

RELIGION, MORAL VALUES AND THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

**William A. Galston, Senior Fellow
The Brookings Institution**

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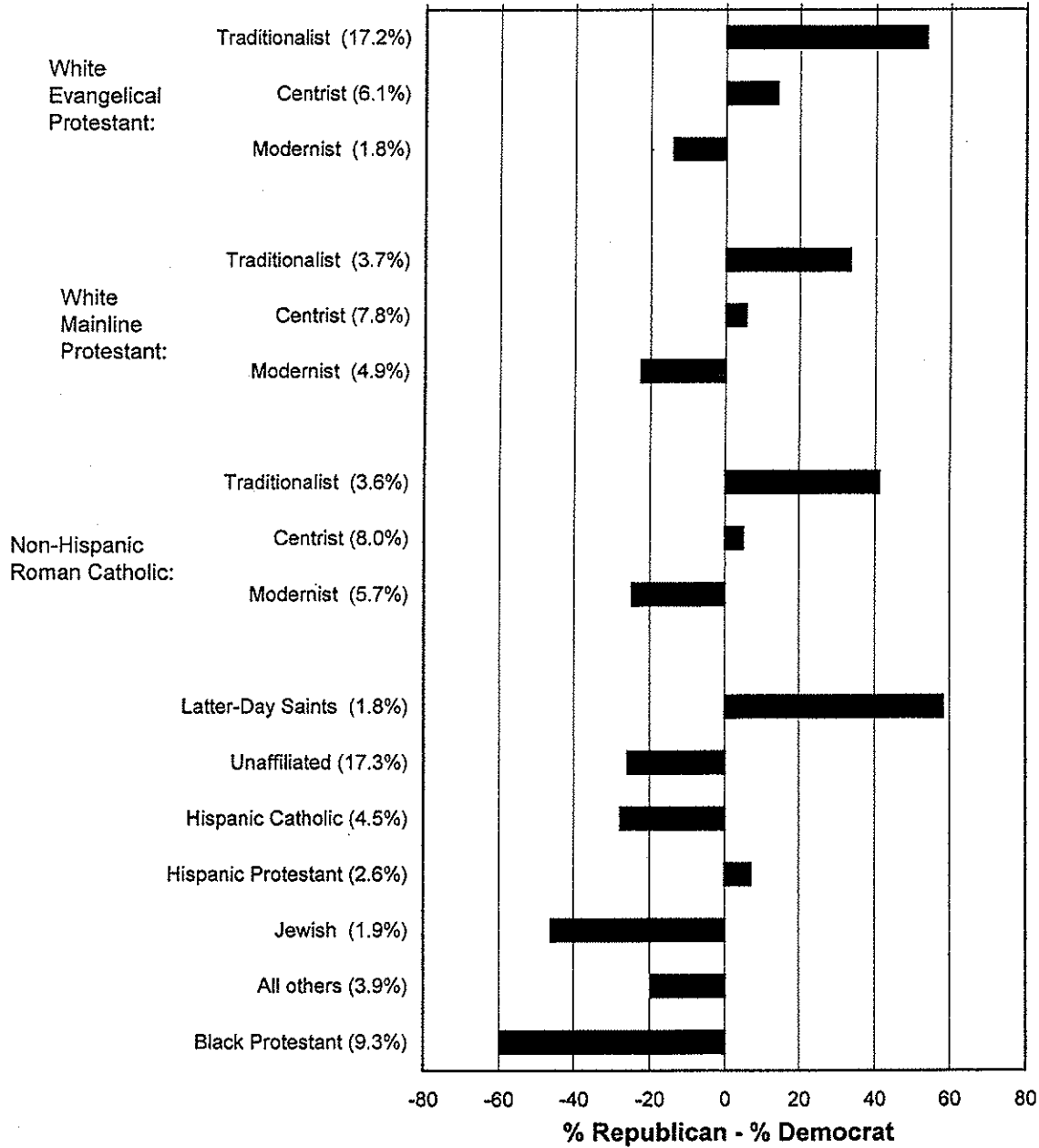
**The American Religious Landscape and the 2004 Two-Party Presidential
Vote (arranged by Religious Tradition)**

	Vote Choice*		Turnout*
	Bush	Kerry	
<i>ALL EVANGELICAL PROTESTANT</i>	78	22 = 100%	63%
Traditionalist Evangelical Protestant	88	12	69%
Centrist Evangelical Protestant	64	36	52%
Modernist Evangelical Protestant	48	52	65%
<i>ALL MAINLINE PROTESTANT</i>	50	50	69%
Traditionalist Mainline Protestant	68	32	78%
Centrist Mainline Protestant	58	42	68%
Modernist Mainline Protestant	22	78	71%
Latino Protestant	63	37	49%
Black Protestant	17	83	50%
<i>ALL NON-LATINO CATHOLIC</i>	53	47	67%
Traditionalist Catholic	72	28	77%
Centrist Catholic	55	45	58%
Modernist Catholic	31	69	70%
Latino Catholic	31	69	43%
Other Christians	80	20	60%
Other Faiths	23	77	62%
Jews	27	73	87%
<i>ALL UNAFFILIATED</i>	28	72	52%
Unaffiliated Believers	37	63	39%
Seculars	30	70	55%
Atheists, Agnostics	18	82	61%
ENTIRE ELECTORATE	51	49 = 100%	60.8%

* Vote choice and turnout weighted to reflect actual election results. Unweighted results show very similar patterns.

Source: Fourth National Survey of Religion and Politics, Post-Election Sample (N=2730, November-December 2004, University of Akron)

Religiosity and Party Identification, 2004



Source: James Guth, Lyman A. Kellstedt, Corwin E. Schmidt, and John C. Green, "Religious Mobilization in the 2004 Presidential Election," presented at the 2005 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, September 1-4, Table. 3.

