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ON RELIGION
& PUBLIC LIFE

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Lobbying for the Faithful:

Religious Advocacy Groups in Washington, D.C.

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Preface

More than 20 years ago, University of Oklahoma political science professor Allen D. Hertzke published *Representing God in Washington*, a study of religious lobbies operating in the nation's capital. "[N]early every modern permutation of religious belief or interest is represented," Hertzke wrote in the 1988 book. Washington, he added, is "a common ground where groups with different regional, ethnic, theological or ideological bases meet in close proximity. It is here that leaders develop strategies, coalitions form, issues are framed, bedfellows emerge, partisans mutually adjust and members are mobilized."

In researching his book, Hertzke found that the number and ideological diversity of Washington-based religious advocacy groups had mushroomed since the 1950s and that the groups' agendas were far broader than they had been even a decade earlier. "Religious groups, of course, are deeply involved (on all sides) in highly charged social issues ... and on church-state matters," he wrote. "However, in any given congressional session religious leaders will also be embroiled in battles over ... foreign aid, international trade, nuclear strategy, military budgets, tax reform, Social Security, day care funding, environmental protection, labor legislation, farm bills – and the list goes on."

As this report shows, the religious advocacy community in Washington has continued to grow and change in the past 20 years. And the increasing diversity of the U.S. religious landscape has brought many new groups into the mix, from the International Quranic Center to The Sikh Coalition and the Hindu American Foundation. To help quantify this growth and change, the Pew Research Center's Forum on Religion & Public Life worked with Professor Hertzke to conduct a new study of organizations engaged in religious lobbying or religion-related advocacy in Washington. The new study examines a total of 216 groups, analyzing their faith traditions, organizational structures, tax status, annual expenditures, issue agendas and primary strategies. The study also includes a brief history of religious advocacy in Washington. An online directory, available at <http://projects.pewforum.org/religious-advocacy/>, contains profiles of the 216 groups, including excerpts from their mission statements.

Many sources were consulted in an effort to find all religious advocacy organizations that maintain a physical office and at least one paid staff member in the Washington, D.C., area. The sources included the *Washington Information Directory 2010-2011* (CQ Press) and other guides to Washington-based organizations; online phone directories and websites; the Pew Forum's own contact database; and books, news articles and academic studies concerning religion in U.S. politics. As the study notes, however, new advocacy groups are constantly forming, while some older ones become inactive or dissolve each year, sometimes with no

public announcement. As a result, the study may not contain a complete list of religion-related advocacy groups currently active in the nation's capital. Nor does it include groups that may be involved in advocacy on the national level but do not have permanent offices and professional staff in the Washington area.

One other limitation bears mentioning at the outset of this report. Although the study analyzes the major characteristics of organizations engaged in religion-related advocacy, it does not attempt to gauge their degree of political influence. While there is an extensive academic literature on interest groups in U.S. politics, measuring their influence in an objective, quantifiable way has proved to be difficult, if not impossible, for generations of political scientists.¹

We wish to thank Professor Hertzke, who was a visiting senior research fellow at the Pew Forum in 2008-2009, for his leadership of this study. In addition to the current staff listed on the masthead of this report, the Pew Forum also would like to thank two former research assistants who worked extensively on this project, Michelle Ralston Morris and Amanda Nover.

Luis Lugo, Director

Alan Cooperman, Associate Director, Research

¹ Many academic studies have found that the influence of a particular lobby or interest group depends on numerous contextual factors – including media attention, party alignment, presidential action, current events and public opinion – that cloud the picture of how much influence the group wields on its own. See, for example, Frank R. Baumgartner *et al.*, *Lobbying and Policy Change: Who Wins, Who Loses, and Why*, University of Chicago Press, 2009; Jeffrey M. Berry and Clyde Wilcox, "Bias and Representation," in *The Interest Group Society*, Fifth Edition, Longman, 2009; and Allan J. Cigler and Burdett A. Loomis, "Always Involved, Rarely Central: Organized Interests in American Politics," in *Interest Group Politics*, Congressional Quarterly Press, 2002.

Note for Updated Edition

In November 2011, the Pew Research Center’s Forum on Religion & Public Life released a study, for which I was the primary researcher, that attempted to provide a comprehensive look at Washington-based religious advocacy groups. The results were released at a well-attended event in Washington where I discussed the main findings with a distinguished panel featuring Maggie Gallagher of the National Organization for Marriage, Rabbi David Saperstein of the Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism and Rajdeep Singh of The Sikh Coalition.

The release of the report and the discussion at the event drew a lot of attention from the press and the Washington advocacy and policy communities. Following the release, we heard from several groups that were disappointed to find that they had not been included in the original study. We also heard from a few groups that requested additional information on the data we used to analyze their characteristics, including their advocacy expenditures.

In response to the feedback we received, we decided to update the report and the online directory of religious advocacy groups that was released with the study. First, we have added five new groups: the American Civil Liberties Union’s Freedom of Religion and Belief Program, the Center for American Progress’ Faith and Progressive Policy Initiative, the Heritage Foundation’s DeVos Center for Religion and Civil Society, the Institute for Social Policy and Understanding, and the Unitarian Universalist Association’s Multicultural Growth & Witness program. We also removed one group: the Washington Office on Latin America, which is no longer primarily funded and supported by religious organizations. These changes brought the total number of groups in the study from 212 to 216. Changing the total number of groups in the study meant that we had to recalculate many of the findings. In most cases, the figures and percentages did not change by much, but readers should be aware that some of the figures may be slightly different from those in the original report.

Second, as with all of its research reports, the Pew Forum was happy to correct factual errors when groups brought them to our attention. For example, the Unitarian Universalist Association of Congregations did not eliminate its Washington Office for Advocacy in 2010, as we originally reported. The group instead merged that office with another department. We apologize for this mistake and any other inadvertent errors that appeared in the original report. One of the most challenging aspects of this multiyear research project involved the analysis of the groups’ annual advocacy expenditures. As we note in the report, advocacy groups report their spending in many different ways. While some break out their advocacy and lobbying expenditures, many do not. While some provide detailed records of spending on a broad range

of advocacy and informational activities, some report expenses only for direct lobbying as narrowly defined by the Internal Revenue Service.

Because the availability and quality of financial information for religious advocacy organizations varies so greatly, we made the decision to rely on publicly available financial information from federal tax filings (the Form 990 that most nonprofit groups must file annually with the IRS), annual reports and audited financial statements. For the groups for which we were able to obtain financial information, we then had to decide which of their expenditures best reflected the broad definition of advocacy used in the report, which goes well beyond the narrow definition used by the IRS. As we acknowledge in the Executive Summary, “judgment calls inevitably had to be made, and other researchers might have made different decisions.” For this reason, the report tries to be as transparent as possible. In addition to fully explaining our decision rules in the Methodology, we also provide readers with a detailed account of exactly where the Pew Forum obtained annual spending figures for each group. (See the “All Expenditures Data” table at <http://www.pewforum.org/uploadedFiles/Topics/Issues/Government/all-expenditures.pdf>.)

Let me briefly summarize our decision rules. For groups whose principal mission is advocacy – a category that includes the majority of the 129 groups that were included in the expenditures analysis – we used the group’s total expenditures, even though these figures include administrative and fundraising expenses. As the methodology explains, “if the organization’s principal mission is advocacy, the administrative and fundraising costs are reasonably considered to be in the service of advocacy.”

For groups whose missions go beyond advocacy – groups that also provide social services, for example – we sought to identify the spending category (or categories) in the organization’s public financial statements that best correspond with our broad definition of advocacy. These categories include government relations, public policy, government and international affairs, and peace and justice. As the report states, “identifying the advocacy budgets of large relief and development organizations posed a particular challenge.” Among the budget categories we used for these groups were public awareness, public awareness and education, and public relations.

After the report was released, a few organizations questioned the annual advocacy expenditure figures given for them. In each case when questions were raised, either publicly or in private communications, we contacted the groups and encouraged them to provide a more detailed accounting of their advocacy expenditures.

After receiving and assessing additional information, we decided to modify the annual advocacy expenditure figures reported for Catholic Relief Services. (For details, see the “All Expenditures Data” table at <http://www.pewforum.org/uploadedFiles/Topics/Issues/Government/all-expenditures.pdf>.) In light of the concerns raised by Catholic Relief Services, we also decided to revisit the expenditures of some other relief and development organizations in the study, even though they did not dispute our figures. After further investigation and correspondence with leaders of these groups, we also modified the expenditure figures for Barnabas Aid, Church World Service and Lutheran World Relief.

Two groups whose missions go beyond advocacy — the National Association of Evangelicals and the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops — gave us estimates for their advocacy expenditures, but they did not provide a detailed breakdown or verifiable source for the estimates. As a result, we did not include these groups in the expenditures analysis in the updated report. All these changes are noted in the “All Expenditures Data” table at <http://www.pewforum.org/uploadedFiles/Topics/Issues/Government/all-expenditures.pdf>.

Finally, I would like to address questions raised about the broad definition of religious advocacy used in the report. Our definition of religious advocacy includes an array of programs and activities by various organizations to inform their constituencies and the public about issues of concern and help shape public policy on those issues. One reason for using this broad definition is that it accords not only with common usage but also with the way many religious groups view themselves and their efforts in Washington. In my interviews for the study, I found that many religious leaders dislike the connotations of the term “lobbying” and do not consider themselves to be lobbyists. Instead they see themselves as advocates, not for narrow self-interest, but on behalf of those who often do not have a voice in the corridors of power. Their goals are to help the poor, the vulnerable and the persecuted, often by means that include educating the public and raising awareness. The groups included in this study advocate on a broad range of issues that are part of their core missions, which is why we include the groups’ mission statements in the online profiles of the groups and analyze their various advocacy methods, which include a great deal more than lobbying members of Congress or state legislatures.

Religious advocacy organizations play an important role in public policy deliberations in the U.S., and we hope that readers of this report will gain a greater understanding of their roles and characteristics.

Allen D. Hertzke, Presidential Professor of Political Science, University of Oklahoma

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Executive Summary

The number of organizations engaged in religious lobbying or religion-related advocacy in Washington, D.C., has increased roughly fivefold in the past four decades, from fewer than 40 in 1970 to more than 200 today. These groups collectively employ at least 1,000 people in the greater Washington area and spend at least \$350 million a year on efforts to influence national public policy. As a whole, religious advocacy organizations work on about 300 policy issues. For most of the past century, religious advocacy groups in Washington focused mainly on domestic affairs. Today, however, roughly as many groups work only on international issues as work only on domestic issues, and nearly two-thirds of the groups work on both. These are among the key findings of a new study by the Pew Research Center's Forum on Religion & Public Life that examines a total of 216 religion-related advocacy groups operating in the nation's capital.

The study finds that about one-in-five religious advocacy organizations in Washington have a Roman Catholic perspective (19%) and a similar proportion are evangelical Protestant in outlook (18%), while 12% are Jewish and 7% are mainline Protestant. But many smaller U.S. religious groups, including Baha'is, Buddhists, Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs, also have established advocacy organizations in the Washington area. In fact, the number of Muslim groups (17) is about the same as the number of mainline Protestant groups (16). And the largest category today is interreligious: About one-quarter of the groups studied (57) either represent multiple faiths or advocate on religious issues without representing a specific religion.

This report is based on a systematic examination of the websites, mission statements, tax documents and other public records of religious advocacy groups. Researchers also relied on responses to a written questionnaire that was sent to 148 separate, active groups included in the study and completed by 61 of them. Additionally, lead researcher Allen D. Hertzke conducted in-depth interviews with leaders of 36 groups and observed the advocacy efforts of many other groups at congressional hearings, lobby days, press conferences and other Washington-based events.

Previous studies indicate that lobbying in general has increased rapidly in recent decades. But the growth in the number of religion-related advocacy organizations appears to have kept pace with – or even exceeded – the growth in some other common types of advocacy organizations. According to various studies, for example, the number of national trade and professional associations more than doubled, from about 10,000 to about 22,000, between 1968 and the mid-1990s, then leveled off. And the number of corporations with Washington, D.C., offices rose more than threefold, from 175 to more than 600, between 1978 and 2004.²

Expenditures by Religious Advocacy Groups

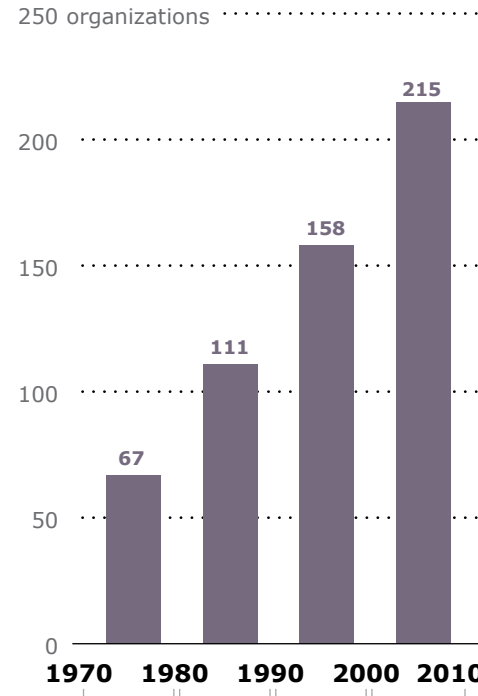
Efforts by religious groups to influence U.S. public policy are a multimillion-dollar endeavor, with combined annual expenditures conservatively estimated at more than \$350 million. The median annual advocacy expenditures by the 129 groups for which recent (2008 or 2009) financial data were available

was nearly \$950,000. More than one-third of the groups (44 groups, or 34%) reported annual advocacy expenditures between \$1 million and \$5 million per year, while about one-in-ten (17 groups, or 13%) reported spending more than \$5 million a year. (See chart on page 39.)

The recession in the U.S. economy from late 2007 to mid-2009 seems to have taken a toll on the budgets of many religion-related advocacy organizations. For instance, the executive secretary of the Friends Committee on National Legislation reported in June 2009 that the group's advocacy spending dropped from \$4.6 million to roughly \$3 million between 2007 and 2009, primarily because of declining investments.

Growth of D.C.-Based Religious Advocacy Organizations

Number of organizations in each decade



The year of D.C. arrival is unknown for one of the 216 groups in the study.

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² For an overview of these studies, see Berry and Wilcox, "The Advocacy Explosion" in *The Interest Group Society*, 2009. In addition, the Center for Responsive Politics reports that the number of registered lobbyists grew from about 10,400 in 1998 to nearly 15,000 in 2007, before dropping to around 13,000 in 2010. Total estimated lobbying spending has more than doubled over the same period, rising from \$1.44 billion in 1998 to \$3.51 billion in 2010. See Center for Responsive Politics, <http://www.opensecrets.org/lobby/>.

Of the 102 groups for which data on expenditures in both 2008 and 2009 were available, 57 reported that their advocacy spending was lower in 2009 than it had been in 2008. The average decline for the 57 groups was about \$500,000. In the same period, 45 groups reported that their advocacy spending rose, with the average increase being about \$300,000. Overall, among the 102 groups, there was a net drop of about \$17 million in total advocacy expenditures during this period. (For more details, see page 43.)

Top Advocacy Expenditures

Groups with advocacy spending exceeding \$10 million a year

GROUP	ADVOCACY EXPENDITURES	YEAR
American Israel Public Affairs Committee	\$87,899,089	2008
Family Research Council	\$14,259,622	2008
American Jewish Committee	\$13,362,000	2008
Concerned Women for America	\$12,556,658	2009
Bread for the World	\$11,384,471	2009
National Right to Life Committee	\$11,356,907	2009
Home School Legal Defense Association	\$11,320,831	2009
CitizenLink (A Focus on the Family Affiliate)	\$10,844,044	2009

The advocacy expenditures shown are for the most recent year available for the period 2008-2009. Based on the 129 groups for which recent (2008-2009) data on expenditures were available. In most cases, the figures shown represent the total expenditures of the groups' 501(c)(3) and 501(c)(4) entities. (For more details on advocacy groups' tax status, see page 37.) The figure for the American Jewish Committee, which is based in New York, represents total expenditures for its D.C.-based Office of Government and International Affairs and for its domestic policy expenses. The figure for CitizenLink represents the total expenditures for the 501(c)(4) only. (See Methodology on page 69 and section on Advocacy Expenditures on page 39 for more details.)

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Diversity in Religious Advocacy

Religious advocacy organizations in Washington reflect the pluralism of religion in America. They are diverse in many other ways as well, including in their organizational structures, their issue agendas and their primary advocacy methods.

Faith Communities: Roman Catholic, Protestant and Jewish advocacy groups are the most numerous (a total of 124 groups); together they make up 57% of the religious advocacy groups in the study. About one-in-six of the advocacy groups in the study (35 groups, or 16%) represent faiths with smaller numbers of adherents in the U.S., such as Baha'is, Buddhists, Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs, as well as other Christian and secular groups. The remaining quarter of the groups in the study (57) represent the views of multiple faiths or advocate on religion-related issues without representing a specific religious tradition, which is more than the number of groups representing any single faith.

What Is Religious Advocacy?

