

#### **NEWS**Release

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# **National Security More Linked With Partisan Affiliation POLITICS AND VALUES IN A 51%-48% NATION**

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# **National Security More Linked With Partisan Affiliation POLITICS AND VALUES IN A 51%-48% NATION**

Public attitudes on national security are now much more strongly associated with partisan affiliation than they were in the late 1990s. A comprehensive study of long-term public values finds that beliefs about national security are now twice as important as economic or social values in shaping a person's partisan identification. Five years ago, these national security values barely registered as a correlate of partisanship.

The survey of the public's values by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, conducted Dec. 1-16 among 2,000 adults, finds considerable evidence of the nation's political divisions. It also shows the public is attuned to the increasingly partian environment – two-thirds (66%) believe the country is more politically divided than in the past, and roughly half say the people they know or more divided.

The war in Iraq is seen as the primary cause for the increasing divisiveness. The war has intensified partisan differences over long-term attitudes toward national security – notably, whether military strength, or good diplomacy, is the best way to ensure peace. On that measure and others, Republicans are more hawkish than in past values surveys, while Democrats have become more dovish.

Yet this survey cannot be viewed as simply a study in rising partisanship. It also confirms that a number of consensus values endure, which may be a surprising finding in today's political climate. For example, Americans overwhelmingly agree on the importance of religion, on the power of personal initiative, and on the need to protect the environment. They are likewise bound by skepticism toward big business and they generally agree that there has been movement toward racial progress.

Moreover, Pew's values survey finds that many of the questions that divide the public are not partisan in nature. Immigration, which could emerge as a major issue in Bush's second term, splits both parties fairly evenly. And when it comes to opinions on government, the level of partisanship has actually decreased over time. GOP hostility toward government – a dominant attitude among Republicans in the early 1990s – has softened considerably.

## Security Divide Deepens

Last year's election underscored the stark divisions over the war in Iraq. The exit poll by the National Election Pool found that 79% of Bush voters said the war had improved U.S. security, while 88% of Kerry voters said it had not.

Increasingly, that same divisiveness is seen in Pew's long-term foreign policy and national security measures. Indeed, our values survey showed that, taken together, attitudes on the efficacy of force versus diplomacy, and on the obligation of Americans to fight for their country, are now by far the strongest predictors of whether a person is a Republican or a Democrat. These attitudes surpass opinions on every other subject – including attitudes toward homosexuality, religion and the role of government in helping the poor– in predicting partisanship.

Of course, differences over America's place in the world are not new. Indeed, it would be hard to argue that the political tensions over national security are any greater now than they were the Vietnam during or Korean Wars. Even in the when national 1990s. security largely receded as a public concern, there were substantial disagreements over the efficacy of military force and over Americans' obligation to fight for their country.

Top Five Values Related to Party Identification						
1999	Index of <u>influence</u>	2004	Index of <u>influence</u>			
Government is almost always wasteful and inefficient	10	The best way to ensure peace is through military strength	24			
Government regulation of business is necessary to protect the public interest	10	We should all be willing to fight for our country, whether it is right or wrong	12			
Homosexuality is a way of life that should be accepted by society		As Americans we can always find ways to solve our problems	10			
Poor people today have it easy because of government benefits	9	Poor people today have it easy because of government benefits	8			
The government should do more to help needy Americans	8	This country should do whatever it takes to protect the environment	t <b>8</b>			
Index numbers reflect the relative impact of each item in explaining party identification. Based on multiple regression analysis.						

What has changed since then is the extent to which attitudes toward national security influence partisan affiliation and voting decisions. During the 1990s, attitudes about government, welfare and business – as well as opinions concerning homosexuality – were most important in determining party affiliation, voting decisions, and presidential approval. But today, a *single* question -- regarding the relative effectiveness of force versus diplomacy -- is as powerful a predictor of party identification as the full set of values questions were in 1999.

#### Democratic Shift on Security

Significantly, the values study found little change in the public's overall views on basic foreign policy attitudes, even as Republicans and Democrats have grown further apart. A modest majority of all Americans (55%) said in December 2004 that good diplomacy, not military strength, is the best way to ensure peace. That was the same number who held that view in 1999 and virtually the same as in 1996 (53%).

