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~ The 2005 Political Typology ~

Beyond Red vs. Blue

**REPUBLICANS DIVIDED ABOUT ROLE OF GOVERNMENT –
DEMOCRATS BY SOCIAL AND PERSONAL VALUES**

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The 2005 Political Typology

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Beyond Red vs. Blue

REPUBLICANS DIVIDED ABOUT ROLE OF GOVERNMENT – DEMOCRATS BY SOCIAL AND PERSONAL VALUES

Coming out of the 2004 election, the American political landscape decidedly favored the Republican Party. The GOP had extensive appeal among a disparate group of voters in the middle of the electorate, drew extraordinary loyalty from its own varied constituencies, and made some inroads among conservative Democrats. These advantages outweighed continued nationwide parity in party affiliation. Looking forward, however, there is no assurance that Republicans will be able to consolidate and build upon these advantages.

Republicans have neither gained nor lost in party identification in 2005. Moreover, divisions within the Republican coalition over economic and domestic issues may loom larger in the future, given the increasing salience of these matters. The Democratic party faces its own formidable challenges, despite the fact that the public sides with them on many key values and policy questions. Their constituencies are more diverse and, while united in opposition to President Bush, the Democrats are fractured by differences over social and personal values.

These are among the conclusions of Pew's political typology study, which sorts voters into homogeneous groups based on values, political beliefs, and party affiliation. The current study is based on two public opinion surveys – a nationwide poll of 2,000 interviews conducted Dec. 1-16, 2004, and a subsequent re-interview of 1,090 respondents conducted March 17-27 of this year. This is the fourth such typology created by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press since 1987. Many of the groups identified in the current surveys are similar to those in past typologies, reflecting the continuing importance of a number of key beliefs and values. These themes endure despite the consequential events of the past four years – especially the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks and the war in Iraq.

How Values Divide the Nation

Divisions *Between* Parties: Large gaps between Republicans and Democrats:

- National security
- Assertive foreign policy

Divisions *Within* Parties: Minor partisan gap, but major fissures within one or both parties:

- Environmentalism
- Government regulation
- Isolationism vs. global activism
- Immigration

Divisions *Between and Within* Parties: Partisan divides, but also intra-party gaps:

- Religious & moral values
- Welfare
- Cooperation with allies
- Business & the free market
- Cynicism about politics
- Individualism vs. fatalism

But clearly, those events – and the overall importance of national security issues – have a major impact on the typology. Foreign affairs assertiveness now almost completely distinguishes Republican-oriented voters from Democratic-oriented voters; this was a relatively minor factor in

past typologies. In contrast, attitudes relating to religion and social issues are not nearly as important in determining party affiliation. Still, these issues do underscore differences within parties, especially among the Democrats. While Republican-inclined voters range from the religious to the very religious, the Democratic Party is much more divided in terms of religious and cultural values. Its core constituents include both seculars and the highly religious.

The value gaps for the GOP are, perhaps surprisingly, greatest with respect to the role of government. The Republicans' bigger tent now includes more lower-income voters than it once did, and many of these voters favor an activist government to help working class people. Government regulation to protect the environment is an issue with particular potential to divide Republicans. On this issue, wide divisions exist both within the GOP and among right-of-center voters more generally.

Yet Republicans also have much in common beyond their overwhelming support for a muscular foreign policy and broad agreement on social issues. Voters inclined toward the Republican Party are distinguished from Democrats by their personal optimism and belief in the power of the individual. While some voting blocs on the right are as financially stressed as poorer Democrats, Republicans in this situation tend to be more hopeful and positive in their outlook than their more fatalistic counterparts in the Democratic Party.

National security attitudes also generally unite the Democrats. Beyond their staunch opposition to the war in Iraq, Democrats overwhelmingly believe that effective diplomacy, rather than military strength, should serve as the basis for U.S. security policy. At home, Democrats remain committed to a strong social safety net and are joined in opposition to most domestic policy proposals from the Bush administration, from tougher bankruptcy laws to private accounts in Social Security.

The typology study's finding of significant cleavages within parties not only runs counter to the widespread impression of a nation increasingly divided into two unified camps, but also raises questions about political alignments in the future. In particular, the study suggests that if the political agenda turns away from issues of defense and security, prospects for party unity could weaken significantly. As the following chapters detail, numerous opportunities exist for building coalitions across party lines on many issues currently facing the nation – coalitions that, in many cases, include some strange political bedfellows. Overall, there are many more shades to the American political landscape than just the red and blue dividing the Electoral College maps last Nov. 2.

The Political Middle

In some ways, the biggest difference between the latest Pew Research Center typology and those in the Clinton era concerns the groups in the middle of the political spectrum. During the 1990s, the typology groups in the center were not particularly partisan, but today they lean decidedly to the GOP.

The middle groups include **Upbeats**, relatively moderate voters who have positive views of their financial situation, government performance, business, and the state of the nation in general. They are generally well-educated and fairly engaged in political news. While most Upbeats do not formally identify with either political party, they voted for Bush by more than four-to-one last November.

	General Public	Regist. Voters
	%	%
Upbeats <i>Positive outlook & moderate</i>	11	13
Disaffecteds <i>Working class & discouraged</i>	9	10
Bystanders <i>Democracy's dropouts</i>	10	0

A second, very different group of centrist voters, the **Disaffecteds**, is much less affluent and educated than the Upbeats. Consequently, they have a distinctly different outlook on life and political matters. They are deeply cynical about government and unsatisfied with their financial situation. Even so, Disaffecteds lean toward the Republican Party and, though many did not vote in the presidential election, most of those who did supported Bush's reelection.

In effect, Republicans have succeeded in attracting two types of swing voters who could not be more different. The common threads are a highly favorable opinion of President Bush personally and support for an aggressive military stance against potential enemies of the U.S.

A third group in the center, **Bystanders**, largely consign themselves to the political sidelines. This category of mostly young people, few of whom voted in 2004, has been included in all four of the Center's political typologies.

The Right

The Republican Party's current advantage with the center makes up for the fact that the GOP-oriented groups, when taken together, account for only 29% of the public. By contrast, the three Democratic groups constitute 41% of the public. But the imbalance shifts to the GOP's favor when the inclinations of the two major groups in the center are taken into account – many of whom lean Republican and most of whom voted for George W. Bush.

The three GOP groups are highly diverse, and this is reflected in their values. The staunchly conservative **Enterprisers** have perhaps the most consistent ideological profile of any group in the typology. They are highly patriotic and strongly pro-business, oppose social welfare and overwhelmingly support an assertive foreign policy. This group is largely white, well-educated, affluent and male – more than three-quarters are men.

While Enterprisers are a bit less religious than the other GOP groups, they are socially conservative in most respects. Two other groups on the right are both highly religious and very conservative on moral issues. **Social Conservatives** agree with Enterprisers on most issues, but they tend to be critical of business and supportive of government regulation to protect the public good and the environment. They also express deep concerns about the growing number of immigrants in America. This largely female group includes many white evangelical Christians, and nearly half of Social Conservatives live in the South.

The 2005 Political Typology: The Republican Groups		
	General Public %	Regist. Voters %
Enterprisers	9	11
<i>Staunch conservatives</i>		
Social Conservatives	11	13
<i>Religious, critical of business</i>		
Pro-Government Conservatives	9	10
<i>Struggling social conservatives</i>		

Pro-Government Conservatives also are broadly religious and socially conservative, but they deviate from the party line in their backing for government involvement in a wide range of policy areas, such as government regulation and more generous assistance to the poor. This relatively young, predominantly female group is under substantial financial pressure, but most feel it is within their power to get ahead. This group also is highly concentrated in the South, and, of the three core Republican groups, had the lowest turnout in the 2004 election.

Clearly, there is more than one kind of conservative. The Republican groups find common ground on cultural values, but opinions on the role of government, a defining feature of conservative philosophy for decades, are now among the most divisive for the GOP.

The Left

At the other end of the political spectrum, **Liberals** have swelled to become the largest voting bloc in the typology. Liberals are opponents of an assertive foreign policy, strong supporters of environmental protection, and solid backers of government assistance to the poor.

This affluent, well-educated, highly secular group is consistently liberal on social issues,

ranging from freedom of expression to abortion. In contrast, **Conservative Democrats** are quite religious, socially conservative and take more moderate positions on several key foreign policy questions. The group is older, and includes many blacks and Hispanics; of all the core Democratic groups, it has strongest sense of personal empowerment.

Disadvantaged Democrats also include many minority voters, and they are the least financially secure voting bloc. Members of this heavily female, poorly educated group are highly pessimistic about their opportunities in life, and also very mistrustful of both business and government. Nonetheless, they support government programs to help the needy.

While the Republican Party is divided over government's role, the Democrats are divided by social and personal values. Most Liberals live in a world apart from Disadvantaged Democrats and Conservative Democrats.

The 2005 Political Typology: The Democratic Groups		
	General Public	Regist. Voters
	%	%
Liberals	17	19
<i>Secular and anti-war</i>		
Disadvantaged Democrats	10	10
<i>Social welfare loyalists</i>		
Conservative Democrats	14	15
<i>Latter-day New Dealers</i>		

Other Major Findings

- For the most part, opinions about the use of force are what divides Democratic-oriented groups from the Republican groups. On other foreign policy issues, even contentious questions about working with allies, the partisan pattern is not as clear.
- Environmental protection now stands out as a major divide within the GOP's coalition. While a narrow majority of Enterprisers believe the country has gone too far in its efforts to protect the environment, most others on the GOP side disagree.
- Poorer Republicans and Democrats have strikingly different outlooks on their lives and possibilities. Pro-Government Conservatives are optimistic and positive; Disadvantaged Democrats are pessimistic and cynical.
- Immigration divides both parties. Liberals overwhelmingly believe immigrants strengthen American society, and most Enterprisers agree. Majorities of other groups in both parties say immigrants threaten traditional American customs and values.

- The Republican Party is doing a better job of standing up for its core issues than is the Democratic Party, according to their respective constituents. Liberals are particularly negative about the performance of the Democratic Party.
- A plurality of the public wants Bush to select a nominee who will keep the Supreme Court about the same as it is now. Only among Enterprisers and Social Conservatives is there substantial support for a more conservative course.
- Stem cell research deeply divides the GOP. Majorities in all three Democratic groups, and the three independent groups, favor such research. Republican groups, to varying degrees, are divided.
- Enterprisers take conservative positions on most religious and cultural issues but are less intense in their beliefs than are other GOP groups. They are more libertarian than other Republican-oriented groups.
- George W. Bush has the broadest personal appeal of any national political figure among the main independent groups, the Upbeats and Disaffecteds.
- Rudy Giuliani is widely popular with Republican groups but also has a favorable rating among majorities in both independent groups, and is viewed positively by roughly half of Conservative Democrats and Liberals.
- Bill and Hillary Clinton's favorable ratings have risen among the public, and both earn relatively high ratings from the GOP's Pro-Government Conservatives.
- Liberals stand far apart from the rest of the electorate in their strong support for gay marriage, and in opposing the public display of the Ten Commandments in government buildings.
- Enterprisers stand alone on key economic issues. Majorities in every other group – except Enterprisers – support a government guarantee of universal health insurance. Enterprisers also are the only group in which less than a majority supports increasing the minimum wage.
- Private investment accounts in Social Security draw mixed reviews. Support for Bush's plan has faded not just among Democrats, but also independents. Disaffecteds are now evenly split over the proposal; in December, they favored it by almost a two-to-one margin.
- Enterprisers are the only voters to overwhelmingly believe that the Patriot Act is a necessary tool in the war on terrorism. Liberals are the strongest opponents of the legislation.

II: The Political Typology

The 2005 Political Typology is the fourth of its kind, following on previous studies in 1987, 1994 and 1999. While the mood of the American electorate has changed markedly over this period, underlying patterns persist. Many characteristics of the groups identified by the current survey, in particular the ideological positions of Enterprisers, Liberals, and Disadvantaged Democrats, have remained virtually unchanged over the 18 years of typology studies. This consistency reflects the continuing importance of a number of key beliefs and values among some segments of the electorate.

Still, the emergence of national security issues, as well as a fundamental reevaluation of government by both Democrats and Republicans in an era of unified GOP control in Washington, have produced new alignments within each of the two parties, and caused some once relevant groups to disappear. Moreover, religious and social issues continue to divide both within and across party lines, creating challenges to party leaders as they seek to build or maintain their majorities.

Each of the typologies developed by the Pew Research Center has been designed to provide a more complete and detailed description of the political landscape, classifying people on the basis of a broad range of value orientations rather than simply on the basis of party identification or self-reported ideology. Like past surveys, the new typology reveals substantial political and social differences within as well as across the two political parties. It also provides insights into the political attitudes of independents, who make up more than one-third of the American electorate but are far from unified in terms of their values and ideological beliefs.

An Evolving Landscape

There are some notable shifts in this year's political typology from past studies. The Liberal group has nearly doubled in size over the past six years. The "New Democrats" – a key element of the Democratic coalition in typology studies in the 1990s – no longer arise as a distinct ideological grouping. This suggests that some of the growth among Liberals comes from former New Democrats, whose views on national security and government regulation have become more polarized after more than four years of GOP control.

Key Changes in the 2005 Typology

- **Democrats:** *Liberals* grow in size; *New Democrats* no longer distinct
- **Republicans:** *Pro-Government Conservatives* key to GOP victories, but cross-pressured
- **The middle:** Republican Party winning support from centrist *Upbeats* and *Disaffecteds*

The 2005 study also buttresses the finding in 1999 that the Republican Party's base is now

divided into three core subgroups. In both 1987 and 1994 the predominant divisions on the right were between two ideological clusters, Enterprisers and Moralists, defined by the relative emphasis each placed on conservative economic and social values. The 1999 study found, and the 2005 analysis confirms, the development of a critical third element of the Republican base – a group we refer to as Pro-Government Conservatives. While this group agrees fully with the religious values of Social Conservatives, and the assertive foreign stance of both of the other Republican groups, its members are predominantly lower income and struggling financially. Perhaps as a result, they favor greater government action in assisting the poor and in regulating business to improve the environment, as well as to protect morality.

As in the past, there are two very different groups in the center, aside from the generally apathetic Bystanders. The Upbeats are affluent and optimistic; the Disaffecteds are struggling financially and much more pessimistic. The Republican Party’s advantage in the ideological center is substantial. Far more Upbeats and Disaffecteds identify with the GOP than with the Democratic Party; when the leaning of those who view themselves as independent is taken into account, the GOP advantage is even more apparent. In large part, this is reflective of Bush’s strong personal appeal among these groups. Among Disaffecteds, Bush is by far the most popular political figure tested and he rates near the top of the list among Upbeats.

In all, the new typology features three Republican-oriented groups, two predominantly independent groups, and three Democratic-oriented groups, plus the politically uninvolved Bystanders. Because a person’s typology assignment is mostly determined by his or her particular beliefs and values, the degree of partisan affiliation varies within each group. On the right, while Enterprisers and Social

Partisanship and the Political Typology					
	<i>Party Identification*</i>			<i>Independents who “lean” included**</i>	
	<u>Repub- lican</u> %	<u>Dem- ocrat</u> %	<u>Inde- pendent</u> %	<u>Rep./ lean R.</u> %	<u>Dem./ lean D.</u> %
Total	31	34	35=100	45	46
Republican Groups					
Enterprisers	81	1	18=100	98	1
Social Conservatives	82	0	18=100	97	1
Pro-Gov’t Conservatives	58	2	40=100	86	3
Middle Groups					
Upbeats	39	5	56=100	73	14
Disaffecteds	30	2	68=100	60	10
Bystanders	22	22	56=100	39	38
Democratic Groups					
Conservative Democrats	0	89	11=100	0	98
Disadvantaged Democrats	0	84	16=100	0	99
Liberals	1	59	40=100	2	92

* Independents include respondents who say they have no preference.
 ** Respondents who do not initially choose a party identification are asked “as of today do you lean more to the Republican Party or more to the Democratic Party?” These columns include these leaners with those who choose a party initially.

