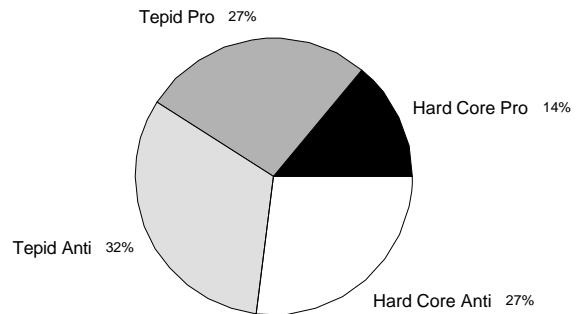
On a related question, a plurality of Catholics (46%) said many of our problems today arise from having too much freedom rather than too little (31%). Again, the latter response is indicative of libertarianism.

Taken together, these questions suggest 41 percent of all Catholics have libertarian sympathies. This orientation is not related to religious activism, but it is certainly related to party affiliation: 59 percent of Reliable Republican voters are libertarian, but just 32 percent of Dependable Democrats. It seems that libertarian values account for the prior wave of Catholic migration to habits of voting for Republicans, roughly from 1960 to 1976.

FIGURE 8

The Crisis Magazine Survey of American Catholics

Libertarian Catholics in the Minority
[composite opinion toward the libertarian agenda]



Conducted by QEV Analytics, February/March, 1999, 1001 interviews

who are the catholic swing voters?

In 1960, Catholics were as close to unanimity in their choice for president as any large group of voters can get: 83 percent cast their votes for John Kennedy. By comparison, Ronald Reagan in 1984 got 78 percent of the religiously-active, white born-again/evangelical Christian vote (obviously a much smaller, more narrowly defined groups of voters).

The basis of our story is that this unanimity has been deteriorating since 1960. Today, 21 percent of Catholics are Dependable Democratic voters, 23 percent are Reliable Republicans, and a plurality of 39 percent are swing voters who cannot be taken for granted by either political party. Eighteen percent (18%) don't vote.

This determination is based on five questions. Non voters are Catholics who did not vote in either the 1996 Presidential election or the 1998 Congressional election. Dependable Democrats consistently voted for the Democratic candidates in those elections and intend to vote for Vice President Gore in 2000. They identify themselves as Democrats and as liberals. Reliable Republicans are the mirror image, and swing voters are all those voters left over, without a strong commitment to either party.

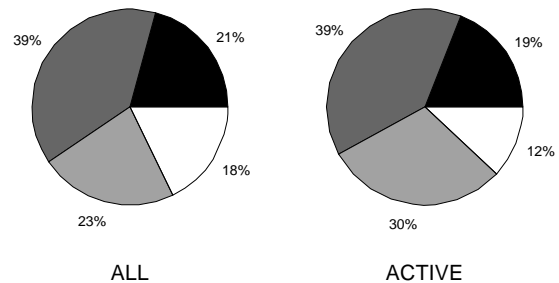
The religiously-active are characteristically more active in politics than are the religiously-inactive, and are more Republican. Of the religiously-inactive, 21 percent are non-voters, and Dependable Democrats outnumber Reliable Republicans (remember, these labels are based on voting behavior, not self-identification) 22 percent

FIGURE 9

The Crisis Magazine Survey of American Catholics

Voter Status of Catholics

■ Dependable Dems ■ Swing Voters ■ Reliable Reps □ Non-Voters



Conducted by QEV Analytics, February/March, 1999, 1001 interviews

to 18 percent. Among the religiously-active, just 12 percent are non-voters, and Reliable Republicans outnumber Dependable Democrats, 30 percent to 19 percent.

On these particular questions:

- ☑ Thirty-four percent (34%) of all Catholics identify themselves as Democrats. The fact that there are fewer Dependable Democrat voters (21%) reveals that many cling to the label while not voting the party line. Twenty-three percent (23%) of all Catholics (and 28% of the religiously-active) are Republican. Thirty-six percent are Independents.
- ☑ Confirming the exodus out of the Democratic Party evident from exit polls, 38 percent of current Independents and Republicans report they are former Democrats.
- ☑ In the 1998 Congressional elections, 69 percent report they voted. Forty-four percent (44%) voted for the Democratic candidate and 36 percent voted for the Republican candidate. But religiously-

active Catholics split evenly, 41 percent each, for the Democrat and Republican House candidate in their district.

- ☑ Of those who voted in the 1996 Presidential election (77 percent), our survey results closely mirror the results of the exit polls of Catholic voters. Among all Catholic voters in our survey, Clinton got 48 percent to 30 percent for Dole and 10 percent for Perot. Post election surveys suggest that Dole narrowly edged out Clinton among religiously-active Catholics; our survey finds 43 percent for Clinton and 38 percent for Dole among the religiously-active. But then it is not unusual for the reported vote for the winner to increase over time.

- ☑ Forty percent (40%) of all Catholics identify themselves as conservatives, 36 percent as moderates, and 21 percent as liberals. Religiously-active Catholics are 47 percent conservative, 35 percent moderate, 14 percent liberal.

the case for optimism

There are three lines of reasoning which yield the empirical conclusion that conservatives have a great well of potential support among Catholic voters. The first, proceeding from simplest to most complex, is that the “social renewal” orientation is now dominant among Catholics, especially religiously-active Catholics, and that Republicans and conservatives have an inherent advantage over Democrats and liberals in speaking to the concerns and issue priorities of these “social renewal” Catholics. Obviously, this advantage is hypothetical until conservatives actually seek to engage Catholics with a “social renewal” agenda.

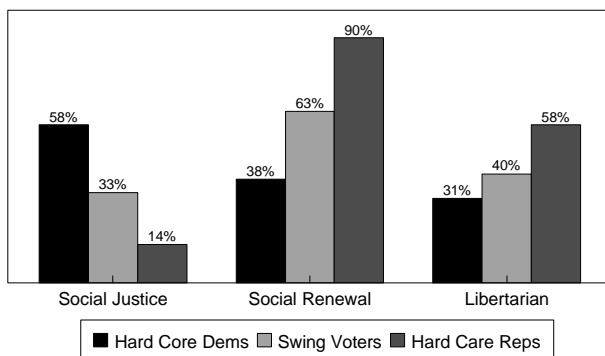
vote in a national election). The common ground conservatives and Republicans have with a majority of the swing vote is the “social renewal” agenda. This is the basis for appealing to these voters. And were 55 percent of the Catholic vote to go for the Republican Presidential candidate, it starts to look mathematically impossible for the Democratic nominee to win.

Here’s the third line of reasoning. As I wrote at the beginning of this report, Catholic voters still show up in all their kaleidoscopic variety of political attitudes, values, perceptions and behavior. But for the ease of understanding what is occurring in the Catholic community, let’s impose a typology, a simplification of this cacophony.

