



The Presbyterian Panel

Listening to Presbyterians



REPORT

RACISM AND RACIAL JUSTICE—THE NOVEMBER 2000 SURVEY

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HIGHLIGHTS

- ✓ Two-thirds of pastors, but only around one in twelve members and one in seven elders, are familiar with the PC(USA) goal of increasing racial ethnic membership to 20% of the total by 2010.
- ✓ Most panelists don't think the 20% goal will be achieved, and only a minority favor reallocating resources to achieve the goal.
- ✓ The most preferred strategy for increasing racial ethnic membership in the PC(USA) is "to help existing racial ethnic congregations grow."
- ✓ Three-fourths of pastors report at least one sermon in their congregation on racial justice issues during the last year.
- ✓ Two-thirds of pastors report that their congregation had a guest preacher in the past year who was of a different race ethnicity than most of the membership.
- ✓ Majorities disagree that they'd be "uncomfortable with a pastor from a different racial ethnic background," but only around one in twelve elders indicate that their congregation made "a special effort to identify candidates" of "a different racial ethnic background" when they last called a pastor.
- ✓ Around half of members and elders would look for a *mostly white* church if they were to move to a new community, while a quarter would look for one with a racial ethnic mix.
- ✓ Majorities oppose a law to stop all legal immigration into the country and want the government to do more to stop illegal immigration.
- ✓ Panelists, especially ministers, are more accepting of current immigration practices and have more positive views of the economic impact of immigrants than do Americans in general.
- ✓ Large majorities of pastors and specialized clergy support affirmative action for racial ethnic persons in education, but laity are evenly split on the issue.
- ✓ Majorities believe racial ethnic persons are treated *not as well as* whites in their communities.
- ✓ More panelists in the West than in other regions of the country report frequent interaction with persons of other racial ethnic groups in various social settings, such as workplaces, churches, and the community in general.
- ✓ Pastors are much more likely than members and elders to have participated in activities or taken actions related to racial justice issues. The most frequent activities in all Panel samples are participation in a multi-cultural awareness program and giving money to an organization concerned with racial justice.
- ✓ A third of clergy but only around one in six members and elders have ever "experienced discrimination, harassment, violence, or prejudicial statements" because of their race ethnicity.
- ✓ Racial ethnic panelists are more likely than white panelists to believe that racial ethnic persons are less-fairly treated in their community.
- ✓ In the last two years, very few panelists have voted for or against a candidate for political office because of the candidate's race ethnicity or the candidate's stand on racial justice issues.
- ✓ Almost all panelists voted in the 2000 presidential election, with majorities of members and elders voting for George W. Bush and majorities of pastors and specialized clergy for Al Gore.
- ✓ Unlike white, mainline Protestants in national surveys, the presidential voting pattern among lay panelists did not differ by frequency of church attendance.

OVERVIEW

The Presbyterian Panel consists of three nationally-representative samples of groups affiliated with the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.): members, elders (lay leaders), and ordained ministers. For analysis, ministers are split into two groups based on current call: *pastors*, serving in a congregation, and *specialized clergy*, serving elsewhere. New samples are drawn every three years.

These pages summarize major findings from the fifth survey completed by the 2000-2002 Panel, mailed in November 2000 (with returns accepted through January 2001). The first half uses text and graphics to highlight important and useful findings. An appendix follows with comparative tables that display the percentage distribution of responses to every question for each of the four Panel groups.

Response rates for this survey are: members, 51%; elders, 55%; ministers, 61%. Results are subject to sampling and other errors. As a general rule, differences of less than 8% are not statistically meaningful.

In this *Report*, the term *median* refers to the middle number in an ordered distribution. For example, the median age for a group of people aged 12, 21, 28, 35, and 64 years would be 28 years. The term *mean* refers to the mathematical average of values in a distribution; in the example, the mean age would be calculated as: $(12+21+28+35+64)/5$, or 32 years.

In this Report, "White" refers to persons of European ancestry—people from England, Scotland, Ireland, Germany, France, Italy, Sweden, Poland, etc. "Racial ethnic" refers to all people of color—African Americans, Asian Americans, American Indians, Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans, other Latinos, Middle Easterners, etc.

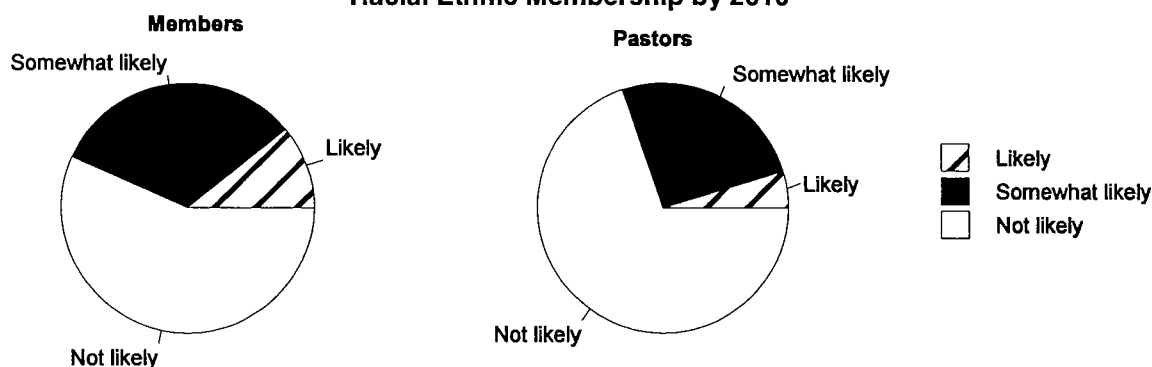
Also, note that in the PC(USA) overall, 93% of members, 92% of elders, and 92% of ministers are white, non-Hispanic. As a result, there are very few African Americans, Asian Americans, Hispanics, Native Americans, or members of other non-white racial ethnic groups in the Panel samples. The results presented are thus overwhelmingly those of white Presbyterians and should be interpreted accordingly.

- Suggested Citation:** Research Services, Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.). *Racism and Racial Justice: The Report of the November 2000 Presbyterian Panel Survey*. Louisville, KY, 2001.
- Author Note:** John P. Marcum, Administrator of the Presbyterian Panel, wrote this report and was assisted in this study by the other staff members of the office of Research Services.
- Staff of Research Services:** Keith M. Wulff, Coordinator; Deborah Bruce; Charlene Briggs; Rebecca Farnham; Charisse LeMaster; John Marcum; Amy Noh; Ida Smith-Williams; Janice Spang; Jamie Spence; Cynthia Woolever.
- Sponsor:** This survey was requested by the Office of Racial Ethnic Ministries of the National Ministries Division, General Assembly Council, Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.). For more information on Racial Ethnic Ministries in the PC(USA), contact Helen Locklear (888-728-7228 ext. 5696 or helenl@ctr.pcusa.org).
- Additional Copies:** Additional copies of this *Report* may be purchased for \$5 from PDS—call 800-524-2612 and request item number 65100-00267. Copies of a four-page *Summary* of results are available for \$1.50 each directly from Research Services. Call for information on quantity discounts (888-728-7228 ext. 2040).
- Panel on the Web:** A catalogue of Panel topics and *Summaries* of recent surveys are available on-line at the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) web site: <http://www.pcusa.org/rs/rshtml.htm>. Scroll down and click on "Presbyterian Panel."

Membership Goal

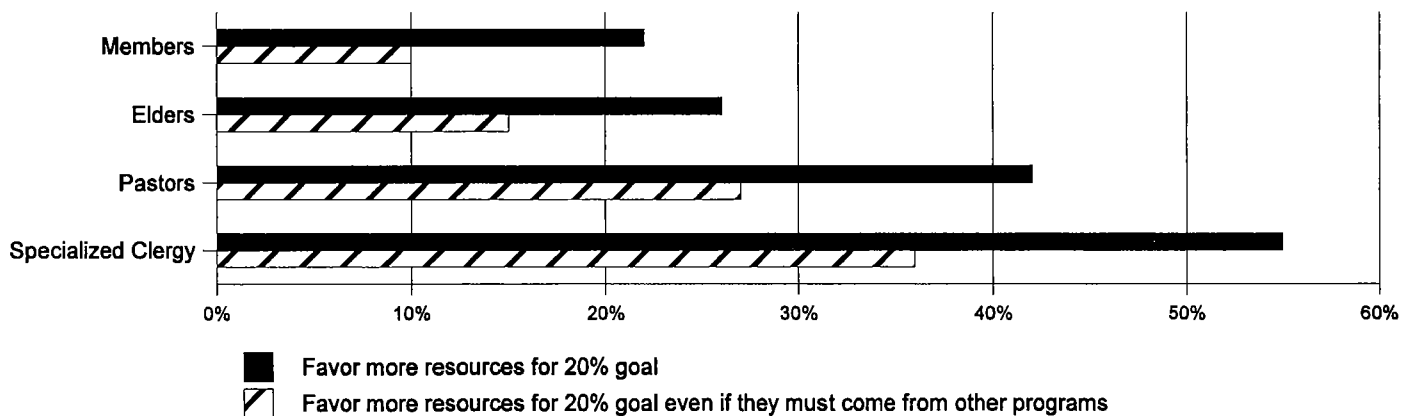
- ✓ Two-thirds of pastors (66%) but only 8% of members and 16% of elders are aware of the denominational goal of increasing racial ethnic membership to 20% of the total by 2010.
- ✓ Half of members and majorities of elders (54%), pastors (67%), and specialized clergy (72%) believe that the goal of 20% racial ethnic membership by 2010 is *not too likely* or *not at all likely* to be attained.

Figure 1
Opinions on Likelihood of Achieving 20% Racial Ethnic Membership by 2010



- ✓ Panelists are divided on using “significantly more money and resources” to try to reach the 20% racial ethnic membership goal. More members oppose (46%) than favor (22%) such expenditures, while the reverse is true among pastors (42% favor more expenditures, while 32% oppose them). However, in both groups a sizable minority respond *not sure* (members, 33%; pastors, 27%).
- ✓ Support for increasing expenditures to further the 20% racial ethnic membership goal declines sharply when such funds would come from other PC(USA) programs. Only 10% of members, 15% of elders, 27% of pastors, and 36% of specialized clergy favor reallocating resources for this purpose.
- ✓ Despite this hesitancy, majorities in all Panel groups *strongly disagree* or *disagree* that “the PC(USA) . . . should quit wasting time trying to attract more racial ethnic people” (e.g., members, 71%; pastors, 86%). Similarly, by margins of 2 to 1, more panelists *strongly disagree* or *disagree* than *strongly agree* or *agree* that “attracting more racial ethnic members is the only way the PC(USA) will reverse its long-term membership decline.”