Conservatives are overwhelmingly Republican, there are many Pro-Government Conservatives who think of themselves as independents (though most say they “lean toward” the Republican party in a follow-up question). Similarly, while the left has two groups of Democratic loyalists (Conservative and Disadvantaged Democrats), many Liberals think of themselves politically as independents (virtually all of these independent Liberals lean Democratic).

Making the Typology

The 2005 Typology divides the public into eight politically engaged groups, in addition to the Bystanders. These groups are defined by their attitudes toward government and politics and a range of other social, economic and religious beliefs. In addition to partisan leanings and self-reported ideology, the typology is based on eight value orientations, each of which is reflected by a scale derived from two or more questions in the survey. They are as follows:

- *Foreign Policy Assertiveness.* Opinions on the efficacy of military strength vs. diplomacy, use of force to defeat terrorism, and Americans’ duty to serve in the military.
- *Religion and Morality.* Attitudes concerning the importance of religion in people's lives, the government’s role in protecting morality, and social issues such as homosexuality.
- *Environmentalism and Regulation.* Beliefs about the costs and benefits of government regulation of business to protect the environment or the public interest.
- *Social Welfare.* Beliefs about the role of government in providing for the poor and needy.
- *Immigration.* Views concerning the impact of immigrants on American culture and the U.S. economy.
- *Business Sentiment.* Attitudes about the influence of business in American society.
- *Financial Security.* Level of satisfaction with current economic status and feelings of financial security.

- *Anti-Government Sentiment.* Beliefs about the responsiveness of elected officials, and views about government performance.
- *Individualism.* Beliefs about whether all individuals have it within their power to succeed, or whether success is beyond a person's control.

These measures of an individual's overall value orientation on each of these dimensions do not take into account that person's position on current political issues, such as the war in Iraq or whether gay marriage should be allowed or banned. Instead, they are based on more broadly oriented values questions designed to measure a person's underlying beliefs about what's right and wrong, acceptable or unacceptable, or what government should or should not be involved in.

Creating the Typology

The value dimensions used to create the typology are each based on the combined responses to two or more survey questions. The questions used to create each scale were those shown statistically to be most strongly related to the underlying dimension. Each of the individual survey questions use a "balanced alternative" format that presents respondents with two statements and asks them to choose the one that most closely reflects their own views. To measure intensity, each question is followed by a probe to determine whether or not respondents feel strongly about the choice they selected.

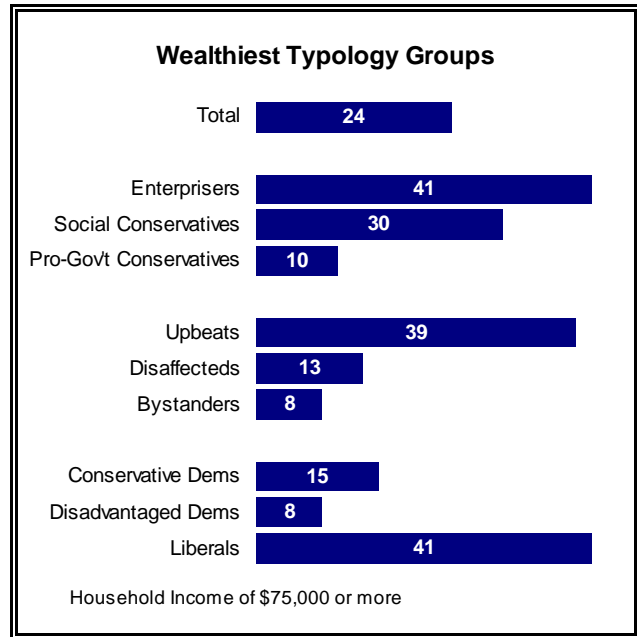
As in past typologies, a measure of political attentiveness and voting participation was used to extract the "Bystander" group, people who are largely unengaged and uninvolved in politics. A statistical cluster analysis was used to sort the remaining respondents into relatively homogeneous groups based on the nine value scales, party identification, and self reported ideology. Several different cluster solutions were evaluated for their effectiveness in producing cohesive groups that are distinct from one another, large enough in size to be analytically practical, and substantively meaningful. The final solution selected to produce the new political typology was judged to be strongest on a statistical basis and to be most persuasive from a substantive point of view. (A more complete description of the cluster analysis appears in the Methodology.)

You can take the typology survey and find out where you would be assigned by the methodology at our website: www.people-press.org.

III: Demographics, Lifestyle and News Consumption

The nine groups in the political typology are defined by their beliefs and values, not by their demographic characteristics. Yet each group has a distinctly different demographic profile, which in some cases bears little resemblance to those of their ideological and political allies. For example, Enterprisers have by far the highest percentage of men of any group (76%), while the other two GOP groups are majority female (62% Pro-Government Conservatives, 58% Social Conservatives). (For more on the demographics of the typology, see pg. 66)

On the other hand, Enterprisers and Liberals – whose political opinions mix no better than oil and water – have a surprising amount of common ground both economically and educationally. These groups are the wealthiest and best educated in the typology. Roughly four-in-ten Enterprisers and Liberals (41% each) have annual household incomes of at least \$75,000; only the Upbeats (39%) have about as many people in that income category.



Liberals have the highest education level of any typology group – 49% are college graduates and 26% have some postgraduate education. But the Enterprisers also include a relatively high percentage of college graduates (46%), although fewer Enterprisers than Liberals have attended graduate school (14%).

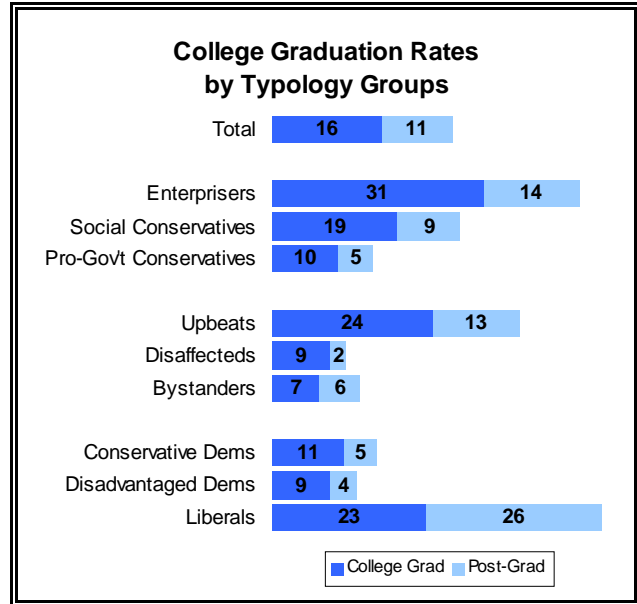
Pro-Government Conservatives stand out among Republican groups for their modest incomes. About half (49%) have annual household incomes of less than \$30,000; just 13% of Enterprisers and 26% of Social Conservatives have incomes in that range. Pro-Government Conservatives’ annual household incomes are comparable to those of Disadvantaged Democrats and Bystanders, and much lower than those of other GOP groups.

Huge disparities in education also divide both Democratic and Republican typology groups. Just 13% of Disdvantaged Democrats have completed college (9% college grads, 4% postgraduate), compared with nearly half of Liberals. Educational differences between Liberals and Conservative Democrats are nearly as large (49% vs. 16%).

Among Republicans, just 15% of Pro-Government Conservatives have completed college, compared with 45% of Enterprisers. There also are wide disparities in education among the three independent groups, with Upbeats (37%) far more likely to have completed college than Bystanders (13%) or Disaffecteds (11%).

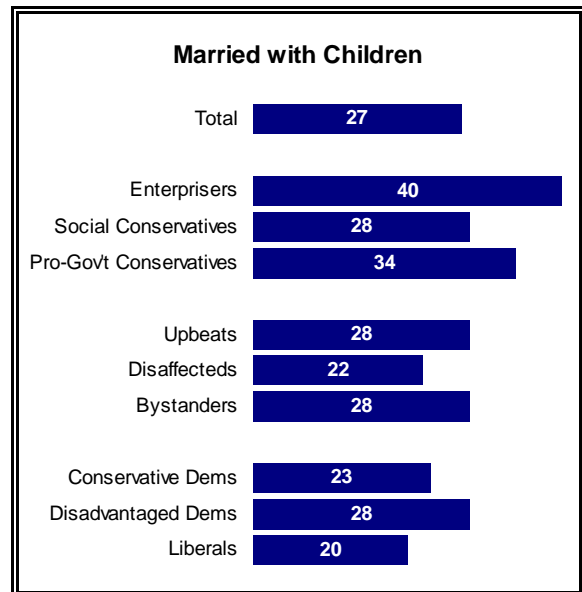
Marriage and Children

The exit poll from the 2004 election showed that married people – especially parents with children at home – strongly favored the president. Overall, Bush led by 57%-42% among all married Americans, and 59%-40% among married people with children, according to the National Election Pool (NEP) exit poll.



This pattern is reflected in the typology. Majorities in all three GOP groups are married: 77% of Enterprisers; 66% of Social Conservatives; and 55% of Pro-Government Conservatives. That also is the case for the two GOP-leaning independent groups – 59% of Upbeats and 57% of Disaffecteds. By contrast, about half of Conservative Democrats (49%) and smaller numbers of Liberals (44%) and Disadvantaged Democrats (42%) are married.

The Republican groups also have higher proportions of married people with children living at home. Four-in-ten Enterprisers are married and have children under age 18 living at home, as do 34% of Pro-Government Conservatives and 28% of Social Conservatives. Among Democratic groups, 28% of Disadvantaged Democrats, 23% of Conservative Democrats, and just 20% of Liberals are married and have children living at home.



Conservative and Disadvantaged Democrats are just as likely as Republican groups to have children living at home, but larger percentages are single parents (14% and 19%, respectively).

Economic Perceptions

Disadvantaged Democrats are largely defined by their feelings of financial stress. More than three-quarters of this group (77%) say they often do not have enough money to make ends meet; just 19% say paying the bills is generally not a problem. Yet financial unease is nearly as extensive among Pro-Government Conservatives; roughly two-thirds (68%) report that they have problems making ends meet.

For the most part, paying the bills is not a problem for those in the financially well-off groups – Enterprisers, Liberals and Upbeats. But most Social Conservatives, whose annual incomes are significantly less than in these other groups, also report few problems making ends meet. Nearly nine-in-ten Social Conservatives (88%) say that paying the bills is generally not a problem.

Among Disadvantaged Democrats, many more have also had personal experience with unemployment than in other groups. More than half of Disadvantaged Democrats (58%) say they, or someone in their household, have been out of work in the past year. Still, large minorities in most other groups – including 39% of Pro-Government Conservatives – say they or someone in their household have been jobless in the past year. Even about a quarter of the Enterprisers (28%) have been without work in the past 12 months.

Financially Stressed: Disadvantaged Dems, Pro-Government Conservatives									
<i>Which comes closer to your views...</i>	<u>Enterprisers</u>	<u>Social Cons</u>	<u>Pro-Govt Cons</u>	<u>Upbeats</u>	<u>Disaffecteds</u>	<u>By-standers</u>	<u>Conserv Dems</u>	<u>Disadv Dems</u>	<u>Liberals</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Paying the bills is not generally a problem	88	88	29	90	38	48	63	19	75
I often can't make ends meet	9	10	68	7	54	49	33	77	24
Other/DK/Refused	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Personal Optimism a Dividing Line

Pro-Government Conservatives and Disadvantaged Democrats have similar socioeconomic backgrounds and confront many of the same financial struggles. Both groups are predominantly female, both are relatively poor, and large majorities in both groups express dissatisfaction with their financial circumstances.

But these groups have strikingly different outlooks on their lives and possibilities that go a long way toward explaining the differences in their political attitudes. Feelings about the power of

the individual are a major factor in this division. Pro-Government Conservatives are defined, at least in part, by their optimism in this area. About three-quarters (76%) believe that most people can get ahead if they are willing to work hard – and two-thirds (66%) strongly express that view. An even higher percentage of Pro-Government Conservatives (81%) say that everyone has it in his or her own power to succeed.

Disadvantaged Democrats have a gloomier outlook. Just 14% think that people can get ahead by working hard; 79% say that hard work is no guarantee of success, and 76% express that view strongly. Only 44% of Disadvantaged Democrats say that everyone has the power to succeed, while slightly more (47%) take the fatalistic view that success in life is determined by forces outside one’s own control.

Struggling Groups: Similar Fortunes, Different Outlooks		
	Pro-Gov <u>Cons</u>	Disadv <u>Dems</u>
<i>Gender</i>	%	%
Men	38	40
Women	<u>62</u>	<u>60</u>
	100	100
<i>Household income</i>		
Under \$50,000	79	78
\$50,000 and over	21	22
<i>Education</i>		
College Graduate	15	13
Some College	26	20
High School or less	59	67
<i>Financial Perceptions</i>		
I often can’t make ends meet	68	77
Not very satisfied financially	74	79
<i>Personal Optimism</i>		
People can get ahead w/ hard work	76	14
Everyone has the power to succeed	81	44

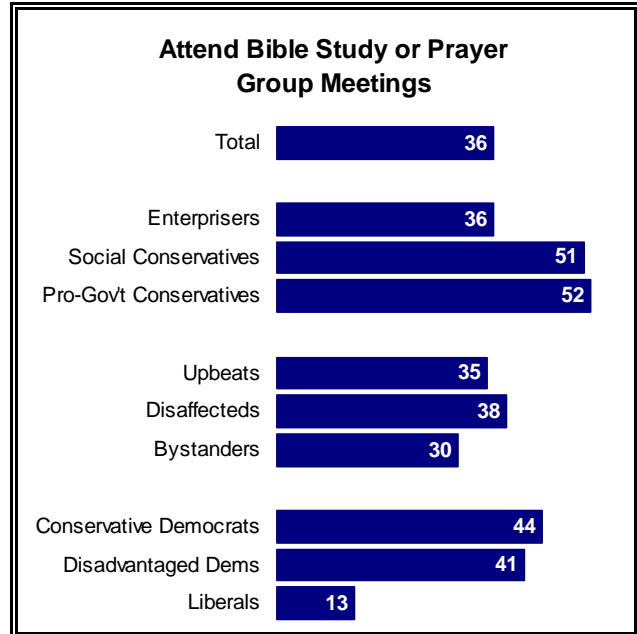
More broadly, opinions on personal empowerment deeply divide both the Democratic groups and independents. More than eight-in-ten Conservative Democrats (83%) think that most people who work hard can get ahead, while Liberals are somewhat less likely to subscribe to this view and Disadvantaged Democrats strongly disagree. Among center groups, Upbeats, by definition, are very optimistic on this point, and Disaffecteds much less so.

Conservatives Have Strong Belief in Personal Empowerment								
<i>Which comes closer to your views...</i>	<u>Enter</u> <u>prisers</u> %	<u>Social</u> <u>Cons</u> %	<u>Pro-Gov</u> <u>Cons</u> %	<u>Up-</u> <u>beats</u> %	<u>Disaf-</u> <u>fecteds</u> %	<u>Conserv</u> <u>Dems</u> %	<u>Disadv</u> <u>Dems</u> %	<u>Lib-</u> <u>erals</u> %
Most people can get ahead w/ hard work	95	87	76	84	48	83	14	56
Hard work is no guarantee of success	4	10	24	13	48	12	79	39
Other/DK/Refused	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Matters of Faith

The groups in the typology vary considerably in their religious traditions and in how they express their religious faith. All of the groups include sizable numbers of people with a strong religious commitment, but there are significant differences in how that commitment is manifested.

