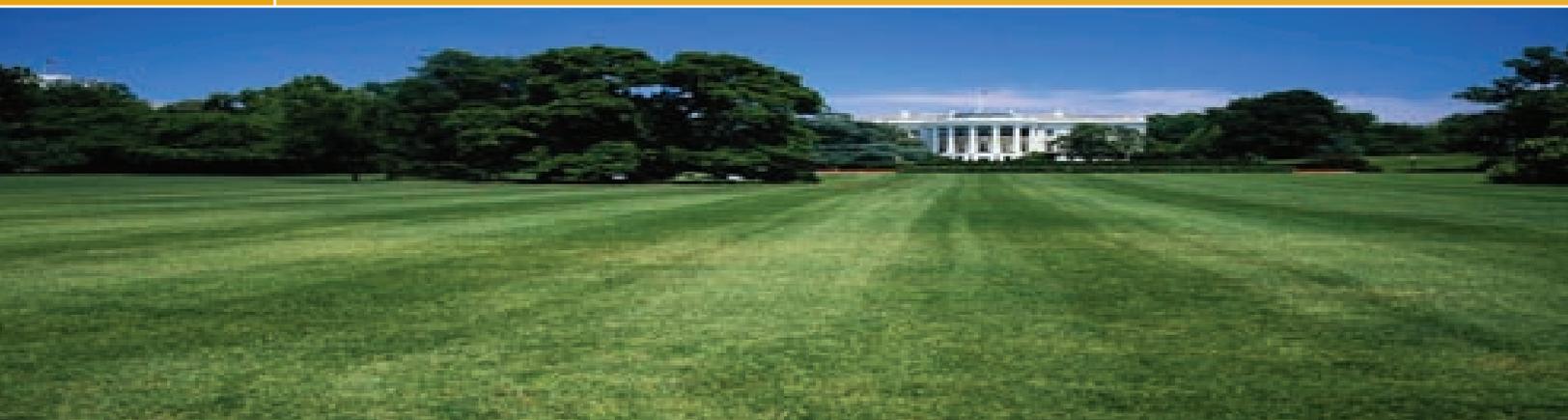


# EVENLY DIVIDED AND INCREASINGLY POLARIZED



## 2 0 0 4 P O L I T I C A L L A N D S C A P E

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## FOREWORD

In 1987, we embarked on an ambitious project to better understand the nature of American politics. We identified a broad range of beliefs and values that shape public opinion and ultimately influence voting decisions. Today, a year before Americans go to the polls, we release our fourth major survey on the public's political values.

What we have found is an electorate that once again is viewing issues and events largely through a political prism. The extraordinary spirit of national unity that followed the calamitous events of Sept. 11, 2001 has dissolved amid rising polarization and anger. National security is a major focal point of partisan conflict, reflecting in part the bitter debate over Iraq. But the two parties also are increasingly at odds over the role of business and the social safety net. And there are striking differences in the way Republicans, Democrats and independents view their personal financial situations.

This year, in addition to updating our longitudinal measures of political values, the Pew Research Center also has drawn on its rich database of 80,000 interviews conducted over the past three years to analyze recent shifts in the nation's political alignment. The analysis shows that the electorate that split 50-50 in the last presidential election is now evenly divided in partisan affiliation. Since Sept. 11, 2001, Republicans have made significant gains both geographically and demographically. Yet the favorable trends for the GOP are imperiled by rising discontent with national conditions and unease with the situation in Iraq.

Our new portrait of the electorate is based on two surveys of more than 4,000 Americans in the summer and fall of 2003. We are able to assess long-term changes in the electorate by drawing on comparable comprehensive surveys that date back to 1987. Since 1996, this work has been generously supported by the Pew Charitable Trusts. Times Mirror sponsored our work between 1987 and 1995. We are grateful for the support that has made these extensive studies possible.



Andrew Kohut  
Director  
Pew Research Center for The People & The Press



**The 2004 Political Landscape:  
Evenly Divided and Increasingly Polarized**

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## The 2004 Political Landscape

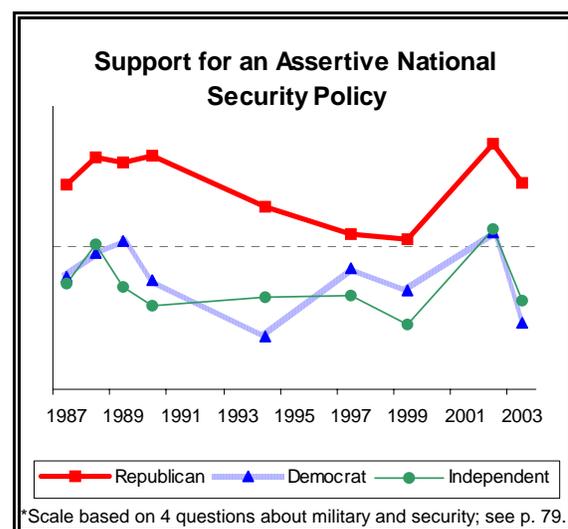
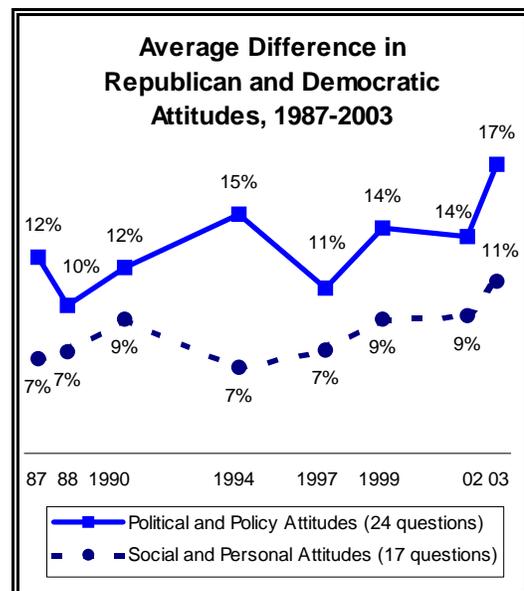
### **ELECTORATE STILL 50-50 BUT MORE CONTENTIOUS THAN IN 2000**

Over the past four years, the American electorate has been dealt a series of body blows, each capable of altering the political landscape. The voting system broke down in a presidential election. A booming economy faltered, punctuated by revelations of one of the worst business scandals in U.S. history. And the country endured a devastating attack on its own soil, followed by two major wars.

National unity was the initial response to the calamitous events of Sept. 11, 2001, but that spirit has dissolved amid rising political polarization and anger. In fact, a year before the presidential election, American voters are once again seeing things largely through a partisan prism. The GOP has made significant gains in party affiliation over the past four years, but this remains a country that is almost evenly divided politically – yet further apart than ever in its political values.

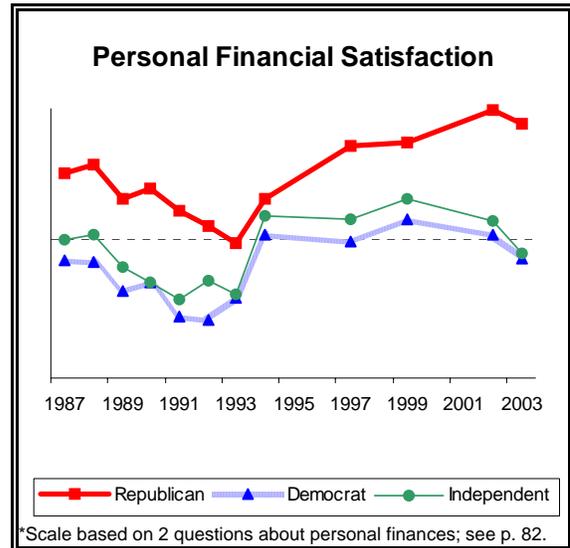
The Pew Research Center's longitudinal measures of basic political, economic and social values, which date back to 1987, show that political polarization is now as great as it was prior to the 1994 midterm elections that ended four decades of Democratic control in Congress. But now, unlike then, Republicans *and* Democrats have become more intense in their political beliefs.

This is seen clearly in the growing partisan gap over national security, which is now greater than in the late 1980s. In the wake of the Sept. 11 attacks, members of both parties, but especially Republicans, became more supportive of an assertive national security policy – as seen in attitudes on the use of force and other issues. Yet in the past year many Democrats have shifted away from that approach as they have become embittered by the war in Iraq. By comparison, the change among Republicans has been far more modest. (More on foreign policy, p. 7; for information about values scales, see methodology, p. 79).



Over the past four years, Democrats also have become more critical of business and much stronger advocates of the social safety net – and their differences with Republicans have increased as a result. Ironically, one of the few areas in which the partisan gap has narrowed in recent years is in perceptions of the scope and efficiency of government. The widespread hostility Republicans felt toward the federal government has dissipated now that their party controls all of the levers of power in Washington.

Perhaps the most striking evidence of a growing partisan disparity is the extent to which Republicans, Democrats and independents now judge their personal financial situation differently. Republicans are at least as satisfied financially as they were four years ago, but Democratic personal contentment has declined significantly since 1999. Independents also have become more negative about their personal financial situation over the past four years, to the point where their economic views now mirror those of Democrats.



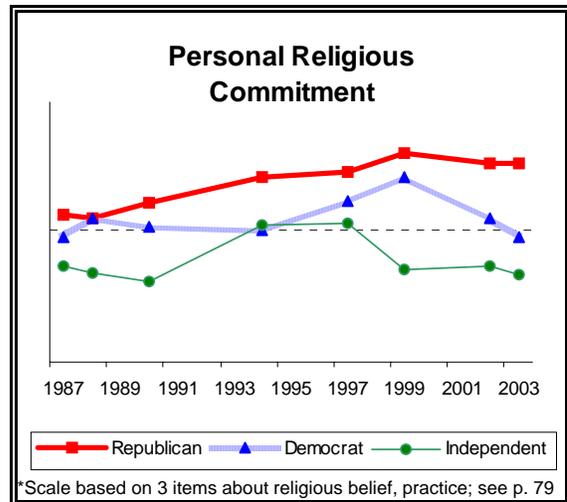
The Pew Research Center’s political values survey, conducted among 2,528 adults July 14-Aug. 5, examines the core beliefs that form the basis of public opinion on a broad range of topics – foreign policy and civil liberties, religion and social values, government and voting, and other issues. These values, which we have analyzed at the start of recent presidential election campaigns, ultimately will shape the decisions voters will make a year from now. A second nationwide survey was conducted Oct. 15-19, among 1,515 adults, to update recent trends on opinion toward the president’s reelection and the situation in Iraq.

As part of this project, the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press also has produced a detailed analysis of recent trends in party affiliation, based on about 80,000 interviews conducted over the past three years. This analysis shows that the GOP, which lagged well behind the Democrats in party affiliation for most of the past century, achieved significant nationwide gains after Sept. 11 and has drawn even with the Democrats. As it now stands, more voters identify with the GOP both in so-called “Red” states – those that consistently have voted Republican in recent presidential elections – but also in a number of swing states like Michigan and Florida. At the same time, Democrats have lost ground in swing states and have not picked up adherents in “Blue” states – those that have gone Democratic in recent elections.

But these favorable trends for the GOP are imperiled by several factors, including rising discontent with national conditions and concern over the war with Iraq. Moreover, independents continue to share a common point of view with Democrats, not just in their financial attitudes but in their beliefs about national security. In the post-Enron environment, business and regulation is another area of strong agreement between Democrats and independents; only Republican opinions seem largely unaffected by the scandals.

The overtime election of 2000 is the sole calamitous event of the past four years to have not left a mark on public thinking. Americans do not feel more disenfranchised or unheeded by their political leaders than they did four years ago. If anything, there is somewhat less overall cynicism and distrust of government, mostly because Republican discontent with government has fallen off sharply. African Americans, who at the time expressed the most outrage over the way the 2000 presidential election was resolved, are no more likely to say that their vote does not count than they were four years ago. However, African Americans, who are overwhelmingly critical of the Bush administration, feel much more estranged from government than they did four years ago.

Ironically, one of the significant changes in the political landscape appears to have little direct connection to the events of recent years. This year's Pew survey finds a wider gap in strong religious commitment between Republicans and Democrats than at any time over the 16-year period that the Pew Research Center has measured basic political, social and economic attitudes. This pattern reflects the growing number of white evangelical Protestants in the U.S. who affiliate with the Republican party.

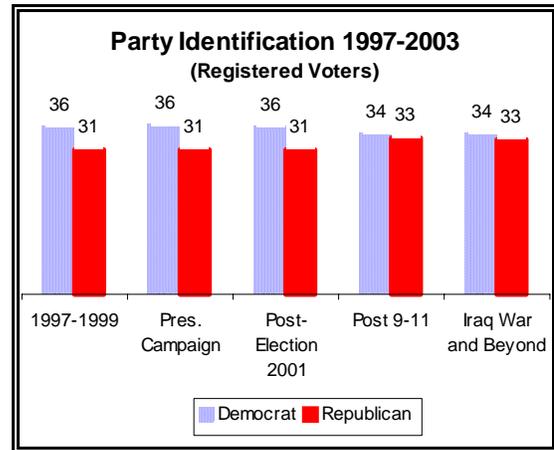


But the partisan gap over most social values, while substantial, has not increased in recent years. Over the past decade there has been a decided shift across the political spectrum in favor of tolerance on issues relating to homosexuality and race. On abortion, by comparison, there has been very little change in attitudes over the course of the 1990s, though the partisan gap on this issue also remains large.

***GOP Gains, Parties Now at Parity***

As the electorate has become more polarized in its political values, it has become more evenly divided in partisan affiliation. Throughout President Clinton’s second term the Democrats held about a six-point advantage over the GOP among the general public. That held steady through the first nine months of Bush’s first year in office. But since the Sept. 11 attacks, the Democratic advantage has vanished.

In Pew Center surveys conducted since the Iraq war earlier this year, 30% of Americans identify themselves as Republicans, 31% as Democrats and 39% as independents or other. When that combined sample is winnowed to registered voters, the partisan breakdown is just as narrow – 33% Republican, 34% Democrat, 33% independent or other.



Republican gains have come across the board, both geographically and demographically. The GOP has made significant increases in party allegiance in 13 of 50 states since 2000, and six of these 13 have been crucial swing states in recent elections such as Florida and Michigan. The Democrats have even lost some ground in states that have gone consistently to the Democratic candidate in recent presidential elections, such as California and Washington. In fact, the Democratic advantage in Blue states is now about what it was *nationwide* during Clinton’s second term.

Demographically, there have been increases in Republican party affiliation in nearly every major voting bloc, except among African Americans. Republicans have made some of their greatest gains among Hispanics in the West and Texas, white Catholics and white evangelical Protestants. The changes among religious groups have been dramatic, particularly when current party affiliation is compared to 1987-1988, the first two years of the Pew values surveys. Republicans now hold nearly a two-to-one advantage over

	1987-88		2002-03		Change	
	Rep %	Dem %	Rep %	Dem %	Rep	Dem
Total	26	37	29	31	+3	-6
Protestant	29	37	33	32	+4	-5
Wh. Evangelical	<b>34</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>+10</b>	<b>-8</b>
Wh. Mainline	33	29	35	26	+2	-3
Black	10	69	5	68	-5	-1
White Catholic	26	39	30	30	+4	-9
Attend regularly	<b>26</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>+7</b>	<b>-12</b>
Rarely/Never	26	36	25	31	-1	-5
Jewish	22	47	17	54	-5	+7
No religion	18	32	14	28	-4	-4

Democrats among white evangelical Protestants (44%-23%) and the GOP has drawn even among white Catholics. Moreover, many of the Republican gains among these groups have occurred since the 2000 election. (See Part 1: Party Affiliation; p. 13).

Yet the net effect of all these changes is merely to reinforce the sense of a nation whose political alignment is nearly symmetrical. In interviews with nearly 9,000 registered voters conducted since the Iraq war began, Democrats hold a ten-point advantage in the Blue states; Republicans are ahead by five points in the Red states (37%-32%). And the two parties are dead even in the swing states (33%-33%).

***Bush Runs Even Against Generic Democrat***

Despite the GOP gains since 2000, the electorate splits about evenly on a second term for the president, which reflects the downturn in his approval ratings in recent months (now at 50%). In a race against an unnamed Democrat, 42% back the president while the same percentage favors the Democrat. The president’s support in the reelection test strikingly parallels his vote in 2000 by gender, region of the country, race and religion (see chart p. 23).

While Bush runs even against an unnamed Democrat, he still runs well ahead of all his Democratic rivals, even those such as Rep. Dick Gephardt, Sen. Joe Lieberman and Sen. John Kerry, who have relatively broad name recognition. Bush’s two predecessors in the Oval Office both were in statistical dead-heats against an unnamed challenger at about this point in their campaigns, although they were to experience different fates on Election Day one year later (Bush Sr. trailed by 41%-44% in 1992, Clinton was tied with an unnamed Republican 35%-35% in 1996).

<b>Bush Fares Better Against Actual Democrats</b>			
	<u>Bush</u>	Dem. <u>Candidate</u>	Other/ <u>DK</u>
	%	%	%
Generic Race	42	42	16=100
vs. Gephardt	49	43	8=100
vs. Kerry	50	42	8=100
vs. Clark	50	40	10=100
vs. Dean	52	41	7=100
vs. Lieberman	53	41	6=100
vs. H. Clinton	55	40	5=100

Based on Registered Voters

A comparative analysis of Bush's showing against a generic Democrat and named opponents finds that women, especially women under age 50, conservative Democrats and independents are among the most reluctant to support one of the Democratic candidates in a head-to-head test with Bush, even though they have reservations about a second term for the president. For example, women favor a generic Democrat by 48%-35%. But when asked to choose between Bush and actual Democratic candidates, women are evenly divided (45% Bush, 46% Democrat). This also is generally true of voters who say Bush's economic policies have not had much of an impact – either positive or negative – on the economy.

### ***The National Security Party***

The growing partisan differences over national security are seen both in fundamental values and in opinions on specific issues. Republicans have become decidedly more militant, while Democrats, if anything, have become less so, especially in the past year as they have increasingly come to oppose the war in Iraq.

<b>Who the Democratic Candidates are Losing</b>					
	<i>Generic ballot</i>		<i>Average Head-to-head*</i>		<i>Bush Margin Increase</i>
	Reelect	Prefer	G.W. Bush	Named Dem	
	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Dem</u>	
	%	%	%	%	
Republican	86	7	92	6	+7
Independent	32	42	44	43	+11
Democrat	11	78	17	77	+7
Conserv Dem	17	76	24	68	+15
Mod Dem	13	74	20	74	+7
Liberal Dem	2	87	7	89	+3
18-29	31	58	41	53	+15
30-49	43	40	53	39	+11
50-64	49	34	57	38	+4
65+	40	45	45	44	+6
Women	35	48	45	46	+12
Under 50	35	51	46	47	+15
50+	35	45	45	45	+10
Men	51	34	57	36	+4
Under 50	46	37	54	37	+8
50+	56	32	60	36	0
<i>Iraq war was...</i>					
Right decision	64	22	74	20	+12
Wrong decision	7	76	14	79	+4
<i>Bush policies' effect on economy</i>					
Better	91	4	91	5	-1
Worse	9	72	16	74	+5
Not much effect	52	30	70	24	+24
Based on Registered Voters					
*Figures represent the average margin across five major Democratic candidates (Clark, Dean, Gephardt, Kerry, and Lieberman).					
Demographic patterns of support did not vary significantly between candidates. See p. 25 for more details.					

By more than eight-to-one (85%-10%), Republicans believe the war was the right decision. Independents by a substantial margin agree with the decision to go to war (59%-35%). But Democrats, by 54%-39%, feel the war was the wrong decision. Attitudes toward Iraq color opinions on a number of security issues. Republicans overwhelmingly feel the use of force is justified against potential enemies – 82% say it is often or sometimes justified; many fewer independents and Democrats agree (62%, 52%).

Consequently, the partisan gap over basic national security values has never been more pronounced. Since 1987, Pew has been asking people whether they agree with this statement: “The best way to ensure peace is through military strength.” From the beginning, more Republicans than Democrats agreed with that statement. But over the past year the gap has widened – to 25 points – because of sharp decline in Democratic agreement (44% now, 55% in 2002).

There are also sharp partisan differences over trading off civil liberties for the sake of the war on terrorism. More than half of Republicans (54%) feel such a tradeoff is necessary; just 39% of Democrats agree. And Republicans are far more supportive than Democrats of the administration’s policy of holding suspected terrorists without trial.

On most national security measures, the views of independents are much closer to those of Democrats than Republicans. Barely half of independents (51%) feel military strength provides the basis for peace, down 11 points in the past year. The difference between independents and Republicans on this measure is more than twice as large as the gap between independents and Democrats (18 points vs. seven points).

***Social Safety Net: Democrats More Insistent***

Compared with the Clinton years, Democrats today are much more inclined to support increased government help for the poor. Indeed, nearly three-quarters of Democrats (72%) now believe the government should help more needy people even if it means going deeper into debt.

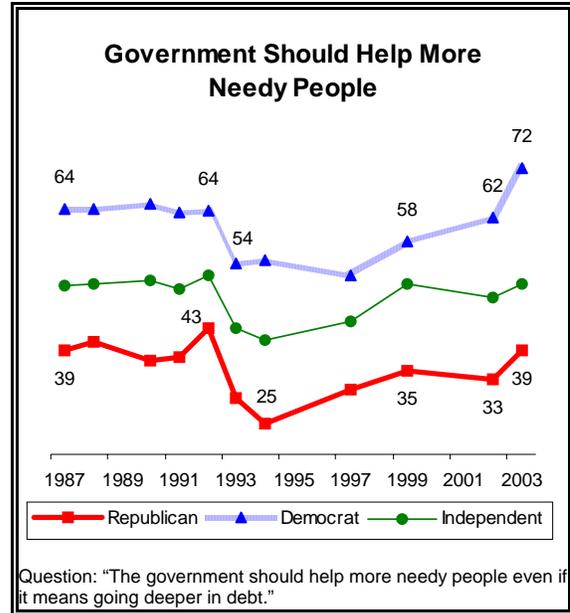
That is a sharp increase from four years ago (58%) and by far the highest level of Democratic support for that idea in the Pew values surveys. Increased Democratic support for an expanded social

<b>Republicans Favor Assertive Foreign Policy</b>				
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
<i>Pre-emptive war justified?</i>	%	%	%	%
Often/Sometimes	63	82	52	62
Rarely/Never	32	15	44	35
DK/Refused	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Hold citizens suspected of terrorism without trial</i>				
Favor	55	72	46	51
Oppose	38	23	47	42
DK/Refused	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Must give up some civil liberties to curb terrorism</i>				
Yes	44	54	39	42
No	50	43	55	53
DK/Refused	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Iraq war was...*</i>				
Right decision	60	85	39	59
Wrong decision	33	10	54	35
DK/Refused	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Agree: The best way to ensure peace is through military strength</i>				
2003	53	69	44	51
2002	62	72	55	62
1999	55	70	53	50
1997	57	65	56	53

\* Figures from October 15-19, 2003.

safety net, even if it means a bigger deficit, have come mostly among from white Democrats (up 10 points over the past year). Black Democrats continue to express strong support for increased social spending even at the cost of a higher deficit (78% agree).

Opinion on this issue among independents and Republicans has been more stable, and far less supportive. Half of independents support more aid for the poor if it means adding to the deficit, while just 39% of Republicans express that view.



As is the case with views on national security, basic political values on the social safety net are reflected in public opinion on current issues. Asked about proposals in Congress to provide a prescription drug benefit as part of the Medicare program, majorities of Democrats and independents express concern that the benefit will not go far enough (60%, 53%). This is far less of a concern to Republicans – just 40% think the drug benefit will not be generous enough.

***Race: More Social Comity, Policy Differences Persist***

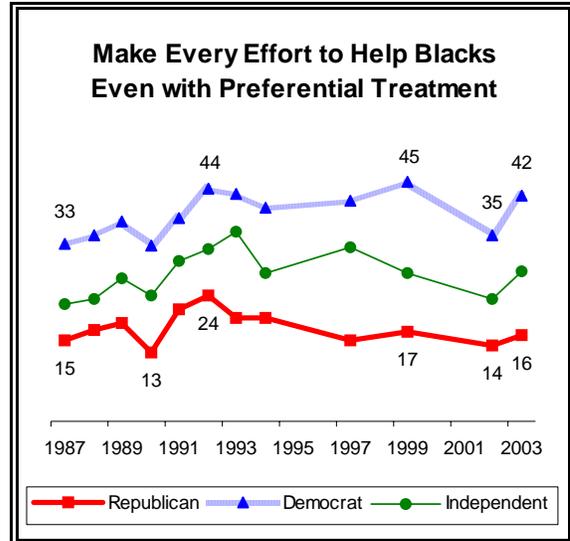
Over the course of the Pew values surveys, there has been a sea change in the public’s views on interracial dating. It was a divisive topic when the surveys began in 1987 – fewer than half (48%) felt it was appropriate for blacks and whites to date. But today, this is largely a settled issue: 77% accept interracial dating.

Yet while the public’s personal attitudes on race have evolved, there remains a substantial divide between whites and African Americans on how to further black economic progress. Many more blacks than whites strongly believe that discrimination is a continuing problem. And far more whites than blacks continue to agree with the statement “We have gone too far in pushing equal rights in this country” (46% of whites, 26% of African Americans).

Consequently, there remains a wide racial divide over possible remedies for discrimination. Although African American support for racial preferences is lower today than in the 1980s, a majority (55%) still favors preferences as means to improve the position of blacks and other minorities; a larger majority of whites (74%) disagree.

Compared with older Americans, young people are far more comfortable with social interaction between the races and fewer hold the view that the nation has gone too far in pursuing equal rights. And regional differences on racial attitudes are shrinking, except on the issue of interracial dating where six-in-ten southern whites feel it is appropriate (61% compared with 79% of whites in other regions).

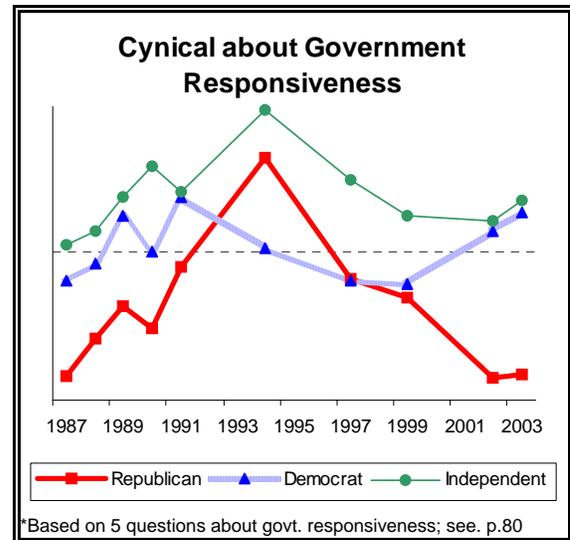
Race continues to divide Democrats and Republicans. The partisan gap in opinion on racial issues is as great today as it was in the 1980s. Independents are closer to the Democrats than to the Republicans on these issues, but they have been moving in the GOP's direction in the past few years. More than four-in-ten Democrats (42%) approve of preferential treatment for blacks and other minorities, compared with 28% of independents and just 16% of Republicans.



**Less Cynicism About Government**

On the surface, American attitudes about the electoral process and about the fairness of government appear little changed in recent years, and these views are similar to those expressed in the late 1980s. The raw anti-government anger so prevalent in the mid-1990s – especially in 1994 – subsided in the latter part of the decade and remains fairly low today. For example, the overall percentage saying that the government is run for the benefit of all fell from 57% in 1987 to a low of 42% in 1994; by 1999 it had recovered to 49% and now stands at 52%.

But today's calm waters conceal significant partisan divisions below the surface. As Republicans have become more happy with the responsiveness of the system and the power of their votes, Democrats – and, to a degree, independents – have become significantly more cynical. Today, 69% of Republicans say the government is run for the benefit of all, while just 44% of Democrats and 47% of independents agree.



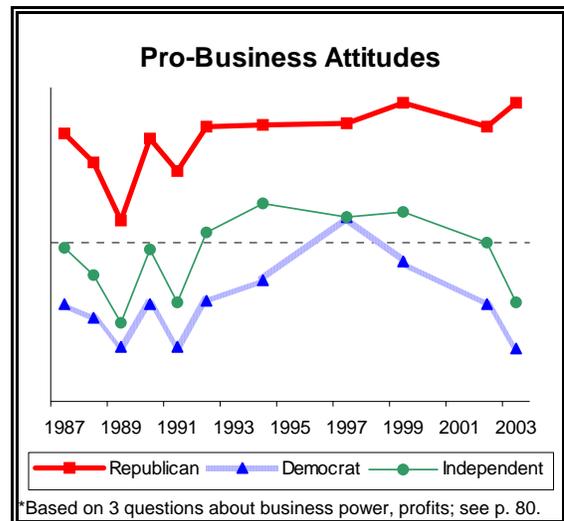
Yet there is little evidence that the disputed presidential election of 2000 left a lasting imprint on the public. Black Democrats, who were at the center of controversy over uncounted votes in Florida, are no more cynical about the importance of their vote than are white Democrats. And though criticism of government is growing among all Democrats, they express far less frustration and cynicism about the political system than Republicans and independents did in 1994.

***Business Scandals’ Minimal Impact***

Overall American views of business and government regulation have been modestly affected by the string of business scandals over the past few years. The public remains of two minds about business – most Americans (75%) feel the country’s strength is based on the success of business. Yet consistent majorities feel corporations make too much money and amass too much power.

Last year marked the first time in the Pew values surveys when fewer than half of Americans (48%) agreed with the statement “Government regulation of business usually does more harm than good.” But this year, as in all other Center surveys over the years, a small majority once again feels the harm of government regulation outweighs the good (53%).

But lack of change notwithstanding, attitudes toward business have taken on a more partisan cast. The idea that corporations are too powerful is overwhelmingly embraced by Democrats – 87% say that now, up nine points since the late 1990s (78% in 1999). By contrast, a declining number of Republicans say corporations are too powerful (62%, down from 66% four years ago).



***Other Findings:***

- Americans are conflicted over complex issues relating to reproduction and research. More than seven-in-ten (72%) favor protecting the rights of the unborn in almost all cases. But a sizable majority (58%) say they are more interested in finding cures for diseases than in protecting human embryos.
- Many more people express concern that business corporations are collecting too much information on them (77%) than say the same about the government (57%). Nearly as many Republicans as Democrats or independents voice concern over excessive business scrutiny.

But Republicans are decidedly less troubled than either Democrats or independents that the government is collecting too much information on them.

- Support for tighter immigration controls has risen only modestly since 1999, but the intensity of that support has grown sharply – especially among Republicans. More than half of Republicans (53%) *completely agree* that immigration controls need to be tightened, up from 38% four years ago. There has been a much smaller increase in strong support for tougher immigration curbs among Democrats and independents.

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## STANDOUT STATES ON BASIC ATTITUDES AND VALUES

RELIGION	
<u>Most Religious</u>	<u>Least Religious</u>
Oklahoma	New England Small States
Mississippi	(ME, NH, VT, RI)
Louisiana	Massachusetts
Alabama	Oregon
Kentucky	New York
Tennessee	Washington
North Carolina	California
South Carolina	Minnesota
Arkansas	
West Virginia	
Georgia	
Texas	

SOCIAL VALUES	
<u>Most Traditional</u>	<u>Least Traditional</u>
Mississippi	New England Small States
South Carolina	(ME, NH, VT, RI)
Kentucky	Massachusetts
Oklahoma	Connecticut
Tennessee	New York
North Carolina	California
Alabama	New Jersey
West Virginia	Oregon
Ohio	Minnesota
Indiana	Washington
Louisiana	
Georgia	

NATIONAL SECURITY	
<u>Most Hawkish</u>	<u>Most Dovish</u>
Kentucky	Washington
Arkansas	Oregon
Mississippi	Mid-Atlantic Small States (DE, DC, MD)
West Virginia	New England Small States (ME, NH, VT, RI)
	Colorado
	California

**Religion:** States ranked by responses to questions about importance of prayer in daily life, belief that everyone will be called before God on Judgment Day, and belief in the existence of God.

**Social Values:** States ranked by responses to questions about social beliefs and values such as homosexuality, acceptable content for school libraries, the role of women, the issue of day care, AIDS, family and marriage, and ideas about good and evil.

**National Security:** States ranked by agreement with these statements: “The best way to ensure peace is through military strength,” “We should all be willing to fight for our country, whether it is right or wrong,” “American lives are worth more than the lives of people in other countries,” “It is my belief that we should get even with any country that tries to take advantage of the U.S.” See the methodology for details about each set of questions.

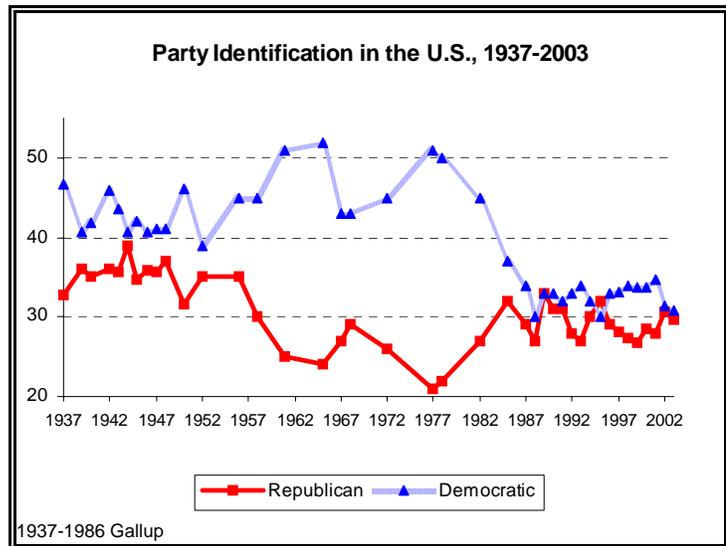


**Part One:  
PARTY AFFILIATION**

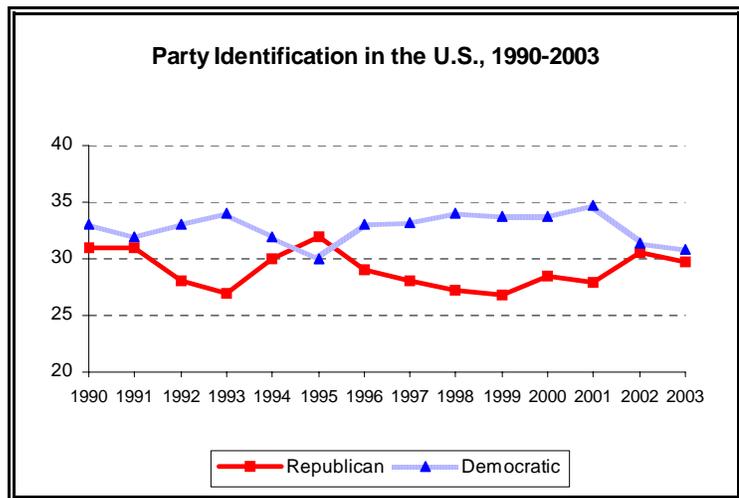
Parity in partisan affiliation is a relatively new phenomenon in American politics. For most of the period between the late 1930s through the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the Democratic party held an advantage – often sizable – over the Republicans in party identification.

The Democratic lead in party identification was modest through the 1940s but grew dramatically in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The Democratic advantage narrowed in the mid-1960s, but remained substantial.

In the late 1970s, fallout from the Watergate scandal again boosted the Democrats while depressing Republican support. In 1977, more than half of the public (51%) identified themselves as Democrats, compared with barely one-in-five who called themselves Republicans (21%). The advantage was short-lived, however, as discontent with the economy coupled with internal divisions among Democrats increased the popularity of the Republican party in the electorate. With Ronald Reagan in office, the parties drew nearly even by the end of the 1980s.



The Democrats held a small edge with the public in the early 1990s, but public unhappiness with Bill Clinton and a successful campaign by former House Speaker Newt Gingrich helped boost the Republicans ahead of the Democrats for a short time in 1995. Following the government shutdowns in 1995, Democrats once again took a small lead in party affiliation through the



remainder of the 1990s. In Pew polls conducted during 1997 and 1998, 33% of adults said they thought of themselves as Democrats, with 28% calling themselves Republicans. This division persisted through the presidential campaign period of 2000 and the post-election period in 2001.

**Post-9/11 Parity**

The Sept. 11 terrorist attacks, and Bush’s response to the attacks, marked a major turning point in party identification. Republican party identification rose to 30%, while the Democrats fell to 31%, putting the parties into a virtual tie for the allegiance of the public. Because Republicans traditionally turn out to vote in higher numbers than do Democrats, the current division in party affiliation among the public could provide the GOP with a slight electoral advantage, all other things being equal.

A striking feature of the post-9/11 shift in partisan identification is its breadth. The shift is seen in most major demographic and social groups in the population, and is fairly consistent in size. Among these groups, the average decline in the Democratic advantage is five percentage points, but no group in the population shifted more than 10 points. Greater than average Republican gains in party affiliation are seen among white Protestants (nine-point shift after Sept. 11), white Catholics (eight points), and Hispanics (eight points).

<b>Partisan Trend 1997-2003</b>						
	<i>1997-2000</i>		<i>Post-9/11</i>		<i>Dem Lead</i>	<i>Min N*</i>
	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Change</u>	
	%	%	%	%		
Total	27	33	30	31	-5	56,735
Men	29	28	32	27	-4	26,896
Women	26	37	29	36	-4	29,839
White	31	29	35	27	-6	46,381
Black	7	63	7	64	+1	5,406
Hispanic	19	41	22	36	-8	3,850
Conserv.	46	23	50	22	-5	3,629
Moderate	21	37	24	35	-5	3,890
Liberal	10	50	9	48	-1	1,901
18-29	25	28	26	27	-2	10,139
30-49	28	32	32	30	-6	21,473
50-64	27	36	30	33	-6	12,988
65+	29	41	32	38	-6	9,784
< HS Grad	20	39	20	36	-3	4,683
HS Grad	26	34	29	32	-5	18,165
Some Coll	30	31	33	30	-4	13,510
Coll Grad	35	28	38	27	-4	13,473
Post-Grad	29	34	31	33	-3	7,388
White						
Catholic	28	34	32	30	-8	9,053
Protestant	36	27	42	24	-9	22,520
Evangelic	41	26	48	23	-10	10,318
Mainline	32	28	35	27	-5	10,027
Black						
Prot, Evan.	7	69	7	72	+3	2,093
Prot, Main.	7	61	5	66	+7	1,155
Jewish	16	51	19	49	-5	934
No Religion	15	28	16	28	-1	4,802
< \$20k	18	41	20	39	-4	6,930
\$20-\$30	24	35	25	35	-1	5,611
\$30-\$50	29	32	31	32	-2	10,382
\$50-\$75	34	30	36	28	-4	7,360
\$75k +	37	27	40	27	-3	9,424

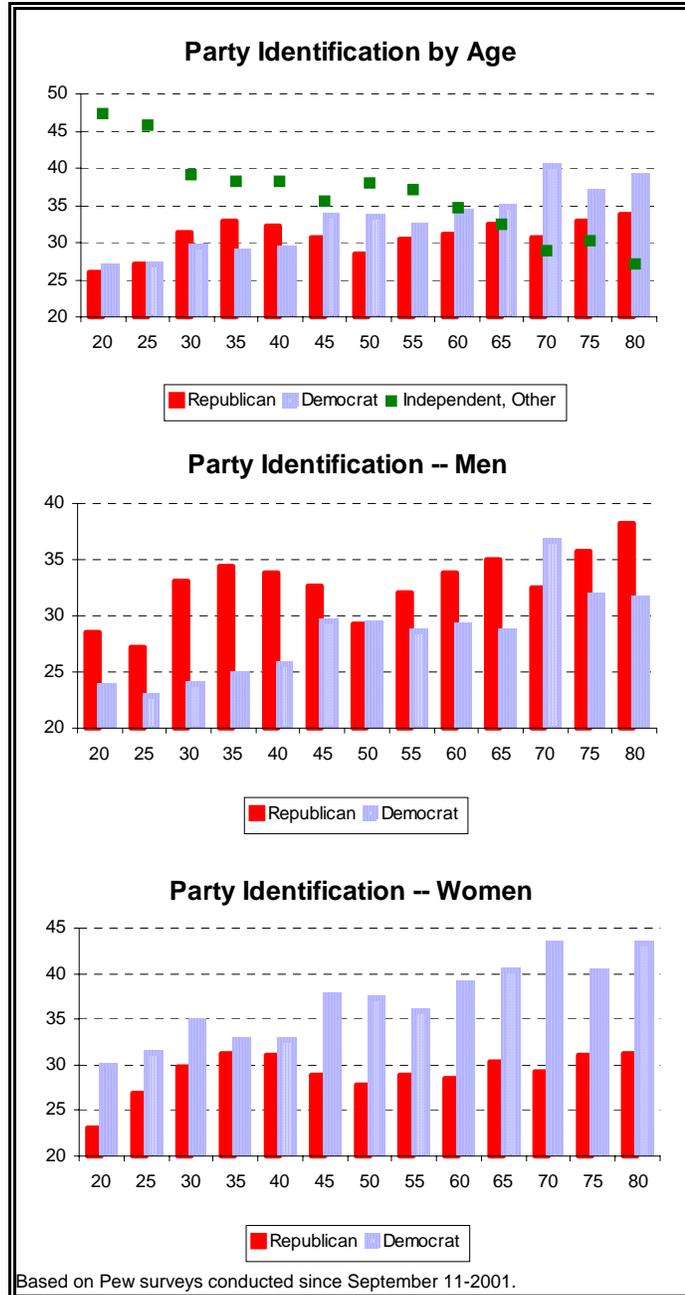
\*Number of cases from Sept 2001 thru Oct 2003. For all demographic groups the number of cases was greater from 1997-2000.

### Age, Gender and Partisanship

Older Americans are more Democratic than Republican in their party affiliation, while younger people are about equally divided between the parties. And as has long been true, younger people also are substantially less likely to identify with any political party.