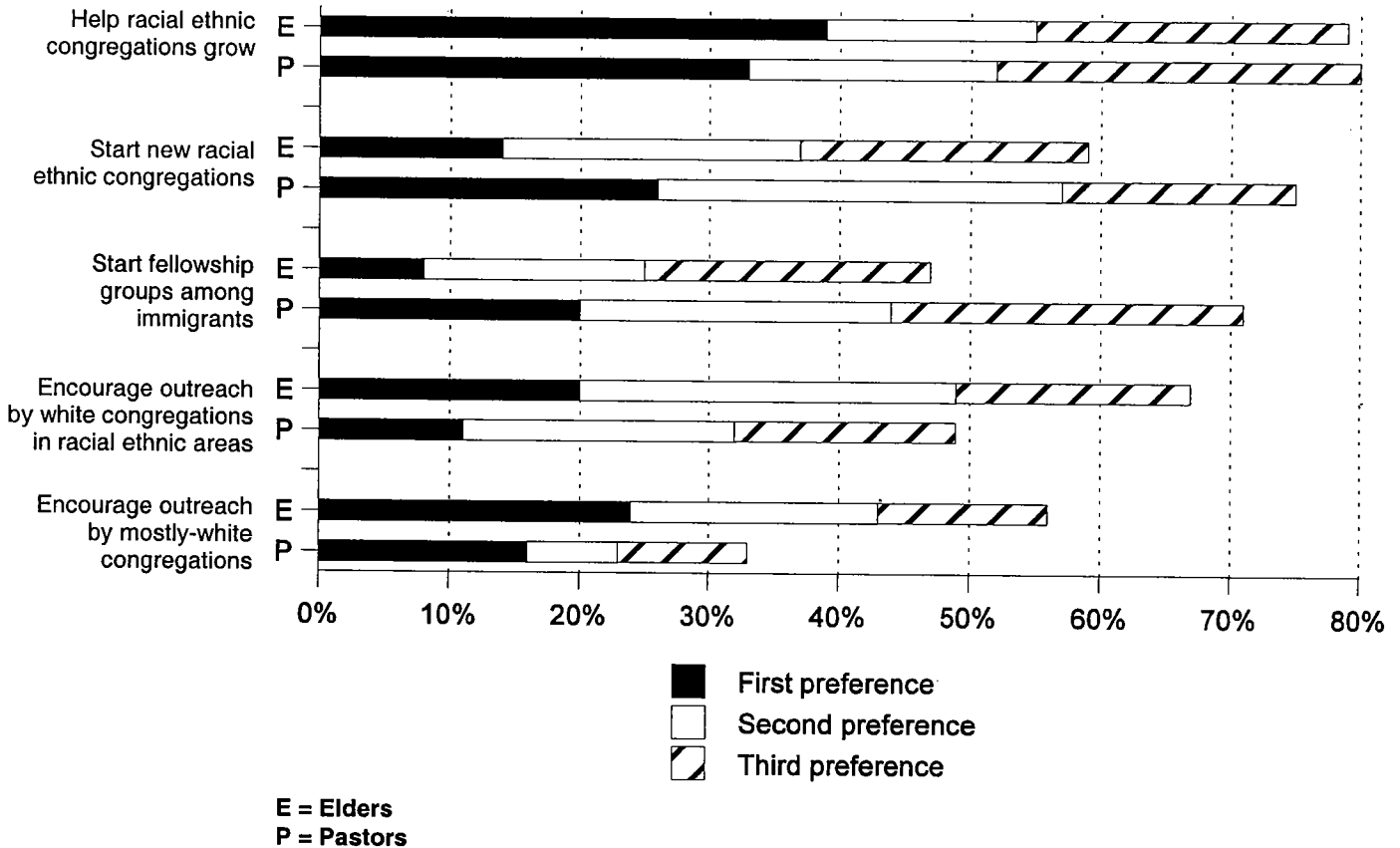
Figure 2
Support for Committing More PC(USA) Resources to Achieving 20% Racial Ethnic Membership by 2010



Strategies for Racial Ethnic Growth

- ✓ In all samples, the *most preferred* means for increasing the percentage of PC(USA) members who are racial ethnic is to “help existing racial ethnic congregations to grow.” This approach is the most favored one by a third or more in all groups, ranging from 33% of pastors to 39% of elders.

**Figure 3
Preferences for Strategies to Increase
Racial Ethnic Membership in PC(USA)**



- ✓ The racial ethnic growth strategy most favored by the next largest group of lay panelists is “encouraging white congregations, wherever located, to make greater efforts to reach out to racial ethnic persons”: 26% of members and 24% of elders rank this strategy at the top of their lists. Among ministers the second most favored strategy is “starting new churches in established racial ethnic communities and neighborhoods” (26% of pastors and 21% of specialized clergy *most prefer* this strategy).
- ✓ Among all groups, the *least preferred* strategy for racial ethnic growth is “encouraging white congregations, wherever located, to make greater efforts to reach out to racial ethnic persons.” Almost a third of members (30%) and elders (32%) and half of pastors (48%) *least prefer* this approach.

CONGREGATIONAL ISSUES

Activities

- ✓ Three-fourths of pastors (77%) report that at least one sermon on racial justice issues was preached in their congregation during the previous year. Most report one or two sermons on this topic; overall, 30% of pastors report three or more sermons on racial justice issues.
- ✓ Almost two in three pastors (64%) report that, in the past year, their congregation had one or more guest preachers of a different racial ethnic group than the majority of the members. Typically, congregations had such guest preachers for only one or two Sundays.
- ✓ Less commonly, pastors (39%) report joint worship services with another congregation whose members are mostly of a different racial ethnic background.
- ✓ Majorities of pastors (51%) report one or more educational programs on racism or racial justice in the prior year.

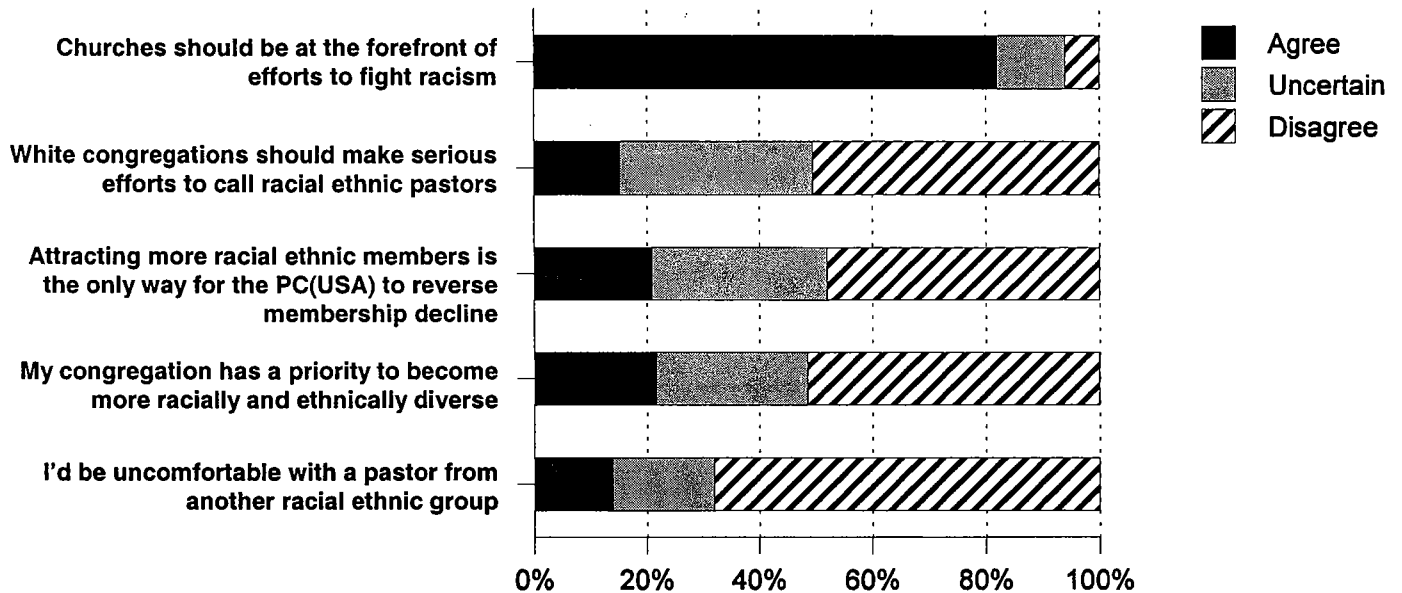
Calling a Pastor

- ✓ Few panelists report that their congregation made “a special effort to identify candidates whose racial ethnic backgrounds differ from those of most members” when it last called a pastor. Such efforts are reported by 8% of elders and 16% of pastors.
- ✓ Nevertheless, only a few panelists, ranging from 8% of specialized clergy to 17% of members, *strongly agree* or *agree* that they’d “be uncomfortable with a pastor from a different racial ethnic background” than their own. Majorities in all groups, in fact, *strongly disagree* or *disagree*. A fifth of members and elders (but only 7% of both clergy groups) are *uncertain*.
- ✓ And yet, only 12% of members, 15% of elders, and 26% of pastors *strongly agree* or *agree* that “predominantly white congregations should make serious efforts to hire pastors who come from other racial ethnic groups.”