Religious observance and political ideology

Church attendance	Conservative	Moderate	Liberal
Once a week	54	33	13
Almost every week	47	39	14
Once a month	38	42	19
Seldom	31	45	24
Never	26	40	34

(USA Today/CNN Gallup, February 2003-May 2004)

The religious divide in the 2004 election

Level of church attendance	Bush %	Kerry %
More than weekly	64	35
Weekly	58	41
Monthly	50	49
Occasionally	45	54
Never	36	62

(NEP and Pew Research Center, *Trends 2005*, p. 27)

The American Religious Landscape and the 2004 Party Coalitions

	Bush	Kerry	All
Traditionalist Evangelical Protestant	27%	4%	15%
Other Christians	4	1	3
Traditionalist Catholic	8	3	6
Traditionalist Mainline Protestant	8	4	6
Centrist Evangelical Protestant	11	7	9
Latino Protestant	3	2	2
Centrist Mainline Protestant	9	7	8
Centrist Catholic	8	6	7
Modernist Evangelical Protestant	2	3	2
Unaffiliated Believers	2	4	3
Latino Catholic	2	4	3
Modernist Catholic	4	9	6
Seculars	4	10	7
Jews	1	4	3
Other Faiths	1	4	2
Modernist Mainline Protestant	2	9	6
Atheists, Agnostics	1	6	4
Black Protestants	3	13	8
ENTIRE ELECTORATE	100%	100%	100%

Source: Fourth National Survey of Religion and Politics, Post-Election Sample (N=2730, November-December 2004, University of Akron)

The American Religious Landscape, Issues, and the 2004 Presidential Vote

	Social Issues Important		Foreign Policy Important		Economic Issues Important	
	%Very	%Most*	%Very	%Most	%Very	%Most
Traditionalist Evangelical Protestant	78	47	75	29	44	17
Other Christians	67	38	86	31	61	22
<i>ALL EVANGELICAL PROTESTANT</i>	68	37	78	31	48	23
Traditionalist Catholic	68	39	81	31	49	23
Traditionalist Mainline Protestant	55	30	79	29	54	28
Centrist Evangelical Protestant	55	21	80	33	53	32
Latino Protestant	54	33	71	11	54	44
Centrist Mainline Protestant	33	14	80	42	55	39
Centrist Catholic	24	10	80	42	54	41
<i>ALL NON-LATINO CATHOLIC</i>	39	19	81	40	56	34
ENTIRE SAMPLE	49	24	80	35	58	33
<i>ALL MAINLINE PROTESTANT</i>	43	19	80	38	57	34
Modernist Evangelical Protestant	43	30	85	36	55	21
Unaffiliated Believers	46	26	86	26	65	42
Latino Catholic	40	21	74	26	71	44
Modernist Catholic	31	11	82	46	65	36
Seculars	36	17	80	52	60	27
<i>ALL UNAFFILIATED</i>	38	17	82	32	63	45
Jews	49	8	88	50	69	29
Other Faiths	41	18	86	60	55	14
Modernist Mainline Protestant	44	18	85	37	64	35
Atheists, Agnostics	38	11	81	54	61	27
Black Protestant	50	17	78	14	81	60

*Neither the columns nor the rows add to 100% because some categories have been excluded, such as respondents who said an issue was "somewhat" or "not important" or respondents who gave top priority to other issues.

Source: Fourth National Survey of Religion and Politics, Post-Election Sample (N=2730, November-December 2004, University of Akron)

The American Religious Landscape and Change in Voting Behavior 2000-2004

	Change in Bush Vote*	Change in Dem. Vote	Change in Turnout
Traditionalist Evangelical Protestant	+ 4%	- 4%	+ 7
Other Christians	+12	-12	+ 7
<i>ALL EVANGELICAL PROTESTANT</i>	+ 4	- 4	+ 9
Traditionalist Catholic	+17	-17	+12
Traditionalist Mainline Protestant	0	0	+14
Centrist Evangelical Protestant	+ 3	- 3	+ 2
Latino Protestant	+31	-31	+11
Centrist Mainline Protestant	+ 1	- 1	+15
Centrist Catholic	+11	-11	+ 4
<i>ALL NON-LATINO CATHOLIC</i>	+ 5	- 5	+11
ENTIRE ELECTORATE	+ 1	- 1	+10
<i>ALL MAINLINE PROTESTANT</i>	-10	+10	+11
Modernist Evangelical Protestant	0	0	+23
Unaffiliated Believers	- 5	+ 5	- 10
Latino Catholic	+7	- 7	+17
Modernist Catholic	-12	+12	+21
Seculars	- 3	- 3	+ 9
<i>ALL UNAFFILIATED</i>	- 5	+ 5	0
Jews	0	0	+15
Other Faiths	- 5	+ 5	- 7
Modernist Mainline Protestant	-23	+23	+13
Atheists, Agnostics	- 12	+12	- 7
Black Protestants	+12	- 12	0

* "+" indicates an increase over 2000 and "-" a decrease over 2000..

Source: Fourth National Survey of Religion and Politics, Post-Election Sample (N=2730, November-December 2004, University of Akron) and Third National Survey of Religion and Politics, Post-Election Sample (N=3000, November-December 2000, University of Akron).

	Total	Libs	Econ cons	Social cons
\$75K+	24	41	41	30
College+	27	49	45	28
Married	54	44	77	66
Bible study/ Prayer group	36	13	36	51
Church weekly+	40	18	48	53
Church never	25	43	25	15
Need faith to be moral	51	15	42	61
Make abortion more difficult	36	10	54	54
Allow gay marriage	32	80	8	12
Display Ten Commandments	74	35	89	92
Display flag	64	41	76	84
Peace through diplomacy?	55	88	13	25
Force against terrorism?	39	7	84	72
Compromise with allies	53	82	24	43

Source: Pew Research Center, "Mapping the Political Landscape, 2005"

Democratic Party Less Friendly Toward Religion

Dem. Party's attitude toward religion

	<u>2003</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2005</u>
	%	%	%
Friendly	42	40	29
Neutral	36	34	38
Unfriendly	12	13	20
Don't know	<u>10</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>13</u>
	100	100	100

Percent "friendly" among...

Republicans	35	27	21
Democrats	56	50	46
Independents	41	43	24

Too Much Control?

