

PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS
PEW FORUM ON RELIGION & PUBLIC LIFE
NOVEMBER PSRAI OMNIBUS
FINAL TOPLINE
November 12-15, 2009
N=1003

ASK ALL:

Now thinking about health care...

Q.1 How much thought have you given to the debate in Washington over health care reform? **[READ]**

Nov 12-15	
<u>2009</u>	
55	A lot
32	A little
12	None at all
1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

ASK ALL:

Q.2 As of right now, do you generally favor or generally oppose the health care proposals being discussed in Congress?

Nov 12-15		Oct 28- Nov 8	Sep 30- Oct 4	Sep 10-15	Aug 20-27	July 22-26
<u>2009</u>		<u>2009</u>	<u>2009</u>	<u>2009</u>	<u>2009</u>	<u>2009</u>
42	Generally favor	38	34	42	39	38
39	Generally oppose	47	47	44	46	44
19	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	15	19	14	15	18

ASK IF Q.2=1,2 [N=830]:

Q.3 What would you say is the main reason you (favor/oppose) the health care proposals being discussed in Congress? **[OPEN END; RECORD VERBATIM RESPONSE. PROBE FOR CLARITY—DO NOT PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL MENTIONS. IF MORE THAN ONE MENTION, RECORD IN ORDER OF MENTION; UP TO THREE MENTIONS]**

BASED ON THOSE WHO FAVOR [N=390]

Nov 12-15		July 22-26
<u>2009</u>		<u>2009</u>
32	Support greater/universal coverage	42
17	Need to do something/change/country needs it	13
14	Control costs/Increase affordability/Boost economy	14
9	Personal experiences/reasons	9
6	Help poor/unemployed with health care	7
4	Trust/support Obama/Democrats	1
3	Help elderly with health care	1
2	Insurance companies do a bad job/Reduce insurance companies' influence	1
2	Support public option	--
1	Help children with health care	2
1	Prevents denial for pre-existing conditions	--
1	Abortion	--
6	Other	11
21	Don't know/Refused	11

Figures add to more than 100% because of multiple responses.

[N=558]

Q.3 CONTINUED...

BASED ON THOSE WHO OPPOSE [N=440]

Nov 12-15 <u>2009</u>	July 22-26 <u>2009</u>
27 Too expensive/Can't afford it/Will increase deficit and taxes	26
27 Do not want Gov't in health care/Socialism/Bureaucracy	18
8 Hasn't been explained/Too complex/Not well thought out	8
8 Won't work/Current system works	6
6 Will hurt/won't help me/ Like what I have	2
5 Will worsen care for some/Not be fair	3
3 Distrust Congress/Obama/ political process	4
3 Will reduce quality & access/Take away choice	9
3 Cuts in Medicare	1
3 Abortion	*
3 Benefits illegal immigrants ¹	1
3 Oppose public option	*
2 Redistributive/Free-ride/People should earn own health care	6
2 Hurts business/economy/Costs jobs	3
2 Moving too fast	2
-- Does not work in other countries	3
8 Other	16
12 Don't know/Refused	11

[N=688]

Figures add to more than 100% because of multiple responses.

ASK THOSE WHO OPPOSE HEALTH CARE REFORM (Q.2=2) [N=440]

Q.4 As I read some reasons people have given for opposing health care reform, please tell me if each one is a major reason, a minor reason, or not a reason why you oppose the health care reform proposals being discussed in Congress. First [INSERT AND RANDOMIZE]. Is this a major reason, a minor reason, or not a reason (why you oppose health care reform)?

	<u>Major reason</u>	<u>Minor reason</u>	<u>Not a reason</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
a. Too much government involvement in health care November 12-15, 2009	85	7	7	2
b. Your own health care may suffer November 12-15, 2009	70	16	13	1
c. Health care reform is too expensive for the country November 12-15, 2009	78	13	8	1
d. Government money might pay for abortions November 12-15, 2009	56	21	22	1
e. The plan might cover illegal immigrants November 12-15, 2009	67	20	14	*

¹ In July, category included those saying "Disproportionately benefits immigrants and minorities."

IF MORE THAN ONE ITEM IN Q.4a-e IS GIVEN AS A “MAJOR REASON” ASK:

Q.5 And of the ones you mentioned as major reasons, which is the most important reason why you oppose the health care reform proposals [READ ONLY THE ITEMS MENTIONED AS MAJOR REASON. READ IN SAME ORDER AS IN Q.4]

BASED ON ALL THOSE WHO OPPOSE [N=440]

Nov 12-15

2009

- 38 Too much government involvement in health care
- 27 Health care reform is too expensive for the country
- 14 Your own health care may suffer
- 8 Government money might pay for abortions
- 7 The plan might cover illegal immigrants
- 1 Other reason (VOL.)
- 2 None (VOL.)
- 4 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

ASK ALL:

Q.6 If the government health care reform plan guarantees certain medical benefits for all Americans, do you think that abortion should or should not be included as one of those benefits?