However, an increasing number of Republicans subscribe to the view that military strength – rather than effective diplomacy -- is the best way to ensure peace. The percentage endorsing diplomacy as the better option dropped from 46% in 1999 to 32% in 2004.

The movement among Democrats – in the opposite direction – has been just as dramatic. In the 1990s, roughly 60% of Democrats expressed the view that good diplomacy was the best way to ensure peace; that number rose to 76% in 2004.

A similar pattern is evident in views on the obligation to fight for the country, whether it is right or wrong. As in the 1990s, the public remained split on this measure – 46% thought a person should fight, whether the country is right or wrong, while an identical number said it is acceptable for someone to decline to fight in a war they see as morally wrong.

Since 1999, an increasing number of Republicans express the view that a person has an obligation to fight, while Democrats have moved in the opposite direction. By 66% to 27%, Republicans





said that people should fight for the country, right or wrong; Democrats, by a comparable margin said it is acceptable to refuse to fight in a war that one sees as morally wrong.

## **Election Intensifies Differences**

Pew first found growing evidence of a political gap in national security values more than a year ago, in our major survey on the Americans political landscape in November 2003. If anything, the 2004 election appears to have intensified these differences.

Roughly two-thirds of Bush voters said that using overwhelming force is the best way to defeat global terrorism. An even larger percentage of Kerry voters said that relying too much on military force creates hatred that leads to more terrorism.

Conflicting Views of America's Place in the World						
	<u>Total</u> %	Bush <u>Voters</u> %	Kerry <u>Voters</u> %	Didn't <u>vote</u> %		
Military force is best way to defeat terrorism Too much force creates hatred	39	66	17	33		
that leads to more terrorism	51	25	76	55		
Neither/Both/Don't Know (Vol.)	<u>10</u> 100	<u>9</u> 100	<u>7</u> 100	<u>12</u> 100		
Take allies interests into account Follow own national interests Neither/Both/Don't Know (Vol.)	53 37 <u>10</u> 100	43 49 <u>8</u> 100	68 25 <u>7</u> 100	47 38 <u>15</u> 100		
Best for country to be active in world affairs We should concentrate on	44	57	37	34		
problems at home	49	37	57	59		
Neither/Both/Don't Know (Vol.)	<u>7</u> 100	<u>6</u> 100	<u>6</u> 100	<u>7</u> 100		
Number of cases	2,000	808	706	358		

Bush and Kerry voters also expressed starkly different views about the U.S. role in world affairs. While a majority of Bush voters endorsed an activist foreign policy, just as many Kerry voters instead agreed with the statement: "We should pay less attention to problems overseas and concentrate on problems here at home."

### **Consensus Amid Conflict**

However, what is frequently overlooked in discussions of public values is the extent to which there is a large measure of agreement, at least on general principles.

For example, roughly three-quarters of Americans said that "religion is a very important part of my And slightly life." more – 78% – believe that everyone has it in his or her own power to succeed. These are values that transcend and politics set Americans apart from people in other wealthy nations.

Consensus Values			
<b>Religious faith</b> Religion is a very important part of my life Religion is not that important to me Neither/Both/Don't know (Vol.)	<u>1994</u> % n/a	<u>1999</u> % 75 22 <u>2</u> 100	$     \frac{2004}{\%} $ 74 24 $     \frac{2}{100} $
<b>Personal Empowerment &amp; Optimism</b> Success in life is pretty much outside of our control Everyone has it in their own power to succeed Neither/Both/Don't know (Vol.)	18 79 <u>3</u> 100	15 80 <u>5</u> 100	16 78 <u>1</u> 100
<i>Environmental Protection</i> This country should do whatever it takes to protect the environment This country has gone too far in its efforts to protect the environment	78 19 <u>3</u>	80 15 <u>5</u>	77 18
Neither/Both/Don't know (Vol.) <i>Perceptions of Business Power</i> Too much power is concentrated in the hands of a few large companies	<u>5</u> 100 76	<u>5</u> 100 77	5 100 77
The largest companies do not have too much power Neither/Both/Don't know (Vol.)	19 <u>5</u> 100	17 <u>6</u> 100	16 <u>7</u> 100
Belief in Black Progress The position of blacks in American society has improved in recent years There hasn't been much real progress for blacks in	72	78	73
recent years Neither/Both/Don't know (Vol.)	25 <u>3</u> 100	18 <u>4</u> 100	$\begin{array}{c} 20 \\ \underline{7} \\ 100 \end{array}$