	Religious conservatives have too much control over the <u>Rep. Party</u>	Non-religious liberals have too much control over the <u>Dem. Party</u>
	%	%
Total	45	44
Republican	30	60
Conservative	26	66
Mod/Liberal	35	55
Democrat	57	34
Mod/Conserv	51	39
Liberal	75	25
Independent	54	43

Which Party is More Concerned with...

	<i>Protecting Religious Values</i>				<i>Protecting Personal Freedom</i>			
	<u>Rep Party</u>	<u>Dem Party</u>	<u>Both/ Neith</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Rep Party</u>	<u>Dem Party</u>	<u>Both/ Neith</u>	<u>DK</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total	51	28	10	11=100	30	52	11	7=100
Men	54	25	11	10=100	37	47	10	6=100
Women	49	30	10	11=100	24	56	12	8=100
18-29	55	25	7	13=100	24	58	9	9=100
30-49	52	29	9	10=100	29	54	10	7=100
50-64	49	31	13	7=100	33	51	11	5=100
65+	49	23	15	13=100	33	39	17	11=100

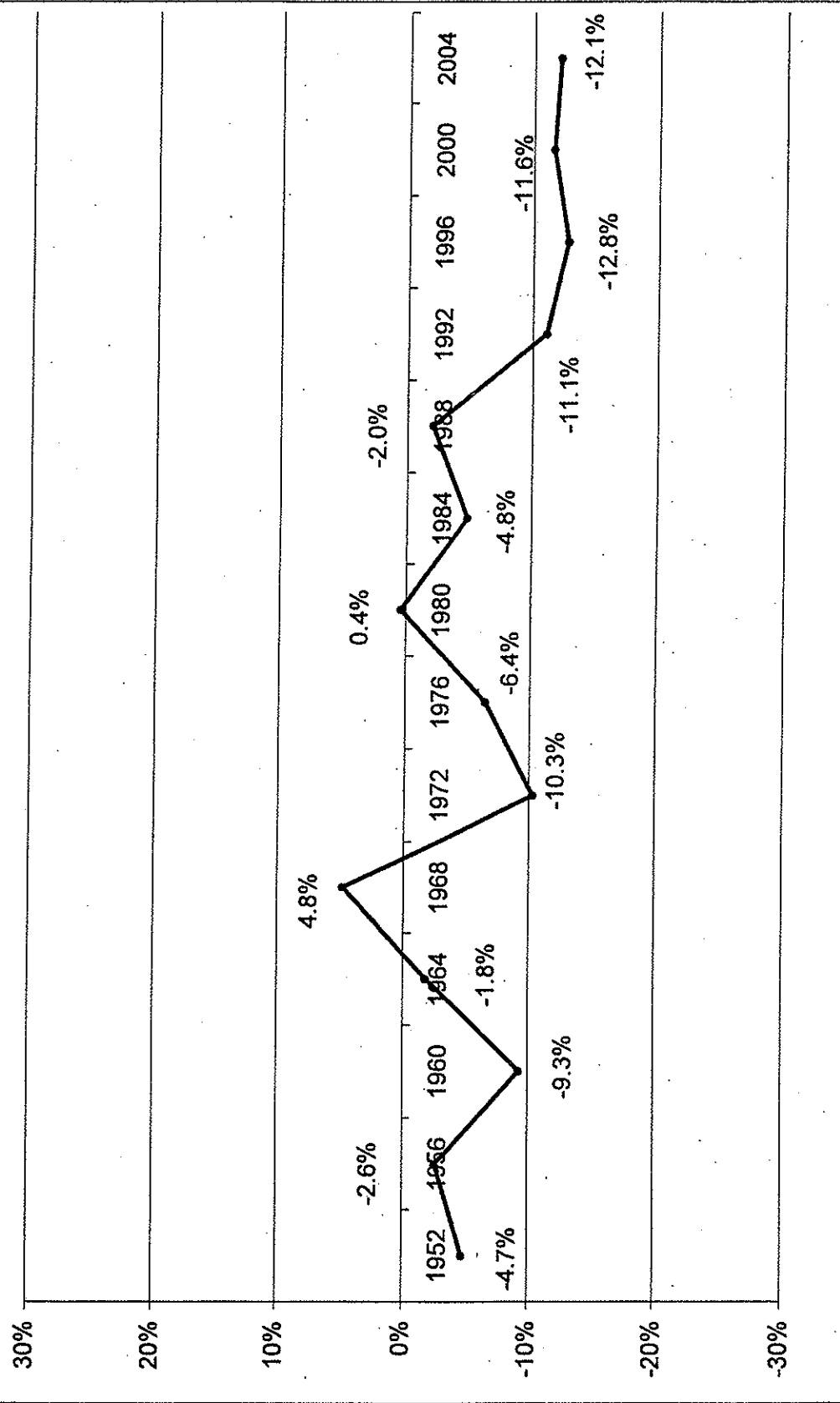
Source: The Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, "Religion a Strength and Weakness for Both Parties." August, 2005.

Have Liberals Gone Too Far...			
<i>In trying to keep religion out of schools & govt</i>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK</u>
	%	%	%
Total	67	28	5=100
White	67	29	4
Black	75	21	4
College grad	54	42	4
Some college	65	32	3
H.S. or less	75	18	7
Northeast	55	37	8
Midwest	69	25	6
South	77	18	5
West	58	38	4
Republican	81	13	6
Conservative	87	9	4
Mod/Liberal	71	21	8
Democrat	56	38	6
Mod/Conserv	67	27	6
Liberal	33	64	3
Independent	65	32	3
White Protestant	80	17	3
Evangelical	87	10	3
Mainline	69	27	4
White Catholic	63	31	6
Secular	42	50	8