Religious advocacy is broadly defined in this study to encompass a wide range of efforts to shape public policy on religion-related issues. It includes lobbying as strictly defined by the Internal Revenue Service – attempts to influence, or urge the public to influence, specific legislation, whether the legislation is before a legislative body, such as the U.S. Congress or any state legislature, or before the public as a referendum, ballot initiative, constitutional amendment or similar measure.¹ But it also includes other efforts to affect public policy, such as activities aimed at the White House and federal agencies, litigation designed to advance policy goals, and education or mobilization of religious constituencies on particular issues. The issues may range from inherently religious matters (such as promotion of religious freedom and support for parochial schools) to social and political issues on which religious groups seek to promote their perspectives (such as abortion, same-sex marriage, hunger and HIV-AIDS).

The organizations that engage in religious advocacy in Washington include many groups that come out of particular religious traditions, such as Catholic Charities USA, the American Jewish Committee and the Muslim American Society. They also include organizations that do not represent a particular faith but nonetheless have predominantly religious constituencies or advocate on public issues from a religious perspective, such as the National Right to Life Committee and the National Coalition to Abolish the Death Penalty. In addition, they include groups that seek to influence public policy from a clearly articulated *non*-religious perspective (often in opposition to religious groups), such as the American Humanist Association and the Secular Coalition for America.

This study focuses on the efforts of *national* groups, meaning those that seek to influence policymaking at the federal level, though many of these groups also are active at the state or local level, and some are international in scope. To keep the focus on national advocacy, the study is limited to organizations that maintain a permanent advocacy office and at least one paid employee in the greater Washington, D.C., area. (See Methodology for more details.)

¹ For more information, see Internal Revenue Service, Lobbying, <http://www.irs.gov/charities/article/0,,id=163392,00.html>.

Organizational Structure:

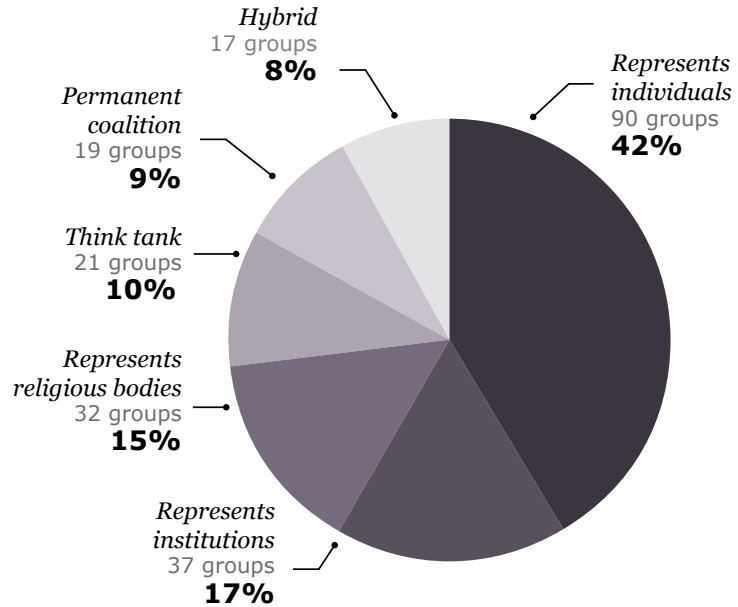
Religious advocacy groups also exhibit a variety of organizational structures. Many groups represent **individual members** (90 groups, or 42%). These include, for example, Concerned Women for America, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, Sojourners and People For the American Way. But a substantial portion are associations that represent **institutions** such as Christian colleges, Catholic hospitals and religious broadcasters (37 groups, or 17%). A similar number (32 groups, or 15%) represent the official interests of a **particular denomination** or religious tradition, such as the Justice and Witness Ministries of the United Church of Christ and the Ethics & Religious Liberty Commission

of the Southern Baptist Convention. Still others (21 groups, or 10%) are **think tanks**, such as the Institute on Religion & Democracy and the Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs. **Permanent coalitions** — such as the Save Darfur Coalition, which focuses on Sudan, and the Jubilee USA Network, which seeks debt relief for poor countries — account for 19 groups, or 9% of the total. **Hybrid** groups that cross over various categories — such as the Becket Fund for Religious Liberty, which combines elements of a think-tank with a public interest law firm — make up the remainder (17 groups, or 8%).

Issue Agendas: This study finds that religious advocacy groups in Washington address about 300 policy issues, touching on a wide array of domestic and foreign policy concerns. About a fifth of the groups focus just on domestic matters, while about one-in-six (16%) focus solely on international issues. Nearly two-thirds (63%), however, are engaged in both domestic and foreign issues.

Breakdown by Organizational Structure

Number and percentage of groups with each structural type



Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

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On the domestic front, the most commonly addressed issues are the relationship between church and state, the defense of civil rights and liberties for religious and other minorities, bioethics and life issues (such as abortion, capital punishment and end-of-life issues) and family/marriage issues (such as the definition of marriage, domestic violence and fatherhood initiatives).

Domestic vs. International Issues

Percentage of organizations that work on ...



Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

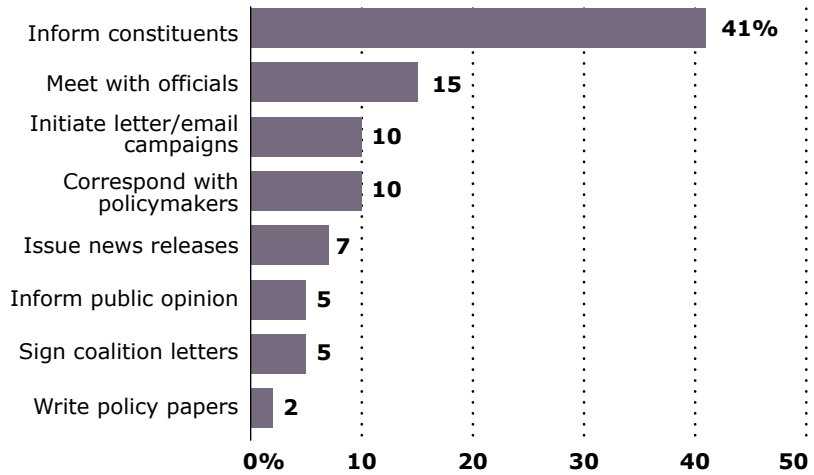
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Internationally, the most commonly addressed concerns are human rights, debt relief and other economic issues, and the promotion of peace and democracy. Indeed, compared with past decades, religious advocacy today is increasingly globalized, connecting a multitude of diverse constituencies with policymakers in the United States and other countries.

Advocacy Methods: More than nine-in-ten groups that completed a questionnaire about their activities say that informing their constituents and the general public is among their advocacy methods or strategies. (For more information on the questionnaire, see the Methodology.) And about four-in-ten of the groups that filled out the questionnaire (41%) report that educating constituents on issues – rather than directly approaching policymakers — is the activity they engage in most often. The next most-cited strategy is meeting with officials, which 15% of the groups list as their most frequent activity.

Most Frequent Advocacy Methods

Percentage of groups that say their most frequently used strategy is to ...



Based on the 61 groups that completed a questionnaire.

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Other findings in the study include:

- More than eight-in-ten of the 216 religious advocacy groups in the study (82%) operate as nonprofit, tax-exempt organizations under Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code. This means they are not allowed to devote a substantial part of their activities to lobbying as defined by the Internal Revenue Service.
- Only 10 groups (5%) are organized solely as 501(c)(4) organizations, which are permitted to conduct substantial amounts of lobbying as defined by the IRS. Twenty-seven groups (13%) are 501(c)(3) organizations that have a sister group that is registered as a 501(c)(4), or vice versa.
- While more than three-quarters of American adults identify as Christians, about half of the religious advocacy groups in the study are exclusively Christian. Many of the religious coalitions and interreligious groups, however, are partly or largely Christian in outlook.
- More than eight-in-ten of the groups that completed a questionnaire about their activities say they use targeted or mass emails to mobilize constituents. More than six-in-ten were using social networking tools such as Facebook and Twitter in 2009.
- Eight-in-ten of the groups for which staffing data were available employ 12 or fewer people in the Washington area.

About the Report

This report is based on the full set of 216 groups except where otherwise indicated. For example, the discussion of the groups' advocacy strategies is based primarily on the 61 groups in the study that completed the questionnaire. (See the Methodology for details.)

Readers should bear three important limitations in mind. First, although this study analyzes a number of major characteristics of religious advocacy organizations, including their annual spending, it does not attempt to assess their political influence. An organization's size – whether measured by expenditures, staff size or number of constituents – is not necessarily a reliable indicator of its influence on policymaking. This study makes no claims about the degree of influence wielded either by individual organizations or by religious advocacy groups as a whole.

Second, religious advocacy undoubtedly is conducted, formally and informally, by many individuals and groups beyond the 216 organizations included in this report. Numerous other religious groups send delegations to the nation's capital, organize campaigns from a distance, join coalitions and contact legislators in their home districts as well as in Washington. For example, the American Family Association, based in Mississippi, operates an extensive legislative alert system that identifies legislation relevant to its members and urges them to contact lawmakers, but it does not have a Washington office. This study focuses on formal, institutional efforts by groups with paid staff and physical offices in or near the nation's capital. Given the limits of the study, it is likely that the findings reported here underestimate the full breadth and depth of religious advocacy in Washington.

Finally, the groups define themselves in many different ways, and they report their expenditures, constituencies, issue agendas and other characteristics differently. Professor Hertzke and Pew Forum researchers have tried to be as consistent as possible in determining how to categorize the advocacy groups. The study relies primarily on the groups' own websites, mission statements and tax filings, as well as questionnaire and interview responses, to determine what issues they work on, what strategies they employ, what constituencies they represent, how many staff members they have and how much they spend on advocacy. However, judgment calls inevitably had to be made, and other researchers might have made different decisions. For this reason, the study tries to be as transparent as possible. For example, the study includes an online table showing the spending data that was considered in determining which expenditures most closely reflect each group's annual advocacy-related spending. Professor Hertzke and the Pew Forum researchers tried to choose the expenditure figures for each group that best reflected the broad definition of advocacy used in this report. Given the broad range of advocacy activities that many of the groups undertake, the study does not restrict the expenditures to those costs that were incurred for direct lobbying as strictly defined by the Internal Revenue Service. (See Methodology for more details.)

Roadmap to the Report

The next section of this report provides a brief history of organized religious advocacy in Washington – “Evolution, Growth and Turnover”– starting on page 23. This is followed by an analysis of the major characteristics of religious advocacy groups currently or recently active in the nation’s capital. The order of the sections is as follows:

- Brief history of religious advocacy in Washington
- Religious tradition or denomination
- Organizational structure
- Tax status
- Advocacy expenditures
- Issue agendas
- Constituency size
- Staff and facilities
- Strategies

In addition, an online directory (<http://projects.pewforum.org/religious-advocacy>) includes profiles of the 216 religious advocacy groups in the study, as well as excerpts from their mission statements and financial data, where available.

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Evolution, Growth and Turnover

Religious advocacy in early American history generally focused on state and local governments. But religious groups and organizations occasionally were drawn into national lobbying campaigns for issues in which they had a strong interest, such as slavery and Sunday mail delivery.³

A permanent religious advocacy infrastructure began to emerge in the nation's capital in the late 19th century, as the role of the federal government expanded after the Civil War. During the administration of President Ulysses S. Grant, for example, the federal government contracted with church organizations to run schools, orphanages and other social programs for Native Americans. A number of denominations participated in the program, including the Roman Catholic Church, which established the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions in 1881 to coordinate the sizeable grants it received.

Toward the end of the 19th century, as the movement against consumption of alcohol gained strength in the U.S., several temperance organizations with ties to religious groups established Washington offices, including the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in 1895 and the Anti-Saloon League of America in 1899. The League's Washington office was directly across from the U.S. Capitol.

Growth in the Early 20th Century

The Christian Science Church and the Seventh-day Adventist Church were among the first religious traditions to establish permanent advocacy offices in Washington. The Christian Scientists established their office around 1900. The Adventist Church – which places great emphasis on religious freedom at home and abroad, in part because of its Saturday Sabbath – established a permanent advocacy office in 1901.⁴

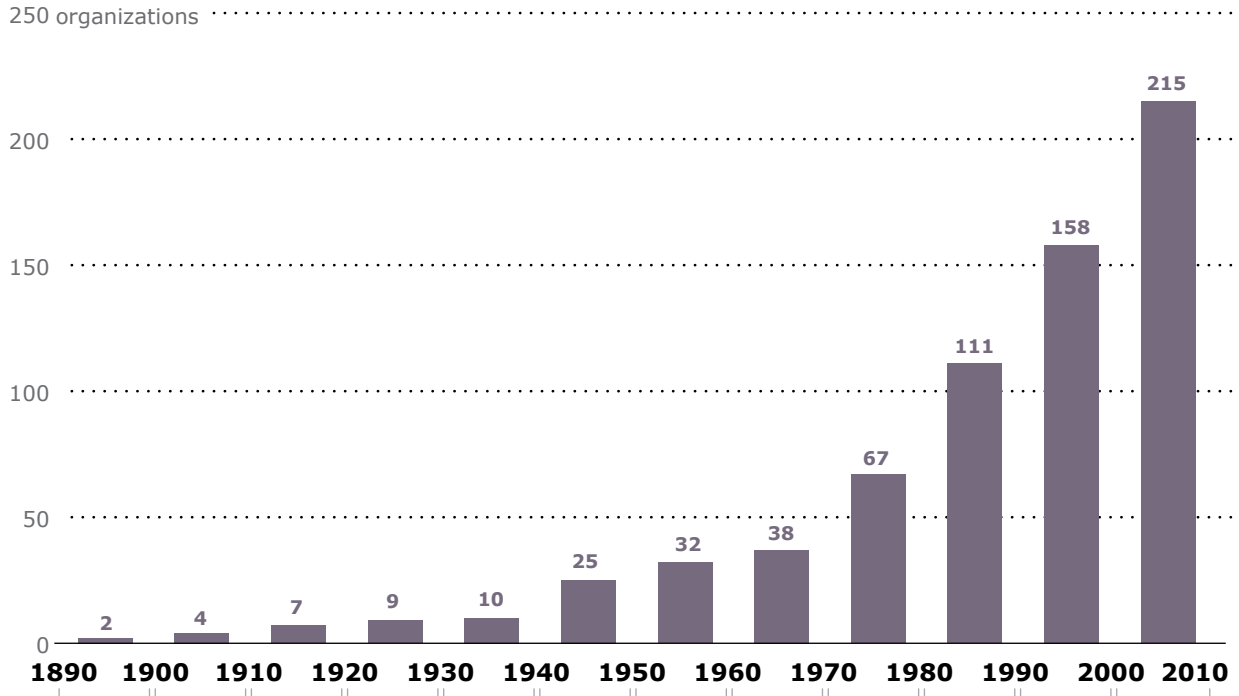
By the second decade of the 20th century, many large denominations had come to recognize the value of having a Washington office. Among those setting up national advocacy offices at this time were the Methodist Episcopal Church (which after a series of mergers with other Methodist bodies became the United Methodist Church in 1968) and the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America (a body founded in 1908 by mainline Protestant and historically black Protestant denominations that eventually became part of the National Council of the

³ For a discussion of the history of religious advocacy in the early 19th century, see Daniel J. B. Hofrenning, *In Washington but Not of It: The Prophetic Politics of Religious Lobbyists*, Temple University Press, 1995.

⁴ See Luke Eugene Ebersole, *Church Lobbying in the Nation's Capital*, MacMillan, 1951.

Growth of D.C.-Based Religious Advocacy Organizations

Number of organizations in each decade



The year of D.C. arrival is unknown for one of the 216 groups in the study.

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Churches of Christ in the USA). These and other denominational groups supported such Progressive-era causes as child labor laws, food safety regulations and women's suffrage, as well as Prohibition.

One of the most prominent Protestant organizations of the Progressive era was the Methodist Episcopal Church Board of Temperance, Prohibition and Public Morals, established in 1916 in the midst of the campaign to pass the 18th Amendment banning alcoholic beverages. In 1923, the Board of Temperance opened its stately building (now known as the United Methodist Building) on Maryland Avenue next to the Supreme Court. Today, the building houses many mainline Protestant advocacy organizations, including the Washington offices

of the Presbyterian Church (USA) and the United Church of Christ, as well as other religious advocacy groups, such as Church Women United.

The agenda of the Methodist Episcopal Church Board of Temperance expanded in the first half of the 20th century, but it retained a strong focus on public morals and suppression of alcohol, narcotic drugs and gambling. By the late 1940s, it was one of the best-funded Protestant advocacy groups, with an annual budget of \$250,000.⁵ The Board of Temperance remained active until the 1960s, when it was replaced by the General Board of Church & Society of the United Methodist Church, which has a broader advocacy agenda.

Paralleling the growth of Protestant advocacy groups was the establishment of strong Catholic institutions, including Catholic Charities USA, the National Catholic Educational Association and various bodies representing America's Catholic bishops. In 1917, the bishops formed the National Catholic War Council, which expanded in 1919 to become the National Catholic Welfare Council (later renamed the National Catholic Welfare Conference). By the 1940s, the Conference had one of the largest staffs of any religious advocacy group in Washington, although not all of its functions were advocacy-related. In 1966, after the reforms of the Second Vatican Council, the American bishops merged the Welfare Conference into several new organizations, which ultimately became the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops.