In addition to its lead among older Americans (those age 65 and older), the Democratic party holds a clear edge among the early Baby Boomers – people in their middle 40s to late 50s. But younger Baby Boomers and those in Generation X (roughly ages 30-44) are somewhat more Republican. The parties are virtually even among the youngest cohort of citizens today.

These general patterns hold for both men and women, but there is also a big gender gap in party affiliation, as there has been since the early 1980s. Women tilt Democratic by a margin of 36% to 29%, while men favor the Republican party by a margin of 32% to 27%. Women in every age group are more Democratic than Republican, with the largest gaps occurring among those age 60 and older. But Democrats also have a big advantage among young women (ages 18-24) and Baby Boomers. Among men, Republicans outnumber Democrats even among the Boomers, and indeed among every age group except those age 70-74.



In addition to the gender gap, there is also a substantial marital gap in party affiliation. By 36% to 28%, married people are more Republican than Democratic; those who are divorced, widowed, separated, or never married are more Democratic than Republican (36% Democratic, 24% Republican). Married people with children tilt more Republican than those who don't have children. Among people who are not married or who are separated, those with children are less Republican than those without kids.

**Blacks Still Solidly Democratic, Hispanics Less So**

Compared with other demographic groups, African Americans are by far the strongest supporters of the Democratic party. Overall, 64% of blacks describe themselves as Democrats, and another 21% say they lean toward the Democratic party. Moreover, more than four-in-ten (46%) describe themselves as *strong* Democrats. Just 7% of African Americans identify themselves as Republicans (another 3% lean Republican). African Americans were not part of the general shift toward the Republican party during the post-9/11 period. The Democratic advantage among blacks (64%-7%) is about the same as it was in the late 1990s.

While a gender gap is evident within the African American population – as with whites, more women than men are Democrats – there is a striking uniformity in Democratic affiliation across regions and the economic spectrum. The most affluent African Americans are nearly identical in partisanship to the least affluent: Among black respondents making less than \$20,000 annually, Democrats outnumber Republicans by 63% to 8%; the margin is nearly as great (61%-10%) among blacks with incomes of at least \$100,000 a year.

As is the case with whites, younger African Americans – those under age 30 – are less likely than their elders to claim a party affiliation. Among African Americans who do identify with a party, the Democratic advantage is slightly smaller among

	<u>Rep</u> %	<u>Dem</u> %	N of cases
Total	30	31	56,735
Married	36	28	23,740
Men	37	25	11,851
Women	35	31	11,889
Not married	24	36	19,469
Men	26	29	8,646
Women	22	41	10,823
All			
Married, kids	37	26	10,237
Married, no kids	35	30	12,357
Single, kids	20	37	3,599
Single, no kids	25	36	14,988
Under 30			
Single, no kids	25	29	4,391
Married	34	22	2,088
30-49			
Single, no kids	23	35	3,497
Married, no kids	33	30	2,513
Married, kids	39	26	7,361

Based on Pew surveys conducted since 9/11/2001.

	<u>Rep</u> %	<u>Dem</u> %	N of cases
Total	7	64	5,406
Men	8	56	2,284
Women	6	69	3,122
18-29	9	53	1,342
30-49	6	66	2,224
50+	5	71	1,654
< \$20k	8	63	1,145
\$20-\$30	6	66	749
\$30-\$50	6	69	1,007
\$50-\$75	6	66	531
\$75-\$100	7	66	273
\$100k +	10	61	239

younger than among older respondents.

Hispanics and Latinos have also been an important constituency for the Democrats in many parts of the country. But there has been a somewhat larger partisan shift away from the Democratic party among Hispanics than among the public at large. During the late 1990s, Democrats outnumbered Republicans among Hispanics by a margin of more than two-to-one (41% to 19%). In the aftermath of 9/11, Democrats still lead, but by a smaller margin (36% to 22%).

Republican gains have been greatest among Protestant Hispanics – especially those who consider themselves evangelical Christians. Among Catholic Hispanics, there has been little change in partisan identification.

The Northeast is the only region where the Democratic party has held its own. Hispanics and Latinos living in that region are just as Democratic today as before Sept. 11. But in several key battleground states in other regions – notably Florida – Republicans have made gains. With its conservative Cuban-American population, the Sunshine State’s Hispanic population is among the more politically diverse in the country, though Democrats outnumbered Republicans by 12 points during the late 1990s. Today, Republicans have a slight advantage over Democrats, 32% to 30%.

	1997-2000		Post-9/11		Dem Lead Change	Min N*
	Rep	Dem	Rep	Dem		
	%	%	%	%		
Total	19	41	22	36	-8	3,850
Men	21	39	23	33	-8	1,971
Women	18	44	20	40	-6	1,879
Northeast	16	42	14	41	+1	552
Midwest	22	38	21	30	-7	387
South	21	36	25	33	-7	1,257
West	18	46	21	39	-10	1,553
Texas	17	37	24	34	-10	674
California	18	47	20	40	-9	1,085
Florida	24	36	32	30	-14	260
New York	16	48	13	50	+5	278
18-29	17	34	20	29	-8	1,405
30-49	21	42	24	37	-8	1,576
50+	18	55	19	52	-4	731
Catholic	18	45	19	42	-4	1,849
Protestant	24	36	31	31	-12	879
Evangelic	27	36	37	32	-14	497
Mainline	19	36	20	29	-8	289
No Religion	13	30	10	31	+4	293
< \$20k	14	45	15	36	-10	631
\$20-\$30	19	43	28	40	-2	488
\$30-\$50	19	45	22	39	-9	776
\$50 +	27	39	32	36	-8	828

\*Number of cases from Sept 2001 thru Oct 2003. For all demographic groups the number of cases was greater from 1997-2000.

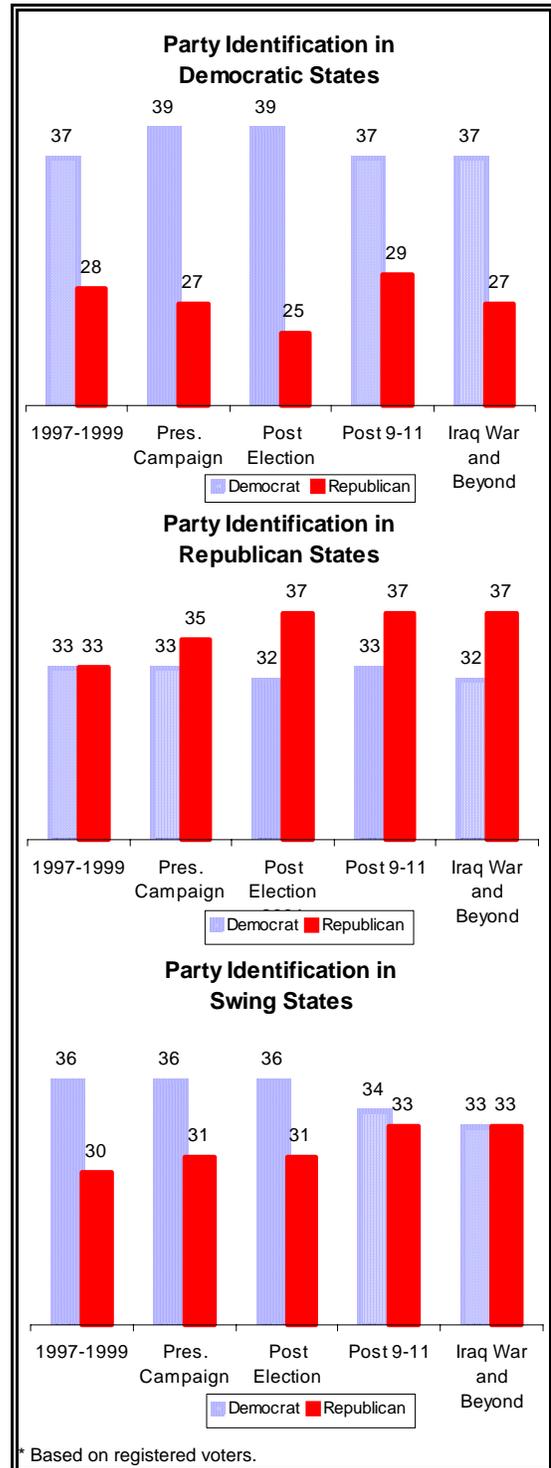
**Red, Blue and Swing States**

The Republican party’s gains in affiliation, if sustained into next year’s general elections, may produce small but nevertheless important changes in the terrain on which the elections will be fought. Compared with the 2000 campaign, Republicans now have an edge among registered voters in party identification in the states that have been voting their way over the past three election cycles – so-called Red states – and have achieved parity with the Democrats in swing states.

Before the 2000 campaign, the parties were at parity in states that had been dependably Republican in presidential voting (33% Democratic, 33% Republican). Following the election, the Republicans took a 37% to 32% advantage in these states, a lead that is unchanged today.

During the 2000 campaign, Democrats held a 12-point advantage in voter affiliation in states that consistently voted Democratic at the presidential level (39% Democratic, 27% Republican). After Sept. 11, Democratic identification in the Blue states declined to 37% and Republican identification rose to 29%; the Democratic advantage in these states has grown slightly in the aftermath of the war in Iraq (now 37% Democratic, 27% Republican).

Swing states tilted nearly as Democratic as the Blue states in the late 1990s. Even after the 2000 election, Democrats maintained a 36% to 31% advantage over the Republicans in these states. But after 9/11, this gap closed: swing states now divide evenly: 33% Democratic, 33% Republican.



### ***GOP Gains in Key States***

Republicans have made notable gains in a number of key swing states. Michigan, Minnesota and Iowa – three Midwestern states Al Gore won in 2000 by very slight margins – have all experienced significant shifts in party ID toward the GOP. And the five-point advantage enjoyed by Democrats in Florida in the run-up to the 2000 election has evaporated. In polling since Sept 11, 2001, 37% of Floridians call themselves Republicans, 36% Democrats.

Not all swing states have moved Republican, however. In Ohio and Missouri, for example, there has been little change in self-reported party identification over this time period.

In a number of the Red states that voted Republican in the 1992, 1996 and 2000 elections, party identification continues to grow for the GOP. Texas, which was divided almost evenly between Democrats and Republicans prior to the 2000 election, now shows a significant ten-point Republican identification advantage. And the Democratic identification advantage in Alabama has completely disappeared since 9/11.

In most cases, Democrats maintain an advantage in Blue states that have consistently voted Democratic over the past three presidential election cycles. Even here, however, the GOP has made some inroads, including a slight but statistically significant change in California. A 41% to 31%

	1997-2000		Post-9/11		Republican Gain
	Rep	Dem	Rep	Dem	
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>+5</b>
<b>Arkansas</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>+15</b>
<b>Iowa</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>+12</b>
<b>Michigan</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>+9</b>
West Virginia	31	51	33	44	+9
<b>Minnesota</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>+8</b>
<b>Tennessee</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>+7</b>
<b>Florida</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>+6</b>
New Mexico	30	40	35	39	+6
Louisiana	31	46	33	42	+6
Wisconsin	29	33	30	29	+5
Pennsylvania	36	40	38	38	+4
Missouri	27	34	28	32	+3
Oregon	33	36	32	33	+2
Ohio	32	35	31	35	-1
New Hampshire	30	19	29	20	-2

\*Shaded rows indicate statistically significant change

	1997-2000		Post-9/11		Republican Gain
	Rep	Dem	Rep	Dem	
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>+4</b>
<b>Idaho</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>+19</b>
<b>Nevada</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>+14</b>
<b>Texas</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>+12</b>
<b>Alabama</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>+9</b>
<b>Kentucky</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>+8</b>
South Carolina	33	33	37	29	+8
Utah	42	20	48	19	+7
Nebraska	42	31	48	31	+6
Indiana	34	29	37	26	+6
Georgia	29	34	34	36	+3
Arizona	39	31	41	31	+2
Oklahoma	36	44	38	45	+1
Kansas	39	25	44	29	0
Colorado	33	24	34	26	-1
Virginia	32	28	33	30	-1
Montana	34	23	30	21	-2
Mississippi	36	35	36	39	-4
North Carolina	34	41	32	44	-5
Wyoming	43	21	39	22	-5
South Dakota	50	28	44	27	-5
North Dakota	36	23	31	25	-7

\*Shaded rows indicate statistically significant change

Democratic party identification advantage has narrowed to a mere 38% to 33% advantage since 9/11. This was based predominantly on surveys conducted before the gubernatorial recall process was underway.<sup>1</sup>

<b>Partisan Shifts in Democratic States</b>					
<b>Registered Voters Only</b>					
	1997-2000		Post-9/11		Republican
	Rep	Dem	Rep	Dem	Gain
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>+3</b>
Delaware	25	34	30	32	+7
Rhode Island	13	25	20	26	+6
Maryland	28	47	31	44	+6
<b>Washington</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>+6</b>
Massachusetts	12	33	15	30	+6
<b>California</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>+5</b>
Vermont	28	28	26	22	+4
Washington DC	8	65	15	70	+2
Illinois	27	37	28	37	+1
New Jersey	26	32	28	34	0
Maine	29	29	27	28	-1
New York	28	40	28	42	-2
Connecticut	25	31	24	32	-2

\*Shaded rows indicate statistically significant change

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<sup>1</sup> States are categorized based on presidential vote in the 1992, 1996, and 2000 elections. Democratic states are those that favored Clinton and Gore by margins significantly higher than the national average. Republican states, likewise, favored the Republican candidates more than the average. Finally, swing states are those that have divided between the candidates or have been won by margins very close to the national average in each year. The tables on this page and the previous page combine surveys from 1997 through 2000, and surveys taken after Sept. 11 to the present.

### Profiling Early Primary States

Critics of the presidential nominating process often charge that the states that hold primaries early in the process are unrepresentative of the broader party membership. But for the Democratic party in 2004, the early states look fairly similar to those whose elections are later in the primary process. Of course, those who actually vote will be a subset of more motivated Democrats, and they could be different by virtue of the intensity of their feelings.

Democratic registered voters in Iowa and New Hampshire, who have the first opportunity to judge the field, are much less racially and ethnically diverse than the party as a whole, and may be slightly less conservative. But they are similar to Democrats nationally in terms of labor union affiliation, religion, age, and education. Voters in the states that hold nominating contests Feb. 3 (including South Carolina, Missouri and Arizona) look much like the larger Democratic electorate on most characteristics.

Taken together, the primary and caucus electorates that vote prior to Super Tuesday (the big cluster of states holding contests on March 2), look very much like Democrats elsewhere in terms of their basic political values.

### Characteristics of the Democratic Primary Electorate\*

	Iowa/ NH	Feb 3	Feb 7-24	Super Tues	Later	Total
<i>Percentage of all pledged delegates</i>	%	%	%	%	%	%
	2	8	16	33	41	=100
<i>Political Ideology</i>						
Conservative	21	28	25	23	28	26
Moderate	48	44	44	42	42	43
Liberal	28	24	27	31	25	27
DK/Ref	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Race</i>						
White	96	72	77	68	69	70
Black	2	20	19	22	25	23
Other	2	7	3	8	5	6
DK/Ref	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Hispanic</i>						
Yes	2	12	4	14	8	10
No/DK	<u>98</u>	<u>88</u>	<u>96</u>	<u>86</u>	<u>92</u>	<u>90</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Labor Household</i>						
Yes	22	16	24	24	17	20
No/DK	<u>78</u>	<u>84</u>	<u>76</u>	<u>76</u>	<u>83</u>	<u>80</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Religion</i>						
Protestant	57	63	58	45	60	55
Catholic	31	22	22	33	24	26
Jewish	1	1	2	5	2	3
Other	6	9	9	7	8	8
Secular	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>8</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Minimum N:</i>	(227)	(1,252)	(2,267)	(5,413)	(7,816)	(16,975)

\*Based on registered voters who say they are Democrats. Based on Pew surveys conducted since Sept 11, 2001.

#### Tentative 2004 Schedule

Jan. 19: Iowa Caucuses

Jan. 27: New Hampshire Primary

Feb. 3: Arizona; Delaware; Missouri; New Mexico; North Dakota; Oklahoma; South Carolina

Feb. 7-24: Michigan; Washington; Maine; Tennessee; Virginia; Nevada; Wisconsin; Idaho; Utah; Hawaii; Washington, D.C.

March 2 (Super Tuesday): California; Connecticut; Georgia; Maryland; Massachusetts; Minnesota; New York; Ohio; Rhode Island; Vermont

March 9-June 1: Florida; Louisiana; Mississippi; Texas; Kansas; Illinois; Wyoming; Colorado; Pennsylvania; Indiana; North Carolina; Nebraska; West Virginia; Arkansas; Kentucky; Oregon; Alabama; Montana; New Jersey; South Dakota; Alaska



**Part Two:  
EARLY VOTING INTENTIONS**

Despite GOP gains in party identification after Sept. 11, the electorate is evenly split over President Bush's reelection. A year before the election, the divided electorate looks strikingly similar to the one reflected in exit polls from the 2000 election. Now, as then, Bush draws very strong support from men, whites, and those who regularly attend religious services. An unnamed Democratic candidate runs strongly among women, minorities, and those in the lowest income categories, as Al Gore did in 2000.

The gender gap is virtually the same as it was in 2000, as is the sharp division in candidate preference along racial and ethnic lines. There are no signs that President Bush has succeeded in winning over a significant number of minority voters, but he continues to hold a clear lead among whites.

Bush has lost significant support among young voters, while maintaining a slight edge among those age 30 and older. In the Voter News Service exit polls from 2000, voters age 18-29 were divided almost evenly between Bush and Gore. Today, this age group leans Democratic by roughly three-to-two (60%-40%).

Income continues to be a decisive factor in presidential politics. The president has made modest gains among voters in middle and upper-middle income categories, but has lost support

**The Electoral Landscape, 2000 vs. 2003**

	2000 VNS Exit Poll		Sept-Oct* Reg Voters		N
	<b>Bush</b>	<b>Gore</b>	<b>Bush</b>	<b>Dem</b>	
<b>TOTAL</b>	50	50	50	50	1997
<b>Gender</b>					
Male	56	44	58	42	907
Female	44	56	44	56	1090
<b>Race/Ethnicity</b>					
White	56	44	57	43	1699
Black	9	91	9	91	179
Hispanic	36	64	34	66	87
<b>Age</b>					
18-29	49	51	40	60	257
30-44	51	49	52	48	546
45-59	51	49	54	46	605
60+	48	52	50	50	562
<b>Education</b>					
Less than HS	40	60	41	59	99
HS Graduate	51	49	53	47	592
Some college	53	47	52	48	476
College grad	53	47	54	46	526
Post graduate	46	54	41	59	298
<b>Income</b>					
<\$15 / <\$20K	39	61	34	66	245
\$15-30/\$20-30K	43	57	38	62	206
\$30-\$50K	49	51	54	46	420
\$50-\$75K	53	47	59	41	349
\$75-\$100K	54	46	57	43	251
\$100+K	56	44	54	46	283
<b>Employed</b>					
Full time	49	51	59	46	1059
Not	51	49	46	54	924
<b>Party ID</b>					
Republican	92	8	93	7	716
Democrat	11	89	12	88	703
Independent	51	49	48	52	493
<b>Union House</b>					
Yes	39	61	45	55	313
No	54	46	52	48	1672
<b>Ideology</b>					
Conservative	83	17	73	27	824
Moderate	46	54	43	57	738
Liberal	14	86	18	82	385
<b>Church Attend</b>					
More than 1/wk	64	36	63	37	319
1/week	59	41	56	44	565
1-2/month	47	53	52	48	285
1-2/year	44	56	46	54	363
Seldom/Never	34	66	38	62	442

For ease of comparison, figures have been repercentaged based on those with a preference between the Democratic and Republican candidates. In the 2000 exit polls, 48% reported voting for Bush and Gore, with 4% choosing another candidate or not voting in the Presidential race. In the Sept-Oct 2003 surveys, 43% favor Bush, 43% favor a Democrat, and 14% favor someone else or are undecided.

among poorer voters. In both 2000 and the current surveys, Democrats do best among the most and least educated groups (those with a post-graduate education and those who did not finish high school), while Bush holds slim margins among those in the middle.

And religious observance continues to be a stark dividing line with respect to voting intentions. Voters who attend religious services regularly favor reelecting Bush by strong margins, while those who rarely attend religious services clearly favor a Democratic candidate.

### *Swing Groups Look Familiar*

A year ahead of Election Day, a number of key swing groups are likely to be critical, and many of them are the same groups that candidates and analysts identified in the 2000 election. For example, while voters in the Northeast lean Democratic and voters in the South favor reelecting Bush, voters in the Midwest and West are currently evenly divided in their preference. Similarly, while urban and rural voters have a decided preference (the former leaning Democratic, the latter for Bush), voters in the suburbs and in smaller cities are split.

And religion continues to be a critical factor among white voters. In particular, white non-Hispanic Catholics are almost evenly divided in their candidate preference today, with 43% favoring a Bush reelection, and 42% preferring a Democrat. This is virtually identical to polls conducted prior to the 2000 election. By comparison, white Protestants favor Bush by relatively large margins, while white seculars lean decidedly Democratic.

The gender gap in presidential politics remains as formidable as in 2000. Currently, men favor reelecting Bush by a 50% to 36% margin, while women prefer the Democrat by 49% to 38%. When race is taken into account, white women emerge as a key swing group,

<b>Regional Differences</b>			
<i>Where voters live</i>	Reelect	Prefer	Other/
	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>DK</u>
	%	%	%
Northeast	36	52	12=100
South	48	40	12=100
<b>Midwest</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>17=100</b>
<b>West</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>14=100</b>
Urban	37	50	13=100
<b>Suburban</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>13=100</b>
Rural	49	34	17=100
Red States	49	39	12=100
Blue States	36	50	14=100
<b>Swing States</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>15=100</b>

Based on registered voters, data from September and October polling.

<b>Other Key Swing Groups</b>			
	Reelect	Prefer	Other/
	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>DK</u>
	%	%	%
Men	50	36	14=100
<b>18-29</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>9=100</b>
30-49	49	33	18=100
50-64	57	30	13=100
<b>65+</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>13=100</b>
Women	38	49	13=100
18-29	29	60	11=100
<b>30-49</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>12=100</b>
<b>50-64</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>16=100</b>
65+	34	51	15=100
White women	44	42	14=100
White Catholics	43	42	14=100
Non-union HH	45	42	13=100
Mothers 30-49	45	44	11=100

Based on registered voters, data from September and October polling.

evenly divided with 44% favoring Bush and 42% a Democrat. White men, by comparison, favor Bush by 56% to 31%.

Voters age 18-29 and those age 65 and older favor a Democratic victory in 2004, while those 30-64 tend to favor Bush's reelection. This pattern holds among both men and women, with the result that young and older men are fairly divided in their support, while middle-aged men favor Bush by very large margins. Among women, the young and old overwhelmingly favor replacing Bush, while those age 30-64 are split almost evenly.

Parents with children at home are also much more favorably disposed to reelecting the president. Looking only at people between the ages of 30 and 49 – two-thirds of whom have children living at home – fathers favor Bush by two-to-one while men without kids at home split their vote almost evenly. Among women age 30-49, mothers are evenly divided at this point in the race, while those without children at home favor a Democrat.

***'Generic' vs. 'Real' Democrats***

Voters are evenly divided between Bush and a generic Democrat, but the president retains a significant lead over all of the actual candidates for the Democratic nomination. (See p.5 for further analysis.) The gap between support for a generic Democratic candidate and support for actual candidates reflects a lack of familiarity with many of the Democrats as much as a lack of appeal on their part. A good portion of the advantage Bush has in the individual match-ups comes from voters who expressed no preference between the president's reelection and a Democratic victory.

<b>Undecideds Default to Bush</b>				
		---Generic Ballot---		
	Avg <u>Total</u>	Reelect <u>Bush</u>	Prefer <u>Democrat</u>	Unde- <u>cided</u>
<i>Head-to-Head*</i>	%	%	%	%
George W. Bush	51	96	9	42
Named Democrat	42	3	85	27
Other/Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>31</u>
	100	100	100	100

\* Analysis based on the average results of head-to-head matchups between Bush and Clark, Dean, Gephardt, Kerry and Lieberman. Based on Registered Voters.

Of the voters who were undecided on the generic ballot (16% of all registered voters), roughly four-in-ten (42%) say they would favor Bush when his name is placed against the current Democratic candidates, while just 27% favor one of the Democrats. There are no significant differences in the appeal of the five leading candidates – Ret. Gen. Wesley Clark, former Vermont Gov. Howard Dean, Gephardt, Kerry and Lieberman – among these voters.

But there also is some evidence that the Democratic candidates have failed to tap into the latent opposition to the president that does exist. Some voters who *oppose* a second term for the president have yet to commit to anyone in the current field of Democratic candidates. On average, the current leading candidates for the Democratic nomination lose the support of 15% of voters who favor a Democratic victory in 2004.

At this point in the race, virtually no Bush supporters on the generic ballot defect to any specific Democratic candidate when their names are mentioned. On average, fully 96% of voters who favor Bush's reelection stick to this position when Bush is tested against individual Democrats.

**Part Three:**

**FOREIGN POLICY, INTERNATIONAL THREATS AND PATRIOTISM**

The Sept. 11 terrorist attacks profoundly affected the way Americans view national security threats and their own sense of personal safety. But for the most part, the public’s views about global engagement and the role of military power have stayed fairly stable since the Center began its values surveys 16 years ago.

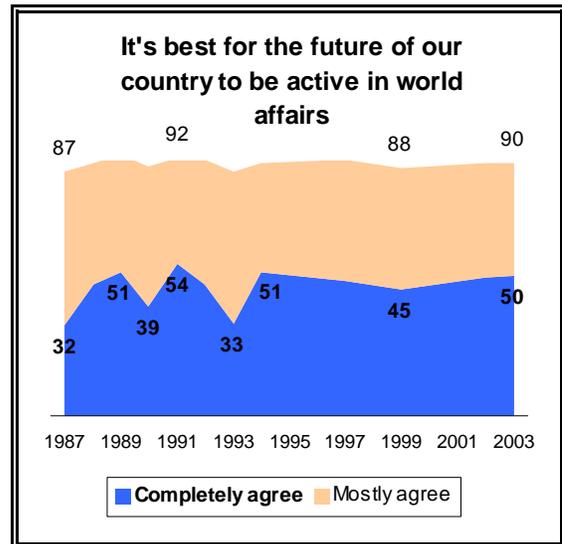
The public is united on the need to stay globally engaged: Nine-in-ten say it is better for the future of the country to be active in world affairs, and half *completely* agree. These numbers have varied little since the late 1980s. That opinion is tempered by the solid majority (76%) who believe less attention should be paid to overseas problems and more focus on problems at home. However, the percentage holding that view has declined since the mid-1990s.

Behind the general stability in opinion, however, there have been significant political and demographic shifts, particularly over the past two years, in fundamental values relating to the relationship between military strength and peace, internationalism and patriotism. Republicans and Democrats have never been further apart on many of these issues, while the gender gap over national security has narrowed considerably.

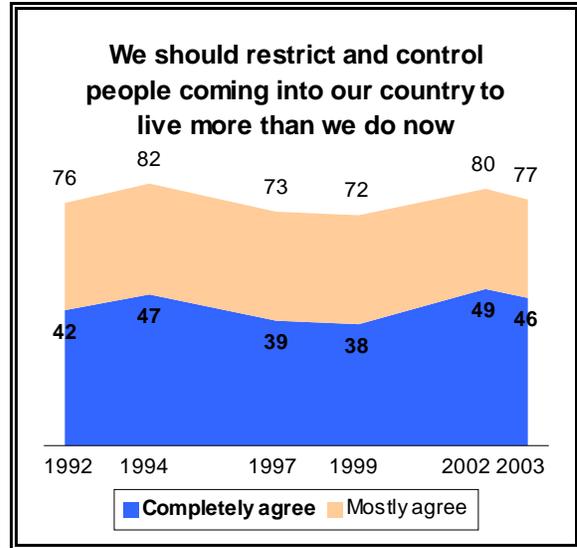
The terrorist attacks of two years ago did affect public opinion on a few issues. Notably, there is heightened concern about international threats.

Three-quarters of Americans believe the world is a more dangerous place than it was a decade ago; in a Pew Center survey conducted in early September 2001, days before the Sept. 11 attacks, far fewer (53%) expressed such concern.

Moreover, while the public has long supported tighter immigration controls by wide margins, the intensity of that opposition has risen in the aftermath of the attacks. Overall, about eight-in-ten Americans (77%) believe that “we should restrict and control people coming into our country to live more than we do now.” That is down slightly from last year (80%) though it marks a modest increase from 1999 (72% agree). But the number who *completely* agree with that statement rose from 38% in 1999 to 49% in 2002, before settling at 46% in the current survey.

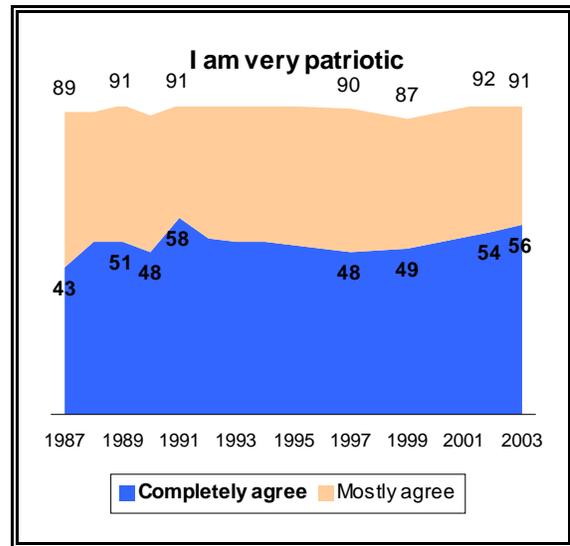


Growing concern over terrorism also resulted in a dramatic, but short-lived, changes in other attitudes – views of the concept of “peace through strength” and whether it is right to take revenge on enemies. But in both cases, opinion has returned close to historical norms after rising sharply in the wake of the attacks. Last year, for instance, 62% of Americans agreed that “the best way to ensure peace is through military strength;” that is the highest percentage holding that view since 1989 (61%). But this year, a much narrower majority (53%) expressed that opinion.



In 2002, fully 61% of Americans endorsed the idea that the U.S. should “get even” with nations that take advantage of it – by far the highest number holding that opinion since Pew began its values surveys. But after two wars in the past two years, that sentiment has clearly receded; fewer than half (48%) now say it is appropriate to take revenge on other countries that take advantage of the U.S.

Yet 9/11 has had a more enduring impact on how Americans feel about their own country. The United States has always been a highly patriotic country, but over the past two years there has been a significant increase in the intensity of that sentiment. Consistently, nine-in-ten agree with the statement “I am very patriotic.” In the past, about half said they completely agreed with that sentiment, but the percentage in strong agreement increased to 54% in 2002 and again to 56% this year.



### ***Military Strength: Iraq Shapes Democratic Views***

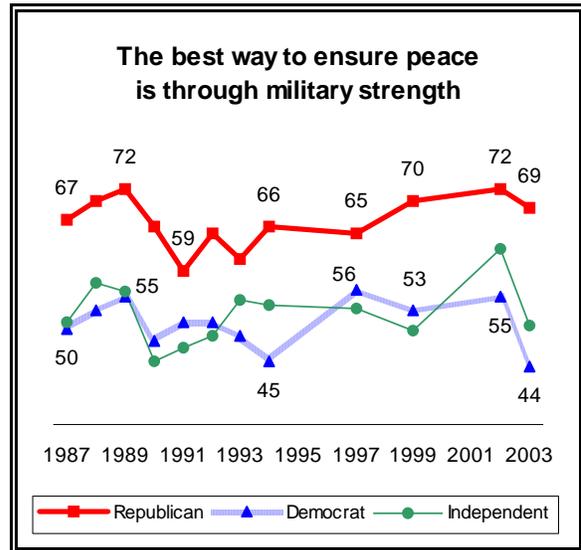
Dating back to the late 1980s, Republicans have been more supportive than Democrats of the idea of peace through military strength, but the differences have never been this significant. In the current survey, 69% of Republicans agree that “the best way to ensure peace is through military strength,” which is largely unchanged since last year (72%) and 1999 (70% in 1999).

By contrast, throughout the 1980s and 1990s only about half of Democrats embraced the idea that a strong military forms the basis for peace. In 2002, 55% of Democrats backed this idea, which was in line with the findings in previous years. But in the current survey, that number has dipped to 44% – the lowest percentage ever. Consequently, the gap between Republicans and Democrats on this issue – 25 points – has never been wider.

Political independents are much closer to Democrats than Republicans on this issue. And, like Democrats, independents have become much less supportive of peace through strength in the past year. In 2002, 62% of independents said they believed the best way to ensure peace is through military strength. Today, only about half of independents endorse that idea (51%).

Clearly, the war in Iraq has influenced Democratic views on this issue. In the political values survey, conducted July 14-Aug. 5, Democrats were divided over the decision to attack Iraq – 46% thought it was right, while the same number said it was the wrong decision. Democratic opponents of the war overwhelmingly rejected “peace through strength” – fully 72% disagreed compared with just 27% who agreed. By comparison, a majority of Democratic supporters of the war (55%) said that the best way to ensure peace is through military strength.

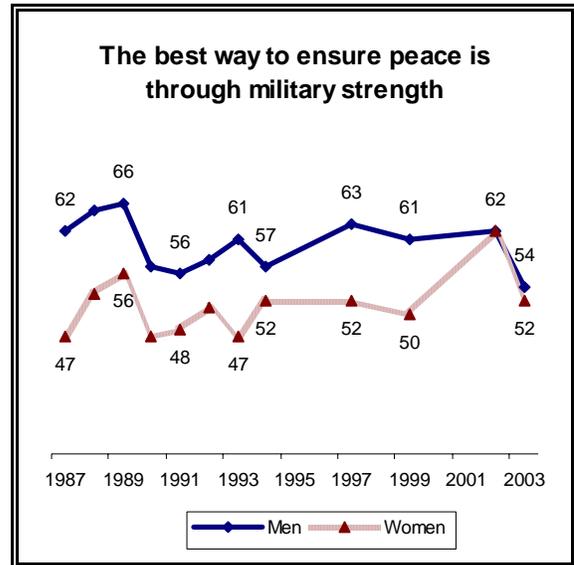
In the October survey that updated opinion on the presidential election (conducted Oct. 15-19), Democratic support for the war declined significantly. More than half of Democrats (54%) felt that going to war was the wrong decision compared with just 35% who thought it was the right thing to do. Independents (59% right decision) and Republicans (85%) remained much more supportive of the war.



### ***Gender Gap Disappears***

For the first 12 years of the Pew values survey, there also was a consistent gender gap over peace through strength. Four years ago, for example, 61% of men said that the best way to ensure peace is through military strength, but just half of women agreed. But those differences disappeared in the wake of the Sept. 11 attacks.

In 2002, equal numbers of men and women (62%) endorsed the principle of peace through strength, the first time that has occurred. For women, this represented a significant shift in opinion: Over the previous decade, no more than 52% of women had expressed this view. The current survey shows that fewer men and women now hold this opinion than in 2002, but that the gender gap remains negligible (54% of men, 52% of women).



The events of the past two years have affected public opinion on this issue in other ways as well. In 2002, for the first time since 1989, a majority of Americans under age 30 (51%) endorsed peace through strength. But the percentage of young people expressing this view fell to 43% in 2003. Older Americans – particularly those age 65 and older – have consistently been more supportive of the idea that the best way to ensure peace is through military strength (61% in 2003).

### ***College Grads Skeptical of 'Peace Through Strength'***

Americans with different educational backgrounds have long held divergent views on foreign policy and security issues. But these differences have deepened over the past few years, especially on the issue of peace through strength. College graduates have grown much more skeptical of the idea that peace is grounded on military strength.

Just 41% of college graduates agree with that statement in the current survey, a 17-point decline over the past year alone (58% in 2002). The current measure is the lowest among college graduates on this question since the Pew values surveys began. By comparison, those with a high school education or less have remained consistently supportive of peace through strength. Roughly six-in-ten (58%) of those with high school or less agree, a modest decline from last year (66%). Differences between those with a high school and college educations have never been wider (17 points).

### ***Views on Military Strength, Preemption Related***

As might be expected, opinions on whether military strength ensures peace are related to attitudes toward the preemptive use of military force against potential enemies. Overall, 20% of Americans believe that the use of military force is often justified against countries that may threaten the U.S. but have not attacked, while 43% say such force is sometimes justified. About a third (32%) say it is rarely (19%) or never (13%) justified.

A solid majority (73%) of those who believe that the best way to ensure peace is through military strength say preemptive military action is often or sometimes justified. Those who disagree that military strength provides the basis for peace are more divided: 51% say the use of preemptive force is at least sometimes justified; 46% say it is rarely or never justified.

As is the case regarding attitudes toward peace through strength, Republicans and Democrats disagree over preemptive attacks on potential enemies. More than eight-in-ten Republicans (83%) believe such attacks are often (34%) or sometimes (49%) justified. A narrow majority of Democrats (52%) agree, with just 13% saying the use of force against countries that may threaten the U.S. is often justified.

The ideological gulf on this issue is much larger. Nearly four-in-ten conservative Republicans (39%) believe preemptive attacks on enemies are often justified, compared with fewer than one-in-ten liberal Democrats (9%). A majority of liberal Democrats (53%) say preemptive military action against potential enemies is rarely (34%) or never (19%) justified.

### ***Nuclear Concerns Persist***

The public's increasing wariness of global threats is seen in a number of values. Three-quarters say the world is a more dangerous place than it was a decade ago, while 64% think the U.S. faces greater danger of biological, chemical or nuclear attack (up from 51% in 2001). (See "Two Years Later, the Fear Lingers," Sept. 4, 2003).

Americans also have expressed consistent concern over the prospect of nuclear war. Throughout the 1990s, about half the public consistently said they often worried about the chances of a nuclear war, down about 10 points from the final years of the Cold War (61% in 1988). Concerns rose a bit last year, to 56%, and stand at 53% in the current survey.

	<u>1987</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1999</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2003</u>
	%	%	%	%	%
Total	62	48	52	56	53
Republican	52	39	45	49	44
Democrats	70	56	55	68	63
Independents	61	47	53	54	52
<i>R-D gap</i>	<i>-18</i>	<i>-17</i>	<i>-10</i>	<i>-19</i>	<i>-19</i>

Percent who agree they often worry about the chances for nuclear war

While there is only a modest partisan gap in concerns over other foreign threats, Democrats have consistently expressed more anxiety over nuclear war than have Republicans. In the current survey, six-in-ten Democrats and four-in-ten Republicans say they often worry about the chances for nuclear war. The partisan gap in nuclear war fears has increased since the late 1990s and now is comparable to differences in surveys 10 to 15 years ago.

Women and African Americans also voice more concern over nuclear war than do men and whites. Again this has been a fairly consistent finding in Pew values surveys dating back to the 1980s. In the current survey, 58% of women and 48% of men say they often worry about a possible nuclear war. An even larger gap divides blacks and whites (69% of blacks, 54% of whites).

***Bigger Partisan Gap on Internationalism***

Partisan divisions on other values have also grown in recent years. Solid majorities in both parties have long agreed that the U.S. should pay less attention to overseas problems, although this has coexisted with overwhelming bipartisan support for an activist U.S. global role.

Since 1999, there has been a significant decline in the percentage of Republicans who agree with the statement: “We should pay less attention to problems overseas and concentrate on problems here at home.” In each of the past two surveys, about two-thirds of Republicans have expressed this sentiment (66% in 2003, 67% in 2002), down from 77% in 1999. In 1992, when Pew first asked this question, 84% of Republicans agreed.

The percentage of Democrats who believe the U.S. should pay less attention to overseas problems also declined between 1999 and 2002 (from 86% to 77%), but climbed again in the past year to 82%. The gap between the two parties, which ranged from 3% to 10% in the 1990s, now stands at 16%.

<b>Fewer Republicans Favor Looking Homeward</b>					
<i>Percent agreeing “we should pay less attention to problems overseas”</i>					
	<u>1992</u>	<u>1997</u>	<u>1999</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2003</u>
	%	%	%	%	%
Total	88	78	80	73	76
Republican	84	75	<b>77</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>66</b>
Democrats	92	78	86	77	82
Independents	87	80	78	74	78
<i>R-D gap</i>	-8	-3	-9	-10	<b>-16</b>

### ***More Intense Opposition to Immigration***

In general, there are only modest partisan differences in opinion on tighter immigration controls. About eight-in-ten Republicans (82%) and somewhat fewer independents and Democrats (76% each) agree with the statement “We should restrict and control people coming into our country to live more than we do now.”

But there is a growing gap in the intensity of these attitudes. More than half of Republicans (54%) completely agree that immigration controls should be tightened, little change from last year (53%), but a 16-point increase since 1999. Among independents and Democrats, intense opposition to immigration also grew in the wake of the Sept. 11 attacks, although it has subsided a bit in the current survey.

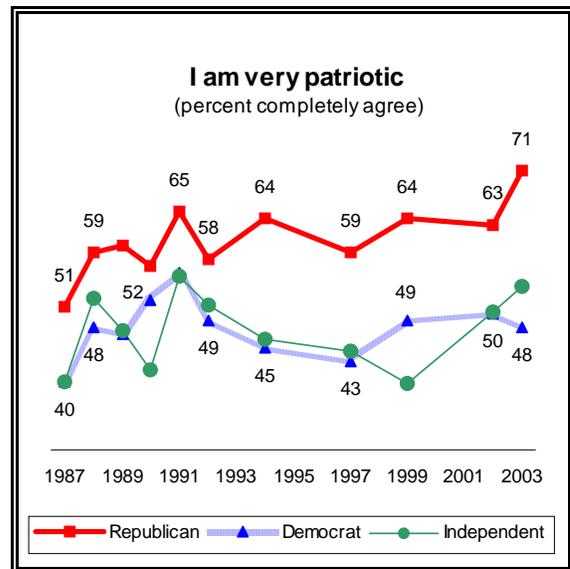
In 2002, about half of Democrats (49%) and nearly as many independents (46%) said they completely agree that immigration controls need to be beefed up, a significant increase from 1999 (35% of Democrats, 38% of independents). This year, slightly fewer Democrats and independents express strong support for tougher immigration controls (45%, 43%).