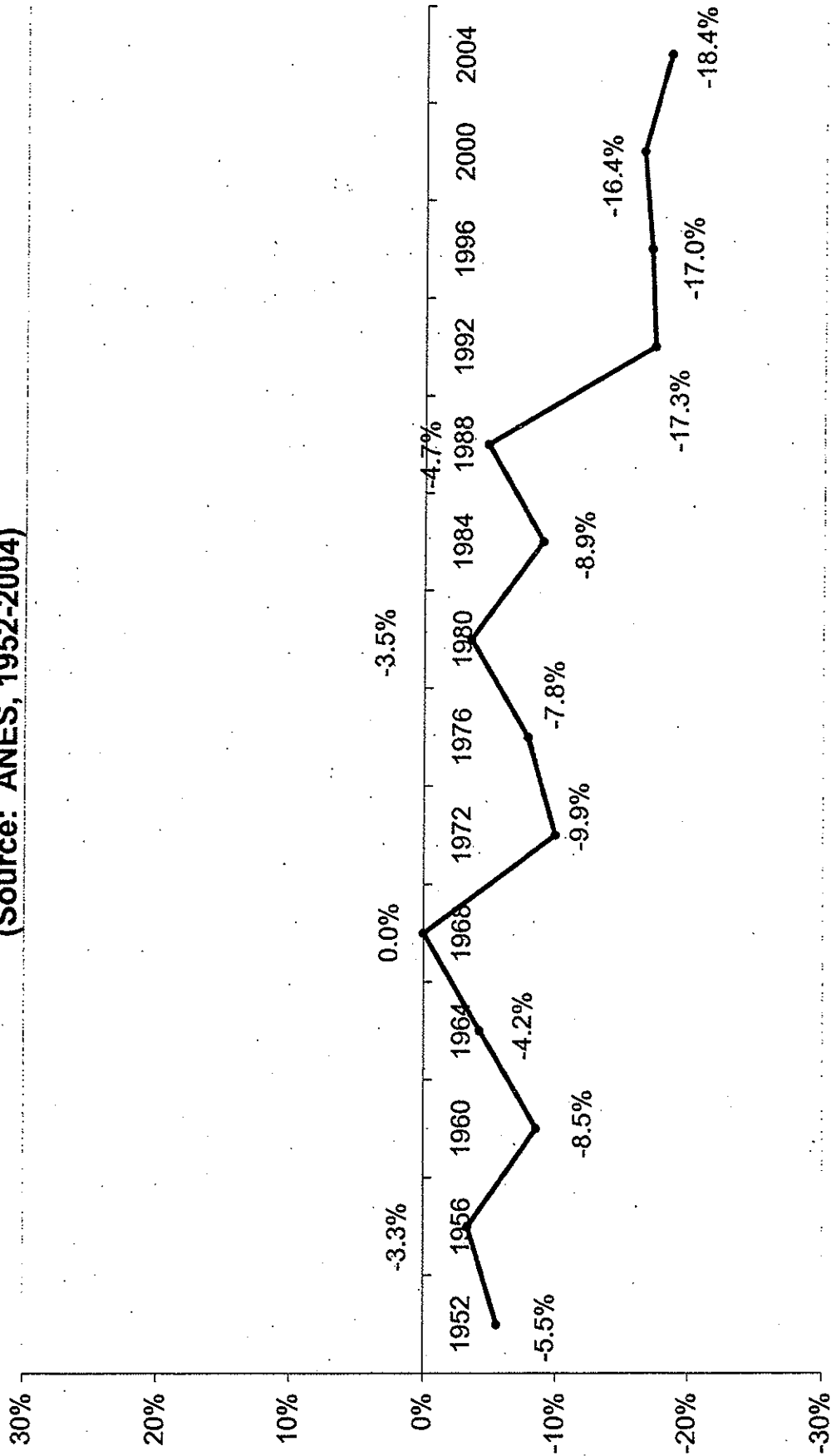
Have Conservative Christians Gone Too Far...			
<i>In trying to impose their religious values on country</i>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK</u>
	%	%	%
Total	45	45	10=100
White	43	47	10
Black	48	40	12
College grad	60	35	5
Some college	48	45	7
H.S. or less	35	50	15
Northeast	48	38	14
Midwest	41	47	12
South	39	52	9
West	55	35	10
Republican	26	65	9
Conservative	16	76	8
Mod/Liberal	47	43	10
Democrat	57	35	8
Mod/Conserv	46	44	10
Liberal	83	16	1
Independent	55	35	10
White Protestant	33	58	9
Evangelical	21	70	9
Mainline	50	41	9
White Catholic	47	42	11
Secular	61	27	12

Source: The Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, "Religion a Strength and Weakness for Both Parties." August, 2005.

**Difference in Support for the Democratic Presidential Candidate, 1952-2004,
 Between Regular Church Attenders and Yearly/Never Church Attenders
 (Source: ANES, 1952-2004)**



**Difference in Support for the Democratic Presidential Candidate, 1952-2004,
 Between White Regular Church Attenders
 and White Yearly/Never Church Attenders
 (Source: ANES, 1952-2004)**



**Relative Importance of Religious Engagement in Presidential Vote,
2004 and 2000**

	INDEX OF IMPACT*	
	2000 ^a	2004 ^b
Church attendance	22	28
Race	28	28
Union household	11	15
Urban/rural	11	11
Income	08	09
South/non-South	09	08
Age	05	07
Gender	17	07
Education	04	05

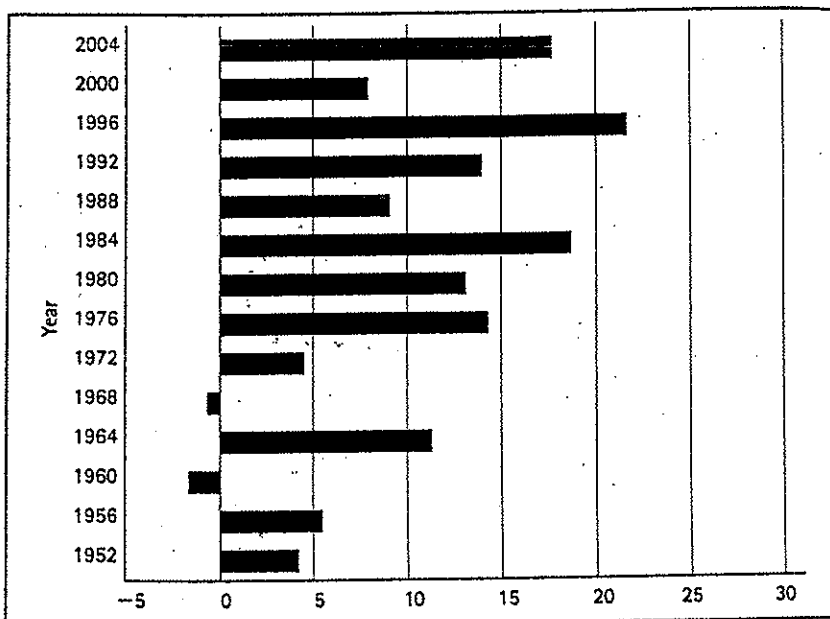
* Index based on standardized regression coefficients computed in a multiple regression analysis predicting Democratic vs. Republican vote from demographic characteristics and church attendance.