FIGURE 10

The Crisis Magazine Survey of American Catholics

Political Orientations by Voter Status



Conducted by QEV Analytics, February/March, 1999, 1001 interviews

Second, the Catholic swing voters who represent the battleground between Democratic and Republican candidates, are 67 percent opposed to the “social justice” agenda and 63 percent supportive of the “social renewal” agenda. If 27 percent of likely Catholic voters are already Reliable Republicans, the goal of winning 55 percent of the entire Catholic vote implies winning 58 percent of the swing vote (which will likely account for 48 percent of the Catholic

There is in this typology only four clusters of Catholic voters. The largest (32% of all Catholics) is religiously-inactive, has the highest percentage of “social justice” Catholics (71%), the lowest percentage of “social renewal” Catholics (20%), and one of the lowest levels of libertarians (30%). Not surprisingly, this cluster has the highest percentage of solid Democrats, and the fewest solid Republicans: there is little attitudinal affinity with the GOP or conservatives which would lead to a migration, so conservatives can be forgiven for writing these Catholics off. This cluster contains that third of the swing vote which is most difficult for a conservative to attract by appealing to them as Catholics.

Two of the four clusters are already more Republican than not: one is religiously-inactive with a very high libertarian inclination but also a high “social renewal” quotient; the other is very religiously-active with a very high “social renewal” quotient and a less pronounced libertarian

inclination. These clusters each represent 21 percent of all Catholics.

Therefore, it is the fourth cluster (26% of all Catholics) which is the most politically interesting: religiously-active, anti-libertarian, much more “social renewal” than “social justice,” currently more Democrat than Republican, this cluster represents the group of voters most ripe for migration. The religious activism means that a large majority reject the culture of death (described below), and an even larger majority defend the traditional family structure. The attitudinal profile makes this constituency fundamentally at odds with the direction and priorities of the Democratic Party today, and sympathetic to a conservative, morally-ground agenda of “social renewal.”

An impediment to the achievement of this vote goal among Catholic swing voters is the libertarian agenda. Most Catholic swing voters do not embrace that agenda, and conservatives will likely not attract a majority of the Catholic swing vote if they feature the characteristic policies and rhetoric of the libertarian agenda. Catholics generally, and swing voters in particular, are not anti-government. They do not share the libertarian faith in the “invisible hand,” which is that an unbridled free market will result in the greatest good to society. Indeed, one can argue that Catholics have a moral obligation to be concerned with the economic outcome for society’s least advantaged, and this imperative may explain why most Catholics favor some degree of government regulation in the economic sphere.

scant explicit preference for catholic candidates

Catholic voters report that they do not have a particular preference for Catholic candidates per se. Just 14 percent told us that all other things being equal, they would prefer to vote for a fellow Catholic. This goes up to 21 percent of religiously-active Catholic voters.

It is clear from the foregoing discussions that Catholic voters are more interested in the fundamental issue orientation of their candidates than in their religious denomination. It would be a very profound mistake to think that pro-life Catholic voters can be lured into supporting a pro-choice candidate who happened to be Catholic. Those voters who would prefer, all other things being equal, to vote for a Catholic candidate are more pro-life than Catholic voters as a whole. Indeed, it appears that those voters who would prefer a Catholic candidate, because they are more religiously-active, are looking for a candidate who embraces the teachings of the church.

the magistrerium

Catholics welcome the participation of their Church in the collective conversation on where we are headed as a society. They favor the hierarchy expressing its views on political matters; they take to heart what the Pope has to say on moral matters; they think the Church “gets it about right” in its defense of traditional moral standards. Catholics also welcome the political activism of born-again, evangelical Christians, and think that a Catholic lay organization to “get Catholic social teachings enacted into law” would be a good thing.

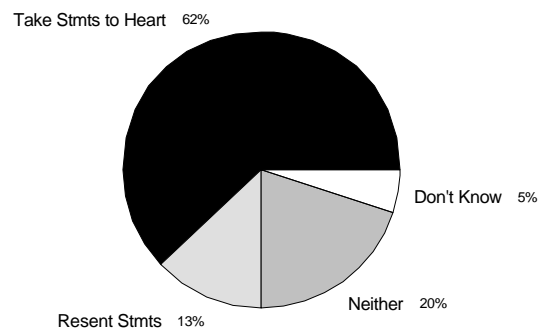
There is a considerable irony in these findings: “social renewal” Catholics and the Reliable Republicans are more open to this participation than are “social justice” Catholics or Dependable Democrats. Yet when the Bishops issued pastoral letters on the economy and nuclear deterrence back in the 1980’s, the hue and cry of criticism came mainly from political conservatives. The hierarchy seemed to align themselves with the political agenda of Democrats and liberals. Yet those putative allies are today are more suspicious of the introduction of Catholic social principles to the political marketplace. Predictably, religiously-inactive Catholics share this suspicion.

Overall, a solid majority of Catholics (62%) favor the bishops and priests of the Church expressing their views on political matters; 27 percent are opposed. Included in these figures are 40 percent who strongly favor the hierarchy’s outspokenness and 17 percent strongly opposed. Among the hard-core Reliable Republicans, 70 percent favor the hierarchy expressing its political views; among the hard-core Dependable Democrats, this falls to 56 percent.

FIGURE 11

The Crisis Magazine Survey of American Catholics

Catholics of All Stripes Welcome Pope's Moral Teachings



Conducted by QEV Analytics, February/March, 1999, 1000 interviews

This same pattern is seen on attitudes toward the Pope’s statements on moral matters. Overall, 62 percent report that they react to the Pope’s statements by “taking to heart what he has to say.” Thirteen percent (13%) report they resent “being told what to do,” while 25 percent say they react in neither of these ways or “don’t know.” Even among the religiously-inactive, 57 percent say they take to heart what the pope has to say.

Half of all Catholics (52%) say that the Church, in its defense of traditional moral standards, “gets it about right.” One quarter (24%) say the Church doesn’t go far enough; 18 percent say the Church goes too far. The view that the Church goes too far is more common among the religiously inactive, among “social justice” Catholics, and among the hard-core Dependable Democrats, but in none of these groups is this view held by a majority.

By the margin of better than 2-to-1 (55%-24%), Catholics affirm that the political activism of groups of born-again or evangelical Christians is a “good thing.” But many (22%) don’t have an opinion. Support for the involvement in politics of

conservative Christians comes from predictable quarters, namely Reliable Republicans and “social renewal” Catholics.

The proposal of a Catholic lay organization that would try to get the Church’s social teachings enacted into law is a bit more controversial. Fifty percent (50%) say this would be a good thing, 35 percent say it would be a bad thing, 16% don’t know. Unlike the other questions under this topic, responses to this question do not vary much by the various measures of political orientation.

This survey tested public opinion on three aspects of the Church’s social teachings. The question on subsidiarity, whether the poor would be better served receiving assistance from religious organizations rather than the federal government, has been previously discussed. Opinion on that question was evenly divided. But our question of whether the church teaches that private property is a good thing or a bad thing elicited an unambiguous response: 72 percent said it was a good thing, just 9 percent said it was bad. Finally, we asked respondents whether they believed “there is such a thing as a devil who actively promotes evil in the world,” and 71 percent said they did. Among the religious active, this response rises to 77 percent.

morality of various practices

Another interesting observation de Tocqueville made about Americans concerns marital fidelity: "There is no country in the world where the tie of marriage is more respected than in the United States." While he wrote that over 160 years ago, our survey today finds no sin — not abortion, not premarital sex, not homosexual relations — which American Catholics so universally regard as immoral as adultery. One way of looking at adultery is as a sin of individualism, a violation of the trust upon which the most intimate form of belonging to another is based. Seen in this light, the Catholic aversion to adultery is consistent with their resistance against individualism.