Current and Preferred Membership

- ✓ 29% of pastors, 21% of elders, and 18% of members *strongly agree* or *agree* that their “congregation has made it a priority to become more racially and ethnically diverse.” Majorities of elders (52%) and pastors (57%) and 43% of members *strongly disagree* or *disagree*.
- ✓ If they were to move to a new community, 55% of members and 45% of elders would look for a *mostly white* church to join. One in five members (21%) and one in four elders (27%) would look for a *mixed half and half* congregation, but only 1% and 2%, respectively, would look for a *mostly racial ethnic* one. A quarter in both samples are *not sure* what racial ethnic mix they would prefer.
- ✓ Four in ten pastors would prefer a congregation with a *mixed half and half* racial ethnic composition for their next call. Another three in ten want one that is *mostly white*. Only 3% want a congregation that is *mostly racial ethnic*. 28% are *not sure*.
- ✓ Similarly, majorities of laity (members, 57%; elders, 51%) would prefer to live in a *mostly white* neighborhood, while majorities of pastors (56%) and specialized clergy (67%) would prefer a neighborhood that is *mixed half and half*.

Figure 4
Elders' Opinions on Racial Ethnic
Issues and the Church



Opinions on Other Church-Related Issues

- ✓ Large majorities *strongly agree* or *agree* that “churches should be at the forefront of our society’s efforts against racism.” The range is from 81% (members) to 95% (pastors).
- ✓ By margins of more than three to one in every group, more panelists *strongly agree* or *agree* than *strongly disagree* or *disagree* that “congregations will become truly racially and ethnically diverse only when the neighborhoods where they are located become racially and ethnically diverse.”
- ✓ Large majorities of two-thirds or more *strongly agree* or *agree* that “when immigrants don’t speak English, it’s okay . . . for them to form separate congregations and fellowships where they can worship in their native language.” Slightly smaller majorities (members, 57%; pastors, 74%) *strongly disagree* or *disagree* that “creating congregations that are racially and ethnically integrated is so important that immigrants who are Presbyterians, even those who speak no English, should be discouraged from setting up racially- or ethnically-specific congregations.”
- ✓ Majorities in all groups, ranging from 62% of members to 79% of specialized clergy, *strongly agree* or *agree* that “congregations will become truly racially and ethnically diverse only by effectively dealing with racism.”

SOCIAL ISSUES

Immigration: Opinions

- ✓ Large majorities in all Panel groups, ranging from 64% of members to 93% of specialized clergy, oppose a law to “stop all legal immigration into the U.S.” over the next five years. At the same time, more members would like to see the number of legal immigrants *decreased* (29%) than *increased* (4%), while the reverse is true for pastors—2% favor *increased* immigration and 8%, *decreased*. In both samples, another third want legal immigration *kept at the present level* and the rest, also around a third, are *not sure*.
- ✓ Majorities of members (78%) and elders (71%) want “the federal government to do significantly more to stop illegal . . . immigration[.]” Ministers are more divided: more pastors favor (46%) than oppose (36%) such action, but the reverse is true among specialized clergy (39% favor and 45% oppose).
- ✓ Majorities of pastors (62%) and specialized clergy (66%) favor a law that would grant amnesty to illegal immigrants already in the United States, but more members oppose (44%) than favor (29%) such a law. Elders are evenly split, with 36% in favor of an amnesty law and 35% opposed.
- ✓ More panelists, especially ministers, have positive than negative views of the contributions immigrants make to U.S. society. More than two-thirds in every Panel group believe that *immigrants mostly take low-paying jobs U.S. citizens don’t want*, and around one-half of members (49%) and majorities of the other groups (elders, 57%; pastors, 81%) believe that *immigrants become productive citizens and pay their fair share of taxes*.
- ✓ Similarly, around half of members (49%) and majorities of elders (58%), pastors (73%), and specialized clergy (72%) express the opinion that *immigrants mostly help the economy by providing low-cost labor*.

Immigration: Numbers

- ✓ A majority of specialized clergy (57%) and more than four in ten in the other samples choose the option *many* to describe the number of recent immigrants who live in their area. Most of the rest choose *some*.
- ✓ Table 1 shows the median estimates of the percentage of immigrants coming to the United States from broad regions of the world. The panelists’ estimates are broadly similar to the actual trends, although they tend to overstate the proportions coming from the smallest contributors (Canada and Africa) and understate the proportions coming from the greatest contributors (Asia and Latin America).

Table 1
Actual and Estimated Immigration to the United States from Broad Regions of the World

| | Actual (1998) | Median | | | |
|-------------------|------------------|---------|--------|---------|-----------------------|
| | | Members | Elders | Pastors | Specialized Clergy |
| Africa | 6% | 10% | 10% | 10% | 10% |
| Asia | 34% | 21% | 21% | 22% | 20% |
| Canada | 2% | 10% | 10% | 10% | 10% |
| Europe | 14% | 11% | 10% | 15% | 18% |
| Latin America . . | 44% | 40% | 40% | 35% | 30% |
| Oceania | 1% | † | † | † | † |

†Not asked

Comparing Presbyterians and Other Americans

Many of the questions on immigration have been asked on recent Gallup Polls. A comparison of responses for panelists and Americans in general from Gallup is presented in Table 2. Since Gallup did not offer a *no opinion* or similar response option (recording only volunteered responses of *no opinion*), the table presents only the responses of those who expressed a definite opinion on each question, both among panelists and among Gallup respondents.

**Table 2
A Comparison of Opinions on Immigration: Panel Survey and Gallup Poll**

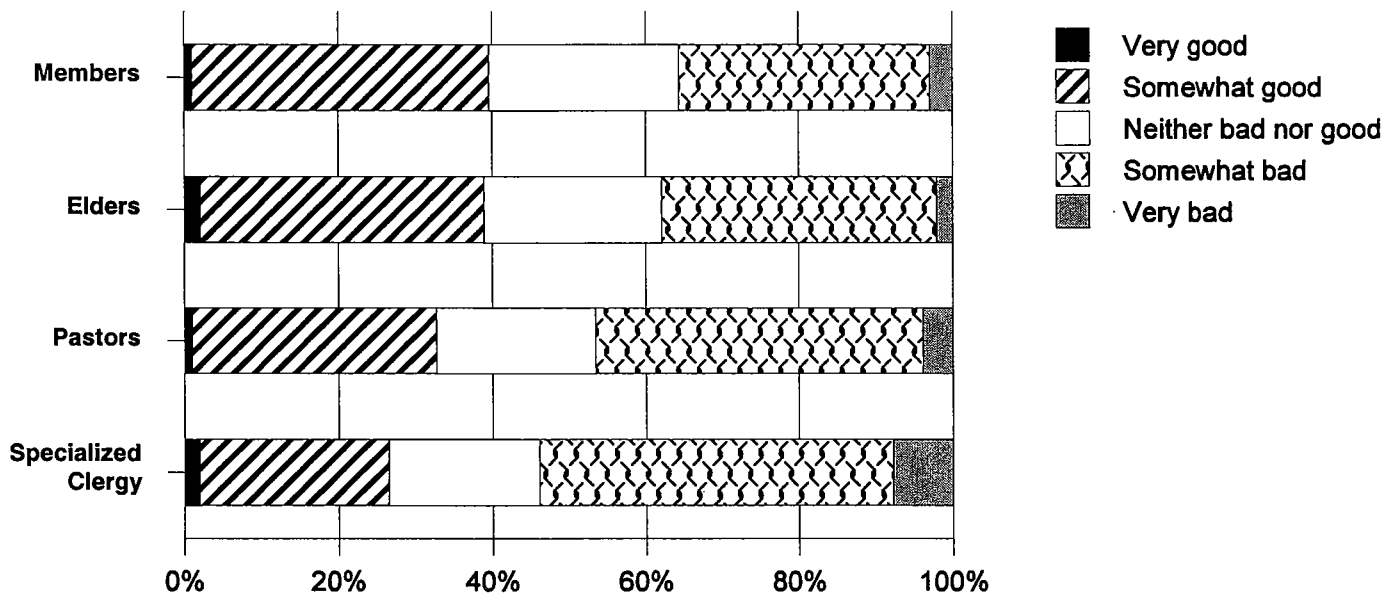
| Question (Panel wording) | Gallup | Panel | |
|---|--------|---------|---------|
| | | Members | Pastors |
| Would you vote for a law to stop almost all legal immigration into the United States for the next five years? | | | |
| yes | 46% | 21% | 4% |
| no | 54% | 79% | 96% |
| The number of immigrants allowed into the U.S. each year should be: | | | |
| increased | 14% | 6% | 35% |
| decreased | 41% | 45% | 13% |
| kept at present level | 45% | 48% | 52% |
| Which comes closer to your view? | | | |
| immigrants become productive citizens and pay their fair share of taxes | 55% | 66% | 94% |
| immigrants cost the taxpayers too much by using government services | 45% | 34% | 6% |
| Which comes closer to your view? | | | |
| immigrants mostly take jobs that U.S. citizens want | 15% | 4% | 2% |
| immigrants mostly take low-paying jobs U.S. citizens don't want | 85% | 96% | 98% |
| How many recent immigrants would you say live in your area—people who moved to the U.S. since 1985? | | | |
| many | 17% | 43% | 48% |
| some | 21% | 28% | 31% |
| only a few | 38% | 23% | 19% |
| none | 23% | 6% | 2% |

SOCIAL ISSUES

A National Assessment

- Views are divided on the “state of relations between whites and racial ethnic persons in the U.S.” A few more members respond *very good* (1%) or *somewhat good* (38%) than *very bad* (3%) or *somewhat bad* (31%), while the opposite is true among pastors (*very good* and *somewhat good* total 33%, while *very bad* and *somewhat bad* total 45%).

Figure 5
Opinions on State of Relations between Whites and Racial Ethnic in U.S. Today



- Around half of members (53%) and elders (50%) and four in ten pastors (41%) and specialized clergy (37%) think “conditions for racial ethnic people” have *improved* in recent years. Few think relations have gotten worse, especially among laity (e.g., members, 8%); most remaining responses are *stayed about the same* (36%).
- Majorities in every group, ranging from 55% of members to 84% of specialized clergy, *strongly agree* or *agree* that “it’s good for the U.S. that its population is becoming more racially and ethnically diverse.”

Affirmative Action

- Large majorities of pastors (67%) and specialized clergy (73%) *strongly agree* or *agree* that “because of past and present discrimination it is sometimes necessary for colleges and universities to reserve openings for racial ethnic students.” Laity are more divided. Among elders, for example, 37% *strongly agree* or *agree* with this statement while 42% *strongly disagree* or *disagree*; 21% are *uncertain*.
- 47% of members and 27% of pastors believe it *very likely* or *likely* that today “a white person won’t get a job or promotion while an equally or less qualified racial ethnic person gets one instead.” 42% and 62%, respectively, believe it is *not too likely* or *not likely at all* that this will happen.