^a Data from VNS Exit Poll

^b Data from PRC Election Weekend Poll

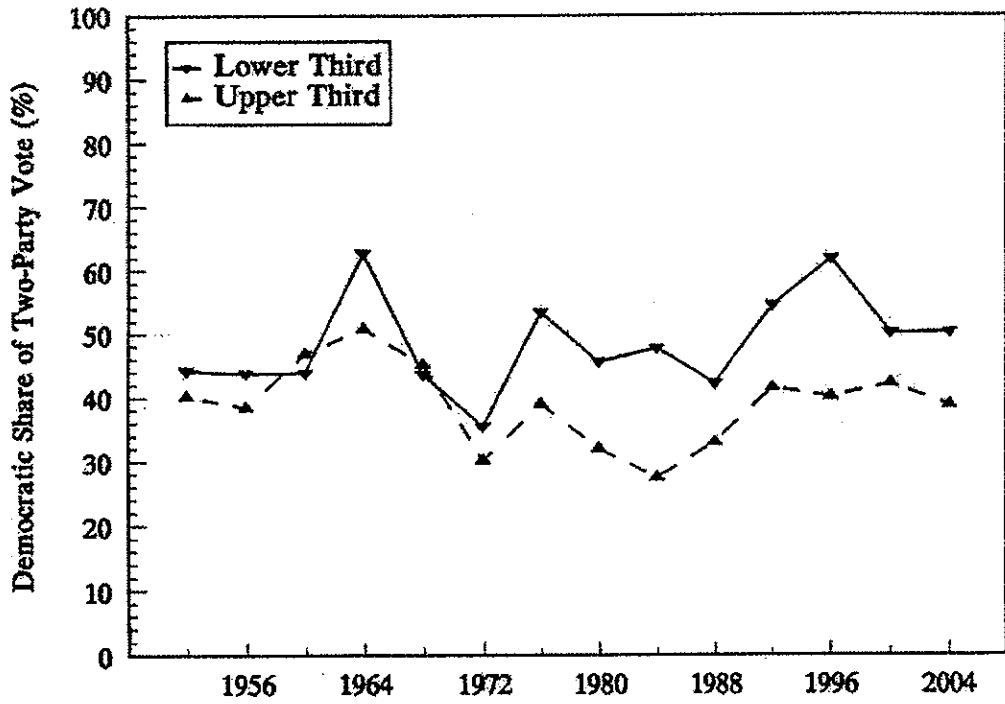
Source: Pew Research Center, "Trends 2005." January, 2005.

Difference in Democratic Presidential Vote
Between Lower and Upper Income Thirds



Source: Calculated from the National Election Studies.
Note: Includes white voters only.

White Presidential Vote
by Income Class, 1952-2004



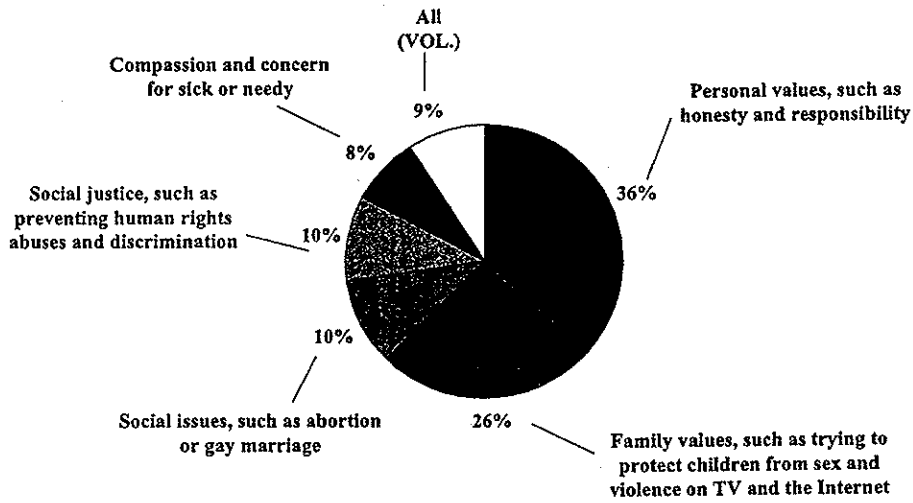
Source: Larry Bartels, "What's the Matter with *What's the Matter with Kansas?*"
September, 2005.

**2004 Vote by Church Attendance and Income
Whites only**

		Weekly or More	Occasionally	Never	Total
Under \$15K	Kerry	44%	65%	74%	57%
	Bush	55%	33%	25%	42%
\$15 – 30K	Kerry	36%	50%	63%	53%
	Bush	62%	49%	35%	51%
\$30 – 50K	Kerry	29%	43%	59%	40%
	Bush	69%	55%	39%	58%
\$50 – 75K	Kerry	24%	42%	60%	37%
	Bush	74%	57%	38%	62%
\$75 – 100K	Kerry	27%	45%	63%	50%
	Bush	72%	53%	35%	58%
\$100 – 150K	Kerry	23 %	45%	50%	38%
	Bush	74%	54%	47%	60%
\$150 or more	Kerry	23%	39%	56%	37%
	Bush	76%	59%	42%	62%

Source: E.J. Dionne, "Polarized by God? American Politics and the Religious Divide."
Analysis based on work by Claudia Deane at the Washington Post.