Education is an even more important factor in these attitudes. Fully 55% of those with a high school education completely agree that immigration restrictions should be tightened, up from 44% four years ago. By comparison, among college graduates there has been a much more modest increase in strong support for more tighter immigration restrictions (31% now, 26% in 1999).

### ***The Patriotism Gap***

Nearly every American agrees with the statement “I am very patriotic,” but there is a large and growing division in the intensity with which Republicans and Democrats express this sentiment. Currently, 71% of Republicans and just 48% of Democrats say they *completely agree* with that statement.

The percentage of Republicans strongly voicing feelings of patriotism has risen sharply in the past year, from 63% to 71%. By comparison, Democratic opinion on this value has changed little in recent years. Since 1999, about half of Democrats have said they completely agree with the statement



“I am very patriotic.” The events of the past two years have had little impact on those attitudes.

By contrast, many more independents strongly agree with that statement than did so four years ago (54% completely agree now, 40% in 1999). But the views of independents still are much closer to those of Democrats than Republicans: There is a six-point gap in patriotic intensity between independents and Democrats (54% vs. 48%), and a 17-point gap between Republicans and independents (71% of Republicans vs. 54% of independents).

### ***Race and Patriotism***

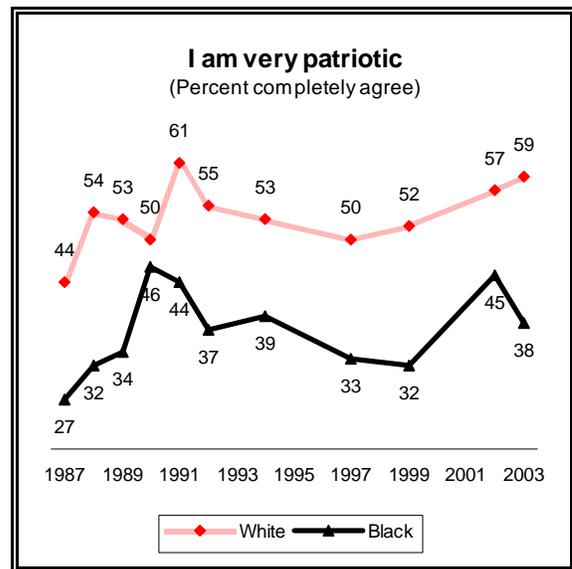
The vast majority of African Americans express patriotic sentiments, though there long have been differences between blacks and whites on this issue. During the 1990s, about three-quarters of blacks said they agree with the statement “I am very patriotic,” compared with about 90% of whites.

Following the Sept. 11 attacks, there was a sharp rise in the percentage of African Americans expressing patriotism. In 2002, fully of 88% of African Americans agreed with the statement “I am very patriotic,” up from 75% in 1999; 45% completely agreed, compared with 32% three years earlier. Whites were still somewhat more likely than

blacks to identify themselves as very patriotic, with 94% in agreement and 57% completely agreeing, but the gap between the races was narrower it had been in more than a decade.

But in the current survey the attitudes of blacks and whites toward patriotism once again diverge. There has been a 10-point decline the percentage of blacks who identify themselves as very patriotic (from 88% to 78%), while the percentage in complete agreement has dropped from 45% to 38%. By comparison, white sentiments have changed very little over the past year; 93% say they are very patriotic while 59% completely agree.

Even among Democrats, there are clear differences among whites and blacks in intensity of patriotic feelings. Roughly half of white Democrats (52%) completely agree that they are very patriotic, little changed from past years. That compares with about four-in-ten black Democrats (38%) who express strong patriotism.



### ***Democrats Less Confident***

While feelings of patriotism are nearly universal, Americans are less expansive in other views of the country. Two-thirds (66%) agree with the statement “As Americans we can always find a way to solve our problems and get what we want.” That is a decline from 2002 (74%), but in line with opinions throughout the late 1980s and 1990s.

The partisan divide has widened over the past year, in this case because fewer Democrats and independents believe Americans can find a way to overcome their problems. Roughly six-in-ten Democrats say that now (63%), a decline of eight points in the past year. Similarly, somewhat fewer independents endorse this idea (66% now, 74% in 2002).

Republicans generally are much more upbeat about national conditions – and the future – than are Democrats. Fully seven-in-ten Republicans agree with the statement “I don’t believe that there are any real limits to growth in this country today,” while barely half of Democrats concur (51%). Again, this gap is wider than it has been in the past.

### ***Fight for U.S., Right or Wrong?***

A similar partisan split is seen in opinion on whether someone has an obligation to fight for the United States, regardless of whether it is right or wrong. Overall, about half the public (52%) agrees with the statement “We should all be willing to fight for our country, whether it is right or wrong.” Views on this issue have been generally stable for about a decade; in the early 1990s, somewhat more Americans felt people had an obligation to fight for the U.S. whether it was right or wrong.

Partisan differences on this question have fluctuated over the past 16 years. Four years ago, the gap had almost disappeared as roughly half of those in both parties (52% of Republicans, 48% of independents, 48% of Democrats) agreed that everyone had an obligation to fight for the country, right or wrong.

<b>Confidence in the Nation</b>					
<i>Percent agreeing “As Americans we can always find a way to solve our problems”</i>					
	<u>1988</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1999</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2003</u>
	%	%	%	%	%
Total	66	68	70	74	67
Republican	71	72	78	79	76
Democrats	63	60	73	<b>71</b>	<b>63</b>
Independents	69	71	66	74	66
<i>R-D gap</i>	-8	-12	-5	-8	<b>-13</b>

<b>An Obligation to Fight – No Matter What</b>					
<i>Percent who agree “We all should be willing to fight for our country, right or wrong”</i>					
	<u>1988</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1999</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2003</u>
	%	%	%	%	%
Total	57	52	49	52	52
Republican	67	61	<b>52</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>62</b>
Democrats	53	48	48	50	46
Independents	55	49	49	48	49
<i>R-D gap</i>	-14	-13	-4	-10	<b>-16</b>

But over the past two years, differences have reemerged, as Republicans have become significantly more supportive of a person's obligation to fight, regardless of whether the country is right or wrong, while opinion among Democrats and independents has been stable. In the current survey, 62% of Republicans say everyone should be willing to fight for the U.S., regardless of the circumstances, compared with about half of independents (49%) and fewer Democrats (46%).

Democratic attitudes toward a person's military obligation also are closely related to opinion of the Iraq war. Nearly six-in-ten Democrats (57%) who believe the United States made the right decision in going to war against Iraq feel people have a duty to fight, regardless if the country is right or wrong. Just 30% of Democratic war opponents agree.

### ***Races Divide Over Obligation to Fight***

Attitudes toward a person's obligation to fight have never been more racially polarized. Fully 55% of whites think that everyone has an obligation to fight for the U.S., even when it is wrong, but just 30% of African Americans agree. That is by far the biggest racial division over this issue since the Pew values survey began. In 1999, 46% of African Americans said that one had an obligation to fight for the U.S. right or wrong and the racial gap was a modest five points.

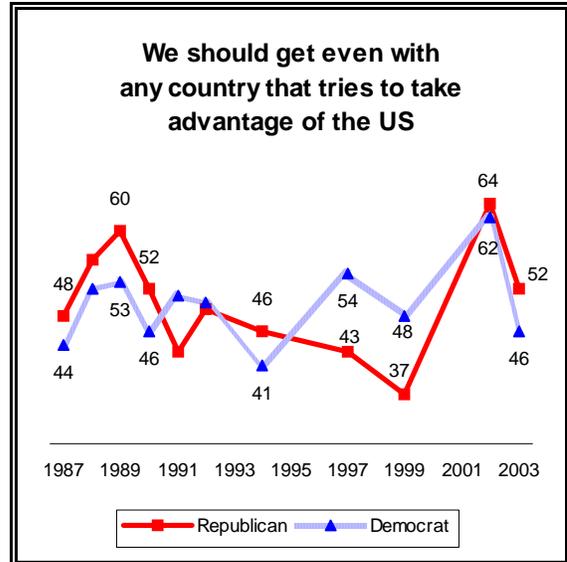
There also has been a decline in the percentage of college graduates who believe that everyone has an obligation to fight for the U.S. right or wrong. About four-in-ten (39%) say that now, compared with 47% last year. The current figure is more in line with historical norms, suggesting last year's rise was a response to Sept. 11. Opinion among those with a high school education has been more stable: 58% say a person should fight no matter what, compared with 54% last year and 55% in 1999.

### ***Fewer Say 'Get Even'***

Through the late 1980s and 1990s, the public was divided over whether the U.S. should "get even" with nations that take advantage of it. During this period of relative peace, there seems little doubt that most respondents viewed the issue in an economic context.

But the context changed completely in 2002, and so too did opinion on this issue. In the 2002 survey, less than a year after the 9/11 attacks, 61% agreed with the statement "It is my belief that we should get even with any country that tries to take advantage of the United States." Three years earlier, just 42% expressed agreement with that idea.

In the 1990s, Democrats were more likely than Republicans to endorse getting even with other countries, which reflected greater Democratic reservations over free trade. Partisan differences all but disappeared in 2002, as more than six-in-ten in each party (64% of Republicans, 62% of Democrats) – as well as 60% of independents – said they believed the U.S. should take revenge on nations that take advantage of it. These attitudes have moderated with the passage of time. In the current survey, 52% of Republicans and 46% of Democrats – and the same number of independents – say they believe the U.S. should take revenge on adversaries.



***Points of Agreement***

Although the public has a strong sense of patriotism, most people reject the notion that American lives are worth more than those of people in other countries. Only about one-in-five (19%) agree with the statement “American lives are worth more than the lives of people in other countries.” That is largely unchanged from past years, and roughly the same percentage of Republicans, independents and Democrats subscribe to this view (21% of Republicans, 19% of independents and Democrats).

Political partisans also are united by their belief that most countries that have “gotten help from America end up resenting us.” Two-thirds of Americans (67%) hold this view. Opinion on this issue has changed little in recent years, but somewhat more people expressed this view in 1988 (76%) and 1994 (72%). Similar percentages of Republicans, independents and Democrats believe countries that receive U.S. help end up resenting the United States.



**Part Four:**

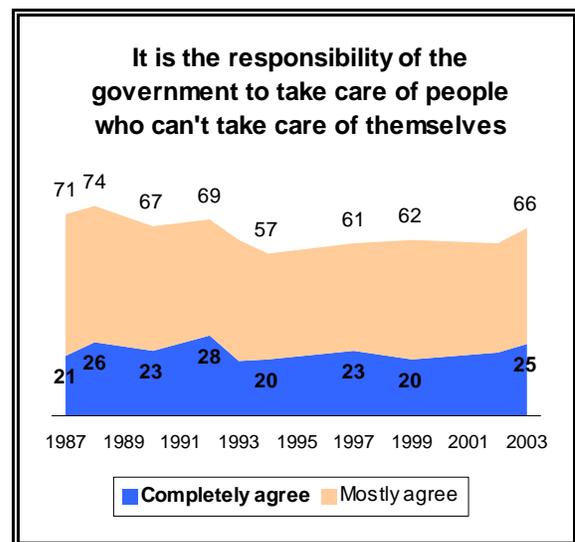
**SUCCESS, POVERTY AND GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITY**

Americans feel a strong sense of personal empowerment and have long valued the benefits of hard work. If anything, those sentiments are shared even more widely today than when the Center’s values surveys began in 1987. By more than two-to-one (67%-30%), the public rejects the idea that “Success in life is pretty much determined by forces outside our control.” Opinion was more divided regarding this value from the late 1980s through the early 1990s – in 1993, as many as 41% said they felt success was outside their personal control, a number that has fallen by 11 points over the past decade.



Correspondingly, about two-thirds of Americans (68%) disagree with the statement “Hard work offers little guarantee of success,” while just 30% agree with that statement. Opinions on this issue also were much more even divided in the early 1990s; in 1992, 45% endorsed the idea that hard work does not offer a clear path to success. By comparison, there has been more consistency in the public’s overwhelmingly positive view of people who become wealthy through hard work. Since 1992, no fewer than 87% have said they admire people who have gotten rich through hard work.

Yet while Americans feel empowered and applaud individual enterprise, they increasingly see the need for a government safety net for the needy. Two-thirds (66%) say it is the responsibility of the government to take care of people who can’t care for themselves. That represents a modest increase from recent values surveys – and a more significant change from 1994, when anti-government sentiments were the most pervasive over the past 16 years.



A comparable percentage (65%) believes that the government should guarantee every citizen enough to eat and a place to sleep. That is in line with levels in previous surveys, with the exception of 1991 when 73% said they agreed with that idea.

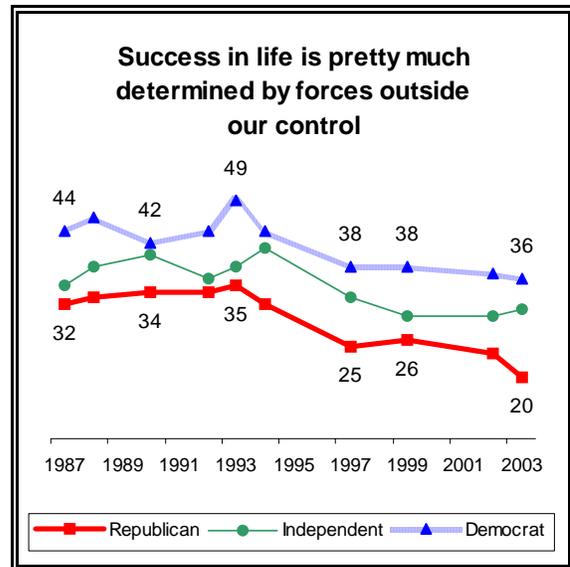
What may be more surprising is that, in spite of the rising budget deficit, a 54% majority thinks the government should help more needy people even if it means going deeper into debt. In 1994, as hostility toward the government reached a high point, just 41% backed more aid for the poor, even if it increased the deficit.

While Americans support a government safety net, a large majority (71%) continues to think that poor people have become too dependent on government assistance. But that number has declined significantly since reaching a peak in 1994 (85%). And a steady six-in-ten believe that many people think they can get ahead without working hard.

***Democrats Feel Less Empowered***

Compared with a decade ago, significantly fewer Republicans and Democrats believe success is outside of a person’s control and that hard work offers little guarantee of success. But the decline has been steeper among Republicans and, consequently, the partisan gap over these values has grown.

A decade ago, more than a third of Republicans (35%) agreed with the statement “Success in life is pretty much determined by forces outside of our control.” In the current survey, just one-in-five Republicans hold that view. The same pattern is evident in Republican opinions on whether hard work offers little guarantee of success – 33% said that in 1994 compared with 19% in the current survey.



Fewer Democrats also hold those beliefs than did so in the early 1990s, but the change has been somewhat less dramatic. More than a third of Democrats (36%) think success is largely outside of an individual’s control and the same number (36%) say hard work offers little guarantee of success. The partisan gap on both values as wide as it has even been in the values surveys.

As recently as 1997, partisan differences over the relationship between hard work and success had disappeared – 32% of Democrats and 31% of Republicans said that hard work provided little guarantee of success. Since then, agreement among Democrats has grown marginally (from 32% to 36%), while it has fallen sharply among Republicans (from 31% to 19%).

Roughly three-in-ten political independents think that success lies outside a person’s control (31%) and that hard work offers little guarantee of success (32%). Independents are closer to Democrats than Republicans on both of these values.

### ***Race and Personal Efficacy***

Race also is an important factor in these views. Only about a quarter of whites (27%) say success is determined by outside forces, compared with 43% of blacks. Attitudes toward this value have fluctuated over the years, but a decade ago, 39% of whites and a solid majority of African Americans (56%) subscribed to this opinion. Going back to 1988, an even higher percentage of African Americans (61%) believed that success was mostly outside a person’s control.

There is an almost identical difference between the races in views of whether hard work offers little guarantee of success (41% of blacks, 27% of whites agree). Again, the percentage of whites and African Americans holding this opinion has declined markedly since the early 1990s. In 1991, 44% of whites and 56% of blacks said that hard work offered little guarantee of success.

### ***Bigger Differences Over Safety Net***

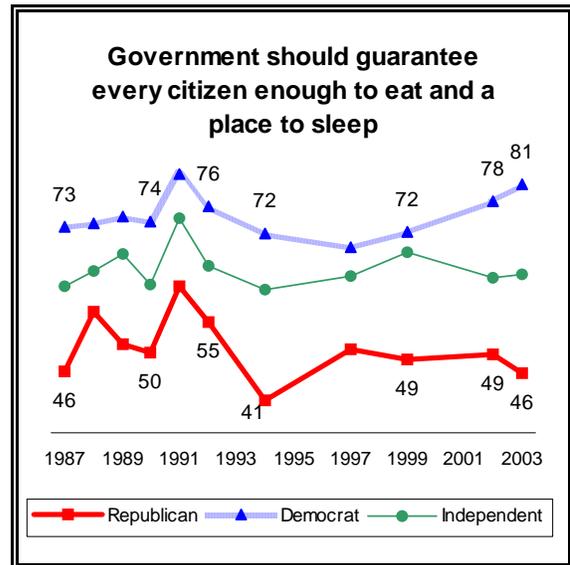
The partisan divide over the responsibilities of government to alleviate poverty is much more striking. As might be expected, Democrats are much more supportive than Republicans of a social safety net. But the gap has increased even more in recent years, as an increasing number of Democrats endorse government help for the needy.

Nearly eight-in-ten Democrats (79%) say it is government’s responsibility to “take care of people who can’t take care of themselves.” That represents a nine-point increase since 2002 (70%) and is the highest percentage of Democrats to express this view since the late 1980s. A narrow majority of Republicans (54%) agree; that marks little change from last year (52%) or that late 1990s.

The partisan gap is even larger over whether the government should “guarantee every citizen enough to eat and a place to sleep.” Roughly eight-in-ten Democrats (81%) say the government should provide such a guarantee, a modest rise from last year (78%) but a nine-point gain since 1999 (72%). By contrast, fewer than half of Republicans (46%) believe the government should guarantee

food and housing, a percentage that has not changed significantly over the past few years.

The views of political independents fall roughly between those of Democrats and Republicans on these issues, but the gap between independents and Democrats has been growing. Four years ago, 73% of Democrats and 63% of independents said government had a responsibility to take care of people who can't care for themselves; today the gap is 17 points (79% of Democrats, 62% of independents). Similarly, differences between Democrats and independents over whether the government should guarantee every citizen food and housing have grown sharply since 1999 (from four points to 17 points).



### *Deficits and Aid for the Poor*

The political differences over government's role in aid for the poor are seen most clearly in the question of whether the government should go into debt to help more needy people. Fully 72% of Democrats say that it should – an increase of 20 points since 1997. That is the highest percentage of Democrats expressing this opinion since the values surveys began in 1987.

As a result, the gap between Democrats and Republicans – as well as between Democrats and independents – has grown substantially. About four-in-ten Republicans (39%) think the government should help more needy people even if it means going deeper into debt. The percentage of Republicans who endorse that idea has been growing steadily since 1994 (from 25% that year), but the partisan gap has also widened and now stands at 33 points. (See chart page 8.)

Half of independents think the government should help more poor people even if it adds to the deficit. Independents' opinions on this issue have not changed much in recent years, though like Republicans, more independents now support government aid to the poor even if it expands the deficit (50% now, 39% in 1994). Yet the differences between Democrats and independents on this issue are larger than ever (22 points).

### ***White, Black Democrats Concur on Safety Net***

While African Americans have been consistently more supportive than whites of government aid to the poor, racial differences *among Democrats* have narrowed considerably. And that is because of a sharp rise in support among white Democrats for helping more needy people even at the cost of adding to the deficit.

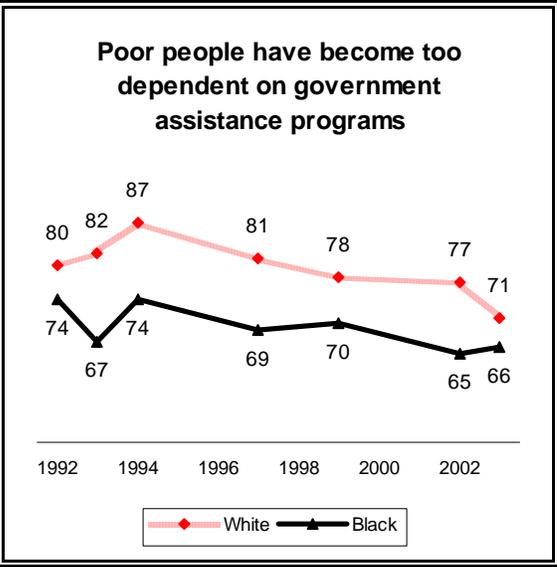
Seven-in-ten white Democrats hold that opinion today, up from 60% last year and 52% in 1987. Views among black Democrats, by comparison, have been more consistent: 78% of African American Democrats believe government should help more needy people even if it adds to the deficit. That marks no change from last year (77%) and a modest increase since 1999 (70%).

<b>Democrat Unity on Aid to the Poor</b>					
<i>“Government should help more needy people even if it means going deeper in debt”</i>					
	<u>1987</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1999</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2003</u>
	%	%	%	%	%
Total	52	41	49	48	54
Republican	39	25	35	33	39
White Dem	60	49	54	<b>60</b>	<b>70</b>
Black Dem	77	79	70	77	78
<i>Diff. white/black Democrats</i>	<i>-17</i>	<i>-30</i>	<i>-16</i>	<i>-17</i>	<i>-8</i>

### ***Poor Too Dependent? Fewer Democrats Agree***

Consistent with greater Democratic support for government aid for the poor, Democrats also are less likely than Republicans to say that poor people are too dependent on government help. In the current survey, about six-in-ten Democrats (63%) agree with the statement “Poor people have become too dependent on government assistance programs.” The number of Democrats who endorse this view has steadily declined in recent years, from 80% in 1994.

The shift among Republicans on this issue has been much more modest. Through much of the 1990s, roughly nine-in-ten Republicans consistently said poor people were too reliant on the government. In the current survey, 84% of Republicans express that view.



While the partisan gap over this issue remains substantial, differences between the races have narrowed. About seven-in-ten whites (71%) and two-thirds (66%) of African Americans believe the poor have become too dependent on government aid. A year ago, there was a much larger racial gap in these attitudes (12 points).

Moreover, more black Democrats than white Democrats now say that the poor have become too reliant on government assistance (67% of black Democrats, 60% of white Democrats). This is the first time that has occurred since Pew began asking this question in 1992.

### ***The Slacker Factor***

More broadly, a consistent majority of Americans fault the work ethic of their fellow citizens. Six-in-ten agree with the statement “Many people today think they can get ahead without working hard and making sacrifices.” That percentage has changed little over the years, but as is the case with many values regarding the poor and government aid, partisan differences have grown.

Only about half of Democrats (51%) feel people think they can get ahead without working hard, which is the lowest level of Democratic agreement since Pew began asking this question. In 1994, 63% of Democrats expressed this view. Republican attitudes have been much more consistent: two-thirds of Republicans (66%) believe many people think they can get ahead without sacrifice, little changed from previous surveys.

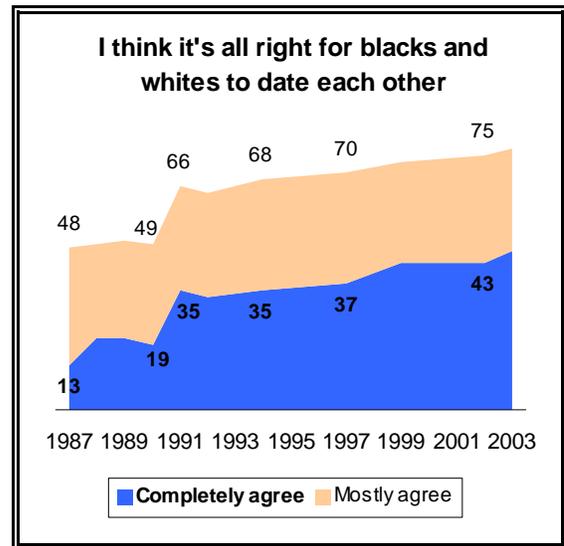
In contrast, there are only modest differences between whites and African Americans on this question. Six-in-ten whites (61%) and nearly as many African Americans (56%) think that many people today think they can advance without working hard. This is about the same as in previous values surveys.

**Part Five:**

**SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ATTITUDES ABOUT RACE**

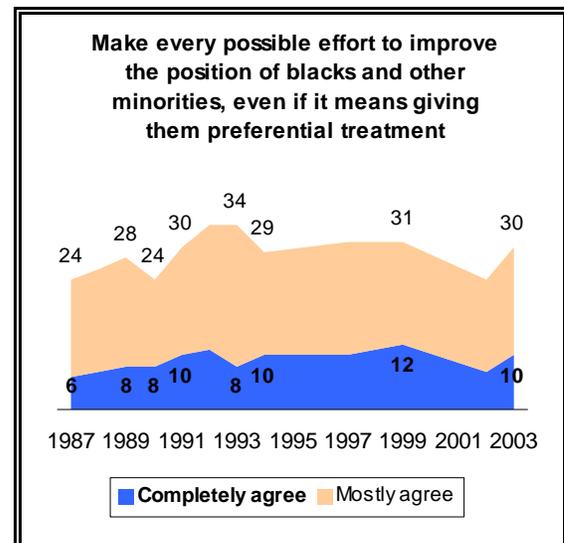
The issue of race continues to divide Americans and play an important role in politics, as it has since the nation’s founding. Since 1987, Americans – both black and white – have become much more personally tolerant. The idea of blacks and whites dating, once highly divisive, is now broadly accepted. There also has been a steady decline in the number of Americans who say they have little in common with people of other races.

By contrast, there has been little change in the public’s perception of the extent of racial discrimination and how it should be dealt with. And whites and blacks continue to be divided on these questions. While there is overwhelming agreement that society should do everything necessary to ensure equal opportunity for all, most Americans continue to reject giving preferential treatment to blacks and other minorities.



The shift in opinion on interracial dating has been dramatic. In the late 1980s, only about half of the public agreed with the statement: “I think it’s all right for blacks and whites to date each other.” Today, over three-quarters agree (77%), with increases in support coming in all major demographic and political groups. Similarly, in 1988 a quarter of Americans said they had little in common with people of other races; today, just 13% say that.

Yet on questions relating to the pace of progress in civil rights and affirmative action, there has been far less movement in public opinion. By more than two-to-one (67%-30%), Americans reject this statement: “We should make every possible effort to improve the position of blacks and other minorities, even if it means giving them preferential



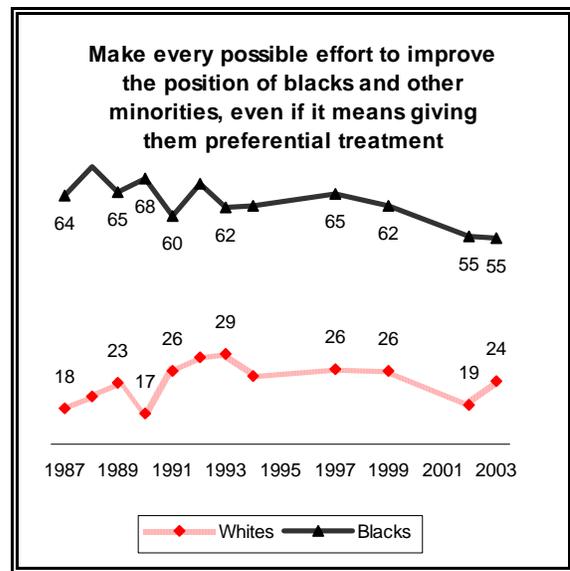
treatment.” Opinion on that value has varied very little since 1987. And more than four-in-ten (43%) believe the nation has gone too far in pushing civil rights. Opinion on that issue has fluctuated in recent years, but a decade ago, the same percentage felt the nation had gone too far in pushing civil rights.

***Opinions in Black and White***

On most issues relating to race, the gap in opinion between white and black Americans remains substantial. Nearly half of whites (46%) continue to believe that efforts to promote equal rights have gone too far, compared with about a quarter of African Americans (26%). Similarly, far more African Americans than whites say there has been no real improvement in the conditions of blacks in this country (61% vs. 31%).

But there is little difference between the races in the view that discrimination is rare today; both blacks and whites reject this notion. And while roughly nine-in-ten African Americans (93%) say it is all right for blacks and whites to date, nearly three-quarters of whites (73%) agree. In the first years of the Center values surveys (1987-1990), roughly three-quarters of blacks and fewer than half of whites endorsed interracial dating.

The races remain deeply divided over affirmative action. But African Americans have become somewhat less supportive of making every effort to improve the position of blacks and other minorities, if that means according them preferential treatment. A 55% majority of African Americans express that view, down from about two-thirds in the early values surveys. Consequently, the black-white gap over that issue, once as large as 51 points, has decreased to 31 points.

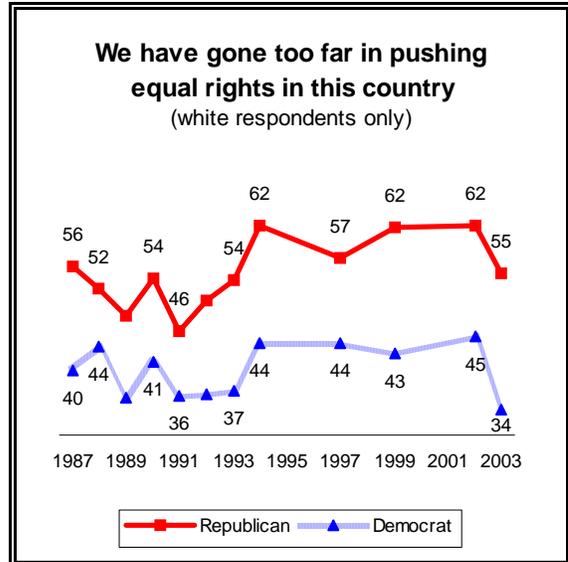


***Partisan Differences – More Over Policy***

Partisan differences in racial attitudes also center on government and societal efforts to promote racial equality. More than twice as many Democrats as Republicans believe every effort should be made to improve the position of blacks and other minorities, even if that means according them preferential treatment (42% vs. 16%).

Similarly, a majority of Republicans (54%) feel the nation has gone too far in pushing equal rights, compared with about a third of Democrats (32%). The gap on both these values, while consistently large, has grown somewhat since the late 1980s. Moreover, these differences are nearly as large among *white* Democrats and Republicans as they are among all partisans regardless of race.

Today only about a third of white Democrats (34%) say the nation has gone too far in pushing equal rights; 55% of white Republicans believe this. The gap between these groups was as small as 10 points in 1991, but grew throughout the 1990s and is now larger than at any time in the 16-year series of surveys.



And white Democrats are more likely than white Republicans to completely agree that we should do what is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed; this gap is also bigger now than in the 1980s.

Yet on questions of tolerance, the differences between the parties – like those between the races – are much smaller. Fewer than one-in-five in both parties say they have little in common with people of other races (14% of Democrats, 13% of Republicans). And members of both parties have become far more accepting of interracial dating (79% of Democrats, 72% of Republicans).

***Generations Divide Over Race***

Age is a major factor in racial attitudes. Not only has there been a persistent generation gap in views of interracial dating, but changing attitudes *across* generations have resulted in a dramatic shift in overall opinion.

Succeeding generations of young people are moving into adulthood with more tolerant attitudes toward interracial dating than the age cohorts that preceded them. For example, among

“I think it’s all right for blacks and whites to date each other”

<i>Generation</i>	<i>percent agreeing</i>		
	1987-88	2002-03	<i>Change</i>
Born pre-1913	26%	--	--
WWII (1913-1927)	31%	49%	+18
“Silent” (1928-1945)	41%	60%	+19
Boomer (1946-1964)	59%	77%	+18
Gen X (1965-1976)	64%	85%	+21
Gen Y (1977-)	--	91%	--
<b>Total</b>	<b>48%</b>	<b>76%</b>	<b>+27</b>

members of so-called “Generation Y” – the successors to Generation X who were born after 1976 – there is almost universal acceptance of interracial dating (91%).

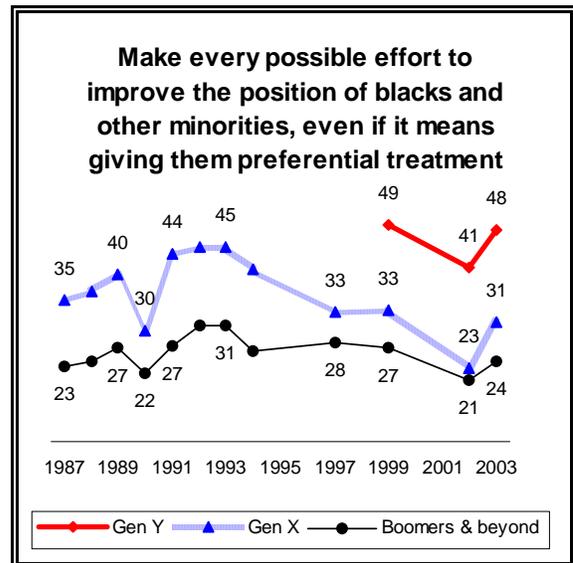
A large majority of those in Generation X (85%) – born between 1965 and 1976 – agree. But 16 years ago, when Generation X was about the same age as Generation Y is today, just 64% of them felt this way. All age cohorts have become more tolerant on this question over time. In surveys conducted in 1987 and 1988, only about a quarter (26%) of the oldest generation (those born prior to 1918) approved of interracial dating. Now solid majorities of all age groups, except those who are now in their late 70s and 80s, agree. And even among this group (born 1913-1927), 49% accept blacks and whites dating.

**“We have gone too far in pushing equal rights in this country”**

<i>Generation</i>	<i>percent agreeing</i>		
	1987-88	2002-03	<i>Change</i>
Born pre-1913	49%	--	--
WWII (1913-1927)	52%	50%	-2
“Silent” (1928-1945)	47%	58%	+11
Boomer (1946-1964)	38%	48%	+10
Gen X (1965-1976)	34%	42%	+8
Gen Y (1977-)	--	34%	--
<b>Total</b>	<b>43%</b>	<b>46%</b>	<b>+3</b>

But a different pattern emerges on questions relating to equal rights and affirmative action. On the issue of whether the nation has gone too far in pushing equal rights, Generation Y holds the same opinion as Generation X did in 1987-1988 – 34% of each believe the nation is going too far. Since then, however, a growing percentage in Generation X has come to believe that we are going too far in pushing equal rights (34% then, 42% now).

The youngest Americans stand out for their broad support of racial preferences – 48% of those in Generation Y believe every effort should be made to improve the position of blacks and other minorities, even if it means giving them preferential treatment. That is far higher than any other age group, and well more than the percentage of Generation X that expressed this opinion in 1987-1988 (36%). Over the past 16 years, members of Generation X have moved much closer to older generations on this issue. Currently, just three-in-ten in that group believe every effort should be made to improve the lot of minorities, even if it means preferential treatment.



### *South's Still Different*

The South remains a more conservative region on racial issues, but the differences between the South and rest of the country are narrowing. Over the past generation, a declining percentage of Southern whites view discrimination as rare and fewer say they have little in common with people of other races, decreasing or eliminating the regional gap on these questions.

And there is only a modest, eight-point gap between white Southerners and non-Southerners over whether the nation has gone too far in pushing equal rights (57% vs. 49%). That is far less than the differences between Republicans and Democrats, or blacks and whites, over this issue.

Southern whites also are much more accepting of interracial dating than they were in the late 1980s. Six-in-ten Southern whites are open to this, compared with 78% of whites living in other regions of the country. Because the shift in sentiment has been the same in the South as elsewhere, the gap between the regions has remained unchanged.

On a few values, the regional differences have not been confined to whites only; Southern blacks also have held somewhat more conservative views than blacks elsewhere. As with whites, one of the biggest differences was on approval of interracial dating. In 1987-1988, Southern blacks were 28 percentage points less likely than those living outside the South to approve of blacks and whites dating. Now the gap is only five points (89% Southern blacks vs. 94% of blacks elsewhere).

<b>Racial Attitudes in the South and Elsewhere (white respondents only)</b>			
<i>Gone too far pushing equal rights</i>			
	1987-88	2002-03	<i>Change</i>
South	55%	57%	+2
Non-South	43%	49%	+6
<b>Difference</b>	<b>+12%</b>	<b>+8%</b>	<b>-4</b>
<i>All right for black and whites to date</i>			
	1987-88	2002-03	<i>Change</i>
South	30%	59%	+29
Non-South	50%	78%	+28
<b>Difference</b>	<b>-20%</b>	<b>-19%</b>	<b>+1</b>
<i>Discrimination against blacks is rare today</i>			
	1987-88	2002-03	<i>Change</i>
South	47%	37%	-10
Non-South	29%	28%	-1
<b>Difference</b>	<b>+18</b>	<b>+9</b>	<b>-9</b>
<i>Don't have much in common with people of other races</i>			
	1987-88	2002-03	<i>Change</i>
South	27%	15%	-12
Non-South	22%	15%	-7
<b>Difference</b>	<b>+5</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>-5</b>

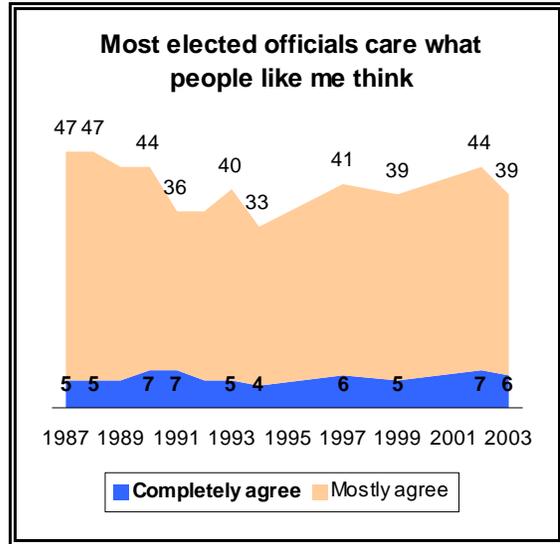
Majorities of blacks in the South and non-South support racial preferences to improve the position of blacks, though approval has declined among both groups since the 1980s and the gap between them has vanished. In 1987-1988, 69% of blacks outside the South supported preferences, while 62% in the South did so. Now, 55% of both groups are favorable toward racial preferences.

Southern blacks have diverged from African Americans in other parts of the country on one question, however. In the 1980s, only about one-fifth of both groups believed that discrimination against blacks was rare (19% in the South, 21% elsewhere). Now, 31% of Southern blacks but only 20% of blacks outside the South say discrimination is rare.

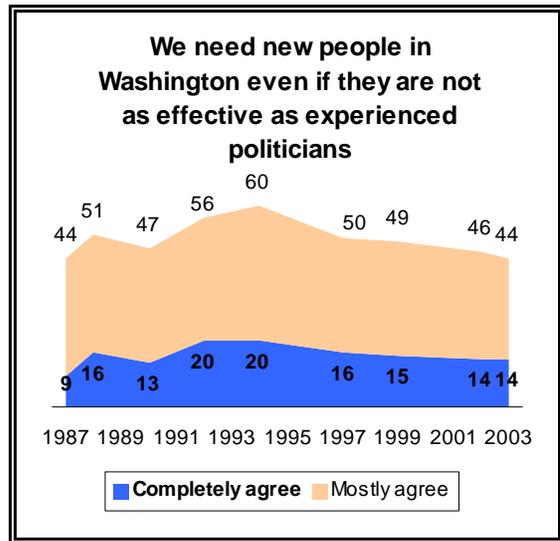
**Part Six:  
CYNICISM, TRUST, AND PARTICIPATION**

Americans have long had a cynical view of politics and politicians. But these attitudes are no more widespread today than before the overtime presidential election of 2000. In fact, on several measures, the public is considerably less negative toward politics now than in the mid-1990s, when anti-Washington hostility was rampant. And one important trend continues: following the tumult of the 1994 elections, the public has been much less intrigued by the candidacy of political outsiders.

There is broad agreement that elected officials in Washington quickly lose touch with the people. Three-quarters of Americans agree, but that is fewer than in the early 1990s, when more than 80% consistently said Washington officials lose touch with the people. And while only about four-in-ten (39%) believe that “most elected officials care what people like me think,” that is still a modest improvement from 1994 (33%).



Despite the low regard Americans have for politicians, most profess faith in the system and, to a lesser degree, in government. Nearly three-quarters of Americans (73%) believe that voting gives people like them some say about how the government runs things – notably, that number has remained steady since 1999, a year before the controversial presidential election. Moreover, while most Americans view the government as inefficient and wasteful, 52% believe the government “is really run for the benefit of all the people.”

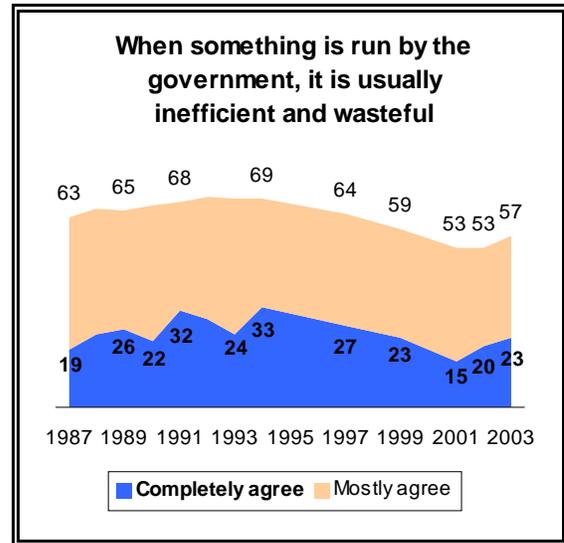


Similarly, the percentage of people agreeing that “it is time for Washington politicians to step aside and make room for new leaders” peaked in 1992 at 84% and has declined since then to 63%. And significantly fewer people feel a sense of estrangement from the government: 47% say people like them “don’t have any say about what the

government does,” down from a peak of 62% in 1989.