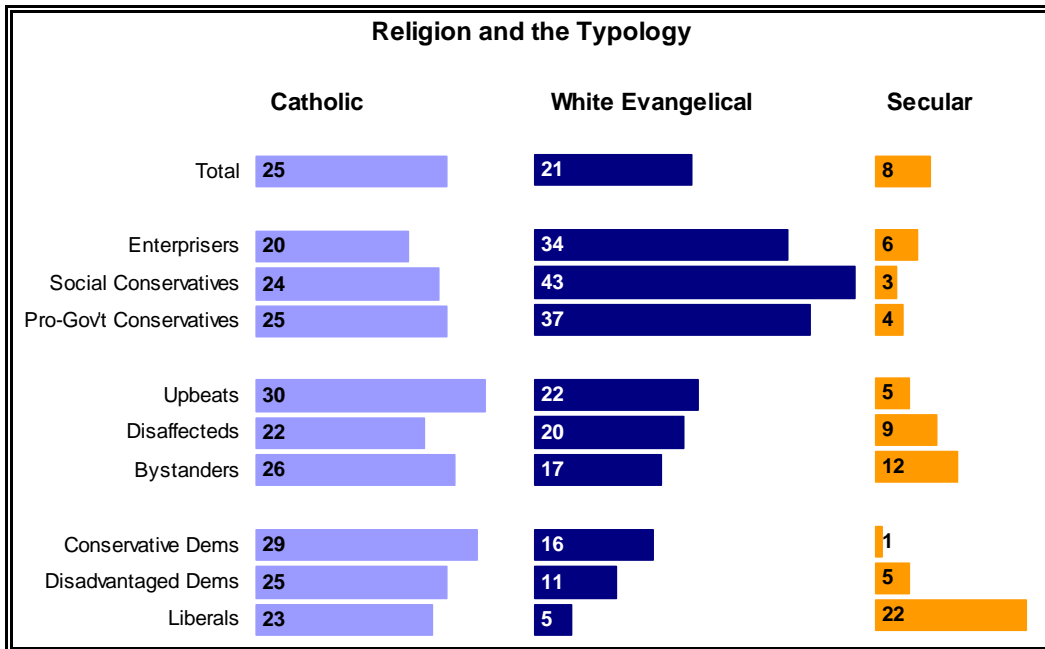
The U.S. remains a majority-Protestant nation (56% overall say they belong to the Protestant tradition), and this includes a majority among all groups except the younger, more secular Bystanders (49%) and Liberals (36%). Among other groups, Protestants range from 55% among the Upbeats up to 68% among the Social Conservatives. White evangelical Protestants, a core constituency for President Bush, are a significant plurality group among Social Conservatives (43%), Pro-Government Conservatives (37%), and Enterprisers (34%). White evangelicals constitute no more than 22% of any other group in the typology, and include only 5% of the Liberals.



In contrast with the great variability of evangelical representation across groups, Catholics are not concentrated in any specific group or cluster of groups. Catholics are one-quarter of the population (25%), but their proportions among groups vary only from 20% among Enterprisers to 30% among Upbeats. Catholics are 23% of the three Republican groups and 26% of the three Democratic groups.

Jews make up approximately 3% of the public overall, but 8% of the Liberals. People who identify with a religion outside of the Judeo-Christian tradition comprise about 5% of the population but include 8% of Liberals and 8% of Bystanders.

Secular individuals – those who say they are agnostic, atheist, or say they have no religious affiliation – are a significant portion only of Liberals: 22%. They include 12% of Bystanders and 9% of Disaffecteds, but otherwise constitute no more than 6% of the other groups.



Most Americans say that they attend religious services on at least an occasional basis, and 40% say they attend at least once per week. About half of the Republican groups report weekly (or greater) attendance, with Social Conservatives highest at 53%. Among Democratic groups, more than four-in-ten Conservative Democrats (46%) and Disadvantaged Democrats (43%) attend at least weekly, but less than half as many Liberals do so (18%).

Attendance at religious services may also take the form of participation in Bible study or prayer meetings. More than a third of Americans (36%) say they engage in this type of activity. Over half of Pro-Government Conservatives and Social Conservatives (52% and 51%, respectively) participate, compared with 36% among the other Republican group, Enterprisers. Over four-in-ten Conservative and Disadvantaged Democrats (44%, 41%) say they take part in Bible study or prayer meetings, but just 13% of Liberals do so.

Church Attendance

	At least weekly	Some- times**	Seldom/ Never	DK/ Refused
	%	%	%	
Total	40	34	25	1=100
Republican Groups				
Enterprisers	48	26	25	1=100
Social Conservatives	53	31	15	1=100
Pro-Gov't Conservatives	52	35	11	2=100
Middle Groups				
Upbeats	46	32	22	*=100
Disaffecteds	39	34	25	2=100
Bystanders	26	39	34	1=100
Democratic Groups				
Conservative Democrats	46	34	19	1=100
Disadvantaged Democrats	43	39	17	1=100
Liberals	18	38	43	1=100

** Includes "once or twice a month" and "a few times a year"

Financial Activity: Who Trades Stock

Enterprisers and Liberals have the same proportion of high-income individuals. But Enterprisers are much more likely than Liberals – or any other group – to invest in the stock market or own a small business.

More than half of Enterprisers (53%) say they trade stocks and bonds in the market. That is the highest percentage among typology groups; about four-in-ten Upbeats (42%) and Liberals (38%) say they are active in the market. Trading stocks and bonds is far less common in the lower-income groups: Just 11% of Bystanders and 14% of Pro-Government Conservatives say they trade stocks and bonds.

Three-in-ten Enterprisers own small businesses, more than any other group in the typology. Disaffecteds also include a relatively large proportion of small business owners (21%), despite their relatively low incomes; in fact, there are more small business owners among the Disaffecteds than among the wealthier Upbeats (15%).

	Taking Financial Risks	
	<i>Do you...</i>	
	<u>Trade stocks</u>	<u>Own a small bus.</u>
	%	%
Total	28	16
Republican Groups		
Enterprisers	53	30
Social Conservatives	35	14
Pro-Gov't Conservatives.	14	11
Middle Groups		
Upbeats	42	15
Disaffecteds	17	21
Bystanders	11	10
Democratic Groups		
Conservative Democrats	20	14
Disadvantaged Democrats	18	8
Liberals	38	17

Lifestyle Notes: Showing the Flag

Nearly two-thirds of Americans (64%) say they display the American flag at home, at work, or on their car. Three-quarters or more of the GOP groups say they show the flag. Democratic groups show more variation: 72% of Conservative Democrats say they display the flag, compared with 53% of Disadvantaged Democrats and just 41% of Liberals.

Among independent groups, only about half of Bystanders (47%) say they display the flag. Bystanders are the youngest of the nine typology groups – 39% are under 30. Generally, young people are far less likely than older Americans to show the flag – only about half (47%) say they do

	Display the Flag?		
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
	%	%	%
Total	64	36	*=100
Republican Groups			
Enterprisers	76	24	0=100
Social Conservatives	84	16	0=100
Pro-Gov't Conserv.	82	18	0=100
Middle Groups			
Upbeats	68	32	0=100
Disaffecteds	72	28	0=100
Bystanders	47	53	0=100
Democratic Groups			
Conservative Democrats	72	27	1=100
Disadvantaged Democrats	53	47	0=100
Liberals	41	59	0=100

so, compared with about two-thirds of those in older age categories.

Gun Ownership

Gun ownership is much more prevalent among GOP groups – especially Enterprisers and Social Conservatives – than among Democrats. Solid majorities in both of those groups say they have guns in their home (59% of Enterprisers, 56% of Social Conservatives). Disaffecteds have the next highest percentage of gun owners (45%).

There has long been a gender gap in gun ownership, but Social Conservatives, while mostly female (58%), have a relatively high percentage of gun ownership. By contrast, Pro-Government Conservatives, a group that also is disproportionately female (62%), are far less likely to have guns in their homes; slightly more than a third in this group (36%) say they have a gun. There are smaller differences in gun ownership among Democrats, with about a third of Conservative Democrats (34%) – and smaller percentages of the other groups – reporting that they have guns in the home.

	Enter prisers	Social Cons	Pro-Govt Cons	Up- beats	Disaf- fecteds	By- standers	Cons Dems	Disadv Dems	Lib- erals
<i>Have a gun, rifle at home?</i>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Yes	59	56	36	40	45	30	34	27	23
No	34	39	62	59	51	67	65	70	76
DK/Refused	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Opinion of the NRA</i>									
Favorable	80	60	64	53	64	52	46	37	20
Unfavorable	12	20	22	34	31	29	38	51	73
DK/Can't Rate	<u>8</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>7</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Democrats are deeply divided in their opinions of the National Rifle Association (NRA). A plurality of Conservative Democrats (46%) express a positive opinion of the NRA; fewer than half as many Liberals (20%) have a favorable view of the pro-gun rights group. Among GOP groups, 80% of Enterprisers have a positive opinion of the NRA. Nearly two-thirds of Pro-Government Conservatives (64%) have a favorable view of the NRA, despite their relatively low level of gun ownership.

News Consumption: Cable Wars Continue

The public continues to get most of its news from television. Television is the dominant news source for all of the typology groups, although Liberals (57%), Upbeats (67%) and Enterprisers

(68%) cite TV as their main news source less frequently than do members of other groups.

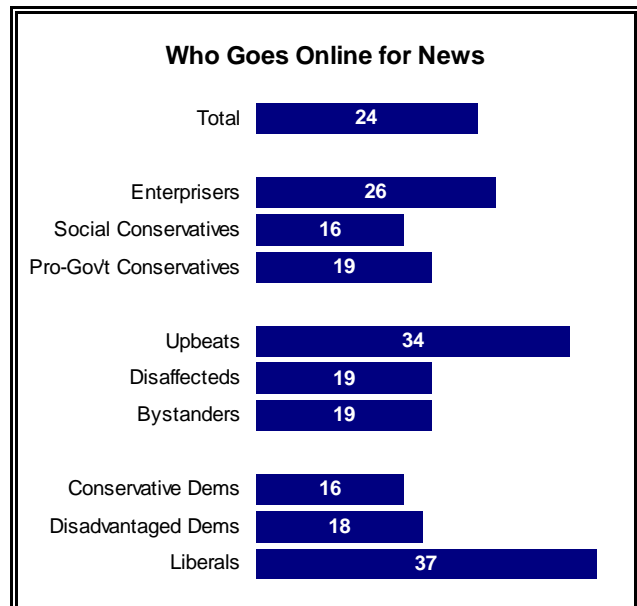
There are wide differences, however, in the specific TV news outlets the typology groups rely upon, particularly cable news outlets. This partisan gap in cable news audiences has been documented in previous Pew studies on news consumption (see “News Audiences Increasingly Politicized” June 8, 2004).

The typology also reveals significant *intra-party* differences in news consumption. While many more Republicans than Democrats rely on Fox News, a much higher percentage of Enterprisers (46%) get most of their news from Fox than do either Social Conservatives (34%) or Pro-Government Conservatives (23%). Moreover, the last two groups are much more likely than Enterprisers to cite CNN or the networks as main sources of news.

	<i>Main news source</i>		
	<u>Network*</u>	<u>CNN</u>	<u>Fox</u>
	%	%	%
Total	29	20	19
Republican Groups			
Enterprisers	17	8	46
Social Conservatives	30	23	34
Pro-Gov't Conserv.	31	21	23
Middle Groups			
Upbeats	29	20	17
Disaffecteds	30	15	16
Bystanders	24	19	19
Democratic Groups			
Conservative Democrats	42	27	11
Disadvantaged Democrats	32	31	12
Liberals	22	18	6

* Net of those who cited ABC, NBC or CBS

Among Democrats, nearly twice as many Conservative Democrats as Liberals cite one of the three network outlets as their main source of news (42% vs. 22%). Age accounts for much of this gap: The network news audience is older – a third of those age 65 and older get most of their news from the networks, compared with 20% of those below age 30. And Conservative Democrats are, as a group, much older than Liberals.



To a surprising degree, Liberals (and young, well-educated people generally) are turning away from TV news in favor of the internet. Fully 37% of Liberals and 34% of Upbeats say they get most of their news from the internet, far more than any other group. For both groups, the number relying on the internet far exceeds any individual TV news source (network, cable or local) and approaches newspaper usage.

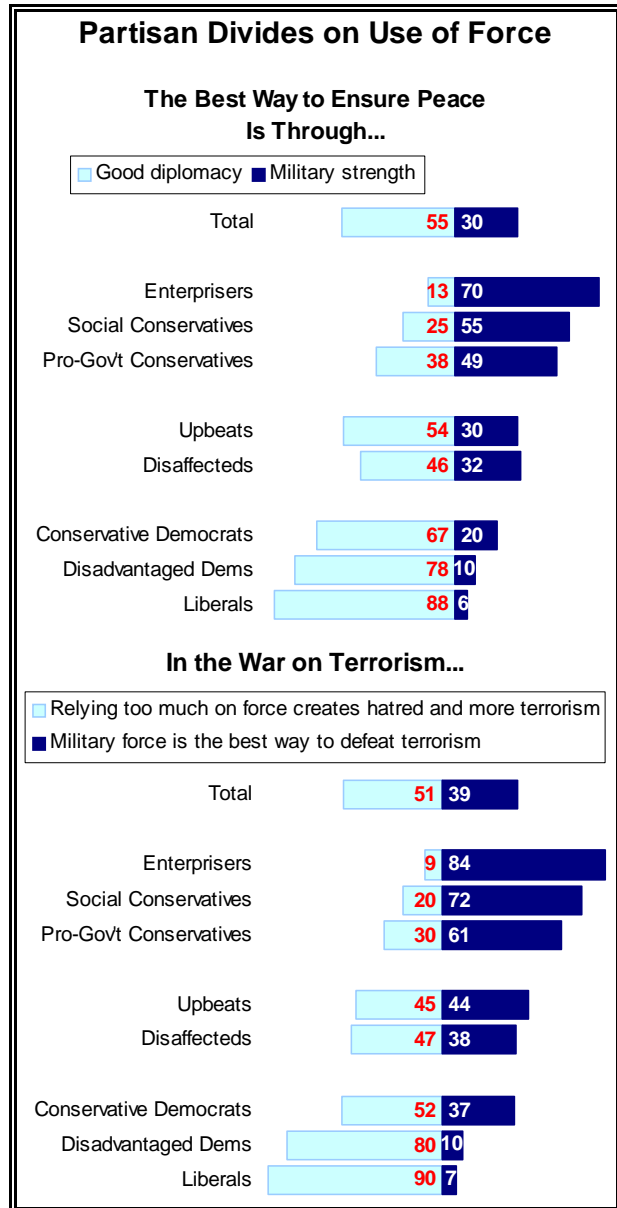
IV: Beyond Red vs. Blue: Value Divides Within Party Coalitions

In an era when virtually all political issues are seen through partisan lenses, the political typology still finds numerous value cleavages in American society, many of which cut across party lines. In fact, public values about security and the use of military force are among the *only* value dimensions in which Republican and Democratic groups clearly align on opposite sides, and, even here, the intensity of opinion differs significantly within each coalition. Overall, the analysis finds that the intense partisan divide over security and military assertiveness is the exception, and not the rule. In most cases, there are fissures *within* the party coalitions that are at least as important as the divide between the parties overall.