		-----Gallup-----		
Nov 12-15		Aug 8-9 ²	July 15-17	June 25-28
<u>2009</u>		<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>
28	Abortion should be included	42	44	34
55	Abortion should not be included	49	48	59
11	Depends (VOL.)			
6	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	9	8	7

NO QUESTIONS 7-9

ASK ALL:

Now a few questions about America's place in the world...

Q.10 Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. [RANDOMIZE LIST]

		(VOL.)		
		<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Dk/Ref</u>
a.	The United States should cooperate fully with the United Nations			
	November 12-15, 2009	51	38	11
	December, 2006	57	35	8
	October, 2005	54	39	7
	August, 2004	60	30	10
	December, 2002	67	28	5
	Early September, 2001	58	31	11
	March, 1999	65	26	9
	September, 1997	59	30	11
	June, 1995	62	30	8
	February, 1995	65	29	6
	October, 1993	64	28	8
	April, 1993	71	22	7

² Gallup question wording in 1994 was: "If the federal government guarantees certain medical benefits for all Americans, do you think that abortion should or should not be included as one of those benefits?"

Q.10 CONTINUED...

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>(VOL.)</u> <u>Dk/Ref</u>
1991 (<i>Gallup</i>) ³	77	17	6
1985 (<i>Gallup</i>)	56	35	9
1980 (<i>Gallup</i>)	59	28	13
1976 (<i>Gallup</i>)	46	41	13
1972 (<i>Gallup</i>)	63	28	9
1968 (<i>Gallup</i>)	72	21	7
1964 (<i>Gallup</i>)	72	16	12
b. In deciding on its foreign policies, the U.S. should take into account the views of its major allies			
Nov 12-15, 2009	78	14	8
December, 2006	82	12	6
October, 2005	79	16	5
August, 2004	76	14	10
December, 2002	85	10	5
Early September, 2001	80	11	9
March, 1999	82	12	6
September, 1997	72	18	10
June, 1995	74	18	8
April, 1993	80	13	7
1991 (<i>Gallup</i>)	86	10	4
1985 (<i>Gallup</i>)	82	12	6
1980 (<i>Gallup</i>)	79	13	8
1976 (<i>Gallup</i>)	72	18	10
1972 (<i>Gallup</i>)	80	12	8
1968 (<i>Gallup</i>)	84	9	7
1964 (<i>Gallup</i>)	81	7	12
c. Since the U.S. is the most powerful nation in the world, we should go our own way in international matters, not worrying too much about whether other countries agree with us or not			
November 12-15, 2009	44	51	5
December, 2006	28	68	4
October, 2005	32	63	5
August, 2004	28	65	7
December, 2002	25	72	3
Early September, 2001	32	62	6
March, 1999	26	69	5
September, 1997	32	62	6
June, 1995	34	60	6
April, 1993	34	63	3
1991 (<i>Gallup</i>)	29	66	5
1985 (<i>Gallup</i>)	26	70	4
1980 (<i>Gallup</i>)	26	66	8
1976 (<i>Gallup</i>)	29	62	9
1972 (<i>Gallup</i>)	22	72	6
1968 (<i>Gallup</i>)	23	72	5
1964 (<i>Gallup</i>)	19	70	11

³ Trends for this series in 1991 and earlier are from public opinion surveys conducted by Potomac Associates, The Gallup Organization and the Institute for International Social Research.

Q.10 CONTINUED...