The religiously active are more likely to judge each of the various acts we tested as immoral, although the relative order did not change. While adultery is the most serious act of immorality, divorce is the least; perhaps many see divorce as a legitimate response for a victim of adultery.

In a display of surrealistic moral confusion, 10 percent of Catholics regard smoking cigarettes as more moral reprehensible than having an abortion. At least the majority of these folks are religiously inactive.

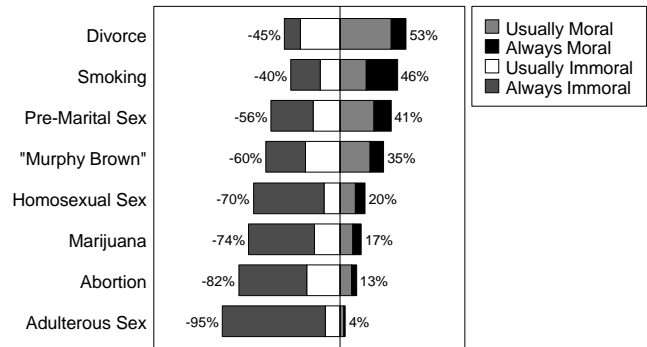
Legalized gambling is proliferating in America. Catholics are evenly divided on whether this is a good thing or not: 41 percent favor it, 44 percent oppose it. Regarding the use of lotteries to fund government programs, 64 percent favor it, 30 percent oppose it. The religiously active

are slightly less supportive in both instances than are the inactive.

FIGURE 12

The Crisis Magazine Survey of American Catholics

Moral Priorities, All Catholics

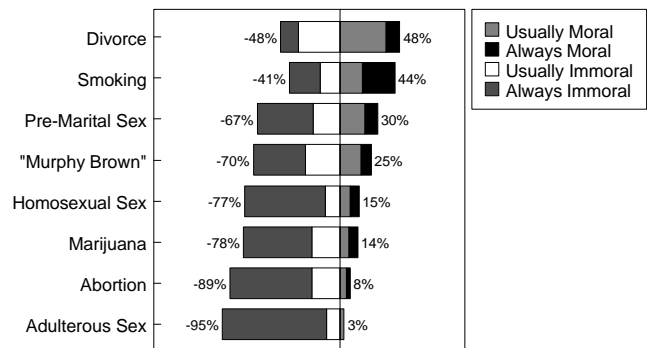


Conducted by QEV Analytics, February/March, 1999, 1001 interviews

FIGURE 13

The Crisis Magazine Survey of American Catholics

Moral Priorities, Active Catholics



Conducted by QEV Analytics, February/March, 1999, 1001 interviews

Abortion and the culture of death

In the November *Crisis Magazine* article, we noted that some survey questions make it appear that Catholics are somewhat less intense in their anti-abortion commitment than are born-again, evangelical Christians. Our hypothesis is that Catholics generally are no less certain about the immorality of abortion than are other groups of Christians, but that they are marginally more reluctant to impose this judgment on others by a government proscription of abortion. The survey supports this interpretation.

Fifty-five percent of all Catholics consider abortion to be always immoral, and twenty-nine percent hold it to be usually (but not always) immoral. Two-thirds (67%) of the religiously-active hold abortion to be always immoral, and 24 percent hold it to be usually immoral. This leaves 17 percent of all Catholics and 9 percent of the religiously active who consider abortion to be usually or always morally acceptable.

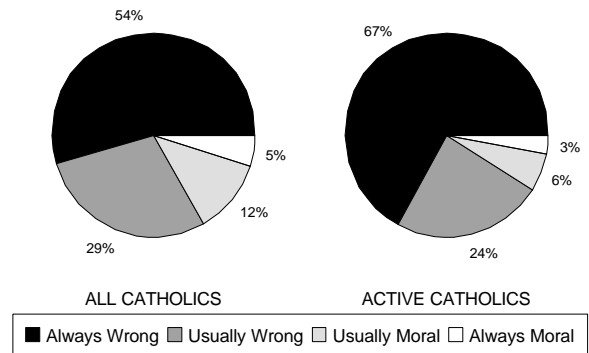
But on a separate question, 61 percent favor and 30 percent oppose additional legal restrictions on abortion for the purpose of reducing the number of abortions. This means that 20 percent of all Catholics consider abortion to be usually or always immoral, but do not favor further legal restrictions. We do not know from the survey why this is so, but the most convenient explanation is their reluctance for government to enforce this moral standard.

Support for a ban on partial birth abortions elicits a level of support similar to that for additional generic restrictions. Fifty-seven

FIGURE 14

The *Crisis Magazine* Survey of American Catholics

Most Catholics Perceive Abortion as Immoral
["When is abortion immoral?"]



Conducted by QEV Analytics, February/March, 1999, 1001 interviews

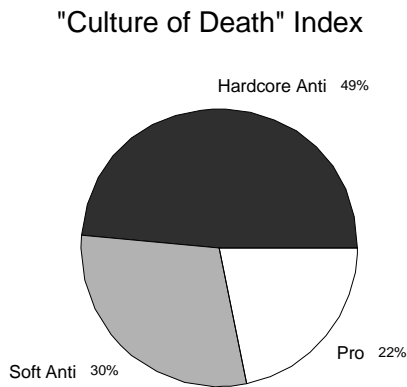
percent favor and 33 percent oppose the ban.

Abortion is just one aspect of the “culture of death” which the Pope has decried in speeches to American Catholics. We tested others: opinion on physician assisted suicide, the death penalty, homosexual marriage. Again, the techniques of statistical analysis confirm that there is great consistency in the way respondents answer each of these questions, allowing us to compose a “culture of death” index. That is, with one exception: a majority of Catholics (59%) support the death penalty for capital crimes (31% oppose it), and this support transcends religious activism.

Forty-nine percent (49%) — our hard-core anti category — are consistently and intensely opposed to each of the “culture of death” questions. Among the religiously active, this category rises to 61 percent. The one issue which best distinguishes the 30 percent “soft anti” from the “hard-core anti” is physician assisted suicide. This is the issue on which many otherwise “hard-core anti” respondents come up with the “soft anti” score. Catholics are evenly divided on this issue, with 41 percent in

FIGURE 15

The Crisis Magazine Survey of American Catholics



Conducted by QEV Analytics, February/March, 1999, 1001 interviews

favor and 49 percent opposed. Gay marriage is less controversial: 20 percent favor, 70 percent oppose. That 22 percent whom we have labeled “pro culture of death” generally favor each of these practices. The “culture of death” index correlates positively with the “social renewal” index: the higher the “social renewal” score, the greater the opposition to the “culture of death” questions. The “culture of death” index negatively correlates with the “social justice” score — as affinity for the “social justice” index goes up, opposition to the “culture of death” decreases. From a political point-of-view, the “anti-culture of death” agenda is clearly a net positive when appealing to Catholics.

Separately, other questions tapped Catholic opinion on the defense of the family institution against certain “innovations.” We have previously reported that a very narrow majority of Catholics say divorce is moral (53%), versus 44 percent who say it is immoral. We also tested the Murphy Brown phenomenon — a single woman intentionally having a baby — and by the margin of 60 percent to 39 percent, Catholics deem this to be morally wrong. On another dimension of the family issue,

adoption by homosexual couples is opposed 64 percent to 25 percent.