Foreign Policy Values

The extreme partisan polarization over the war in Iraq in recent years is interwoven with sharply divided judgments about national security and foreign assertiveness. Asked whether the best way to ensure peace is through military strength or through good diplomacy, the vast majority in all three Democratic-leaning groups choose diplomacy, while those in Republican-leaning groups express more confidence in military strength. While the degree of intensity within partisan groups may differ, there is a significantly greater difference of opinion between parties than there is within either party coalition.

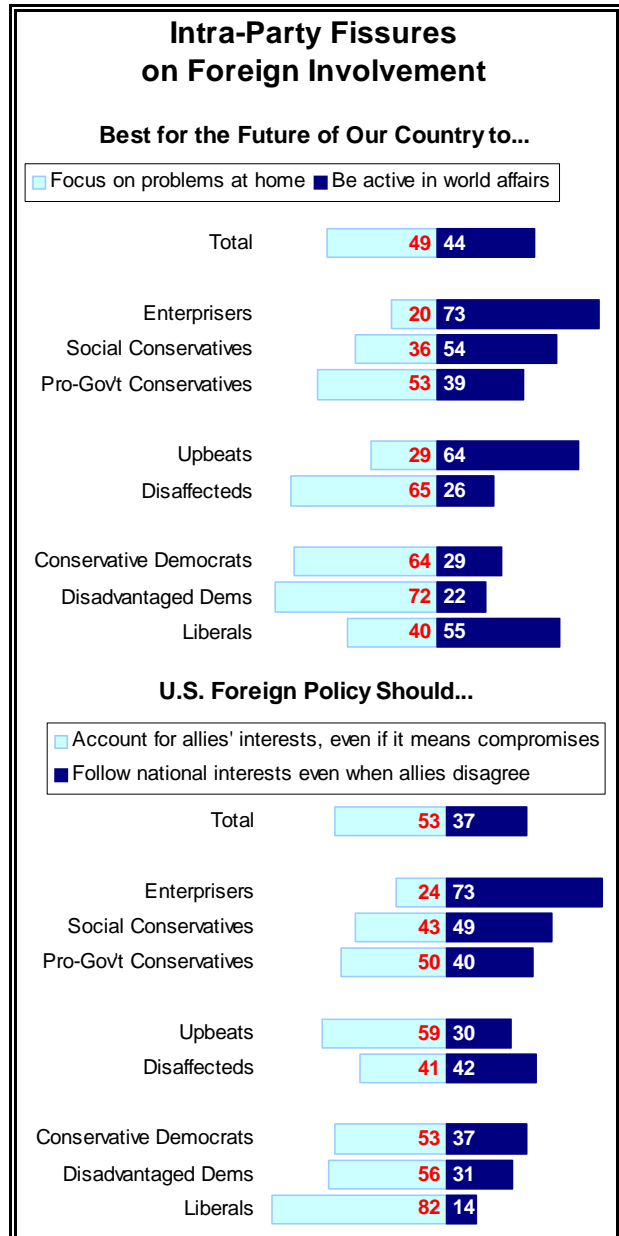
This partisan divide is even broader when it comes to peoples' views on the war on terrorism. Across all Republican groups most believe that using overwhelming military force is the best way to defeat terrorism around the world, while a clear majority in all Democratic groups believe relying too much on military force to defeat terrorism creates hatred that leads to more terrorism. These



partisan cleavages underlie the fundamental divide over the war in Iraq and George W. Bush's emphasis on the preemptive use of force, key aspects of American politics in recent years.

However, most issues, even within the realm of foreign policy more generally, do not display such a clear partisan pattern. In fact, in many cases the differences of opinion *within* the partisan coalitions are far greater than any partisan gap overall. Public opinions with respect to how active a role America should play in world affairs highlight this distinction. Each party coalition includes typology groups that express activist or isolationist sentiments. By a margin of 73% to 20%, Enterprisers believe it is best for the future of the country to be active in world affairs. By contrast, Pro-Government Conservatives, by a 53% to 39% margin, think we should pay less attention to problems overseas and concentrate instead on problems here at home. Similarly among the predominantly Democratic groups, the majority of Liberals favor an active role in world affairs, while most Conservative and Disadvantaged Democrats believe in focusing on problems here at home.

In other areas, only the most ideologically driven groups express views that are significantly different from the national average. In making foreign policy decisions, the Enterprisers overwhelmingly say America should follow its own national interests even when the allies strongly disagree, while the consensus among Liberals is that U.S. foreign policy should take into account the interests and views of allies, even if it means making compromises with them. Most other typology groups, whether on the right or the left, are internally divided on this question, and have more in common with each other than they do with either of the extremes.



Cultural Issues Divide Democrats

Despite differing degrees of religious intensity among core Republican groups, there is little evidence that the current slate of moral and values-oriented issues threatens to divide the Republican electoral base in any significant way. While Enterprisers are defined mostly by their pro-business, anti-government and anti-regulatory beliefs rather than their religious or moral conservatism, they nevertheless agree fully with Social Conservatives and Pro-Government Conservatives when it comes to issues such as abortion, gay marriage, and stem cell research. (For more on social issues, see pg. 37).

	Enter- prisers	Social Cons	Pro-Gov Cons
Homosexuality is a way of life that should be discouraged	64	65	59
<i>Feel strongly</i>	50	59	55
It is necessary to believe in God in order to be moral and have good values	42	61	68
<i>Feel strongly</i>	33	57	66
The gov't should do more to protect morality in society	52	56	69
<i>Feel strongly</i>	35	44	60

While agreeing with the conservative position on most key issues, Enterprisers are distinguished from other Republican-leaning groups by their relative lack of *intensity* with respect to individual or social moral beliefs. Though Enterprisers attend church at about the same rate as members of other Republican-leaning groups, just 42% say a person must believe in God in order to be moral and have good values, compared with sizable majorities of Pro-Government and Social Conservatives. And just 33% of Enterprisers feel strongly about the importance of faith, compared with 57% and 66% of Social and Pro-Government Conservatives, respectively.

In addition, Enterprisers express less enthusiasm for government involvement in moral issues – a position that is consistent with their generally anti-government ideology overall. Just 35% of Enterprisers *strongly* support more government action to protect morality in society. By comparison, 60% of Pro-Government Conservatives, and 44% of Social Conservatives, strongly support more government action in this regard.

Overall, divisions over social and religious issues continue to be far more intense on the left than on the right. Conservative Democrats – who represent 14% of the general public and a quarter of John Kerry’s voting base in 2004 – tend to agree with Republican groups more than other Democratic groups when it comes to key social issues such as gay marriage and abortion.

Of equal importance, Liberals, who represent 17% of the general public and 39% of John Kerry’s voting base in 2004 – are distinct from all other typology groups for their secular values. Fully 84% of Liberals say a person need not believe in God in order to be moral and have good

values, while the majority of Conservative and Disadvantaged Democrats disagree. This secular/religious divide is connected to very different views of the role of government. A majority of Conservative Democrats would like to see the government do more to protect morality in society, while just 8% of Liberals agree. Most strikingly, more than nine-in-ten Liberals (92%) say that homosexuality should be accepted by society as a way of life, whereas only half of Disadvantaged Democrats (51%) and only a third of Conservative Democrats (34%) agree.

The Democrats' Cultural Divide			
	<u>Lib-</u> <u>erals</u>	<u>Disadv.</u> <u>Dems</u>	<u>Cons.</u> <u>Dems</u>
	%	%	%
<i>Homosexuality is a way of life that...</i>			
Should be accepted by society	92	51	34
Should be discouraged by society	5	41	58
Neither/Both/Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>8</u>
	100	100	100
<i>To be moral and have good values...</i>			
It is necessary to believe in God	15	54	74
It is NOT necessary to believe in God	84	43	24
Neither/Both/Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100	100
The government should do more to			
protect morality in society	8	32	54
I worry the government is getting too			
involved in the issue of morality	88	59	38
Neither/Both/Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>
	100	100	100

Democrats Divide over Regulation, Environment, Immigration

While religious and moral beliefs form a clear area of contention within the Democratic electoral coalition, this is not the only arena in which there is substantial disagreement. In particular, the economic insecurity faced by most Disadvantaged Democrats is linked with a number of attitudes toward regulation, the environment, and immigration that are not typically associated with liberalism.

At root, most Disadvantaged Democrats, who make up 10% of the general public and 22% of Kerry's voting base in 2004, are struggling financially and are pessimistic about their opportunities to improve their situation. This gap is most notable with respect to feelings of individual empowerment. By a 79% to 14% margin, Disadvantaged Democrats believe that hard work and determination provide no guarantee of success for most people. By comparison, the majority of Liberals and Conservative Democrats believe that most people who want to get ahead can make it if they are willing to work hard.

While the Democratic Party is generally viewed as more favorable toward the environment and government, this basic difference with respect to wealth and opportunity creates significant divisions within the party in these areas. While most Liberals and Conservative Democrats believe government regulation of business is necessary to protect the public interest, the majority of Disadvantaged Democrats believe government regulations usually do more harm than good. And Liberals and Conservative Democrats believe that stricter environmental regulations are worth the

costs, a view shared by majorities in two of the three Republican groups as well. But fewer than half of Disadvantaged Democrats agree, while 44% say that stricter environmental regulations cost too many jobs and hurt the economy.

The various groups in the Democratic coalition also have different values with respect to the impact of newcomers to America. By an 87% to 9% margin, most Liberals believe the growing number of immigrants strengthens American society, but only about a third of both Disadvantaged and Conservative Democrats agree. Instead, most in these groups say the influx of newcomers to this country poses a threat to traditional American values and customs.

Other Fissures in the Democratic Coalition			
	Lib- erals	Disadv. Dems	Cons. Dems
<i>Government regulation of business...</i>			
Usually does more harm than good	21	66	34
Is necessary to protect the public interest	72	21	51
Neither/Both/Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>15</u>
	100	100	100
<i>Stricter environmental regulations...</i>			
Are worth the costs	89	48	60
Cost too many jobs and hurt the economy	7	44	29
Neither/Both/Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>11</u>
	100	100	100
<i>The growing number of newcomers from other countries...</i>			
Threatens traditional American customs and values			
	9	53	53
Strengthens American society			
	87	34	35
Neither/Both/Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>12</u>
	100	100	100
Most people who want to get ahead can make it if they're willing to work hard			
	56	14	83
Hard work and determination are no guarantee of success for most people			
	39	79	12
Neither/Both/Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100

These internal divisions even carry over into beliefs directly related to the role of government. Disadvantaged Democrats express far more cynicism about persistent government waste and inefficiency, as well as government officials losing touch with the people, than do other Democratic typology groups. Conservative Democrats are much more likely to believe that poor people have it easy because they can get government benefits without doing anything in return, while Liberals and Disadvantaged Democrats strongly believe that poor people lead difficult lives because benefits don't go far enough.

Divided GOP Values on Government, Business, Poverty

The Republican Party is often characterized as being pro-business, anti-regulation, and opposed to broad government programs to assist the poor. However, not all segments of the GOP's electoral coalition share these values. Most notably, Pro-Government Conservatives, who make up 9% of the general public and 15% of Bush's 2004 voting base, tend to favor government action across the board, whether the topic is public morality, anti-poverty assistance, or regulation. And while both Social and Pro-Government Conservatives are strong advocates of traditional moral

values, there is a huge economic divide between the two, which leads to starkly differing views on other social, economic, and governmental issues.

This combination contributes to dramatic differences on such core values as the government's responsibility to the poor. While 80% of Pro-Government Conservatives say the government should do more to help the needy, even if it means going deeper into debt, the majority of Social Conservatives and two-thirds of Enterprisers take the opposing view – that the government can't afford to do much more to help the needy.

While Social Conservatives largely side with Enterprisers on welfare, they side with the less affluent Pro-Government Conservatives when it comes to business and regulatory issues. By overwhelming margins, both Social Conservatives and Pro-Government Conservatives hold negative views of business, while Enterprisers stand apart from the rest of the country with their consistently favorable views of business and the marketplace. This divide is reflected in other values

about regulation and the environment as well. While 78% of Enterprisers believe government regulation usually does more harm than good, sizeable majorities of the other Republican typology groups believe regulation of business is necessary to protect the public interest.

Environmental protection also stands out as a major divide within the GOP's coalition. Most Enterprisers believe the country has gone too far in its efforts to protect the environment, while roughly eight-in-ten Social and Pro-Government Conservatives take the opposing view that we should do whatever it takes to protect the environment. Similarly, while three-quarters of

Fissures in the Republican Coalition			
	<u>Enter- prisers</u> %	<u>Social Cons</u> %	<u>Pro-gov Cons</u> %
The gov't should do more to help needy Americans even if it means going deeper into debt	19	32	80
The gov't today can't afford to do much more to help the needy	67	58	13
Neither/Both/Don't know	<u>14</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>7</u>
	100	100	100
Too much power is concentrated in the hands of a few large companies	26	88	83
The largest companies do NOT have too much power	58	5	11
Neither/Both/Don't know	<u>16</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100
<i>Government regulation of business...</i>			
Is necessary to protect the public interest	16	58	66
Usually does more harm than good	78	32	27
Neither/Both/Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>7</u>
	100	100	100
<i>Stricter environmental regulations...</i>			
Are worth the costs	16	67	61
Cost too many jobs and hurt the economy	74	25	32
Neither/Both/Don't know	<u>10</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>
	100	100	100
<i>The growing number of newcomers from other countries...</i>			
Threaten traditional American customs and values	38	68	31
Strengthens American society	53	21	62
Neither/Both/Don't know	<u>9</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>7</u>
	100	100	100

Enterprisers see environmental regulation as mostly hurting the economy and jobs, more than six-in-ten in the other GOP groups say stricter environmental protections are worth the costs.

V: POLITICS AND THE TYPOLOGY

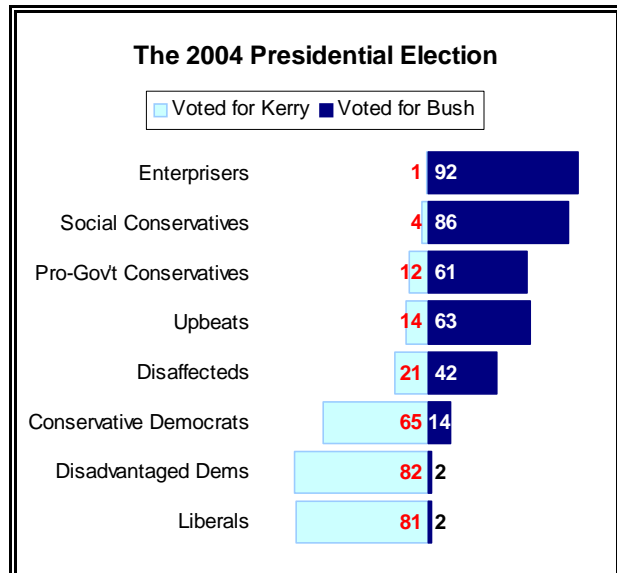
The political polarization evident in last fall’s presidential election is clearly reflected in the Pew typology. The two most heavily Republican groups – Enterprisers and Social Conservatives, who together account for 23% of registered voters – supported Bush by margins of 20-1 or more. The strongest Democratic groups – Liberals and Disadvantaged Democrats, who together make up 29% of registered voters – backed Kerry just as convincingly.

Bush drew strong, but less overwhelming, support from the other largely Republican group, Pro-Government Conservatives. This group, comprising 10% of registered voters, favored the president by five-to-one (61%-12%). On the Democratic side, Conservative Democrats (15% of registered voters) favored Kerry by about the same margin 65%-14%.