Race Relations Locally

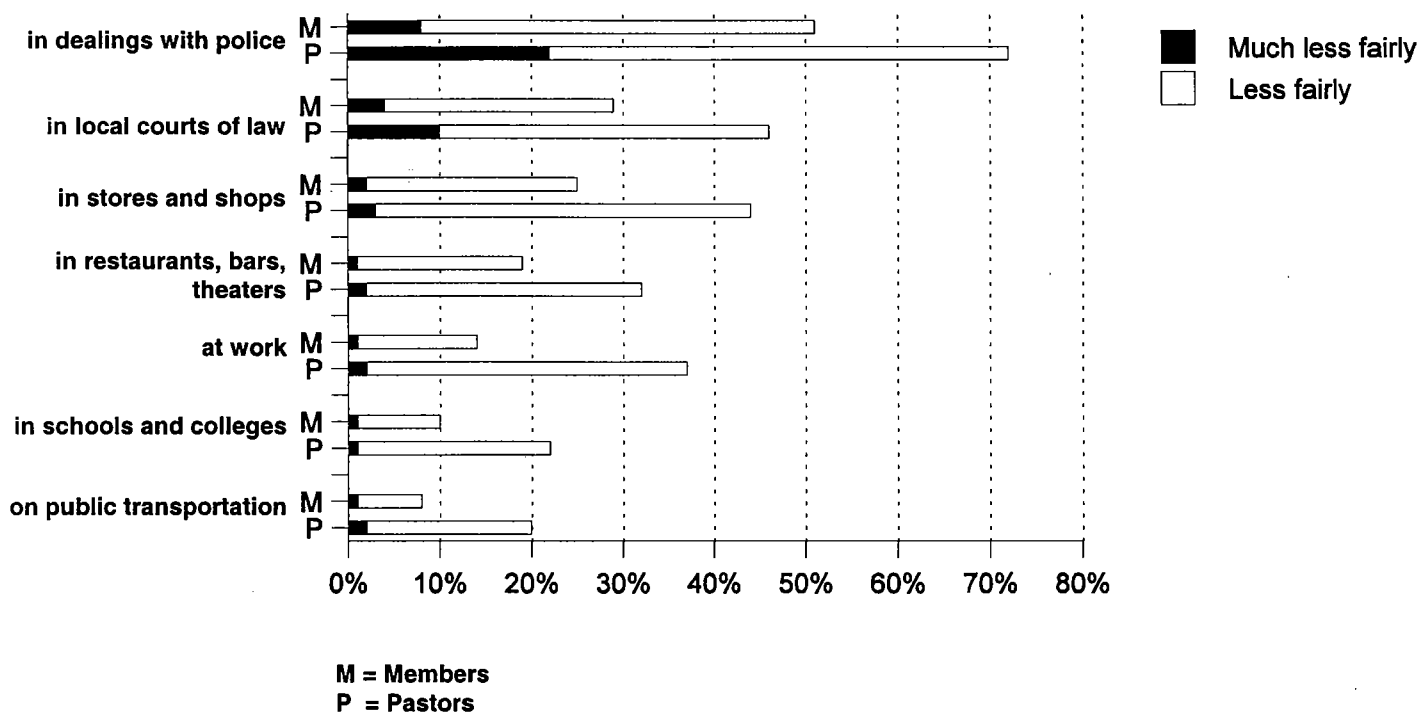
- Majorities of elders (52%), pastors (78%), and specialized clergy (79%), and 46% of members, believe that, in general, in their own communities, racial ethnic people are treated *not as well as whites*.

SOCIAL ISSUES

- ✓ Ministers are more likely than laity to see diminished opportunities for racial ethnic persons relative to whites in their local communities. Specifically, the percentage of elders and pastors who think that racial ethnic people have *as good a chance as whites* to:
 - get any kind of job for which they are qualified: elders, 49%; pastors, 28%
 - get any housing they can afford: elders, 60%; pastors, 46%
 - get a good education for their children: elders, 68%; pastors, 48%

- ✓ Similarly, more ministers than laity perceive racial ethnic persons as receiving *less fair* or *much less fair* treatment than whites do in various public situations in their community (see Figure 6). But the pattern of opinion in each group is identical: in both, the largest percentages view unfairness in “dealings with the police” and in “local courts of law,” while the smallest percentages view unfairness in educational settings and public transportation. Opinions on unfairness in retail establishments, such as shops and restaurants, are intermediate.

Figure 6
Opinions on How Fairly Racial Ethnic Persons
are Treated Compared to Whites



PERSONAL INVOLVEMENT

Communications and Activities

- ✓ In the last two years, 38% of members, 50% of elders, and 80% pastors have participated in activities or taken actions related to racial justice issues. The specific activities are listed below by frequency of participation from highest to lowest (based on members' responses). Note that the greatest participation is in relatively passive activities (educational programs, often required by employers, and giving money) while least common are the time-consuming advocacy actions—writing letters to public officials and participating in civil rights demonstrations:
 - participating in a multi-cultural awareness program (members, 24%; pastors, 60%)
 - giving money to an organization concerned with racial justice (members, 23%; pastors, 61%)
 - anti-racism training (12%; 26%)
 - volunteering time to a group working for racial justice (6%; 31%)
 - belonging to an organization working for racial justice (5%; 27%)
 - writing a letter to a public official on a racial justice issue (2%; 13%)
 - participating in a demonstration supporting civil rights for racial ethnic persons (2%; 10%)

Personal Relationships

- ✓ Almost all panelists interact once in a while with persons of other racial ethnic groups in their local community, and many do so often. In general, among members, 18% do so *very frequently*; 28%, *frequently*; 36%, *occasionally*; 17%, *rarely*; and 2%, *never*. Among specialized clergy, 32% do so *very frequently*; 27%, *frequently*; 34%, *occasionally*; and 7%, *rarely*. No specialized clergy responded *never*.
- ✓ Encounters with persons of other races and ethnicities are more common in the workplace than in church, home, or social settings. For example, 56% of members interact with persons of a different racial ethnic background at work either *very frequently* or *frequently*, while the corresponding percentage who do so at church is 20%, at home is 15%, and in other social settings, 26%.

National and Local Issues among Laity by Age, Education, and Region

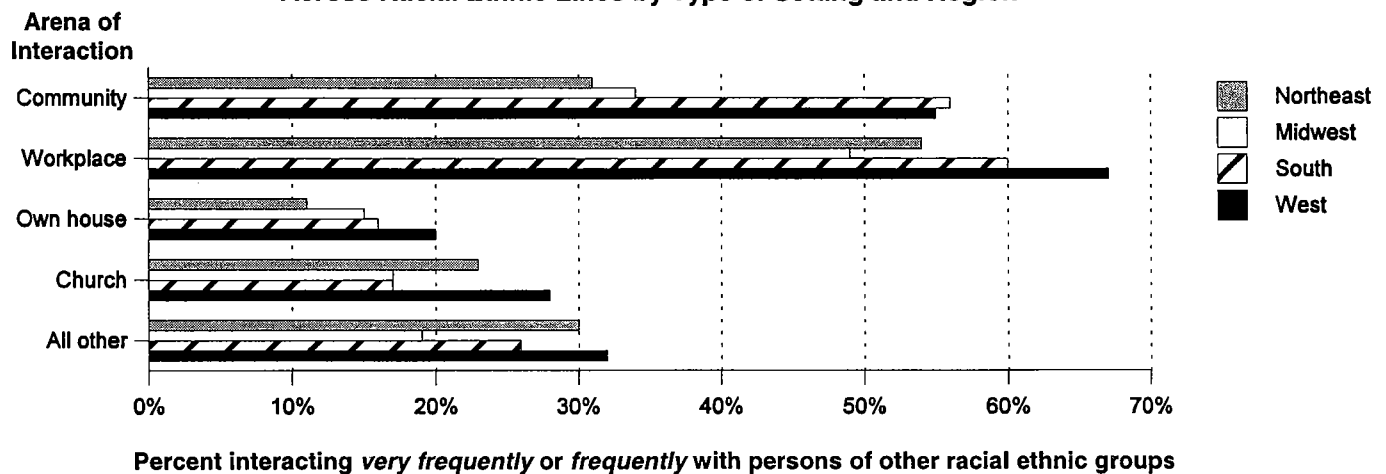
Age. On most issues, younger and older lay panelists have similar opinions. The exceptions are mainly among members. For example, younger members (54 years or less) are more likely to prefer living in *mixed half and half* or *mostly racial-ethnic* neighborhoods (34% do) than older members (21%). Also, more younger members (36%) than older members (19%) report interacting *very frequently* or *frequently* “in other social settings” with “persons of different racial or ethnic backgrounds.”

Education. Among laity, formal education shows little association with opinions on racial ethnic issues. The main exception appears on questions related to immigration, with more members and elders who have graduated from college supportive of a liberal immigration policy and believing that immigrants make positive contributions to American society. For example, among elders, 58% of those with college degrees and 69% of those with graduate degrees believe that *immigrants become productive citizens and pay their fare share of taxes*, compared to 37% of those with a high school diploma or less, and 44% of those with some college.

Region. Opinions rarely vary by region, but patterns of social interaction by race ethnicity do, as Figure 7 shows for members. In most social settings, reported rates of inter-racial and inter-ethnic interaction are greatest in the West, although the region with the lowest rates varies by type of setting.

PERSONAL INVOLVEMENT

Figure 7
Frequency of Social Interaction Among Members
Across Racial Ethnic Lines by Type of Setting and Region



Discrimination and Privilege

- ✓ A third of pastors (32%) and specialized clergy (33%) but fewer members (17%) and elders (18%) have ever “experienced discrimination, harassment, violence, or prejudicial statements” because of their race ethnicity.
- ✓ 47% of pastors, 37% of specialized clergy, 16% of elders, and 13% of members report that they have at least once “observed discriminatory behavior, or harassment toward, or heard prejudicial statements about a person or group of persons in [their] congregation based on their racial or ethnic background[.]”
- ✓ A third of pastors (33%) and specialized clergy (35%) but only 6% of members and elders report that they “have ever received undeserved privileges or benefits” because of their race ethnicity.