The early part of the 20th century also saw a number of national Jewish organizations open Washington offices, including the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society in 1913 and B'nai B'rith International in 1937.

World War II Through the 1960s

World War II led to an increase in national religious advocacy. Members of the pacifist Quaker church, for example, formed the Friends Committee on National Legislation in 1943 to protect conscientious-objector status in the military draft, along with the broader goal of promoting social justice. (In later decades, the Committee helped push for creation of the Peace Corps, supported the 1964 Civil Rights Act and mounted a "War Is Not the Answer" campaign after the 9/11 terrorist attacks.)

National political engagement also rose in the 1940s among other Protestant denominations – including Baptists, Lutherans, Presbyterians and Congregationalists – along with groups representing humanists and advocates for the separation of church and state. By 1951, when sociologist Luke Eugene Ebersole published the first book-length study of religious lobbying,

⁵ See Ebersole 1951. Ebersole provides 1949 budget data for the major church lobbies in existence at the time.

the Washington advocacy scene was already a mosaic of diverse religious traditions.⁶

Growth in the number of religious advocacy groups slowed somewhat from 1950 to 1970, but there were several notable additions to the advocacy community during this period. Jewish representation markedly increased, reflecting both domestic political concerns and international commitments in the wake of the Holocaust and the creation of the state of Israel. This included the establishment of the Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism, as well as the establishment of Washington offices by the American Israel Public Affairs Committee and the Anti-Defamation League.

The civil foment of the 1960s also left its imprint on the religious advocacy landscape. For example, the Progressive National Baptist Convention, an African American Baptist group formed during the civil rights movement, opened a Washington office in 1961. The Mennonite Central Committee, which opposed the Vietnam War from a pacifist perspective, opened its Washington office in 1968.

Surge in Growth After 1970

Washington-based religious advocacy surged after 1970, with the number of groups rising at an accelerating pace with each successive decade. (See graph on page 24.) Numerous organizations representing the interests of individual members on particular issues, such as abortion and hunger, entered the arena alongside groups representing institutions, such as religious schools and colleges, as well as groups representing denominations and religious traditions. Political scientists suggest several possible reasons for the rapid growth of religious lobbying during this period, including a general rise in public religious expression, both domestically and globally, and a trend toward the institutionalization of political activism in America.⁷ The growing reach of the federal government in economic, environmental and social policy also acted as a magnet, drawing religious groups to the nation's capital.

Moreover, as the American religious landscape became increasingly diverse, many small U.S. religious groups, including Muslims, Buddhists, Hindus, Baha'is and Sikhs, established Washington offices or expanded their existing operations.⁸ For instance, the National Spiritual Assembly of the Baha'is opened a Washington office in 1987 and has worked ever since to raise attention to Iran's treatment of followers of the Baha'i faith. Similarly, the International

⁶ See Ebersole 1951.

⁷ See, for example, José Casanova, *Public Religions in the Modern World*, University of Chicago Press, 1994; and Ronald Inglehart, *Culture Shift in Advanced Industrial Society*, Princeton University Press, 1990.

⁸ For a discussion of religious diversity in America, see Diana L. Eck, *A New Religious America*, HarperCollins, 2001.

Campaign for Tibet came to Washington in 1988 as the Dalai Lama, who personified their cause, gained international prominence. More recently, the Uyghur American Association, which opened a Washington office in 2004, gained global visibility after China's crackdown on protests by Uyghur Muslims in the summer of 2009. Several home-grown faiths, including the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and the Church of Scientology, opened D.C. offices in the 1980s. Moreover, as differences within existing religious traditions became more politically salient in the 1990s, new groups arrived on the scene, such as the Southern Baptist Convention and the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America. During the 1980s and '90s, several Catholic religious orders also opened Washington advocacy offices. They included the Missionary Society of St. Columban, Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate, Medical Mission Sisters and Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur.

Turnover and Churn

From the beginning, religious advocacy in Washington has been characterized by organizational turnover and churn associated with changing fortunes. Some groups have grown while others have cut back. New groups continually have formed while older ones have faded away.

Some of the turnover can be seen by comparing five major studies of religious lobbying published over the last 60 years, including this one.⁹ Ebersole's groundbreaking 1951 study listed 22 religious lobbies. Of those, five no longer existed or had closed their Washington offices by 1970, when James L. Adams published *The Growing Church Lobby in Washington*. Nearly two decades later, when Hertzke published his book, *Representing God in Washington*, all but one of the groups Adams had counted were still in existence. But three closed between Hertzke's 1988 study and Paul J. Weber and W. Landis Jones' 1994 book, *U.S. Religious Interest Groups: Institutional Profiles*. The Weber-Jones study, which was the most comprehensive attempt to profile all of the existing religious advocacy organizations up to that time, listed 82 groups. Of them, 10 (or 12%) had become inactive or closed their Washington offices by September 2008, when the Pew Forum began researching this study.

Part of the churn is related to the rise and fall in political importance of particular issues. For example, temperance groups, a prominent feature of religious advocacy in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, have largely vanished from the national scene. Similarly, the sanctuary movement – a religious coalition that formed in the 1980s to oppose the Reagan administration's policies in Central America and shelter refugees from civil conflicts in

⁹ Ebersole 1951; James L. Adams, *The Growing Church Lobby in Washington*, Eerdmans, 1970; Allen D. Hertzke, *Representing God in Washington: The Role of Religious Lobbies in the American Polity*, University of Tennessee Press, 1988; and Paul J. Weber and W. Landis Jones, *U.S. Religious Interest Groups: Institutional Profiles*, Greenwood Press, 1994.

Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala – effectively disappeared from Washington after those conflicts came to an end.¹⁰

Following the Supreme Court’s 1973 decision in *Roe v. Wade*, which granted women the constitutional right to terminate their pregnancies, religion-related advocacy groups proliferated on both sides of the abortion debate. Many of these groups, such as the National Committee for a Human Life Amendment and the Religious Coalition for Reproductive Choice, remain active today. More recently, President George W. Bush’s initiative to support faith-based social services led to the creation of new coalitions, such as the Institutional Religious Freedom Alliance. Heightened interest in the same-sex marriage issue also sparked the formation and expansion of competing groups. The Human Rights Campaign, which advocates for same-sex marriage, formed its Religion and Faith Program in 2005. The National Organization for Marriage, a group founded in 2007 to advocate for traditional marriage, moved to Washington in 2009 with total expenses of almost \$8.6 million, up from roughly \$3.3 million the previous year.

Financial ups and downs – sometimes related to the shifting importance of political issues, but sometimes stemming from other factors, such as a decline in church membership or the personalities and skills of group leaders – also have contributed to turnover among religious advocacy organizations. The Unitarian Universalist Association of Congregations, for example, merged its Washington Office for Advocacy with another department and reduced its staff in 2010 due to declining revenues.¹¹ Similarly, several Protestant denominations that once maintained Washington-area offices, such as the African Methodist Episcopal Zion (AME Zion) Church, Church of the Brethren and the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, no longer do so.

Issue-based groups also have experienced rising and declining fortunes. The Moral Majority, one of the vanguard organizations of the conservative Christian movement in the early 1980s, closed its Washington operations in 1989. At the same time, Sojourners, an ecumenical Christian group, has grown into an organization that spends more than \$5 million annually on its advocacy efforts.

Finally, the prominence of global issues in recent years has spurred the formation of new advocacy groups, such as the Save Darfur Coalition, the China Aid Association (an evangelical group that advocates for Christians in China), the Dalit Freedom Network (focused on the

10 Seeking to pick up where the earlier coalition left off, an organization called the New Sanctuary Movement formed in 2007 to seek “comprehensive immigration reform.” According to its website, it has permanent offices in Los Angeles, New York and Chicago but not Washington (and hence is not included in this study). See <http://www.newsanctuarymovement.org/>.

11 For details on the UUA’s decision to reduce the number of staff in its Washington Office for Advocacy, see <http://www.uuworld.org/news/articles/158972.shtml>.

rights of “untouchables” and others who face caste-based discrimination in India) and the Institute for Global Engagement, which advocates for international religious freedom. Some international aid groups, such as World Hope International, World Relief and Catholic Relief Services, established Washington offices during the 2000s, as they came to see how U.S. aid and trade policies affected their work abroad.

Despite turnover and churn, religious lobbying and public policy advocacy have become enduring features of the Washington political scene.

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Major Characteristics of Religious Advocacy Groups

Advocacy groups represent a growing variety of faiths in Washington. They also vary greatly in staff size, yearly financial expenditures and other characteristics that affect their visibility on Capitol Hill and in the national media, including their institutional structure and tax status, their main strategies or methods of seeking to influence public policy and the issues they focus on.

Religious Traditions

Nearly three-quarters of the organizations included in this study describe themselves as rooted in particular religious traditions or denominations (157 groups, or 73%). Groups that represent a distinctly atheistic or secular perspective comprise 1% of the groups in the study (two groups). A quarter of the groups combine the interests and viewpoints of multiple faiths or advocate on religion-related issues without representing any particular religious tradition or denomination (57 groups, or 26%). These interreligious groups (which include both ecumenical Christian and interfaith groups) are more numerous than the groups representing any single faith.

The religious traditions with the largest number of advocacy groups in Washington are Catholicism (41 groups, or 19%) and evangelical Protestantism (39 groups, or 18%).¹² These proportions, however, are somewhat lower than the percentages of Catholics and evangelical Protestants in the U.S. adult population. According to the Pew Forum's *U.S. Religious Landscape Survey*, about half of all American adults are affiliated either with Catholicism (23.9%) or with evangelical Protestant churches (26.3%).¹³ About 7% of the religious advocacy groups in Washington (16 groups) identify themselves with such mainline denominations as the United Methodist Church, the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) and the Episcopal Church; mainline Protestants comprise 18.1% of the U.S. adult population.

Some smaller religious groups account for a much larger share of the advocacy organizations

12 Many of these advocacy groups, however, are not officially sanctioned by church bodies and are not, in that sense, formal representatives of particular faiths. Indeed, groups from a single tradition sometimes come down on opposite sides of particular issues. There are groups that identify themselves as Catholic, for example, on both sides of the abortion debate, even though the Roman Catholic Church is unequivocally opposed to abortion.

13 Most figures for the size of religious groups in the U.S. adult population are from the *U.S. Religious Landscape Survey*, Pew Research Center's Forum on Religion & Public Life, conducted in 2007 and published in 2008, <http://religions.pewforum.org>. Figures for Muslims are based on data from *Muslim Americans: No Signs of Growth in Alienation or Support for Extremism*, Pew Research Center, 2011, <http://pewforum.org/Muslim/Muslim-Americans--No-Signs-of-Growth-in-Alienation-or-Support-for-Extremism.aspx>, in combination with U.S. Census Bureau data.

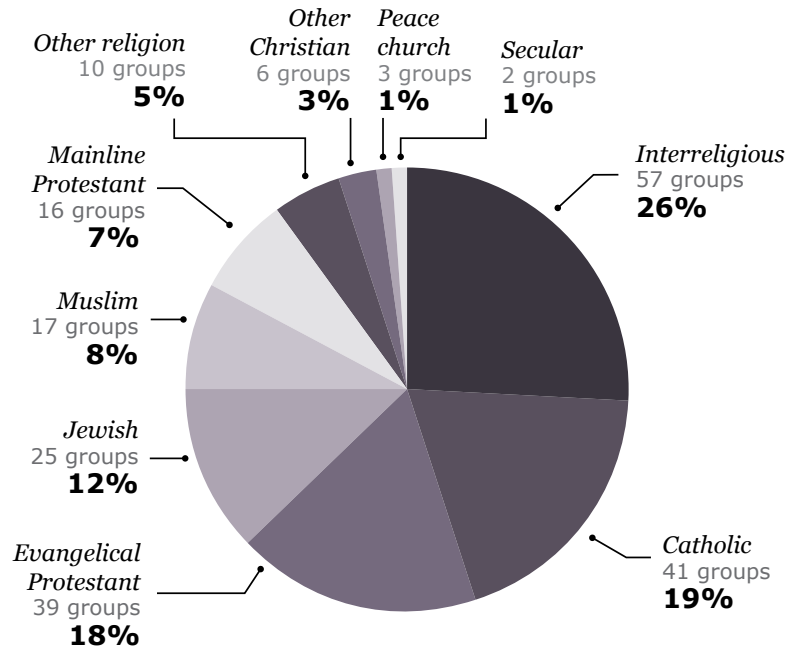
in the study than they do of the general population. For example, there are 17 Muslim advocacy organizations in Washington (8% of the total) and 25 Jewish advocacy organizations (12%), while Muslims make up 0.8% of U.S. adults and Jews make up 1.7%. This may reflect the importance these groups place on advocacy to protect their rights as religious minorities.

Other groups account for a smaller share of the advocacy organizations in the study than they do of the general population. Just 1% of the advocacy organizations in this study reflect an expressly secular, atheist or humanist point of view, though

nonreligious Americans (atheists, agnostics and unaffiliated people who say religion is not too important or not at all important in their lives) make up 10.3% of all U.S. adults.

Breakdown by Religious Affiliation

Number and percentage of religious advocacy groups that identify with each faith tradition



Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

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At first glance, historically black Protestant churches appear almost absent from religion-related advocacy in the nation's capital. There is only one group in this study – the Progressive National Baptist Convention – affiliated with a historically black Protestant denomination, though members of these denominations make up 6.9% of the U.S. public. One possible explanation is that, rather than attempting to influence public policy through permanent organizations in

Washington, historically black churches tend to participate in temporary alliances, permanent coalitions, interfaith efforts and civil rights organizations. They may also use informal methods that are not captured in this study, such as discussing policy matters in church groups, mobilizing lay members on political issues and sending delegations to Washington.¹⁴

Although it may appear that, in strictly numerical terms, certain religious groups are under- or overrepresented in the Washington advocacy community, the absolute number of groups is not a reliable indicator of how well a particular religious tradition is represented in Washington. For instance, a single, highly active, well-staffed and well-funded organization may offer better representation than a number of smaller, less active or less well-funded groups. In addition, comparisons between the size of a religious tradition and the number of advocacy groups that come out of that tradition do not take into account interfaith groups and coalitions, which make up a quarter of the religious advocacy groups in Washington. Nor do the comparisons take into account the role of advocacy organizations based outside of Washington.

For the full list of 216 religion-related advocacy organizations in the study and their religious affiliations, see the online directory.

¹⁴ For more information on black churches' civic engagement, see R. Drew Smith, "The Public Influences of African-American Churches: Contexts and Capacities," The Leadership Center at Morehouse College, 2002, <http://www.morehouse.edu/centers/leadershipcenter/pubinfl/PewReport2002.pdf>.

Organizational Structure

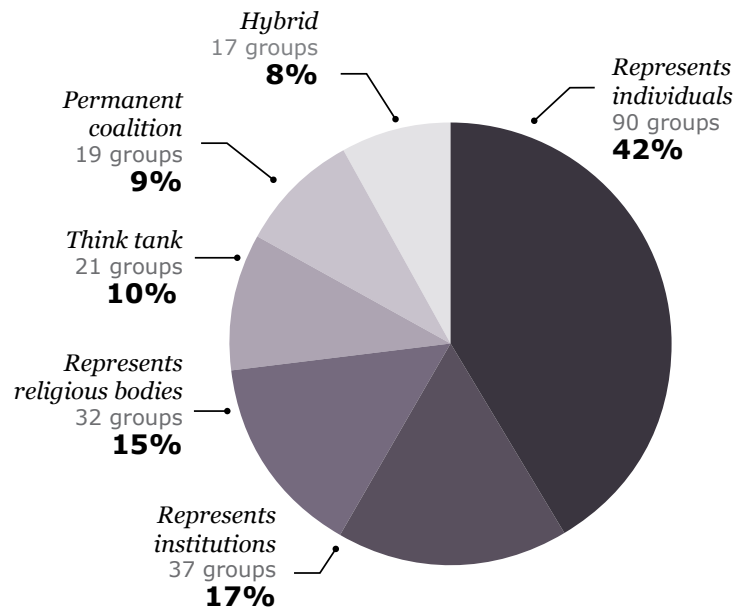
This report divides religious advocacy groups into six mutually exclusive categories based on their organizational structures.

Membership organizations – groups whose main constituents and/or funding sources are **individual members** – are by far the most common organizational type. They represent about four-in-ten of the organizations in the study (90 groups, or 42%). Of these, more than a quarter (24 groups) are interreligious. Roughly equal numbers of these organizations draw their members primarily from evangelical Protestants (16 groups), Catholics (15) and Jews (14). Some derive their funding exclusively from individual members, but many also receive support from foundations or other sources. Examples of membership organizations include Americans United for Separation of Church and State, Family Research Council and the Unitarian Universalist Service Committee. This category also includes religion-related professional associations, such as the Christian Medical and Dental Associations, the American Association of Jewish Lawyers and Jurists, and Karamah: Muslim Women Lawyers for Human Rights.

Groups that primarily represent **institutions**, rather than individuals, are the next most common type. They include almost a fifth of the organizations studied (37 groups, or 17%). These advocacy groups defend the interests of secondary schools, colleges, hospitals, international relief and development agencies, social service providers, broadcast media organizations and religious orders. Associations of Catholic institutions, such as Catholic Relief Services and the Association of Catholic Colleges and Universities, are particularly common (16 groups). Organizations representing religious institutions tend to be funded by those institutions. Many have had a

Breakdown by Organizational Structure

Number and percentage of groups with each structural type



Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

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steady Washington presence for decades, consistently focusing on the same issue areas.