There also are more concrete issues on which much of the public holds similar values. By more than four-to-one, Americans said the country "should do whatever it takes" to protect the environment. And by a similar margin -77%-16% -- the public felt that the largest companies have too much power. Even on the contentious subject of race, significant majorities of Americans said that the position of blacks has improved in recent years.

#### Where Consensus Splinters

As is frequently the case, there was greater consensus on fundamental values relating to religion, business and other subjects than on more practical questions of policy implementation. Despite the overwhelming sense that big business is too powerful, for example, there was no agreement over the wisdom of using government to counteract that power.

The public also was divided over whether businesses make too much profit -53% thought they do, while 39% said that corporate profits are reasonable. This opinion has remained stable over the past decade, despite the corporate scandals of recent years. Republicans and Democrats have very different views on this question, with a 64% majority

#### **Opinion on Corporate Profits**

Corporations make too much profit53Corporations make a fair and<br/>reasonable amount of profit39Neither/Both/ Don't Know (Vol.)8100

of Democrats saying profits are too high compared with only 46% of Republicans who felt this way.

#### **Religion and Morality**

Although Americans are bound by their sense of the personal importance of religion, they

divide almost evenly over whether belief in God is a prerequisite of personal morality. Roughly half assert that it is necessary to believe in God to be a moral person, while nearly as many disagree.

Belief in God and MoralityIt IS necessary to believe in God in order<br/>to be moral and have good values51It is NOT necessary to believe in God in<br/>order to be moral and have good values46Neither/Both/Don't know3<br/>100

This is not a partisan question;

Democrats and Republicans are each split on the issue. But the link between faith and morality divides the public in other ways. Only about a third of college graduates (35%) believe a person needs to believe in God in order to be moral, while more than two-thirds (68%) of those with no high school diploma feel this way. Whites are split evenly on the question, but blacks by a three-to-one margin (72% to 24%) see faith in God as necessary for a moral life.

#### Personal Empowerment

Americans not only overwhelmingly believe that all people have it in their power to succeed, they also see hard work as the key to success. About two-thirds agreed with the statement that "most people who want to get ahead can make it if they're willing to work hard." That is down a bit from the boom years of 1999 and 2000, but majorities of Americans at all income levels still think hard work can lead to success.

The public is somewhat less bullish about the country's ability to deal with problems, a judgment that is made to some degree through a partisan lens. Overall, 59% thought that Americans "can always find ways to solve our problems and get what we want"; 36% said the country cannot solve many of its problems. Nearly three-quarters of Republicans said Americans generally are capable of dealing with their problems – but only about half of Democrats agreed.

As in the past, opinion is split fairly evenly over whether there are any limits to growth in this country. A narrow 51% majority said there are no limits to growth, but as many as 41% thought that Americans "should learn to live with less."

#### **Protecting the Environment**

Large and unchanging majorities of the public endorse environmentalism. However, for many the potential economic costs associated with stricter environmental laws are more problematic.

Ideology and partisanship strongly influence views on this measure. By more than

The Cost of Environmental Protection				
Stricter environmental laws and regulations cost too many jobs and hurt the economy Stricter environmental laws and regulations	31			
are worth the cost	60			
Both/Neither/Don't know	<u>9</u> 100			

six-to-one (83% to 12%), liberal Democrats said that tougher environmental laws are worth the cost. Just 49% of conservative Republicans agreed, while 41% thought such laws cost too many jobs and hurt the economy.

## How Much Black Progress?

Americans continue to take a positive view of the amount of progress achieved by African Americans. By more than three-to-one (73%-20%), the public said that the position of blacks in Americans society has improved in recent years.