Perceptions of Favoritism

Only a minority of panelists indicate having ever “received undeserved privileges or benefits because of [their] racial or ethnic background,” ranging from 35% among specialized clergy to 6% of members and elders. At first glance, these percentages seem absurdly low. How could so many white, non-Hispanic Americans fail to recognize that, as members of the dominant racial ethnic group, they have been favored in numerous ways?

We’ll never know with certainty, but let’s give these large majorities of laity and clergy the benefit of the doubt. Given that all clergy have graduate degrees and 62% of members are college graduates, it strains credulity to think that that many Presbyterians could be either so naive or so heavily into denial about the reality of racial advantage in contemporary times. Instead, let’s consider a couple of alternatives.

First, where the question asks, “Have you ever received undeserved benefits,” it’s possible that respondents read, “Have you ever been *aware* of receiving undeserved benefits.” Much racism is structural, and its benefits may go unnoticed and thus unappreciated by those who are the beneficiaries.

There may also be something going on here at the level of self-perceptions. Almost all of us know that racism is morally wrong, and we don’t want to think of ourselves as being bad persons. To have personally taken advantage, even once, of a status that is an accident of birth is to make us culpable in the perpetuation of racism. Who among us wants that on our conscience? Indeed, wouldn’t almost all of us like to think that we’d refuse any “undeserved privilege or benefit” were it offered to us solely because of our race or ethnicity?

How Do Opinions of Racial Ethnic Panelists Differ?

There are too few racial ethnic respondents in the Panel (members, 4%; elders, 5%; pastors, 6%; specialized clergy, 7%) for definitive, reliable comparisons with white respondents. Furthermore, we know that lay racial ethnic panelists are not typical of all racial ethnic Presbyterians in one important respect: more of them attend majority-white congregations. Still, let's take a cautious, tentative look at how the opinions of the white and racial ethnic Presbyterians compare for two Panel groups, members and pastors.

First of all, there are a lot of similarities. Racial ethnic members and pastors have similar opinions on the state of relations between racial ethnic persons and whites in the U.S. Their rankings of strategies the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) might use to increase racial ethnic membership are also similar. And opinions on immigration issues are the same for white and racial ethnic panelists in both samples.

Differences emerge when we ask panelists how fairly racial ethnic persons are treated in various social and institutional settings. In each sample, more racial ethnic than white panelists believe that racial ethnic persons are treated less fairly in almost all of the settings. Also, racial ethnic panelists are more likely to have voted for or against a candidate for public office because of the candidate's race ethnicity (pastors) or because of the candidate's stand on racial justice issues (members).

Among pastors and members, racial ethnics are neither more nor less likely than whites to be aware of the denominational goal of 20% racial ethnic membership by 2010. But among pastors, and not members, more racial ethnic than white respondents think the goal will be achieved, and more of them favor committing greater resources to its achievement.

Other issues on which racial ethnic panelists hold different opinions than white panelists in both the member and pastor samples include the following. For each, more racial ethnics than whites:

- support affirmative action in school admissions
- believe "attracting more racial ethnic members is the only way the PC(USA) will reverse its long-term membership decline"
- believe congregations will become racially and ethnically diverse only when their neighborhoods become so
- report that their congregation "has made it a priority to become more racially and ethnically diverse"

Finally, a slightly higher percentage of racial ethnic than white pastors voted for George W. Bush. Among members, the reverse is true.

VOTING

Voting and Race Ethnicity

- ✓ Only a small number of panelists (members, 5%; elders, 6%; pastors, 9%; specialized clergy, 18%) report that, in the last two years, they had “voted for or against a candidate for public office primarily because of that person’s own racial ethnic background.” As Table 3 shows, most of these panelists voted *for* rather than *against* someone on this basis.
- ✓ More panelists, but still a minority, reported voting a particular way in the last two years because of a candidate’s “stand on racial justice.” Again, more who did so reported voting *for* someone rather than *against* someone.

Table 3
Reported Voting Behavior in Prior Two Years Related to Race Ethnicity

| | | Vote in Certain Way Because of This Issue? | | | |
|--------------------------|---|--|-----------------|-----|-------------|
| | | Yes, For | Yes, Against | No | Not Sure |
| 1. Members | | | | | |
| Issue in Question | | | | | |
| | Candidate’s own race ethnicity | 5% | * | 92% | 2% |
| | Candidate’s stand on racial justice | 9% | 5% | 82% | 3% |
| 2. Pastors | | | | | |
| Issue in Question | | | | | |
| | Candidate’s own race ethnicity | 9% | * | 89% | 1% |
| | Candidate’s stand on racial justice | 25% | 8% | 61% | 3% |

* = <0.5%

The 2000 Presidential Election

- ✓ Almost all panelists—96% or more in each group—report that they voted in the 2000 Presidential election.
- ✓ The pattern of voting varies by group, with a majority of members (63%) and elders (57%) reporting that they voted for George W. Bush, and a majority of pastors (61%) and specialized clergy (73%) reporting that they voted for Al Gore.

Table 4
2000 Election Choice

| Presidential Choice | Panel Sample | | | |
|------------------------|--------------|--------|---------|-----------------------|
| | Members | Elders | Pastors | Specialized Clergy |
| Bush | 63% | 57% | 35% | 21% |
| Gore | 35% | 40% | 61% | 73% |
| Other | 2% | 3% | 3% | 6% |

Faith and the 2000 Election

National post-election surveys have shown a strong association between religious preferences and candidate choice. Whites, especially those who attend worship frequently, strongly favored Bush. The only groups that reported casting more votes for Gore were Jews, and Catholics who attend worship less frequently.

Panel members and elders, as already noted, also favored Bush by sizeable margins. Curiously, however, reported worship attendance has no effect on Panel responses to this question. This finding probably stems from a sampling difference: the Panel groups are sampled only from populations who definitely belong to a church, narrowing the possible variation in church attendance. The national survey, drawn from the entire population, includes a broader range of people, even within the mainline segment. Many respondents in the national survey who gave a religious preference no longer belong to any church and attend rarely or never.

Table 5
Reported 2000 Presidential Vote: White Panel Members and Elders
Compared to White Protestants in a Survey of the U.S. Population‡

| | Candidate | |
|--|-----------|------|
| | Bush | Gore |
| White Evangelical Protestants | | |
| Regular worship attenders | 84% | 16% |
| Less regular worship attenders | 55% | 45% |
| White Mainline Protestants | | |
| Regular worship attenders | 66% | 34% |
| Less regular worship attenders | 57% | 43% |
| Panel Members | | |
| Regular worship attenders | 62% | 38% |
| Less regular worship attenders | 65% | 35% |
| Panel Elders | | |
| Regular worship attenders | 64% | 36% |
| Less regular worship attenders | 60% | 40% |

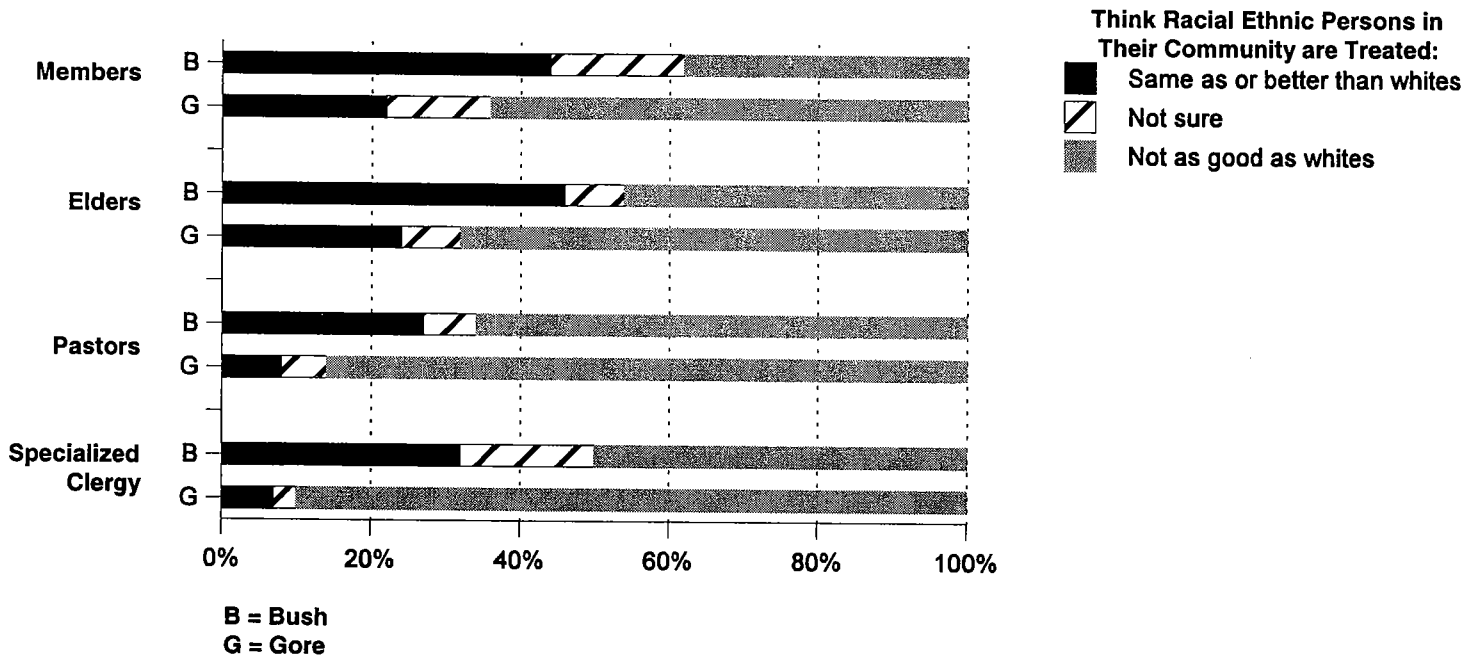
‡Survey conducted by the University of Akron Survey Research Center for the Ethics and Public Policy Center, November 10 - December 15, 2000. See John C. Green, James L. Guth, Lyman A. Kellstedt, and Corwin E. Smidt, "Faith in the Vote: Religiosity and the Presidential Election," *Public Perspective*, March/April 2001, pp. 33-35.