Thirty-two advocacy organizations (15%) represent **official religious bodies**. A quarter are mainline Protestant groups (eight), and about a fifth are evangelical Protestant (six). The remainder represent a variety of faith traditions, including Catholicism, Judaism, Islam, Scientology and the Baha'i faith, among others. These groups, such as the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops and the United Methodist Church's General Board of Church & Society, defend the official interests and positions of their religious traditions or denominations, or the interests of interdenominational associations of official religious bodies, such as the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA and the National Association of Evangelicals. They typically receive financial and organizational support from the religious bodies they represent.

Religion-related **think tanks** make up one-in-ten religious advocacy groups (21 groups, or 10%). More than six-in-ten of them (13) are interreligious. These groups conduct research and provide policy recommendations on religion-related issues or approach their research and policy recommendations based on values rooted in a particular religious tradition. For example, the Culture of Life Foundation conducts research on bioethics, family and marriage, and other social issues, largely from a Catholic perspective. Similarly, the Center for the Study of Islam and Democracy conducts research and policy workshops that promote the idea that Islam and democracy are fully compatible. Think tanks typically are funded by donations from benefactors – individuals and/or foundations – that support their policy positions.

While short-lived alliances frequently form around legislative issues, more enduring networks of groups are common enough to be considered as their own category. **Permanent coalitions** are about as numerous as think tanks (19 groups, or 9%). More than half of these (11 groups) are interreligious. These coalitions typically have their own funding, which is separate from the funding of the member groups. Unlike temporary alliances, however, they also tend to have their own permanent staff, as opposed to staff borrowed from alliance members. Established coalitions often have emerged from what originally appeared to be short-term alliances. For example, Jubilee USA Network, a coalition of development agencies and relief groups from different religious traditions, was formed in the late 1990s to support legislation to provide debt relief for Third World countries. Today, Jubilee USA Network works for the broader goal of complete cancelation of developing countries' international debts.

Hybrid groups (17, or 8%) blend features of more than one structural type or do not fit neatly into any of the above categories. An example is the Becket Fund for Religious Liberty, which conducts legal research and generates publications like a think tank but also provides pro bono legal representation for individuals and religious bodies to further the cause of religious

freedom. Six of the 17 hybrid groups in the study are interreligious, five are rooted in the evangelical Protestant tradition, four represent Catholic points of view, one is affiliated with the Unification Church and one is Muslim.

Religious Tradition and Organizational Structure

Within each religious tradition, one or two organizational structures tend to predominate.

Among evangelical Protestant advocacy groups, about four-in-ten (41%) are individual membership organizations, such as Concerned Women for America and the Home School Legal Defense Association. Jewish groups also tend to represent the interests of individual members (56%), as do Muslim groups (53%). And among interreligious advocacy organizations, a majority represent either individual members (42%) or think tanks (23%).

Organizational Structure by Religious Tradition

Percentage of groups from each faith tradition that have various organizational structures

	REPRESENTS INDIVIDUALS	REPRESENTS INSTITUTIONS	REPRESENTS RELIGIOUS BODIES	HYBRID	PERMANENT COALITION	THINK TANK	TOTAL	NUMBER OF GROUPS
Interreligious	42%	5%	0%	11%	19%	23%	100%	57
Catholic	37	39	2	10	7	5	100	41
Evangelical Prot.	41	23	15	13	8	0	100	39
Jewish	56	20	12	0	4	8	100	25
Muslim	53	0	18	6	0	24	100	17
Mainline Prot.	25	25	50	0	0	0	100	16
Other religion	50	0	50	0	0	0	100	10
Other Christian	17	0	67	17	0	0	100	6
Peace church	33	0	67	0	0	0	100	3
Secular	50	0	0	0	50	0	100	2
All groups	42	17	15	8	9	10	100	216

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Most Catholic advocacy groups represent either individual members (37%), such as Human Life International and Leadership Conference of Women Religious, or institutions (39%), such as Catholic Charities USA and the Association of Catholic Colleges and Universities.

By contrast, half of mainline Protestant advocacy organizations (50%) represent the interests of official religious bodies, such as the United Church of Christ Justice and Witness Ministries.

For a full list of groups and their organizational structures, see the online directory.

Tax Status

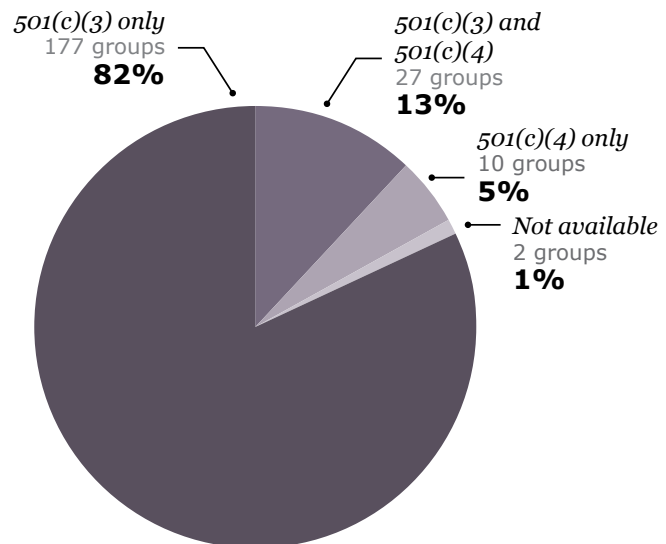
More than 80% of the groups in the study (177) operate exclusively as nonprofit, tax-exempt organizations.¹⁵ According to Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code, these groups are restricted in the proportion of their activities and budgets they can devote to direct lobbying.¹⁶ These groups may not endorse or oppose particular candidates for public office, for example. These tax-exempt groups are not prohibited, however, from drawing on religious principles to conduct public education campaigns on issues or providing information from a religious perspective to policymakers. Donations to 501(c)(3) entities are tax deductible.

A relatively small number of the groups in the study (10, or 5%) are organized under Section 501(c)(4) of the tax code, which allows them to hire registered lobbyists and gives them greater leeway to engage in direct lobbying efforts in support of or against particular legislation. Donations to 501(c)(4) groups are *not* tax deductible.

Some 501(c)(3) tax-exempt organizations create companion 501(c)(4) entities that are allowed to engage in direct lobbying. However, the two organizations must remain legally distinct, and the 501(c)(3) may not fund activities of the 501(c)(4) that the 501(c)(3) would be prohibited from doing directly. Similarly, some 501(c)(4) organizations create companion educational foundations, which fall under section 501(c)(3) and can

Breakdown by Tax Status

Number and percentage of groups with each tax status



Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

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15 In June 2011, the Internal Revenue Service announced that it had revoked the tax-exempt status of approximately 275,000 organizations because the groups had not filed the required tax form for three consecutive years. Because the change in tax status occurred after the Pew Forum had completed its research, the report and online directory do not take these revocations into account. For more information, see the IRS press release at <http://www.irs.gov/newsroom/article/0,,id=240239,00.html>.

16 Groups that register as regular 501(c)(3) entities cannot devote a "substantial" part of their activities to "lobbying," defined as activities in support of specific legislative acts or public referendums. Some nonprofit groups – but not churches or private foundations – can choose "election" (501h), which is governed by an expenditure formula that allows greater lobbying effort as long as it meets specified limits and percentages.

therefore receive tax-deductible donations. One-in-eight groups in the study (27, or 13%) have both 501(c)(3) and 501(c)(4) arms.

For a full list of groups and their tax status, see the online directory.

Advocacy Expenditures

Collectively, religious advocacy groups spend at least \$350 million per year to advance their public policy agendas, according to the most recent data from 2008-2009 for each group. Financial information was available from federal tax filings or annual reports for 129 of the 216 groups studied (60%), so the \$350 million annual figure is probably conservative.

About one-third of the 129 groups reported annual advocacy outlays in the \$1 million to \$5 million range (44 of the 129 groups, or 34%). More than one-quarter were in the \$100,000 to \$500,000 category (37 groups, or 29%). Just a handful of groups (10, or 8%) reported expenditures of \$100,000 and less, and only eight groups (6%) had expenditures that exceeded \$10 million.

Top Advocacy Expenditures

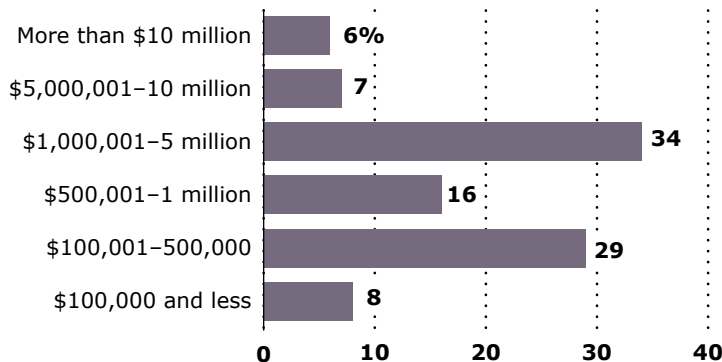
Forty groups (about one-third of the 129 groups for which data were available) accounted for more than \$300 million of the \$350 million in total reported advocacy expenditures. The top 10 of these groups each had expenditures of \$8 million or more and collectively accounted for more than \$190 million of advocacy spending.

Among the 40 groups with the highest annual advocacy spending from 2008 to 2009, 15 are interreligious, six are Jewish, six are evangelical Protestant, four are mainline Protestant, three are Catholic, two are Muslim, one is Quaker, one is Buddhist, one is Unitarian Universalist and one is secular.

Of these 40 groups, 25 represent individuals, while six represent religious bodies, three are permanent coalitions, three represent institutions, two are think tanks and one is a hybrid group.

Annual Advocacy Expenditures

Percentage of groups whose most recent annual advocacy spending fell into various categories



Based on the 129 groups for which recent (2008-2009) data on expenditures were available. Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

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Forty Groups with the Highest Advocacy Expenditures, 2008-2009

GROUP	ADVOCACY EXPENDITURES	YEAR
American Israel Public Affairs Committee	\$87,899,089	2008
Family Research Council	\$14,259,622	2008
American Jewish Committee	\$13,362,000	2008
Concerned Women for America	\$12,556,658	2009
Bread for the World	\$11,384,471	2009
National Right to Life Committee	\$11,356,907	2009
Home School Legal Defense Association	\$11,320,831	2009
CitizenLink (A Focus on the Family Affiliate)	\$10,844,044	2009
Traditional Values Coalition	\$9,542,126	2009
National Organization for Marriage	\$8,594,845	2009
People For the American Way	\$7,799,786	2009
World Vision	\$6,950,000	2009
American Life League	\$6,670,030	2009
Americans United for Separation of Church and State	\$6,308,554	2008
Sojourners	\$5,532,140	2008
Save Darfur Coalition	\$5,441,228	2008
United Methodist Church General Board of Church & Society	\$5,425,236	2009
Unitarian Universalist Service Committee	\$4,550,828	2009
International Campaign for Tibet	\$4,200,605	2009
United Church of Christ Justice and Witness Ministries	\$3,994,753	2009
Muslim American Society	\$3,992,555	2009
Human Life International	\$3,834,470	2009
Religious Coalition for Reproductive Choice	\$3,416,168	2009
Americans United for Life	\$3,340,406	2008
Southern Baptist Convention Ethics & Religious Liberty Commission	\$3,268,327	2008
Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs	\$3,109,507	2009
Friends Committee on National Legislation	\$3,010,831	2009
Catholics for Choice	\$2,960,748	2009
Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism	\$2,927,543	2009
Muslim Public Affairs Council	\$2,912,022	2009
Republican Jewish Coalition	\$2,858,109	2009
Susan B. Anthony List	\$2,837,834	2009
Ethics and Public Policy Center	\$2,750,452	2009
Jewish Council for Public Affairs	\$2,624,565	2009
Episcopal Church	\$2,298,430	2009
Becket Fund for Religious Liberty	\$2,281,041	2008
Eagle Forum	\$2,253,210	2009
Interfaith Alliance	\$2,150,903	2009
American Humanist Association	\$2,077,930	2009
Church World Service	\$2,008,441	2009

Figures are for the most recent year available. Based on 129 groups.

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It is important to note that advocacy groups report their spending in many different ways. While some groups break out their advocacy and lobbying expenditures, many do not. In addition, many groups report expenses only for direct lobbying as strictly defined by the Internal Revenue Service – attempts to influence, or urge the public to influence, specific legislation, whether the legislation is before a legislative body, such as the U.S. Congress or any state legislature, or before the public as a referendum, ballot initiative, constitutional amendment or similar measure. As noted earlier, this study defines advocacy more broadly, encompassing a wide range of efforts to shape and influence public policy on religion-related issues. (See “What Is Religious Advocacy?” on page 16.) In analyzing the groups’ spending, the study therefore tries to use the expenditure figures that best reflect the broader definition of religious advocacy used in the report rather than the narrower definition used by the IRS. For example, for Washington-based groups whose principal mission is advocacy, the study uses the group’s total operating expenses rather than its reported expenses for direct lobbying. In other cases, especially for groups that spend substantial amounts on humanitarian relief efforts or social services, the study uses other spending categories reported by the groups themselves in tax forms, annual reports and financial statements. These include such budget items as public awareness and education, public relations, program services and policy activities. Here are a few specific examples:

- World Vision, an international humanitarian aid organization, had total operating expenses of more than \$1 billion in 2009, according to its consolidated financial statements. Given the organization’s broad mission and robust advocacy work, this study does not use either the organization’s total expenditures or its narrowly defined lobbying expenditures. The study instead selected World Vision’s total reported expenditures for “public awareness and education,” including its efforts to inform constituents and shape public opinion about global issues of concern to the organization, which totaled about \$7 million in 2009.
- The Unitarian Universalist Service Committee, with total expenses of about \$5.6 million in 2009, reported that its direct annual lobbying expenditures were \$6,000. However, the Pew Forum selected the group’s expenditures for “program services” as a better measure according to the study’s definition of religious advocacy. The group’s program services expenditures, including support for “civil liberties,” “environmental justice” and “economic justice,” totaled about \$4.6 million in 2009.
- B’nai B’rith International’s total expenses were more than \$24 million in 2009, and the group did not report any direct lobbying expenditures. In this instance, the Pew Forum selected the group’s “public advocacy” expenses (nearly \$2 million in 2009).

See the Methodology for more details on how the study calculated the groups' advocacy expenditures. To view all expense categories considered in the process of determining which expenditures most closely reflect each group's annual advocacy-related spending, see the "All Expenditures Data" table at <http://www.pewforum.org/uploadedFiles/all-expenditures.pdf>. For a full list of groups and their advocacy expenditures, see the online directory.

Collective Spending on Particular Issues

Groups that support Israel are among the highest annual spenders on religion-related advocacy in Washington. The American Israel Public Affairs Committee, with almost \$88 million in advocacy spending in 2008, has the largest annual expenditures of any group in the study. Maintaining U.S. support for Israel is also an important issue for many other Jewish and Christian groups.

Several of the top 40 groups in annual advocacy expenditures either oppose abortion or support abortion rights as part of their primary mission. These include the National Right to Life Committee, American Life League, Human Life International, Religious Coalition for Reproductive Choice, Americans United for Life and Catholics for Choice. Collectively, these groups had combined annual advocacy expenditures of more than \$30 million in 2008/2009. Furthermore, this estimate of spending does not include the advocacy investment of other groups for which abortion is an important issue, such as Concerned Women for America and the Family Research Council.

A number of the 40 groups with the highest advocacy expenditures advocate for conservative or traditional cultural values. These include the Family Research Council, Concerned Women for America, CitizenLink (A Focus on the Family Affiliate), the Traditional Values Coalition, the National Organization for Marriage, the Southern Baptist Convention's Ethics & Religious Liberty Commission, Ethics and Public Policy Center and Eagle Forum, to name just a few. These groups have combined annual expenditures on advocacy of more than \$64 million.

Groups that oppose religious conservatives on cultural issues also are among those with the highest annual advocacy spending. Examples include People For the American Way, with nearly \$8 million in advocacy spending in 2009, and Americans United for Separation of Church and State, with advocacy expenditures of more than \$6 million in 2008. In addition, certain groups that represent religious bodies – such as the United Church of Christ Justice and Witness Ministries and the Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism – have similar perspectives on issues such as abortion, same-sex marriage and funding of parochial schools.

Groups that focus on issues such as hunger, poverty and peacemaking – often called “social justice” issues by these groups – also collectively spend many millions of dollars to support their advocacy efforts. Examples of well-funded social justice groups are Bread for the World, World Vision, Sojourners, the Friends Committee on National Legislation and Church World Service. These five groups have combined advocacy spending of nearly \$30 million a year. Moreover, a number of groups that represent religious bodies also support social justice concerns, such as the United Methodist Church Board of Church & Society, United Church of Christ Justice and Witness Ministries and Religious Action Center for Reform Judaism.