There was a sizable split between whites and African Americans on this question, though even among blacks a majority (56%) said progress has been made. Attitudes on this value

Black-White Gap on Race in America						
	Total	White	<u>Black</u>			
	%	%	%			
Position of blacks has improved	73	77	56			
Hasn't been much real progress for						
blacks in recent years	20	17	38			
Neither/Both/Don't Know (Vol.)	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>			
	100	100	100			
Discrimination is main reason many blacks can't get ahead	27	24	44			
Blacks who can't get ahead are responsible for their condition Neither/Both/Don't Know (Vol.)	60 <u>13</u>	63 <u>13</u>	43 <u>13</u>			
	100	100	100			

have been stable for a decade, among whites and blacks.

Most Americans endorsed the view that blacks who have been unable to make gains are mostly responsible for their own circumstances. But this is much more of a settled issue for whites than for African Americans, who are evenly divided over whether blacks who cannot get ahead are responsible for their fate, or whether racial discrimination is to blame.

#### Little Change in Views on Homosexuality

An earlier Pew survey on the nation's political landscape, conducted in November 2003, showed that despite the signs of increasing polarization on many issues, there was no evidence of a growing gap on social and cultural values. In spite of the debate over the role that moral values and issues such as gay marriage played in Bush's victory, that remained pretty much the case in Pew's postelection values survey.

For example, on the question on whether homosexuality should be accepted or discouraged, which Pew has been



measuring for a decade, 49% said it should be accepted, while 44% thought homosexuality

should be discouraged. That was consistent with results from surveys in 2000 and 1999; in the mid-1990s, the balance was tilted slightly the other way, with pluralities saying homosexuality should be discouraged.

There are major differences between Republicans and Democrats on this value – 58% of Democrats and 36% of Republicans said that homosexuality should be accepted and not discouraged. But in contrast with attitudes toward national security, where there has been a growing partisan gap, the balance of opinion among Republicans and Democrats on this question has changed very little since the 1990s.

On the broad question of the government's role in upholding morals, about half of all Americans -51% – agreed with the statement "I worry the government is getting too involved in the issue of morality," while 41% favored the government doing more in this area.

Republicans were more supportive than Democrats of greater government involvement in

<b>Government Protecting Morality</b>							
	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Rep</u> %	Dem %	Ind %			
Should do more to protect morality Getting too involved	41	53	34	37			
in morality Neither/Don't know	51 <u>8</u> 100	41 <u>6</u> 100	60 <u>6</u> 100	54 <u>9</u> 100			

protecting morals. Still, Republicans were somewhat ambivalent -53% believed the government should do more to protect morality while 41% said they worry that the government is getting too involved in morality.

## Government OK with GOP

Americans have long been conflicted in their overall views of government and politicians. At times, the public has swung toward a harshly critical stance – as in the mid-1990s, when antigovernment sentiment surged. But in the wake of September 11, support for government rebounded, as Americans looked to Washington for protection.

Pew's December 2004 survey on political values found moderation in the public's attitudes toward government. Nearly half of all Americans – 45% -thought government does a better job than



it gets credit for; about the same number (47%) said that government is almost always "wasteful and inefficient." There was a similar split over the efficacy of government regulation – 49% believed it is necessary to protect the public interest, while 41% said it does more harm than good.

But Democrats and Republicans no longer differ on these questions as they did through the 1990s. As recently as 1999, there were gaps of about 20 percentage points between the parties on both of these values; and throughout the 1990s, responses to these questions were important predictors of voting preference.

Those differences have now narrowed or vanished, and the change has been largely driven by growing pro-government sentiment among Republicans. This no doubt has much to do with the fact Republicans now control both the White House and Congress. Even so, the GOP's increasing comfort with government represents a major shift from the days of the Republican revolution.

Politicians have long had a negative image with the public. Twothirds of Americans (66%) said in the December 2004 survey that elected officials in Washington lose touch with people pretty quickly, and 63% felt that elected officials generally "don't care what people like me think." These numbers actually represent modest improvement since the mid-1990s.

Reflecting their parties' contrasting political fortunes over the past decade, Republicans have become much less



critical of Washington politicians, while Democrats have become somewhat more negative. In July 1994, 73% of Republicans said that elected officials tend to lose touch quickly; ten years later, 55% felt this way. By comparison, the number of Democrats taking this position grew from 66% in July 1994 to 72% last year.