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>(VOL.)</u> <u>Dk/Ref</u>
d. The U.S. should mind its own business internationally and let other countries get along the best they can on their own			
November 12-15, 2009	49	44	7
December, 2006	42	53	5
October, 2005	42	51	7
August, 2004	34	59	7
December, 2002	30	65	5
Early September, 2001	37	55	8
March, 1999	35	57	8
September, 1997	39	54	7
June, 1995	41	51	8
April, 1993	37	58	5
1991 (<i>Gallup</i>)	33	60	7
1985 (<i>Gallup</i>)	34	59	7
1980 (<i>Gallup</i>)	30	61	9
1976 (<i>Gallup</i>)	41	49	10
1972 (<i>Gallup</i>)	35	56	9
1968 (<i>Gallup</i>)	27	66	7
1964 (<i>Gallup</i>)	18	70	12
e. We should not think so much in international terms but concentrate more on our own national problems and building up our strength and prosperity here at home			
November 12-15, 2009	76	19	4
December, 2006	69	26	5
October, 2005	71	23	6
August, 2004	69	25	6
December, 2002	65	31	4
Early September, 2001	68	25	7
March, 1999	68	27	5
September, 1997	72	24	4
June, 1995	78	18	4
April, 1993	79	18	3
1991 (<i>Gallup</i>)	78	16	6
1985 (<i>Gallup</i>)	60	34	6
1980 (<i>Gallup</i>)	61	30	9
1976 (<i>Gallup</i>)	73	22	5
1972 (<i>Gallup</i>)	73	20	7
1968 (<i>Gallup</i>)	60	31	9
1964 (<i>Gallup</i>)	55	32	13

ASK ALL:

Q.11 Compared with the past, would you say the U.S. is MORE respected by other countries these days, LESS respected by other countries, or AS respected as it has been in the past?

ASK IF LESS RESPECTED (Q.11=2):

Q.12 Do you think less respect for America is a major problem, a minor problem, or not a problem at all?

		(RV)					<i>Newsweek</i>	
Nov 12-15		Mid-	May	Aug	Late	July	May	Jan
<u>2009</u>		Sep	2008	2006	Oct	2004	1987 ⁴	1984
21	More respected	5	7	7	9	10	19	27
56	Less respected	70	71	65	66	67	55	36
38	Major problem	48	56	48	43	43	--	--
14	Minor problem	19	11	14	18	19	--	--
4	Not a problem	2	3	2	4	4	--	--
*	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	1	1	1	1	1	--	--
20	As respected as in the past	22	18	23	21	20	23	29
3	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	3	4	5	4	3	3	8

ASK ALL:

And on a more general topic...

Q.13 How concerned, if at all, are you about the rise of Islamic extremism around the WORLD these days? Are you very concerned, somewhat concerned, not too concerned or not at all concerned about the rise of Islamic extremism around the world these days?

Nov 12-15		April
<u>2009</u>		<u>2007</u>
49	Very concerned	48
29	Somewhat concerned	33
12	Not too concerned	11
8	Not at all concerned	5
2	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	3

ASK ALL:

Q.14 How concerned, if at all, are you about the possible rise of Islamic extremism IN THE U.S.? Are you very concerned, somewhat concerned, not too concerned or not at all concerned about the possible rise of Islamic extremism in the U.S.?

Nov 12-15		April
<u>2009</u>		<u>2007</u>
52	Very concerned	46
27	Somewhat concerned	32
11	Not too concerned	13
7	Not at all concerned	5
3	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	4

⁴ In May 1987 the question asked "Compared to five years ago, would you say the U.S. is more respected by other countries, less respected by other countries, or as respected as it was five years ago by other countries?" In January 1984, the Newsweek question asked "Compared to four years ago..."

NO QUESTIONS 15-18

RANDOMIZE Q.19 AND Q.20

ASK ALL:

Q.19 Today, which ONE of the following do you think is the world's leading ECONOMIC power? [**READ AND RANDOMIZE**]

Nov 12-15 <u>2009</u>		Early Feb <u>2008</u>
44	China	30
27	The United States	41
13	Japan [OR]	10
5	The countries of the European Union	9
*	Other (VOL.)	*
1	None / There is no leading economic power (VOL.)	*
10	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	10

TREND FOR COMPARISON:

Today, which one of the following do you think is the world's leading economic power?

	April <u>1990</u>	Jan <u>1989</u>
The United States	41	29
The Soviet Union	4	2
Japan [OR]	46	58
The countries of the European Economic Community	4	4
Don't know (VOL.)	5	7

RANDOMIZE Q.19 AND Q.20

ASK ALL:

Q.20 Today, which ONE of the following do you think is the world's leading MILITARY power? [**READ AND RANDOMIZE**]

Nov 12-15 <u>2009</u>	
63	The United States
18	China
6	Russia [OR]
2	The countries of the European Union
*	Other (VOL.)
1	None / There is no leading military power (VOL.)
10	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

ASK ALL:

Q.21 Do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose making it more DIFFICULT for a woman to get an abortion?⁵