Regular attenders = weekly or more often
 Less regular attenders = less than weekly

- ✓ Opinions on most issues concerning racial and ethnic relations in the United States and in local communities vary by reported presidential vote, with more of the panelists who voted for Al Gore indicating pessimistic evaluations. Figure 8 shows the pattern of response for the question on how racial ethnic persons are treated in the panelist's local community.

VOTING

Figure 8
Opinions on how Racial Ethnic Persons are Treated in their Local Community Relative to Whites, by 2000 Presidential Vote



THE PRESBYTERIAN PANEL

RACISM AND RACIAL JUSTICE – THE NOVEMBER 2000 SURVEY

APPENDIX

| | Members | Elders | Ministers |
|---|---------|--------|-----------|
| Number of questionnaires mailed | 1,154 | 1,089 | 1,467 |
| Number of questionnaires returned | 592 | 605 | 895 * |
| Percent returned | 51% | 55% | 61% |

*Of the minister surveys, 697 are from pastors; 198 are from specialized clergy

Note: "White" refers to persons of European ancestry—people from England, Scotland, Ireland, Germany, France, Italy, Sweden, Poland, etc. "Racial ethnic" refers to all people of color—African Americans, Asian Americans, American Indians, Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans, other Latinos, Middle Easterners, etc.

Current Issues in Society

Q-1. How would you rate the state of relations between whites and racial ethnic persons in the U. S. these days?

| | Members | Elders | Pastors | Specialized Clergy |
|--------------------------------|---------|--------|---------|-----------------------|
| very good | 1% | 2% | 1% | 2% |
| somewhat good | 38% | 38% | 32% | 26% |
| neither bad nor good | 25% | 22% | 21% | 19% |
| somewhat bad | 31% | 34% | 41% | 45% |
| very bad | 3% | 2% | 4% | 9% |
| not sure | 2% | 1% | 1% | 1% |

Q-2. In the past few years, do you think conditions for racial ethnic people have improved, gotten worse, or stayed about the same?

| | | | | |
|---------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| improved | 53% | 50% | 41% | 37% |
| gotten worse | 8% | 6% | 12% | 18% |
| stayed about the same | 36% | 42% | 44% | 43% |
| not sure | 2% | 1% | 3% | 2% |

Q-3. Compared to whites, how well do you think racial ethnic people are treated in your local community?

| | | | | |
|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| the same as or better than whites | 37% | 39% | 16% | 15% |
| not as well as whites | 46% | 52% | 78% | 79% |
| not sure | 17% | 9% | 6% | 6% |

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

| | Members | Elders | Pastors | Specialized Clergy |
|--|---------|--------|---------|--------------------|
| Q-4. In general, do you think racial ethnic people have as good a chance as whites in your community to get any kind of job for which they are qualified? | | | | |
| as good (or better) a chance as whites | 51% | 49% | 28% | 26% |
| not as good a chance as whites | 36% | 39% | 63% | 65% |
| not sure | 14% | 12% | 8% | 9% |
| Q-5. In general, do you think racial ethnic children have as good a chance as white children in your community to get a good education? | | | | |
| as good (or better) a chance as white children | 73% | 68% | 48% | 36% |
| not as good a chance as white children | 22% | 26% | 46% | 58% |
| not sure | 6% | 6% | 6% | 5% |
| Q-6. Again, in general, do you think that racial ethnic people have as good a chance as whites in your community to get any housing they can afford? | | | | |
| as good (or better) a chance as whites | 61% | 60% | 46% | 36% |
| not as good a chance as whites | 28% | 30% | 46% | 57% |
| not sure | 11% | 10% | 8% | 7% |
| Q-7. What sort of neighborhood would you prefer to live in? | | | | |
| mostly white | 57% | 51% | 26% | 23% |
| mostly racial ethnic | 2% | 2% | 3% | 3% |
| mixed half and half | 25% | 28% | 56% | 67% |
| not sure | 17% | 19% | 15% | 7% |
| Q-8. What do you think the chances are these days that a white person won't get a job or promotion while an equally or less qualified racial ethnic person gets one instead? | | | | |
| very likely | 13% | 8% | 4% | 3% |
| likely | 34% | 36% | 23% | 22% |
| not too likely | 40% | 42% | 58% | 60% |
| not at all likely | 2% | 4% | 4% | 7% |
| not sure | 11% | 11% | 11% | 8% |
| Q-9. What is your impression of the way racial ethnic people in your local community are treated in the following situations? | | | | |
| a. on the job or at work | | | | |
| treated much less fairly | — | 1% | 2% | 1% |
| treated less fairly | 13% | 13% | 35% | 38% |
| treated the same as whites | 68% | 68% | 52% | 55% |
| treated better than whites | 6% | 5% | 2% | 1% |
| not sure | 13% | 12% | 9% | 6% |

* = less than 0.5%; rounds to zero

— = zero (0.0%); no cases in this category

n = number of respondents eligible to answer this question

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◆ = percentages may add to more than 100 because respondents could make more than one response

Q-9. What is your impression of the way racial ethnic people in your local community are treated in the following situations?
(Cont.)

b. on public transportation

| | | | |
|--|-----|-----|-----|
| treated much less fairly * | 1% | 2% | 3% |
| treated less fairly 6% | 7% | 18% | 20% |
| treated the same as whites 76% | 76% | 66% | 63% |
| treated better than whites 2% | 2% | 2% | 2% |
| not sure 17% | 16% | 13% | 13% |

c. in stores and shops

| | | | |
|--|-----|-----|-----|
| treated much less fairly 1% | 2% | 3% | 4% |
| treated less fairly 24% | 23% | 41% | 46% |
| treated the same as whites 69% | 70% | 51% | 44% |
| treated better than whites 1% | 1% | 1% | 1% |
| not sure 5% | 4% | 4% | 5% |

d. in stores downtown or in a shopping mall

| | | | |
|--|-----|-----|-----|
| treated much less fairly 1% | 2% | 3% | 6% |
| treated less fairly 22% | 22% | 38% | 42% |
| treated the same as whites 69% | 69% | 53% | 44% |
| treated better than whites 1% | 1% | 1% | 1% |
| not sure 7% | 6% | 6% | 8% |

e. in restaurants, bars, theaters, or other entertainment places

| | | | |
|--|-----|-----|-----|
| treated much less fairly 1% | 1% | 2% | 4% |
| treated less fairly 18% | 18% | 30% | 30% |
| treated the same as whites 70% | 74% | 63% | 58% |
| treated better than whites 1% | 1% | * | — |
| not sure 10% | 7% | 5% | 8% |

f. in dealings with the police

| | | | |
|--|-----|-----|-----|
| treated much less fairly 8% | 8% | 22% | 26% |
| treated less fairly 40% | 43% | 50% | 56% |
| treated the same as whites 30% | 29% | 20% | 12% |
| treated better than whites 2% | 1% | 1% | — |
| not sure 20% | 19% | 7% | 7% |

g. in local courts of law

| | | | |
|--|-----|-----|-----|
| treated much less fairly 3% | 4% | 10% | 13% |
| treated less fairly 21% | 25% | 36% | 41% |
| treated the same as whites 49% | 50% | 42% | 32% |
| treated better than whites 4% | 2% | 2% | 2% |
| not sure 23% | 19% | 10% | 13% |

h. in schools and colleges

| | | | |
|--|-----|-----|-----|
| treated much less fairly 1% | 1% | 1% | 2% |
| treated less fairly 8% | 9% | 21% | 29% |
| treated the same as whites 70% | 67% | 63% | 57% |
| treated better than whites 13% | 16% | 8% | 6% |
| not sure 9% | 7% | 7% | 7% |

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

Issues in the Church

Q-10. In the last two years, how often has your congregation . . .

| | | | | |
|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| a. heard a sermon preached on racial justice issues? | | | | |
| 6 or more times | 2% | 3% | 7% | 12% |
| 3-5 times | 11% | 13% | 22% | 18% |
| once or twice | 33% | 39% | 48% | 39% |
| never | 24% | 25% | 18% | 18% |
| not sure | 30% | 20% | 5% | 14% |
| b. held a study group, church school class, or other educational program on racism and racial justice? | | | | |
| 6 or more times | 1% | 2% | 3% | 6% |
| 3-5 times | 7% | 6% | 10% | 13% |
| once or twice | 18% | 24% | 37% | 31% |
| never | 38% | 44% | 44% | 33% |
| not sure | 37% | 24% | 6% | 17% |
| c. had a guest preacher whose racial ethnic identity differs from the majority of members in your congregation? | | | | |
| 6 or more times | 2% | 2% | 4% | 5% |
| 3-5 times | 12% | 12% | 13% | 12% |
| once or twice | 37% | 47% | 47% | 46% |
| never | 33% | 32% | 33% | 25% |
| not sure | 16% | 6% | 3% | 13% |
| d. worshiped jointly with another congregation whose members are mostly of a different racial ethnic background than most members in your congregation? | | | | |
| 6 or more times | 2% | 2% | 2% | — |
| 3-5 times | 7% | 7% | 10% | 10% |
| once or twice | 24% | 29% | 27% | 30% |
| never | 52% | 56% | 57% | 50% |
| not sure | 15% | 6% | 4% | 11% |

Q-11. When your congregation last called a pastor, did it make a special effort to identify candidates whose racial ethnic backgrounds differ from those of most members?

| | | | | |
|--------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| yes | 5% | 8% | 16% | 14% |
| no | 33% | 46% | 37% | 35% |
| not sure | 63% | 46% | 47% | 50% |

Q-12. In 1996, the PC(USA) General Assembly approved the goal of increasing racial ethnic membership to 20% of the denominational total by 2010. Were you previously aware of this goal for the PC(USA)?

| | | | | |
|---------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| yes | 8% | 16% | 66% | 54% |
| no | 92% | 84% | 34% | 46% |

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

Q-13. How likely is it that the goal will be achieved, in your opinion? [Note: Currently racial ethnic persons are 6% of the membership.]

| | | | | |
|----------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| very likely | 2% | 1% | 1% | 2% |
| likely | 8% | 6% | 4% | 3% |
| only somewhat likely | 29% | 33% | 26% | 22% |
| not too likely | 39% | 40% | 42% | 47% |
| not at all likely | 11% | 14% | 25% | 25% |
| not sure | 11% | 7% | 1% | 2% |