Two-Year Comparison of Advocacy Spending

The recession in the U.S. economy from late 2007 to mid-2009 appears to have taken a toll on many religion-related advocacy organizations’ spending. Of the 102 groups for which data on advocacy expenditures were available for both 2008 and 2009, more than half (57 groups, or 56%) reported that their advocacy spending decreased; the average decline in spending among these groups was about \$500,000. In the same period, 45 groups (or 44%) reported that their advocacy spending rose; the average increase in advocacy expenditures among these groups was about \$300,000. The median expenditures for the 102 groups was about \$800,000 in 2009, down from roughly \$900,000 in 2008.

Overall, among all 102 groups that reported advocacy expenditures in both 2008 and 2009, spending increases amounted to roughly \$13 million, while spending cuts totaled about \$30 million, for a net drop of about \$17 million in total advocacy expenditures by these groups in 2009 compared with 2008.

In addition to the economic downturn, numerous other factors could be partly or wholly responsible for the declines in spending reported by various groups in 2009. Because 2008 was a presidential election year, some groups might have spent more heavily than usual in 2007-2008 in an effort to draw attention to particular issues. Both the White House and control of the House of Representatives changed hands in 2008, and such changes can have a major impact on fundraising by some groups. Shifting public perceptions of the salience of issues ranging from HIV-AIDS in Africa to the death penalty in the United States also play a big role in the fortunes of religious advocacy organizations. And, of course, each organization’s leadership, strategy and competition matter, too.

There are no notable differences in the organizational structures between the groups whose advocacy outlays increased and those whose expenditures decreased. But there are some differences by religious tradition. For instance, nine of the 45 groups (20%) that had an

increase in advocacy spending are Muslim, while only one of the 57 groups (2%) whose expenditures decreased is Muslim. By contrast, four of the groups (9%) whose advocacy spending increased are Jewish, while nine of the groups (16%) with decreased spending are Jewish. Similarly, two of the groups (4%) with an increase in advocacy spending are mainline Protestant, while six of the groups (11%) that saw decreases are mainline Protestant. Among interreligious, Catholic and evangelical Protestant groups, about as many organizations reported increases as decreases.

The group with the largest drop in advocacy spending in absolute dollars during the period studied was People For the American Way (\$4.5 million), followed by the Republican Jewish Coalition (\$3.7 million). Seven other groups also reported decreases of at least \$1 million in advocacy expenditures.

Groups with Largest Numerical Decreases in Advocacy Expenditures

GROUP	2008 EXPENDITURES	2009 EXPENDITURES	NUMERICAL CHANGE	PERCENTAGE CHANGE
People For the American Way	\$12,341,380	\$7,799,786	-\$4,541,594	-37%
Republican Jewish Coalition	\$6,521,230	\$2,858,109	-\$3,663,121	-56
Religious Coalition for Reproductive Choice	\$5,801,659	\$3,416,168	-\$2,385,491	-41
Susan B. Anthony List	\$5,080,929	\$2,837,834	-\$2,243,095	-44
Concerned Women for America	\$14,272,684	\$12,556,658	-\$1,716,026	-12
Interfaith Alliance	\$3,672,945	\$2,150,903	-\$1,522,042	-41
National Right to Life Committee	\$12,719,116	\$11,356,907	-\$1,362,209	-11
Institute on Religion & Democracy	\$2,007,297	\$905,034	-\$1,102,263	-55
International Campaign for Tibet	\$5,293,270	\$4,200,605	-\$1,092,665	-21
Church World Service	\$2,928,739	\$2,008,441	-\$920,298	-31

Groups with annual advocacy expenditures under \$50,000 not shown. Based on the 102 groups for which data on expenditures in both 2008 and 2009 were available.

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In percentage terms, however, the group with the greatest decrease in spending (as a proportion of its advocacy expenditures) was the Dalit Freedom Network, an evangelical Christian group that opposes discrimination on the basis of caste and race in India, whose spending went down by 79%. Four additional groups saw their advocacy spending decrease by more than 50%. Of the 57 groups that reported a decrease in spending, 42 groups (74%) reported that the decline was 30% or less.

Groups with Largest Percentage Decreases in Advocacy Expenditures

GROUP	2008 EXPENDITURES	2009 EXPENDITURES	NUMERICAL CHANGE	PERCENTAGE CHANGE
Dalit Freedom Network	\$522,787	\$108,096	-\$414,691	-79%
Evangelical Environmental Network	\$1,152,648	\$471,253	-\$681,395	-59
Republican Jewish Coalition	\$6,521,230	\$2,858,109	-\$3,663,121	-56
Institute on Religion & Democracy	\$2,007,297	\$905,034	-\$1,102,263	-55
Catholics in Alliance for the Common Good	\$1,400,717	\$658,784	-\$741,933	-53
Susan B. Anthony List	\$5,080,929	\$2,837,834	-\$2,243,095	-44
Interfaith Alliance	\$3,672,945	\$2,150,903	-\$1,522,042	-41
Religious Coalition for Reproductive Choice	\$5,801,659	\$3,416,168	-\$2,385,491	-41
Lutheran World Relief	\$487,818	\$296,676	-\$191,142	-39
Jubilee Campaign USA	\$351,193	\$216,905	-\$134,288	-38

Groups with annual advocacy expenditures under \$50,000 not shown. Based on the 102 groups for which data on expenditures in both 2008 and 2009 were available.

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The group that had the largest numerical increase in advocacy spending was the National Organization for Marriage, which opposes same-sex marriage. Its reported advocacy expenditures jumped by more than \$5 million. The group with the next-largest rise in advocacy spending was the Muslim American Society, with an increase of about \$900,000.

Groups with Largest Numerical Increases in Advocacy Expenditures

GROUP	2008 EXPENDITURES	2009 EXPENDITURES	NUMERICAL CHANGE	PERCENTAGE CHANGE
National Organization for Marriage	\$3,295,804	\$8,594,845	\$5,299,041	161%
Muslim American Society	\$3,093,874	\$3,992,555	\$898,681	29
CitizenLink (A Focus on the Family Affiliate)	\$9,978,145	\$10,844,044	\$865,899	9
Heritage Foundation, DeVos Center for Religion and Civil Society	\$983,758	\$1,743,450	\$759,692	77
Bread for the World	\$10,763,466	\$11,384,471	\$621,005	6
Eagle Forum	\$1,785,712	\$2,253,210	\$467,498	26
American Islamic Congress	\$959,557	\$1,357,198	\$397,641	41
Center for Urban Renewal and Education	\$455,246	\$792,130	\$336,884	74
Muslim Public Affairs Council	\$2,624,327	\$2,912,022	\$287,695	11
Christian Action Network	\$1,034,657	\$1,311,750	\$277,093	27

Groups with annual advocacy expenditures under \$50,000 not shown. Based on the 102 groups for which data on expenditures in both 2008 and 2009 were available.

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Five groups more than doubled their advocacy expenditures: the World Organization for Resource Development & Education, Christians' Israel Public Action Campaign, the National Organization for Marriage, PICO National Network (an alliance of groups engaged in community organizing) and the International Uyghur Human Rights & Democracy Foundation (which promotes religious and political freedom for China's Uyghur Muslim minority). But 34 of the 45 groups whose advocacy spending increased (76%) reported that the increase was 30% or less.

Groups with Largest Percentage Increases in Advocacy Expenditures

GROUP	2008 EXPENDITURES	2009 EXPENDITURES	NUMERICAL CHANGE	PERCENTAGE CHANGE
National Organization for Marriage	\$3,295,804	\$8,594,845	\$5,299,041	161%
PICO National Network	\$64,398	\$165,480	\$101,082	157
International Uyghur Human Rights & Democracy Foundation	\$100,305	\$211,377	\$111,072	111
Heritage Foundation, DeVos Center for Religion and Civil Society	\$983,758	\$1,743,450	\$759,692	77
Center for Urban Renewal and Education	\$455,246	\$792,130	\$336,884	74
Karamah: Muslim Women Lawyers for Human Rights	\$388,924	\$620,761	\$231,837	60
Sikh Coalition	\$65,117	\$100,505	\$35,388	54
International Coalition for Religious Freedom	\$88,604	\$128,458	\$39,854	45
American Islamic Congress	\$959,557	\$1,357,198	\$397,641	41
Jesuit Refugee Service/USA	\$294,053	\$380,826	\$86,773	30

The World Organization for Resource Development & Education and Christians' Israel Public Action Campaign are not shown because their annual advocacy expenditures were under \$50,000. Based on the 102 groups for which data on expenditures in both 2008 and 2009 were available.

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For a full list of groups and the most recent advocacy expenditures available for the period 2008-2009, see the online directory.

Issue Agendas

In describing their work, religious advocacy groups cite about 300 policy concerns. These include some inherently religious issues, such as the promotion of religious freedom around the world. But religious advocacy groups also bring their religious viewpoints and moral principles to bear on many other issues, ranging from taxation and national security to abortion, same-sex marriage, poverty and economic inequality.

Despite historical roots in domestic issues such as Prohibition (see page 23), religious advocacy groups today are, on the whole, almost as involved in international work as they are in domestic matters. Indeed, nearly two-thirds of the groups studied (63%) engage in both realms.

Domestic vs. International Issues

Percentage of organizations that work on ...



Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

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The breadth of their agendas reflects the groups' widely differing theological and political perspectives. No single religious, political or ideological position monopolizes religious advocacy in Washington. On the contrary, religious groups can be found on both sides of many issues, and at times, even groups with a shared religious background come down on opposite sides of a policy debate. For example, two Jewish groups – J Street and the American Israel Public Affairs Committee – frequently are at loggerheads over U.S. policy toward Israel.

At the same time, groups from different faith traditions sometimes come together on the same side of an issue. For example, evangelical Protestant groups including Prison Fellowship and the Southern Baptist Convention's Ethics & Religious Liberty Commission, joined with a mainline Protestant group, the United Methodist Church's General Board of Church & Society, in supporting the Prison Rape Elimination Act in 2003, even though these groups often find themselves on opposite sides of other issues, such as abortion and same-sex marriage.

In classifying the groups' issue agendas, this study generally tries to reflect the language employed by the groups themselves. For example, if a group says it promotes religious freedom, it is included in the religious freedom category, even though another group engaged in similar activities might describe itself as working on international human rights and be

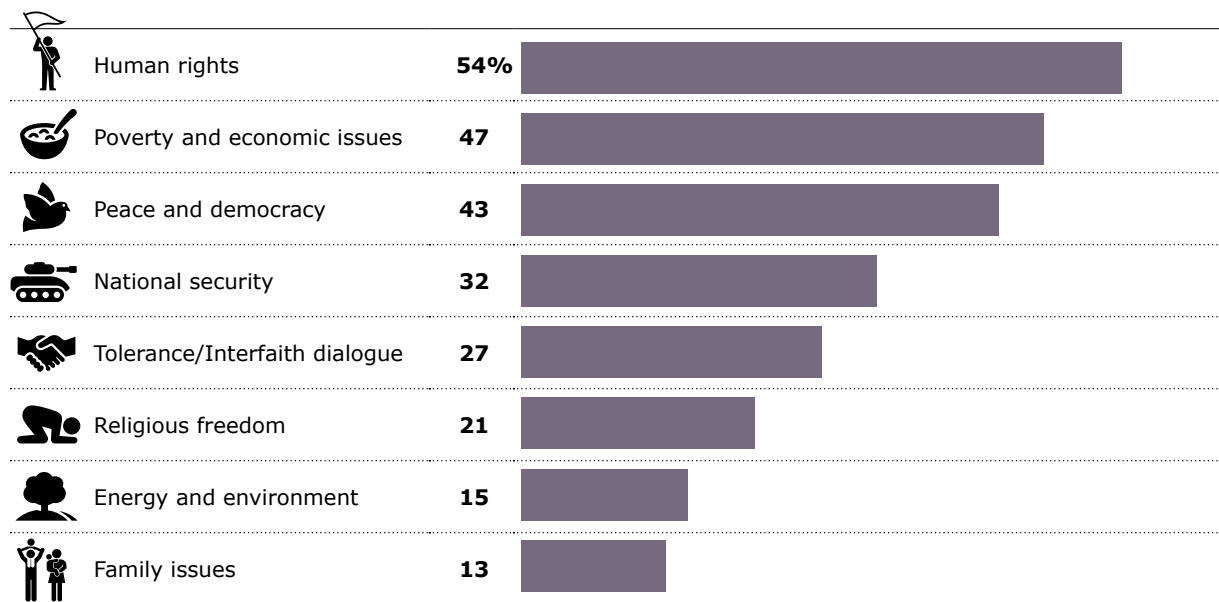
listed accordingly. Thus, readers should note that the issue categories are **not** mutually exclusive. Many groups work on multiple issues, and the issues themselves often overlap.

Global Advocacy Issue Agendas

About eight-in-ten of the religious advocacy groups studied are involved in at least one international policy issue (16% work only on international issues, and 63% work on both international and domestic issues). More than half of the 216 groups (54%) say they tackle international human rights in some fashion, and nearly half (47%) address international poverty and economic issues. Almost as many groups (43%) address issues of peace and democracy, including peace-building and demilitarization. About one-in-five groups (21%) deal with religious freedom in particular countries or worldwide.

International Issues

Percentage of all groups in the study that advocate on ...



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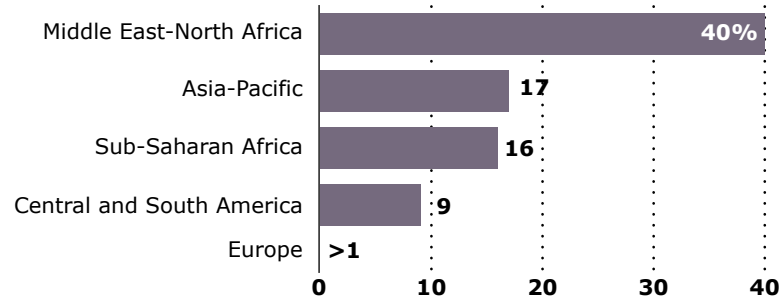
Religious advocacy groups are involved in promoting policy initiatives that affect every region of the world, most notably the Middle East-North Africa. Four-in-ten of the 216 groups in the study address issues in the Middle East-North Africa region, such as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. But one-in-six groups address concerns in the Asia-Pacific region, such as human rights in China, and a similar percentage are involved with issues in sub-Saharan Africa, such

as poverty and HIV-AIDS.

One common mission among denominational groups that engage in global advocacy is protecting or defending fellow believers, both domestically (e.g., Sikhs lobbying against what they consider unjust screening policies at airports) and internationally (e.g., the Baptist World Alliance promoting religious freedom for, among others, Baptists living as minorities in foreign countries).

Regions Covered by International Advocacy

Percentage of all groups in the study that advocate on issues in ...



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The large international membership of some denominations – such as the Seventh-day Adventist Church, which says it has about 1 million members in the U.S. and 16 million worldwide – means that the advocacy groups related to these denominations (e.g., Adventist Development and Relief Agency International) reflect both the humanitarian impulses of the church and the needs of its believers abroad. Similarly, Jewish, Muslim, Buddhist, Hindu, Sikh and Baha'i groups are closely linked to their counterparts around the world. For example, the Ahmadiyya Movement in Islam, USA, is directly linked to the international Ahmadiyya Muslim community, and American Ahmadiyya leaders advocate for their counterparts in Pakistan, Indonesia and elsewhere in testimony before Congress, reports to the State Department and media awareness campaigns.

A more recent development in global religious advocacy is a tendency to move beyond issues that relate to the treatment of fellow believers (or other human rights-related concerns) and to take positions on social and cultural issues in foreign countries. As the United Nations and other international bodies have taken on issues such as abortion, genetic engineering, the role of women, gay rights and the definition of the family, religious traditionalists in recent years have moved into international arenas that, in some cases, other U.S. religious groups entered much earlier. For example, the anti-abortion group Human Life International now operates in nearly 100 countries, and conservative groups such as Concerned Women for America routinely lobby at the United Nations. Mainline Protestant denominations, on the other hand, have been engaged in international issues since the end of World War II, from

backing the formation of the United Nations to opposing the Vietnam War and the Reagan administration's policies in Central America.

Driving the Global Issue Agenda

Easier communications and travel have created connections between American religious groups and constituencies around the world. Because they have more opportunities to meet and engage with fellow believers or people of different faiths around the world, advocates are more likely to be motivated and find it easier to advocate internationally. Americans meet visiting foreign religious leaders in their places of worship; they communicate via email with counterparts around the world; and more than a million believers a year travel on mission trips to work on humanitarian projects, often side-by-side with fellow believers in developing nations.¹⁷

Migration also has increased global advocacy, for the simple reason that immigrants to the U.S. often stay connected with their home countries and bring international concerns to U.S. policymakers. The Hindu American Foundation, American Islamic Congress and Dalit Freedom Network are examples of advocacy groups that represent the concerns of immigrants.