Taken together, the three Democratic groups make up a larger share of registered voters than do the three Republican groups (44% vs. 33%). But Bush countered this

advantage by drawing strong support from the GOP-leaning groups in the middle of the political spectrum. A majority of Upbeats do not identify themselves with either party, but most lean to the GOP. The Upbeats backed Bush nearly five-to-one (63%-14%). And though many Disaffecteds did not turn out to vote, those who did were also an important part of Bush’s winning coalition (favoring the incumbent by a 42%-21% margin). This group, too, is mostly independent, but 60% either identify themselves as Republican or lean toward the GOP.

Moreover, Bush’s core supporters – Enterprisers and Social Conservatives – report higher rates of voter turnout than do other groups in the typology. Just 4% of Enterprisers and 6% of Social Conservatives say they did not vote last November. By contrast, 13% in each of the three Democratic groups say they did not vote in the presidential election.



Views of Political Figures

Most Americans (69%) say they would not want Bush to run for a third term, even if that were permissible under the Constitution. Just 27% would like to see Bush serve as president for a third term. A majority also opposes a hypothetical third term for Bill Clinton (55%), but significantly more would like to see a third term for Clinton (43%) than for Bush.

Nearly two-thirds of Americans (64%) have a favorable opinion of Bill Clinton, the highest positive rating of 11 political figures tested. Six-in-ten have a favorable opinion of former New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani, and about the same number have a positive view of Sen. John McCain (59%).

Ratings for both Bill and Hillary Clinton had declined sharply in 2001 and 2002, following the controversy over the pardons Bill Clinton had issued before leaving office. But their ratings have rebounded strongly – favorable opinions of Bill Clinton have risen from 46% in December 2002 to 64% currently. Hillary Clinton’s favorable marks have also risen, though not quite as dramatically (from 47% in December 2002 to 57% in the current survey).

Comeback Kids			
	<u>Favor- able</u> %	<u>Unfavor- able</u> %	<u>Can't Rate</u> %
Hillary Clinton	57	36	7=100
December 2002	47	44	8=100
July 2001	53	42	4=100
January 2001	60	35	5=100
Bill Clinton	64	32	4=100
December 2002	46	49	5=100
July 2001	50	46	4=100
January 2001	64	34	2=100

The Typology and Leading Republicans

While partisanship also colors the favorability ratings, several political figures have broad appeal across the typology groups. Rudy Giuliani is widely popular with Republican groups, especially Enterprisers (90% positive), but also has a favorable rating among majorities in both independent groups, and roughly half of Conservative Democrats (53%) and Liberals (47%).

Sen. John McCain is extraordinarily popular among Liberals, drawing a positive rating among this group that is actually a bit higher than among Republicans generally (66% vs. 61%). However, his favorability ratings among GOP typology groups are significantly lower than Giuliani’s or those of the president and other administration officials.

Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice is very popular with Republicans – her 97% favorable rating among Enterprisers rivals Bush’s (96%) and Cheney’s (94%). But Rice also has robust ratings

among both independent groups and among Conservative Democrats. Rice and California Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger draw the highest positive ratings among Upbeats of all 11 political figures tested (76% each).

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Enter- prisers</u>	<u>Social Cons</u>	<u>Pro-Gov Cons</u>	<u>Up- beats</u>	<u>Disaf- fecteds</u>	<u>Cons Dems</u>	<u>Disadv Dems</u>	<u>Lib- erals</u>
<i>Favorable view of...</i>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Rudy Giuliani	60	90	75	69	69	53	53	37	47
John McCain	59	74	68	53	65	45	53	45	66
A. Schwarzenegger	57	79	71	67	76	47	52	39	37
Condoleezza Rice	57	97	83	80	76	53	50	28	33
George Bush	53	96	91	89	71	72	41	9	9
Dick Cheney	48	94	86	70	55	57	35	19	13
Donald Rumsfeld	39	85	73	52	46	34	36	12	8

Other major administration figures elicit more partisan reactions. Bush has extensive appeal among the GOP groups, as well as among Disaffecteds and Upbeats (72% and 71% favorable, respectively); Bush also earns a 41% favorable mark among Conservative Democrats. But only about one-in-ten Disadvantaged Democrats (9%) and Liberals (9%) express a positive opinion of Bush.

Vice President Dick Cheney’s ratings are generally lower than the president’s, especially among the two independent groups. Donald Rumsfeld has the lowest overall positive rating of the Republicans tested. Fewer than half of those in the independent groups – and 52% of Pro-Government Conservatives – express a favorable opinion of the defense secretary.

Clintons’ Crossover Appeal

Bill and Hillary Clinton draw positive ratings ranging from 80% to 90% in the three Democratic groups. More surprising is their popularity in the center, and even the center-right, of the political spectrum. Roughly half of Pro-Government Conservatives, whose views stray from GOP orthodoxy more than other Republican groups, express positive opinions of both Clintons (53% Bill Clinton, 51% Hillary Clinton).

Both Clintons are very unpopular with Enterprisers, although about a third of Social Conservatives express a favorable opinion of the former president (32%). However, Hillary Clinton

has lower favorability ratings among the two independent groups than Bill Clinton and most leading GOP figures.

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Enter- prisers</u>	<u>Social Cons</u>	<u>Pro-Gov Cons</u>	<u>Up- beats</u>	<u>Disaf- fecteds</u>	<u>Cons Dems</u>	<u>Disadv Dems</u>	<u>Lib- erals</u>
<i>Favorable view of...</i>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Bill Clinton	64	21	32	53	50	49	89	85	88
Hillary Clinton	57	10	24	51	44	34	88	77	83
John Kerry	49	11	18	23	38	23	74	86	78
Howard Dean	32	8	21	13	27	19	43	32	60

John Kerry's positive appeal is largely limited to the three main Democratic groups. Howard Dean is less well-known, and less popular, than other figures tested. Liberals are the only group in which a majority (60%) expresses a favorable opinion of Dean.

Looking to '08

John McCain's extensive popularity among Liberals is evident in early opinions about the 2008 presidential race. Overall, about a third of the public (32%) say they would like to see McCain nominated as the GOP candidate, slightly more than the number who favor Giuliani (27%). But much of McCain's strength comes from the Liberal group. Fully 55% of Liberals say they most want to see McCain win the GOP nomination; that is more than double the percentage in any GOP group that wants McCain to capture the nomination.

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Enter- prisers</u>	<u>Social Cons</u>	<u>Pro-Gov Cons</u>	<u>Up- beats</u>	<u>Disaf- fecteds</u>	<u>Cons Dems</u>	<u>Disadv Dems</u>	<u>Lib- erals</u>
<i>Most like to see GOP nominate...</i>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
John McCain	32	20	24	27	27	23	32	30	55
Rudy Giuliani	27	30	30	33	29	30	30	19	20
Condoleezza Rice	17	23	17	24	21	17	14	16	14
Jeb Bush	7	13	14	6	4	11	4	3	2
Bill Frist	4	12	5	2	4	2	5	8	2

Giuliani's support, by contrast, is distributed far more evenly across the typology groups. Giuliani is the top choice among the three GOP groups, but also is rated highly by Upbeats, Disaffecteds and Conservative Democrats. Condoleezza Rice also has fairly broad support; among the Republican groups, Rice's backing is on par with McCain's. And about one-in-five Upbeats (21%) and Disaffecteds (17%) want Rice to win the GOP nod in 2008.

<i>Most like to see</i>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Enter- prisers</u>	<u>Social Cons</u>	<u>Pro-Gov Cons</u>	<u>Up- beats</u>	<u>Disaf- fecteds</u>	<u>Cons Dems</u>	<u>Disadv Dems</u>	<u>Lib- erals</u>
<i>Democrats nominate...%</i>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Hillary Clinton	34	14	13	41	26	20	43	49	45
John Kerry	16	6	8	11	16	11	21	31	14
John Edwards	16	16	22	18	20	16	19	6	14
Howard Dean	9	15	10	7	11	11	7	4	11
Bill Richardson	9	29	18	8	8	9	3	5	5

Among Democrats, Hillary Clinton has the early advantage. Clinton is the top choice of all three Democratic groups; overall, about a third (34%) would like to see her win the Democratic nomination. In addition, on the Republican side, 41% of Pro-Government Conservatives want Clinton to win the Democratic nomination. John Kerry and John Edwards both trail Clinton among Democrats, although Kerry attracts sizable backing among Disadvantaged Democrats (31%).

Views of the Parties

As expected, the groups constituting the electoral base for each political party view that party in mostly favorable terms while holding largely unfavorable opinions of the opposing party. When it comes to party performance in standing up for its traditional positions, however, Democratic groups are more critical of their own party's leadership than Republicans are of GOP leaders. And among the Democrats, Liberals are the most critical of their own party's leadership.

	<i>Republican Party</i>			<i>Democratic Party</i>		
	<u>Fav</u>	<u>Unfav</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Fav</u>	<u>Unfav</u>	<u>DK</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%
All	52	42	6=100	53	41	6=100
Enterprisers	96	4	0=100	7	92	1=100
Social Conservatives	89	8	3=100	25	70	5=100
Pro-Gov't Conservatives	78	17	5=100	38	57	5=100
Upbeats	76	17	7=100	42	50	8=100
Disaffecteds	59	27	14=100	39	49	12=100
Conservative Democrats	33	60	7=100	82	12	6=100
Disadvantaged Democrats	16	79	5=100	83	12	5=100
Liberals	14	83	3=100	77	20	3=100

More than nine-in-ten Enterprisers (96%) have a favorable view of the GOP, and almost as many express a negative view of the Democrats (92%). Social Conservatives are nearly as partisan. However, Pro-Government Conservatives are far less critical of the Democratic party than are the other groups making up the Republican base – 38% have a positive opinion of the Democratic Party.

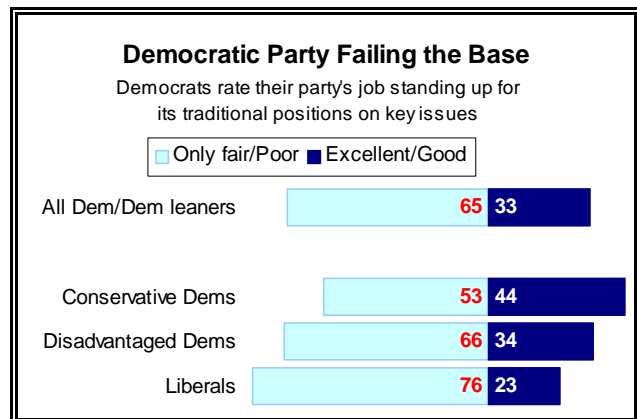
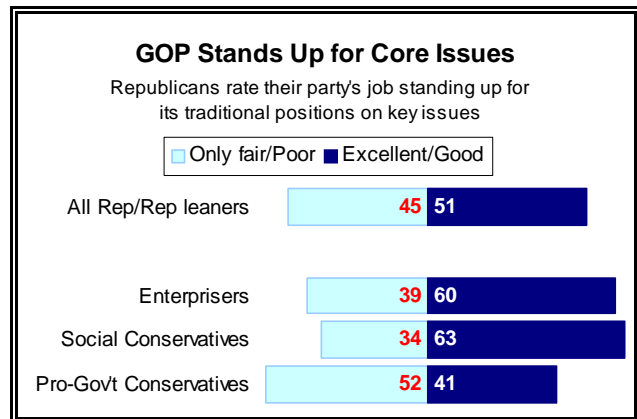
Roughly eight-in-ten members of all three core Democratic groups give their party a favorable assessment. Liberals are the least enthusiastic (77% favorable to 20% unfavorable). Both Disadvantaged Democrats and Conservative Democrats hold similar views of their party, but Conservative Democrats are less negative in their feelings toward the Republican party.

Upbeats and Disaffecteds are less polarized in their views of the two parties. Large majorities in both groups hold favorable views of the GOP but about four-in-ten in each group also hold a favorable view of the Democratic Party (42% of Upbeats, 39% of Disaffecteds).

Party Performance: Liberals Are Critical

While both parties receive favorable ratings from their base, Republicans are much more positive about the performance of GOP leaders than Democrats are about their party leadership. About half of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents (51%) say GOP leaders are doing an excellent or good job of standing up for traditional party positions, such as reducing the size of government and promoting conservative social values. By contrast, just a third of Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents give party leaders high marks in standing up for traditional Democratic positions, such as helping the needy, representing working people, and protecting the interests of minorities.

Liberals are particularly negative in their assessment of the Democratic Party leadership. Just 23% of Liberals say the leaders are doing an excellent or good job in standing up for key party stances, while 76% rate their performance as only fair (55%) or poor (21%). Among Democrats, Conservative Democrats are the least critical of the leaders’ performance, with 44% saying they are doing an excellent or good job and a narrow majority (53%) rating their performance as only fair or poor.



Strength of Partisanship

While Liberals are a core part of the Democratic electoral base, and now constitute the largest group in the typology, their identification with the party is the weakest among Democratic groups.

Just 35% of Liberals consider themselves strong Democrats. About a quarter (24%) identify themselves as Democrats but not strongly, and about three-in-ten (32%) are Democratic-leaning independents. This contrasts with both Conservative Democrats and Disadvantaged Democrats, where a majority are strong Democrats (51% and 55%, respectively) and only about one-in-ten are Democratic-leaning independents.

Among Republican groups, 62% of Enterprisers and 51% of Social Conservatives consider themselves strong Republicans. By contrast, only a third of Pro-Government Conservatives are strong Republicans while 28% in this group are Republican-leaning independents.

More GOP Converts

Throughout the 1970s and early 1980s, Democrats outnumbered Republicans in the adult population. The two parties are now at parity with roughly equal proportions identifying with each party. While part of this aggregate shift stems from generational replacement as New Deal-era Democrats have aged and been replaced with younger, more Republican-leaning generations, at least some of the change has resulted from individual changes in party affiliation.

It is not surprising, then, that a sizable minority of Republicans (38%) say that, at some point in the past, they thought of themselves as Democrats. Comparable percentages in the three GOP typology groups say they had a prior allegiance to the Democrats. More generally,

	Cons. Dems	Disadv. Dems	Liberal
<i>Party Identification</i>	%	%	%
Strong Democrat	51	55	35
Not Strong Democrat	37	29	24
Ind.-Lean Democrat	10	14	32
Other	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>9</u>
	100	100	100

	<i>Ever thought of yourself as a Democrat?</i>			(N)
	<u>Yes</u> %	<u>No</u> %	<u>DK</u> %	
Republican/lean Repub.	38	61	1=100	(525)
Enterprisers	37	63	0=100	(134)
Social Conservatives	36	64	0=100	(125)
Pro-Govt. Conservatives	32	68	0=100	(67)
	<i>Ever thought of yourself as a Republican?</i>			
	<u>Yes</u> %	<u>No</u> %	<u>DK</u> %	
Democrat/lean Democrat	22	78	*=100	(481)
Conservative Democrats	12	88	*=100	(99)
Disadvantaged Democrats	14	86	0=100	(72)
Liberals	26	74	0=100	(219)

*Asked of those who identify with or lean towards the party.

older Republicans and Republican-leaning independents (age 50 and older) are more likely to have shifted partisan allegiances than have younger Republicans.

Overall, only about one-in-five Democrats (22%) say they have thought of themselves as Republicans in the past. Liberals are the most likely to have changed party over their lifetime. Only a small portion of Conservative Democrats and Disadvantaged Democrats have thought of themselves as anything but a Democrat (12% and 14%, respectively).

Party Loyalty in the Voting Booth

Majorities in parties have voted across party lines at some point, but more Republicans say they have voted for Democratic candidates than vice versa. Among Republicans, 22% remain loyal while 71% say they vote across party lines. By comparison, 38% of Democrats say they are loyal in their vote, while 56% sometimes cross party lines.