Consequently, the idea of electing political outsiders has lost much of the appeal it had in the early 1990s. Only about four-in-ten Americans (44%) agree that “We need new people in Washington even if they are not as effective as experienced politicians.” Fully six-in-ten expressed that opinion in 1994.

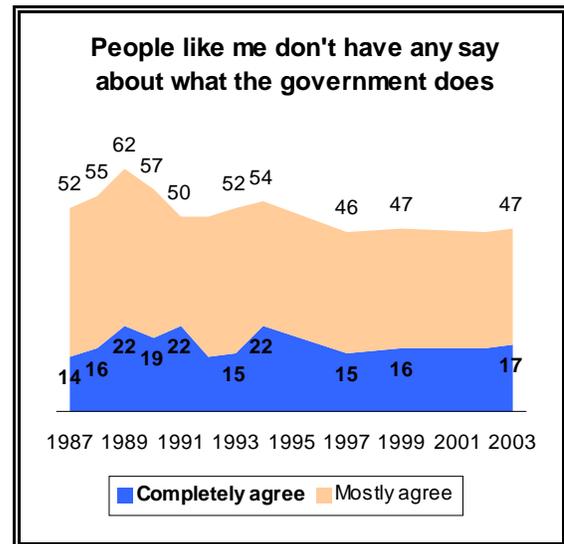
Negative evaluations of government performance also have subsided from their peak levels early in the last decade. In 1994, 69 percent agreed that “when something is run by the government, it is usually inefficient and wasteful,” with 33% completely agreeing. Today, 57% express this view, and fewer than a quarter (23%) completely agree.



**Republicans More Comfortable With Government**

Over the past decade, Republicans and Democrats have significantly changed their views of government and politics in response to Washington’s shifting balance of power. Republicans, who were generally hostile toward government in the mid-1990s, have undergone a dramatic transformation with their party in control of the White House and Congress.

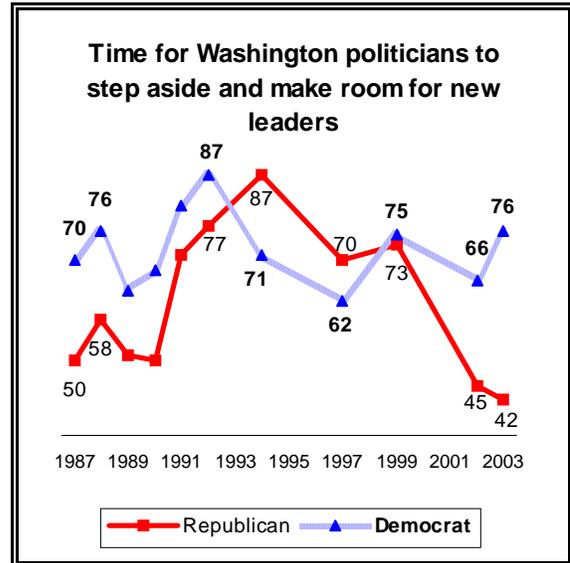
In 1994, fewer than four-in-ten Republicans (37%) felt the government was run for the benefit of all the people. But since the 2000 election, the number of Republicans expressing that opinion has increased to 69%. The Republicans’ more favorable view of government is seen in several other measures as well: Six-in-ten (59%) still regard the government as wasteful and inefficient, but that is far fewer than in 1994 (77%).



By contrast, Democrats have become more skeptical of government. Just 44% now say government is run for the benefit of all the people, down 12 points from President Clinton’s second term (56% in 1997). Democrats are still less likely to regard the government as wasteful and inefficient than are Republicans, but since 1999 the partisan gap has narrowed considerably (59% of Republicans, 53% of Democrats).

As might be expected, the parties also have traded places on the need for new leadership in Washington. In 1992, the last year of George H. W. Bush’s presidency, Democrats strongly felt that it was time for “Washington politicians to step aside and make room for new leaders,” but by 1997 – with President Clinton in the White House – this feeling had subsided.

Conversely, Republicans yearned for change in 1994; nearly nine-in-ten (87%) wanted new leaders in Washington. When the election that year put their party in control of Congress, their frustration decreased. Now that Republicans control both the Congress and the White House, less than a majority of Republicans (42%) want to see new leadership; not surprisingly, Democrats disagree.



Political independents have consistently favored new leadership in Washington, regardless of which party is in power. Today, roughly two-thirds of independents (68%) believe it is time for the current crop of Washington politicians to step aside, a modest increase from last year (63%).

The Democrats’ political setbacks are reflected in their general sense of frustration, but Democratic attitudes toward voting seem largely unaffected by the 2000 election. About seven-in-ten Democrats (71%) agree with the statement “Voting gives people like me some say about how government runs things.” That is only a modest decline from 1999 (76%) and consistent with Democratic opinions on this measure for more than a decade.

But Republicans have become much more upbeat about voting. Nearly nine-in-ten (86%) say it gives them some say about the government – the highest percentage among Republicans in the values surveys. In 1994, just 68% of Republicans expressed that view.

**Blacks More Cynical About Politics, Not About Voting**

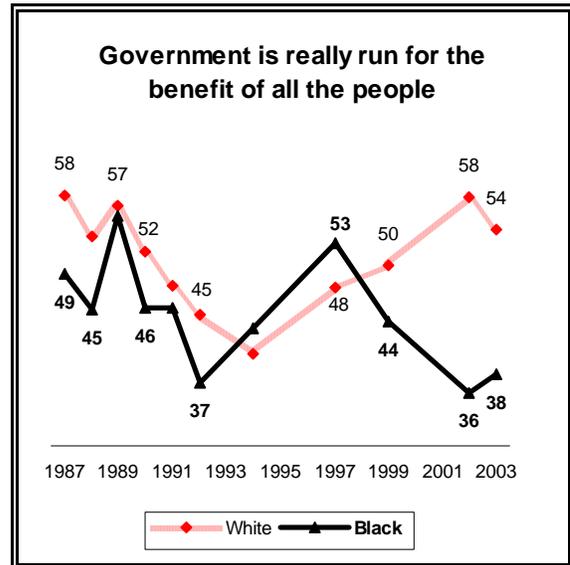
Blacks and whites are more similar than different when it comes to views of the responsiveness of government and the political system. For example, roughly the same proportion of African Americans (76%) and whites (75%) believe that “elected officials in Washington lose touch with the people pretty quickly.”

There is little to suggest that the disputed 2000 presidential election had a particular impact on African Americans’ confidence in the electoral process. Fully two-thirds of blacks say “voting gives people like me some say about how government runs things,” no lower than the percent holding this view prior to the 2000 election.

But African Americans have become increasingly cynical on other measures of government responsiveness over the past four years. After the 2000 election, black frustration with the government set in more quickly than it did among white Democrats, and, in some ways, runs deeper.

For example, the percentage of black Democrats who say “people like me don’t have any say about what the government does” increased 24 points between 1999 and 2002 (34% to 58%), while white Democrats’ views were more stable. But in the current survey, comparable percentages of black and white Democrats feel they don’t have any say about what the government does (54% black Democrats, 52% white Democrats).

Black and white views on whether the government is really run for the benefit of all people appear to be moving in opposite directions overall, with blacks becoming more cynical and whites less so. However, white Democrats and white Republicans are moving in opposite directions. Though blacks remain somewhat more cynical than white Democrats about whether government really benefits all Americans, both have become increasingly frustrated under the Bush administration.



**Partisan Frustration Outweighs Racial Differences**

*Percent saying “Government is really run for the benefit of all the people”*

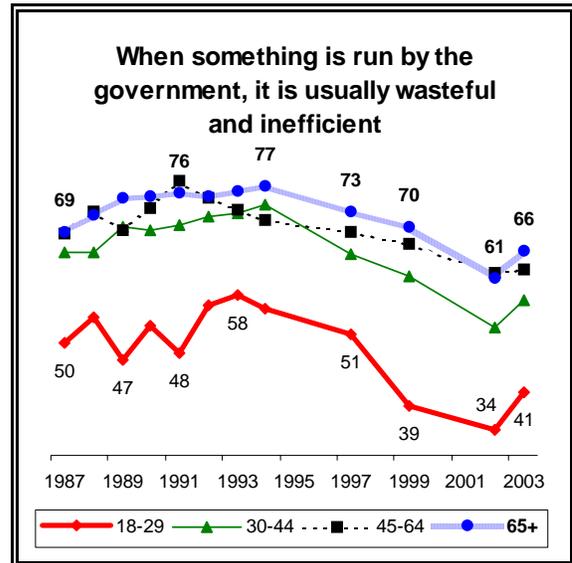
	1997/ 1999	2002	2003
	%	%	%
White	49	58	54
Republican	47	65	70
Democrat	<b>56</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>46</b>
Black	<b>48</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>38</b>

### *Young People Cynical About Politics, Not Government*

By most measures of opinion on politics and politicians, there are few systematic differences between younger and older Americans. Just a few percentage points separate the youngest and oldest respondents on attitudes such as the belief that elected officials quickly lose touch with the people, or that public officials care with they think.

But young people consistently have expressed a more positive opinion of government performance than do older Americans. More than half of those under age 30 (55%) say government is run for the benefit of all the people, compared with 43% of those age 65 and older.

The generation gap is especially stark in attitudes toward whether the government is wasteful and inefficient. Majorities in every age group express that view, with the exception of the youngest Americans; just 41% of those under age 30 say government is wasteful and inefficient.



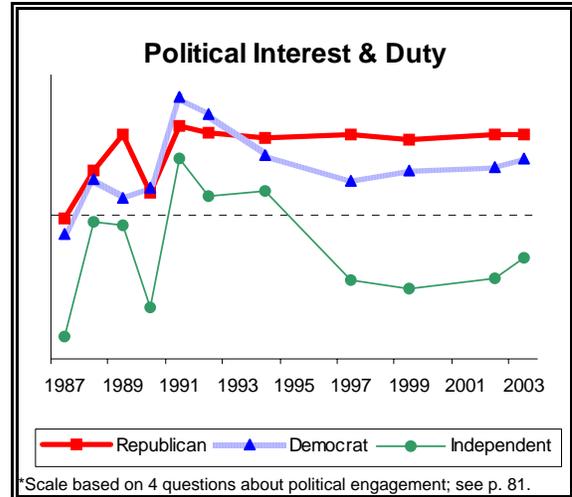
### *Political Engagement Stable*

Americans today express about the same degree of interest in politics – both at the national and local levels – as they did in the late 1980s. About nine-in-ten say they are interested in keeping up with national affairs (about half completely agree), and about three-quarters are interested in local politics. Similarly, nine-in-ten agree that “it’s my duty as a citizen to always vote.” But significantly fewer (68%) say they always or nearly always make it to the polls.

While the sense of civic duty remains strong, many admit that they do not live up to the ideal. Roughly half (48%) say they keep up “most of the time,” but about as many (50%) say they follow politics, at most, only “some of the time.” These numbers have not varied much over time.

Young people, the less educated and less affluent, and political independents are groups that pay the least attention to and express the lowest levels of concern about politics.

Throughout the past decade and a half, Republicans have usually expressed greater interest in politics than have Democrats, but the bigger gap is between partisans and independents. When multiple measures of political interest and attention are considered, independents lag well behind both Republicans and Democrats in engagement. This has been the case for the more than a decade; not since 1992 have independents displayed a comparable level of political interest as members of the two major parties.



### ***Voter Registration***

Overall, 73% of Americans say they are certain that they are currently registered to vote. But the rate of registration ranges from a high of 86% among the oldest cohort of citizens (those age 65 and older), down to 47% of Asian Americans and 51% of people under the age of 30.

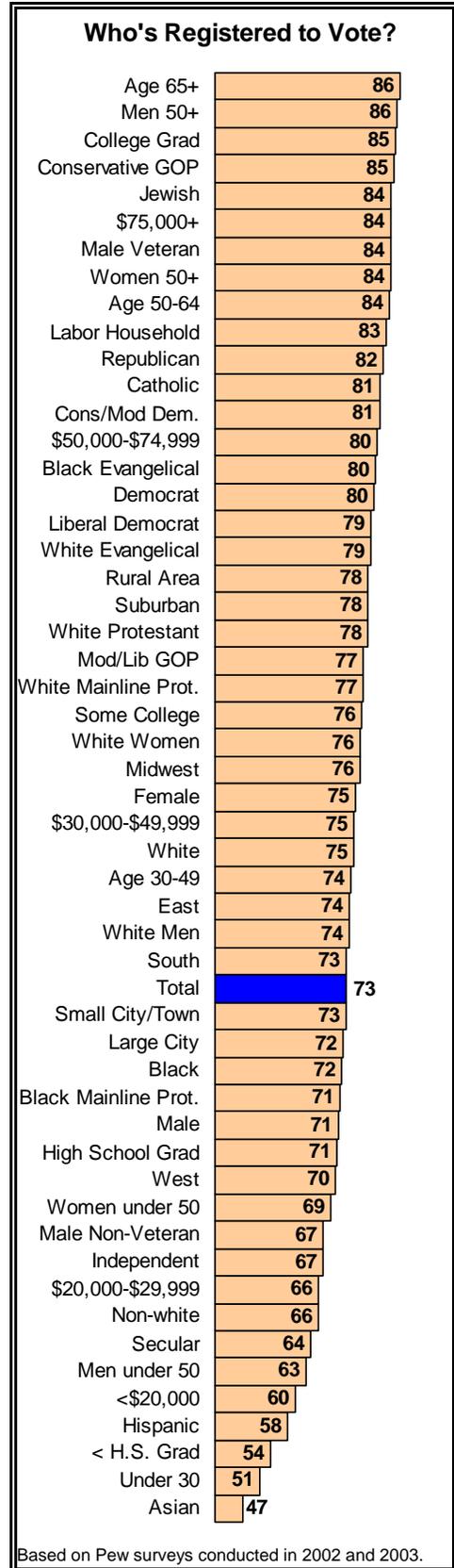
Age is the most important predictor of voter registration. Eight-in-ten people age 50 and older say they have registered to vote. Among those who have just come of age politically – ages 18-21 – only 42% are registered. This rises to 53% among those age 22-25 and to 59% by age 26-29. But it is not until around age 40 that registration rates match the national average. In addition, there is evidence from U.S. government surveys that rates of registration and voting among young people are lower today than they were 20 or 30 years ago, even as rates among older individuals have not declined.

Greater education and income also are associated with higher rates of registration. Among college graduates, 85% report being registered, while only 54% of people who never finished high school are on the rolls. Similarly, more than eight-in-ten of those with family incomes at or above \$75,000 (84%) say they are registered; for those with incomes under \$20,000, the rate is 60%.

Partisanship and ideology are related to this measure of engagement in the political process. Conservative Republicans lead the pack with an 85% registration rate, followed by conservative to moderate Democrats (81%), liberal Democrats (79%), and moderate to liberal Republicans (77%). Independents trail at 67%.

Voter registration rates vary by religious affiliation as well. Jews top the list with an 84% registration rate. Other groups with high rates are Catholics (81%), evangelical Protestants – both white (79%) and black (80%) – and white mainline Protestants (77%). Black mainline Protestants (71%) register at just below the national average, and secular individuals have the lowest registration rates among the major religious categories.

Racial and ethnic differences are stark, especially when considering newer immigrant groups. Whites as a group fall above the national average at 75%, while blacks fall right at the average (72%). Hispanics are registered at a 58% rate, and Asian Americans at only 47%.





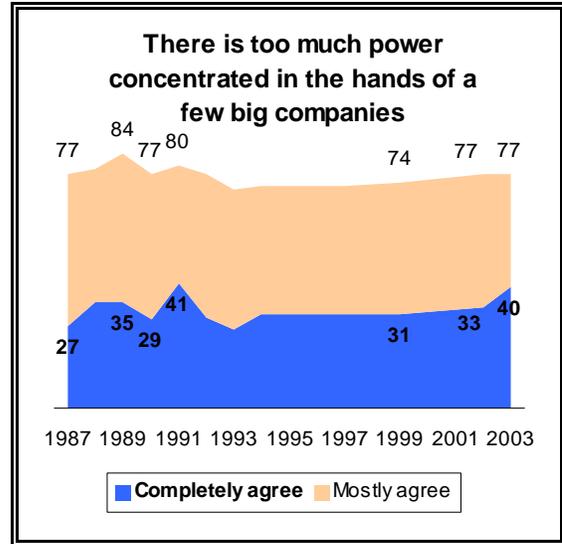
**Part Seven:**

**BUSINESS, GOVERNMENT REGULATION AND LABOR**

The public has long had conflicted attitudes toward the nation’s corporations. There is broad agreement that America’s strength is largely attributable to the success of business. Yet most people also believe corporations are too powerful and more interested in making a profit than in serving the public interest.

These attitudes also have remained fairly stable since the Pew values survey began in 1987. And the recent string of corporate scandals have had only a modest impact on opinions of business.

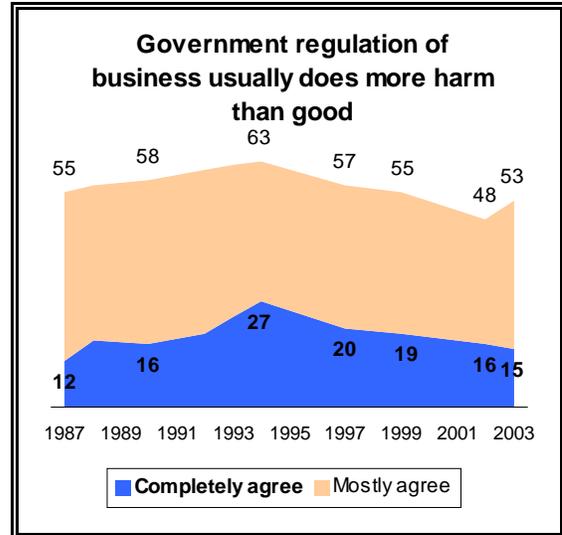
There has been a small rise in the percentage of Americans who believe corporations make too much profit (62% vs. 58% in 2002). A declining number now say corporations strike a fair balance between making profits and serving the public interest (38% say that now, compared with 45% in 1999). And while there has long been overwhelming agreement that too much power is concentrated in the hands of big companies, a growing percentage *completely agree* with that statement (40%, compared with 33% in 2002 and 31% in 1999).



For the most part, however, Americans have not looked to the government as the antidote for corporate abuses, although the spate of high-profile scandals involving Enron and other corporations resulted in a sharp, if short-lived, spike in support for government regulation. In 2002, 48% voiced agreement with the statement “Government regulation of business usually does more harm than good.” That marked the first time in the Pew values surveys that this critique of government regulation did not draw majority support.

But in the current survey, the percentage who say government regulation does more harm than good has rebounded to 53%. That is nearly the same level as in 1999 (55%), though still well below levels in the mid-1990s when anti-government sentiment soared.

A similar pattern is evident in other values relating to government. During the early and mid-1990s, as many as seven-in-ten agreed that “when something is run by the government, it is usually inefficient and wasteful.” The percentage holding the view declined in the latter part of the decade, and decreased even further in the past few years. In the current survey, 57% agree that something run by the government is likely to be inefficient and wasteful.



Still, in an age of terrorism, more Americans voice concern over the prospect of corporations collecting information on them than they do about government scrutiny. In the 2002 survey, fully 77% said they were concerned that “business corporations are collecting too much information about people like me.” When asked in this year’s survey if they had the same concern about government collecting too much personal information, a much smaller majority (57%) agreed.

The public’s ambivalence toward corporations is mirrored in their attitudes toward personal wealth. Nine-in-ten Americans have consistently said that they admire people who get rich by working hard. Yet two-thirds (68%) agree with the statement “Today it’s really true that the rich get richer while the poor get poorer.” Still, people were even more dubious about prospects for upward economic movement in the late 1980s and early 1990s. In 1991, 80% said they believed the rich get richer and the poor get poorer.

Despite the long and steady decline in union membership, Americans continue to view unions as an essential advocate for workers. Nearly three-quarters of the public (74%) agrees with the statement “Labor unions are necessary to protect the working person.” That is somewhat higher than in previous surveys, though that sentiment has consistently drawn broad agreement.

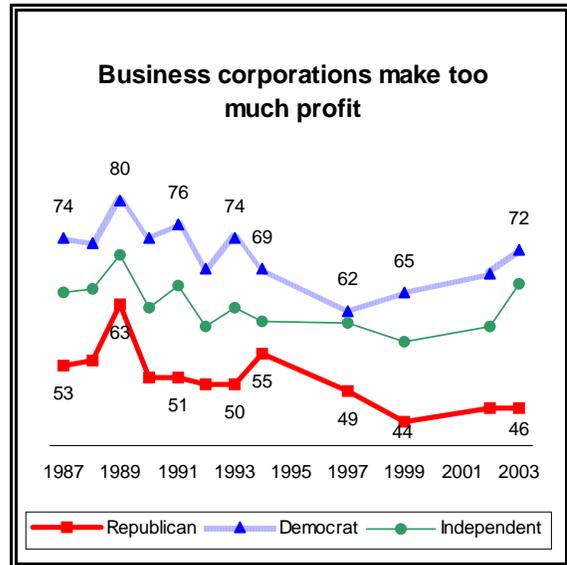
***Business Attitudes More Polarized***

As might be expected, Republicans have long taken a more favorable view of corporations than have Democrats. But differences in attitudes toward the power of corporations – and their profits – have never been greater largely because Democratic skepticism toward business has grown sharply in recent years. Nearly nine-in-ten Democrats agree (87%) – and half completely agree – with the statement “There is too much power concentrated in the hands of a few big companies.”

The percentage of Democrats expressing that sentiment has increased nine points since 1999 and four points over the past year. By comparison, a declining percentage of Republicans agree with this statement (62% now vs. 69% in 2002 and 66% in 1999). The partisan gap in these attitudes has doubled over the past four years, from 12% to 25%.

Democrats also have increasingly come to view corporations as greedy. More than seven-in-ten (72%) believe business corporations make too much profit, the highest percentage in a decade (74% in 1993). Fewer than half of Republicans agree (46%), a number that has not changed significantly in recent years.

There also has been a notable increase in the percentage of independents who believe that business corporations make excessive profits. In the current survey, two-thirds of independents say that, compared with 60% last year. In their opinions of whether corporations are too powerful and make too much profit, independents are much closer to Democrats than Republicans.



Partisan differences have even emerged on business issues on which there was broad agreement in the late 1990s. In 1999, about three-quarters in each party, and roughly the same number of independents, agreed with the statement “The strength of this country today is based mostly on the success of American business” (78% of Republicans, 77% of Democrats, 76% of independents). Since then, Republicans and Democrats have moved in opposite directions; 85% of Republicans now believe the country’s strength is tied to business success compared with 73% of independents and 70% of Democrats.

### ***Education, Income Influence Business Views***

Well-educated, high-income Americans have consistently taken a more favorable view of business than do those with less education and lower incomes. Fewer than half of college graduates (48%) say business corporations make excessive profits compared with more than seven-in-ten (72%) of those with a high school education or less. There is a comparable gap between those in the top half of family incomes (currently \$50,000 annually) and those in the lower half (55% vs. 72%).

But over the past decade, an increasing percentage of college graduates have come to believe that too much power is concentrated in the hands of a few big companies. Nearly seven-in-ten (69%) now say that, compared with 60% in 1993. Roughly eight-in-ten of those with a high school education (79%) say big corporations have amassed too much power, a number that has changed little over the past decade. Income is less of a factor in these attitudes, as those on both ends of the spectrum tend to agree that corporations have become too powerful.

***But Race Less of a Factor***

Whites and African Americans hold similar attitudes toward business. About the same percentage of whites and blacks think companies make too much profit (62%, 64% respectively). Somewhat more African Americans agree that too much power is concentrated in a few big companies but the differences there are modest (82% of blacks agree, 76% of whites). And solid majorities of both races feel the strength of the country is based on the success of business (69% of blacks, 76% of whites).

	--- Blacks ---		--- Whites ---	
	<u>Agree</u> %	<u>Disagree</u> %	<u>Agree</u> %	<u>Disagree</u> %
Business corporations make too much profit	64	31	62	33
Too much power in hands of a few big companies	82	17	76	21
The country's strength is mostly based on success of business	69	28	76	20
I admire people who get rich by working hard	88	12	91	8
Today it's really true that the rich get richer	81	16	65	33

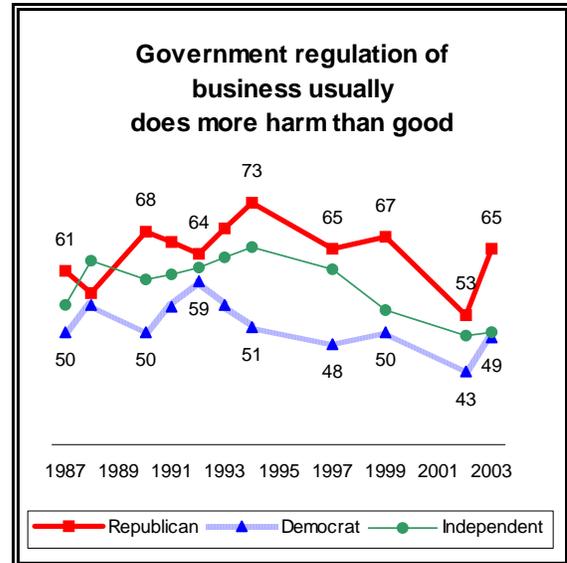
There also are no major racial differences in attitudes toward people who achieve wealth through hard work. Roughly nine-in-ten in both races say they admire such people (88% of blacks, 91% of whites), although more African Americans than whites completely agree (60% vs. 53%).

Where the races diverge is over the question of whether it is true that the rich get richer and the poor get poorer. Many more African Americans than whites agree with this aphorism (81% vs. 65%), although fewer members of both races agree with the statement that did so a decade ago. African American attitudes on this issue are linked to a greater sense of economic pessimism. Far fewer blacks than whites say they are satisfied with their current financial situation (43% of blacks, 66% of whites).

### ***GOP Shifts on Government Regulation***

The fluctuations in public opinion on government regulation of business over the past decade have been mostly due to shifts among Republicans and independents. In 1994, as GOP anti-government sentiment hit its peak, 73% of Republicans agreed with the statement “Government regulation of business usually does more harm than good.” Eight years later, with a Republican in the White House and corporate scandals increasing, just 53% of Republicans agreed with that sentiment.

Yet the softening Republican opposition to government regulation of business proved to be temporary. In the current survey, 65% of Republicans say they think government regulation of business does more harm than good – an increase of 12% over the past year. Political independents also became more opposed to government regulation of business in the early-to-mid 1990s. In 1994, nearly two-thirds of independents (65%) said regulation did more harm than good. But the percentage of independents endorsing that statement subsequently declined and – in contrast with Republicans – has not rebounded. In the current survey, half of independents say they believe regulation does more harm than good while 43% disagree.



Democratic views of government regulation of business have shown less movement over this period. Democratic criticism of government regulation peaked in 1992 at 59% and subsequently declined in the latter part of the 1990s. The percentage of Democrats who believe government regulation usually does more harm than good decreased again by seven points from 1999 to 2002 (from 50% to 43%) before climbing back to 49% in the current survey.

### ***College Grads Less Critical of Regulation***

The anti-government mood in the mid-1990s was evident in the views of nearly every demographic group. For example, college graduates and people with a high school education were equally critical of government regulation of business (60% of college graduates, 62% of high school graduates).

Since then, differences among educational groups have grown, as college graduates have become notably less supportive of the idea that government regulation of business usually does more harm than good. Fewer than half say that now (45%), a 15-point decline since 1994. People with a high school education also are less likely to view government regulation as harmful, but a majority (54%) still says government regulation of business does more harm than good.

### ***Business Snooping More Bothersome***

Many more Americans express concern that business is collecting information on them (77%) than say the same about excessive government scrutiny (57%). This difference is related to conflicting partisan attitudes: Republicans, Democrats and independents have roughly comparable levels of concern over business collecting too much information. But there is a huge split in concerns over the government collecting too much personal information.

Fewer than half of Republicans (43%) agree they are concerned over excessive government scrutiny while 53% disagree. By comparison, nearly two-thirds of Democrats (65%) and nearly as many independents worry that the government is collecting too much information on them. There is a comparable partisan gap in other attitudes related to civil liberties and the war on terrorism (see Part Three, pp. 27-37).

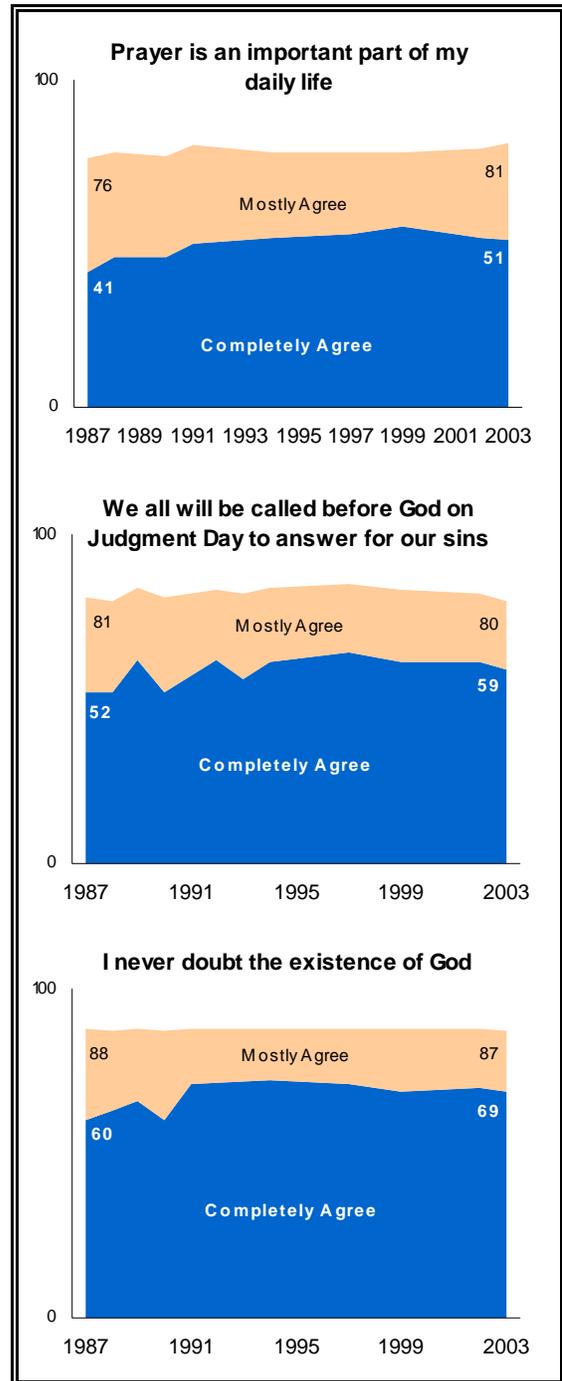
<b>Business vs. Government Scrutiny</b>			
<i>Concerned that</i>	---- 2002 ----		
<b><i>business</i> collecting</b>	Rep	Dem	Ind
<i>too much info on me</i>	%	%	%
Agree	73	81	79
Disagree	24	16	19
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100	100
<i>Concerned that</i>	---- 2003 ----		
<b><i>govt</i> collecting too</b>	Rep	Dem	Ind
<i>much info on me</i>	%	%	%
Agree	44	65	59
Disagree	53	31	37
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100	100

**Part Eight:  
RELIGION IN AMERICAN LIFE**

America remains an intensely religious nation and, if anything, the trend since the late 1980s has been toward stronger religious belief. Eight-in-ten Americans (81%) say that prayer is an important part of their daily lives, and just as many believe there will be a Judgment Day when people will be called before God to answer for their sins. Even more people (87%) agree with the statement “I never doubt the existence of God.”

Clearly, views on these three statements are highly related, and when these three questions are combined into a single indicator of religious intensity, fully 71% agree with *all three* statements, while just 7% disagree with all three. Both of these figures are slightly higher than was the case 16 years ago, when 68% agreed with all three statements, and 5% disagreed with them all. With more people at each end of the spectrum, somewhat fewer Americans express mixed views about their religious beliefs today (22%) than was the case in the late 1980s (27%).

While attitudes toward prayer and faith have remained very stable over that period, the number expressing strong agreement has increased slightly over the past decade-and-a-half. Today, 51% *completely* agree that prayer is important in their lives, up from 41% in 1987. And the percentage who completely agree that they never doubt God’s existence has risen from 60% to 69% over the same period.



Growing religious intensity also is seen in how Americans, especially self-described

Protestants, characterize their religious faith. In the late 1980s, 41% of Protestants and 24% of the population overall identified themselves as “born- again or evangelical” Christians. Today, 54% of Protestants describe themselves this way, and evangelical Protestants make up the largest single religious category (30% of the population). This shift has been particularly stark among African Americans. Fifteen years ago, 36% of African Americans and 23% of whites and described themselves as born again or evangelical Protestants. Today, fully 50% of African Americans give this description, compared with 28% of whites.

While the way Protestants define their faith has changed, the broader religious landscape looks much as it did in the late 1980s. Most Americans (56%) continue to identify themselves as members of a Protestant faith, with a quarter saying they are Catholic. Fewer than one-in-ten (9%) say they have no religion, virtually unchanged from 15 years ago. Judaism, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Orthodox Christianity, Islam, and other religions remain much smaller denominations.

This aggregate stability masks some relevant and important changes within subgroups of the population. For example, 56% of Hispanic Americans identify themselves as Catholic today, down from 68% fifteen years ago. And the percentage of younger Americans (those under age 30) who identify themselves as Protestants has fallen from 52% to 45% over this same time period. The number of young people who say they have no religion has increased slightly (from 12% to 16%).

This slight shift away from a denominational identification among younger Americans does not necessarily mean they are becoming less religious and more secular, however. Americans under age 30 are just as likely to report regular church attendance today as fifteen years ago, and strong religious faith is at least as widespread among younger Americans today as it was in the late 1980s: 63% of young people agree with all three religious statements about prayer, God, and a Judgment Day, which is virtually unchanged from 1987-1988 (61%).

<b>Religious Denominations</b>				
	<i>Based on Total Sample</i>		<i>Based on Subgroup</i>	
	1987/ <u>1988</u>	2002/ <u>2003</u>	1987/ <u>1988</u>	2002/ <u>2003</u>
	%	%	%	%
<b>Protestant</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>
White**	47	42	80	75
Evangelical	19	21	32	38
Mainline	28	21	48	37
Black	10	9	17	16
Hispanic	2	3	3	5
Other	*	2	1	4
<i>Evangelical</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>54</i>
<i>Mainline</i>	<i>35</i>	<i>26</i>	<i>59</i>	<i>46</i>
<b>Catholic</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>
White	20	18	79	71
Black	1	1	3	4
Hispanic	5	6	17	22
Other	*	1	1	4
<b>Jewish</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>		
<b>Mormon</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>		
<b>Other</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>6</b>		
<b>No religion</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>9</b>		
	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>		

Note: Figures may add to more than 100% due to overlap between Black and Hispanic populations.  
 \*\*“White,” in this table, refers to non-Hispanic whites.

Moreover, younger generations are becoming much more religious as they age. Fifteen years ago, 61% of people in their late teens and twenties agreed with all three religious statements. Today, 71% of people in these generations – now in their thirties and forties – express this level of strong religious faith. Over the same period, the percentage of Protestants in this age group identifying themselves as born again or evangelical has risen from 41% in the late 1980s to 55% now. As a result of these gains, people in their 30s and 40s today are considerably more religious than their 30-to-49-year-old counterparts were in the late 1980s.

There also is a small but growing minority of younger people who express more secular views. In 1987 and 1998, just 5% of the public disagreed with all three religious statements, and there was no difference between those under age 30 and older Americans. Today, 12% of young people reject all three items – twice as many as among those age 30 and older (6%).

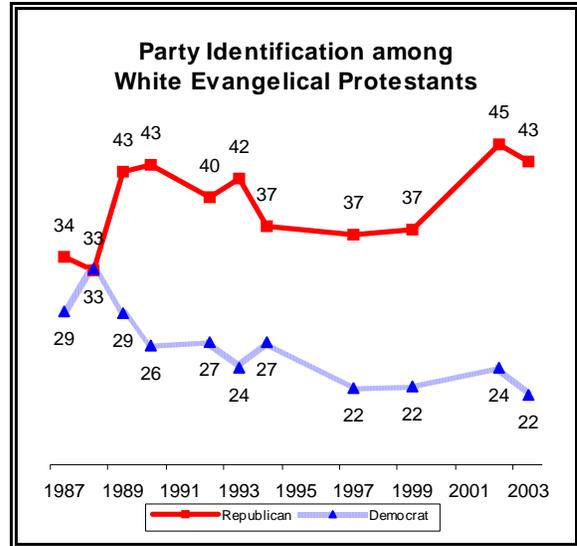
***Religion, Ideology Increasingly Connected***

Over the past 15 years, religion and religious faith also have become more strongly aligned with partisan and ideological identification. Republicans and Democrats were equally likely to express strong personal religious attitudes in 1987 and 1988; the same percentage in both parties affirmed the importance of prayer, belief in Judgment Day and strong belief in God (71% in each). But over the past 15 years, Republicans have become increasingly united in these beliefs, opening up a seven-point gap between the parties (78% vs. 71% of Democrats).

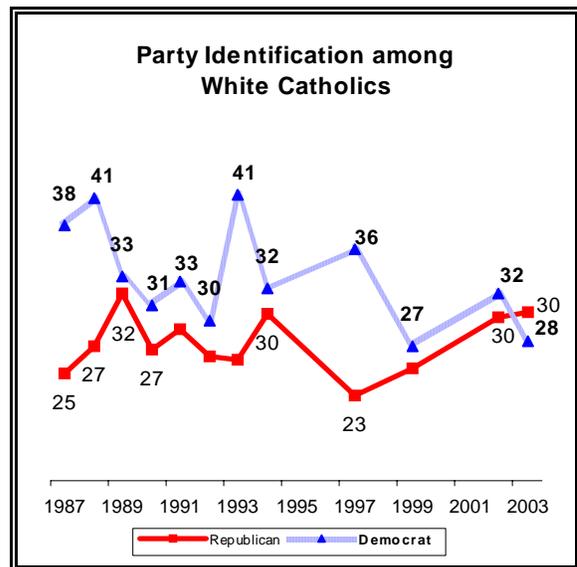
<b>Religion and Ideology Align</b>			
(Percent agreeing with all 3 statements)			
	<u>1987/88</u>	<u>2002/03</u>	<u>Change</u>
	%	%	
Total	68	71	+3
Republican	71	78	+7
Independent	64	65	+1
Democrat	71	71	0
Conservative	73	81	+8
Moderate	69	70	+1
Liberal	59	54	-5
Conservative Rep	73	81	+8
Mod-Lib Rep	67	72	+5
Cons-Mod Dem	76	80	+4
Liberal Dem	61	52	-9

This growing divide is even more evident in looking at the relationship between political ideology and religious faith. While there has always been a correlation between conservatism and religiosity, the relationship has grown notably stronger in the past 15 years. Religious commitment has increased substantially among self-identified conservatives (81% agree with all three statements on faith and belief, compared with 73% in 1987-88). Liberals, on the other hand, have become somewhat less religiously oriented. Just over half of self-identified liberals (54%) agree with all three religious statements, down from 59% fifteen years ago.

This religious/political alignment can also be seen within religious denominations. In 1987 and 1988, white evangelical Protestants were split fairly evenly along partisan lines (34% Republicans, 31% Democrats). Today, there is a nearly two-to-one Republican advantage among white evangelicals (43%-22%). The partisanship of non-evangelical white Protestants and black Protestants, by comparison, has been relatively stable.

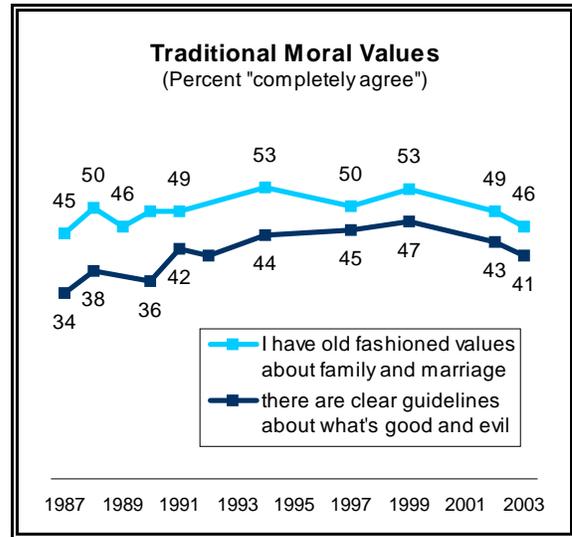


In addition, white Catholics, once strongly Democratic, are now much more politically divided. In the late 1980s, a significantly greater percentage of white Catholics identified themselves as Democrats than Republicans (41% vs. 24%). Today, partisan identification among white Catholics is divided almost evenly (31% Democrat, 29% Republican). And again, this shift is driven predominantly by more highly religious Catholics. Among white Catholics who attend Mass regularly an 18-point Democratic identification advantage in the late 1980s (42% Democrat, 24% Republican) has turned into a dead-heat today (30% Democrat, 32% Republican). (See table on page 4.)



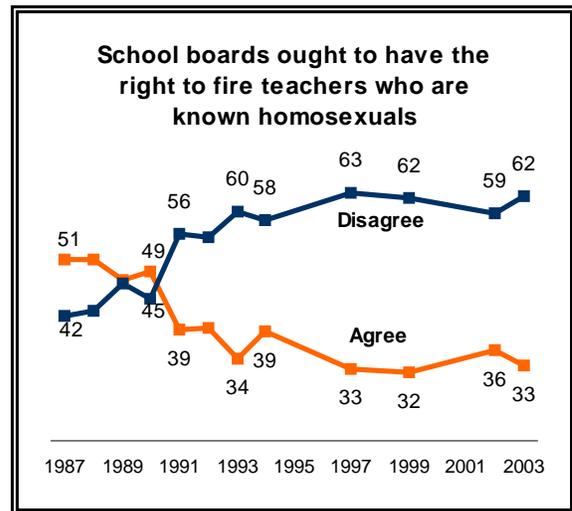
**Social Issues: Tradition and Tolerance**

Over the past 16 years, public values on most social issues have remained generally stable. Eight-in-ten say they have “old-fashioned values about family and marriage, ” and nearly as many (77%) agree that there are clear and immutable guidelines about good and evil. The number who completely agree with these sentiments – about four-in-ten in each case – has shown only modest fluctuations over the past decade and a half.