Global religious advocacy has had a wide-reaching impact on American foreign policy in the past two decades. During the Cold War and its aftermath, a number of Christian organizations documented the harassment, arrest or killing of fellow believers in Soviet states; provided succor to victims; and lobbied governments to get prisoners released. In the 1990s, these groups found allies across the religious and ideological spectrum who could unite around the idea of promoting religious freedom through American foreign policy. Thus, evangelical Protestant groups joined with advocates representing Catholics, Episcopalians, Jews, Baha'is, Buddhists and Sikhs in successfully lobbying for the International Religious Freedom Act of 1998, and they have joined with new groups, such as the American Islamic Congress, to press for its robust implementation.¹⁸

Galvanized by the success of the campaign for international religious freedom legislation, religious alliances also backed legislation on human trafficking (the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000 and Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act of 2003, 2005, 2008), peace in Sudan (Sudan Peace Act, 2002) and human rights in North Korea

17 For more information, see Robert Wuthnow, *Boundless Faith: The Global Outreach of American Churches*, University of California Press, 2009.

18 For more information, see Q&A with Allen Hertzke, "Ten Years of Promoting Religious Freedom Through U.S. Foreign Policy," Pew Research Center's Forum on Religion & Public Life, Oct. 16, 2008, <http://pewforum.org/Government/Ten-Years-of-Promoting-Religious-Freedom-Through-US-Foreign-Policy.aspx>.

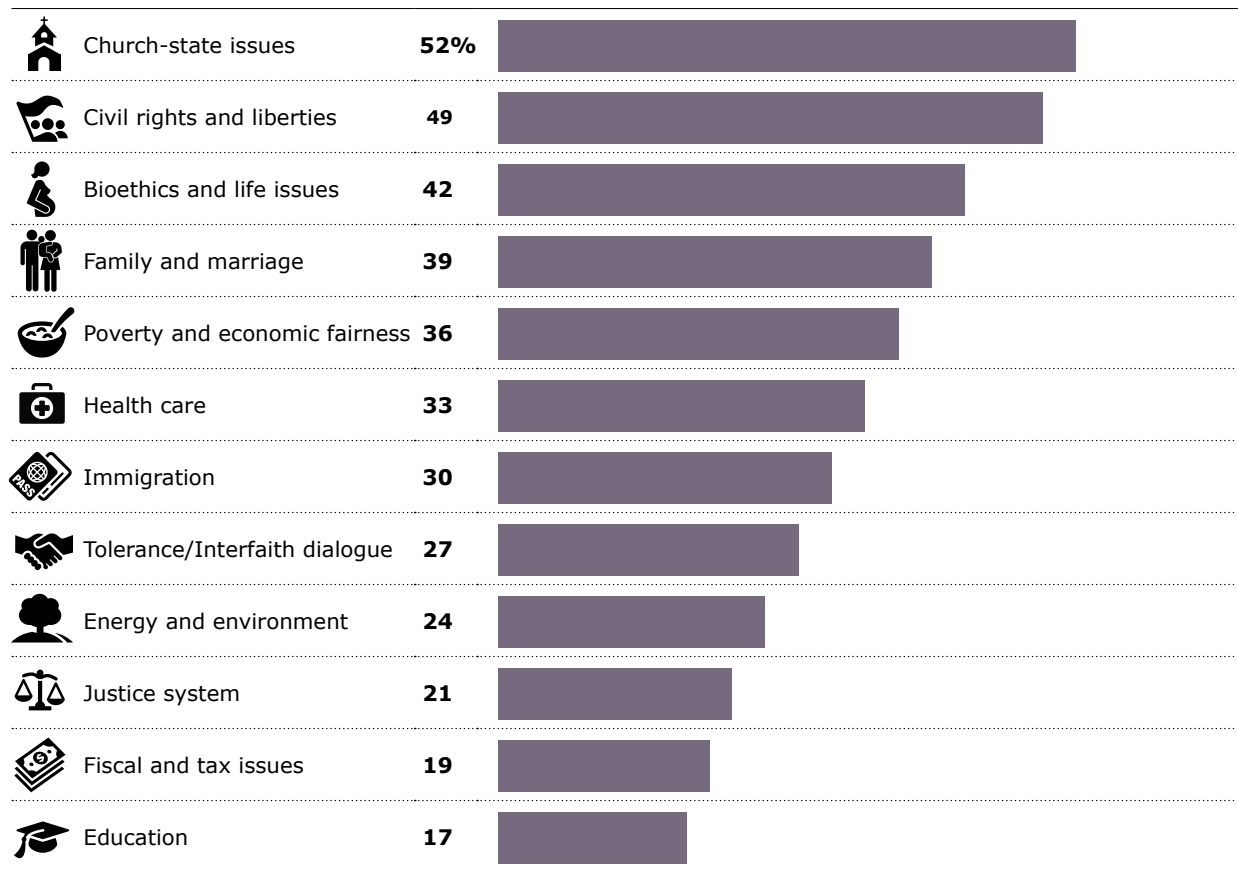
(North Korean Human Rights Act, passed in 2004 and reauthorized in 2008). Together, these laws have erected a sizable legal architecture for promoting human rights in American foreign policy.¹⁹

Domestic Issue Agendas

The growth of global advocacy does not appear to have come at the expense of advocacy on domestic issues, however. More than eight-in-ten religious advocacy groups (84%) either work solely on domestic issues (21%) or are involved in both domestic and foreign issues (63%).

Domestic Issues

Percentage of all groups in the study that advocate on ...



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¹⁹ For more information, see Allen D. Hertzke, *Freeing God's Children: The Unlikely Alliance for Global Human Rights*, Rowman & Littlefield, 2004.

Of the 216 groups studied, about half (52%) address domestic church-state issues, such as debates over public displays of religion, hate-crime laws and school vouchers. A similar portion (49%) works on civil rights and liberties, such as gay rights, women's rights, workers' rights and the rights of religious and ethnic minorities.

About four in-ten groups in the study (42%) work on bioethics and life issues, which include abortion, capital punishment, stem cell research and end-of-life issues. Roughly as many (39%) address family and marriage issues, including the definition of marriage, domestic violence and fatherhood initiatives. About one-in-six groups (16%) work on other domestic issues, a catch-all category that includes corporate accountability/responsibility, limited government/private enterprise, elections/campaign finance, capitalism, volunteerism and veterans' issues.

Constituency Size

Comparing the constituencies of religious advocacy groups is difficult because they are defined and measured in many different ways.

The groups in the study use a variety of metrics to describe their reach. Some groups list the number of “activists” they represent, such as the Religious Coalition for Reproductive Choice (13,000) and the Save Darfur Coalition (1 million). The Quixote Center, a social justice group with roots in Catholicism, mentions on its website the “friends, associates and donors” that are among its constituents. Concerned Women for America states on its website that it has a membership of “half a million women and like-minded men,” though it is not clear whether all are financial contributors.

Constituency size is most easily measured for groups that represent individuals. Though membership figures are not available (or consistently reported) for all these groups, the Pew Forum was able to gather membership estimates from websites, questionnaires and interviews for 35 of the 90 groups that represent individuals. These 35 groups make up 16% of the 216 groups in this study. Collectively, these groups have a total of more than 3.5 million members and other constituents. Even allowing for the potential of inflated counts, this sample suggests a potential grassroots reach of several million people for advocacy organizations that represent individuals.

Additionally, the employees and clients of religious institutions also can be viewed as constituents. The following self-reported examples illustrate the representational reach of some institutions:

- Association of Catholic Colleges and Universities: more than 200 institutions of higher learning
- Association of Christian Schools International: more than 5,900 member schools in 106 nations
- Care Net: more than 1,000 crisis pregnancy centers
- Catholic Charities USA: more than 150 agencies
- Catholic Health Association of the United States: more than 600 hospitals
- National Institute of Family and Life Advocates: 1,200 centers
- National Religious Broadcasters: 1,400 broadcasters and media ministries
- Jewish Federations of North America: more than 150 federations and over 300 independent community groups

Additionally, because many religious traditions and denominations have Washington advocacy offices, millions of their members are, in a sense, represented. For example, the Ethics & Religious Liberty Commission says it represents the 16 million members of the Southern Baptist Convention. The Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism says it advocates on behalf of the Union for Reform Judaism's 900 congregations with 1.5 million members. The Washington Office of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America says it speaks on behalf of 10,000 congregations and 4.2 million members. And Archbishop Timothy Dolan, president of the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops, says the organization acts "as shepherds of over 70 million U.S. citizens."²⁰ However, members of a particular faith do not always know about, or necessarily agree with, the activities of the denomination's advocacy office in Washington.

²⁰ See <http://www.usccb.org/issues-and-action/religious-liberty/upload/dolan-letter-on-religious-liberty.pdf>.

Staff and Facilities

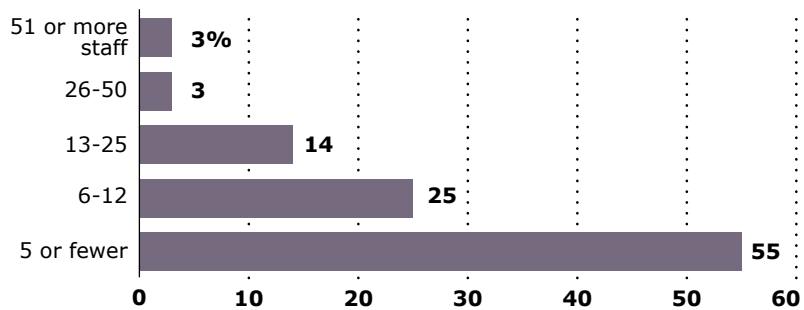
There is no definitive source of information on the number of full-time, paid employees engaged in religious advocacy in the nation's capital. However, the Pew Forum gathered self-reported figures from websites, questionnaires and interviews to try to get a rough sense of staffing levels. Data were available for 120 groups, which together employ more than 1,000 paid staff members in the Washington area. Since the 120 groups represent only about half of the 216 groups in the study (55%), the cumulative staffing level for religious advocacy in the nation's capital is likely much higher. On the other hand, some employees may not engage in advocacy, though all presumably contribute to the missions of their groups.

Most religious advocacy organizations are modest operations. Eight-in-ten groups for which data were available have 12 or fewer employees (80%). More than half (55%) have five or fewer employees. Less than one-in-ten have more than 25 employees (6%).

Organizations that represent the interests of relative newcomers to religious advocacy, such as Sikhs, Hindus, Buddhists and Muslims, tend to have particularly small staffs (five or fewer employees), as do the advocacy offices of many well-established but small Protestant denominations, such as the Mennonites, the United Church of Christ and the Presbyterian Church (USA).

Staff Size

Percentage of groups in various staff size ranges



Based on the 120 groups for which staff size data were available. Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

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Of the seven groups with more than 25 employees, five are interreligious, combining the interests of multiple faiths or advocating on religion-related issues without representing any particular faith. Six of the seven groups with a Washington-based staff of more than 25 represent individuals (the other is the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops, which represents a religious body and has a Washington headquarters with many responsibilities besides public policy advocacy).

In addition to staff located in or near Washington, D.C., some organizations have professional employees around the country or around the world. Among the largest is Catholic Relief Services, the international humanitarian agency of the U.S. Catholic community, which has around 5,000 staff providing development and emergency assistance in approximately 100 countries. Only a small portion of them are involved in Washington advocacy efforts.

Office Spaces

Just as staff size varies widely, so do office spaces, with some groups sharing cramped quarters while others occupy large buildings. Some advocacy programs, such as the Public Affairs and Religious Liberty Department of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, are attached to larger national organizations headquartered in the Washington area and benefit from the organizational stability provided by such arrangements, which helps buffer them from economic vagaries.

Other groups have erected their own office buildings in the nation's capital, which often serve as the hub of coalitions. One of the most prominent is the United Methodist Building, situated across from the U.S. Capitol. Built in the 1920s, it houses the General Board of Church & Society of the United Methodist Church and other mainline Protestant denominational groups, along with several religious organizations that rent space. (See "Evolution, Growth and Turnover" on page 23.) Other religious advocacy groups that occupy substantial buildings include the Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, the Family Research Council and the Friends Committee on National Legislation.

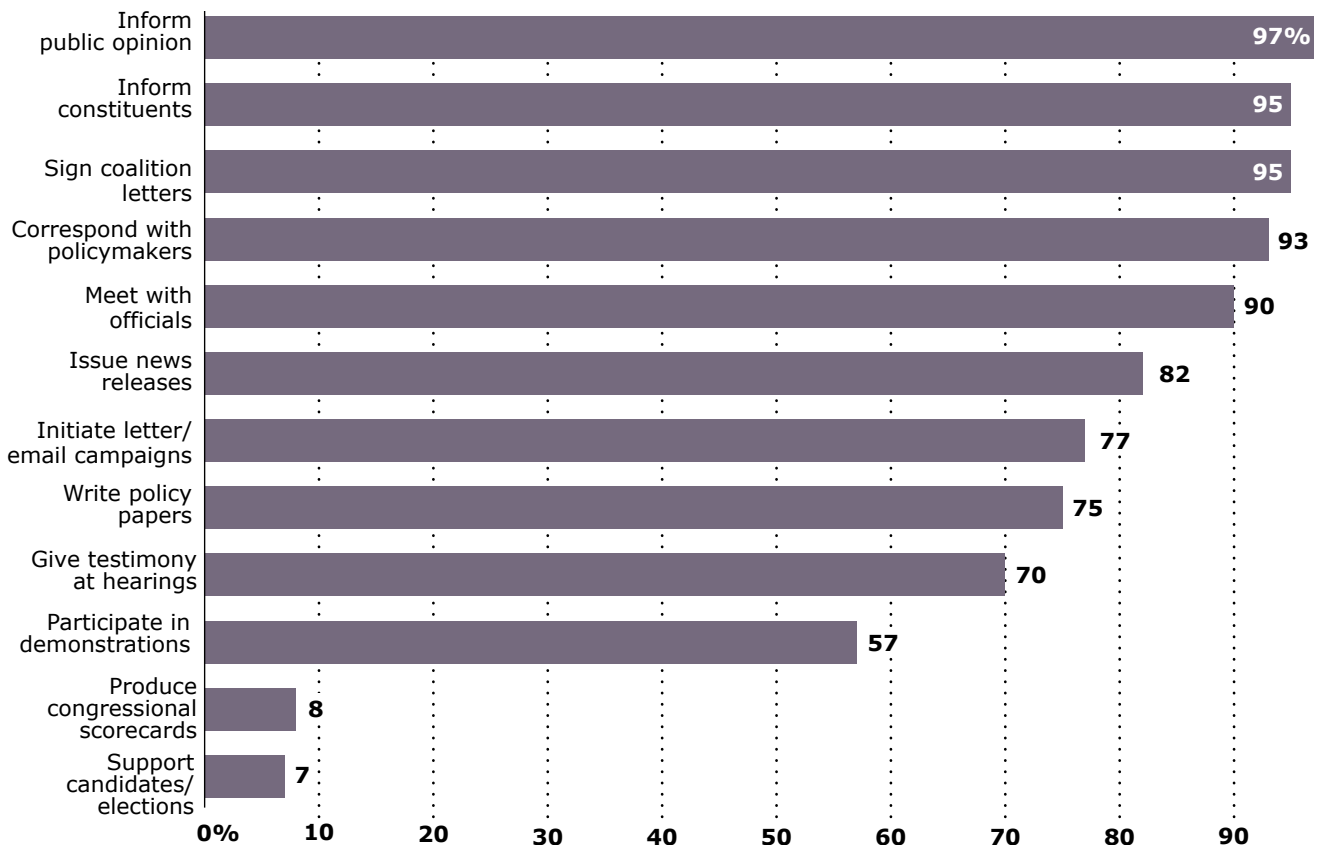
Methods and Strategies

The Pew Forum used responses to a mail and email questionnaire to gather data about the strategies religious advocacy groups use to try to influence public policy. Early in the study, questionnaires were mailed to 148 separate, active groups that had been identified as religious advocacy groups at that point, and 61 of these groups returned completed questionnaires. (For more details, see Methodology.)

About nine-in-ten groups that responded to the questionnaire report that they contact policymakers in person (90%) and in writing (93%). Leaders of the groups say they use both issue-specific research and broader moral or theological arguments in these communications.

Advocacy Strategies

Percentage of groups that say they ...



Based on the 61 groups that completed a questionnaire.

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About seven-in-ten of the groups that returned a questionnaire say they give testimony at hearings (70%) or author policy papers (75%). Far fewer groups produce scorecards on how members of Congress vote on legislation (8%) or support candidates in elections (7%). Because of their tax status, many religious advocacy groups are barred from supporting or opposing candidates in elections. In addition, leaders of many groups say they eschew partisan political activity on moral grounds. Interviews conducted as part of this study found that many of the leaders, particularly those who represent official religious bodies, tend to view electioneering as divisive and theologically inappropriate.

More than nine-in-ten groups that responded to the questionnaire also say that informing their grassroots constituencies (95%) and informing the general public (97%) are among their advocacy strategies. About three-quarters of the groups say they initiate letter-writing or email campaigns (77%) and issue news releases (82%). More than half participate in demonstrations or rallies (57%).