A similar pattern was found in 1987 when 66% of Democrats said they “usually prefer Democratic candidates but I sometimes support Republicans” compared with 77% of Republicans who said they sometimes crossed over to vote for Democratic candidates.

Among typology groups with strong partisan attachments, nearly half of Disadvantaged Democrats (48%) say they always support their party’s candidates, the highest percentage among any group. Somewhat fewer Conservative Democrats and Liberals

(37% each) say they always vote Democratic. On the GOP side, only about a quarter of Social Conservatives (23%), Enterprisers (25%), and Pro-Government Conservatives (27%) say they are always loyal to the party in the voting booth.

	Sometimes vote for <u>other party</u>	Always vote <u>party line</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>(N)</u>
	%	%	%	
Republicans/lean Rep.	71	22	7=100	(955)
Enterprisers	74	25	1=100	(215)
Social Conservatives	73	23	4=100	(230)
Pro-Gov’t Conservatives	67	27	6=100	(143)
Democrats/Lean Dem.	56	38	6=100	(872)
Conservative Democrats	60	37	3=100	(256)
Disadvantaged Dems.	51	48	1=100	(165)
Liberals	59	37	4=100	(327)

*Questions asked of partisans and leaning independents.

VI: ISSUES AND SHIFTING COALITIONS

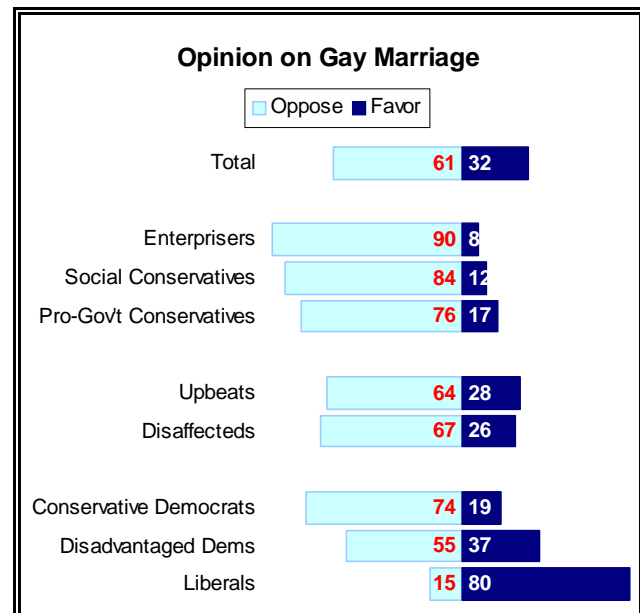
The extensive divisions within the two parties over fundamental political values are mirrored in disagreements over contemporary issues. Economic issues tend to divide Republican typology groups, while social issues split the Democrats. On many national security issues, especially the war in Iraq, internal partisan fissures are overshadowed by the vast gulf dividing Republicans and Democrats. However, tensions are evident among Democrats on some of these issues, especially in attitudes toward preemptive military action and the use of torture against suspected terrorists.

Part One: Social Policy

The public is divided over whether homosexuality should be accepted or discouraged, but Americans continue to decisively reject gay marriage. Americans oppose gay marriage by nearly two-to-one (61%-32%), a margin that has remained stable since the middle of 2003.

Fully 90% of Enterprisers are opposed to gay marriage. Social Conservatives are close behind at 84% opposition (with 65% *strongly* opposed, the highest of any group). Majorities in all of the other groups – except Liberals – also oppose gay marriage by wide margins. Conservative Democrats oppose gay marriage by roughly four-to-one (74%-19%), and Disadvantaged Democrats oppose it by (55%-37%). But 80% of Liberals favor gay marriage, more than twice the percentage in each of the other two Democratic groups.

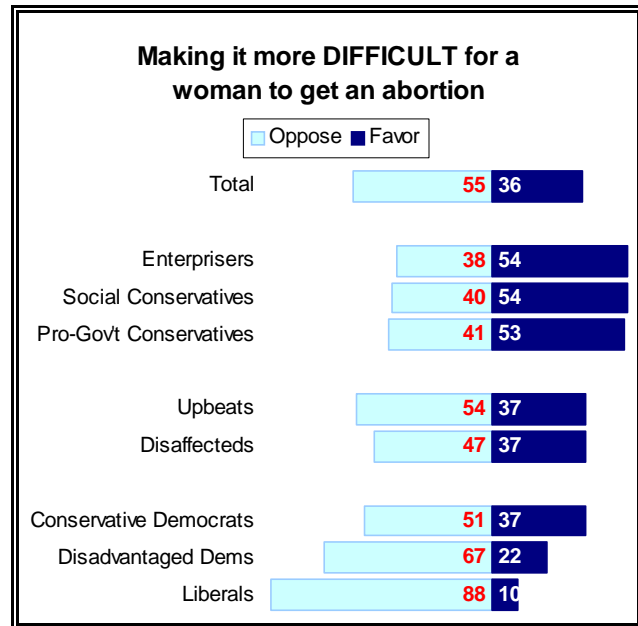
Nearly half of Americans (46%) say they have a friend, colleague, or family member who is gay, with Republicans (at 40%) a little less likely than Democrats (51%) to say this. Liberals are much more apt than those in other typology groups to say they have a gay associate or family member (73% vs. less than 50% in any other group).



Abortion Divides Most Groups

Abortion remains a contentious issue, with nearly all groups in the typology divided to some extent. Overall, 55% oppose making it more difficult for a woman to obtain an abortion, while 36% disagree. By roughly a five-to-four margin, each of the three GOP-leaning groups favors greater restrictions on abortion.

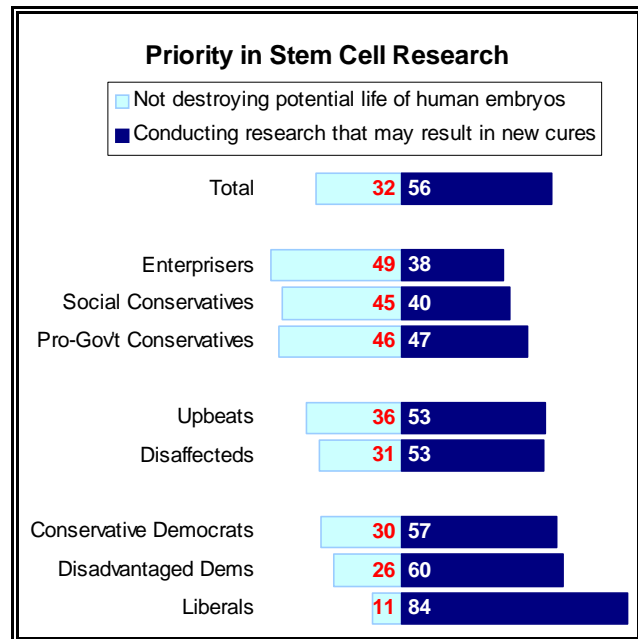
Pluralities or majorities of all other groups oppose making abortions more difficult to obtain. But sizable minorities of Conservative Democrats, Upbeats, and Disaffecteds (37% each) support tougher restrictions on abortion.



Stem Cell Splits the GOP

Public sentiment in favor of conducting stem cell research appears to be growing. Most Americans (56%) say it is more important to conduct stem cell research that may result in medical cures, while only about a third (32%) believe it is more important to avoid destroying the potential life of human embryos involved in such research. In 2002, 43% felt it was more important to conduct stem cell research.

Solid majorities of the Democratic-leaning groups support stem cell research, with Liberals expressing the greatest support (84%). Republican-leaning groups, by contrast, are much more divided. By small margins, Enterprisers and Social Conservatives say it is more important to avoid destroying the potential life of human embryos than to conduct research that may lead to medical advances; Pro-Government Conservatives are about evenly split.



Significantly, the middle groups in the typology fall closer to the Democratic side than to the Republican side, with 53% each of Upbeats and Disaffecteds believing it is more important to conduct stem cell research than to avoid destroying embryos.

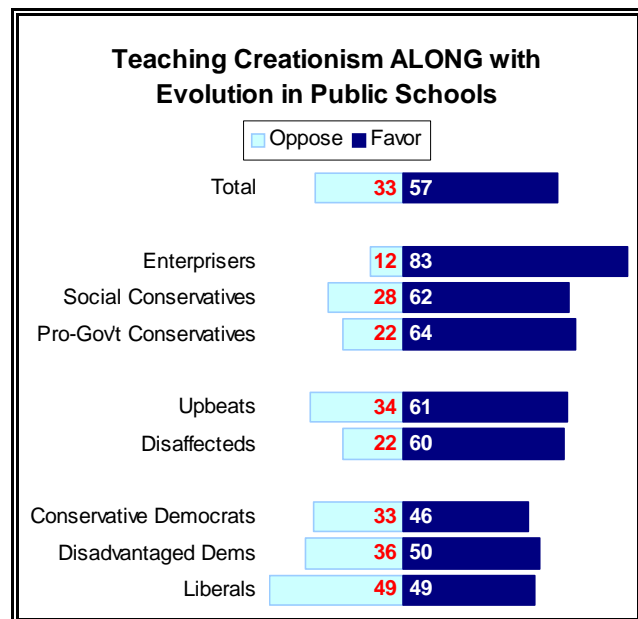
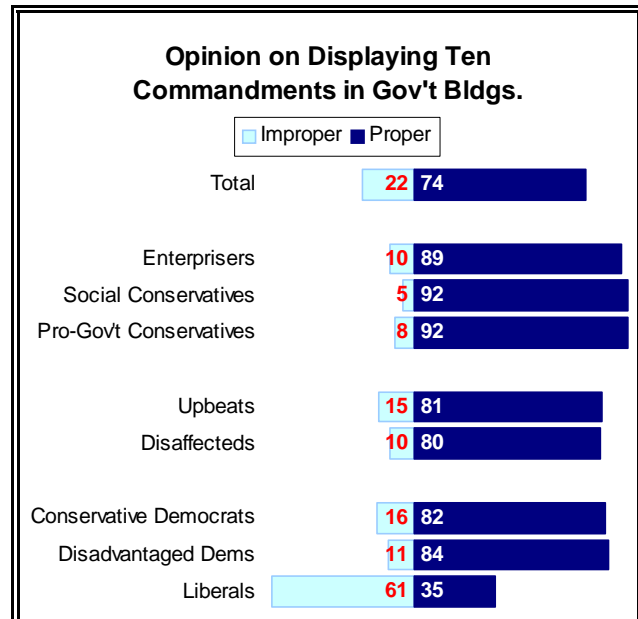
In December 2004, nearly half of the public (47%) reported having heard “a lot” about the issue of stem cell research, up five points from August. Awareness of the stem cell issue was much higher among Liberals (71% had heard a lot) and the Enterprisers (63%) than among other typology groups.

Creationism and the Ten Commandments

Two religious issues recently in the news are the teaching of creationism in public schools and the propriety of displaying the Ten Commandments publicly in government buildings. Majorities of Americans support both of these ideas, with nearly three-quarters (74%) saying the public display of the commandments is proper, and 57% in favor of teaching creationism, along with evolution, in public schools. One-third of the public (33%) favors the teaching of creationism *instead* of evolution.

On both issues, there is relatively little variation in support across the typology, with two important exceptions. Liberals stand out for their strong belief that the display of the Ten Commandments in government buildings is improper – 61% of Liberals say that, compared with no more than 16% in any other group. The other Democratic groups are in line with Republican-leaning groups expressing the view that the public display of the commandments is proper.

On the teaching of evolution, it is the Enterprisers who stand out. While between 46% and 64% of every other group favors the



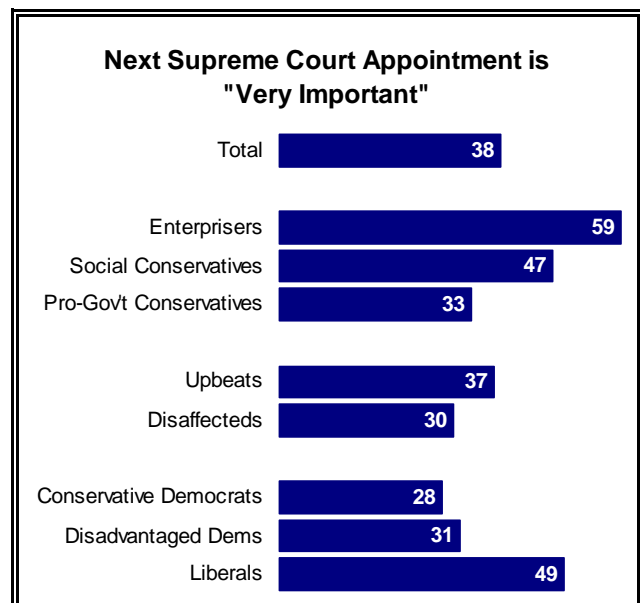
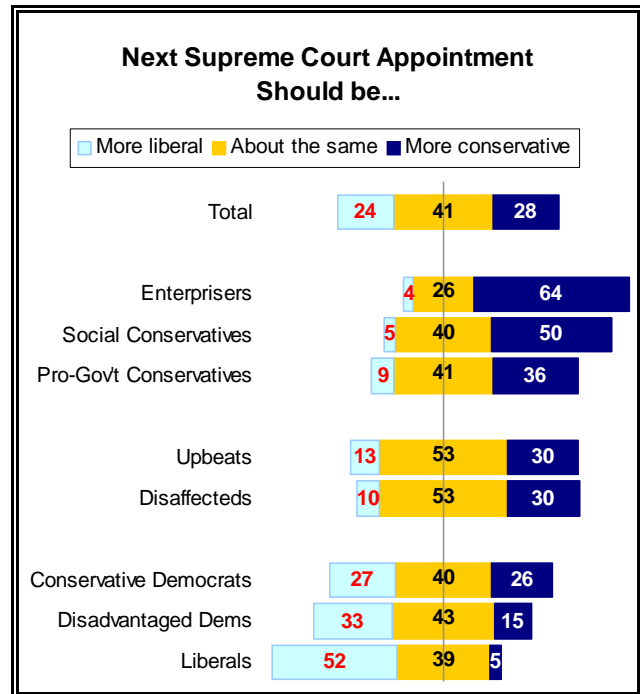
teaching of creationism, fully 83% of Enterprisers do so. But on the question of whether creationism should be taught *instead* of evolution, Social Conservatives are most supportive – about half (51%) would remove evolution from the schools and replace it with creationism.

The Supreme Court

With respect to President Bush’s next appointment to the Supreme Court, a plurality of Americans (41%) believe Bush should choose someone who will keep the court about the same as it is now, while roughly equal numbers support a more conservative nominee (28%) or a more liberal one (24%).

Only two groups, Enterprisers (64%) and Social Conservatives (50%), clearly favor a choice that would make the court more conservative. In five of the other groups, pluralities – or, in the case of Upbeats and Disaffecteds, majorities – feel that the president should choose someone who would keep the Court’s ideological balance about the same as it is now. Most Liberals (52%) would prefer a nominee who will make the court more liberal.

Nearly six-in-ten Enterprisers (59%) say the choice is very important personally, as do roughly half of Liberals (49%) and Social Conservatives (47%). Fewer than four-in-ten in the other typology groups attach great personal importance to the choice of the next Supreme Court justice.