Yet in that period there also has been a distinct shift toward acceptance of several social changes, some of which challenge traditional views of the family. There has been a broad increase in at least limited tolerance of homosexuality – the number who believe that schools should not be allowed to fire homosexual teachers has risen from 42% in 1987 to 62% in the current survey.

Nearly as striking is the growing societal acceptance of interracial dating (see Part Five, pp.45-50). And there has been a more modest decline in the percentage who favor women returning to their “traditional roles in society” (from 30% in 1987 to 24% now). Consequently, an increasing number of Americans are able to accept such social changes as homosexuality and changing women’s roles while maintaining traditional religious and social values.



### ***Religion and Homosexuality – Large Gaps Persist***

The decline in anti-homosexual attitudes has occurred at roughly the same rate among traditionally conservative white evangelical Protestants as among more liberal religious groups and seculars. While large religious gaps remain – two-thirds of white Catholics and mainline Protestants (68% each) oppose firing teachers on the basis of sexuality, compared with only 40% of white evangelical Protestants – these gaps have neither grown nor shrunk as public attitudes have changed over time.

A similar pattern is evident in changing public attitudes on whether AIDS might be God’s punishment for immoral sexual behavior. A generation ago, the public was closely divided on this issue: in 1987, 43% felt AIDS was a punishment from God while 47% disagreed. Now by nearly three-to-one (70%-24%), Americans reject that idea.

White evangelical Protestants (42%) and black Protestants (36%) are more likely to feel that AIDS is God’s punishment than are white mainline Protestants (20%), white Catholics (18%) and the non-religious (14%). Still, moralistic interpretations of the AIDS disease have dropped among all groups about equally.

As with attitudes about race, views on homosexuality have a strong generational component, with younger generations much less negative toward gays. However, the overall increase in tolerance toward homosexuality is not merely a result of generational replacement – younger, tolerant generations replacing older, less tolerant ones. There also has been a significant change of attitude *within* generations over time, suggesting that people’s views on this issue have shifted.

<b>Changing Views on Homosexuality*</b>			
	<u>1987/88</u>	<u>2002/03</u>	<u>Change</u>
<i>Religious Denomination</i>	%	%	%
White Evangelical Prot.	22	40	+18
White Mainline Prot.	44	68	+24
White Catholic	52	68	+16
Black Protestant	39	54	+15
No Religion	59	78	+19
<i>Personal Religiosity**</i>			
Highly religious	34	53	+19
Mixed	56	75	+19
Secular	77	87	+10
<i>Generation (Year of birth)</i>			
Oldest (pre-1913)	22	--	--
Greatest (1913-1927)	27	37	+10
Silent (1928-45)	38	46	+8
Baby Boomers (1946-64)	51	62	+11
Generation X (1965-76)	47	70	+23
Generation Y (1977 & later)	--	71	--
* Percent <i>disagreeing</i> with the statement “schools boards ought to have the right to fire teachers who are known homosexuals.”			
** Agree/disagree with religious items. See page 65 for description			

***Little Change on Other Social Issues***

These changes are even more notable because of the stability in the public’s values on other social issues. Half of Americans support the idea that books containing dangerous ideas should be banned from public school libraries, but there has been no change in this view between 1987 and now. A slight majority (52% currently) rejects the idea that pornography is harmless entertainment, and this view has also remained steady. And by roughly three-to one (72% to 23% currently) more agree than disagree that too many children are being raised in day care centers these days.

***Abortion Views Stable over Past Decade***

Most Americans (57%) say they oppose changing the laws to make it more difficult for a woman to get an abortion, while 36% are in favor, and there have been only slight changes in public opinion on this question over the past sixteen years. While abortion is a significantly more divisive issue today than was the case in 1987, most of the partisan and religious divisions were firmly in place a decade ago, and have changed little since.

Partisan divisions over abortion became much more prominent in the early 1990s, and remain substantial today. In 1987, Democrats were only slightly less likely to favor stricter abortion laws (40%) than were Republicans (48%). Today, Republicans are twice as likely as Democrats (50% to 25%) to favor stricter abortion regulation. And religion remains a major dividing line in views on this issue, with most white evangelical Protestants supporting laws that would make it more difficult for a woman to have an abortion, and most white mainline Protestants opposed to such changes. White Catholics, split evenly over this issue in 1987, are now more likely to oppose (56%) than favor (37%) stricter abortion laws.

	<b>Divides on Abortion</b>					
	<i>Stricter laws against abortion</i>					
	1987		1993		2003	
	<u>Fav</u>	<u>Opp</u>	<u>Fav</u>	<u>Opp</u>	<u>Fav</u>	<u>Opp</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total	41	51	32	60	36	57
Men	38	53	28	64	35	57
Women	44	50	34	58	36	58
White Evangelical	62	32	52	42	58	36
White Mainline	33	60	23	69	25	65
White Catholic	46	48	29	59	37	56
Black Protestant	35	54	29	63	32	63
Secular	15	72	16	81	18	78
Republican	48	46	45	48	50	44
Democrat	40	52	28	64	25	70
Independent	38	55	24	69	32	61

A small gender gap over the abortion issue in 1987 has gradually disappeared, as support for stricter abortion laws among women has fallen by eight points (women used to be somewhat more conservative than men on this issue.) The change among women has occurred primarily among older groups. Sixteen years ago fully half of women age 50 and older favored stricter limits on

abortion, today just 35% in this age group say the same.

On highly charged issues related to reproduction and research, the public expresses ambivalence. On the one hand, a large majority – 72% – favors protecting the rights of the unborn in almost all cases. Yet, at the same time, 58% say they are more concerned about finding cures for diseases than about protecting embryos. Taken together, nearly one-in-four Americans (38%) say they believe in protecting the unborn but at the same time prioritize disease research over protecting human embryos. Smaller proportions take a consistently conservative (27%) or consistently liberal (19%) position on both questions.

Liberal Democrats are the only major demographic or political group where a majority does not agree with protecting the rights of the unborn in almost all cases (only 44%). Among religious groups, nine-in-ten white evangelical Protestants (91%), 61% of non-evangelicals, and 74% of white Catholics hold this opinion, compared with 53% of seculars. Among white Catholics, church attendance is a very important factor, with 83% of Catholics who attend church at least monthly favoring the rights of the unborn, compared with 62% of those who attend less often.

**Part Nine:  
OTHER ISSUES**

***Civil Liberties and Terrorism***

For the first time since the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks, half of Americans say it will *not* be necessary for the average person to sacrifice civil liberties in the struggle against terrorism, while 44% believe such steps will be necessary. In three previous surveys since Sept. 11, 2001, majorities or pluralities felt it would be necessary for people to give up some civil liberties to curb terrorism in the U.S.

As noted above, there is growing partisanship on this issue, as a declining percentage of Democrats feel that people will need to sacrifice civil liberties in the fight against terrorism. Only about four-in-ten (39%) Democrats say that today, a decline from 48% in June 2002 and 52% in a survey conducted that January. The shift among Republicans has been far smaller: 54% of Republicans believe the average person will have to give up some liberties to curb terrorism, compared with 56% in June 2002 and 60% in January of that year.

<i>Percent saying "not necessary"</i>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
	%	%	%	%
August 2003	50	43	55	53
June 2002	45	39	44	55
January 2002	39	35	41	41
April 1997	62	62	59	67
March 1996	65	66	63	66

The partisan gap is even larger over the government’s policy of holding suspected terrorists without trial. Overall opinion on this issue has been stable since June of last year – 55% continue to support the policy. Partisan differences remain as substantial as they were then: Fully seven-in-ten (72%) Republicans favor the policy, compared with about half of independents (51%) and even fewer Democrats (46%).

***Support for National ID Card***

A majority of the public supports an antiterrorism measure that would require all citizens to carry a national identity card at all times to show a police officer upon request. But support is lower now than in the immediate aftermath of 9/11. Just over half today (56%) support the idea, while 40% oppose it. In mid-September 2001, 70% were in favor. Opinion about this issue does not break cleanly along partisan or ideological lines.

Republicans (60%) and Democrats (59%) both support the idea of a national identity card, while independents are somewhat less supportive (52%). Conservative Republicans (at 58%) are a bit less enthusiastic than moderate-to-liberal Republicans (65%); liberal Democrats (at 50%) are less

supportive than conservative and moderate Democrats (63%). College graduates are split on the idea, while more than six-in-ten of those who did not go to college favor it.

**Public Divided on Immigrants’ Cultural Impact**

While there is broad support for tighter curbs on immigration, the public is divided about the cultural impact of newcomers from other countries: 46% believe immigrants threaten traditional American customs and values, while 49% disagree.

Education is a major factor in attitudes on this issue. A solid majority of those with a high school education (56%) say immigrants threaten traditional American customs. Half as many college graduates (27%) agree.

	Total	Mid-			
	%	East	west	South	West
	%	%	%	%	%
Agree	46	37	49	55	38
Disagree	49	58	45	42	59
Don’t know	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100	100	100

Age also shapes these views. More than six-in-ten (63%) of those age 65 and older feel that immigrants threaten American values compared with 39% of those under age 30. In addition, negative views toward immigrants are greater in the South and Midwest than in the Northeast or West.

There is a modest partisan gap in attitudes toward immigrants, but it increases noticeably when ideology also is taken into account. Roughly twice as many conservative Republicans as liberal Democrats say immigrants threaten traditional customs (54% vs. 27%); among all Republicans and Democrats the gap is much smaller (55% of Republicans, 48% of Democrats).

**Science and Technology**

American science and technology are admired by people around the globe. Most Americans also view advances in science and technology as beneficial rather than harmful, though some fears are evident.

A large majority (71%) *disagrees* with the statement that “technology is making life too complicated for me.” Concern about the complexity of technology is expressed most often by the less educated,

	Agree	Disagree	DK
	%	%	%
Men, 18-64	21	78	1=100
Men, 65+	26	69	5=100
Women, 18-64	27	71	2=100
Women, 65+	<b>58</b>	38	4=100

and especially by older women. Among women age 65 and older, 58% say technology is making life too complicated – far more than any other age group among men and women. There also are significant differences among religious groups: Nearly twice as many white evangelical Protestants (43%) as non-evangelicals (22%) think technology is making life too complicated.

The public expresses greater anxiety about whether science is going too far and hurting society rather than helping it. More than four-in-ten Americans (42%) worry that this is happening compared with 54% who are not concerned. Concern is greater among the less educated and among non-whites.

### ***Environmental Protection***

There is broad agreement among the public with regard to the value of environmental protection. More than eight-in-ten (86%) agree that there needs to be stricter laws and regulations to protect the environment, and about two-thirds (65%) agree that people should be willing to pay higher prices in order to protect the environment.

Aside from a small increase in the willingness to pay more for environmental protection (just 56% agreed in 1999), there has been little change in overall agreement with these statements since they were first asked in 1992. Similarly, 71% say the U.S. should put more emphasis on energy conservation than on developing new oil supplies, about the same level of agreement as last year.

Despite general agreement, partisan differences in the intensity of these opinions are evident. Over half of Democrats (58%) *completely* agree that stronger laws are needed to protect the environment; just 32% of Republicans feel this strongly. Twice as many Democrats as Republicans completely agree that energy conservation should take priority over increased oil production (38% vs. 19%). The gap in intensity is especially notable when partisanship and ideology are taken into account. Over half (52%) of liberal Democrats completely agree that the priority should be energy conservation over increased oil production; just 16% of conservative Republicans agree.

### ***Crime and Punishment***

Seven-in-ten Americans (72%) think the criminal justice system should try to rehabilitate criminals and not just punish them, while nearly three-in-ten (29%) completely agree with this statement. Blacks are more likely than whites to agree (78% vs. 71%), with Hispanic opinion on par with whites.

Large majorities of both Democrats and Republicans endorse the idea of rehabilitating criminals, as well as punishing them. But liberal Democrats are more than twice as likely as conservative Republicans to *completely* agree (47% vs. 21%).

### ***Tax System Unfair?***

Half the public feels that “the tax system is unfair to people like me,” while 45% disagree. Despite their strong support for tax cuts, fewer than half of Republicans agree with this statement. By comparison, significantly higher percentages of Democrats and independents feel the tax system is unfair to people like them (55% and 53%, respectively).

Criticism of the tax system is widespread among African Americans and people with relatively low family incomes. Fully 72% of African Americans say the tax system is unfair to people like them, compared with 46% of whites. Among people with annual household incomes of \$30,000 or less, more than half (56%) complain about the fairness of the tax system; just 39% of those with annual incomes of at least \$75,000 agree.

## ABOUT THE 2003 VALUES SURVEY

Results for the survey are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates among a nationwide sample of 2,528 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period July 14 - August 5, 2003. Based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 2 percentage points. For results based on either Form 1 (N=1,284) or Form 2 (N=1,244), the sampling error is plus or minus 3.5 percentage points. For results based on registered voters (N=1,866) the sampling error is plus or minus 2.5 percentage points.

Respondents who indicated they would prefer to complete the interview in Spanish, plus Spanish-speaking households in which no eligible English-speaking adult was available, were contacted by a Spanish-speaking interviewer. A total of 56 interviews were conducted in Spanish.

In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

## SURVEY METHODOLOGY IN DETAIL

The sample for this survey is a random digit sample of telephone numbers selected from telephone exchanges in the continental United States. The random digit aspect of the sample is used to avoid "listing" bias and provides representation of both listed and unlisted numbers (including not-yet-listed). The design of the sample ensures this representation by random generation of the last two digits of telephone numbers selected on the basis of their area code, telephone exchange, and bank number.

The telephone exchanges were selected with probabilities proportional to their size. The first eight digits of the sampled telephone numbers (area code, telephone exchange, bank number) were selected to be proportionally stratified by county and by telephone exchange within county. That is, the number of telephone numbers randomly sampled from within a given county is proportional to that county's share of telephone numbers in the U.S. Only working banks of telephone numbers are selected. A working bank is defined as 100 contiguous telephone numbers containing one or more residential listings.

The sample was released for interviewing in replicates. Using replicates to control the release of sample to the field ensures that the complete call procedures are followed for the entire sample. The use of replicates also insures that the regional distribution of numbers called is appropriate. Again, this works to increase the representativeness of the sample.

At least 10 attempts were made to complete an interview at every sampled telephone number. The calls were staggered over times of day and days of the week to maximize the chances of making a contact with a potential respondent. All interview breakoffs and refusals were re-contacted at least once in order to attempt to convert them to completed interviews. In each contacted household, interviewers asked to speak with the "youngest male 18 or older who is at home." If there is no eligible man at home, interviewers asked to speak with "the oldest woman 18 or older who is at home." This systematic respondent selection technique has been shown empirically to produce samples that closely mirror the population in terms of age and gender.

Non-response in telephone interview surveys produces some known biases in survey-derived estimates because participation tends to vary for different subgroups of the population, and these subgroups are likely to vary also on questions of substantive interest. In order to compensate for these known biases, the sample data are weighted in analysis.

The demographic weighting parameters are derived from a special analysis of the most recently available Census Bureau's Current Population Survey (March 2002). This analysis produced population parameters for the demographic characteristics of households with adults 18 or older, which are then compared with the sample characteristics to construct sample weights. The analysis only included households in the continental United States that contain a telephone. The weights are derived using an iterative technique that simultaneously balances the distributions of all weighting parameters.

## ABOUT THE VALUES PROJECT

The values project draws on a series of large national surveys conducted since 1987. The project was initiated by the Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press in 1987 and continued by the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press since 1996. Over this period, 12 surveys have been conducted with a total of 27,550 interviews. Interviews included approximately 80 questions about political and social values, plus questions about current issues and political figures.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Field Dates</u>	<u>Sample Size</u>	<u>Margin of Error</u>	<u>Interview Mode</u>
1987	4/25 - 5/10	4,244	1.6	Face-to-Face
1988	5/13 - 5/22	3,021	2.0	Face-to-Face
1989	1/28 - 2/7	2,048	2.4	Face-to-Face
1990	5/1 - 5/31	3,004	2.0	Face-to-Face
1991	10/31 - 11/10	2,020	2.4	Telephone
1992	5/28 - 6/10	3,517	1.8	Telephone
1993	5/18 - 5/24	1,507	2.8	Telephone
1994	7/13 - 7/27	1,009	3.4	Telephone
1997	11/5-9 & 11/13-17	1,165	3.2	Telephone
1999	9/28 - 10/10	985	3.5	Telephone
2002	7/2 - 8/8	2,502	2.1	Telephone
2003	7/14 - 8/5	2,528	2.1	Telephone

## ABOUT THE PARTY IDENTIFICATION DATABASE

The analysis of change in the public's identification with the two major parties is based on a compilation of Pew Research Center surveys from January 1997 to October 2003. These surveys were combined into one large data file that could be sorted according to a range of demographic characteristics, with comparisons made across different time periods. The table below shows the number of interviews for the total database and for time periods referred to in the report.

	<u>1997-1999</u>	<u>Election Period (Jan-Nov 00)</u>	<u>Post Election (Nov 00 - Sept 01)</u>	<u>Post 9-11 (Sept 01 - March 03)</u>	<u>Iraq and Beyond (March-Oct 03)</u>	<u>Total</u>
All	47,305	23,349	21,795	41,543	17,301	151,293
Registered voters	34,091	17,643	14,692	21,168	8,941	96,535

### Details about the Value Scales

To provide a summary measure of each topic area covered by the values questions, several items were combined using a technique called “factor analysis.” This statistical procedure combines measures that are capturing a common concept (e.g., commitment to religion), giving each measure a different weight according to how similar it is to the concept being measured. Each person in the survey is then assigned a score on the scale, and these scores can be compared over time or across groups (for example, between Democrats and Republicans).

The survey items in each scale are listed below, along with the percentage who agreed or disagreed with each one in 2003.

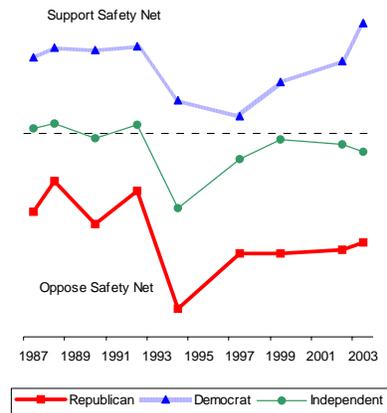
		<i>2003 Results</i>		
<b>PERSONAL RELIGIOUS COMMITMENT</b>		<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	
		%	%	
Q.29a	Prayer is an important part of my daily life	81	18	
Q.29b	We all will be called before God at the Judgment Day to answer for our sins	80	17	
Q.29d	I never doubt the existence of God	87	12	
<b>NATIONAL SECURITY</b>		<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	
Q.28o	It is my belief that we should get even with any country that tries to take advantage of the United States	48	46	
Q.28p	The best way to ensure peace is through military strength	53	44	
Q.28r	We all should be willing to fight for our country, whether it is right or wrong	52	43	
Q.28q	American lives are worth more than the lives of people in other countries	19	79	

**SOCIAL SAFETY NET**

- Q.28e. It is the responsibility of the government to take care of people who can't take care of themselves
- Q.28f. The government should help more needy people even if it means going deeper in debt
- Q.28g. The government should guarantee every citizen enough to eat and a place to sleep

2003 Results  
Agree Disagree

66 31  
 54 42  
 65 33

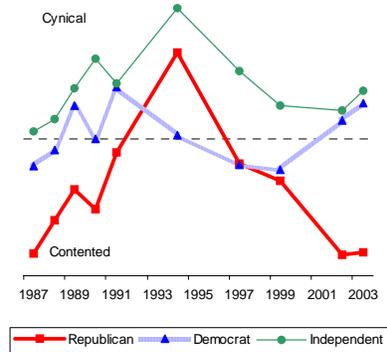


**GOVERNMENT RESPONSIVENESS**

- Q.11a. People like me don't have any say about what the government does
- Q.11b. Generally speaking, elected officials in Washington lose touch with the people pretty quickly
- Q.11c. Most elected officials care what people like me think
- Q.11d. Voting gives people like me some say about how government runs things
- Q.11m. The government is really run for the benefit of all the people

Agree Disagree

47 51  
 75 22  
 39 59  
 73 24  
 52 46

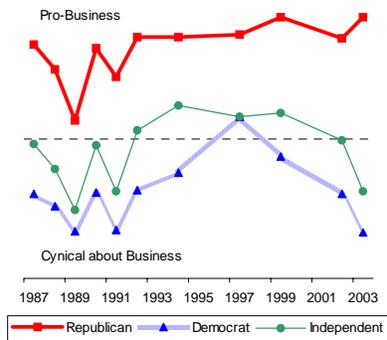


**BUSINESS**

- Q.11o. There is too much power concentrated in the hands of a few big companies
- Q.11p. Business corporations make too much profit
- Q.11n. Business corporations generally strike a fair balance between making profits and serving the public interest

Agree Disagree

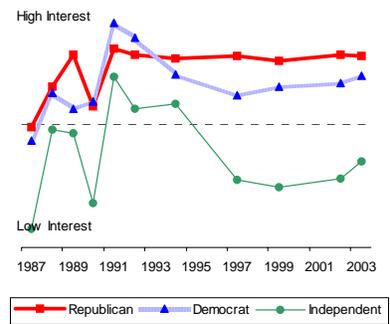
77 20  
 62 32  
 38 57



**POLITICAL INTEREST AND DUTY**

2003 Results  
Agree Disagree

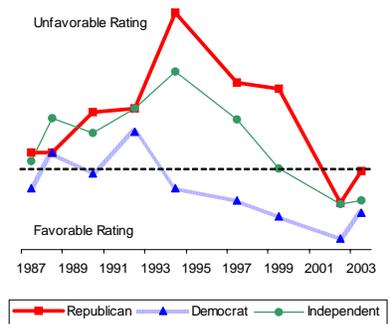
Q.29w. I feel it's my duty as a citizen to always vote	89	9
Q.29x. I'm interested in keeping up with national affairs	91	8
Q.29z. I'm pretty interested in following local politics	73	26
Q.29bb. I feel guilty when I don't get a chance to vote	64	31



**GOVERNMENT PERFORMANCE**

Agree Disagree

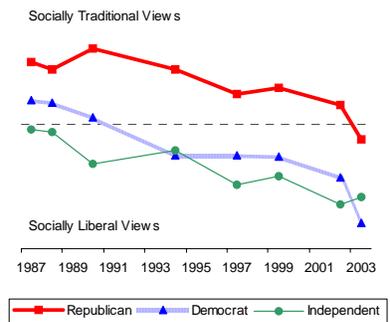
Q.11i. Government regulation of business usually does more harm than good	53	39
Q.11k. When something is run by the government, it is usually inefficient and wasteful	57	39
Q.11l. The federal government controls too much of our daily lives	56	42



**TRADITIONAL VALUES**

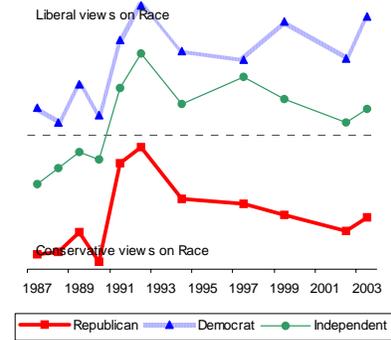
Agree Disagree

Q.29e. School boards ought to have the right to fire teachers who are known homosexuals	33	62
Q.29f. Books that contain dangerous ideas should be banned from public school libraries	50	47
Q.29j. Women should return to their traditional roles in society	24	72
Q.29k. Too many children are being raised in day care centers these days	72	23
Q.29l. AIDS might be God's punishment for immoral sexual behavior	24	70
Q.29m. I have old-fashioned values about family and marriage	80	18
Q.29n. There are clear guidelines about what's good or evil that apply to everyone regardless of their situation	77	19



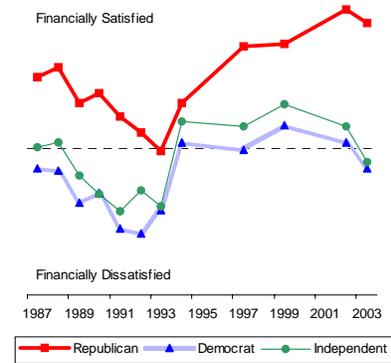
**RACE**

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Q.28d. We have gone too far in pushing equal rights in this country	43	54
Q.28j. In the past few years there hasn't been much real improvement in the position of black people in this country	35	57
Q.28k. I think it's all right for blacks and whites to date each other	77	20
Q.28l. We should make every possible effort to improve the position of blacks and other minorities, even if it means giving them preferential treatment	30	67



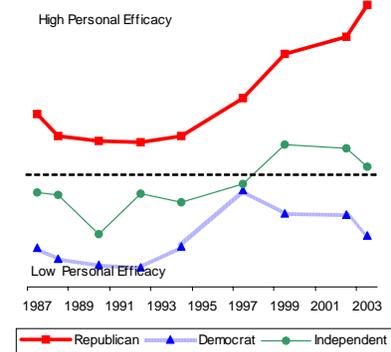
**PERSONAL FINANCIAL SATISFACTION**

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Q.29t. I often don't have enough money to make ends meet	39	59
Q.29v. I'm pretty well satisfied with the way things are going for me financially	63	35



**EFFICACY VS. FATALISM**

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Q.11e. Success in life is pretty much determined by forces outside our control	30	67
Q.11f. Hard work offers little guarantee of success	30	68
Q.29q. Today it's really true that the rich just get richer while the poor get poorer	68	29



## **TABLES**

## DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF PARTY AND IDEOLOGY 2003

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Conservative Republican</u>	<u>Mod./Liberal Republican</u>	<u>Independent</u>	<u>Conservative/ Mod. Democrat</u>	<u>Liberal Democrat</u>	<u>Other</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<b>Total</b>	100	18	9	36	19	10	8
<b>Sex</b>							
Male	48	54	49	52	40	41	39
Female	<u>52</u>	<u>46</u>	<u>51</u>	<u>48</u>	<u>60</u>	<u>59</u>	<u>61</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<b>Race</b>							
White	79	94	92	81	65	68	71
Black	12	2	4	9	27	20	10
Hispanic*	10	7	8	12	11	10	14
Other non-white	7	4	4	8	7	10	13
<b>Race and Sex</b>							
White Men	38	51	46	42	27	24	27
White Women	42	43	46	39	38	44	43
<b>Age</b>							
Under 30	21	17	18	26	16	27	25
30-49	40	44	42	41	40	35	35
50-64	22	22	25	19	24	26	15
65+	16	17	15	13	20	13	20
<b>Sex and Age</b>							
Men under 50	30	34	32	34	24	28	26
Women under 50	32	27	28	33	31	34	34
Men 50+	17	20	17	18	16	13	13
Women 50+	20	18	23	14	28	25	23
<b>Education</b>							
College Grad.	26	34	29	25	18	41	13
Some College	24	23	31	22	24	22	24
High School	37	38	30	38	42	24	37
<H.S. Grad.	13	5	10	15	16	12	26
<b>Family Income</b>							
\$75,000+	19	29	28	16	12	22	10
\$50,000-\$75,000	15	22	22	13	13	10	7
\$30,000-\$50,000	24	23	18	24	27	25	12
\$20,000-\$30,000	13	9	10	14	17	15	12
<\$20,000	18	7	14	20	22	18	24
<b>Region</b>							
East	20	18	20	21	16	25	21
Midwest	24	26	23	23	25	17	25
South	36	39	41	33	39	32	32
West	21	17	16	23	19	27	22

\* The designation Hispanic is unrelated to the white-black categorization.

Question: In general, would you describe your political views as very conservative, conservative, moderate, liberal or very liberal?

In politics today, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat or Independent?

*Continued on next page...*

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Conservative Republican</u>	<u>Mod./Liberal Republican</u>	<u>Independent</u>	<u>Conservative/ Mod. Democrat</u>	<u>Liberal Democrat</u>	<u>Other</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<b>Total</b>	100	18	9	36	19	10	8
<b>Community Size</b>							
Large City	22	16	20	20	27	30	16
Suburb	24	30	24	21	22	32	15
Small town	36	34	35	37	37	26	45
Rural area	18	20	21	22	14	11	16
<b>Religious Affiliation</b>							
Total White Protestant	45	67	55	42	37	30	37
- Evangelical	23	44	21	19	20	7	20
- Non-Evangelical	22	23	34	24	17	23	17
Black Protestant	10	1	3	6	24	17	8
White Catholic	17	15	26	18	17	14	13
Hispanic Catholic	6	5	4	7	7	7	4
Secular	9	3	4	13	5	11	17
<b>Main TV News Source</b>							
Local News	17	15	13	17	20	13	24
Network News	30	28	33	26	38	36	20
Cable News	44	49	49	43	42	42	33
- CNN	26	20	25	25	31	30	18
- Fox	18	32	20	18	11	10	15
<b>Online</b>							
Yes	67	79	76	65	57	73	54
No	33	21	25	35	44	28	46
<b>Bush Approval</b>							
Approve	53	93	88	48	37	18	35
Disapprove	37	4	9	40	56	76	32
<b>2000 Presidential Vote</b>							
Bush	34	79	72	27	10	4	14
Gore	26	2	4	21	53	64	13
<b>Registered Voter</b>							
Yes	71	83	79	64	76	76	49
No	29	17	21	36	24	24	51
<b>Marital Status</b>							
Married	52	68	60	49	46	43	43
Unmarried	48	32	40	51	54	57	57
<b>Parental Status</b>							
Parent	36	40	38	35	34	31	40
Non-Parent	64	60	62	65	66	69	58
<b>Labor Union</b>							
Union Household	13	13	8	13	15	15	12
Non-Union Household	87	87	92	86	85	85	86

**NOTE:** Some columns don't add to 100% because not all categories are shown.

**Reading this table:** The Demographic Profile table shows the percentages of each of these six groups – Conservative Republicans, Moderate/Liberal Republicans, independents, Conservative/Moderate Democrats, Liberal Democrats, and others – that are male, female, under 30, etc. For example, the table shows that 54% of Conservative Republicans are men, while 46% are women. By comparison 41% of Liberal Democrats are men, while 59% are women.

## FOREIGN POLICY

	<i>The best way to ensure peace is through military strength</i>					<i>We should pay less attention to problems overseas and concentrate on problems here at home</i>				
	2002		2003		<i>Diff. Agree</i>	1997-1999		2002-2003		<i>Diff. Agree</i>
	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Dis- agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Dis- agree</u>		<u>Agree</u>	<u>Dis- agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Dis- agree</u>	
	%	%	%	%		%	%	%	%	
<b>Total</b>	62	34	53	44	-9	79	20	74	23	-5
<b>Sex</b>										
Male	62	35	54	44	-8	76	24	71	27	-5
Female	62	33	52	45	-10	82	16	76	20	-6
<b>Race</b>										
White	65	32	56	42	-9	79	20	72	25	-7
Non-white	53	40	43	54	-10	83	17	81	16	-2
Black	52	43	45	52	-7	86	14	85	13	-1
Hispanic*	64	32	46	50	-18	77	20	79	18	+2
<b>Race and Sex</b>										
White Men	64	34	57	41	-7	75	25	69	29	-6
White Women	65	31	54	42	-11	82	16	75	22	-7
<b>Age</b>										
Under 30	51	45	43	57	-8	86	13	77	20	-9
30-49	64	33	52	44	-12	80	19	74	24	-6
50-64	66	31	58	41	-8	71	27	71	26	0
65+	65	27	62	34	-3	77	21	74	22	-3
<b>Sex and Age</b>										
Men under 50	59	39	50	48	-9	80	20	73	25	-7
Women under 50	61	35	47	49	-14	85	14	77	20	-8
Men 50+	68	29	61	37	-7	67	32	68	30	+1
Women 50+	64	30	58	39	-6	79	17	77	20	-2
<b>Education</b>										
College Grad.	58	38	41	55	-17	66	33	58	39	-8
Some College	58	38	56	43	-2	82	17	74	23	-8
High School	67	30	59	38	-8	83	15	81	16	-2
<H.S. Grad.	62	30	56	41	-6	85	14	83	14	-2
<b>Family Income</b>										
Upper income	65	33	53	44	-12	71	28	61	37	-10
Upper middle income	63	34	54	44	-9	80	19	74	24	-6
Lower middle income	59	37	50	47	-9	86	14	81	17	-5
Lower income	62	34	61	36	-1	83	15	84	14	+1

\* The designation Hispanic is unrelated to the white-black categorization.

Question: Now I am going to read you another series of statements on some different topics. For each statement, please tell me if you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly DISagree with it or completely disagree with it.

*Continued on next page...*

	<i>The best way to ensure peace is through military strength</i>					<i>We should pay less attention to problems overseas and concentrate on problems here at home</i>				
	2002		2003		<i>Diff. Agree</i>	1997-1999		2002-2003		<i>Diff. Agree</i>
	<u>Agree</u> %	<u>Dis- agree</u> %	<u>Agree</u> %	<u>Dis- agree</u> %		<u>Agree</u> %	<u>Dis- agree</u> %	<u>Agree</u> %	<u>Dis- agree</u> %	
<b>Total</b>	62	34	53	44	-9	79	20	74	23	-5
<b>Region</b>										
East	56	41	51	48	-5	79	19	72	24	-7
Midwest	62	33	55	42	-7	78	21	73	24	-5
South	65	30	56	40	-9	82	17	77	21	-5
West	62	35	47	51	-15	76	22	71	25	-5
<b>Religious Affiliation</b>										
Total White Protestant	67	29	62	36	-5	78	21	73	24	-5
- Evangelical	69	28	63	34	-6	80	19	75	23	-5
- Non-Evangelical	65	31	60	37	-5	76	22	72	25	-4
White Catholic	65	32	58	41	-7	81	17	72	25	-9
Secular	51	46	31	68	-20	72	28	72	24	0
<b>Party ID</b>										
Republican	72	25	69	30	-3	76	23	67	31	-9
Democrat	55	41	44	55	-11	82	18	79	19	-3
Independent	62	35	51	47	-11	79	20	75	22	-4
<b>Party and Ideology</b>										
Conservative Republican	75	23	71	28	-4	--	--	66	32	--
Moderate/Liberal Rep.	69	28	65	34	-4	--	--	68	31	--
Conservative/Mod. Dem.	59	37	50	50	-9	--	--	84	14	--
Liberal Democrat	41	55	29	69	-12	--	--	68	30	--
<b>Ideology</b>										
Conservative	71	26	62	36	-9	--	--	74	23	--
Moderate	61	35	55	44	-6	--	--	74	24	--
Liberal	49	49	33	63	-16	--	--	73	25	--
<b>Registered Voter</b>										
Yes	63	33	56	42	-7	78	21	72	25	-6
No	59	36	46	50	-13	83	16	80	16	-3
<b>Marital Status</b>										
Married	65	31	58	40	-7	79	20	72	26	-7
Unmarried	59	37	48	49	-11	79	19	76	21	-3
<b>Labor Union</b>										
Union Household	63	35	59	40	-4	79	20	75	24	-4
Non-Union Household	62	34	52	45	-10	79	20	74	23	-5

**WILL IT BE NECESSARY TO GIVE UP  
CIVIL LIBERTIES TO CURB TERRORISM?**

	----- April 1997 -----			----- August 2003 -----			Change in Percent "Yes"
	<u>Yes</u> %	<u>No</u> %	<u>DK</u> %	<u>Yes</u> %	<u>No</u> %	<u>DK</u> %	
<b>Total</b>	29	62	9=100	44	50	6=100	+15
<b>Sex</b>							
Male	33	63	4	43	54	3	+10
Female	26	62	12	44	47	9	+18
<b>Race</b>							
White	29	63	8	45	49	6	+16
Non-white	32	62	6	38	56	6	+6
Black	30	65	5	36	58	6	+6
Hispanic*	25	69	6	43	52	5	+18
<b>Race and Sex</b>							
White Men	32	64	4	45	52	3	+13
White Women	27	61	12	45	46	9	+19
<b>Age</b>							
Under 30	22	72	6	40	56	4	+18
30-49	32	63	5	44	52	4	+12
50-64	29	61	10	48	48	4	+19
65+	31	51	18	43	42	15	+11
<b>Sex and Age</b>							
Men under 50	30	66	4	41	57	2	+11
Women under 50	27	67	6	44	50	6	+17
Men 50+	38	58	4	47	49	4	+9
Women 50+	24	56	20	45	42	13	+21
<b>Education</b>							
College Grad.	39	57	4	48	49	3	+9
Some College	26	67	7	48	49	3	+22
High School Grad.	27	64	9	42	52	6	+15
<H.S. Grad.	25	60	15	34	50	16	+9
<b>Family Income</b>							
\$75,000+	35	63	2	54	44	2	+19
\$50,000-\$74,999	38	60	2	48	50	2	+10
\$30,000-\$49,999	35	59	6	47	50	3	+12
\$20,000-\$29,999	23	66	11	33	59	8	+10
<\$20,000	26	62	12	39	50	11	+13

\* The designation Hispanic is unrelated to the white-black categorization.

Question: In order to curb terrorism in this country, do you think it will be necessary for the average person to give up some civil liberties, or not?

*Continued on next page ...*

	----- April 1997 -----			----- August 2003 -----			Change in Percent "Yes"
	<u>Yes</u> %	<u>No</u> %	<u>DK</u> %	<u>Yes</u> %	<u>No</u> %	<u>DK</u> %	
<b>Total</b>	29	62	9=100	44	50	6=100	+15
<b>Region</b>							
East	32	64	4	49	46	5	+17
Midwest	31	60	9	44	50	6	+13
South	28	62	10	41	52	7	+13
West	26	65	9	43	52	5	+17
<b>Religious Affiliation</b>							
Total White Protestant	28	61	11	48	46	6	+20
White Protestant Evangelical	29	61	10	49	44	7	+20
White Prot. Non-Evangelical	28	61	11	48	46	6	+20
White Catholic	31	62	7	46	48	6	+15
Secular	28	71	1	31	64	5	+3
<b>Community Size</b>							
Large City	26	67	7	41	53	6	+15
Suburb	33	62	5	48	49	3	+15
Small City/Town	30	61	9	42	50	8	+12
Rural Area	29	63	8	46	48	6	+17
<b>Party ID</b>							
Republican	31	62	7	54	43	3	+23
Democrat	31	59	10	39	55	6	+8
Independent	28	67	5	42	53	5	+14
<b>Presidential Approval</b>							
Approve	32	61	7	51	45	4	+19
Disapprove	27	65	8	37	58	5	+10
<b>Marital Status</b>							
Married	31	62	7	49	47	4	+18
Unmarried	27	64	9	38	54	8	+11
<b>Parental Status</b>							
Parent	29	64	7	45	51	4	+16
Non-Parent	30	61	9	43	50	7	+13
<b>Labor Union</b>							
Union Household	32	62	6	50	47	3	+18
Non-Union Household	29	62	9	43	51	6	+14

## TERRORISM

	<i>President should focus on the economy or the war on terror?</i>				<i>How worried about another terrorist attack in the US?</i>				
	<u>The</u>	<u>The war</u>	<u>Neither/</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Some-</u>	<u>Not too</u>	<u>Not at</u>	<u>DK</u>
	economy	on terror	Both	%	%	what	%	all	%
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<b>Total</b>	57	27	13	3=100	13	46	29	12	1=100
<b>Sex</b>									
Male	59	27	13	1=100	11	42	32	15	1=100
Female	56	27	13	4=100	14	49	27	9	1=100
<b>Race</b>									
White	55	29	14	3=100	11	47	31	10	*=100
Non-white	67	20	11	2=100	18	40	24	16	1=100
Black	69	19	9	3=100	21	37	24	17	1=100
Hispanic*	59	23	15	3=100	26	43	18	12	1=100
<b>Race and Sex</b>									
White Men	56	30	13	1=100	10	44	33	13	*=100
White Women	53	29	14	4=100	13	50	29	8	*=100
<b>Age</b>									
Under 30	64	25	8	3=100	13	40	32	13	1=100
30-49	55	30	13	2=100	14	46	30	11	*=100
50-64	55	28	15	2=100	13	47	27	12	1=100
65+	56	24	16	4=100	10	49	28	11	1=100
<b>Sex and Age</b>									
Men under 50	59	28	11	1=100	13	39	33	14	1=100
Women under 50	57	28	11	4=100	14	49	28	9	1=100
Men 50+	57	26	15	2=100	9	46	30	16	1=100
Women 50+	54	27	16	3=100	14	50	26	8	1=100
<b>Education</b>									
College Grad.	61	26	10	3=100	8	46	36	10	1=100
Some College	59	25	13	3=100	12	44	29	14	1=100
High School	54	31	12	2=100	13	47	26	13	1=100
<H.S. Grad.	52	26	18	4=100	22	43	25	8	1=100
<b>Family Income</b>									
\$75,000+	54	32	12	2=100	6	49	35	10	*=100
\$50,000 - \$75,000	57	30	11	2=100	9	47	33	11	*=100
\$30,000 - \$50,000	56	28	14	2=100	14	45	28	13	*=100
\$20,000 - \$30,000	62	22	14	2=100	11	48	26	14	1=100
<\$20,000	60	24	13	3=100	22	43	23	12	*=100
<b>Marital Status</b>									
Married	54	30	14	2=100	11	49	30	9	1=100
Unmarried	60	25	11	3=100	14	42	29	14	1=100

\* The designation Hispanic is unrelated to the white-black categorization.

Question: Right now, which is more important for President Bush to focus on... the economy or the war on terrorism?

How worried are you that there will soon be another terrorist attack in the United States?