Q-14. Would you favor the PC(USA) contributing significantly more money and resources toward reaching this goal?

| | | | | |
|----------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| yes | 22% | 26% | 42% | 55% |
| no | 46% | 41% | 32% | 24% |
| not sure | 33% | 32% | 27% | 20% |

Q-15. Would you continue to favor a significant increase in money and resources for this goal even if it meant taking resources away from other PC(USA) programs?

| | | | | |
|----------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| yes | 10% | 15% | 27% | 36% |
| no | 62% | 57% | 43% | 39% |
| not sure | 28% | 28% | 30% | 25% |

Q-16. On a scale of 5 (highest) to 1 (lowest), rank the five strategies below as possible ways to increase the percentage of the PC(USA) membership that is racial ethnic. Write the number 5 by the strategy you most prefer, a 4 by the strategy you next prefer, and so on, until you write a 1 by the strategy you prefer least.

| | | | | |
|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| a. helping existing racial ethnic congregations to grow | + | | | |
| (5) prefer the most | 38% | 39% | 33% | 38% |
| (4) prefer second | 17% | 16% | 19% | 22% |
| (3) prefer third | 23% | 24% | 28% | 22% |
| (2) prefer fourth | 10% | 11% | 11% | 12% |
| (1) prefer least | 11% | 9% | 9% | 7% |

| | | | | |
|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| b. starting new churches in established racial ethnic communities and neighborhoods | + | | | |
| (5) prefer the most | 13% | 14% | 26% | 21% |
| (4) prefer second | 24% | 23% | 31% | 26% |
| (3) prefer third | 18% | 22% | 18% | 20% |
| (2) prefer fourth | 25% | 28% | 14% | 20% |
| (1) prefer least | 20% | 14% | 11% | 13% |

| | | | | |
|--|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| c. starting new churches or fellowships among immigrant groups | + | | | |
| (5) prefer the most | 11% | 8% | 20% | 17% |
| (4) prefer second | 13% | 17% | 24% | 24% |
| (3) prefer third | 28% | 22% | 27% | 28% |
| (2) prefer fourth | 22% | 21% | 17% | 14% |
| (1) prefer least | 26% | 31% | 13% | 16% |

* = less than 0.5%; rounds to zero

— = zero (0.0%); no cases in this category

n = number of respondents eligible to answer this question

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

◆ = percentages may add to more than 100 because respondents could make more than one response

Q-16. On a scale of 5 (highest) to 1 (lowest), rank the five strategies below as possible ways to increase the percentage of the PC(USA) membership that is racial ethnic. Write the number 5 by the strategy you most prefer, a 4 by the strategy you next prefer, and so on, until you write a 1 by the strategy you prefer least.

| | | | | |
|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| d. working with mostly white congregations located in racial ethnic neighborhoods to help them bring in new racial ethnic members | | | | |
| | | + | | |
| (5) prefer the most | 16% | 20% | 11% | 14% |
| (4) prefer second | 31% | 29% | 21% | 20% |
| (3) prefer third | 18% | 18% | 17% | 17% |
| (2) prefer fourth | 21% | 23% | 39% | 36% |
| (1) prefer least | 14% | 10% | 12% | 12% |
| e. encouraging mostly white congregations, wherever located, to make greater efforts to reach out to racial ethnic persons | | | | |
| | | + | | |
| (5) prefer the most | 26% | 24% | 16% | 20% |
| (4) prefer second | 14% | 19% | 7% | 6% |
| (3) prefer third | 15% | 13% | 10% | 11% |
| (2) prefer fourth | 15% | 11% | 16% | 15% |
| (1) prefer least | 30% | 32% | 50% | 47% |

Personal Involvement

Q-17. In the last two years, have you personally . . .

| | | | | |
|--|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| a. written a letter to a public official expressing your views on racial justice? | | | | |
| yes | 2% | 4% | 13% | 19% |
| no | 97% | 96% | 87% | 79% |
| not sure | * | — | 1% | 2% |
| b. given money to an organization concerned with racial justice? | | | | |
| yes | 23% | 34% | 61% | 74% |
| no | 74% | 62% | 37% | 24% |
| not sure | 3% | 4% | 2% | 2% |
| c. joined an organization concerned with racial justice? | | | | |
| yes | 5% | 10% | 27% | 26% |
| no | 93% | 89% | 72% | 72% |
| not sure | 2% | 1% | 1% | 2% |
| d. participated in a racial awareness or multi-cultural diversity program? | | | | |
| yes | 24% | 32% | 60% | 67% |
| no | 74% | 67% | 39% | 30% |
| not sure | 2% | 1% | * | 2% |
| e. participated in a demonstration to support the civil rights of racial ethnic persons? | | | | |
| yes | 2% | 2% | 10% | 14% |
| no | 96% | 98% | 90% | 86% |
| not sure | 1% | * | — | 1% |

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— = zero (0.0%); no cases in this category

n = number of respondents eligible to answer this question

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

◆ = percentages may add to more than 100 because respondents could make more than one response

| | Members | Elders | Pastors | Specialized Clergy |
|---|-------------|-------------|--------------|--------------------|
| Q-17. In the last two years, have you personally . . . | | | | |
| (Cont.) | | | | |
| f. been in a class, workshop, or other formal anti-racism training? | | | | |
| yes | 12% | 16% | 26% | 41% |
| no | 87% | 83% | 74% | 58% |
| not sure | 1% | * | 1% | 1% |
| g. volunteered time to work for an organization or group working for racial justice? | | | | |
| yes | 6% | 13% | 31% | 30% |
| no | 92% | 87% | 68% | 69% |
| not sure | 2% | * | 1% | 1% |
| Q-18. In the last two years, have you voted for or against a candidate for public office primarily because of that person's own racial ethnic background? | | | | |
| yes | 5% | 6% | 9% | 18% |
| no | 93% | 92% | 89% | 80% |
| not sure | 2% | 2% | 1% | 2% |
| Q-18a. [If "yes,"] How did you vote? | | | | |
| <i>for</i> someone because of that person's racial ethnic background | n=29 96% | n=34 84% | n=63 97% | n=35 97% |
| <i>against</i> someone because of that person's racial ethnic background | 4% | 16% | 3% | 3% |
| Q-19. In the last two years, have you voted for or against a candidate for public office mainly because of his/her stand on racial justice? | | | | |
| yes | 15% | 17% | 36% | 50% |
| no | 82% | 79% | 61% | 47% |
| not sure | 3% | 4% | 3% | 3% |
| Q-19a. [If "yes,"] How did you vote? | | | | |
| <i>for</i> someone because of that person's position on racial justice | n=86 65% | n=98 69% | n=252 76% | n=97 74% |
| <i>against</i> someone because of that person's position on racial justice | 35% | 31% | 25% | 26% |
| Q-20. How often do you interact with persons of different racial or ethnic backgrounds . . . | | | | |
| a. in your local community? | | | | |
| very frequently | 18% | 18% | 27% | 32% |
| frequently | 28% | 28% | 28% | 27% |
| occasionally | 36% | 36% | 32% | 34% |
| rarely | 17% | 17% | 13% | 7% |
| never | 2% | 1% | 1% | — |

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

| | Members | Elders | Pastors | Specialized Clergy |
|---|---------|--------|---------|--------------------|
| Q-20. How often do you interact with persons of different racial or ethnic backgrounds . . . | | | | |
| (Cont.) | | | | |
| b. in your place of work? | | | | |
| very frequently | 34% | 34% | 23% | 46% |
| frequently | 22% | 24% | 22% | 26% |
| occasionally | 19% | 15% | 29% | 17% |
| rarely | 11% | 15% | 21% | 9% |
| never | 13% | 12% | 4% | 2% |
| c. in your church? | | | | |
| very frequently | 7% | 10% | 21% | 16% |
| frequently | 13% | 19% | 22% | 21% |
| occasionally | 33% | 35% | 31% | 34% |
| rarely | 36% | 28% | 22% | 25% |
| never | 11% | 8% | 4% | 4% |
| d. in your own home? | | | | |
| very frequently | 6% | 5% | 6% | 12% |
| frequently | 9% | 8% | 11% | 14% |
| occasionally | 26% | 27% | 33% | 36% |
| rarely | 36% | 42% | 39% | 28% |
| never | 23% | 18% | 11% | 10% |
| e. in other social settings? | | | | |
| very frequently | 7% | 5% | 9% | 14% |
| frequently | 19% | 20% | 24% | 27% |
| occasionally | 43% | 46% | 47% | 45% |
| rarely | 25% | 25% | 19% | 12% |
| never | 6% | 4% | 1% | 2% |
| Q-21. Have you ever received undeserved privileges or benefits because of your racial or ethnic background? | | | | |
| yes | 6% | 6% | 33% | 35% |
| no | 79% | 76% | 47% | 41% |
| not sure | 15% | 18% | 20% | 23% |
| Q-22. Have you ever experienced discrimination, harassment, violence, or prejudicial statements because of your racial or ethnic background? | | | | |
| yes | 17% | 18% | 32% | 33% |
| no | 83% | 82% | 68% | 67% |
| not sure | — | — | * | — |
| Q-23. Have you ever observed discriminatory behavior, or harassment toward, or heard prejudicial statements about a person or group of persons in your congregation based on their racial or ethnic background? | | | | |
| yes | 13% | 16% | 47% | 37% |
| no | 87% | 84% | 53% | 63% |
| not sure | — | * | * | — |

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

Members/Elders only:

Q-24. If you moved to a new community and were looking for a church to join, what racial ethnic membership would you most prefer?

| | | |
|----------------------------|-----|-----|
| | + | |
| mostly white | 55% | 45% |
| mostly racial ethnic | 1% | 2% |
| mixed half and half | 21% | 27% |
| not sure | 24% | 26% |

Skip to Q-26

Ordained ministers only:

Q-25. For your next pastoral call, what racial ethnic membership would you prefer?

| | | |
|----------------------------|-----|-----|
| | | + |
| mostly white | | 17% |
| mostly racial ethnic | | 4% |
| mixed half and half | | 50% |
| not sure | | 28% |
| | 29% | |
| | 3% | |
| | 40% | |
| | 28% | |