### **Debating Immigration's Impact**

The values survey showed the public is evenly divided on the impact that immigrants are having on American culture and the economy. It also found no evidence that concerns about terrorism and homeland security have led to significantly more negative views of immigrants.

About as many people said immigrants strengthen the U.S., because of their hard work and talents, as said they are a burden because of the impact on jobs, schools, health care and the like. Views of immigrants were a bit less

<b>Opinions about Immigrants</b>	
	Total
Immigrants	%
Strengthen our country through their	
hard work and talents	45
Are a burden because they take our jobs,	
housing and health care	44
Neither/Both/Don't Know (Vol.)	<u>11</u>
	100
Newcomers from other countries	
Threaten traditional American customs	
and values	40
Strengthen American society	50
Neither/Both/Don't Know (Vol.)	<u>10</u>
	100

positive than in 2000, during the economic boom, but much more favorable than in the mid-1990s. In 1994, the public by two to one saw immigrants as burdening the U.S. rather than strengthening it.

Americans also disagreed about whether immigrants, on balance, strengthen American culture (50% said this) or threaten it (40%). Hispanics were far more positive about immigrants than are whites or African-Americans.

## Split Over Social Safety Net

Over the past decade, there has been a significant rise in empathy for the poor, as well as growing support for more government assistance for the poor

Partisan Divide on Needs of Poor						
Poor people have it easy	<u>Total</u> % 34	<u>Rep</u> % 50	Party ID <u>Dem</u> % 24	<u>Ind</u> % 29		
Poor people have hard lives Neither/Both/Don't Know (Vol.)	52 <u>14</u> 100	36 <u>14</u> 100	64 <u>12</u> 100	57 <u>14</u> 100		
Govt should do more to help the needy Govt can't afford more help for	57	46	68	58		
the needy Neither/Both/Don't Know (Vol.)	33 <u>10</u> 100	45 <u>9</u> 100	25 <u>7</u> 100	31 <u>11</u> 100		

and needy. About half of Americans subscribe to the view that poor people have hard lives because government benefits do not go far enough; only about a third think that the poor have it easy because they receive government benefits. That represents a major shift since the mid-1990s, when narrow majorities felt poor people had easy lives.

In the wake of welfare reform and tighter economic times, the public also has grown more supportive of increased assistance to poor and needy people. Over the past decade or so, the number favoring more aid for needy people has increased from about 50% to 57%.

Attitudes toward the social safety net remain very partisan, but there have been major shifts on these measures among members of both parties over the past decade. In July 1994, nearly twothirds of Republicans said that poor people have easy lives; late last year, half of



Republicans expressed that view. Over the same period, the number of Democrats who believe that the poor have it easy has dropped from 44% to 24%.

A decade ago, 61% of Republicans felt that the government could not afford to do more to help the poor. In the 2004 values survey, as many Republicans said the government should do more to help the poor, even if it means going deeper into debt, as felt that the government cannot afford greater aid to the poor. The number of Democrats favoring increased aid to the poor also rose – from 59% to 68%.

## **Perception Meets Reality**

The nation's contentious political atmosphere is not lost on the public. In fact, it is a rare point on which majorities of both parties agree. In December 2004, Pew found 77% of Democrats and 61% of Republicans saying the country is more politically divided than in the past.

Moreover, people perceive this increasing partisan tension not only in the context of national politics and policies, but also in how they relate to

Most See a More Divided Nation							
	Party ID						
	Total	Rep	Dem	Ind			
The country is	%	%	%	%			
More politically divided	66	61	77	64			
Not more divided	26	32	16	29			
Don't Know	<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>			
	100	100	100	100			
People you know are							
More divided over politics	53	44	65	52			
Not more divided	40	51	29	40			
Don't Know	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>8</u>			
	100	100	100	100			

friends and acquaintances. More than half of all Americans (53%) said the people they know are

disagreeing more about politics these days. Within their own circles, Democrats are much more apt than Republicans to perceive political divisiveness; 65% of Democrats said this, compared with only 44% of Republicans.

Why do Americans think the country is more divided today? Not surprisingly, the war in Iraq is seen as the most important reason. Roughly a third (32%) of those who believe the nation is more divided than in the past point to the war as the primary factor; far fewer cite economic issues, or moral values and such social concerns as gay marriage.