*Continued on next page...*

	<i>President should focus on the economy or the war on terror?</i>				<i>How worried about another terrorist attack in the US?</i>				
	<u>The economy</u> %	<u>The war on terror</u> %	<u>Neither/ Both</u> %	<u>DK</u> %	<u>Very</u> %	<u>Some- what</u> %	<u>Not too</u> %	<u>Not at all</u> %	<u>DK</u> %
<b>Total</b>	57	27	13	3=100	13	46	29	12	1=100
<b>Region</b>									
East	57	30	13	3=100	15	43	29	12	1=100
Midwest	59	24	14	3=100	9	46	33	11	1=100
South	53	31	14	2=100	13	45	29	12	1=100
West	62	23	12	3=100	14	47	26	13	1=100
<b>Religious Affiliation</b>									
Total White Protestant	51	30	15	3=100	8	50	33	9	*=100
- Evangelical	47	33	17	3=100	9	48	36	7	1=100
- Non-Evangelical	55	28	14	3=100	7	51	30	11	*=100
White Catholic	58	30	11	1=100	15	44	30	11	*=100
Secular	70	21	6	3=100	11	49	26	15	*=100
<b>Community Size</b>									
Large City	64	21	12	2=100	13	45	26	15	*=100
Suburb	58	28	11	3=100	10	46	35	9	*=100
Small town	55	29	13	3=100	14	48	28	10	1=100
Rural area	52	31	14	2=100	14	43	28	15	0=100
<b>Costal City</b>									
Top city	63	24	11	3=100	16	40	31	13	1=100
Rest of country	56	28	13	3=100	12	47	29	12	1=100
<b>Party ID</b>									
Republican	43	40	16	1=100	10	43	35	11	*=100
Democrat	70	18	10	2=100	14	48	27	10	1=100
Independent	57	26	14	2=100	14	47	27	12	*=100
<b>Party and Ideology</b>									
Conservative Republican	41	43	15	1=100	10	42	38	9	*=100
Moderate/Liberal Rep.	46	37	17	*=100	11	47	28	14	*=100
Conservative/Mod. Dem.	68	20	11	1=100	13	49	27	11	*=100
Liberal Democrat	74	14	9	3=100	13	47	29	10	1=100
<b>Presidential Vote</b>									
Gore	73	15	10	2=100	13	45	28	15	*=100
Bush	44	40	15	1=100	9	48	33	10	*=100
<b>Registered Voter</b>									
Yes	57	28	13	2=100	11	46	30	12	1=100
No	58	25	13	4=100	17	44	27	12	1=100
<b>Bush Approval</b>									
Approve	45	38	15	2=100	12	46	32	10	*=100
Disapprove	77	13	7	2=100	14	44	27	15	*=100
<b>Worry about terrorism</b>									
Very	55	29	13	3=100	--	--	--	--	--
Somewhat	54	30	14	2=100	--	--	--	--	--
Not too much	60	26	11	4=100	--	--	--	--	--
Not at all	67	20	11	2=100	--	--	--	--	--

## BUSINESS AND GOVERNMENT

	<i>Government regulation of business usually does more harm than good</i> 2002-2003		<i>Business corporations generally strike a fair balance between making profits and serving the public interest</i> 2002-2003		<i>When something is run by the government, it is usually inefficient and wasteful</i> 2002-2003	
	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%
<b>Total</b>	50	42	40	56	54	42
<b>Sex</b>						
Male	52	42	40	57	58	39
Female	47	42	40	55	51	44
<b>Race</b>						
White	50	42	38	57	56	40
Non-white	48	42	46	50	47	48
Black	49	43	43	53	46	51
Hispanic*	47	44	49	46	39	56
<b>Race and Sex</b>						
White Men	53	41	40	57	61	36
White Women	47	43	37	57	52	43
<b>Age</b>						
Under 30	43	47	49	48	37	59
30-49	50	42	39	58	56	41
50-64	55	37	33	63	61	35
65+	49	40	41	49	63	31
<b>Sex and Age</b>						
Men under 50	51	43	41	57	54	43
Women under 50	45	45	43	53	45	51
Men 50+	54	39	39	56	66	31
Women 50+	51	38	35	58	58	35
<b>Education</b>						
College Grad.	44	50	36	61	52	45
Some College	50	44	37	59	52	45
High School	53	38	43	54	56	40
<H.S. Grad.	51	35	45	43	59	34
<b>Family Income</b>						
Upper income	52	43	40	58	57	41
Upper middle income	49	44	37	60	55	42
Lower middle income	50	42	39	57	55	41
Lower income	50	38	45	48	51	43

\* The designation Hispanic is unrelated to the white-black categorization.

Question: Now I am going to read you another series of statements on some different topics. For each statement, please tell me if you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly DISagree with it or completely disagree with it.

*Continued on next page...*

	<i>Government regulation of business usually does more harm than good</i>		<i>Business corporations generally strike a fair balance between making profits and serving the public interest</i>		<i>When something is run by the government, it is usually inefficient and wasteful</i>	
	2002-2003		2002-2003		2002-2003	
	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%
<b>Total</b>	50	42	40	56	54	42
<b>Region</b>						
East	47	44	38	59	53	43
Midwest	48	44	41	55	56	40
South	52	40	42	52	55	41
West	49	40	38	58	52	44
<b>Religious Affiliation</b>						
Total White Protestant	53	40	39	56	58	38
- Evangelical	58	35	41	53	60	36
- Non-Evangelical	48	44	36	59	56	40
White Catholic	49	44	41	56	55	42
Secular	45	44	35	63	54	42
<b>Party ID</b>						
Republican	56	39	48	48	56	41
Democrat	45	47	37	58	51	45
Independent	50	42	36	60	56	40
<b>Party and Ideology</b>						
Conservative Republican	61	35	50	46	60	37
Moderate/Liberal Rep.	49	46	45	53	48	49
Conservative/Mod. Dem.	48	44	40	56	54	42
Liberal Democrat	37	58	33	64	44	54
<b>Ideology</b>						
Conservative	57	36	46	50	60	37
Moderate	47	45	39	59	52	44
Liberal	43	52	33	64	49	49
<b>Registered Voter</b>						
Yes	50	43	39	57	55	41
No	47	39	44	50	50	44
<b>Marital Status</b>						
Married	52	40	39	57	59	38
Unmarried	47	44	41	53	49	46
<b>Labor Union</b>						
Union Household	49	43	33	63	59	38
Non-Union Household	50	42	41	54	53	42

## GOVERNMENT RESPONSIVENESS

	<i>People like me don't have any say about what the government does</i>					<i>The government is really run for the benefit of all the people</i>				
	<u>1997-1999</u>		<u>2002-2003</u>		<i>Diff. Agree</i>	<u>1997-1999</u>		<u>2002-2003</u>		<i>Diff. Agree</i>
	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Dis- agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Dis- agree</u>		<u>Agree</u>	<u>Dis- agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Dis- agree</u>	
	%	%	%	%		%	%	%	%	
<b>Total</b>	47	52	46	51	-1	49	49	54	44	+5
<b>Sex</b>										
Male	46	53	45	52	-1	50	48	54	44	+4
Female	47	52	47	50	0	48	50	53	44	+5
<b>Race</b>										
White	48	51	45	53	-3	49	49	56	42	+7
Non-white	41	57	52	46	+11	47	52	43	55	-4
Black	40	59	55	43	+15	49	52	37	61	-12
Hispanic*	39	60	48	49	+9	59	38	61	38	+2
<b>Race and Sex</b>										
White Men	47	52	44	55	-3	50	48	57	42	+7
White Women	48	51	46	52	-2	48	49	56	42	+8
<b>Age</b>										
Under 30	45	54	48	51	+3	56	42	59	39	+3
30-49	45	54	46	53	+1	50	49	55	43	+5
50-64	49	49	45	52	-4	43	53	51	48	+8
65+	51	47	48	46	-3	42	56	47	50	+5
<b>Sex and Age</b>										
Men under 50	46	53	46	53	0	53	46	58	42	+5
Women under 50	44	55	47	52	+3	52	47	55	42	+3
Men 50+	47	52	45	52	-2	43	54	48	50	+5
Women 50+	52	45	48	48	-4	42	55	50	48	+8
<b>Education</b>										
College Grad.	35	65	38	61	+3	56	42	60	38	+4
Some College	43	57	45	53	+2	47	52	53	45	+6
High School	51	47	53	45	+2	46	51	50	48	+4
<H.S. Grad.	58	40	48	46	-10	46	53	50	47	+4
<b>Family Income</b>										
Upper income	37	62	38	61	+1	53	45	64	35	+11
Upper middle income	48	51	47	52	-1	47	51	57	42	+10
Lower middle income	54	46	50	48	-4	47	52	49	49	+2
Lower income	50	48	49	47	-1	45	53	48	49	+3

\* The designation Hispanic is unrelated to the white-black categorization.

Question: Now I am going to read you another series of statements on some different topics. For each statement, please tell me if you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly DISagree with it or completely disagree with it.

*Continued on next page...*

	<i>People like me don't have any say about what the government does</i>					<i>The government is really run for the benefit of all the people</i>				
	1997-1999		2002-2003		<i>Diff. Agree</i>	1997-1999		2002-2003		<i>Diff. Agree</i>
	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Dis- agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Dis- agree</u>		<u>Agree</u>	<u>Dis- agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Dis- agree</u>	
	%	%	%	%		%	%	%	%	
<b>Total</b>	47	52	46	51	-1	49	49	54	44	+5
<b>Region</b>										
East	46	52	46	53	0	49	50	52	46	+3
Midwest	53	47	48	50	-5	46	52	55	42	+9
South	46	53	47	51	+1	47	50	53	45	+6
West	43	57	45	52	+2	53	44	55	43	+2
<b>Religious Affiliation</b>										
Total White Protestant	48	51	44	54	-4	48	50	56	41	+8
- Evangelical	47	52	43	54	-4	44	55	57	41	+13
- Non-Evangelical	49	51	45	54	-4	53	44	56	41	+3
White Catholic	48	52	45	53	-3	49	50	59	40	+10
Secular	47	53	48	51	+1	49	48	47	51	-2
<b>Party ID</b>										
Republican	43	57	36	63	-7	47	50	68	32	+21
Democrat	42	57	52	46	+10	55	44	47	51	-8
Independent	52	47	50	49	-2	46	53	50	49	+4
<b>Party and Ideology</b>										
Conservative Republican	--	--	34	65	--	--	--	68	31	--
Moderate/Liberal Rep.	--	--	39	59	--	--	--	67	33	--
Conservative/Mod. Dem.	--	--	53	45	--	--	--	48	51	--
Liberal Democrat	--	--	48	50	--	--	--	49	49	--
<b>Ideology</b>										
Conservative	--	--	43	56	--	--	--	59	40	--
Moderate	--	--	47	50	--	--	--	54	45	--
Liberal	--	--	51	48	--	--	--	46	52	--
<b>Registered Voter</b>										
Yes	45	54	44	54	-1	47	51	54	44	+7
No	53	45	54	43	+1	53	44	51	46	-2
<b>Marital Status</b>										
Married	47	53	44	54	-3	46	52	57	42	+11
Unmarried	47	52	49	48	+2	52	46	50	48	-2
<b>Labor Union</b>										
Union Household	47	51	49	50	+2	45	54	53	45	+8
Non-Union Household	46	53	46	52	0	49	48	54	44	+5

## RACIAL ATTITUDES

	<i>I think it's all right for blacks and whites to date each other</i>					<i>We have gone too far in pushing equal rights in this country</i>				
	<u>1987-1988</u>		<u>2002-2003</u>		<i>Diff.</i> <u>Agree</u>	<u>1987-1988</u>		<u>2002-2003</u>		<i>Diff.</i> <u>Agree</u>
	<u>Agree</u> %	<u>Dis- agree</u> %	<u>Agree</u> %	<u>Dis- agree</u> %		<u>Agree</u> %	<u>Dis- agree</u> %	<u>Agree</u> %	<u>Dis- agree</u> %	
<b>Total</b>	48	46	76	21	+28	43	53	47	50	+4
<b>Sex</b>										
Male	49	45	76	20	+27	46	50	49	49	+3
Female	48	46	75	21	+27	40	55	45	51	+5
<b>Race</b>										
White	44	50	72	24	+28	47	49	51	46	+4
Non-white	74	18	90	7	+16	21	75	31	67	+10
Black	74	18	92	6	+18	19	79	24	75	+5
Hispanic*	64	28	89	7	+25	38	56	42	57	+4
<b>Race and Sex</b>										
White Men	45	50	73	24	+28	50	46	53	44	+3
White Women	43	51	72	25	+29	43	52	49	47	+6
<b>Age</b>										
Under 30	60	34	90	9	+30	36	60	36	62	0
30-49	55	39	81	16	+26	41	56	46	52	+5
50-64	35	58	70	26	+35	51	45	53	45	+2
65+	28	65	53	40	+25	50	44	56	39	+6
<b>Sex and Age</b>										
Men under 50	58	36	83	15	+25	42	54	45	53	+3
Women under 50	56	38	86	13	+30	35	61	40	57	+5
Men 50+	32	62	66	30	+34	54	42	56	42	+2
Women 50+	33	61	60	34	+27	47	46	53	43	+6
<b>Education</b>										
College Grad.	68	28	87	11	+19	32	66	42	56	+10
Some College	59	36	82	16	+23	42	54	45	53	+3
High School	42	52	70	26	+28	47	49	49	48	+2
<H.S. Grad.	35	58	60	36	+25	45	48	56	40	+11
<b>Family Income</b>										
Upper income	57	38	84	14	+27	41	56	46	52	+5
Upper middle income	48	46	80	17	+32	43	54	47	51	+4
Lower middle income	46	47	75	22	+29	44	51	46	52	+2
Lower income	44	50	69	27	+25	43	52	48	49	+5

\* The designation Hispanic is unrelated to the white-black categorization.

Question: Now I am going to read you another series of statements on some different topics. For each statement, please tell me if you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly DISagree with it or completely disagree with it.

*Continued on next page...*

	<i>I think it's all right for blacks and whites to date each other</i>					<i>We have gone too far in pushing equal rights in this country</i>				
	1987-1988		2002-2003		<i>Diff. Agree</i>	1987-1988		2002-2003		<i>Diff. Agree</i>
	<u>Agree</u> %	<u>Dis- agree</u> %	<u>Agree</u> %	<u>Dis- agree</u> %		<u>Agree</u> %	<u>Dis- agree</u> %	<u>Agree</u> %	<u>Dis- agree</u> %	
<b>Total</b>	48	46	76	21	+28	43	53	47	50	+4
<b>Region</b>										
East	53	40	82	15	+29	38	58	45	53	+7
Midwest	46	49	75	23	+29	43	54	46	50	+3
South	36	56	67	29	+31	48	47	50	48	+2
West	64	31	86	11	+22	40	54	45	51	+5
<b>Religious Affiliation</b>										
Total White Protestant	37	59	66	31	+29	51	45	55	42	+4
- Evangelical	29	67	59	37	+30	57	40	60	37	+3
- Non-Evangelical	42	53	73	24	+31	48	48	49	47	+1
White Catholic	47	46	78	18	+31	43	52	51	48	+8
Secular	62	32	88	10	+26	35	59	36	61	+1
<b>Party ID</b>										
Republican	41	53	71	26	+31	53	42	59	39	+6
Democrat	51	43	78	19	+27	36	60	37	61	+1
Independent	55	41	78	19	+23	44	54	46	52	+2
<b>Party and Ideology</b>										
Conservative Republican	41	53	69	27	+28	58	38	64	34	+6
Moderate/Liberal Rep.	41	52	76	22	+35	47	47	50	47	+3
Conservative/Mod. Dem.	39	53	73	23	+34	41	53	40	58	-1
Liberal Democrat	65	31	91	9	+26	25	73	27	71	+2
<b>Ideology</b>										
Conservative	42	53	69	27	+27	53	44	60	37	+7
Moderate	41	49	79	18	+38	39	51	42	55	+3
Liberal	62	34	87	13	+25	28	69	31	67	+3
<b>Registered Voter</b>										
Yes	48	46	75	22	+27	43	53	47	50	+4
No	50	44	78	18	+28	41	52	46	50	+5
<b>Marital Status</b>										
Married	44	50	76	21	+32	46	49	52	45	+6
Unmarried	55	39	76	20	+21	37	58	41	56	+4
<b>Labor Union</b>										
Union Household	47	47	76	21	+29	42	53	47	51	+5
Non-Union Household	48	46	76	21	+28	43	52	47	50	+4

## RACIAL ATTITUDES

*We should make every possible effort to improve the position of blacks and other minorities, even if it means giving them preferential treatment*

*I don't have much in common with people of other races*

	1987-1988		2002-2003			1987-1988		2002-2003		
	Dis- Agree	Dis- agree	Dis- Agree	Dis- agree	Diff. Agree	Dis- Agree	Dis- agree	Dis- Agree	Dis- agree	Diff. Agree
	%	%	%	%		%	%	%	%	
<b>Total</b>	25	71	26	71	+1	23	72	15	83	-8
<b>Sex</b>										
Male	24	73	24	73	0	26	70	14	83	-12
Female	26	70	28	69	+2	21	74	15	83	-6
<b>Race</b>										
White	19	78	20	77	+1	24	72	15	83	-9
Non-white	63	33	48	47	-15	23	75	13	85	-10
Black	67	30	55	39	-12	24	74	15	84	-9
Hispanic*	45	49	45	52	0	23	74	15	82	-8
<b>Race and Sex</b>										
White Men	18	79	20	78	+2	26	69	15	82	-11
White Women	20	76	21	75	+1	21	74	15	83	-6
<b>Age</b>										
Under 30	32	64	39	57	+7	19	78	10	89	-9
30-49	24	72	21	76	-3	19	78	13	86	-6
50-64	20	76	24	74	+4	29	66	14	83	-15
65+	22	74	25	69	+3	36	58	26	68	-10
<b>Sex and Age</b>										
Men under 50	26	70	25	73	-1	21	75	12	86	-9
Women under 50	29	68	30	67	+1	16	81	11	88	-5
Men 50+	20	77	24	73	+4	34	61	18	78	-16
Women 50+	22	73	24	71	+2	30	63	20	76	-10
<b>Education</b>										
College Grad.	27	71	26	71	-1	13	84	8	90	-5
Some College	22	75	24	75	+2	17	80	9	89	-8
High School	26	70	24	73	-2	25	71	18	80	-7
<H.S. Grad.	22	75	37	56	+15	35	59	27	67	-8
<b>Family Income</b>										
Upper income	18	80	22	77	+4	14	84	8	91	-6
Upper middle income	21	76	19	78	-2	21	75	11	88	-10
Lower middle income	28	68	27	70	-1	26	69	17	81	-9
Lower income	36	60	40	56	+4	32	63	23	74	-9

\* The designation Hispanic is unrelated to the white-black categorization.

Question: Now I am going to read you another series of statements on some different topics. For each statement, please tell me if you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly DISagree with it or completely disagree with it.

*Continued on next page...*

*We should make every possible effort to improve the position of blacks and other minorities, even if it means giving them preferential treatment*

*I don't have much in common with people of other races*

	1987-1988		2002-2003			1987-1988		2002-2003		
	Agree	Dis-agree	Agree	Dis-agree	Diff. Agree	Agree	Dis-agree	Agree	Dis-agree	Diff. Agree
	%	%	%	%		%	%	%	%	
<b>Total</b>	25	71	26	71	+1	23	72	15	83	-8
<b>Region</b>										
East	28	67	28	70	0	24	71	14	83	-10
Midwest	22	76	24	72	+2	25	72	18	79	-7
South	25	71	26	71	+1	27	70	15	83	-12
West	26	70	27	69	+1	17	79	11	87	-6
<b>Religious Affiliation</b>										
Total White Protestant	16	82	18	79	+2	25	71	16	82	-9
- Evangelical	14	84	17	80	+3	26	71	19	79	-7
- Non-Evangelical	17	80	18	79	+1	25	71	13	85	-12
White Catholic	18	77	18	80	0	23	72	15	83	-8
Secular	26	67	30	66	+4	20	74	12	86	-8
<b>Party ID</b>										
Republican	16	82	15	84	-1	24	72	14	85	-10
Democrat	34	62	37	58	+3	26	70	17	80	-9
Independent	24	74	25	72	+1	20	76	13	84	-7
<b>Party and Ideology</b>										
Conservative Republican	12	86	13	86	+1	24	72	14	85	-10
Moderate/Liberal Rep.	21	76	19	80	-2	27	66	12	87	-15
Conservative/Mod. Dem.	27	67	34	64	+7	29	65	19	79	-10
Liberal Democrat	42	55	48	47	+6	18	77	13	84	-5
<b>Ideology</b>										
Conservative	17	81	20	78	+3	25	71	17	81	-8
Moderate	26	64	25	72	-1	25	67	13	85	-12
Liberal	34	64	41	56	+7	18	78	12	86	-6
<b>Registered Voter</b>										
Yes	24	72	25	72	+1	23	73	14	84	-9
No	28	66	31	65	+3	25	70	17	79	-8
<b>Marital Status</b>										
Married	21	76	20	78	-1	24	72	14	84	-10
Unmarried	32	64	33	63	+1	23	73	15	82	-8
<b>Labor Union</b>										
Union Household	26	71	23	75	-3	22	74	13	84	-9
Non-Union Household	25	71	27	70	+2	24	72	15	83	-9

## SOCIAL VALUES

	<i>School boards ought to have the right to fire teachers who are known homosexuals</i>					<i>Books that contain dangerous ideas should be banned from public school libraries</i>				
	1987-1988		2002-2003		<i>Diff. Agree</i>	1987-1988		2002-2003		<i>Diff. Agree</i>
	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Dis-agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Dis-agree</u>		<u>Agree</u>	<u>Dis-agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Dis-agree</u>	
	%	%	%	%		%	%	%	%	
<b>Total</b>	52	42	35	60	-17	51	44	52	45	+1
<b>Sex</b>										
Male	56	38	40	57	-16	47	48	47	50	0
Female	47	46	30	63	-17	54	40	56	40	+2
<b>Race</b>										
White	52	42	34	61	-18	49	46	49	48	0
Non-white	52	40	37	58	-15	63	30	64	33	+1
Black	54	39	41	56	-14	65	28	68	30	+3
Hispanic*	56	35	31	67	-25	56	34	65	33	+9
<b>Race and Sex</b>										
White Men	57	38	40	57	-17	45	50	44	53	-1
White Women	46	47	29	64	-17	52	43	53	43	+1
<b>Age</b>										
Under 30	46	48	25	72	-21	44	51	46	53	+2
30-49	45	50	31	66	-14	44	51	49	47	+5
50-64	59	34	40	55	-19	58	36	52	45	-6
65+	66	24	49	40	-17	68	25	67	28	-1
<b>Sex and Age</b>										
Men under 50	50	45	35	63	-15	41	55	43	54	+2
Women under 50	41	53	24	73	-17	48	47	53	45	+5
Men 50+	68	25	48	47	-20	61	34	53	44	-8
Women 50+	58	33	40	50	-18	65	29	63	32	-2
<b>Education</b>										
College Grad.	32	64	21	77	-11	25	71	28	67	+4
Some College	44	52	30	66	-14	40	55	47	51	+7
High School	55	38	42	52	-13	57	38	63	34	+6
<H.S. Grad.	67	24	49	42	-18	70	23	74	22	+4
<b>Family Income</b>										
Upper income	40	56	22	76	-18	33	63	33	65	0
Upper middle income	50	45	32	64	-18	47	49	47	50	0
Lower middle income	56	37	38	58	-18	58	37	58	39	0
Lower income	60	31	45	48	-15	66	28	68	30	+2

\* The designation Hispanic is unrelated to the white-black categorization.

Question: Now I am going to read you another series of statements on some different topics. For each statement, please tell me if you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly DISagree with it or completely disagree with it.

*Continued on next page...*

*School boards ought to have the right to fire teachers who are known homosexuals*

*Books that contain dangerous ideas should be banned from public school libraries*

	1987-1988		2002-2003			1987-1988		2002-2003		
	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Dis-agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Dis-agree</u>	<i>Diff. Agree</i>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Dis-agree</u>	<i>Diff. Agree</i>		
	%	%	%	%		%	%			
<b>Total</b>	52	42	35	60	-17	51	44	52	45	+1
<b>Region</b>										
East	42	51	26	69	-16	50	45	48	49	-2
Midwest	50	44	36	57	-14	49	47	54	42	+5
South	64	29	45	51	-19	60	35	59	38	-1
West	45	49	26	70	-19	41	53	43	53	+2
<b>Religious Affiliation</b>										
Total White Protestant	59	35	41	53	-18	55	41	55	42	0
- Evangelical	73	23	54	40	-19	68	28	67	28	-1
- Non-Evangelical	50	44	27	68	-23	45	50	41	57	-4
White Catholic	41	52	26	69	-15	46	49	44	53	-2
Secular	34	59	19	78	-15	29	64	31	68	+2
<b>Party ID</b>										
Republican	59	35	41	54	-18	52	44	52	44	0
Democrat	50	43	31	64	-19	55	39	55	42	0
Independent	47	47	32	65	-15	46	50	48	49	+2
<b>Party and Ideology</b>										
Conservative Republican	58	37	46	49	-12	48	48	54	42	+6
Moderate/Liberal Rep.	61	31	33	64	-28	61	35	48	49	-13
Conservative/Mod. Dem.	59	33	36	59	-23	61	32	63	35	+2
Liberal Democrat	39	54	19	78	-20	46	48	38	60	-8
<b>Ideology</b>										
Conservative	58	36	46	49	-12	54	42	60	37	+6
Moderate	55	35	30	66	-25	54	38	48	49	-6
Liberal	39	55	21	77	-18	44	51	41	58	-3
<b>Registered Voter</b>										
Yes	51	43	34	61	-17	51	45	50	47	-1
No	53	39	36	59	-17	51	41	58	39	+7
<b>Marital Status</b>										
Married	55	39	37	58	-18	53	42	52	44	-1
Unmarried	46	46	33	63	-13	49	46	51	45	+2
<b>Labor Union</b>										
Union Household	51	43	31	62	-20	52	43	49	48	-3
Non-Union Household	52	42	35	60	-17	51	44	52	44	+1

## RELIGION

	<i>Prayer is an important part of my daily life</i>			<i>There are clear guidelines about what's good or evil that apply to everyone regardless of their situation</i>		
	<u>1987-1988</u>	<u>2002-2003</u>	<i>Diff.</i>	<u>1987-1988</u>	<u>2002-2003</u>	<i>Diff.</i>
	Completely <u>Agree</u> %	Completely <u>Agree</u> %		Completely <u>Agree</u> %	Completely <u>Agree</u> %	
<b>Total</b>	43	52	+9	35	43	+8
<b>Sex</b>						
Male	33	42	+9	33	41	+8
Female	53	60	+7	38	44	+6
<b>Race</b>						
White	40	48	+8	35	41	+6
Non-white	60	66	+6	39	50	+11
Black	61	73	+12	39	53	+14
Hispanic*	49	55	+6	39	46	+7
<b>Race and Sex</b>						
White Men	30	39	+9	32	38	+6
White Women	50	56	+6	37	43	+6
<b>Age</b>						
Under 30	32	41	+9	30	35	+5
30-49	40	49	+9	32	43	+11
50-64	50	56	+6	42	46	+4
65+	60	67	+7	44	48	+4
<b>Sex and Age</b>						
Men under 50	29	40	+11	30	40	+10
Women under 50	45	53	+8	33	41	+8
Men 50+	42	48	+6	40	42	+2
Women 50+	66	70	+4	45	50	+5
<b>Education</b>						
College Grad.	35	45	+10	22	31	+9
Some College	40	50	+10	34	38	+4
High School	43	53	+10	38	49	+11
<H.S. Grad.	52	62	+10	43	54	+11
<b>Family Income</b>						
Upper income	33	42	+9	27	34	+7
Upper middle income	40	50	+10	34	43	+9
Lower middle income	46	50	+4	39	44	+5
Lower income	54	62	+8	41	52	+11

\* The designation Hispanic is unrelated to the white-black categorization.

Question: Now I am going to read you another series of statements on some different topics. For each statement, please tell me if you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly DISagree with it or completely disagree with it.

*Continued on next page...*

	<i>Prayer is an important part of my daily life</i>			<i>There are clear guidelines about what's good or evil that apply to everyone regardless of their situation</i>		
	<u>1987-1988</u>	<u>2002-2003</u>	<i>Diff.</i>	<u>1987-1988</u>	<u>2002-2003</u>	<i>Diff.</i>
	Completely <u>Agree</u> %	Completely <u>Agree</u> %		Completely <u>Agree</u> %	Completely <u>Agree</u> %	
<b>Total</b>	43	52	+9	35	43	+8
<b>Region</b>						
East	39	43	+4	31	36	+5
Midwest	39	50	+11	34	44	+10
South	53	63	+10	40	50	+10
West	38	43	+5	36	36	0
<b>Religious Affiliation</b>						
Total White Protestant	45	57	+12	39	46	+7
- Evangelical	70	76	+6	52	57	+5
- Non-Evangelical	28	36	+7	30	34	+4
White Catholic	39	45	+6	30	36	+6
Secular	11	16	+5	22	28	+6
<b>Party ID</b>						
Republican	46	57	+11	39	47	+8
Democrat	46	54	+8	36	42	+6
Independent	41	43	+2	35	40	+5
<b>Party and Ideology</b>						
Conservative Republican	46	62	+16	38	53	+15
Moderate/Liberal Rep.	40	48	+8	37	38	+1
Conservative/Mod. Dem.	47	61	+14	38	49	+11
Liberal Democrat	39	38	-1	29	27	-2
<b>Ideology</b>						
Conservative	46	61	+15	37	51	+14
Moderate	40	47	+7	34	40	+6
Liberal	36	38	+2	30	32	+2
<b>Registered Voter</b>						
Yes	45	53	+8	36	43	+7
No	37	48	+11	33	41	+8
<b>Marital Status</b>						
Married	44	54	+10	37	45	+8
Unmarried	41	49	+8	33	40	+7
<b>Labor Union</b>						
Union Household	41	49	+8	37	41	+4
Non-Union Household	44	52	+8	35	43	+8

## **QUESTIONNAIRES**

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS**  
**2003 VALUES UPDATE SURVEY**  
**— FINAL TOPLINE —**  
**July 14 - August 5, 2003 AND SUBSEQUENT TRENDS**  
**N=2,528**

**ON FORM ONE, Q.1 PRECEDES Q.2; ON FORM TWO, Q.2 PRECEDES Q.1**

Q.1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling his job as president? **[IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF DEPENDS PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling his job as president? [IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]**

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
October, 2003	50	42	8=100
September, 2003	55	36	9=100
Mid-August, 2003	56	32	12=100
August, 2003	53	37	10=100
Mid-July, 2003	58	32	10=100
Early July, 2003	60	29	11=100
June, 2003	62	27	11=100
May, 2003	65	27	8=100
April 10-16, 2003	72	22	6=100
April 9, 2003	74	20	6=100
April 2-7, 2003	69	25	6=100
March 28-April 1, 2003	71	23	6=100
March 25-27, 2003	70	24	6=100
March 20-24, 2003	67	26	7=100
March 13-16, 2003	55	34	11=100
February, 2003	54	36	10=100
January, 2003	58	32	10=100
December, 2002	61	28	11=100
Late October, 2002	59	29	12=100
Early October, 2002	61	30	9=100
Mid-September, 2002	67	22	11=100
Early September, 2002	63	26	11=100
Late August, 2002	60	27	13=100
August, 2002	67	21	12=100
Late July, 2002	65	25	10=100
July, 2002	67	21	12=100
June, 2002	70	20	10=100
April, 2002	69	18	13=100
Early April, 2002	74	16	10=100
February, 2002	78	13	9=100
January, 2002	80	11	9=100
Mid-November, 2001	84	9	7=100
Early October, 2001	84	8	8=100
Late September, 2001	86	7	7=100
Mid-September, 2001	80	9	11=100
Early September, 2001	51	34	15=100
August, 2001	50	32	18=100
July, 2001	51	32	17=100
June, 2001	50	33	17=100
May, 2001	53	32	15=100
April, 2001	56	27	17=100
March, 2001	55	25	20=100
February, 2001	53	21	26=100

**ON FORM ONE, Q.1 PRECEDES Q.2; ON FORM TWO, Q.2 PRECEDES Q.1**

Q.2 All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in this country today?

	<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Dissatisfied</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
October, 2003	38	56	6=100
August, 2003	40	53	7=100
April, 2003 <sup>1</sup>	50	41	9=100
January, 2003	44	50	6=100
September, 2002 <sup>2</sup>	41	55	4=100
Late August, 2002	47	44	9=100
May, 2002	44	44	12=100
March, 2002	50	40	10=100
Late September, 2001	57	34	9=100
Early September, 2001	41	53	6=100
June, 2001	43	52	5=100
March, 2001	47	45	8=100
February, 2001	46	43	11=100
January, 2001	55	41	4=100
September, 2000	51	41	8=100
June, 2000	47	45	8=100
April, 2000	48	43	9=100
August, 1999	56	39	5=100
January, 1999	53	41	6=100
November, 1998	46	44	10=100
Early September, 1998	54	42	4=100
Late August, 1998	55	41	4=100
Early August, 1998	50	44	6=100
February, 1998	59	37	4=100
January, 1998	46	50	4=100
September, 1997	45	49	6=100
August, 1997	49	46	5=100
January, 1997	38	58	4=100
July, 1996	29	67	4=100
March, 1996	28	70	2=100
October, 1995	23	73	4=100
June, 1995	25	73	2=100
April, 1995	23	74	3=100
July, 1994	24	73	3=100
March, 1994	24	71	5=100
October, 1993	22	73	5=100
September, 1993	20	75	4=100
May, 1993	22	71	7=100
January, 1993	39	50	11=100
January, 1992	28	68	4=100
November, 1991	34	61	5=100
<i>Late February, 1991 (Gallup)</i>	<i>66</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>3=100</i>
August, 1990	47	48	5=100
May, 1990	41	54	5=100
January, 1989	45	50	5=100
September, 1988 (RVs)	50	45	5=100
May, 1988	41	54	5=100
January, 1988	39	55	6=100

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<sup>1</sup> Asked April 8, 2003 only; N=395.

<sup>2</sup> The September 2002 trend is from a Pew Global Attitudes Project survey, fielded August 19 to September 8, 2002 and released December 4, 2002.

Q.3 How have you been getting most of your news about national and international issues? From television, from newspapers, from radio, from magazines, or from the Internet? [ACCEPT TWO ANSWERS: IF ONLY ONE RESPONSE IS GIVEN, PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL RESPONSE]

	<u>Television</u>	<u>Newspapers</u>	<u>Radio</u>	<u>Magazines</u>	<u>Internet</u>	<u>Other Don't Know/ (VOL)</u>	<u>Refused</u>
October, 2003	80	50	18	4	20	2	1
August, 2003	79	46	15	3	18	2	1
Early July, 2003	79	45	16	5	19	1	*
March, 2003 <sup>3</sup>	89	24	19	*	11	2	*
February, 2003	83	42	19	4	15	3	*
January, 2003	81	44	22	4	17	2	1
January, 2002	82	42	21	3	14	2	*
Mid-September, 2001 <sup>4</sup>	90	11	14	*	5	1	1
Early September, 2001	74	45	18	6	13	1	*
February, 2001	76	40	16	4	10	2	1
October, 1999	80	48	19	5	11	2	*
January, 1999	82	42	18	4	6	2	*
January, 1996	88	61	25	8	--	2	*
September, 1995 <sup>5</sup>	82	63	20	10	--	1	1
January, 1994	83	51	15	10	--	5	1
September, 1993	83	60	17	9	--	3	*
January, 1993	83	52	17	5	--	1	1
Early January, 1991 <sup>6</sup>	82	40	15	4	--	1	*

**IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' TELEVISION AS EITHER 1ST OR 2ND RESPONSE IN Q.3 ASK Q.4 IF NOT, SKIP TO Q.5**

Q.4 Do you get most of your news about national and international issues from [READ, RANDOMIZE ITEMS 2 THRU 4 AND 5 THRU 8 SEPARATELY, AND RANDOMIZE SETS OF ITEMS (LOCAL; NETWORK; CABLE). ACCEPT MULTIPLE ANSWERS BUT DO NOT PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL]

**BASED ON TOTAL:**

<u>Oct 2003</u>		<u>Aug 2003</u>	<u>Early July 2003</u>	<u>Jan 2002</u>
17	Local news programming	17	17	16
12	ABC Network news	12	12	11
8	CBS Network news	10	11	11
13	NBC Network news	15	14	15
20	CNN Cable news	26	27	28
6	MSNBC Cable news	7	9	8
17	The Fox News Cable Channel	18	22	16
--	CNBC Cable news <sup>7</sup>	3	3	4
4	<b>(DO NOT READ)</b> Don't know/Refused	4	3	2

<sup>3</sup> In March 2003, the question was worded "news about the war in Iraq."

<sup>4</sup> In Mid-September 2001, the question was worded "news about the terrorist attacks."

<sup>5</sup> In September 1995, question wording did not include "international."

<sup>6</sup> In Early January 1991 the question asked about "the latest developments in the Persian Gulf."

<sup>7</sup> In October 2003, CNBC Cable news item was not asked due to programming error.

**ASK ALL:**

Q.5 Looking ahead, would you like to see George W. Bush re-elected President in 2004 or would you prefer that a Democratic candidate win the election? **[INTERVIEWER: IF R SAYS “OTHER” OR “SOMEONE ELSE,” PROBE ONCE BEFORE CODING AS OTHER]**

	----- Total -----			----- Registered Voters -----		
	Bush Re-elected	Prefer Democrat	Other/ DK	Bush Re-elected	Prefer Democrat	Other/ DK
October, 2003	40	44	16=100	42	42	16=100 (N=1154)
September, 2003	44	43	13=100	45	43	12=100
August, 2003	40	39	21=100	43	38	19=100 (N=1866)
Mid-July, 2003	45	37	18=100	47	37	16=100
April, 2003	46	35	19=100	48	34	18=100
Late March, 2003 <sup>8</sup> (Gallup)	51	36	13=100	51	36	13=100
Mid-March, 2003 (Gallup)	45	42	13=100	45	42	13=100
February, 1992	40	48	12=100	39	49	12=100
January, 1992	42	42	16=100	41	45	14=100
November, 1991	41	43	16=100	41	44	15=100

Q.6 Over the past year, the budget for military defense and homeland security has been increasing. Which one of the following do you think is the BEST way to pay for these increases? **[READ AND ROTATE]**

		Aug	March	Late	
		2003	2003	Feb	Feb
<u>Sept 2003</u> <sup>9</sup>					
19	Add to the budget deficit	15	20	23	24
18	Reduce spending on domestic programs [OR]	23	16	21	22
41	Postpone or reduce last year's tax cuts	41	40	40	42
7	None (VOL)	4	5	1	2
1	Two of them, or all three (VOL)	1	1	1	*
3	Other (VOL)	4	5	2	1
<u>11</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>12</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>9</u>
100		100	100	100	100

Q.7 There are currently proposals before Congress to include prescription drug coverage in Medicare benefits for seniors. What do you think... will the Medicare legislation go too far, not far enough, or will it be about right, in how much it covers the costs of prescription drugs for seniors?

<u>Aug 2003</u>	
10	Too far
51	Not far enough
21	About right
<u>18</u>	Don't know/Refused [VOL.]
100	

<sup>8</sup> The March 2003 trends are from Gallup and were worded: "If George W. Bush runs for re-election in 2004, in general are you more likely to vote for Bush or for the Democratic Party's candidate for president?"

<sup>9</sup> In September 2003 the question was worded: "[The president's request was for 87 billion dollars.] Which one of the following do you think is the BEST way to pay for the cost of the war and reconstruction?"

Q.8 I'd like to read you a list of some programs and proposals that are being discussed in this country today. For each one, please tell me whether you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose it. The first one is... **[READ AND ROTATE; OBSERVE FORM SPLIT ON ITEMS d,e].**

	-----FAVOR-----			-----OPPOSE-----			Don't know
	Net	Strongly Favor	Favor	Net	Strongly Oppose	Oppose	
a. The U.S. government's policy of holding American citizens without formal charges or trial in cases of suspected terrorism							
August, 2003	55	20	35	38	15	23	7=100
June, 2002	55	--	--	36	--	--	9=100
b. Changing the laws to make it more difficult for a woman to get an abortion							
August, 2003	36	17	19	57	30	27	7=100
May, 1993	32	15	17	60	35	25	8=100
May, 1992	30	--	--	62	--	--	8=100
May, 1990	38	21	17	55	29	26	7=100
May, 1987	41	18	23	51	33	18	8=100
May, 1985	47	--	--	49	--	--	4=100
c. Affirmative action programs designed to help blacks, women and other minorities get better jobs and education							
August, 2003	64	22	42	31	9	22	5=100
May, 2003	63	--	--	29	--	--	8=100
August, 1995	58	--	--	36	--	--	3=100

**ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=1284]:**

d.F1 The U.S. government guaranteeing health insurance for all citizens, even if it means repealing most of the recent tax cuts							
August, 2003	67	28	39	26	8	18	7=100

**ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1244]:**

e.F2 The U.S. government guaranteeing health insurance for all citizens, even if it means raising taxes							
August, 2003	67	23	44	29	10	19	4=100

**ASK ALL:**

Q.9 How should the U.S. determine its policy with regard to the war on terrorism? Should it be based mostly on the national interests of the U.S., or should it strongly take into account the interests of its allies?

		Late Aug <u>2002</u>	Mid- Oct <u>2001</u>	Early Sept <u>2001</u> <sup>10</sup>
<u>Aug 2003</u>				
48	National interests of the U.S.	45	30	38
35	Interests of its allies	35	59	48
9	Both (VOL)	10	7	7
1	Neither (VOL)	1	*	1
<u>7</u>	Don't Know (VOL)	<u>9</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>
100		100	100	100

Q.10 Do you think that using military force against countries that may seriously threaten our country, but have not attacked us, can often be justified, sometimes by justified, rarely be justified, or never be justified?