Notwithstanding the general rejection of these innovative family arrangements, Catholics do not favor ending unilateral divorce when a couple has young children. This proposal was rejected by 45 percent to 35 percent, even though other surveys find support for reducing the number of divorces. Intriguingly, responses to this question were utterly unrelated to perceptions of the morality of divorce — if anything those who regard divorce to be always morally wrong were slightly more opposed to this proposal to restrict divorce when young children are present in a relationship. Perhaps this result is another example of Catholics opposing legal intervention to proscribe a practice even when they consider the practice immoral.

Catholics on education

Most Catholics consider the quality of their local public schools to be good. Eight percent (8%) report their local public schools are very poor, and another 15 percent grade them as fairly poor. A plurality of 46 percent say they local public schools are fairly good, and 25 percent rate them very good. There is no difference in these responses between the religiously active and inactive. Even a majority of those parents with children in Catholic school (12% of our sample) rated the local public schools “good.”

The biggest problem confronting the public schools is not perceived to be poor academic preparation (students not getting the knowledge and skills they need, selected by 24%), nor exposure to violence and drugs (selected by 25%). The most oft cited problem is students being taught non-traditional values and not learning discipline (38%). This was cited as the biggest problem regardless of how the local schools were rated, and was more frequently cited by the religiously active.

The fact that public schools receive a passing grade from Catholics is a very fundamental point in the debate over education reform. On the one hand, it diminishes the salience or urgency of the reform issue. On the other hand, it creates an opening to discuss the values orientation of the public school curriculum.

We compared two approaches for improving the quality of education for our children. One was to “fix what’s wrong with the public schools” (as if we knew how to do that), the other was to create more alternatives to public schools, such as charter schools, religious schools, home schooling. Responses to this question are

partially related to perceptions of the biggest problem confronting public schools. Those Catholics who think the biggest problem with the local schools is academic (getting the knowledge and skills students need) are more likely to want to fix the public schools, whereas those who think the biggest problem is values related are more inclined to create alternatives to educational arrangements. The religiously active and inactive gave similar responses to this question.

Our questions concerning private or religious school tuition support for parents reveal some of the political hurdles inherent in this issue. Tuition support for any parent with children in a private or religious school is opposed 51 percent to 39 percent. However, means tested tuition support (for low-income parents with children in a private or religious school) is more narrowly opposed, 47 percent to 41 percent. Catholic parents with kids in a Catholic school support both of these proposals — but by a plurality, not a majority. Means tested tuition support is more popular overall in part because it is favored by Catholics with no kids (as well as by those with kids in Catholics schools), but a majority of those without children oppose tuition support which is not means tested.

Tuition subsidy support correlates inversely with local public school quality. As the perceived quality of the local schools goes down, support for tuition subsidies goes up. So the general level of satisfaction with local public school quality is a significant impediment to broader support for tuition assistance. There is no apparent evidence of a public recognition of the equity argument for tuition support. Opinion on tuition support does not vary much by the respondents’ religious activism.

Recap: The Catholic Issue Agenda

We have endeavored to make a case for the emergence of a new political orientation among Catholics, the “social renewal” orientation. The opportunity exists for conservatives to capitalize on this new orientation by offering policies and rhetoric which are responsive to the concerns and desires which animate that new orientation. The design of these policies and rhetoric is not an easy task.

We tested various proposals in our survey, and found that only three are really not useable, politically. Opposition to no-fault divorce, to state lotteries, to the death penalty, are issues which divide those constituencies most ripe for migration toward conservative candidates, and therefore are of little political utility. The consensus on assisted suicide is weak, but that issue is integral to the “anti-culture of death” agenda (perhaps physician assisted suicide should always be discussed in that larger context).

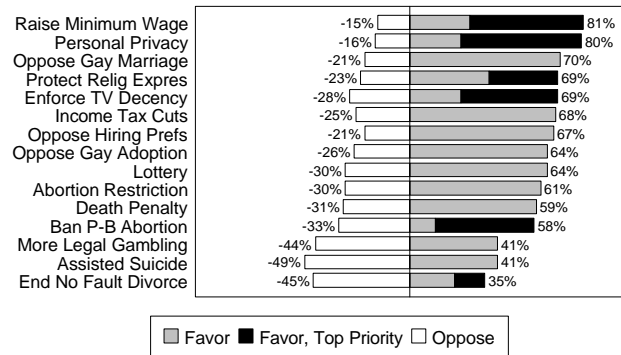
Otherwise, all of the proposals we tested enjoy overwhelming support. The most popular is raising the minimum wage, which we tested not so as to advocate it as a useful issue, but rather to caution Catholics who see the minimum wage as an affront to the just wage principle (properly understood) that mainstream Catholic opinion is not with you.

The affirmative social renewal issues on our list are: protecting religious expression, enforcing TV decency standards, opposing hiring preferences, and restrictions on abortion. Opposing homosexual marriage and adoption are more in the nature of resisting further erosion rather than

FIGURE 16

The Crisis Magazine Survey of American Catholics

Catholic Issue Priorities



Conducted by QEV Analytics, February/March, 1999, 1001 interviews

reconstructive, will be relevant only in particular states. Personal privacy protections is shown here to be an issue with huge popular appeal, but not really integral to the renewal agenda.

A renewal agenda designed to take advantage of the great potential for conservatives inherent in the Catholic vote would a) end federal programs which can be credibly argued are injurious to the social fabric, and b) advocate such new initiatives as seem to be reconstructive. Obviously in this survey we have merely examined the tip of the iceberg.

Reducing income taxes is popular, and this opinion is intensely felt, but be warned: the Clinton tactic of using social security to hold tax relief at bay works among Catholics (as it does among Americans generally). By the margin of 2-to-1 (60% to 30%), Catholics would delay tax cuts until after a social security fix, rather than take them now.

On immigration, Catholics oppose an increase (supported by just 16%) but as many would keep it at current levels (37%) as would reduce it (40%).

who are the religiously active?

We have defined religiously active Catholics for the purpose of this report as those persons who attend mass four or more times during a “typical” month. This constitutes 42 percent of our sample. Thirteen percent (13%) attend mass more than four times in a typical month, and 29 percent attend mass once a week.

Of the 58 percent whom we have categorized as religiously inactive, 38 percent attend mass one, two, or three times in a typical month, while 20 percent report they do not attend mass at all in a typical month.

Religious activism, as defined by mass attendance, is related to certain demographic characteristics of the respondent: age, marital status, kids, education. These demographic characteristics are interrelated: most folks with kids are married, empty-nesters are older, younger Catholics are more likely to be single, and so forth. But the techniques of statistical analysis allow us to sort out the unique effect of these demographic characteristics.

The most religiously active category are those 65+ years of age. But overall, age is not nearly so significant as family status — the combination of marital status and age of children — in accounting for religious activism. The reason for this is that there is not a large variation in mass attendance by age for those under 65.

The least religiously active of the family status categories is “never married with kids,” followed closely by “unmarried without kids.” Religious activism increases dramatically when the typical respondent

gets married, increases again when the respondent has kids, and then rises yet again as the respondent moves into the “empty-nester” category. Persons who are remarried with children have a rate of mass attendance below the average for all Catholics.