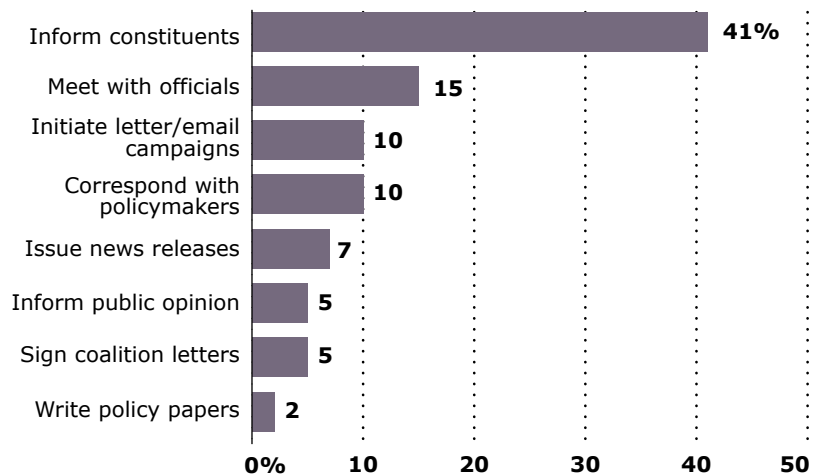
Among the other activities listed by religious advocacy organizations are participating in other groups' conferences and events, holding leadership workshops, and conducting academic and polling research to inform advocacy work.

The questionnaire also asked groups to report which activities they use *most often*. Informing constituents about issues is by far the most common strategy, cited by 41% of the groups as the one they use most often.

An increasingly common strategy that blends grassroots pressure and more-traditional Washington lobbying is the “lobby day,” when a group brings members from around the country to Washington, D.C., for a conference, provides training (and sometimes

Most Frequent Advocacy Methods

Percentage of groups that say their most frequently used strategy is to ...



Based on the 61 groups that completed a questionnaire.

Pew Research Center's Forum on Religion & Public Life
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detailed scripts) to participants, then organizes their visits to congressional offices. One example is the Mobilization to End Poverty, sponsored by the group Sojourners along with other faith and anti-poverty groups in April 2009. The meeting drew more than 1,100 activists who visited 83 Senate offices and 200 House offices to advocate for inclusion of low-income people in economic recovery policies. Another example is the Sikh Advocate Academy, held for the first time by The Sikh Coalition in June 2011. Billed as “a week-long, all expenses paid, experiential learning course in Washington D.C.,” it offered activists from across the country a chance to be “certified” as members of a volunteer network, the Sikh Coalition Advocacy Corps.

Another category of strategy is litigation aimed at establishing national legal precedents. This is a prime focus of certain organizations, such as the Home School Legal Defense Association, Christian Legal Society, Baptist Joint Committee for Religious Liberty, Americans United for Separation of Church and State, and the Becket Fund for Religious Liberty. For example, the Becket Fund has argued in federal courts that the denial of zoning permits to religious groups seeking to construct or expand houses of worship violates the Religious Land Use and Institutionalized Persons Act.²¹

Nearly all religious advocacy group leaders interviewed for this study agreed that building coalitions is vital to their efforts. Similarly, 95% of the groups that completed the Pew Forum’s questionnaire said that signing coalition letters to public officials is one of their advocacy strategies, and several mentioned more informal collaboration with like-minded groups, such as attending other groups’ conferences or meetings.

New Media Strategies

The growing popularity of new media has transformed the nature of constituent mobilization and woven it more deeply into the policymaking process. Previous studies of religious advocacy found that most religious groups did not have the means of operating large direct-mail operations to generate pressure on policymakers from constituents.²² Today, maintaining a large email list is relatively inexpensive, and with the click of a mouse constituents can register their views with their congressional representatives. And because email messages are easily shared, a group’s reach can expand beyond its core mailing list. For example, the executive secretary of the Friends Committee on National Legislation reported that some of its email alerts, such as its campaign against torture, have gone viral and generated as many as 160,000

21 For more on the Religious Land Use and Institutionalized Persons Act, see “A Fluid Boundary: The Free Exercise Clause and the Legislative and Executive Branches,” Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life, 2008, <http://pewforum.org/Church-State-Law/A-Fluid-Boundary-The-Free-Exercise-Clause-and-the-Legislative-and-Executive-Branches.aspx>.

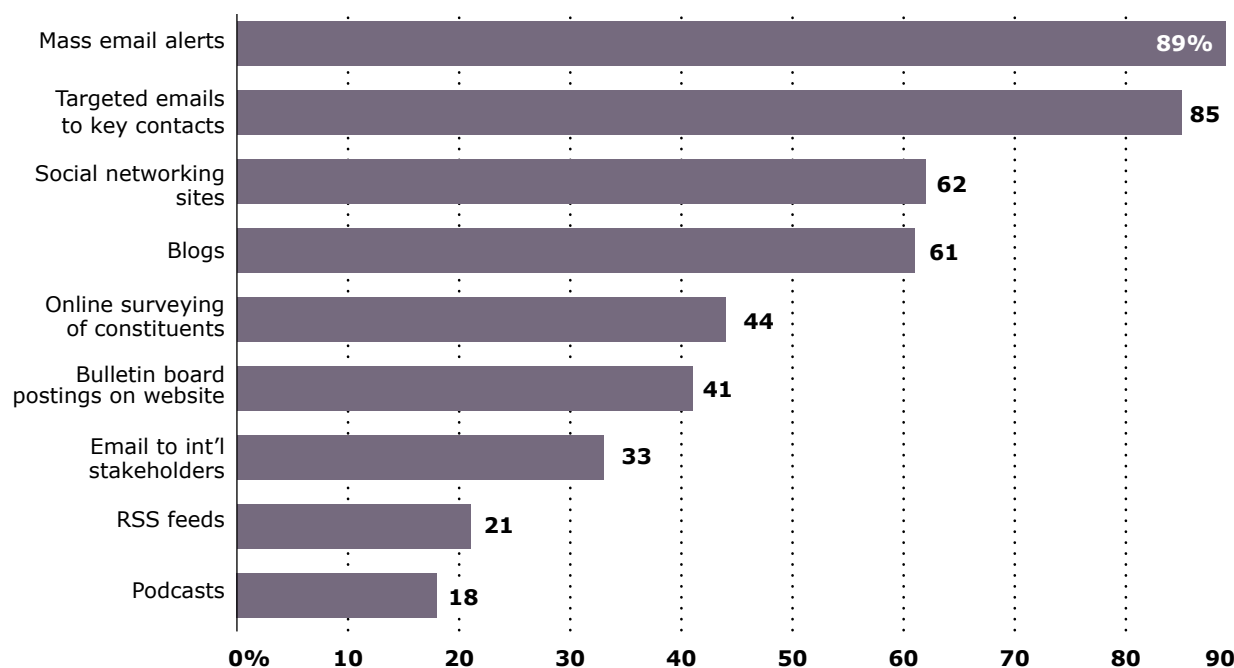
22 See Hertzke 1988.

messages to Congress, more than twice the number of people the Friends Committee has on its email list (60,000).

Additionally, many groups use sophisticated lobbying software to monitor constituent communications. Not long ago, Washington advocates had no way to know how many people responded to issue alerts urging them to write to members of Congress. Now, through email messaging software, many can track who wrote to which congressional offices and when.

New Media Strategies

Percentage of groups that say they use ...



Based on the 61 groups that completed a questionnaire.

Pew Research Center's Forum on Religion & Public Life • *Lobbying for the Faithful*, Updated May 2012

Six-in-ten of the groups that responded to the questionnaire (61%) maintain blogs on their websites, and more than eight-in-ten use targeted emails (85%) or mass emails (89%) to mobilize constituents. As of 2009, when the questionnaire was administered, more than six-in-ten groups already were using social networking tools, such as Facebook and Twitter, to engage and grow their audiences. Since new media usage – particularly social networking – has continued to grow since then, it is likely that new media use is even more prevalent today.²³

²³ See, for example, "65% of online adults use social networking sites," Pew Research Center's Internet & American Life Project, 2011, <http://www.pewinternet.org/Reports/2011/Social-Networking-Sites.aspx>.

In addition to the Web-based activities listed in the graph above, religious advocacy groups also reported hosting webinars, sending email newsletters, circulating online petitions and posting videos online.

The size and sophistication of constituent operations vary, but new technologies act as a kind of equalizer, enabling even small Washington staffs to reach deeper into the lives of their constituents through online networks.

Digital technologies also speed the process by facilitating the real-time response of grassroots constituencies to breaking developments in Washington, D.C., or around the world. And new media also allow people to take action easily, even from a distance, as religious leaders and advocates connect with other individuals and groups across the globe. In an interview for this study, for example, the Washington director of World Vision reported that the organization gained more than 100,000 new activists by using Facebook Causes. Similarly, the lobbying director of NETWORK, which describes itself as a national Catholic social justice lobby, observed that Twitter allowed her to generate virtually immediate discussion among constituents about breaking legislative developments.

Strategies for Global Advocacy

Some strategies are specific to groups that engage in global advocacy. Ninety groups promote their causes to governments outside the U.S. or to international bodies, and many of them have gained official nongovernmental organization (NGO) status at the United Nations, giving them an ongoing platform for their advocacy. Achieving “consultative” or “observer” status at the U.N. requires considerable time and dedication and bespeaks a serious ongoing commitment to international advocacy. An increasing number of groups also press their concerns before specific U.N. agencies, such as the Human Rights Council or the High Commissioner for Refugees in Geneva.

Some religious groups concerned with poverty and economic development strive to influence other global institutions, such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. Given that legal precedents influence the enforcement of international law on human rights and religious freedom, American legal advocacy groups also take cases before the European Court of Human Rights, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and other international tribunals.

Establishing offices in other countries also facilitates global advocacy. Several faith-based international relief and development organizations maintain offices on every inhabited

continent, and some of the larger organizations – such as Catholic Relief Services, World Vision and Adventist Development and Relief Agency International – staff operations in nearly 100 countries, or more. Several groups concerned with human rights and discrimination against minorities also maintain offices around the world. These include B’nai B’rith International (offices in London, Paris and Santiago, Chile, as well as other international cities), the International Campaign for Tibet (offices in Amsterdam, Brussels and Berlin) and the American Islamic Congress (offices in Cairo and Basra, Iraq).

Grassroots mobilization of constituents is another important strategy in global advocacy.²⁴ For example, American activists monitor events along the border between Sudan and the newly independent nation of South Sudan, alerting congressional staffs, the State Department and the news media to developments they think are important.

For some organizations, advocacy takes a more diplomatic turn. The Institute for Global Engagement, for instance, seeks to promote religious freedom abroad through a combination of quiet negotiations with governmental officials and grassroots workshops to help religious communities practice their new freedom responsibly. The group cites as an example its work with Vietnamese Christians and the government of Vietnam to enable churches to operate more freely there.

²⁴ For more information, see Hertzke 2004.

Methodology

Criteria for Selecting Groups

This study defines religious advocacy broadly, encompassing a wide range of efforts by organizations operating in Washington, D.C., to shape public policy on religion-related issues in the United States and abroad. It includes, but is not limited to, lobbying as strictly defined by the Internal Revenue Service – attempts to influence legislation by contacting, or urging the public to contact, legislators or their staffs in support or opposition to bills, resolutions, ballot initiatives or similar measures. In this study, religious advocacy also includes other efforts to shape public opinion or affect public policy, such as activities aimed at the White House and federal agencies, litigation designed to advance policy goals, and education or mobilization of religious constituencies on particular issues. (See “What Is Religious Advocacy?” on page 16.)

To be included in this study, an organization had to have a physical office and at least one paid employee in the greater Washington, D.C., area. It also had to meet one or more of the following criteria:

- Advocates on behalf of a particular denomination or religious tradition
- Advocates on behalf of a constituency defined in religious terms
- Advocates on behalf of a religious institution or group of institutions
- Promotes religious values in public policy
- Promotes an expressly secular or non-religious perspective on public policy
- Encourages policymakers to integrate faith in their work

The Pew Forum’s goal was to cast a wide net and include all groups whose public policy advocacy efforts are bound up with religion. Inevitably, however, some organizations fall into a gray area. Because reasonable observers can differ over what constitutes religious advocacy, and because advocacy organizations are continually forming and dissolving, this study is best understood as an examination of a large number of religious advocacy groups in Washington, D.C., rather than as a comprehensive list of each and every religious advocacy group operating in the nation’s capital.

Information Sources

The Pew Forum used a variety of sources to identify religious advocacy organizations, including:

- Published directories of Washington advocacy groups, particularly *Washington Information Directory 2010-2011* (CQ Press)
- The Yellow Pages, online telephone directories and websites
- The Pew Forum's own communications contact database
- News articles, academic studies and books on lobbying and public policy advocacy

The main sources of information about the groups included in the study were:

- Systematic examination of websites, mission statements, tax documents and other public records of religious advocacy groups spanning the years 2008-2010
- Phone and email inquiries seeking information not available on some groups' websites, such as the year in which the organization established a Washington, D.C., area office
- Responses to a written questionnaire (additional details below)
- In-depth interviews with the leaders of 36 organizations (additional details below)
- First-hand observation of congressional hearings, press conferences, lobby days and other public events involving religious advocacy groups in Washington, D.C., in 2008-2010

Websites

Most religious advocacy organizations included in the study maintain websites. Though they vary in depth and sophistication, the websites were a major source of data on organizational missions, issue agendas and religious traditions. In some cases, they also provided information on organizational structures, staffing, tax status and expenditures.

Self-administered Questionnaire

While websites typically convey a religious advocacy organization's goals, they often do not make clear how the organization tries to achieve its policy objectives. To probe further, Pew Forum researchers designed a self-administered questionnaire that was distributed to advocacy organizations by mail and email. The questionnaire included a combination of open-ended and closed-ended questions, and respondents were assured that their answers would be reported only in aggregate form. (See blank copy of the questionnaire online.)

Prior to sending out the final questionnaire, the Pew Forum conducted background research with a small number of groups to improve the wording of questions. The questionnaire was mailed or emailed (depending upon the format each group requested) during the week of April

13, 2009, to 183 groups that had been identified at the time. However, 35 of the 183 groups subsequently were determined to be inactive, ineligible for the study or sister organizations of other groups in the study.

The research team employed the Dillman method of attaining the highest response rate, which included three follow-up email communications after the initial distribution of the questionnaire.²⁵ Sixty-two organizations completed and returned the questionnaire, including one group that was dropped from the study because it no longer operates a Washington office. Thus, of the 148 separate, active groups that received the questionnaire, 61 completed and returned it. These 61 groups do not necessarily represent the religious advocacy groups as a whole.

Interviews

To gain deeper insights into religious advocacy, Visiting Senior Research Fellow Allen D. Hertzke developed a semi-structured interview protocol. Hertzke identified a cross-section of 55 groups reflecting a range of religious traditions, types of organizations, theological perspectives, political orientations, staff sizes and annual expenditures. One leader from each group was invited to participate in an on-the-record interview, and 36 leaders of the selected groups agreed. Interviews were conducted between early May 2009 and late July 2009. Each interview lasted about an hour and was recorded. Hertzke asked a standardized set of questions of all 36 leaders, but he also posed questions specific to each organization. (See list of standardized interview questions online.)

Observations at Congressional Hearings, Lobby Day Conferences and Other Religious Meetings

Professor Hertzke also attended numerous Washington events involving religious advocacy groups in 2008-2010, including press conferences, grassroots “lobby day” events and congressional hearings at which religious leaders testified. This enabled him to observe the groups in action and to talk with activists and policymakers. Among the events he attended were the Values Voter Summit (an annual conference of social conservatives hosted by the Family Research Council); Catholic Social Ministry Gathering (an annual meeting of Catholic organizations); Ecumenical Advocacy Days (an annual event to unite and mobilize Christian activists); and Mobilization to End Poverty (a conference organized by Sojourners).

²⁵ Don A. Dillman, Jolene D. Smyth, and Leah Melani Christian, *Internet, Mail, and Mixed-Mode Surveys: The Tailored Design Method*, Third Edition, Wiley, 2008.

Categorizing the Advocacy Groups

Groups were categorized in two main ways: by religious tradition and by organizational structure. To determine how to categorize each group, researchers examined the groups' websites and public documents. If those sources did not provide sufficient information to classify an organization's religious tradition and organizational structure, researchers made telephone and email inquiries, as well as checking interview transcripts, when applicable.

Religious Tradition

The following, mutually exclusive categories of religious tradition were used:

- Catholic
- Evangelical Protestant
- Mainline Protestant
- Peace Church Protestant (Quakers and Mennonites)
- Other Christian (Mormon, Christian Scientist, Coptic, Eastern Orthodox, historically Black Protestant Churches, Unification Church)
- Jewish
- Muslim
- Other religion (Baha'i, Sikh, Hindu, Buddhist, Scientology, Unitarian Universalist)
- Secular or non-religious
- Interreligious

Classifying groups into the categories of Catholic, mainline Protestant, Jewish and Muslim was a relatively straightforward process. Catholic groups typically identify their religious affiliation in their group's name, or else it is clearly noted in their mission statements. Similarly, many mainline Protestant groups identify the denomination they represent in their group's name, and Jewish and Muslim groups generally state their religious affiliation, as do the groups classified under the "Other Christian" or "Other religion" categories. Protestant groups in the "Peace Church" category usually highlight their pacifist stances as well as their affiliations on their websites.

The classification of evangelical Protestant groups, however, bears further explanation. While some evangelical Protestant groups clearly state their religious affiliation (examples include the Evangelical Environmental Network and the Ethics & Religious Liberty Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention), many groups with roots in the evangelical Protestant tradition do not include the word "evangelical" in their title or identify themselves with a particular evangelical denomination. Instead, these groups often identify themselves simply as Christian.