	-----FAVOR-----			-----OPPOSE-----			(VOL.) DK/Ref
	Total	Strongly Favor	Favor	Total	Strongly Oppose	Oppose	
Nov 12-15, 2009	40	21	20	43	19	24	16
August 11-17, 2009 ⁶	41	19	22	50	23	27	9
January, 2007	35	17	18	56	27	29	9
March, 2006	37	15	22	56	24	32	7
December, 2004	36	19	17	55	29	26	9
Early February, 2004	36	17	19	58	30	28	6
November, 2003	35	19	16	57	29	28	8
August, 2003 ⁷	36	17	19	57	30	27	7
May, 1993	32	15	17	60	35	25	8
May, 1992	30	--	--	62	--	--	8
May, 1990	38	21	17	55	29	26	7
May, 1987	41	18	23	51	33	18	8
May, 1985	47	--	--	49	--	--	4

ASK ALL:

Q.40 Do you have an immediate family member or close relative who is married to someone of a different race?

Nov 12-15 <u>2009</u>		Nov ⁸ <u>2005</u>
35	Yes	22
63	No	77
2	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	1

⁵ Questions 30 and 40 were asked later in the survey.

⁶ In August 11-17, 2009 and earlier, the question was asked as part of a list.

⁷ In August 2003 and earlier the question was worded: "Changing the laws to make it more difficult for a woman to get an abortion."

⁸ In November 2005, the question was asked as part of a series, and the introductory wording was: "For each of the following, please tell me if you have an immediate family member or close relative in this situation."

ASK ALL:

PARTY In politics TODAY, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or Independent? **IF ANSWERED 3, 4, 5 OR 9 IN PARTY, ASK:**

PARTYLN As of today do you lean more to the Republican Party or more to the Democratic Party?

				(VOL.)	(VOL.)	(VOL.)		
	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>DK/</u>	<i>Lean</i>	<i>Lean</i>
				<u>preference</u>	<u>party</u>	<u>Ref</u>	<i>Rep</i>	<i>Dem</i>
Nov 12-15, 2009	25	38	30	5	1	1	11	12
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	27	35	32	3	*	2	13	13
Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009	23	34	37	3	1	3	16	14
September 10-15, 2009	23	34	34	4	*	5	13	17
August 20-27, 2009	26	32	36	3	*	3	14	16
August 11-17, 2009	23	33	38	3	*	3	16	15
July, 2009	22	34	37	5	*	2	15	14
June, 2009	25	34	34	3	*	3	11	16
May, 2009	23	39	29	4	*	4	9	14
April, 2009	22	33	39	3	*	3	13	18
March, 2009	24	34	35	5	*	2	12	17
February, 2009	24	36	34	3	1	2	13	17
January, 2009	25	37	33	3	*	2	11	16
December, 2008	26	39	30	2	*	3	8	15
Yearly Totals								
2008	25.3	35.8	31.7	3.8	.3	3.1	10.5	15.4
2007	25.4	32.9	33.7	4.6	.4	3.1	10.7	16.7
2006	27.6	32.8	30.3	5.0	.4	3.9	10.2	14.5
2005	29.2	32.8	30.3	4.5	.3	2.8	10.2	14.9
2004	29.7	33.4	29.8	3.9	.4	2.9	11.7	13.4
2003	29.8	31.4	31.2	4.7	.5	2.5	12.1	13.0
2002	30.3	31.2	30.1	5.1	.7	2.7	12.6	11.6
2001	29.2	33.6	28.9	5.1	.5	2.7	11.7	11.4
2001 Post-Sept 11	30.9	31.8	27.9	5.2	.6	3.6	11.7	9.4
2001 Pre-Sept 11	28.2	34.6	29.5	5.0	.5	2.1	11.7	12.5
2000	27.5	32.5	29.5	5.9	.5	4.0	11.6	11.6
1999	26.6	33.5	33.7	3.9	.5	1.9	13.0	14.5
1998	27.5	33.2	31.9	4.6	.4	2.4	11.8	13.5
1997	28.2	33.3	31.9	4.0	.4	2.3	12.3	13.8
1996	29.2	32.7	33.0	5.2	--	--	12.7	15.6
1995	31.4	29.7	33.4	5.4	--	--	14.4	12.9
1994	29.8	31.8	33.8	4.6	--	--	14.3	12.6
1993	27.4	33.8	34.0	4.8	--	--	11.8	14.7
1992	27.7	32.7	35.7	3.9	--	--	13.8	15.8
1991	30.9	31.4	33.2	4.5	--	--	14.6	10.8
1990	31.0	33.1	29.1	6.8	--	--	12.4	11.3
1989	33	33	34	--	--	--	--	--
1987	26	35	39	--	--	--	--	--