Education is relatively insignificant as a predictor of mass attendance. In general, mass attendance increases with education, and those who have pursued education beyond an undergraduate college degree are the most religiously active. The one exception to this trend is that those few at the very bottom of the education scale, those who did not graduate from high school, are more religiously-active than high school graduates.

catholic advice for house republicans

To those House Republicans who voted to impeach the President on December 19, 1998, Catholics voters advise you to take ownership of your vote and explain it was a defense of traditional moral standards. Half of all Catholic voters and 53 percent of religiously-active Catholic voters say they would be more likely to vote for a Congressman who voted for impeachment and explained their vote in this way. Thirty-two percent of all Catholic voters and 30 percent of religiously-active Catholic voters would be less likely to vote for such a Congressional candidate.

Naturally, responses to this question reflect partisan affiliations. Reliable Republicans are more likely to applaud a Congressman who voted for impeachment and said they were defending traditional moral standards: 77 percent of Reliable Republicans would be more likely to vote for this candidate. But swing voters, by the margin of 47 percent to 33 percent, agree. And most interestingly, Dependable Democrats are less adamant than are Republicans: 51 percent would be less likely to vote for such a Congressional candidate, but 28 percent of the Democrat base would be more likely to vote for our hypothetical candidate.

a note on methodology

This survey was conducted in conformance with the best standards of telephone survey research in the United States. In order to purport to be representative, a survey must strive to accord equal probability of selection to every person in the target population, in this instance, Catholics. By conducting a survey by telephone, that objective is slightly compromised, in that Catholics without telephones were excluded from the survey. But this represents a small proportion of the Catholic population.

The survey was conducted by means of a random digit dial technique. A pool of 22,000 telephone numbers was generated by a firm with extensive information concerning the allocation of telephone working blocks (area code + 4) across the country. Quotas were established by state, so that the proportion of telephone numbers in each state was proportion to that state's contribution to the national population. In trying to reach a qualified respondent at a particular telephone number, multiple callbacks (4 or more) were attempted. Of course, we were obliged to rely on the willingness of the potential respondent to self-identify as a Catholic — and on the accuracy of that identification. But the achieved incidence rate of 29 percent (the percentage of potential respondents who qualified for the survey) was what we expected.

No weighting was applied to the final results. Weighting is used to correct minor deviations of a survey sample from known population characteristics. In the case of this survey, there were no solid data regarding the American Catholic population in which we were so confident that we would have elected to modify the survey sample. The U.S. census does not

ask about religious affiliation for example. We did compare the survey results with the 1996 national election exit poll data collected by Voter News Service (VNS), which is sponsored by the major national media. The 1996 exit poll consisted of 16,622 interviews. And while voters are decidedly not representative of the general public, the fact that 17 percent of Catholic voters in 1996 were non-white, versus the 20 percent non-white proportion obtained in our sample, was reassuring.

An important measure of sample performance is geographic distribution. A plurality of Catholics are found in the states of the Industrial Midwest, while their concentration (percent of the population) is greatest in the Northeast. Certain states of the South, West and Pacific Coast have Catholic populations above the national average (Florida, Louisiana, Texas, California, Arizona, Nevada, New Mexico, Colorado) but in general far fewer Catholics live in these regions than in the former two. This means it is more difficult to complete an interview with, say, a Georgian Catholic than with a New York Catholic. So the geographic distribution of our survey sample was of great interest. We found, ironically, that the regions with fewer Catholics were a little overrepresented in the final sample. But overall, we found no characteristic of the Catholic population which we interviewed that was out-of-line with known national characteristics, so no effort was made to modify the results by weighting. A survey sample of this size (1001) has a calculated margin of sampling error of $\pm 3.1\%$ at the 95% confidence level. While sampling error can be calculated and other sources of error cannot, our opinion is that measurement error is a more consequential source of error in survey research than is sampling error.

DATA FREQUENCIES

1. Some people say there is a crisis of declining individual morality in the country today. Others say there is no such crisis of declining individual morality. Which of these views do you think is more correct?

75%	THERE IS A CRISIS
20%	THERE IS NOT A CRISIS
6%	DON'T KNOW/NO
RESPONSE	

2. Overall, is the federal government in Washington doing more to help or more to hurt the moral climate in the country today?

20%	MORE TO HELP
60%	MORE TO HURT
14%	NEITHER
[VOLUNTEERED]	
7%	DON'T KNOW/NO
RESPONSE	

3. What letter grade — A, B, C, D, or F, where A means excellent and F means failure — would you give to American society for the help we give to poor people?

7%	A
18%	B
46%	C
17%	D
10%	F
4%	DON'T KNOW/NO
RESPONSE	

4. And what letter grade — A, B, C, D, or F — would you give to American society for the opportunities we make available to minorities?

16%	A
33%	B
32%	C
11%	D
4%	F
5%	DON'T KNOW/NO
RESPONSE	

5. Some people want the government to do more to help people like them. Others want the government to just leave them alone. Which of these views is closer to your own?

50%	GOVERNMENT DO MORE TO HELP
40%	GOVERNMENT LEAVE THEM ALONE
10%	DON'T KNOW/NO
RESPONSE	

6. If you had to choose, would you say America is more in need of tolerance for values other than our own, or more in need of courage to stand up for what we know is right?

27%	MORE IN NEED OF TOLERANCE
67%	MORE IN NEED OF COURAGE
8%	DON'T KNOW/NO
RESPONSE	

7. Some people say many of our problems arise because we have too little individual freedom today. Others say many of our problems arise because we have too much individual freedom. With which of these views do you agree more?

31%	TOO LITTLE FREEDOM
46%	TOO MUCH FREEDOM
18%	NEITHER
[VOLUNTEERED]	
7%	DON'T KNOW/NO
RESPONSE	

DATA FREQUENCIES [CONTINUED]

8. Which of these statements best describes your view of right and wrong:

29% WHAT IS RIGHT AND WRONG IS ALWAYS THE SAME, IN ALL PLACES AND AT ALL TIMES
 64% WHAT IS RIGHT AND WRONG ALWAYS DEPENDS ON THE CIRCUMSTANCES.
 6% NEITHER/DEPENDS/BOTH [VOLUNTEERED]
 2% DON'T KNOW/NO RESPONSE

9. Some people say a person is most likely to be happy when they are responsible for the well-being of other people. But others say a person is most likely to be happy when they are free to do whatever they want. Which of these views do you think is closest to the truth?

61% MOST LIKELY TO BE HAPPY WHEN RESPONSIBLE FOR OTHERS
 29% MOST LIKELY TO BE HAPPY WHEN FREE TO DO WHATEVER THEY WANT
 8% NEITHER/DEPENDS/BOTH [VOLUNTEERED]
 2% DON'T KNOW/NO RESPONSE

10. In your opinion, does the popular culture today — meaning TV, music, movies — seriously undermine the character and values of young people, or does it not seriously undermine their character and values?

66% DOES SERIOUSLY UNDERMINE CHARACTER AND VALUES
 30% DOES NOT SERIOUSLY UNDERMINE
 5% DON'T KNOW/NO RESPONSE

Next, I want to ask you how morally acceptable certain practices are. For each, please tell me if you consider it to be always morally acceptable, usually morally acceptable but sometimes not, usually morally wrong but sometimes not, or always morally wrong.