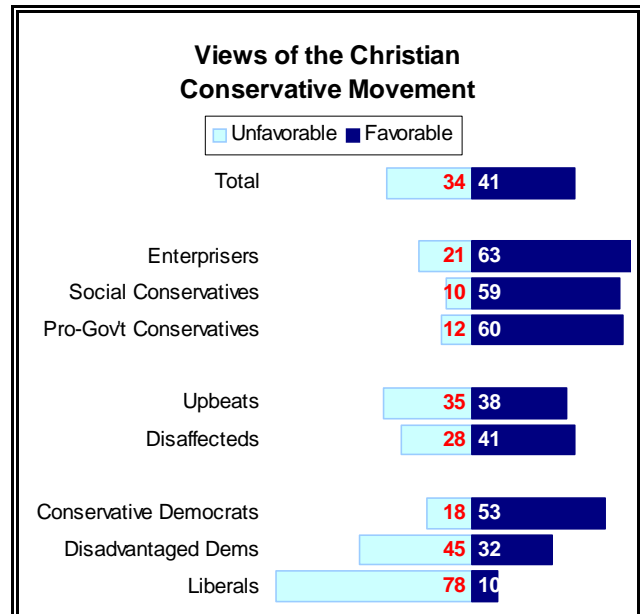


Views of ‘Christian Conservative’ Movement

Majorities of all of the typology groups consider the United States to be “a Christian nation,” with 71% overall saying that it is. Liberals and Disadvantaged Democrats are least likely to agree, but even among these groups, 57% say the U.S. is a Christian nation.

Yet despite this view and the predominance of the Christian tradition among personal religious choices, public opinion is divided regarding the Christian conservative movement. About four-in-ten (41%) have a favorable view of the movement, while 34% have an unfavorable view. Republicans are strongly favorable (61% vs. 16% unfavorable), while opinion among Democrats tilts negative (35% vs. 45%).

The Democratic groups are divided in their views of the Christian conservative movement, with Conservative Democrats favorably disposed (53% positive, 18% negative), and Liberals sharply negative (78% unfavorable – of those, 46% very unfavorable).



Part Two: Economic and Domestic Policy

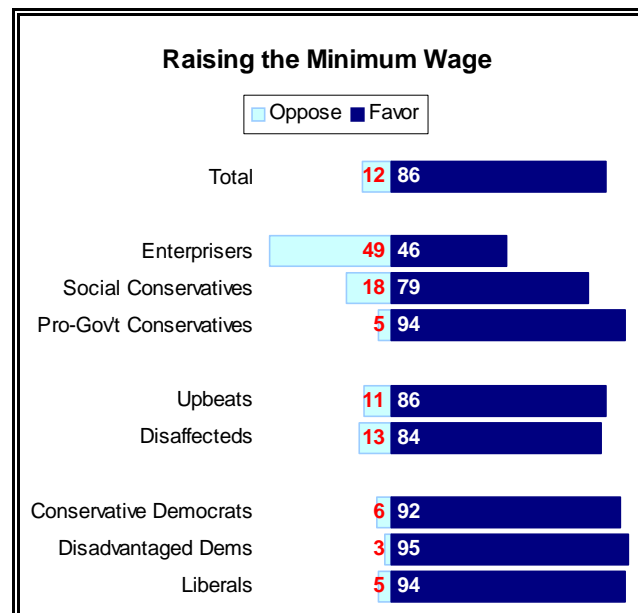
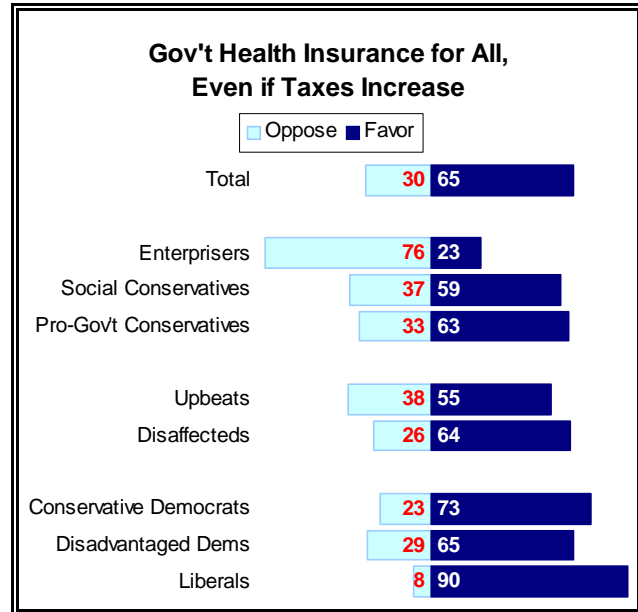
Republicans are less cohesive on matters involving economic policies than on cultural and foreign affairs issues. These differences are most obvious with respect to such issues as the desirability of government-guaranteed health insurance, stricter bankruptcy laws, and in attitudes toward tax reduction. Democrats, by contrast, are much more unified on these issues.

Among GOP groups, Pro-Government Conservatives are generally supportive of an activist government, particularly in helping the poor. Enterprisers, by contrast, stand out for their broad support for tax cuts and opposition to expanding government programs.

Health Insurance, Minimum Wage

Solid majorities of every group, with the sole exception of Enterprisers, favor a government guarantee of health insurance for all Americans, even if it means raising taxes. Across the electorate, support for guaranteed health insurance ranges from 55% among Upbeats and 59% among Social Conservatives to 90% among Liberals. By contrast, Enterprisers strongly oppose guaranteed health insurance for all, if it means higher taxes (76% oppose, 23% favor).

Similarly, overwhelming support for an increase in the minimum wage extends across all groups, again with the exception of Enterprisers. Overall 86% of the public favors a hike in the minimum wage from its current level of \$5.15 to \$6.45 per hour. More than 90% of Pro-Government Conservatives, Conservative Democrats, Disadvantaged Democrats and Liberals support such an increase. Among Enterprisers, however, a plurality (49%) opposes the move, although nearly as many (46%) favor it.



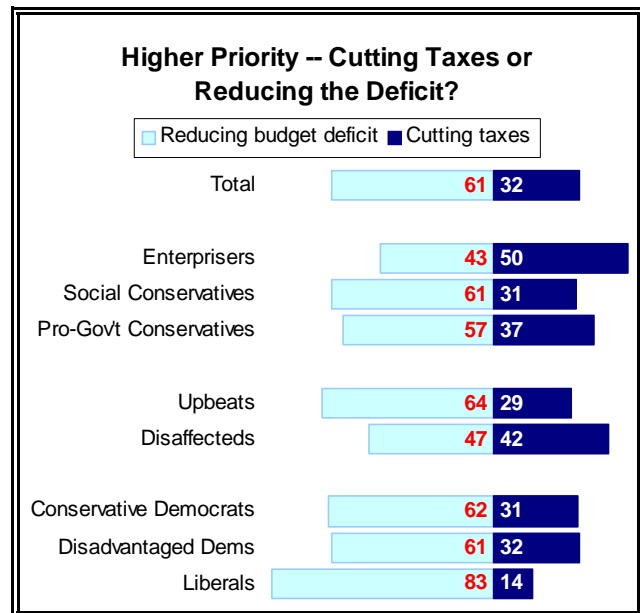
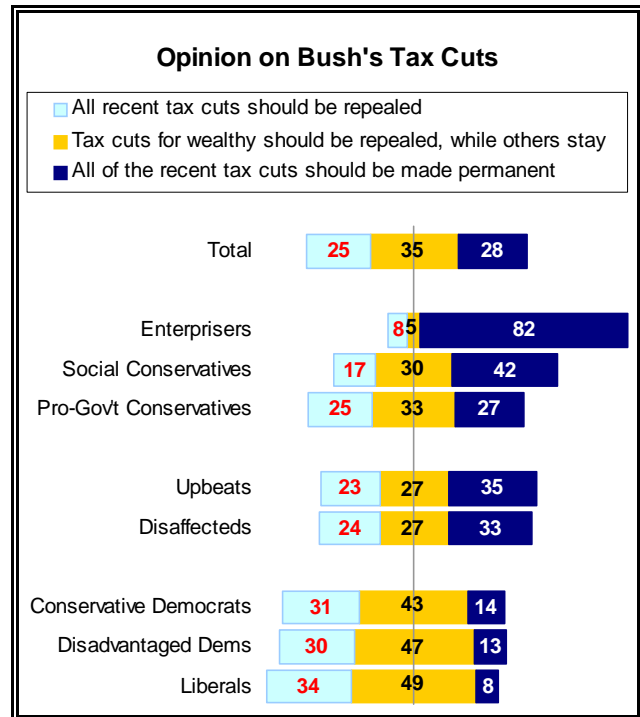
Taxes and Budget

On tax policy, Enterprisers stand alone in their view – shared by 82% in this group – that all of the tax cuts from President Bush’s first term be made permanent. By contrast, only about half as many Social Conservatives (42%) and even fewer Pro-Government Conservatives (27%) support making all of the tax cuts permanent.

By about a two-to-one margin, most of the electorate would give higher priority to reducing the federal budget deficit than to cutting taxes. That margin holds roughly true across all groups with a few exceptions: Liberals, who choose deficit cutting over tax cutting by an overwhelming margin (83% to 14%); Disaffecteds, who opt for deficit cutting by a relatively small margin (47%-42%); and Enterprisers who, alone among typology groups, give tax cuts priority over deficit reduction, by a margin of 50% to 43%.

However, majorities in all the groups, except Liberals, agree that while reducing the federal budget deficit is an important priority, it should not be the *top* priority for the president and Congress to deal with this year.

Even among Liberals, just half (50%) rate deficit reduction a top priority. Enterprisers are least likely to deem red ink curtailment a top priority--23% of the group does so, compared with 59% who call it an important but lower priority. Across the other groups, the percentages rating deficit reduction a top priority range from slightly less than a third among Social Conservatives and Upbeats, to about four-in-ten (41% to 45%) among Disadvantaged Democrats, Conservative Democrats, Disaffecteds, and Pro-Government Conservatives.



A similar pattern is seen with regard to opinions about ways to reduce the budget deficit. A majority of the public (54%) supports cutting domestic spending to reduce the deficit; about a third each favor cuts in military spending (35%) or raising taxes (31%).

At one extreme, 81% of Enterprisers favor cutting spending on domestic programs to reduce the deficit. They are joined in that view by 60% or more among Social Conservatives and Upbeats. Disadvantaged Democrats are the most reluctant to cut domestic spending, with only 29% in favor. Still, nearly half (48%) of Liberals, as well as the same proportion of Conservative Democrats, also support cuts in domestic spending to reduce the deficit.

Where the Liberals differ most from other groups on budget issues is in their willingness to cut defense and military spending to reduce the deficit (65% favor such cuts). By contrast, among all other groups, support for military and defense cuts ranges from a low of 16% among Enterprisers and Social Conservatives to 41% among Disadvantaged Democrats.

In addition, a far higher percentage of Liberals than those in other groups would raise taxes to reduce the deficit. More than half of Liberals (56%) support raising taxes to meet the goal of deficit reduction – no more than about a third in any other group agree (Upbeats 34%). At the low end, just 12% of Enterprisers favor raising taxes for this purpose.

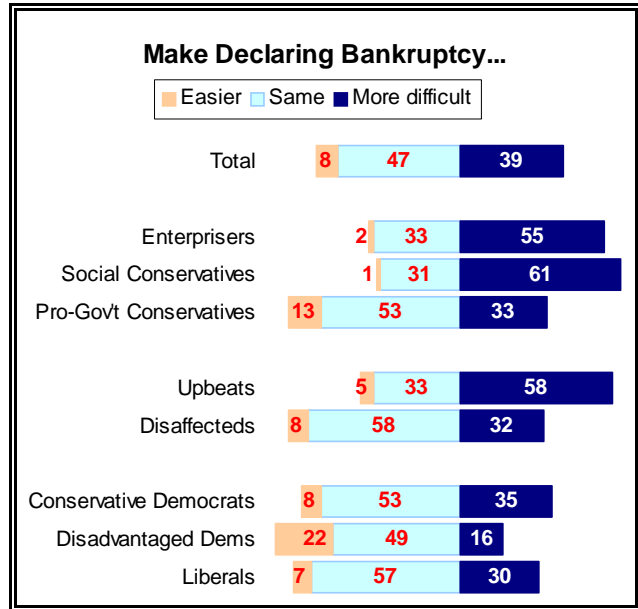
	Cut domestic spending %	Cut military/defense spending %	Raise taxes %
Total	54	35	31
Enterprisers	81	16	12
Social Conservatives	63	16	27
Pro-Gov't Conservatives	53	19	32
Upbeats	61	31	34
Disaffecteds	44	33	19
Conservative Democrats	48	29	25
Disadvantaged Democrats	29	41	23
Liberals	48	65	56

Percent within each group that would favor each as a means of reducing the federal budget deficit.

Bankruptcy, Malpractice Awards

On issues affecting the courts, the surveys also find divisions cutting across partisan lines. For example, bankruptcy laws allowing individuals deeply in debt to seek protection from their creditors realign several normally Republican or Republican-leaning groups with predominately Democratic groups.

At a time when Congress had under consideration legislation making it more difficult for individuals to file for bankruptcy protection –legislation that was signed into law by the president a month later (April 20, 2005) – the March survey found that 39% of the general public favors stricter rules. Overall, a 47% plurality of the public feels that no change is needed in bankruptcy protections for debtors, while 8% say that access to bankruptcy should be made easier, rather than more difficult, for individuals.



Both ideological and economic factors are evident in opinions toward bankruptcy.

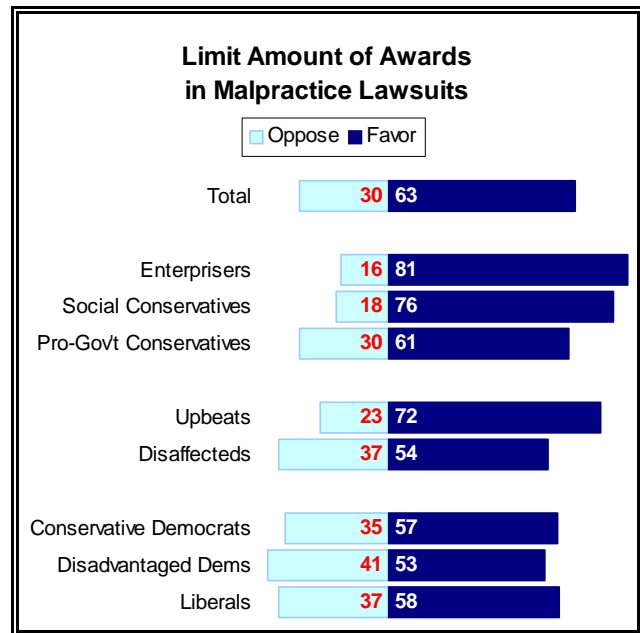
Majorities of the relatively affluent Enterprisers and Upbeats (55% and 58%, respectively) think that the laws should make it more difficult for individuals to claim bankruptcy. However, a third in both groups favor leaving bankruptcy law as it was at the time of the survey in March. Social Conservatives, although somewhat less financially secure as a group than the Enterprisers or Upbeats, are at least as supportive of making bankruptcy more difficult to declare, with 61% favoring stricter laws.

Pro-Government Conservatives, however, part company with their more affluent fellow Republicans on the bankruptcy issue. Only a third (33%) would make personal bankruptcy more difficult, while 53% would leave the law unchanged, and 13% would make bankruptcy easier. In this, their views are not dissimilar from those of other financially strained groups in the center and Democratic portions of the political spectrum. The economically pressured and GOP-leaning Disaffecteds also oppose tightening the bankruptcy laws. While only 8% favor making it easier to declare bankruptcy, 58% would retain current provisions.

On the Democratic side, about 50%-60% of the three groups favor maintaining the status quo. However, a relatively large minority of Disadvantaged Democrats (22%) believe it should be easier for people to declare bankruptcy.