Go to Q-26

Other Opinions

Q-26. Do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

a. It's good for the U.S. that its population is becoming more racially and ethnically diverse

| | | | | |
|-------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| strongly agree | 16% | 18% | 38% | 48% |
| agree | 39% | 46% | 43% | 36% |
| uncertain | 29% | 27% | 16% | 11% |
| disagree | 14% | 8% | 3% | 2% |
| strongly disagree | 3% | 1% | * | 2% |

b. Because of past and present discrimination it is sometimes necessary for colleges and universities to reserve openings for racial ethnic students

| | | | | |
|-------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| strongly agree | 6% | 6% | 23% | 33% |
| agree | 31% | 29% | 44% | 40% |
| uncertain | 21% | 22% | 12% | 11% |
| disagree | 29% | 29% | 16% | 11% |
| strongly disagree | 13% | 12% | 5% | 5% |

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| | Members | Elders | Pastors | Specialized Clergy |
|--|---------|--------|---------|--------------------|
| Q-26. Do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements? (Cont.) | | | | |
| c. Attracting more racial ethnic members is the only way the PC(USA) will reverse its long-term membership decline | | | | |
| strongly agree | 2% | 6% | 5% | 10% |
| agree | 16% | 15% | 18% | 16% |
| uncertain | 34% | 31% | 22% | 25% |
| disagree | 35% | 36% | 39% | 36% |
| strongly disagree | 13% | 12% | 16% | 14% |
| d. The PC(USA) is basically white and should quit wasting time trying to attract more racial ethnic people | | | | |
| strongly agree | 2% | 2% | 1% | 2% |
| agree | 9% | 6% | 5% | 2% |
| uncertain | 17% | 13% | 9% | 9% |
| disagree | 48% | 50% | 42% | 38% |
| strongly disagree | 23% | 29% | 44% | 48% |
| e. Predominantly white congregations should make serious efforts to hire pastors who come from other racial-ethnic groups | | | | |
| strongly agree | 1% | 2% | 4% | 8% |
| agree | 11% | 13% | 22% | 27% |
| uncertain | 33% | 34% | 32% | 35% |
| disagree | 43% | 42% | 37% | 25% |
| strongly disagree | 12% | 9% | 6% | 4% |
| f. Congregations will become truly racially and ethnically diverse only by effectively dealing with racism | | | | |
| strongly agree | 12% | 17% | 21% | 33% |
| agree | 50% | 51% | 47% | 46% |
| uncertain | 22% | 18% | 14% | 11% |
| disagree | 12% | 12% | 13% | 9% |
| strongly disagree | 4% | 2% | 3% | 1% |
| g. Congregations will become truly racially and ethnically diverse only when the neighborhoods where they are located become racially and ethnically diverse | | | | |
| strongly agree | 7% | 10% | 9% | 12% |
| agree | 46% | 48% | 48% | 44% |
| uncertain | 25% | 22% | 20% | 15% |
| disagree | 19% | 18% | 21% | 25% |
| strongly disagree | 3% | 2% | 2% | 4% |
| h. My congregation has made it a priority to become more racially and ethnically diverse | | | | |
| strongly agree | 2% | 2% | 6% | 6% |
| agree | 16% | 19% | 23% | 24% |
| uncertain | 39% | 27% | 14% | 25% |
| disagree | 35% | 42% | 47% | 35% |
| strongly disagree | 8% | 10% | 10% | 9% |

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Q-26. Do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?
(Cont.)

| | | | | |
|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| i. When immigrants don't speak English, it's okay with me for them to form separate congregations and fellowships where they can worship in their native language | | | | |
| strongly agree | 14% | 10% | 16% | 21% |
| agree | 56% | 58% | 65% | 60% |
| uncertain | 13% | 16% | 12% | 11% |
| disagree | 11% | 12% | 5% | 7% |
| strongly disagree | 6% | 3% | 1% | 2% |
| j. Creating congregations that are racially and ethnically integrated is so important that immigrants who are Presbyterians, even those who speak no English, should be discouraged from setting up racially or ethnically-specific congregations | | | | |
| strongly agree | 2% | 2% | 2% | 2% |
| agree | 12% | 14% | 6% | 6% |
| uncertain | 28% | 26% | 18% | 17% |
| disagree | 45% | 46% | 55% | 55% |
| strongly disagree | 12% | 12% | 19% | 20% |
| k. Churches should be at the forefront of our society's efforts against racism | | | | |
| strongly agree | 28% | 34% | 53% | 63% |
| agree | 53% | 48% | 42% | 30% |
| uncertain | 12% | 13% | 2% | 6% |
| disagree | 5% | 5% | 2% | 1% |
| strongly disagree | 1% | 1% | * | — |
| l. I'd be uncomfortable with a pastor from a different racial ethnic background than my own | | | | |
| strongly agree | 3% | 4% | 4% | 3% |
| agree | 12% | 10% | 5% | 6% |
| uncertain | 22% | 18% | 7% | 7% |
| disagree | 39% | 44% | 41% | 35% |
| strongly disagree | 23% | 24% | 44% | 49% |

Immigration

Q-27. Would you vote for a law to stop almost all legal immigration into the United States for the next five years?

| | | | | |
|----------|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| yes | 17% | 11% | 4% | 4% |
| no | 64% | 75% | 90% | 93% |
| not sure | 18% | 14% | 6% | 4% |

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| | Members | Elders | Pastors | Specialized Clergy |
|--|---------|--------|---------|--------------------|
| Q-28. Would you like to see the federal government do significantly more to stop illegal (undocumented) immigration to the U.S.? | | | | |
| yes | 78% | 71% | 46% | 39% |
| no | 9% | 13% | 36% | 45% |
| not sure | 13% | 16% | 19% | 16% |
| Q-29. The number of immigrants allowed into the U.S. each year should be: (Check only <i>one</i> .) | | | | |
| increased | 4% | 6% | 22% | 29% |
| decreased | 29% | 21% | 8% | 11% |
| kept at present level | 31% | 35% | 33% | 31% |
| not sure | 36% | 38% | 37% | 29% |
| Q-30. What percent of all immigrants into the U.S. do you think are coming from each of the following areas? | | | | |
| a. Africa | | | | |
| none or left blank | 39% | 30% | 26% | 26% |
| 1% - 10% | 41% | 47% | 43% | 41% |
| 11% - 25% | 17% | 19% | 29% | 30% |
| 26% - 50% | 3% | 3% | 3% | 2% |
| 51% or more | — | * | — | 1% |
| b. Asia | | | | |
| none or left blank | 36% | 28% | 24% | 26% |
| 1% - 10% | 10% | 13% | 9% | 9% |
| 11% - 25% | 29% | 31% | 40% | 41% |
| 26% - 50% | 23% | 26% | 25% | 24% |
| 51% or more | 1% | 2% | 1% | — |
| c. Canada | | | | |
| none or left blank | 40% | 33% | 27% | 30% |
| 1% - 10% | 46% | 53% | 56% | 50% |
| 11% - 25% | 11% | 12% | 14% | 18% |
| 26% - 50% | 3% | 2% | 3% | 2% |
| 51% or more | — | * | — | — |
| d. Europe | | | | |
| none or left blank | 38% | 30% | 26% | 27% |
| 1% - 10% | 31% | 35% | 34% | 27% |
| 11% - 25% | 24% | 27% | 28% | 31% |
| 26% - 50% | 7% | 7% | 12% | 14% |
| 51% or more | * | * | 1% | 2% |
| e. Latin America | | | | |
| none or left blank | 36% | 27% | 24% | 25% |
| 1% - 10% | 2% | 4% | 3% | 4% |
| 11% - 25% | 10% | 13% | 19% | 24% |
| 26% - 50% | 39% | 38% | 44% | 39% |
| 51% or more | 12% | 18% | 10% | 8% |

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| | Members | Elders | Pastors | Specialized Clergy |
|--|---------|--------|---------|--------------------|
| Q-31. Which comes closer to your view? | | | | |
| immigrants become productive citizens and pay their fair share of taxes | 48% | 57% | 81% | 85% |
| immigrants cost the taxpayers too much by using government services | 25% | 18% | 5% | 6% |
| not sure | 26% | 25% | 15% | 9% |
| Q-32. Which comes closer to your view? | | | | |
| immigrants mostly take jobs that U.S. citizens want | 3% | 3% | 2% | 2% |
| immigrants mostly take low-paying jobs U.S. citizens don't want | 72% | 76% | 83% | 88% |
| not sure | 25% | 22% | 15% | 11% |
| Q-33. Which comes closer to your view? | | | | |
| immigrants mostly help the economy by providing low-cost labor | 49% | 58% | 73% | 72% |
| immigrants mostly hurt the economy by driving wages down for many Americans | 10% | 6% | 2% | 6% |
| not sure | 41% | 36% | 25% | 22% |
| Q-34. Would you favor a law to grant amnesty to undocumented immigrants already in the U.S., allowing them to stay here legally and apply for permanent residency? | | | | |
| yes | 29% | 36% | 62% | 66% |
| no | 44% | 35% | 20% | 19% |
| not sure | 27% | 29% | 18% | 15% |
| Q-35. How many recent immigrants would you say live in your area – people who moved to the U.S. since 1985? | | | | |
| | + | | | |
| many | 43% | 42% | 48% | 57% |
| some | 28% | 29% | 31% | 32% |
| only a few | 23% | 25% | 19% | 11% |
| none | 6% | 4% | 2% | 1% |

The 2000 Election

| | | | | |
|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Q-36. Did you happen to vote in the recent Presidential election? | | | | |
| yes | 96% | 99% | 98% | 97% |
| no | 4% | 1% | 2% | 3% |

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| | Members | Elders | Pastors | Specialized Clergy |
|--|---------|--------|---------|--------------------|
| Q-37. If "yes," whom did you vote for? | | | | |
| | n=506 | n=566 | n=662 | n=190 |
| George W. Bush | 63% | 57% | 35% | 21% |
| Al Gore | 35% | 40% | 61% | 73% |
| Ralph Nader | 1% | 2% | 3% | 5% |
| Pat Buchanan | — | * | * | — |
| other (specify): _____ | 1% | 1% | * | 1% |

Q-38. Please use the space below to make additional comments on any topic in this survey.

[not tabulated]

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