11. Divorce?

12% ALWAYS MORALLY ACCEPTABLE
 41% USUALLY MORALLY ACCEPTABLE BUT SOMETIMES NOT
 31% USUALLY MORALLY WRONG BUT SOMETIMES NOT
 13% ALWAYS MORALLY WRONG
 3% DON'T KNOW/NO RESPONSE

12. A married person having an affair?

2% ALWAYS MORALLY ACCEPTABLE
 4% USUALLY MORALLY ACCEPTABLE BUT SOMETIMES NOT
 12% USUALLY MORALLY WRONG BUT SOMETIMES NOT
 81% ALWAYS MORALLY WRONG
 1% DON'T KNOW/NO RESPONSE

13. Sex prior to marriage?

14% ALWAYS MORALLY ACCEPTABLE
 27% USUALLY MORALLY ACCEPTABLE BUT SOMETIMES NOT
 22% USUALLY MORALLY WRONG BUT SOMETIMES NOT
 35% ALWAYS MORALLY WRONG
 3% DON'T KNOW/NO RESPONSE

14. Sex between two adults of the same sex?

9% ALWAYS MORALLY ACCEPTABLE
 11% USUALLY MORALLY ACCEPTABLE BUT SOMETIMES NOT
 14% USUALLY MORALLY WRONG BUT SOMETIMES NOT

58%	ALWAYS MORALLY
WRONG	
8%	DON'T KNOW/NO
RESPONSE	

5%	ALWAYS MORALLY
	ACCEPTABLE
11%	USUALLY MORALLY
	ACCEPTABLE BUT
	SOMETIMES NOT
27%	USUALLY MORALLY WRONG
	BUT SOMETIMES NOT
53%	ALWAYS MORALLY
WRONG	
5%	DON'T KNOW/NO
RESPONSE	

DATA FREQUENCIES [CONTINUED]

15. A single woman intentionally having a baby without being married?

12%	ALWAYS MORALLY
	ACCEPTABLE
26%	USUALLY MORALLY
	ACCEPTABLE BUT
	SOMETIMES NOT
27%	USUALLY MORALLY WRONG
	BUT SOMETIMES NOT
31%	ALWAYS MORALLY WRONG
5%	DON'T KNOW/NO
	RESPONSE

16. Smoking cigarettes?

26%	ALWAYS MORALLY
	ACCEPTABLE
23%	USUALLY MORALLY
	ACCEPTABLE BUT
	SOMETIMES NOT
15%	USUALLY MORALLY WRONG
	BUT SOMETIMES NOT
24%	ALWAYS MORALLY
WRONG	
13%	DON'T KNOW/NO
RESPONSE	

17. Using marijuana?

9%	ALWAYS MORALLY
	ACCEPTABLE
12%	USUALLY MORALLY
	ACCEPTABLE BUT
	SOMETIMES NOT
22%	USUALLY MORALLY WRONG
	BUT SOMETIMES NOT
50%	ALWAYS MORALLY
WRONG	
7%	DON'T KNOW/NO
RESPONSE	

18. An abortion?

19. Do you favor or oppose legally recognizing marriage between two persons of the same sex? Do you feel that way strongly or not strongly?

10%	STRONGLY FAVOR
11%	FAVOR, NOT
STRONGLY	
15%	OPPOSE, NOT
STRONGLY	
55%	STRONGLY OPPOSE
10%	DON'T KNOW/NO
RESPONSE	

20. Do you favor or oppose allowing two persons of the same sex to adopt young children? Do you feel that way strongly or not strongly?

12%	STRONGLY FAVOR
14%	FAVOR, NOT
STRONGLY	
12%	OPPOSE, NOT
STRONGLY	
52%	STRONGLY OPPOSE
10%	DON'T KNOW/NO
RESPONSE	

21. Overall, is it a good thing or a bad thing that groups of born-again or evangelical Christians are active in politics? Do you feel that way strongly or not strongly?

33%	GOOD THING,
STRONGLY	
22%	GOOD THING, NOT
	STRONGLY
8%	BAD THING, NOT
STRONGLY	
16%	BAD THING,
STRONGLY	

22% DON'T KNOW/NO
RESPONSE

22. Do you favor or oppose the hierarchy of the Catholic Church in America — the bishops and priests — expressing their views on political matters? Do you feel that way strongly or not strongly?

40% STRONGLY FAVOR
23% FAVOR, NOT
STRONGLY
10% OPPOSE, NOT
STRONGLY
17% STRONGLY OPPOSE
11% DON'T KNOW/NO
RESPONSE

DATA FREQUENCIES [CONTINUED]

23. Do you think an organization of Catholic lay people which tries to get Catholic social teachings enacted into law would be a good thing or a bad thing? Do you feel that way strongly or not strongly?

33% GOOD THING,
STRONGLY
17% GOOD THING, NOT
STRONGLY
13% BAD THING, NOT
STRONGLY
22% BAD THING,
STRONGLY
16% DON'T KNOW/NO
RESPONSE

24. In your opinion, does the Catholic Church go too far in its defense of traditional moral standards, or does it not go far enough, or does it get it about right?

18% GOES TOO FAR
24% DOESN'T GO FAR
ENOUGH

52% GETS IT ABOUT RIGHT
6% DON'T KNOW/NO
RESPONSE

25. When the Pope, John Paul the Second, states his opinion on a moral issue, are you more likely to take to heart what he has to say, or to resent his telling you what to do?

62% TAKE TO HEART
13% RESENT BEING TOLD WHAT
TO DO
20% NEITHER
[VOLUNTEERED]
5% DON'T KNOW/NO
RESPONSE

26. Which would be better for America's poor people: is it better for them to receive assistance directly from a government agency, or for them to receive assistance from Churches and religious organizations?

31% BETTER TO RECEIVE AID
FROM GOVERNMENT
AGENCY
36% BETTER TO RECEIVE AID
FROM CHURCHES
30% NEITHER/DEPENDS/BOTH
[VOLUNTEERED]
40% DON'T KNOW/NO
RESPONSE

27. According to the social teachings of the Catholic Church, is private property a good thing or a bad thing?

71% GOOD THING
9% BAD THING
20% DON'T KNOW/NO
RESPONSE

28. Do you believe there is such a thing as a devil who actively promotes evil in the world today?

71% YES
23% NO
6% DON'T KNOW/NO
RESPONSE

These next several questions concern some issues in the news.

29. Some people say that blacks, women, and other minorities should be given preferences for hiring and promotion, because these groups have been the victims of past discrimination. Others say such preferences should not be given, because preferences give special advantages to people who haven't personally done anything to earn them. Which of these views is closest to your own?

21%	PREFERENCES SHOULD BE GIVEN
67%	PREFERENCES SHOULD NOT BE GIVEN
11%	NEITHER/DEPENDS/BOTH [VOLUNTEERED]
2%	DON'T KNOW/NO RESPONSE

30. Concerning immigration, that is people coming to America from other countries: do you think the number of immigrants coming to America legally should be increased a lot, increased a little, left as it is now, decreased a little, or decreased a lot?