What Are Moral Values? (Percent Responding)



"Moral values can mean different things to different people. I am going to read to you a list of phrases, and please tell me which of the following choices best describes what moral values means to you."

Source: Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research, "Faith and Family in America." October, 2005.

Moral Values by Religious Identity (Percent Responding)

	Total	Evangelical Christian	Mainline Protestant	Traditional Catholic	Liberal Catholic	No pref/Atheist/ Agnostic
Personal values, such as honesty and responsibility	36	26	44	38	40	46
Family values, such as trying to protect children from sex and violence on TV and the Internet	26	30	20	34	28	15
Social issues, such as abortion or gay marriage	10	15	6	8	3	5
Social justice, such as preventing human rights abuses and discrimination	10	5	12	5	16	20
Compassion and concern for sick or needy	8	12	7	2	10	6
All of the above (VOL.)	9	12	6	11	4	5

"Moral values can mean different things to different people. I am going to read to you a list of phrases, and please tell me which of the following choices best describes what moral values means to you."

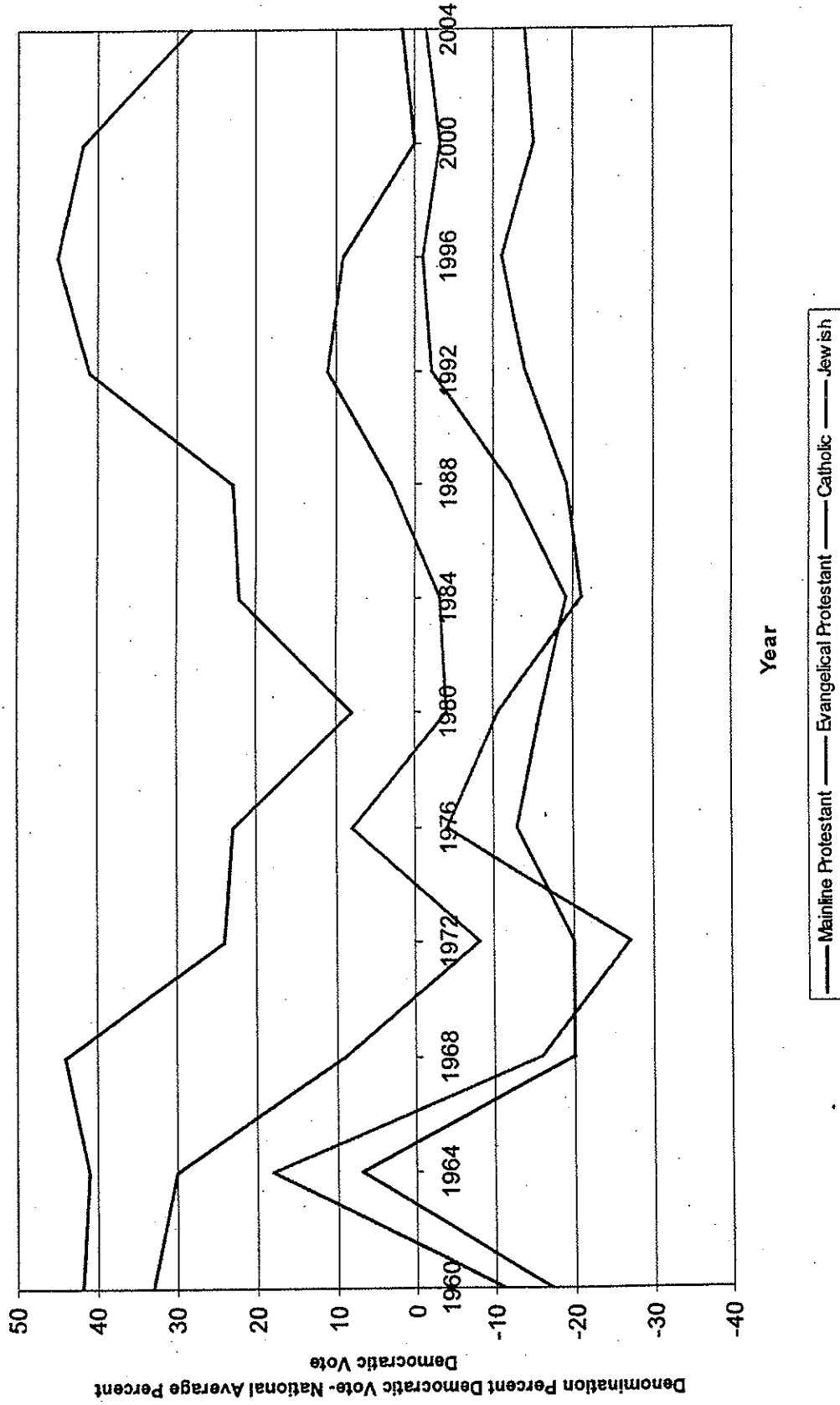
Attitudes Toward Marriage by Religious Identity (Percent Responding "Agree")

	Total	Evangelical Christian	Mainline Protestant	Traditional Catholic	Liberal Catholic	No pref/Atheist/ Agnostic
Married people are generally happier than unmarried people.		60	53	51	39	35
It is all right for a couple to live together without intending to get married.		21	57	38	72	78
It's a good idea for a couple who intend to get married to live together first.		22	43	34	54	66
Divorce is usually the best solution when a couple can't seem to work out their marriage problems.		48	61	46	63	50
It is better for children if their parents are married.		86	82	88	75	58
Divorce is a sin.		34	14	30	18	8
God's plan for marriage is one man, one woman, for life.		92	62	91	60	31
Love is what makes a family, and it doesn't matter if parents are gay or straight, married or single.		33	62	41	77	80