<u>Aug 2003</u>		May <u>2003</u>
20	Often Justified	22
43	Sometimes Justified	45
19	Rarely justified	17
13	Never justified	13
<u>5</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>3</u>
100		100

Q.11 Now I am going to read you a series of statements that will help us understand how you feel about a number of things. For each statement, please tell me if you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly DISagree with it or completely disagree with it. The first one is... **(READ ITEMS, IN ORDER. DO NOT ROTATE. OBSERVE FORM SPLITS WHERE NOTED)**

	-----AGREE-----			-----DISAGREE----			Don't Know
	Net	Comp- letely	Mostly	Net	Comp- letely	Mostly	
a. People like me don't have any say about what the government does							
August, 2003	47	17	30	51	16	35	2=100
August, 2002	46	16	30	51	18	33	3=100
Late September, 1999	47	16	31	52	17	35	1=100
November, 1997	46	15	31	53	18	35	1=100
July, 1994	54	22	32	46	15	31	*=100
May, 1993	52	15	37	47	16	31	1=100
June, 1992	50	14	36	49	17	32	1=100
Nov, 1991	50	22	28	49	21	28	1=100
May, 1990	57	19	38	42	11	31	1=100
Feb, 1989	62	22	40	37	8	29	1=100
May, 1988	55	16	39	44	11	33	1=100
May, 1987	52	14	38	46	12	34	2=100

<sup>10</sup> In Early September 2001, the question was worded: "All in all, how should the U.S. determine its foreign policy? Should it be based mostly on the national interests of the U.S., or should it strongly take into account the interests of its allies?"

**Q.11 CONTINUED...**

		-----AGREE-----			-----DISAGREE-----			Don't
		Net	Comp- letely	Mostly	Net	Comp- letely	Mostly	Know
b.	Generally speaking, elected officials in Washington lose touch with the people pretty quickly							
	August, 2003	75	33	42	22	4	18	3=100
	August, 2002	74	28	46	22	4	18	4=100
	Late September, 1999	77	28	49	21	5	16	2=100
	November, 1997	76	32	44	23	5	18	1=100
	July, 1994	83	39	44	16	3	13	1=100
	May, 1993	82	29	53	16	3	13	2=100
	June, 1992	84	35	49	15	3	12	1=100
	Nov, 1991	84	41	43	15	4	11	1=100
	May, 1990	78	30	48	19	2	17	3=100
	Feb, 1989	80	30	50	18	2	16	2=100
	May, 1988	76	26	50	22	3	19	2=100
	May, 1987	73	22	51	24	3	21	3=100
c.	Most elected officials care what people like me think							
	August, 2003	39	6	33	59	20	39	2=100
	August, 2002	44	7	37	52	17	35	4=100
	Late September, 1999	39	5	34	59	18	41	2=100
	November, 1997	41	6	35	57	19	38	2=100
	July, 1994	33	4	29	66	25	41	1=100
	May, 1993	40	5	35	58	16	42	2=100
	June, 1992	36	5	31	62	16	46	2=100
	Nov, 1991	36	7	29	62	23	39	2=100
	May, 1990	44	7	37	53	14	39	3=100
	Feb, 1989	44	5	39	54	12	42	2=100
	May, 1988	47	5	42	51	11	40	2=100
	May, 1987	47	5	42	49	9	40	4=100
d.	Voting gives people like me some say about how government runs things							
	August, 2003	73	27	46	24	8	16	3=100
	August, 2002	72	28	44	25	9	16	3=100
	Late September, 1999	73	27	46	24	7	17	3=100
	November, 1997	67	27	40	32	9	23	1=100
	July, 1994	66	24	42	32	11	21	2=100
	Nov, 1991	74	32	42	24	9	15	2=100
	May, 1990	73	23	50	25	7	18	2=100
	Feb, 1989	73	25	48	25	5	20	2=100
	May, 1988	75	26	49	23	5	18	2=100
	May, 1987	78	23	55	19	4	15	3=100

**Q.11 CONTINUED...**

		-----AGREE-----			-----DISAGREE----			Don't
		Net	Comp- letely	Mostly	Net	Comp- letely	Mostly	Know
e.	Success in life is pretty much determined by forces outside our control							
	August, 2003	30	11	19	67	32	35	3=100
	August, 2002	30	10	20	66	30	36	4=100
	Late September, 1999	32	11	21	67	29	38	1=100
	November, 1997	33	10	23	65	28	37	2=100
	July, 1994	39	14	25	59	26	33	2=100
	May, 1993	41	11	30	57	16	41	2=100
	June, 1992	38	11	27	59	21	38	3=100
	May, 1990	40	11	29	57	18	39	3=100
	May, 1988	41	13	28	56	19	37	3=100
	May, 1987	38	8	30	57	16	41	5=100
f.	Hard work offers little guarantee of success							
	August, 2003	30	13	17	68	32	36	2=100
	August, 2002	30	12	18	68	33	35	2=100
	Late September, 1999	29	11	18	69	33	36	2=100
	November, 1997	33	13	20	66	32	34	1=100
	July, 1994	39	15	24	60	28	32	1=100
	June, 1992	45	15	30	52	22	30	3=100
	Nov, 1991	44	20	24	54	25	29	2=100
	May, 1990	36	10	26	63	23	40	1=100
	Feb, 1989	41	14	27	57	21	36	2=100
	May, 1988	32	11	21	66	26	40	1=100
	May, 1987	29	7	22	68	24	44	3=100
<b>ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=1284]:</b>								
g.F1	I admire people who get rich by working hard							
	August, 2003	90	54	36	9	3	6	1=100
	August, 2002	89	53	36	9	3	6	2=100
	Late September, 1999	87	52	35	11	5	6	2=100
	November, 1997	89	52	37	10	3	7	1=100
	July, 1994	88	51	37	11	3	8	1=100
	June, 1992	89	47	42	10	3	7	1=100
h.F1	The strength of this country today is mostly based on the success of American business							
	August, 2003	75	26	49	21	6	15	4=100
	August, 2002	72	22	50	24	6	18	4=100
	February, 2002	76	25	51	20	4	16	4=100
	Late September, 1999	76	23	53	19	5	14	5=100
	November, 1997	76	22	54	21	5	16	3=100
	July, 1994	78	26	52	20	5	15	2=100
	June, 1992	78	24	54	20	5	15	2=100
	Nov, 1991	76	29	47	21	6	15	3=100
	May, 1990	77	20	57	17	3	14	6=100
	Feb, 1989	77	23	54	18	4	14	5=100
	May, 1988	79	25	54	17	3	14	4=100
	May, 1987	76	16	60	19	3	16	5=100

**Q.11 CONTINUED...**

		-----AGREE-----			-----DISAGREE-----			Don't
		Net	Comp- letely	Mostly	Net	Comp- letely	Mostly	Know
i.F1	Government regulation of business usually does more harm than good							
	August, 2003	53	15	38	39	9	30	8=100
	August, 2002	48	16	32	43	8	35	9=100
	Late September, 1999	55	19	36	37	6	31	8=100
	November, 1997	57	20	37	37	5	32	6=100
	July, 1994	63	27	36	33	5	28	4=100
	June, 1992	61	19	42	33	5	28	6=100
	May, 1990	58	16	42	33	4	29	9=100
	May, 1988	57	17	40	35	4	31	8=100
	May, 1987	55	12	43	34	4	30	11=100
j.F1	The federal government should run ONLY those things that cannot be run at the local level							
	August, 2003	71	29	42	24	7	17	5=100
	August, 2002	69	29	40	26	6	20	5=100
	Late September, 1999	74	32	42	22	5	17	4=100
	November, 1997	74	33	41	24	7	17	2=100
	July, 1994	78	38	40	19	5	14	3=100
	May, 1990	77	26	51	18	2	16	5=100
	May, 1987	75	22	53	19	3	16	6=100
k.F1	When something is run by the government, it is usually inefficient and wasteful							
	August, 2003	57	23	34	39	8	31	4=100
	August, 2002	53	20	33	43	8	35	4=100
	Mid-November, 2001	53	15	38	43	10	33	4=100
	Late September, 1999	59	23	36	38	7	31	3=100
	November, 1997	64	27	37	34	7	27	2=100
	July, 1994	69	33	36	30	5	25	1=100
	May, 1993	69	24	45	29	5	24	2=100
	June, 1992	70	29	41	28	4	24	2=100
	Nov, 1991	68	32	36	30	7	23	2=100
	May, 1990	67	22	45	29	4	25	4=100
	Feb, 1989	65	26	39	31	5	26	4=100
	May, 1988	66	24	42	29	3	26	5=100
	May, 1987	63	19	44	31	4	27	6=100

**Q.11 CONTINUED...**

		-----AGREE-----			-----DISAGREE-----			
		Net	Comp- letely	Mostly	Net	Comp- letely	Mostly	Don't Know
I.F1	The Federal Government controls too much of our daily lives							
	August, 2003	56	24	32	42	8	34	2=100
	August, 2002	54	25	29	43	8	35	3=100
	Mid-November, 2001	53	20	33	45	10	35	2=100
	Late September, 1999	60	30	30	38	6	32	2=100
	November, 1997	64	29	35	35	6	29	1=100
	July, 1994	69	37	32	30	5	25	1=100
	May, 1993	65	26	39	34	4	30	1=100
	June, 1992	64	28	36	34	5	29	2=100
	Nov, 1991	63	32	31	35	7	28	2=100
	May, 1990	62	22	40	34	5	29	4=100
	Feb, 1989	57	22	35	43	9	34	3=100
	May, 1988	61	25	36	36	5	31	3=100
	May, 1987	58	18	40	37	5	32	5=100

**ASK ALL:**

m.	The government is really run for the benefit of all the people							
	August, 2003	52	13	39	46	15	31	2=100
	August, 2002	55	13	42	43	14	29	2=100
	Late September, 1999	49	11	38	48	14	34	3=100
	November, 1997	48	9	39	50	15	35	2=100
	July, 1994	42	10	32	57	19	38	1=100
	June, 1992	44	8	36	54	17	37	2=100
	Nov, 1991	48	11	37	50	16	34	2=100
	May, 1990	52	10	42	45	10	35	3=100
	Feb, 1989	57	12	45	41	10	31	2=100
	May, 1988	53	11	42	44	10	34	3=100
	May, 1987	57	9	48	39	8	31	4=100

**ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1244]:**

n.F2	Business corporations generally strike a fair balance between making profits and serving the public interest							
	August, 2003	38	6	32	57	22	35	5=100
	August, 2002	41	7	34	55	17	38	4=100
	February, 2002	40	7	33	54	16	38	6=100
	Late September, 1999	45	7	38	50	13	37	5=100
	November, 1997	45	7	38	52	12	40	3=100
	July, 1994	45	7	38	53	15	38	2=100
	June, 1992	40	5	35	56	14	42	4=100
	Nov, 1991	40	8	32	57	19	38	3=100
	May, 1990	43	5	38	50	13	37	7=100
	Feb, 1989	38	5	33	56	12	44	6=100
	May, 1988	42	6	36	52	13	39	6=100
	May, 1987	43	4	39	48	10	38	9=100

Q.11 CONTINUED...

		-----AGREE-----			-----DISAGREE----			Don't
		Net	Comp- letely	Mostly	Net	Comp- letely	Mostly	Know
o.F2	There is too much power concentrated in the hands of a few big companies							
	August, 2003	77	40	37	20	5	15	3=100
	August, 2002	77	33	44	20	4	16	3=100
	Late September, 1999	74	31	43	23	3	20	3=100
	November, 1997	73	31	42	25	5	20	2=100
	July, 1994	73	31	42	26	4	22	1=100
	May, 1993	72	26	46	25	3	22	3=100
	June, 1992	77	30	47	21	3	18	2=100
	Nov, 1991	80	41	39	17	3	14	3=100
	May, 1990	77	29	48	18	3	15	5=100
	Feb, 1989	84	35	49	13	1	12	3=100
	May, 1988	79	35	44	17	2	15	4=100
	May, 1987	77	27	50	18	2	16	5=100
p.F2	Business corporations make too much profit							
	August, 2003	62	29	33	32	8	24	6=100
	August, 2002	58	23	35	36	7	29	6=100
	Late September, 1999	56	23	33	39	7	32	5=100
	November, 1997	58	21	37	38	7	31	4=100
	July, 1994	61	22	39	35	7	28	4=100
	May, 1993	63	22	41	32	5	27	5=100
	June, 1992	60	21	39	34	5	29	6=100
	Nov, 1991	65	29	36	30	7	23	5=100
	May, 1990	63	23	40	30	6	24	7=100
	Feb, 1989	72	27	45	23	3	20	5=100
	May, 1988	65	25	40	29	4	25	6=100
	May, 1987	65	21	44	28	4	24	7=100
q.F2	It is time for Washington politicians to step aside and make room for new leaders							
	August, 2003	63	27	36	30	5	25	7=100
	August, 2002	58	22	36	35	6	29	7=100
	Late September, 1999	73	29	44	22	3	19	5=100
	November, 1997	68	27	41	27	4	23	5=100
	July, 1994	79	34	45	18	4	14	3=100
	June, 1992	84	38	46	14	2	12	2=100
	Nov, 1991	77	32	45	20	4	16	3=100
	May, 1990	61	21	40	30	4	26	9=100
	Feb, 1989	58	20	38	34	4	30	8=100
	May, 1988	68	26	42	25	3	22	7=100
	May, 1987	62	16	46	29	3	26	9=100

Q.11 CONTINUED...

		-----AGREE-----			-----DISAGREE-----			Don't
		Net	Comp- letely	Mostly	Net	Comp- letely	Mostly	Know
r.F2	Dealing with a federal government agency is often not worth the trouble							
	August, 2003	55	19	36	37	7	30	8=100
	Late September, 1999	59	21	38	35	6	29	6=100
	November, 1997	65	21	44	31	4	27	4=100
	July, 1994	69	26	43	28	6	22	3=100
	June, 1992	64	21	43	31	4	27	5=100
	May, 1990	65	21	44	28	4	24	7=100
	May, 1988	63	20	43	31	4	27	6=100
	May, 1987	58	14	44	32	3	29	10=100
s.F2	Many people today think they can get ahead without working hard and making sacrifices							
	August, 2003	60	20	40	38	15	23	2=100
	Late September, 1999	63	22	41	36	12	24	1=100
	November, 1997	62	25	37	36	12	24	2=100
	July, 1994	65	27	38	34	12	22	1=100
	June, 1992	63	24	39	35	13	22	2=100
t.F2	As Americans we can always find a way to solve our problems and get what we want							
	August, 2003	66	17	49	30	9	21	4=100
	August, 2002	74	21	53	23	6	17	3=100
	Late September, 1999	70	15	55	27	7	20	3=100
	November, 1997	71	19	52	27	7	20	2=100
	July, 1994	68	20	48	30	6	24	2=100
	May, 1993	59	12	47	38	7	31	3=100
	June, 1992	66	16	50	32	8	24	2=100
	Nov, 1991	68	19	49	30	8	22	2=100
	May, 1990	65	13	52	30	6	24	5=100
	Feb, 1989	69	14	55	28	5	23	3=100
	May, 1988	66	15	51	30	7	23	4=100
	May, 1987	68	12	56	28	4	24	4=100
u.F2	I don't believe that there are any real limits to growth in this country today							
	August, 2003	58	18	40	37	11	26	5=100
	August, 2002	65	22	43	31	8	23	4=100
	Late September, 1999	62	20	42	34	8	26	4=100
	November, 1997	56	17	39	41	10	31	3=100
	July, 1994	62	22	40	36	8	28	2=100
	May, 1993	56	14	42	41	7	34	3=100
	June, 1992	58	19	39	38	8	30	4=100
	Nov, 1991	62	24	38	35	9	26	3=100
	May, 1990	65	19	46	30	5	25	5=100
	Feb, 1989	68	22	46	28	5	23	4=100
	May, 1988	64	19	45	32	6	26	4=100
	May, 1987	67	17	50	28	4	24	5=100

**Q.11 CONTINUED...**

		-----AGREE-----			-----DISAGREE----			Don't
		Net	Comp- letely	Mostly	Net	Comp- letely	Mostly	Know
v.F2	We need new people in Washington even if they are not as effective as experienced politicians							
	August, 2003	44	14	30	52	15	37	4=100
	August, 2002	46	14	32	49	14	35	5=100
	Late September, 1999	49	15	34	47	13	34	4=100
	November, 1997	50	16	34	47	14	33	3=100
	July, 1994	60	20	40	38	10	28	2=100
	June, 1992	56	20	36	41	11	30	3=100
	May, 1990	47	13	34	47	10	37	6=100
	May, 1988	51	16	35	43	10	33	6=100
	May, 1987	44	9	35	48	10	38	8=100

Item aa.F2 is presented with item c.F1 in Q.28  
 Item bb.F2 is presented with item j.F1 in Q.28  
 Item cc.F2 is presented with item m.F1 in Q.28

Item dd.F2 is presented with item v.F1 in Q.28  
 Item ee.F1 is presented with item s.F2 in Q.29  
 Items ff.F1 and gg.F1 are presented with items h.F2 and i.F2 in Q.29

**ASK ALL:**

hh.	Occasional acts of terrorism in the U.S. will be part of life in the future							
	August, 2003	74	25	49	22	7	15	4=100

**NO QUESTIONS 12 OR 13**

On a different subject...

Q.14 In recent years, President Bush and Congress have made two major cuts in federal income tax rates. Do you approve or disapprove of these tax cuts?

Aug 2003

54	Approve
37	Disapprove
<u>9</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100	

Q.15 Do you think the U.S. made the right decision or the wrong decision in using military force against Iraq?

		Early			----- March 2003 -----					Late		
		Sept 2003	Aug 2003	July 2003	---- April ----						Jan 1991	
					10-16	8-9	2-7	28-4/1	25-27	23-24	20-22	
<u>Oct 2003</u>	60	63	63	67	74	74	72	69	74	74	71	77
	33	31	30	24	19	19	20	25	21	21	22	15
	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>9</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.16 How well is the U.S. military effort in Iraq going? [READ]

		Early			--- March 2003 ---						
		Sept 2003	Aug 2003	July 2003	---- April ----						
					10-16	8-9	2-7	25-4/1	23-24	20-22	
<u>Oct 2003</u>	16	15	19	23	61	60	55	39	45	65	
	44	47	43	52	32	32	37	46	41	25	
	25	26	24	16	3	3	3	8	6	2	
	11	9	11	5	1	3	2	2	2	1	
	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	

**Q.17 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE**

**ASK ALL:**

Q.18 In politics TODAY, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or Independent?

	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>	(VOL) No Preference	(VOL) Other Party	<u>Don't know</u>
<b>2003 Trend</b>						
October, 2003	29	33	30	5	1	2=100
September, 2003	29	33	31	4	*	3=100
Mid-August, 2003	32	30	25	8	*	5=100
August, 2003	27	31	36	4	*	2=100
Mid-July, 2003	29	31	32	4	1	3=100
Early July, 2003	30	32	32	4	*	2=100
June, 2003	32	31	30	4	1	2=100
May, 2003	29	32	31	4	1	3=100
April 8-16, 2003	29	30	34	5	*	2=100
March 20-April 7, 2003	33	31	29	4	*	3=100
March 13-16, 2003	30	32	31	5	*	2=100
February, 2003	30	33	31	5	*	1=100
January, 2003	30	32	30	6	*	2=100
<b>2000-2003 Key Periods</b>						
Iraq war and beyond (3/03-10/03)	30	31	31	4	1	3=100
Post-9-11 (9/01 - 3/03)	30	31	30	5	1	3=100
Post-election (11/00 - 9/01)	27	34	29	6	*	4=100
Election period (1/00 - 11/00)	28	33	31	5	*	3=100
<b>Yearly Totals</b>						
2003 (to date)	30	31	31	5	*	3=100
2002	30	31	30	5	1	3=100
2001	29	34	29	5	*	3=100
2001 Post-Sept 11	31	32	28	5	1	3=100
2001 Pre-Sept 11	28	35	30	5	*	2=100
2000	28	33	29	6	*	4=100
1999	27	33	34	4	*	2=100
1998	28	33	32	5	*	2=100
1997	28	33	32	4	1	2=100
				No Preference/ <u>Other/DK</u>		
1996	29	33	33	5=100		
1995	32	30	34	4=100		
1994	30	32	34	4=100		
1993	27	34	34	5=100		
1992	28	33	35	4=100		
1991	31	32	33	4=100		
1990	31	33	30	6=100		
				Independent/ <u>No Pref/Oth/DK</u>		
1989	33	33	34=100			
1987	26	35	39=100			

**IF ANSWERED REPUBLICAN, ASK [N=634]:**

Q.19 Do you consider yourself a STRONG Republican, or NOT a strong Republican?

		Late													
Aug 2003		Sept 2000	Sept 1999	Aug 1999	Nov 1997	Oct 1995	April 1995	Oct 1994	July 1994	June 1992	May 1990	Feb 1989	May 1988	Jan 1988	May 1987
14	Strong	14	10	11	11	11	15	16	13	11	13	15	13	12	11
13	Not strong	13	14	14	14	19	15	15	16	17	15	16	15	15	14
27%	27%	24%	25%	25%	30%	30%	31%	29%	28%	28%	31%	28%	27%	25%	

**IF ANSWERED DEMOCRAT, ASK [N=897]:**

Q.20 Do you consider yourself a STRONG Democrat, or NOT a strong Democrat?

		Late													
Aug 2003		Sept 2000	Sept 1999	Aug 1999	Nov 1997	Oct 1995	April 1995	Oct 1994	July 1994	June 1992	May 1990	Feb 1989	May 1988	Jan 1988	May 1987
15	Strong	19	15	15	14	14	14	18	15	14	16	17	19	19	18
16	Not strong	15	16	18	18	16	15	14	18	18	17	21	19	20	19
31%		34%	31%	33%	32%	30%	29%	32%	33%	32%	33%	38%	38%	39%	37%

**IF ANSWERED INDEPENDENT/NO PREFERENCE/OTHER/DON'T KNOW (Q18=3,4,5,9), ASK [N=997]:**

Q.21 As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to the Republican Party or the Democratic Party?

	(VOL.)		
	Republican	Democrat	Other/DK/Ref.
August, 2003	29	39	32=100
August, 2002	32	34	34=100
September, 2000	28	33	39=100
Late September, 1999	31	34	35=100
August, 1999	34	36	30=100

**ASK REPUBLICANS AND REPUBLICAN LEANERS ONLY (Q.18=1 OR Q.21=1) [N=928]:**

Q.22 How good a job is the Republican Party doing these days in standing up for its traditional positions on such things as reducing the size of government, cutting taxes and promoting conservative social values — would you say the Party is doing an excellent job, a good job, only a fair job or a poor job?

<u>Aug 2003</u>		<i>Rep/ Lean Rep</i> <u>May 2002</u>	<i>Rep/ Lean Rep</i> <u>May 2001</u>	<i>Rep/ Lean Rep (RV)</i> <u>Sept 2000</u>
6	Excellent	6	10	6
51	Good	49	50	43
37	Only fair	38	32	44
5	Poor	5	5	5
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>
100		100	100	100

**ASK DEMOCRATS AND DEMOCRATIC LEANERS ONLY (Q.18=2 OR Q.21=2) [N=1298]:**

Q.23 How good a job is the Democratic Party doing these days in standing up for its traditional positions on such things as protecting the interests of minorities, helping the poor and needy, and representing working people — would you say the Party is doing an excellent job, a good job, only a fair job or a poor job?

<u>Aug 2003</u>		<i>Dem/ Lean Dem</i> <u>May 2002</u>	<i>Dem/ Lean Dem</i> <u>May 2001</u>	<i>Dem/ Lean Dem (RV)</i> <u>Sept 2000</u>
5	Excellent	5	8	11
33	Good	39	39	52
51	Only fair	43	40	32
9	Poor	10	7	4
<u>2</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>1</u>
100		100	100	100

**ASK ALL:**

Q.24 In the 2000 presidential election, did things come up which kept you from voting, or did you happen to vote? [IF VOTED, ASK:] Did you vote for Gore, Bush, Nader or Buchanan?

<u>Aug 2003</u>		<u>Aug 2002</u>
26	Yes, Gore	28
34	Yes, Bush	37
2	Yes, Nader	2
*	Yes, Buchanan	*
*	Yes, other candidate (VOL.)	1
2	Yes, don't remember which candidate (VOL.)	1
32	No, didn't vote/Too young (VOL.)	27
1	Don't remember if voted (VOL.)	1
<u>3</u>	Refused (VOL.)	<u>3</u>
100		100

Q.25 How often would you say you vote... always, nearly always, part of the time or seldom?

	<u>Always</u>	<u>Nearly Always</u>	<u>Part of The time</u>	<u>Seldom</u>	<u>Never Vote</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>DK/Ref.</u>
					(VOL.)	(VOL.)	
August, 2003	41	27	13	12	6	1	*=100
June, 2003	36	29	14	11	8	1	1=100
Early September, 2002	47	23	14	10	6	*	*=100
August, 2002	42	29	12	12	4	1	*=100
June, 2000	46	24	11	11	7	1	*=100
Late September, 1999	28	41	15	9	5	1	1=100
August, 1999	41	27	14	10	7	1	*=100
Early September, 1998	43	29	13	11	--	3	1=100
Late August, 1998	38	30	16	14	6	*	*=100
June, 1998	40	29	15	12	--	4	*=100
November, 1997	33	38	15	9	5	*	*=100
October, 1997	51	23	11	10	5	*	*=100
June, 1997	42	25	12	13	6	1	1=100
June, 1996	41	30	12	12	4	1	*=100
February, 1996	32	34	15	11	6	1	1=100
October, 1995	41	32	12	11	3	*	1=100
April, 1995	42	29	12	11	6	*	*=100
November, 1994	43	24	11	13	8	1	*=100
October, 1994	43	28	13	10	5	1	*=100
July, 1994	40	30	14	11	5	*	*=100
June, 1992	47	26	10	11	5	1	*=100
May, 1992	41	32	13	11	3	*	*=100
November, 1991	38	37	13	9	3	0	*=100
May, 1990	33	35	12	10	8	1	1=100
February, 1989	45	30	10	8	6	1	*=100
January, 1988	39	33	12	8	6	1	1=100
May, 1987	34	37	11	6	9	2	1=100

Q.26 Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs... **(READ. IN ORDER)**

	<u>Most of The Time</u>	<u>Some of the Time</u>	<u>Only Now and Then</u>	<u>Hardly at All</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>
August, 2003	48	33	12	6	1=100
November, 2002	49	27	14	9	1=100
August, 2002	54	30	11	5	*=100
March, 2001	49	27	13	10	1=100
Early November, 2000 (RVs)	51	32	12	5	*=100
September, 2000 (RVs)	51	34	10	4	1=100
June, 2000	38	32	19	11	*=100
Late September, 1999	39	32	20	9	*=100
August, 1999	40	35	17	8	*=100
November, 1998	46	27	14	13	*=100
Late October, 1998 (RVs)	57	29	10	4	*=100
Early October, 1998 (RVs)	51	33	11	5	*=100
May, 1988	37	37	17	6	3=100

**Q.26 CONTINUED...**

	<u>Most of The Time</u>	<u>Some of the Time</u>	<u>Only Now and Then</u>	<u>Hardly at All</u>	<b>(VOL.) DK/Ref</b>
January, 1988	37	35	18	8	2=100
November, 1987	49	32	14	4	1=100
May, 1987	41	35	15	7	2=100
July, 1985	36	33	18	12	1=100
Early September, 1998	45	34	15	6	*=100
June, 1998	36	34	21	9	*=100
November, 1997	41	36	16	7	*=100
November, 1996 (RVs)	52	32	12	4	*=100
October, 1996 (RVs)	43	37	13	6	1=100
June, 1996	41	34	17	8	*=100
October, 1995	46	35	14	5	*=100
April, 1995	43	35	16	6	*=100
November, 1994	49	30	13	7	1=100
October, 1994	45	35	14	6	*=100
July, 1994	46	33	15	6	*=100
May, 1990	39	34	18	9	*=100
February, 1989	47	34	14	4	1=100
October, 1988	52	33	11	4	*=100
September, 1988	58	32	8	2	*=100
May, 1988	37	37	17	6	3=100
January, 1988	37	35	18	8	2=100
November, 1987	49	32	14	4	1=100
May, 1987	41	35	15	7	2=100
July, 1985	36	33	18	12	1=100

Q.27 Next, I'm going to read you a list of some people who have been in the news lately. Not everyone will have heard of them. For each one that I name, please tell me whether or not you have heard of this person. (First,) **(INSERT NAME; RANDOMIZE NAMES)**, have you heard of this person or not? **(IF HAVE HEARD, ASK)**  
 How much of a chance is there that you would vote for **(INSERT NAME)** if (he/she) is a candidate for president in 2004 — is there a good chance, some chance, or no chance? Have you heard of **(NEXT NAME)** or not?

**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [SEPTEMBER 2003 N=1174; AUGUST 2003 N=1866 ]:**

	<u>Have Heard</u>	<u>Have not Heard</u>	<u>DK/ Ref.</u>	<i>Based on Those Who Have Heard</i>				<u>Ref.</u>	<u>(N)</u>
				<u>Good Chance</u>	<u>Som Chance</u>	<u>No Chance</u>	<u>DK/ Ref.</u>		
a. George W. Bush									
September, 2003	99	0	1=100	44	20	35	1=100	<b>(1169)</b>	
August, 2003	99	*	1=100	43	17	38	2=100	<b>(1853)</b>	
Early July, 2003	99	*	1=100	44	19	35	2=100		
August, 1999	98	2	*=100	40	30	27	3=100		
June, 1999	96	4	*=100	34	35	27	4=100		
May, 1999	95	4	1=100	34	34	28	4=100		
February, 1999	95	5	*=100	32	36	27	5=100		

**Q.27 CONTINUED...**

		<i>Based on Those Who Have Heard</i>								
		Have	Have not	DK/	Good	Some	No	DK/	Ref.	(N)
		<u>Heard</u>	<u>Heard</u>	<u>Ref.</u>	<u>Chance</u>	<u>Chance</u>	<u>Chance</u>	<u>Chance</u>		
b.	John Kerry									
	September, 2003	63	35	2=100	16	33	44	7=100		<b>(800)</b>
	August, 2003	62	37	1=100	13	34	43	10=100		<b>(1150)</b>
	Early July, 2003	58	42	*=100	13	29	46	12=100		
	May, 1999 <sup>11</sup>	52	46	2=100	8	37	44	11=100		
	February, 1999	38	61	1=100	8	37	48	7=100		
c.	Dick Gephardt									
	September, 2003	74	25	1=100	13	34	48	5=100		<b>(936)</b>
	August, 2003	77	22	1=100	12	33	46	9=100		<b>(1422)</b>
	Early July, 2003	75	25	*=100	9	36	46	9=100		
d.	Howard Dean									
	September, 2003	56	43	1=100	17	29	46	8=100		<b>(719)</b>
	August, 2003	46	54	*=100	13	28	46	13=100		<b>(866)</b>
	Early July, 2003	37	63	*=100	9	23	57	11=100		
e.	John Edwards									
	September, 2003	46	53	1=100	10	33	49	8=100		<b>(579)</b>
	August, 2003	45	54	1=100	8	33	47	12=100		<b>(877)</b>
	Early July, 2003	39	60	1=100	7	29	53	11=100		
f.	Carol Moseley Braun									
	September, 2003	44	55	1=100	10	21	60	9=100		<b>(546)</b>
	August, 2003	41	59	*=100	9	24	57	10=100		<b>(799)</b>
	Early July, 2003	36	64	*=100	10	19	63	8=100		
g.	Dennis Kucinich									
	September, 2003	21	78	1=100	6	22	61	11=100		<b>(288)</b>
	August, 2003	23	77	*=100	8	20	57	15=100		<b>(440)</b>
	Early July, 2003	18	82	*=100	7	20	60	13=100		
h.	Bob Graham									
	September, 2003	55	44	1=100	9	26	57	8=100		<b>(689)</b>
	August, 2003	60	39	1=100	9	29	51	11=100		<b>(1137)</b>
	Early July, 2003	56	43	1=100	8	25	57	10=100		
i.	Joe Lieberman									
	September, 2003	85	14	1=100	17	33	44	6=100		<b>(1031)</b>
	August, 2003	86	13	1=100	13	37	43	7=100		<b>(1590)</b>
	Early July, 2003	83	16	1=100	13	32	47	8=100		
j.	Al Sharpton									
	September, 2003	71	28	1=100	5	16	73	6=100		<b>(869)</b>
	August, 2003	68	32	*=100	5	14	75	6=100		<b>(1367)</b>
	Early July, 2003	66	34	*=100	5	12	77	6=100		

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<sup>11</sup> In May, 1999 he was identified as "Senator John Kerry of Massachusetts."

**ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=1284]:**

Q.28F1 Now I am going to read you another series of statements on some different topics. For each statement, please tell me if you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly DISagree with it or completely disagree with it. The first one is... **[READ ITEMS, IN ORDER. DO NOT ROTATE. OBSERVE FROM SPLIT ON ITEM S. (1/4 SAMPLE EACH).]**

		-----AGREE-----			----DISAGREE----			Don't
		<u>Net</u>	<u>Comp- letely</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Comp- letely</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Know</u>
a.F1	There needs to be stricter laws and regulations to protect the environment							
	August, 2003	86	46	40	13	3	10	1=100
	August, 2002	83	42	41	16	4	12	1=100
	Late September, 1999	83	41	42	16	4	12	1=100
	November, 1997	81	41	40	18	5	13	1=100
	July, 1994	82	46	36	17	4	13	1=100
	June, 1992	90	55	35	9	2	7	1=100
b.F1	People should be willing to pay higher prices in order to protect the environment							
	August, 2003	65	22	43	34	10	24	1=100
	August, 2002	62	18	44	36	12	24	2=100
	Late September, 1999	56	15	41	42	13	29	2=100
	November, 1997	55	17	38	43	14	29	2=100
	July, 1994	57	17	40	42	14	28	1=100
	May, 1993	57	12	45	41	10	31	2=100
	June, 1992	67	26	41	32	10	22	1=100
c.F1/ aa.F2	Our society should do what is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed							
	August, 2003	91	53	38	8	2	6	1=100
	August, 2002	89	52	37	9	3	6	2=100
	Late September, 1999	90	50	40	9	2	7	1=100
	November, 1997	90	52	38	9	3	6	1=100
	July, 1994	91	52	39	8	2	6	1=100
	June, 1992	93	59	34	6	2	4	1=100
	Nov, 1991	94	64	30	5	2	3	1=100
	May, 1990	91	45	46	7	1	6	2=100
	Feb, 1989	91	49	42	8	2	6	1=100
	May, 1988	91	48	43	7	1	6	2=100
	May, 1987	90	37	53	8	1	7	2=100
d.F1	We have gone too far in pushing equal rights in this country							
	August, 2003	43	17	26	54	26	28	3=100
	August, 2002	49	20	29	48	21	27	3=100
	Late September, 1999	48	20	28	50	21	29	2=100
	November, 1997	45	17	28	53	21	32	2=100
	July, 1994	48	21	27	50	22	28	2=100
	May, 1993	43	14	29	54	20	34	3=100
	June, 1992	40	16	24	57	27	30	3=100
	Nov, 1991	38	16	22	59	27	32	3=100
	May, 1990	43	15	28	53	21	32	4=100

**Q.28F1 CONTINUED...**

		-----AGREE-----			----DISAGREE----			
		Comp-			Comp-			Don't
		<u>Net</u>	<u>letely</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>letely</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Know</u>
	Feb, 1989	41	17	24	56	22	34	3=100
	May, 1988	45	17	28	52	20	32	3=100
	May, 1987	42	11	31	53	16	37	5=100
e.F1	It is the responsibility of the government to take care of people who can't take care of themselves							
	August, 2003	66	25	41	31	11	20	3=100
	August, 2002	61	22	39	35	11	24	4=100
	Late September, 1999	62	20	42	35	14	21	3=100
	November, 1997	61	23	38	37	11	26	2=100
	July, 1994	57	20	37	41	15	26	2=100
	May, 1993	62	19	43	35	9	26	3=100
	June, 1992	69	28	41	28	8	20	3=100
	May, 1990	67	23	44	29	6	23	4=100
	May, 1988	74	26	48	23	6	17	3=100
	May, 1987	71	21	50	24	4	20	5=100
f.F1	The government should help more needy people even if it means going deeper in debt							
	August, 2003	54	17	37	42	12	30	4=100
	August, 2002	48	16	32	47	15	32	5=100
	Late September, 1999	49	15	34	47	14	33	4=100
	November, 1997	44	14	30	53	16	37	3=100
	July, 1994	41	13	28	56	19	37	3=100
	May, 1993	43	9	34	52	12	40	5=100
	June, 1992	53	18	35	43	12	31	4=100
	Nov, 1991	51	20	31	46	15	31	3=100
	May, 1990	51	15	36	44	10	34	5=100
	May, 1988	52	17	35	42	12	30	6=100
	May, 1987	53	13	40	40	7	33	7=100
g.F1	The government should guarantee every citizen enough to eat and a place to sleep							
	August, 2003	65	30	35	33	10	23	2=100
	August, 2002	63	28	35	34	11	23	3=100
	Late September, 1999	64	29	35	33	11	22	3=100
	November, 1997	62	29	33	36	11	25	2=100
	July, 1994	59	27	32	39	14	25	2=100
	June, 1992	65	32	33	32	10	22	3=100
	Nov, 1991	73	41	32	25	9	16	2=100
	May, 1990	62	27	35	34	9	25	4=100
	Feb, 1989	65	35	30	32	10	22	3=100
	May, 1988	66	28	38	31	9	22	3=100
	May, 1987	62	22	40	33	7	26	5=100

**Q.28F1 CONTINUED...**

		-----AGREE-----			-----DISAGREE-----			Don't
		<u>Net</u>	<u>Comp- letely</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Comp- letely</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Know</u>
h.F1	I like political leaders who are willing to make compromises in order to get the job done							
	August, 2003	77	28	49	19	6	13	4=100
	August, 2002	78	30	48	18	6	12	4=100
	Late September, 1999	77	32	45	19	4	15	4=100
	November, 1997	78	32	46	19	5	14	3=100
	May, 1990	71	23	48	23	6	17	6=100
	May, 1988	72	23	49	22	5	17	6=100
	May, 1987	72	16	56	20	4	16	8=100
i.F1	I am very patriotic							
	August, 2003	91	56	35	7	2	5	2=100
	August, 2002	92	54	38	6	2	4	2=100
	Late September, 1999	87	49	38	11	3	8	2=100
	November, 1997	90	48	42	8	2	6	2=100
	July, 1994	91	51	40	8	2	6	1=100
	June, 1992	91	52	39	7	2	5	2=100
	Nov, 1991	91	58	33	7	2	5	2=100
	May, 1990	88	48	40	10	2	8	2=100
	Feb, 1989	91	51	40	7	1	6	2=100
	May, 1988	89	51	38	8	2	6	3=100
	May, 1987	89	43	46	8	1	7	3=100
j.F1/ bb.F2	In the past few years there hasn't been much real improvement in the position of black people in this country							
	August, 2003	35	11	24	57	18	39	8=100
	August, 2002	33	10	23	61	20	41	6=100
	Late September, 1999	38	10	28	53	16	37	9=100
	November, 1997	40	13	27	53	14	39	7=100
	July, 1994	47	14	33	49	14	35	4=100
	May, 1993	51	14	37	46	9	37	3=100
	June, 1992	57	21	36	39	9	30	4=100
	Nov, 1991	45	17	28	49	16	33	6=100
	May, 1990	38	10	28	58	16	42	4=100
	Feb, 1989	42	13	29	55	16	39	3=100
	May, 1988	37	12	25	59	18	41	4=100
	May, 1987	36	8	28	59	14	45	5=100
k.F1	I think it's all right for blacks and whites to date each other							
	August, 2003	77	47	30	20	10	10	3=100
	August, 2002	75	43	32	21	10	11	4=100
	Late September, 1999	73	43	30	23	11	12	4=100
	November, 1997	70	37	33	26	13	13	4=100
	July, 1994	68	35	33	29	16	13	3=100
	June, 1992	64	33	31	32	18	14	4=100

**Q.28F1 CONTINUED...**

		-----AGREE-----			-----DISAGREE-----			Don't
		Comp-			Comp-			Know
		<u>Net</u>	<u>letely</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>letely</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Know</u>
	Nov, 1991	66	35	31	30	18	12	4=100
	May, 1990	49	19	30	44	26	18	7=100
	Feb, 1989	50	21	29	45	25	20	5=100
	May, 1988	49	21	28	46	28	18	5=100
	May, 1987	48	13	35	46	24	22	6=100
l.F1	We should make every possible effort to improve the position of blacks and other minorities, even if it means giving them preferential treatment							
	August, 2003	30	10	20	67	33	34	3=100
	August, 2002	24	7	17	72	35	37	4=100
	Late September, 1999	31	12	19	65	31	34	4=100
	November, 1997	31	10	21	65	31	34	4=100
	July, 1994	29	10	19	69	34	35	2=100
	May, 1993	34	8	26	63	22	41	3=100
	June, 1992	34	11	23	63	27	36	3=100
	Nov, 1991	30	10	20	67	34	33	3=100
	May, 1990	24	8	16	72	33	39	4=100
	Feb, 1989	28	8	20	68	32	36	4=100
	May, 1988	26	7	19	71	35	36	3=100
	May, 1987	24	6	18	71	28	43	5=100
m.F1/ cc.F2	Discrimination against blacks is rare today							
	August, 2003	31	9	22	64	21	43	5=100
	August, 2002	30	8	22	65	22	43	5=100
	Late September, 1999	22	5	17	73	26	47	5=100
	November, 1997	24	7	17	74	27	47	2=100
	July, 1994	24	6	18	73	28	45	3=100
	June, 1992	19	6	13	78	35	43	3=100
	May, 1990	31	5	26	65	23	42	4=100
	May, 1988	32	7	25	65	24	41	3=100
	May, 1987	34	6	28	61	18	43	5=100
n.F1	We should restrict and control people coming into our country to live more than we do now							
	August, 2003	77	46	31	19	6	13	4=100
	August, 2002	80	49	31	17	5	12	3=100
	Late September, 1999	72	38	34	24	6	18	4=100
	November, 1997	73	39	34	24	6	18	3=100
	July, 1994	82	47	35	17	5	12	1=100
	June, 1992	76	42	34	21	6	15	3=100