6%	INCREASED A LOT
10%	INCREASED A LITTLE
37%	LEFT AS IT IS NOW
21%	DECREASED A LITTLE
19%	DECREASED A LOT
8%	DON'T KNOW/NO RESPONSE

DATA FREQUENCIES [CONTINUED]

31. Some people say it is better for America if different racial and ethnic groups which live here maintain their own distinct values and culture. Others say it is better for such groups to blend in by adopting American values and culture. Which of these views is closer to your own?

30%	BETTER TO MAINTAIN DISTINCT VALUES AND CULTURE
-----	--

52%	BETTER TO ADOPT AMERICAN VALUES AND CULTURE
15%	NEITHER
[VOLUNTEERED]	
4%	DON'T KNOW/NO RESPONSE

Next, I'm going to read to you several proposals which will be considered by Congress. For each of these, I'd like you to tell me whether you are in favor of the proposal or against it, and if in favor whether it should be one of Congress' top priorities or not. Here's the first:

32. Raising the minimum wage — are you in favor of or opposed to this? [IF FAVOR] Should this be a top priority for Congress, or not a top priority?

53%	FAVOR PROPOSAL, SHOULD BE TOP PRIORITY
28%	FAVOR PROPOSAL, SHOULD NOT BE A TOP PRIORITY
15%	OPPOSE PROPOSAL
4%	DON'T KNOW/NO RESPONSE

33. Ending "no fault" or unilateral divorce when a couple has young children, under 18.

14%	FAVOR PROPOSAL, SHOULD BE TOP PRIORITY
21%	FAVOR PROPOSAL, SHOULD NOT BE A TOP PRIORITY
45%	OPPOSE PROPOSAL
20%	DON'T KNOW/NO RESPONSE

34. Strictly enforcing decency standards for television broadcasts.

45%	FAVOR PROPOSAL, SHOULD BE TOP PRIORITY
23%	FAVOR PROPOSAL, SHOULD NOT BE A TOP PRIORITY
28%	OPPOSE PROPOSAL
4%	DON'T KNOW/NO RESPONSE

35. Banning partial birth abortions.

46%	FAVOR PROPOSAL, SHOULD BE TOP PRIORITY
11%	FAVOR PROPOSAL, SHOULD NOT BE A TOP PRIORITY
33%	OPPOSE PROPOSAL

10% DON'T KNOW/NO
RESPONSE

36. Giving individuals more legal control over how personal information about them is collected and used.

56% FAVOR PROPOSAL, SHOULD
BE TOP PRIORITY
23% FAVOR PROPOSAL, SHOULD
NOT BE A TOP PRIORITY
16% OPPOSE PROPOSAL
4% DON'T KNOW/NO
RESPONSE

37. Legal protection for public religious expression, such as prayer at public events and the display of religious symbols like the crucifix in public buildings.

32% FAVOR PROPOSAL, SHOULD
BE TOP PRIORITY
37% FAVOR PROPOSAL, SHOULD
NOT BE A TOP PRIORITY
23% OPPOSE PROPOSAL
8% DON'T KNOW/NO
RESPONSE

38. Do you favor or oppose enacting additional legal restrictions on abortion in order to reduce the number of abortions being performed? Do you feel that way strongly or not strongly?

48% STRONGLY FAVOR
12% FAVOR, NOT STRONGLY
10% OPPOSE, NOT
STRONGLY
19% STRONGLY OPPOSE
10% DON'T KNOW/NO
RESPONSE

39. [SPLIT SAMPLE, VERSION A] Gambling is being made legal in more and more states. Do you favor or oppose the spread of legalized gambling? Do you feel that way strongly or not strongly?

22% STRONGLY FAVOR
19% FAVOR, NOT
STRONGLY
16% OPPOSE, NOT
STRONGLY
28% STRONGLY OPPOSE
15% DON'T KNOW/NO
RESPONSE

DATA FREQUENCIES [CONTINUED]

[SPLIT SAMPLE, VERSION B] Many states are using a lottery to raise money. Do you favor or oppose the use of a lottery to raise money for your state government? Do you feel that way strongly or not strongly?

36% STRONGLY FAVOR
28% FAVOR, NOT
STRONGLY
11% OPPOSE, NOT
STRONGLY
19% STRONGLY OPPOSE
6% DON'T KNOW/NO
RESPONSE

40. Do you favor or oppose the use of the death penalty for persons convicted of murder? Do you feel that way strongly or not strongly?

46% STRONGLY FAVOR
13% FAVOR, NOT
STRONGLY
10% OPPOSE, NOT
STRONGLY
21% STRONGLY OPPOSE
10% DON'T KNOW/NO
RESPONSE

41. Do you favor or oppose a doctor being able, legally, to assist an elderly or sick person to end their life? Do you feel that way strongly or not strongly?

27% STRONGLY FAVOR
14% FAVOR, NOT
STRONGLY
13% OPPOSE, NOT
STRONGLY
36% STRONGLY OPPOSE
10% DON'T KNOW/NO
RESPONSE

42. How would rate the quality of the public schools in your area: are they very good, fairly good, fairly poor or very poor?

25% VERY GOOD
46% FAIRLY GOOD
15% FAIRLY POOR
8% VERY POOR
6% DON'T KNOW/NO
RESPONSE

43. Which of the following do you think is the biggest problem facing public schools in general:

- 24% STUDENTS ARE NOT GETTING THE KNOWLEDGE AND SKILLS THEY NEED
- 25% STUDENTS ARE BEING EXPOSED TO VIOLENCE AND ILLEGAL DRUGS IN SCHOOL
- 38% STUDENTS ARE BEING TAUGHT NON-TRADITIONAL VALUES AND ARE NOT LEARNING DISCIPLINE
- 7% NONE OF THESE IS A PROBLEM [VOLUNTEERED]
- 6% DON'T KNOW/NO RESPONSE

44. Which of these two approaches would do the most to improve the quality of education for our children:

- 49% FIX WHAT'S WRONG WITH THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS; or
- 40% CREATE MORE ALTERNATIVES TO PUBLIC SCHOOLS, LIKE CHARTER SCHOOLS, RELIGIOUS SCHOOLS AND HOME-SCHOOLING
- 6% NONE OF THESE [VOLUNTEERED RESPONSE]
- 5% DON'T KNOW/NO RESPONSE

45. [SPLIT SAMPLE, VERSION A] Some people say that the government should help pay the tuition for parents who choose to send their child to a private or religious school. Others say that parents who choose to send their child to a private or religious school should be prepared to pay the tuition themselves. Which of these views do you agree with more?

- 39% GOVERNMENT SHOULD HELP PAY TUITION

- 51% PARENTS SHOULD PAY TUITION
- 8% NEITHER/DEPENDS/BOTH [VOLUNTEERED RESPONSE]
- 2% DON'T KNOW/NO RESPONSE

DATA FREQUENCIES [CONTINUED]

[SPLIT SAMPLE, VERSION B] Some people say that the government should help pay the tuition for low-income parents so that they have the option of sending their child to a private or religious school. Others say that parents who choose to send their child to a private or religious school should be prepared to pay the tuition themselves. Which of these views do you agree with more?