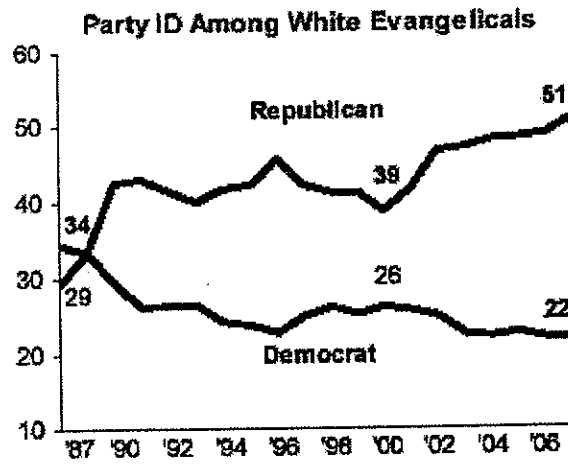
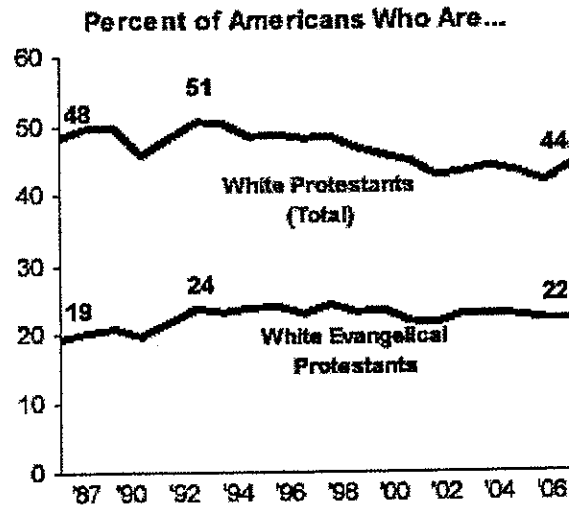
"Now I am going to read to you a list of statements. For each of the following, please tell me if you agree or disagree with the statement. If you neither agree nor disagree with the statement, please say so."

Source: Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research, "Faith and Family in America." October, 2005.

Deviation from Average Presidential Vote by Religious Group

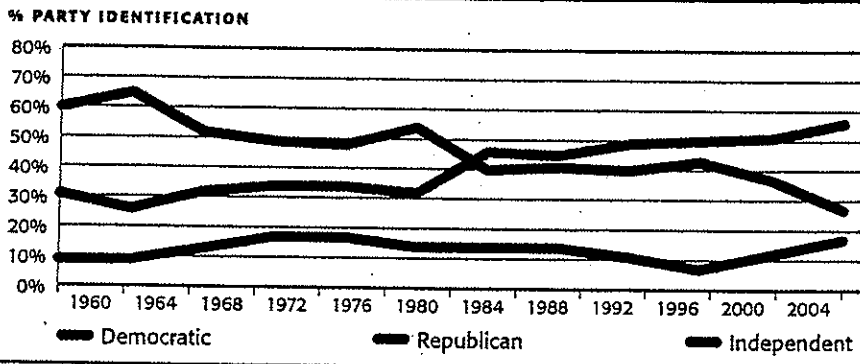


Source: Morris Fiorina, *Culture War? The Myth of a Polarized America* (New York: Pearson Longman, 2005). Analysis based on the National Election Studies.

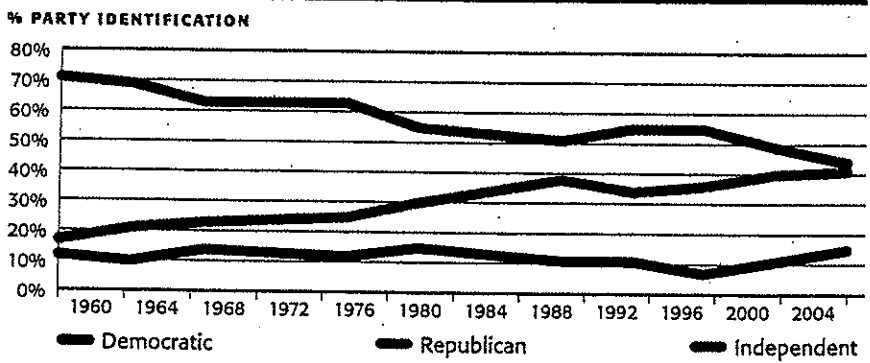


Source: Pew Research Center, "Will White Evangelicals Desert the GOP?" May, 2006.

Evangelicals and Party Identification, 1960-2004



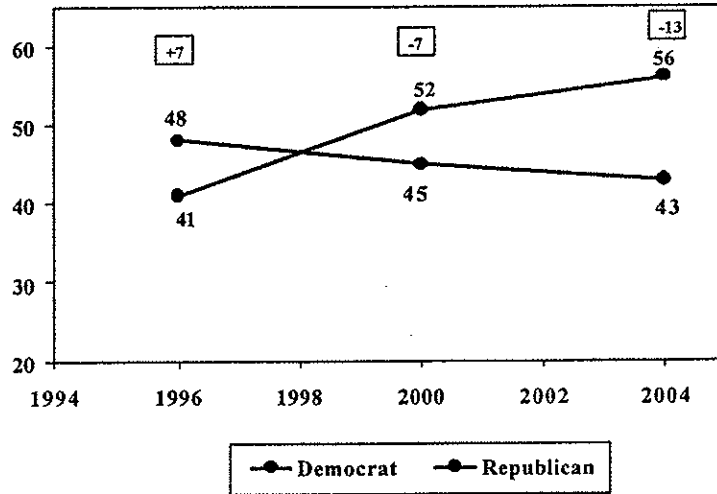
Catholics and Party Identification, 1960-2004



Source: National Election Studies, University of Michigan (for 1960-2000); Bliss Institute (2004)
 Note: "Democratic" and "Republican" includes those who indicated they were leaning to the party in question.