**Q.28F1 CONTINUED...**

		-----AGREE-----			-----DISAGREE-----			Don't
		Comp-			Comp-			Know
		<u>Net</u>	<u>letely</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>letely</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	
o.F1	It is my belief that we should get even with any country that tries to take advantage of the United States							
	August, 2003	48	20	28	46	14	32	6=100
	August, 2002	61	29	32	32	9	23	7=100
	Late September, 1999	42	17	25	51	16	35	7=100
	November, 1997	49	17	32	46	14	32	5=100
	July, 1994	43	19	24	54	19	35	3=100
	June, 1992	46	19	27	49	15	34	5=100
	Nov, 1991	45	21	24	51	20	31	4=100
	May, 1990	47	14	33	46	13	33	7=100
	Feb, 1989	54	20	34	42	12	30	4=100
	May, 1988	53	19	34	40	11	29	7=100
	May, 1987	44	11	33	47	10	37	9=100
p.F1	The best way to ensure peace is through military strength							
	August, 2003	53	23	30	44	15	29	3=100
	August, 2002	62	26	36	34	10	24	4=100
	Late September, 1999	55	23	32	42	12	30	3=100
	November, 1997	57	23	34	40	11	29	3=100
	July, 1994	55	20	35	44	17	27	1=100
	May, 1993	54	16	38	43	10	33	3=100
	June, 1992	54	21	33	43	13	30	3=100
	Nov, 1991	52	21	31	45	16	29	3=100
	May, 1990	52	17	35	44	13	31	4=100
	Feb, 1989	61	22	39	36	10	26	3=100
	May, 1988	59	22	37	37	12	25	4=100
	May, 1987	54	14	40	40	10	30	6=100
q.F1	American lives are worth more than the lives of people in other countries							
	August, 2003	19	8	11	79	47	32	2=100
	August, 2002	20	9	11	76	44	32	4=100
	Late September, 1999	17	7	10	80	49	31	3=100
	November, 1997	19	8	11	78	47	31	3=100
	July, 1994	26	12	14	73	42	31	1=100
	Nov, 1991	23	11	12	74	46	28	3=100
	May, 1990	28	10	18	68	36	32	4=100
	Feb, 1989	23	8	15	74	43	31	3=100
	May, 1988	24	9	15	73	39	34	3=100
	May, 1987	24	7	17	71	32	39	5=100
r.F1	We all should be willing to fight for our country, whether it is right or wrong							
	August, 2003	52	23	29	43	18	25	5=100
	August, 2002	52	22	30	43	16	27	5=100
	Late September, 1999	49	21	28	46	18	28	5=100
	November, 1997	52	21	31	45	19	26	3=100

**Q.28F1 CONTINUED...**

	-----AGREE-----			----DISAGREE----			Don't Know
	Net	Com- pletely	Mostly	Net	Com- pletely	Mostly	
July, 1994	53	25	28	45	20	25	2=100
May, 1993	55	21	34	42	13	29	3=100
June, 1992	57	24	33	39	14	25	4=100
Nov, 1991	60	30	30	37	16	21	3=100
May, 1990	55	22	33	40	16	24	5=100
Feb, 1989	57	22	35	38	15	23	5=100
May, 1988	57	23	34	38	14	24	5=100
May, 1987	54	17	37	40	13	27	6=100

**ASK FORM 1A ONLY [N=650]:**

s.F1A I often worry about the chances of nuclear war

August, 2003	53	25	28	45	16	29	2=100
August, 2002	56	27	29	42	15	27	2=100
Late September, 1999	52	22	30	46	18	28	2=100
November, 1997	48	21	27	50	19	31	2=100
July, 1994	48	24	24	51	19	32	1=100
May, 1990	52	21	31	45	16	29	3=100
May, 1988	61	28	33	37	12	25	2=100
May, 1987	62	23	39	27	0	27	2=100

**ASK FORM 1B ONLY [N=634]:**

s.F1B I often worry about the chances of  
a nuclear attack by terrorists

August, 2003	40	16	24	59	23	36	1=100
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**ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=1284]:**

t.F1 Most of the countries that have gotten  
help from America end up resenting us

August, 2003	67	27	40	27	5	22	6=100
August, 2002	70	29	41	24	3	21	6=100
Late September, 1999	64	24	40	27	4	23	9=100
November, 1997	67	24	43	26	3	23	7=100
July, 1994	72	29	43	24	3	21	4=100
June, 1992	73	30	43	22	3	19	5=100
May, 1990	73	27	46	20	2	18	7=100
May, 1988	76	32	44	18	2	16	6=100
May, 1987	71	21	50	21	2	19	8=100

u.F1 It's best for the future of our country  
to be active in world affairs

August, 2003	90	50	40	8	2	6	2=100
August, 2002	90	49	41	8	3	5	2=100
Late September, 1999	88	45	43	10	2	8	2=100
November, 1997	91	48	43	8	2	6	1=100
July, 1994	90	51	39	9	2	7	1=100
May, 1993	87	33	54	10	1	9	3=100
June, 1992	91	47	44	7	2	5	2=100
Nov, 1991	92	54	38	6	2	4	2=100
May, 1990	89	39	50	7	1	6	4=100

**Q.28F1 CONTINUED...**

		-----AGREE-----			----DISAGREE----			Don't
		<u>Net</u>	<u>Com- pletely</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Com- pletely</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Know</u>
	Feb, 1989	93	51	42	4	1	3	3=100
	May, 1988	90	47	43	7	1	6	3=100
	May, 1987	87	32	55	8	1	7	5=100
v.F1/ dd.F2	Poor people have become too dependent on government assistance programs							
	August, 2003	71	30	41	24	6	18	5=100
	August, 2002	74	30	44	22	5	17	4=100
	Late September, 1999	77	34	43	19	5	14	4=100
	November, 1997	79	35	44	18	4	14	3=100
	July, 1994	85	46	39	13	3	10	2=100
	May, 1993	80	31	49	18	3	15	2=100
	June, 1992	79	35	44	18	4	14	3=100
<b>[NO ITEM w]</b>								
x.F1	We should pay less attention to problems overseas and concentrate on problems here at home							
	August, 2003	76	36	40	21	3	18	3=100
	August, 2002	73	33	40	24	4	20	3=100
	Late September, 1999	80	39	41	19	4	15	1=100
	November, 1997	78	40	38	20	3	17	2=100
	July, 1994	84	46	38	15	3	12	1=100
	May, 1993	85	40	45	14	2	12	1=100
	June, 1992	88	48	40	11	2	9	1=100
y.F1	We should put more emphasis on fuel conservation than on developing new oil supplies							
	August, 2003	71	30	41	23	5	18	6=100
	August, 2002	67	25	42	26	6	20	7=100
z.F1	The growing number of newcomers from other countries threaten traditional American customs and values							
	August, 2003	46	18	28	49	19	30	5=100
	August, 2002	50	20	30	45	13	32	5=100
aa.F1	Women get fewer opportunities than men for the good jobs							
	August, 2003	59	21	38	39	10	29	2=100
	August, 2002	59	20	39	37	9	28	4=100

**Q.28F1 CONTINUED...**

		-----AGREE-----			----DISAGREE----			Don't
		Net	Comp- letely	Mostly	Net	Comp- letely	Mostly	Know
bb.F1	Men and women are better at different things in the workplace							
	August, 2003	77	37	40	20	7	13	3=100
	August, 2002	78	36	42	20	6	14	2=100
cc.F1	The criminal justice system should try to rehabilitate criminals, not just punish them							
	August, 2003	72	29	43	25	11	14	3=100
	August, 2002	69	26	43	26	10	16	5=100
dd.F1	The tax system is unfair to people like me							
	August, 2003	50	22	28	45	10	35	5=100
	August, 2002	53	24	29	43	9	34	4=100

**Item ee.F1 is presented with item dd.F2 in Q.29**

**ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1244]:**

Q.29F2 Now I am going to read you another series of statements on some different topics. For each statement, please tell me if you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly DISagree with it, or completely disagree with it. The first one is... **(READ ITEMS, IN ORDER. DO NOT ROTATE)** Do you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly DISagree, or completely disagree?

		-----AGREE-----			----DISAGREE----			Don't
		Net	Comp- letely	Mostly	Net	Comp- letely	Mostly	Know
a.F2	Prayer is an important part of my daily life							
	August, 2003	81	51	30	18	8	10	1=100
	August, 2002	79	52	27	21	8	13	*=100
	Late September, 1999	78	55	23	21	6	15	1=100
	November, 1997	78	53	25	21	7	14	1=100
	July, 1994	78	52	26	22	8	14	*=100
	Nov, 1991	80	50	30	19	6	13	1=100
	May, 1990	77	46	31	22	6	16	1=100
	May, 1988	78	46	32	21	6	15	1=100
	May, 1987	76	41	35	23	6	17	1=100
b.F2	We all will be called before God at the Judgment Day to answer for our sins							
	August, 2003	80	59	21	17	10	7	3=100
	August, 2002	82	61	21	15	7	8	3=100
	Late September, 1999	83	61	22	13	6	7	4=100
	November, 1997	85	64	21	12	5	7	3=100
	July, 1994	84	61	23	14	7	7	2=100
	May, 1993	82	56	26	11	5	6	7=100
	June, 1992	83	62	21	14	7	7	3=100
	May, 1990	81	52	29	14	5	9	5=100
	Feb, 1989	84	62	22	11	5	6	5=100
	May, 1988	80	52	28	14	6	8	6=100
	May, 1987	81	52	29	14	5	9	5=100

**Q.29F2 CONTINUED...**

[NO ITEM c]		-----AGREE-----			-----DISAGREE-----			Don't Know
		<u>Net</u>	<u>Comp- letely</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Comp- letely</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	
d.F2	I never doubt the existence of God							
	August, 2003	87	69	18	12	6	6	1=100
	August, 2002	88	70	18	11	5	6	1=100
	Late September, 1999	88	69	19	10	4	6	2=100
	November, 1997	88	71	17	11	3	8	1=100
	July, 1994	88	72	16	11	5	6	1=100
	Nov, 1991	88	71	17	11	3	8	1=100
	May, 1990	87	60	27	11	3	8	2=100
	Feb, 1989	88	66	22	10	4	6	2=100
	May, 1988	87	63	24	11	4	7	2=100
	May, 1987	88	60	28	10	3	7	2=100
e.F2	School boards ought to have the right to fire teachers who are known homosexuals							
	August, 2003	33	21	12	62	37	25	5=100
	August, 2002	36	23	13	59	33	26	5=100
	Late September, 1999	32	20	12	62	36	26	6=100
	November, 1997	33	20	13	63	34	29	4=100
	July, 1994	39	24	15	58	29	29	3=100
	May, 1993	34	17	17	60	26	34	6=100
	June, 1992	40	24	16	55	28	27	5=100
	Nov, 1991	39	23	16	56	28	28	5=100
	May, 1990	49	29	20	45	21	24	6=100
	Feb, 1989	48	28	20	47	21	26	5=100
	May, 1988	51	29	22	43	18	25	6=100
	May, 1987	51	27	24	42	14	28	7=100
f.F2	Books that contain dangerous ideas should be banned from public school libraries							
	August, 2003	50	32	18	47	26	21	3=100
	August, 2002	53	33	20	44	24	20	3=100
	Late September, 1999	55	36	19	43	23	20	2=100
	November, 1997	50	32	18	46	23	23	4=100
	July, 1994	51	30	21	47	24	23	2=100
	May, 1993	52	26	26	44	21	23	4=100
	June, 1992	48	30	18	49	27	22	3=100
	Nov, 1991	49	29	20	48	28	20	3=100
	May, 1990	50	29	21	45	21	24	5=100
	Feb, 1989	50	26	24	46	23	23	4=100
	May, 1988	51	29	22	44	22	22	5=100
	May, 1987	50	24	26	44	19	25	6=100

**Q.29F2 CONTINUED...**

		-----AGREE-----			-----DISAGREE-----			Don't
		Net	Comp- letely	Mostly	Net	Comp- letely	Mostly	Know
g.F2	Nude magazines and X-rated movies provide harmless entertainment for those who enjoy it							
	August, 2003	45	15	30	52	29	23	3=100
	August, 2002	43	14	29	53	29	24	4=100
	Late September, 1999	43	15	28	53	29	24	4=100
	November, 1997	41	14	27	56	30	26	3=100
	July, 1994	44	15	29	54	29	25	2=100
	May, 1990	41	12	29	54	27	27	5=100
	May, 1988	45	15	30	51	23	28	5=100
	May, 1987	48	14	34	47	21	26	5=100
h.F2/ ff.F1	Freedom of speech should not extend to groups that are sympathetic to terrorists							
	August, 2003	45	24	21	50	21	29	5=100
	<b>TREND FOR COMPARISON:</b>							
	Freedom of speech should not extend to groups like Neo-Nazis or other extremists							
	August, 2002	43	21	22	52	24	28	5=100
	Late September, 1999 <sup>12</sup>	39	21	18	57	29	28	4=100
	November, 1997	38	21	17	57	26	31	5=100
	July, 1994	41	21	20	57	28	29	2=100
	May, 1990	35	17	18	59	27	32	6=100
	May, 1988	37	17	20	58	26	32	5=100
	May, 1987	39	16	23	55	19	36	6=100
i.F2/ gg.F1	The police should be allowed to search the houses of people who might be sympathetic to terrorists without a court order							
	August, 2003	33	17	16	65	36	29	2=100
	<b>TREND FOR COMPARISON:</b>							
	The police should be allowed to search the houses of known drug dealers without a court order							
	August, 2002	44	27	17	54	30	24	2=100
	Late September, 1999	45	28	17	53	31	22	2=100
	November, 1997	49	31	18	49	26	23	2=100
	July, 1994	51	33	18	48	26	22	1=100
	May, 1990	57	33	24	41	18	23	2=100
	May, 1988	54	31	23	43	22	21	2=100
	May, 1987	51	25	26	45	18	27	4=100

<sup>12</sup>

1987-1999 trend based on alternate wording, "groups like the Communist Party or the Ku Klux Klan."

**Q.29F2 CONTINUED...**

		-----AGREE-----			----DISAGREE----			Don't
		<u>Net</u>	<u>Comp- letely</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Comp- letely</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Know</u>
j.F2	Women should return to their traditional roles in society							
	August, 2003	24	10	14	72	50	22	4=100
	August, 2002	20	8	12	75	48	27	5=100
	Late September, 1999	25	9	16	71	48	23	4=100
	November, 1997	24	10	14	73	43	30	3=100
	July, 1994	30	12	18	67	40	27	3=100
	Nov, 1991	23	10	13	75	49	26	2=100
	May, 1990	30	10	20	67	35	32	3=100
	Feb, 1989	26	10	16	71	41	30	3=100
	May, 1988	31	11	20	66	36	30	3=100
	May, 1987	30	9	21	66	29	37	4=100
k.F2	Too many children are being raised in day care centers these days							
	August, 2003	72	36	36	23	7	16	4=100
	August, 2002	72	36	36	23	7	16	5=100
	Late September, 1999	75	39	36	22	7	15	3=100
	November, 1997	74	39	35	23	6	17	3=100
	July, 1994	75	39	36	23	7	16	2=100
	May, 1990	73	26	47	22	5	17	5=100
	May, 1988	69	29	40	26	7	19	5=100
	May, 1987	68	23	45	27	5	22	5=100
l.F2	AIDS might be God's punishment for immoral sexual behavior							
	August, 2003	24	11	13	70	51	19	6=100
	August, 2002	27	10	17	67	47	20	6=100
	Late September, 1999	32	13	19	61	41	20	7=100
	November, 1997	32	13	19	63	41	22	5=100
	July, 1994	39	17	22	57	36	21	4=100
	May, 1993	35	13	22	57	33	24	8=100
	June, 1992	36	17	19	57	38	19	7=100
	May, 1990	38	16	22	52	33	19	10=100
	May, 1988	44	20	24	48	28	20	8=100
	May, 1987	43	17	26	47	25	22	10=100
m.F2	I have old-fashioned values about family and marriage							
	August, 2003	80	46	34	18	7	11	2=100
	August, 2002	84	49	35	14	5	9	2=100
	Late September, 1999	84	53	31	14	5	9	2=100
	November, 1997	85	50	35	14	6	8	1=100
	July, 1994	84	53	31	14	4	10	2=100
	Nov, 1991	81	49	32	18	8	10	1=100
	May, 1990	87	49	38	12	4	8	1=100
	Feb, 1989	83	46	37	15	6	9	2=100
	May, 1988	85	50	35	13	4	9	2=100
	May, 1987	87	45	42	11	2	9	2=100

**Q.29F2 CONTINUED...**

	-----AGREE-----			-----DISAGREE-----			Don't Know	
	<u>Net</u>	<u>Comp-letely</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Comp-letely</u>	<u>Mostly</u>		
n.F2	There are clear guidelines about what's good or evil that apply to everyone regardless of their situation							
	August, 2003	77	41	36	19	7	12	4=100
	August, 2002	80	43	37	17	6	11	3=100
	Late September, 1999	82	47	35	16	5	11	2=100
	November, 1997	82	45	37	16	6	10	2=100
	July, 1994	80	44	36	18	6	12	2=100
	June, 1992	76	41	35	21	9	12	3=100
	Nov, 1991	76	42	34	22	9	13	2=100
	May, 1990	79	36	43	17	6	11	4=100
	May, 1988	79	38	41	18	6	12	4=100
	May, 1987	79	34	45	16	4	12	5=100

o.F2	Labor unions are necessary to protect the working person							
	August, 2003	74	30	44	23	8	15	3=100
	August, 2002	71	28	43	26	7	19	3=100
	Late September, 1999	70	28	42	25	7	18	5=100
	November, 1997	70	29	41	27	8	19	3=100
	May, 1990	71	25	46	25	6	19	4=100
	May, 1988	69	26	43	26	7	19	5=100
	May, 1987	67	19	48	27	6	21	6=100

**[NO ITEM p]**

q.F2	Today it's really true that the rich just get richer while the poor get poorer							
	August, 2003	68	34	34	29	7	22	3=100
	August, 2002	65	28	37	33	7	26	2=100
	February, 2002	68	37	31	29	9	20	3=100
	Late September, 1999	72	33	39	26	6	20	2=100
	November, 1997	70	34	36	28	6	22	2=100
	July, 1994	71	33	38	27	7	20	2=100
	June, 1992	78	38	40	20	4	16	2=100
	Nov, 1991	80	45	35	18	5	13	2=100
	May, 1990	78	38	40	19	3	16	3=100
	Feb, 1989	78	40	38	19	4	15	3=100
	May, 1988	76	34	42	21	3	18	3=100
	May, 1987	74	31	43	22	3	19	4=100

**[NO ITEM r]**

s.F2/ ee.F1	I don't have much in common with people of other races							
	August, 2003	13	4	9	84	40	44	3=100
	August, 2002	16	4	12	82	35	47	2=100
	Late September, 1999	12	3	9	85	40	45	3=100
	November, 1997	12	3	9	86	38	48	2=100

**Q.29F2 CONTINUED...**

	-----AGREE-----			----DISAGREE----			Don't <u>Know</u>
	<u>Net</u>	<u>Comp- letely</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Comp- letely</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	
July, 1994	12	3	9	86	41	45	2=100
May, 1990	24	5	19	72	22	50	4=100
May, 1988	25	6	19	72	26	46	3=100
May, 1987	23	3	20	72	18	54	5=100

t.F2 I often don't have enough money to make ends meet

August, 2003	39	19	20	59	19	40	2=100
August, 2002	35	15	20	64	23	41	1=100
Late September, 1999	36	16	20	62	22	40	2=100
November, 1997	40	18	22	59	19	40	1=100
July, 1994	43	19	24	56	19	37	1=100
May, 1993	54	25	29	44	14	30	2=100
June, 1992	52	26	26	47	16	31	1=100
Nov, 1991	51	27	24	48	16	32	1=100
May, 1990	47	19	28	52	11	41	1=100
Feb, 1989	50	20	30	49	12	37	1=100
May, 1988	45	17	28	54	12	42	1=100
May, 1987	43	14	29	55	11	44	2=100

**[NO ITEM u]**

v.F2 I'm pretty well satisfied with the way things are going for me financially

August, 2003	63	19	44	35	15	20	2=100
August, 2002	66	20	46	33	13	20	1=100
Late September, 1999	68	16	52	31	9	22	1=100
November, 1997	65	18	47	35	12	23	*=100
July, 1994	64	17	47	35	11	24	1=100
May, 1993	58	12	46	41	13	28	1=100
June, 1992	58	16	42	41	16	25	1=100
Nov, 1991	57	16	41	42	16	26	1=100
May, 1990	58	9	49	41	13	28	1=100
Feb, 1989	62	13	49	37	12	25	1=100
May, 1988	65	13	52	34	9	25	1=100
May, 1987	63	11	52	35	8	27	2=100

w.F2 I feel it's my duty as a citizen to always vote

August, 2003	89	61	28	9	4	5	2=100
August, 2002	90	62	28	9	3	6	1=100
June, 2000	89	63	26	10	4	6	1=100
Late September, 1999	91	64	27	8	3	5	1=100
November, 1997	89	63	26	11	4	7	*=100
July, 1994	93	66	27	7	3	4	*=100
May, 1993	94	66	28	5	1	4	1=100
June, 1992	91	69	22	8	2	6	1=100
Nov, 1991	93	72	21	6	2	4	1=100
May, 1990	85	50	35	13	4	9	2=100

**Q.29F2 CONTINUED...**

		-----AGREE-----			----DISAGREE----			Don't
		Comp-			Comp-			Know
		<u>Net</u>	<u>letely</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>letely</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Know</u>
	Feb, 1989	90	64	26	8	2	6	2=100
	May, 1988	88	56	32	9	2	7	3=100
	May, 1987	85	46	39	12	3	9	3=100
x.F2	I'm interested in keeping up with national affairs							
	August, 2003	91	47	44	8	2	6	1=100
	August, 2002	88	43	45	10	2	8	2=100
	Late September, 1999	82	37	45	16	4	12	2=100
	November, 1997	86	40	46	13	3	10	1=100
	July, 1994	89	46	43	11	2	9	*=100
	June, 1992	91	51	40	8	2	6	1=100
	Nov, 1991	90	46	44	9	2	7	1=100
	May, 1990	82	33	49	16	4	12	2=100
	Feb, 1989	84	34	50	14	2	12	2=100
	May, 1988	86	39	47	12	2	10	2=100
	May, 1987	81	28	53	15	3	12	4=100
y.F2	I'm generally bored by what goes on in Washington							
	August, 2003	46	12	34	51	16	35	3=100
	August, 2002	44	11	33	53	17	36	3=100
	Mid-November, 2001	39	9	30	58	18	40	3=100
	June, 2000	53	19	34	44	15	29	3=100
	Late September, 1999	58	19	39	40	12	28	2=100
	November, 1997	51	14	37	48	14	34	1=100
	July, 1994	51	17	34	48	15	33	1=100
	June, 1992	55	20	35	44	13	31	1=100
	Nov, 1991	52	16	36	46	16	30	2=100
	May, 1990	48	12	36	50	12	38	2=100
	Feb, 1989	47	10	37	50	13	37	3=100
	May, 1988	48	11	37	50	12	38	2=100
	May, 1987	42	8	34	54	13	41	4=100
z.F2	I'm pretty interested in following local politics							
	August, 2003	73	22	51	26	6	20	1=100
	August, 2002	72	22	50	26	4	22	2=100
	Mid-November, 2001	59	15	44	39	13	26	2=100
	June, 2000	66	24	42	32	11	21	2=100
	Late September, 1999	66	18	48	32	6	26	2=100
	November, 1997	68	20	48	31	6	25	1=100
	July, 1994	76	24	52	23	5	18	1=100
	June, 1992	73	26	47	26	5	21	1=100
	Nov, 1991	77	29	48	21	5	16	2=100
	May, 1990	70	17	53	29	6	23	1=100
	Feb, 1989	73	24	49	26	5	21	1=100
	May, 1988	72	21	51	27	5	22	1=100
	May, 1987	70	16	54	26	4	22	4=100

**Q.29F2 CONTINUED...**

		-----AGREE-----			-----DISAGREE-----			
		<u>Net</u>	<u>Comp- letely</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Comp- letely</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
aa.F2	Most issues discussed in Washington don't affect me personally							
	August, 2003	28	6	22	70	25	45	2=100
	August, 2002	31	6	25	66	21	45	3=100
	June, 2000	30	11	19	67	31	36	3=100
	Late September, 1999	38	8	30	60	18	42	2=100
	November, 1997	35	8	27	64	19	45	1=100
	July, 1994	30	5	25	69	27	42	1=100
	June, 1992	33	7	26	65	22	43	2=100
	Nov, 1991	33	8	25	64	23	41	3=100
	May, 1990	35	7	28	62	16	46	3=100
	Feb, 1989	33	7	26	64	20	44	3=100
	May, 1988	36	7	29	62	17	45	2=100
	May, 1987	31	5	26	65	15	50	4=100
bb.F2	I feel guilty when I don't get a chance to vote							
	August, 2003	64	33	31	31	13	18	5=100
	August, 2002	64	33	31	31	11	20	5=100
	June, 2000	61	38	23	33	18	15	6=100
	Late September, 1999	68	36	32	29	9	20	3=100
	November, 1997	68	36	32	29	12	17	3=100
	July, 1994	70	38	32	27	9	18	3=100
	June, 1992	69	39	30	25	9	16	6=100
	Nov, 1991	74	46	28	22	8	14	4=100
	May, 1990	67	30	37	30	8	22	3=100
	Feb, 1989	72	38	34	24	7	17	4=100
	May, 1988	69	32	37	26	8	18	5=100
	May, 1987	66	25	41	28	6	22	6=100
cc.F2	Sometimes I vote for a candidate without really knowing enough about him or her							
	August, 2003	45	11	34	51	23	28	4=100
	June, 2000	47	18	29	49	27	22	4=100
	September, 1999	54	12	42	43	17	26	3=100
	November, 1997	52	14	38	46	20	26	2=100
	July, 1994	52	14	38	47	20	27	1=100
	June, 1992	52	14	38	45	20	25	3=100
	Nov, 1991	54	18	36	44	22	22	2=100
	May, 1990	53	12	41	42	15	27	5=100
	February, 1989	56	15	41	41	17	24	3=100
	May, 1988	56	12	44	39	15	24	15=100
	May, 1987	53	9	44	41	13	28	6=100

**Q.29F2 CONTINUED...**

		-----AGREE-----			-----DISAGREE-----			Don't
		<u>Net</u>	<u>Comp- letely</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Comp- letely</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Know</u>
dd.F2/	I am concerned that the government is collecting							
ee.F1	too much information about people like me							
	August, 2003	57	27	30	39	10	29	4=100

**TREND FOR COMPARISON:**

dd.	I am concerned that business corporations are	-----						
	collecting too much information about people like me							
	August, 2002	77	39	38	20	4	16	3=100

ee.F2	I am worried that science is going too far and is							
	hurting society rather than helping it							
	August, 2003	42	17	25	54	18	36	4=100
	August, 2002	42	17	25	54	16	38	4=100

ff.F2	Technology is making life too							
	complicated for me							
	August, 2003	27	9	18	71	28	43	2=100
	August, 2002	28	9	19	70	26	44	2=100

**THE FOLLOWING TWO ITEMS ASKED IN 2002 ONLY:**

gg.	I favor protecting the rights of the							
	unborn in almost all cases							
	August, 2002	72	42	30	24	8	16	4=100

hh.	I am more concerned about finding							
	cures for diseases than about							
	protecting embryos							
	August, 2002	58	24	34	31	12	19	11=100

**ASK ALL:**

Q.30 Right now, which is more important for President Bush to focus on ... the economy or the war on terrorism?

Sept <u>2003</u>		August <u>2003</u>	April <u>2003</u> <sup>13</sup>	Jan <u>2003</u>	Early <u>Oct</u> <u>2002</u>	Late <u>Aug</u> <u>2002</u>
50	The economy	57	36	38	36	39
32	The war on terrorism	27	42	43	45	34
*	Neither (VOL)	*	1	*	*	2
15	Both (VOL)	13	19	17	17	22
<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL)	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100

<sup>13</sup>

In April 2003, the question was worded: "... the economy or the situation in Iraq?"

**ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=1284]:**

Q.31 In your opinion, is the world now more dangerous, less dangerous, or about the same compared to ten years ago?

Aug <u>2003</u>		Early Sept <u>2001</u> <sup>14</sup>
75	More dangerous	53
5	Less dangerous	14
20	About the same	30
<u>*</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL)	<u>3</u>
100		100

**ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1244]:**

Q.32 Do you think the danger of attack on the United States with a nuclear, biological, or chemical weapon is greater now than it was 10 years ago, less now than it was 10 years ago, or is it about the same?

Aug <u>2003</u>		Early Sept <u>2001</u>	Sept <u>1997</u>
64	Greater	51	36
5	Less	12	30
29	Same	34	32
<u>2</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL)	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>
100		100	100

**ASK ALL:**

Just a few questions about the war on terrorism...

Q.33 In general, how well do you think the U.S. government is doing in reducing the threat of terrorism?  
[READ]

Aug <u>2003</u>		<i>RVs</i> Early Nov <u>2002</u>	June <u>2002</u>	Early Nov <u>2001</u>	Oct 15-21 <u>2001</u>	Oct 10-14 <u>2001</u>
19	Very well	15	16	35	38	48
56	Fairly well	54	60	46	46	40
16	Not too well, OR	19	16	9	9	6
7	Not at all well	8	4	5	4	2
<u>2</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL)	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100

<sup>14</sup>

In Early September 2001 the question was preceded by: "It has been ten years since the end of the Cold War."

Q.34 In order to curb terrorism in this country, do you think it will be necessary for the average person to give up some civil liberties, or not?

Aug <u>2003</u>		June <u>2002</u>	Jan <u>2002</u>	Mid- Sept <u>2001</u>	April <u>1997</u>	March <u>1996</u>	<i>L.A. Times</i> <u>April 1995</u>
44	Yes, it will be necessary	49	55	55	29	30	49
50	No, it will not be necessary	45	39	35	62	65	43
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused ( <b>VOL</b> )	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>8</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.35 To curb terrorism, would you favor or oppose requiring that all citizens carry a national identity card at all times to show to a police officer on request?

Aug <u>2003</u>		Late Aug <u>2002</u>	Mid- Sept <u>2001</u>
56	Favor	59	70
40	Oppose	38	26
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
100		100	100

Q.36 How worried are you that there will soon be another terrorist attack in the United States? [**READ**]

Aug <u>2003</u>		March <u>2003</u>	Feb <u>2003</u>	Jan <u>2003</u>	Dec <u>2002</u>	Early Oct <u>2002</u>	Late Aug <u>2002</u>	June <u>2002</u>	Jan <u>2002</u>	Dec <u>2001</u>	Oct 15-21 <u>2001</u>	Oct 10-14 <u>2001</u>	Early Oct <u>2001</u>
13	Very worried	22	34	18	31	20	16	32	20	13	29	27	28
45	Somewhat worried	42	41	50	42	46	46	44	42	39	42	40	45
29	Not too worried	20	17	23	18	22	25	17	28	27	18	19	15
12	Not at all worried	14	7	8	8	11	12	7	9	19	10	12	11
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	*	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.37 Do you use a computer at your workplace, at school, at home or anywhere else on at least an occasional basis?

**IF "1, YES" (USE A COMPUTER) IN Q.37, ASK:**

Q.38 Do you ever go online to access the Internet or World Wide Web or to send and receive email?

	<i>Computer User</i>			<b>Based on Total Respondents:</b> <i>Goes Online</i>		
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
August, 2003	77	23	*=100	67	33	*=100
Mid-July, 2003	75	25	*=100	65	35	*=100
January, 2003	76	24	0=100	67	33	*=100
December, 2002	76	24	*=100	67	33	*=100
Early October, 2002	75	25	*=100	63	37	*=100
August, 2002	78	22	*=100	69	31	*=100
June, 2002	74	26	*=100	66	34	*=100
May, 2002	75	25	*=100	66	34	*=100
April, 2002	71	29	*=100	62	38	0=100
February, 2002	71	29	*=100	62	38	0=100
January, 2002	73	27	0=100	62	38	0=100
Mid-November, 2001	73	27	0=100	62	38	0=100
Mid-September, 2001	72	28	*=100	62	38	*=100
June, 2001	72	28	*=100	62	38	0=100
May, 2001	75	25	*=100	64	36	0=100
April, 2001	72	28	*=100	62	38	0=100
February, 2001	72	28	0=100	60	40	*=100
January, 2001	71	29	*=100	61	39	0=100
July, 2000	68	31	1=100	55	45	*=100
June, 2000	68	31	1=100	56	44	*=100
April, 2000	68	32	*=100	54	46	*=100
March, 2000 <sup>15</sup>	72	28	0=100	61	39	0=100
February, 2000	67	33	*=100	52	48	0=100
January, 2000	68	32	*=100	52	48	*=100
December, 1999	67	33	*=100	53	47	0=100
October, 1999	67	33	*=100	50	50	0=100
Late September, 1999	68	32	*=100	52	48	*=100
September, 1999	70	30	*=100	53	47	0=100
August, 1999	67	33	*=100	52	48	0=100
July, 1999	68	32	*=100	49	51	0=100
June, 1999	64	35	1=100	50	50	*=100
May, 1999	66	33	1=100	48	52	0=100
April, 1999	71	29	*=100	51	49	*=100
March, 1999	68	32	*=100	49	51	*=100
February, 1999	68	32	*=100	49	51	*=100
January, 1999	69	31	*=100	47	53	*=100
Early December, 1998	64	36	*=100	42	58	0=100
November, 1998	--	--	--	37	63	*=100
Early September, 1998	64	36	*=100	42	58	*=100
Late August, 1998	66	34	0=100	43	57	*=100
Early August, 1998	66	34	*=100	41	59	*=100
April, 1998	61	39	*=100	36	64	0=100

<sup>15</sup>

In March 2000, "or anywhere else" was added to the question wording.

**Q.37/38 CONTINUED...**

	<i>Computer User</i>			<b>Based on Total Respondents:</b> <i>Goes Online</i>		
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
January, 1998	65	35	*=100	37	63	0=100
November, 1997	66	34	*=100	36	63	1=100
June, 1997	60	40	0=100	29	71	0=100
Early September, 1996	56	44	*=100	22	78	0=100
July, 1996	56	44	*=100	23	77	0=100
April, 1996	58	42	*=100	21	79	*=100
March, 1996	61	39	*=100	22	78	0=100
February, 1996	60	40	0=100	21	79	*=100
January, 1996	59	41	0=100	21	79	0=100
June, 1995 <sup>16</sup>	--	--	--	14	86	*=100

**IF 1, "YES, GOES ONLINE" IN Q.38 ASK:**

Q.39 Do you go online from home? **[IF YES:]** Does the modem you use at home connect through a standard telephone line or do you have a high-speed Internet connection such as a cable or DSL line?

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36	Yes, standard telephone line
23	Yes, high-speed connection
*	Yes, other/don't know (VOL)
8	No Internet connection at home
*	Don't Know/Refused (VOL)
<u>33</u>	Not an Internet User (No, DK in Q.38)
100	

**ASK ALL:**

CLASS Which of the following labels best describes your household **[READ ITEMS, IN ORDER]:**

<u>Aug 2003</u>		<u>June 2003</u>	<u>June 2002</u>	<u>Feb 2002</u>	<u>June 2001</u>
31	Professional or business class	31	31	32	29
47	Working class	43	47	46	47
14	OR a struggling family or household?	15	14	14	15
2	More than one apply (VOL)	2	2	2	2
4	None apply (VOL)	7	3	4	4
<u>2</u>	DK/Refused (VOL)	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100	100	100

<sup>16</sup> The 1995 figure combines responses from two separate questions: (1) Do you or anyone in your household ever use a modem to connect to any computer bulletin boards, information services such as CompuServe or Prodigy, or other computers at other locations? (IF YES, PROBE: Is that you, someone else or both?) (2) Do you, yourself, ever use a computer at (work) (school) (work or school) to connect with computer bulletin boards, information services such as America Online or Prodigy, or other computers over the Internet?

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**ASK ALL:**

Thinking again about politics...

Q.10 Looking ahead, would you like to see George W. Bush re-elected president in 2004 or would you prefer that a Democratic candidate win the election? [INTERVIEWER: IF R SAYS "OTHER" OR "SOMEONE ELSE," PROBE ONCE: "If you had to choose, would you like to see George W. Bush re-elected or would you prefer that a Democratic candidate win the election?"]

	----- Total -----			----- Registered Voters -----			(N=1154)
	Bush Re-elected	Prefer Democrat	Other/ DK	Bush Re-elected	Prefer Democrat	Other/ DK	
October, 2003	40	44	16=100	42	42	16=100	
September, 2003	44	43	13=100	45	43	12=100	
August, 2003	40	39	21=100	43	38	19=100	
Mid-July, 2003	45	37	18=100	47	37	16=100	
April, 2003	46	35	19=100	48	34	18=100	
Late March, 2003 <sup>17</sup> (Gallup)	51	36	13=100	51	36	13=100	
Mid-March, 2003 (Gallup)	45	42	13=100	45	42	13=100	
February, 1992	40	48	12=100	39	49	12=100	
January, 1992	42	42	16=100	41	45	14=100	
November, 1991	41	43	16=100	41	44	15=100	

**ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=735]:**

Q.11F1 Generally speaking would you say that you personally care a good deal WHO wins the 2004 presidential election or that you don't care very much who wins?

Oct 2003		Feb 1999	Oct 1995	Oct 1991	May 1987
77	Care a good deal	83	78	73	76
21	Don't care very much	16	19	22	20
2	Don't know/Refused	1	3	5	4
100		100	100	100	100

**ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=780]:**

Q.12F2 Generally speaking would you say that you personally care a good deal WHICH PARTY wins the 2004 presidential election or that you don't care very much which party wins?

Oct 2003		Feb 1999	Oct 1995	Oct 1991	May 1987
62	Care a good deal	61	61	55	54
36	Don't care very much	36	36	39	40
2	Don't know/Refused	3	3	6	6
100		100	100	100	100

<sup>17</sup> The March 2003 trends are from Gallup and were worded: "If George W. Bush runs for re-election in 2004, in general are you more likely to vote for Bush or for the Democratic Party's candidate for president?"

**ASK FORM 1 ONLY:**

**RANDOMIZE ORDER OF QT.1, QT.2 AND QT.3<sup>18</sup>**

QT.1F1 Suppose the 2004 presidential election were being held TODAY, and the candidates were [READ, ROTATE]. Who would you vote for?

**IF OTHER OR DK (3,9 IN QT.1) ASK:**

QT.1a As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to [READ, ROTATE IN SAME ORDER AS QT.1]?

**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=557]:**

52 George W. Bush, the Republican/Lean Bush  
41 Howard Dean, the Democrat/Lean Dean  
7 Other candidate/Don't Know (VOL.)  
100

QT.2F1 Suppose the 2004 presidential election were being held TODAY, and the candidates were [READ, ROTATE]. Who would you vote for?

**IF OTHER OR DK (3,9 IN QT.2) ASK:**

QT.2a As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to [READ, ROTATE IN SAME ORDER AS QT.2]?

**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=557]:**

53 George W. Bush, the Republican/Lean Bush  
41 Joe Lieberman, the Democrat/Lean Lieberman  
6 Other candidate/Don't Know (VOL.)  
100

QT.3F1 Suppose the 2004 presidential election were being held TODAY, and the candidates were [READ, ROTATE]. Who would you vote for?

**IF OTHER OR DK (3,9 IN QT.3) ASK:**

QT.3a As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to [READ, ROTATE IN SAME ORDER AS QT.3]?

**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=557]:**

55 George W. Bush, the Republican/Lean Bush  
40 Hillary Clinton, the Democrat/Lean Clinton  
5 Other candidate/Don't Know (VOL.)  
100

**ASK FORM 2 ONLY:**

**RANDOMIZE ORDER OF QT.4, QT.5 AND QT.6**

QT.4F2 Suppose the 2004 presidential election were being held TODAY, and the candidates were [READ, ROTATE]. Who would you vote for?

**IF OTHER OR DK (3,9 IN QT.4) ASK:**

QT.4a As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to [READ, ROTATE IN SAME ORDER AS QT.4]?

**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=597]:**

50 George W. Bush, the Republican/Lean Bush  
40 Wesley Clark, the Democrat/Lean Clark  
10 Other candidate/Don't Know (VOL.)  
100

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<sup>18</sup> A special weight was applied to the QT.1-6 series in order to equalize the proportion of Republicans, Democrats and Independents on each form (FORM 1/FORM 2) of the survey. This was done to make fair comparisons between candidates on each form, given slight differences between Form 1 and Form 2 in the original proportion of Republicans, Democrats and Independents.

QT.5F2 Suppose the 2004 presidential election were being held TODAY, and the candidates were [READ, ROTATE]. Who would you vote for?

**IF OTHER OR DK (3,9 IN QT.5) ASK:**

QT.5a As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to [READ, ROTATE IN SAME ORDER AS QT.5]?

**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=597]:**

50 George W. Bush, the Republican/Lean Bush

42 John Kerry, the Democrat/Lean Kerry

8 Other candidate/Don't Know (VOL.)

100

QT.6F2 Suppose the 2004 presidential election were being held TODAY, and the candidates were [READ, ROTATE]. Who would you vote for?

**IF OTHER OR DK (3,9 IN QT.6) ASK:**

QT.6a As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to [READ, ROTATE IN SAME ORDER AS QT.6]?

**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=597]:**

49 George W. Bush, the Republican/Lean Bush

43 Dick Gephardt, the Democrat/Lean Gephardt

8 Other candidate/Don't Know (VOL.)

100

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#### **ABOUT THE OCTOBER, 2003 NEWS INTEREST INDEX SURVEY**

Results for the survey are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates among a nationwide sample of 1,515 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period October 15-19, 2003. Based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 3 percentage points. For results based on either Form 1 (N=735) or Form 2 (N=780), the sampling error is plus or minus 4 percentage points.

In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.