- 41% GOVERNMENT SHOULD HELP PAY TUITION
- 47% PARENTS SHOULD PAY TUITION
- 9% NEITHER/DEPENDS/BOTH [VOLUNTEERED RESPONSE]
- 3% DON'T KNOW/NO RESPONSE

46. [SPLIT SAMPLE VERSION A] Congress is considering cutting the income tax rates for individuals. Do you favor or oppose Congress cutting individual income taxes at this time? Do you feel that way strongly or not strongly?

- 54% STRONGLY FAVOR
- 13% FAVOR, NOT STRONGLY
- 11% OPPOSE, NOT STRONGLY
- 15% STRONGLY OPPOSE
- 7% DON'T KNOW/NO RESPONSE

[SPLIT SAMPLE VERSION B] Congress is considering cutting the income tax rates for individuals. But some people say there shouldn't be any cuts in the income tax until the social security system is fixed. In your opinion, should there be cuts in the income tax right now, or only

after something is done to fix the social security system?

30% CUTS MADE NOW
 60% CUTS MADE AFTER FIX OF SOCIAL SECURITY
 10% DON'T KNOW/NO RESPONSE

47. On the subject of social security, some people say we need fundamental reform to keep the system from running out of money. Others say we should leave the system alone and just let Congress put in more money if its needed. Which of these views is closer to your own?

67% NEED REFORM
 24% LEAVE SYSTEM ALONE
 5% NEITHER/DEPENDS/BOTH [VOLUNTEERED RESPONSE]
 4% DON'T KNOW/NO RESPONSE

48. Suppose your member of Congress was one of those who voted to impeach President Clinton, and they explained their vote by saying they wanted to defend traditional moral standards. Would this make you more likely or less likely to vote for your member of Congress in the future?

49% MORE LIKELY
 34% LESS LIKELY
 18% DON'T KNOW/NO RESPONSE

These next several questions are asked for statistical purposes, and then we'll be finished.

49. Do you consider yourself to be a Democrat, a Republican, or an Independent? [IF DEMOCRAT OR REPUBLICAN] Do you consider yourself to be a strong [DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN] or not?

20% STRONG DEMOCRAT
 15% WEAK DEMOCRAT
 15% STRONG REPUBLICAN

8% WEAK REPUBLICAN
 36% INDEPENDENT
 4% NONE OF THESE/OTHER [VOLUNTEERED RESPONSE]
 3% DON'T KNOW/NO RESPONSE [DO NOT READ]

50. [IF REPUBLICAN OR INDEPENDENT] Was there a time when you considered yourself to be a Democrat?

38% YES
 59% NO
 3% DON'T KNOW/NO RESPONSE

DATA FREQUENCIES [CONTINUED]

51. Did you vote in last year's congressional election? [IF YES] Did you vote for the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate?

31% DID NOT VOTE
 30% VOTED FOR THE DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE
 25% VOTED FOR THE REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE
 6% VOTED, OTHER [VOLUNTEERED RESPONSE]
 8% DON'T KNOW/NO RESPONSE

52. Did you vote in the 1996 Presidential election? [IF YES] Did you vote for Democrat Bill Clinton, Republican Bob Dole, or Reform Party candidate Ross Perot?

23% DID NOT VOTE
 37% VOTED FOR BILL CLINTON
 25% VOTED FOR BOB DOLE
 7% VOTED FOR ROSS PEROT
 3% VOTED, OTHER [VOLUNTEERED RESPONSE]
 6% DON'T KNOW/NO RESPONSE

53. All things being equal, would you prefer to vote for a candidate for public office who was Catholic, or is this not a consideration?

15% PREFER CATHOLIC

80% NOT A
CONSIDERATION
6% DON'T KNOW/NO
RESPONSE

54. Next year we are going to have a Presidential election. If the election were being held today and the candidates were Democrat Al Gore, the current Vice President, and Republican George Bush — the Governor of Texas, not the former President — for whom would you most likely vote?

26% DEMOCRAT AL GORE
44% REPUBLICAN GEORGE
BUSH
26% UNDECIDED/DON'T
KNOW
3% REFUSED/OTHER NO
RESPONSE

55. In a typical month, how often do you attend mass? [RECORD ACTUAL NUMBER]

20% 0
38% 1-3
29% 4
13% >4

56. Thinking of your general outlook politically, would you describe yourself as strongly conservative, fairly conservative, moderate, fairly liberal, or strongly liberal?

12% STRONGLY
CONSERVATIVE
28% FAIRLY CONSERVATIVE
36% MODERATE
15% FAIRLY LIBERAL
6% STRONGLY LIBERAL
1% NONE OF THESE
[VOLUNTEERED RESPONSE]
2% DON'T KNOW/NO RESPONSE
[DO NOT READ]

57. In what year were you born? [Age]

58. Are you currently married or single? [IF MARRIED] Have you ever been married before to another person? [IF SINGLE] Are you

separated, divorced, widowed, or have you never been married?

44% MARRIED, NOT PREVIOUSLY
MARRIED
15% MARRIED. PREVIOUSLY
MARRIED
2% SEPARATED
8% DIVORCED
7% WIDOWED
23% SINGLE, NEVER
MARRIED
2% NO RESPONSE

59. Do you have any children? [IF YES] Are any of your children under 18 years of age?

32% NO CHILDREN
29% HAVE CHILDREN, NONE
UNDER 18
36% HAVE CHILDREN, ONE OR
MORE UNDER 18
2% NO RESPONSE

DATA FREQUENCIES [CONTINUED]

60. [IF HAVE CHILDREN] Do any or did any of your children attend Catholic Elementary or High School?

38% YES
62% NO
0% DON'T KNOW/NO
RESPONSE

61. What is the highest level of education you completed:

6% DID NOT GRADUATE FROM
HIGH SCHOOL
28% GRADUATED FROM HIGH
SCHOOL
23% ATTENDED VOCATIONAL
SCHOOL OR HAD SOME
COLLEGE
28% GRADUATED FROM COLLEGE
11% WORKED TOWARD OR
RECEIVED ADVANCED
DEGREE (MASTERS,
PROFESSIONAL, OR
DOCTORAL DEGREE) AFTER
COLLEGE

3% DON'T KNOW/NO RESPONSE

62. What do you consider to be your main racial or ethnic heritage: Hispanic, white/non-Hispanic, African-American/non-Hispanic, Asian-American, native-American, or other?

10%	HISPANIC
78%	WHITE/NON-HISPANIC
7%	AFRICAN-AMERICAN/NON-HISPANIC
1%	ASIAN-AMERICAN
2%	NATIVE-AMERICAN
1%	OTHER
2%	DON'T KNOW/NO RESPONSE

63. Gender [BY OBSERVATION, DO NOT READ UNLESS UNCERTAIN]

48%	MALE
52%	FEMALE

64. And, for my final question, can you please tell me what your family's annual income is? Just stop me when I read the correct category ...

5%	UNDER \$15,000
19%	\$15,000 BUT LESS THAN \$35,000
23%	\$35,000 BUT LESS THAN \$55,000
15%	\$55,000 BUT LESS THAN \$75,000
9%	\$75,000 BUT LESS THAN \$100,000
8%	\$100,000 OR MORE
22%	REFUSED [DO NOT READ].

That's the last of my questions. Thank you very much for your time and participation.