#### Close to Parity in Party Identification

Based on Pew polls conducted throughout 2004, the Democratic Party held a slight edge in party affiliation among the general public (33%-30%).

More significant, of course, was the fact that Republicans turned out at a higher rate on Election Day and therefore matched Democratic turnout (37% each), according to the exit poll conducted by the National Election Pool. That marked the first presidential election since modern

			Party II	D
	T <u>otal</u>	Rep	Dem	Ind
	%	%	%	%
Foreign policy (net)	36	35	39	33
War in Iraq	32	31	36	28
Terrorism	3	4	2	3
Domestic issues (net)	19	15	22	18
Economy/jobs	13	10	17	11
Taxes	2	1	2	*
Moral values and issues (net)	14	15	15	13
Morals, values	3	5	2	3
Religion	5	5	5	5
Gay marriage, gay rights	2	4	3	1
Abortion	2	2	2	1
Leaders (net)	11	7	13	13
Bush	6	3	8	8
Republicans/conservatives	1	-	2	*
Democrats/liberals	1	2	*	*
Rich-poor gap	3	1	5	2



exit polling began a generation ago that Republicans had equaled the Democrats in turnout.

From the time that Bush first took office in 2001, party affiliation among the public has undergone significant changes. Early in Bush's first term, the Democrats held roughly the same advantage in party identification as they enjoyed during Bill Clinton's second term in office. Democrats had held a much more substantial advantage in partian identification for most of the  $20^{\text{th}}$  century.

Republicans made gains in party affiliation following the Sept. 11 attacks, bringing the parties into virtual parity, but slipped back slightly in 2004. The Democrats have maintained a slight lead for most of the past year – though, as noted above, that partisan edge among the general public did not translate into a Democratic advantage among those who actually voted last November.

## Where the Parties Stand

The Democratic Party continues to hold a solid advantage among African-Americans, Jews, Hispanics, liberals, women, people who did not finish high school, lower-income individuals, and seculars.

Republicans have a big edge among conservatives and White Evangelical Protestants, and hold smaller but significant advantages among middle- and upper-income citizens and whites. The parties are about equally represented among

Party Identification Trend, By Demographic Groups							
	20	00	20	02	20	004	2004
		Dem	-	Dem		Dem	<u>N</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Total	28	33	30	31	30	33	29,092
Men	30	28	32	27	31	29	13,699
Women	26	38	29	35	28	37	15,393
White	32	29	35	27	34	29	23,828
Black	6	65	6	63	6	63	3,005
Hispanic	21	42	22	36	20	40	1,915
Conservative	49	23	50	22	51	22	10,908
Moderate	21	39	24	35	22	36	11,289
Liberal	9	52	9	47	8	51	5,365
18-29	25	30	27	27	25	29	4,855
30-49	29	32	32	30	31	32	10,869
50-64	28	35	30	33	29	35	7,313
65+	30	40	32	38	32	40	5,642
< HS Grad	19	39	20	36	21	40	2,304
HS Grad	26	34	29	32	28	33	8,355
Some College	31	32	34	30	32	31	8,106
Coll. Grad+	34	30	36	29	33	32	10,178
Wh. Catholic	29	34	32	30	31	32	4,934
Wh. Protestant	39	27	42	24	41	26	12,490
Evangelical	43	26	47	23	49	22	6,313
Mainline	34	29	35	27	32	29	6,177
Jewish	16	52	18	51	17	55	561
No Religion	16	28	16	27	15	31	2,751
< \$20k	19	43	20	39	19	42	4,384
\$20-\$30	26	37	26	35	24	37	3,281
\$30-\$50	29	34	31	32	30	34	6,155
\$50-\$75	34	31	35	29	36	29	4,421
\$75k +	37	27	39	27	38	29	6,768

people with college experience, White Catholics, and men.

There has been relatively little change in party identification among most of these groups in the population. Republican identification among White Evangelical Protestants has grown over the past four years, but black support for the Democratic Party has not wavered. President Bush posted gains among Hispanic voters in the election of 2004, but Democrats still outnumber Republicans by two-to-one in this growing segment of the population.