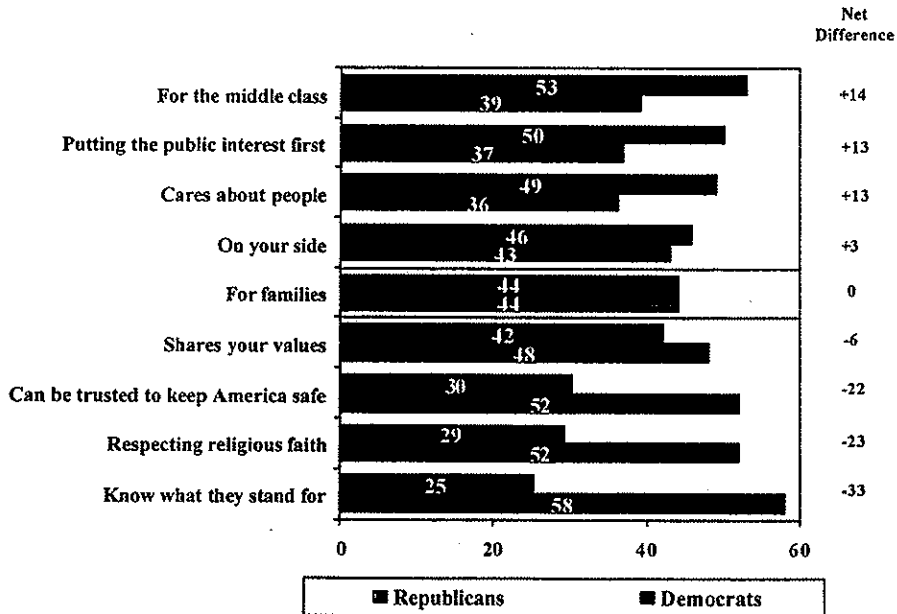
Source: Pew Research Center, "Trends 2005." January, 2005.

Vote for President 1996-2004



**VNS/NEP Data of Presidential votes from 1996 to present*

Party Associations



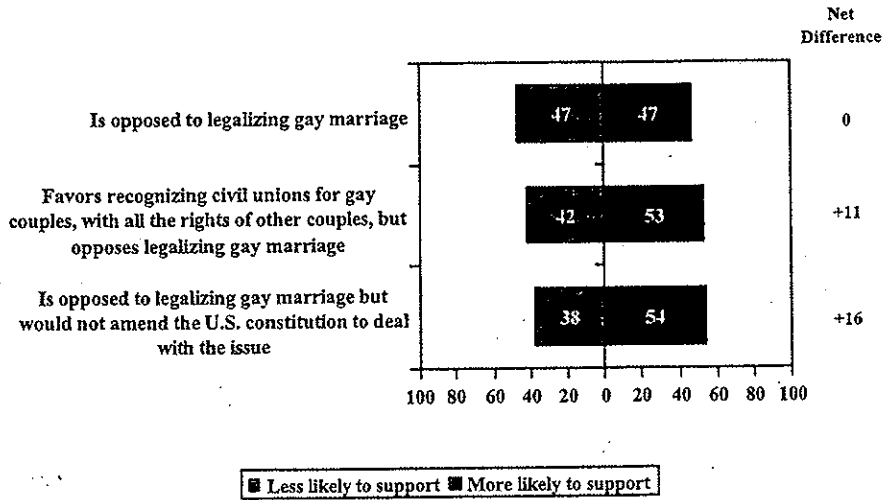
Source: Democracy Corps, "Reclaiming the White Catholic Vote." March, 2005.

DEFINING MORAL VALUES'	
<i>Open-ended Responses</i>	
Personal Integrity	24
Honesty/integrity/honor	14
Knowing right from wrong	3
Standing up for what you believe in	3
Tolerance/not judging others/not forcing views on others	3
Family and Culture	22
Family/home	13
Respecting/valuing life (general, not specifically abortion)	6
Children/taking care of/raising well	3
Golden Rule/Social Compact	21
Doing the right thing/being a good person/living a good life	8
Golden rule/treating other people well/compassion	7
Taking care of people/health care/safety net	4
Helping poor/homeless/less fortunate	3
Gender Roles (incl. abortion & gay marriage)	14
Abortion	9
Homosexuality/gay marriage	5
Marriage/fidelity/not cheating	2
Religion	11
Religion/faith/Christianity/belief in God	8
Ten Commandments	3

Source: Democracy Corps, "Reclaiming the White Catholic Vote." March, 2005.

Impact of Gay Marriage Issue

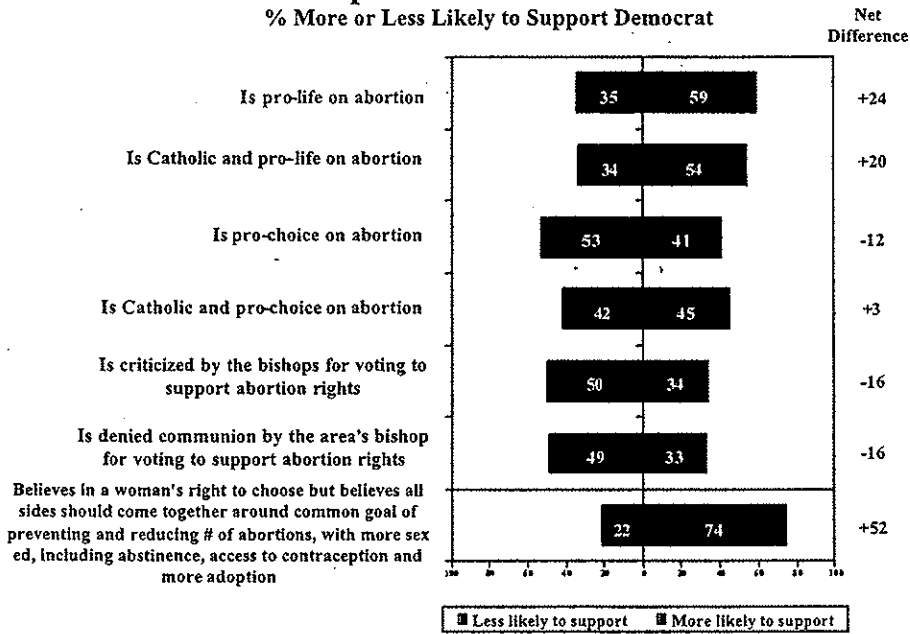
% More or Less Likely to Support Democrat



"Now, let me read you some things about a Democratic candidate for Congress. After the statement please tell me whether this would make you more likely or less likely to support a Democratic candidate?"

Impact of Abortion Issue

% More or Less Likely to Support Democrat



Source: Democracy Corps, "Reclaiming the White Catholic Vote." March, 2005.