In some cases, further examination of websites, along with interviews and telephone or email inquiries, finds clear indicators of evangelicalism, such as:

1. discussion of evangelical roots or an evangelical identity
2. current or past links to an evangelical denomination
3. a statement of faith that includes common evangelical beliefs (e.g., the Bible is the inerrant word of God, salvation comes through faith in Christ alone and Christians should adhere to the “Great Commission” to evangelize)
4. a predominately evangelical Protestant constituency composed either of individual members or of evangelical institutions, such as private evangelical Protestant schools.

The last two categories – secular and interreligious – also warrant further detail. Groups that advocate on public policy issues from an expressly secular or non-religious point of view, often in opposition to the influence of religious groups, are considered in this study to be engaged in *religion-related* advocacy. By similar logic, the Pew Forum treats people who are religiously unaffiliated (those who say they are atheists, agnostics or have “no particular religion”) as a religious category in its public opinion surveys.

Groups were classified as interreligious if they describe themselves as interreligious, interfaith or ecumenical groups, or if they explicitly identify their supporters as coming from multiple faith traditions. This includes groups such as the National Religious Campaign Against Torture and the Save Darfur Coalition. This category also includes groups that bring together Christians from diverse denominations or traditions. For example, the membership of Eagle Forum includes both evangelicals and Catholics.

Organizational Structure

This report also divides religious advocacy groups into mutually exclusive categories of organizational structure. The categories were developed based on scholarly literature and the researchers’ assessment of the most commonly shared attributes among advocacy groups in the Washington area.²⁶ Each group was categorized into a type according to key characteristics, such as who or what groups it represents, its main sources of funding and its official sponsorship, among other factors. Below are descriptions of each.

Represents Individual Members: These groups represent the shared interests and concerns of their members. They may affiliate with a particular religious tradition but do not represent official religious bodies, or they may be nondenominational. Religion-related

²⁶ For more information, see Hertzke 1988 and Berry and Wilcox 2009.

professional associations are included in this category since they represent their members' professional interests and religion-related values. Examples include the Christian Medical & Dental Associations, the American Association of Jewish Lawyers and Jurists, the Conference of Major Superiors of Men and Karamah: Muslim Women Lawyers for Human Rights.

Represents Institutions: These groups are the national headquarters or national advocacy offices that represent religiously sponsored institutions, such as secondary schools, colleges, hospitals, social service agencies, broadcast media, international relief and development agencies, missionary societies and religious orders.

Represents Religious Bodies: These groups are the national headquarters or national advocacy offices of official religious bodies. Some represent only one religious tradition or denomination. Others are the national advocacy offices of inter-denominational associations that represent several bodies within a single religious tradition, such as the National Council of Churches and the National Association of Evangelicals.

Permanent Coalitions: These groups are made up of two or more organizations with a long-term commitment to shared perspectives, concerns or interests. Permanent coalitions have their own national headquarters or national advocacy offices and their own annual advocacy expenses, separate from the offices and expenses of their member organizations. This includes such groups as the National Coalition to Abolish the Death Penalty, the Coalition to Stop Gun Violence and Churches for Middle East Peace.

Think Tanks: These groups are the national headquarters or national offices of research institutes that apply religion-related principles and perspectives to policy analysis and promotion. This includes such groups as the Ethics and Public Policy Center and the Institute on Religion & Democracy.

Hybrid Groups: These groups are the national headquarters or national advocacy offices of organizations that promote religion-related perspectives or concerns and blend features of more than one structural type. The Becket Fund for Religious Liberty, for example, combines elements of a think tank with a robust litigation program. Hybrid groups also may advance specific causes (as individual member groups typically do) while relying principally on benefactors (as think tanks do).

Sources of Annual Advocacy Expenses Data

Because the availability and quality of financial information for religious advocacy organizations varies, not all groups could be included in this report's analysis of advocacy spending. But researchers were able to find information on recent (2008 and/or 2009) advocacy expenses for 129 out of the 216 groups in this study.

Since this report's definition of religious advocacy includes both direct lobbying and broader advocacy efforts to influence public policy, expenses for both 501(c)(4) and 501(c)(3) groups are included in this analysis. (See "What Is Religious Advocacy?" on page 16.) Additionally, when groups had both a 501(c)(3) and a 501(c)(4) operation, advocacy expenses for both operations were often combined. An example is Bread for the World, which operates both a registered lobby for effecting policy change and a tax-exempt educational foundation, the Bread for the World Institute, which seeks to raise the visibility of hunger issues and to educate policymakers and the public about hunger around the world.

The Internal Revenue Service's Form 990 – the annual reporting form that most nonprofit organizations must file – was the most commonly available source of financial information.²⁷ To obtain these documents, researchers relied primarily on GuideStar, a company that compiles public information on a large number of nonprofit organizations in an online database. Due to lag time between when groups are required to submit this information to the government and when the information becomes available on GuideStar, 2009 was the most recent year for which data on most groups were available, and for some groups the most recent filing was for 2008. Pew Forum researchers used GuideStar from mid-2008 to mid-2011 to access Form 990s.

Although nearly all groups included in this study are required to file an annual Form 990 with the IRS, recent GuideStar records were incomplete for some groups. In addition, the Form 990s did not always provide sufficient detail to extract advocacy expenses, particularly for groups whose advocacy is only part of a larger mission. In these instances, every attempt was made to locate alternative sources of reliable financial data, such as annual reports and audited financial statements. In a few cases, researchers communicated directly with a representative from the organization to obtain financial data.

Advocacy groups vary in the way they categorize and disclose expenditures in Form 990s, audited financial statements and annual reports, with some providing extensive detail and

²⁷ Houses of worship and their auxiliary organizations are exempt from the requirement to file a Form 990.

others providing only total expenditures with little breakdown. In addition, not all groups use the same accounting year when reporting expenses. Some use the calendar year; some a fiscal year beginning in July; others use a fiscal year beginning in October. For the purpose of this study, fiscal data was classified as 2008 data if it reflected the 2008 calendar year or a fiscal year starting in 2008, e.g., July 2008-June 2009 or October 2008-September 2009. This approach was selected to be consistent with the way the Form 990s categorize different fiscal years. Form 990s for 2008 had data for not only the 2008 calendar year but also for years running from October 2008 to September 2009 and from July 2008 to June 2009.

Identifying Advocacy Expenses

Determining how much groups spend to support their advocacy activities required decision rules for several different scenarios. For groups headquartered in the nation's capital whose principal mission is advocacy, total expenditures were used. (Although an organization's total spending may include administrative overhead and fundraising expenses, if the organization's principal mission is advocacy, the administrative and fundraising costs are reasonably considered to be in the service of advocacy.) This category comprised the majority of groups for which recent financial data were available (91 of the 129). Examples include the Family Research Council, National Right to Life Committee, Interfaith Alliance, Bread for the World and American Israel Public Affairs Committee.

For organizations with broader missions than advocacy, researchers sought to identify the portion of each group's total spending that corresponds to this report's broad definition of advocacy. In some cases this was relatively simple because some groups have created separately funded organizations to carry out their public policy advocacy efforts. Examples include the Washington-based advocacy arms of certain religious denominations, such as the United Methodist Church's General Board of Church & Society. In these cases the total budget for the Washington-based advocacy program was chosen.

Many groups, however, do not have separately funded advocacy arms. In such cases, researchers looked through each group's Form 990s, audited financial statements and/or annual reports seeking the budget categories that best reflect advocacy efforts. These categories included, but were not limited to, expenses labeled as "lobbying" or "direct lobbying." Other relevant categories reported by various groups include: government relations, advocacy, public policy, policy activities, domestic policy, and government and international affairs.

Organizations headquartered outside Washington often do not separately list expenses for their Washington offices. Many, however, do report expenditures for some of the same categories listed above – such as government and international affairs, justice and witness,

and public awareness and education – which cover expenses for their Washington offices as well as for advocacy efforts based elsewhere. Examples include the Episcopal Church Office of Government Relations, the United Church of Christ Justice and Witness Ministries, and the American Jewish Committee’s program in government and international affairs. It seemed reasonable to include budget totals for these categories because national headquarters spending on advocacy broadly supports the Washington-based initiatives.

Some groups report only their total advocacy expenditures; they do not separate what they spend on efforts to influence foreign governments and populations from what they spend on public policy initiatives in the United States. If there was evidence that a group’s international advocacy was essentially an adjunct to its efforts to influence U.S. policy, the expenses were included in this report’s analysis. If, conversely, an organization’s foreign advocacy efforts were its central focus, its expenditures were excluded from the listings and computations. Examples of groups whose expenditures were not included in the study for this reason are the International Justice Mission, the Institute for Global Engagement and the International Center for Religion & Diplomacy, all of which focus most of their policy initiatives abroad.

Similarly, some groups do not separately report their expenses for national, state and local advocacy efforts. If there was evidence that a group’s state and/or local public policy initiatives were part and parcel of its advocacy efforts in the nation’s capital, the comprehensive nationwide expenditure figure was used. If, on the other hand, an organization’s advocacy efforts take place largely at the state and local level, researchers decided that using a nationwide figure could be misleading. For example, the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) is a large organization based in New York City that engages in a wide range of educational, legal and advocacy efforts to combat anti-Semitism. Its largest advocacy-related budget category is “Civil Rights Expenses,” at \$5.8 million, but the bulk of this work involves litigation and advocacy on local cases of defamation and anti-Semitic incidents across the United States, so the Civil Rights category was not selected for this report. Instead, researchers chose the narrower category of “lobbying expenses” as the annual advocacy spending of the ADL. That figure, approximately \$484,000, may underestimate the organization’s national advocacy budget.

Some groups publicly report their expenses for lobbying, as defined by the IRS, but do not break down their other spending into any categories that seem to correspond to advocacy. Although the lobbying category is one indication of how much an organization spends annually on advocacy, in some cases it vastly underestimates the amount spent on broader advocacy efforts. Where major organizations listed only a small amount of spending for narrowly defined lobbying, and no other relevant budget categories, they were omitted from the listing and computations in this report.

Some organizations' budget categories do not make obvious distinctions between advocacy and non-advocacy initiatives. The U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops (USCCB), for example, reports its spending on "policy activities," which includes support for government relations, Catholic education, migration and refugee services, "pro-life activities" and the "Human Development, Justice and Peace" program. It also includes support for publishing initiatives and media relations. In the absence of a more detailed breakdown of the USCCB's expenditures, the "policy activities" expenditure figure was used for the November 2011 study.

Subsequently, the USCCB raised concerns about the category the Pew Forum used for its advocacy expenditures and provided its own estimate of its advocacy spending (\$1,000,000). However, the bishops conference did not provide a numerical breakdown or verifiable source for the estimate. As a result, the Pew Forum did not include the USCCB in the expenditure analysis in the updated report. Similarly, no expenditures figures are reported for the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE) in the updated report. Like the USCCB, the NAE gave the Pew Forum its own estimate for its advocacy spending (\$150,000) but did not cite a specific source for the estimate.

Identifying the advocacy budgets of large relief and development organizations posed a particular challenge. Groups such as Catholic Relief Services, World Vision and Adventist Development and Relief Agency International have global budgets totaling hundreds of millions of dollars. Typically, these large relief groups do not separately report how much they spend on their Washington offices or itemize their advocacy-related expenses. Yet they often have considerable engagement in Washington policymaking, backed by information from field offices around the world, facilitated by contracts with U.S. government agencies and supported by millions of lay constituents whom they seek to mobilize. Researchers, therefore, sought to identify budget categories that reflect spending by these groups to educate policymakers, constituents and the public about such issues as hunger, disease and international development needs. These categories include: public awareness and education, public awareness and public relations.

After the original report was released in November 2011, Catholic Relief Services questioned the annual advocacy expenditure figures given for it. After receiving and assessing additional information, the Pew Forum decided to modify the annual advocacy expenses reported for the group. (For details, see the "All Expenditures Data" table at <http://www.pewforum.org/uploadedFiles/all-expenditures.pdf>.) In light of the questions raised by Catholic Relief Services, the Pew Forum also decided to review the expenditures of some other relief and development organizations in the study, even though they did not dispute the figures originally reported. After further investigation and correspondence with leaders of these groups, the

Pew Forum also modified the expenditure figures for Barnabas Aid, Church World Service and Lutheran World Relief. (For details, see the “All Expenditures Data” table at <http://www.pewforum.org/uploadedFiles/all-expenditures.pdf>.)

As is evident from this discussion, the expenditure figures selected for this report may in some cases overestimate advocacy spending while in other cases they likely underestimate it. For those who may wish to define advocacy spending either more narrowly or more expansively, this report provides details on exactly where, and under what categories, the Pew Forum obtained annual spending figures for each group. (See <http://www.pewforum.org/uploadedFiles/all-expenditures.pdf>.) Because 2008/2009 annual budgets for 87 of the 216 groups were not obtainable, the total advocacy spending tallied in this report is likely a conservative sum.

The chart on the next page provides a brief overview of the decision rules used to select expenditure figures for this study.

DESCRIPTION OF ORGANIZATION	HOW RELIGIOUS ADVOCACY EXPENSES WERE IDENTIFIED	EXAMPLE
1 Any group that is headquartered in capital-area with advocacy as its principal mission	Use total expenses.	Americans United for Separation of Church and State
2 Any group that is headquartered in capital-area, but advocacy is not principal mission	Use budget categories to identify advocacy expenses. If categories are not sufficient, or are not listed, exclude from advocacy expenses.	Adventist Development and Relief Agency International, "Public Relations Expenses"
3 Any group that is headquartered outside the D.C. metro area but maintains a capital-area office to support organization's advocacy efforts	If D.C. office has its own Form 990/annual report/audited financial statement, use the D.C. office's total expenses. If D.C. office does not file a separate Form 990/annual report/audited financial statement, use budget categories to identify advocacy expenses.	American Jewish Committee, "Government and International Relations"
4 Any group for which international advocacy is its principal activity but which also does national advocacy	Use budget categories to identify domestic advocacy spending. If the categories are insufficient or no breakdown is given, exclude from advocacy expenses.	International Justice Mission, mostly international advocacy and no category for Washington-based advocacy, so exclude.
5 Any group for which state or local advocacy is its principal activity but which also does national advocacy	Use budget categories to identify national advocacy spending. If such categories are insufficient or are not listed, exclude from advocacy expenses or replace with more narrow category.	Anti-Defamation League, use narrower "lobbying expenses" instead of broader "Civil Rights Expenses"
6 Any group that provides detailed information on expenses for lobbying (IRS definition) but no expenditure figures that correspond to advocacy, more broadly defined	Where lobbying expenditures were deemed to significantly underestimate advocacy spending, eliminate group from analysis.	Care Net, no appropriate category

Data on Staff Levels

Researchers relied on a variety of sources to determine the best estimate of the paid, full-time staff working in the Washington, D.C., area for the advocacy organizations in this study. Data were available for 120 groups. Group websites were the main source of data on staffing, supplemented by information obtained from interviews and questionnaires. Some, but not all, groups list their advocacy staff on their websites, but there is not a standardized way that groups report the size of their advocacy-related staff. In some cases, organizations list only policy staff or only professional staff, omitting support staff. In other cases, they include only their 501(c)(4) organizational staff, omitting those who work for a 501(c)(3) companion organization (or vice versa). The Family Research Council, for example, identified 30 professional staff members on its website, but the staff member interviewed for this report estimated total staff at around 65. Bread for the World lists 65 policy staff on its website, but a representative of the organization estimated its total staff – for both its 501(c)(4) and its 501(c)(3) organizations – at more than 80. In these cases, particularly, interview and questionnaire data supplemented and validated data available on websites.

Because data sources do not provide precise staff figures for each organization in a standardized way, researchers grouped the available data by ranges. The ranges are as follows: >50, 26-50, 13-25, 6-12 and 1-5.

Identifying Group Issues and Policy Concerns

To examine the issues that religious advocacy groups prioritize, researchers looked at policy concerns listed on group websites. Issue concerns change over time, as does the content of group websites, so the issue analysis represents a “snapshot” in time – from 2008-2010 – of the religious policy concerns.

For each group, the website was searched for every issue of concern to the group. Websites were searched for headings labeled “about us,” “issues” and similar topics, as well as blogs and press releases, and under those headings the pages were probed for specific keywords or issue statements. These keywords and issue statements were then systematically charted for every group. The following describes the webpage search protocols used to identify issues of concern:

EXAMPLES OF SECTIONS/ HEADINGS SEARCHED	EXAMPLES OF KEYWORDS SEARCHED
<p>“About Us” Section, including any subheadings:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Who We Are” • “What We Do” • “Our Principles” • “Our Belief” or “Our Creed” 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Advocacy • Lobbying • Take Action • Get Involved • Tell Congress • How to Help
<p>“Our Issues” Section, including any of the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Press Releases • “In the News” • “Our Blog” 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Advocacy or Public Policy • Legislative Priorities • Government Affairs • Federal Relations

Striving for as much detail as possible, each issue mentioned was catalogued. Issues were grouped initially into the most general categories for comparison, e.g., domestic versus international. Within those two categories, issues were organized into major groups, and under them by more specific foci. This process identified about 300 issues of concern to religious advocacy groups.