On the question of limiting awards in medical malpractice lawsuits, typology groups are in rare unanimity. Majorities in every group favor such limitations. Enterprisers provide the strongest support for limiting malpractice awards (81% favor) followed by Social Conservatives (76% favor) and Upbeats (72%).

However, support remains strong across the political spectrum with Liberals favoring malpractice award limits by a margin of 58% in favor to 37% opposed. The least enthusiastic, but still net favorable groups, are Disaffecteds (54% favor, 37% opposed) and Disadvantaged Democrats (53% vs. 41%).

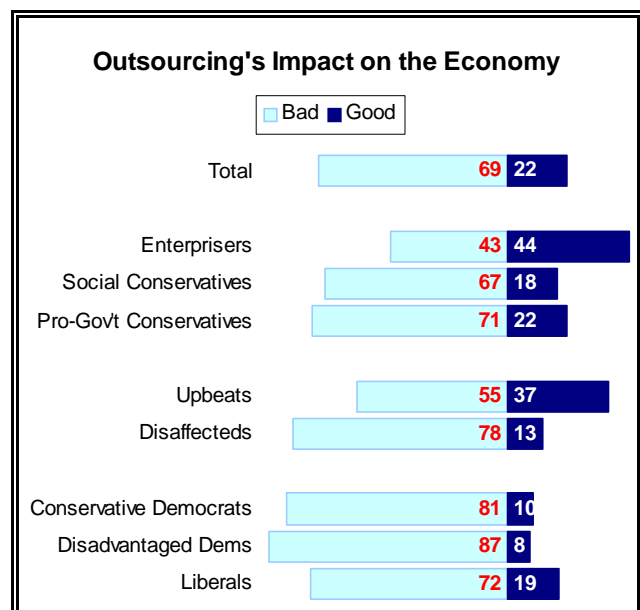


Jobs and Trade

The public generally takes a negative view of the hiring by U.S. businesses of lower-cost workers in other countries to produce goods and services. About seven-in-ten Americans (69%) believe “outsourcing” is a bad thing because it sends good jobs overseas; just 22% feel it is good because it keeps costs down.

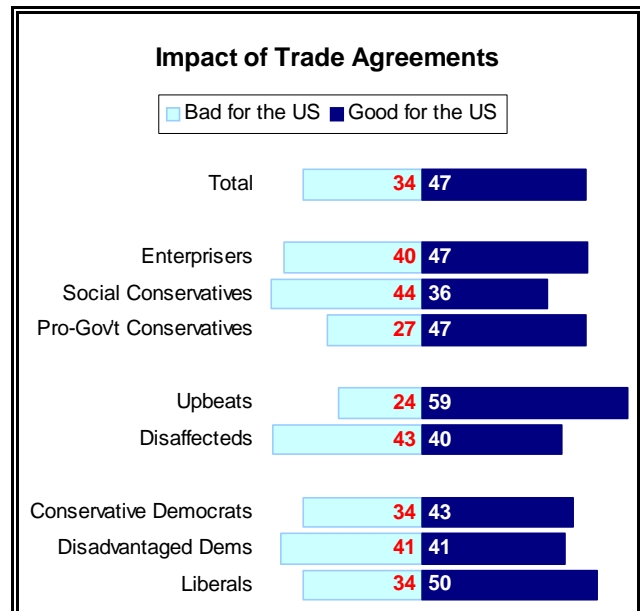
Among the typology groups, only the steadfastly pro-business Enterprisers are torn on this issue, with 44% viewing outsourcing positively, and 43% negatively.

Opposition is especially strong among less affluent typology groups. Nearly nine-in-ten Disadvantaged Democrats (87%) think outsourcing is bad for the economy because it sends jobs overseas; 81% of Conservative Democrats, 78% of Disaffecteds, and 71% of Pro-Government Conservatives agree. However, even the upwardly mobile Upbeats take a generally dim view of outsourcing with a 55% majority calling it a bad thing, and just



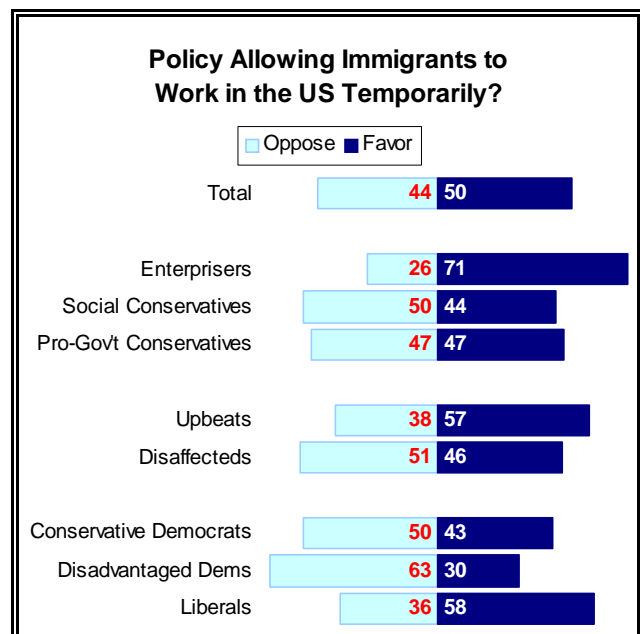
37% offering a positive opinion of this trend.

There is little consensus, however, on the economic impact of regional and multilateral trade agreements such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the World Trade Organization (WTO). In no group does a majority describe such agreements as bad for the United States. Moreover, only among Social Conservatives and Disaffecteds do pluralities express disapproval (44% of Social Conservatives, 43% of Disaffecteds). Even Disadvantaged Democrats are evenly split (41%-41%) between the good and bad appellations.



Yet there also is little apparent enthusiasm for such trade deals, aside from the pro-business Upbeats (59% good thing). Enterprisers and Liberals, the other two groups with high annual incomes, on balance believe such agreements are good for the U.S., but only about half in each group views them positively.

Enterprisers strongly favor allowing immigrants to enter and work in the United States legally for limited periods of time (by 71% to 26%). This issue produces an unusual alliance between Enterprisers and Liberals, who, reflecting their generally pro-immigrant stance, register high levels of support for such temporary visas (58%-36%), as do the pro-business Upbeats (57%-38%).

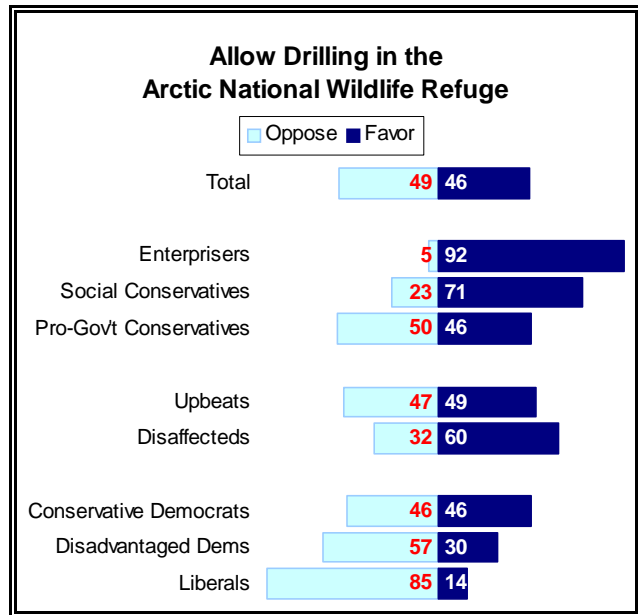


On this question, opposition falls along economic rather than party lines. While Disadvantaged Democrats are the group most reluctant to ease entry for immigrant workers, with 63% opposed and only 30% in favor, they are joined by majorities among Disaffecteds (51%), Social Conservatives and Conservative Democrats (50% in each group).

Protecting the Environment

Support for laws and regulations to protect the environment runs strongly among the public. As noted earlier, more than three-quarters (77%) believe the country should do whatever it takes to protect the environment and 63% subscribe to that view strongly.

But the public, and the party coalitions, are divided over a proposal, currently before Congress, to permit oil and gas drilling in the Alaskan Arctic Wildlife Refuge. Among Republicans, Enterprisers overwhelmingly favor drilling (92%-5%), as does a solid majority of Social Conservatives (71%). But Pro-Government Conservatives are split, with 46% supporting the proposal and 50% opposed. And while Liberals strongly oppose oil and gas drilling in the Alaska refuge (by 85%-14%), Conservative Democrats are evenly divided (46%-46%).



Support for Private Accounts Slips

Opinions on the president’s proposal to allow younger workers to invest some of their Social Security taxes in private retirement accounts track more predictably along partisan lines. As general support for the plan has weakened since it was first announced, the March survey finds the overall public nearly evenly divided, with 46% favoring the idea and 44% opposed.

	December		March		Change in Fav
	Favor %	Oppose %	Favor %	Oppose %	
Total	54	30	46	44	-8
Enterprisers	89	6	88	7	-1
Social Conservatives	61	20	56	30	-5
Pro-Gov’t Conservatives	63	19	59	26	-4
Upbeats	64	20	59	28	-5
Disaffecteds	53	28	44	44	-9
Conservative Democrats	48	38	36	58	-12
Disadvantaged Democrats	33	50	17	76	-16
Liberals	38	47	28	65	-10

A comparison of the December and March surveys shows that support declined most sharply among Democratic groups. But there also has been significant erosion of support among the independent groups, especially the Disaffecteds. This group backed private accounts by nearly two-

to-one in December; currently, Disaffecteds are evenly split over the idea.

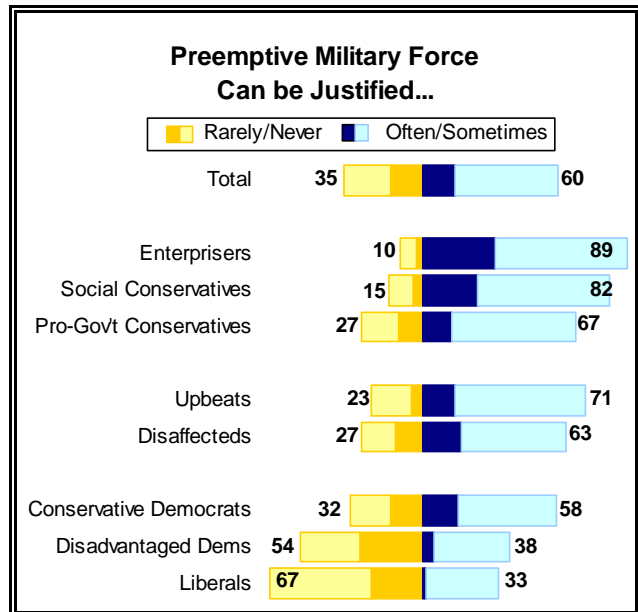
The proposal, however, still garners the support of nearly nine-in-ten Enterprisers (88%), and majorities in the other GOP groups, as well as 59% of Upbeats. However, no more than about a third in any of the Democratic groups support private accounts (36% of Conservative Democrats).

Part Three: Military and Foreign Policy

The partisan lines dividing the electorate come into sharpest focus on issues involving current foreign and military policies. Support for the use of military force is strongest among groups that are reliably Republican, somewhat less so among centrist groups, and weakest among Democratic groups.

Public opinion is cautiously in favor of at least the occasional use of U.S. military force against countries that have not attacked the U.S., but may seriously threaten America. At the extremes, only 14% think preemption is *often* justified, while the same number think preemption is *never* justified. The plurality (46%) takes the view that it is sometimes justified, and 21% think it is justified at least on rare occasions.

Across groups in the electorate, these proportions vary substantially. Enterprisers are the most likely to support preemption, with about nine-in-ten (89%) saying it is sometimes (57%) or often (32%) justified. Nearly as many Social Conservatives say preemptive military action is at least sometimes justified (82%), but there is less support for this idea among Pro-Government Conservatives (67%).



Moving leftward across the political spectrum, reservations about the use of preemptive military force increase. Only about four-in-ten Disadvantaged Democrats (38%) and fewer Liberals (33%) believe preemptive military action is often or sometimes justified.

Iraq Attitudes Polarized

The same pattern is displayed even more clearly with respect to the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003. The consistently wide partisan divisions over the war are seen in the opinions of the typology groups. In the December survey, Enterprisers (94%), Social Conservatives (88%) and Pro-

Government Conservatives (72%) endorsed the war by overwhelming majorities. So too did two-thirds of Upbeats (66%) and half of Disaffecteds.

Among Democratic groups, opposition to the Iraq war is equally strong. Liberals judge the war a mistake by a lopsided 87%-11% margin. Conservative Democrats oppose it by two-to-one, (61% wrong decision versus 28% right decision), while support is even lower among Disadvantaged Democrats (76% to 15%).

	<i>War in Iraq was the...</i>		<i>What to do now?</i>	
	<u>Right decision</u>	<u>Wrong decision</u>	<u>Keep troops in Iraq</u>	<u>Bring troops home soon</u>
	%	%	%	%
Total	49	44	56	40
Enterprisers	94	5	88	10
Social Conservatives	88	8	81	18
Pro-Gov't Conservatives	72	18	68	29
Upbeats	66	24	72	24
Disaffecteds	50	40	45	49
Conservative Democrats	28	61	33	64
Disadvantaged Democrats	15	76	26	68
Liberals	11	87	52	44

However, opinions shift with respect to the question of whether the government should keep U.S. troops in Iraq until the situation there stabilizes, or bring them home as quickly as possible. Enterprisers, Social Conservatives and Pro-Government Conservatives maintain nearly as high levels of support (88%, 81% and 68%, respectively) for keeping U.S. troops in Iraq as they did for their initial deployment.

Conservative Democrats and Disadvantaged Democrats, who opposed the decision to go to war by substantial margins, want U.S. troops withdrawn quickly. But Liberals – the group most inclined to view the Iraq intervention as a mistake – are divided on this point. A majority of Liberals (52%) say they would keep troops in Iraq, compared with 44% who would now bring them home.

Can Torture Be Justified?

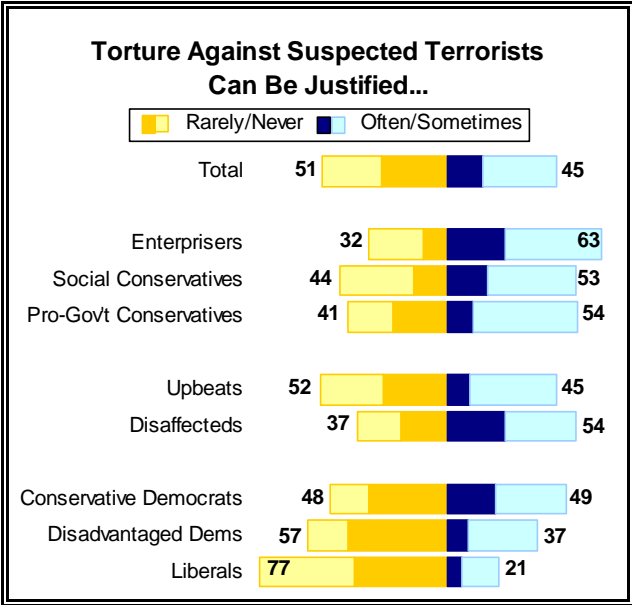
Overall, the public is divided over using torture against suspected terrorists when such tactics may yield important information. Roughly half (51%) say it is never or rarely justified, but 45% believe it is at least sometimes justified.

Liberals are most strongly opposed to resorting to torture; 77% say it is rarely or never justified. But that number falls to 57% among Disadvantaged Democrats, and Conservative Democrats are evenly split over whether torturing terrorist suspects can be justified. Majorities of

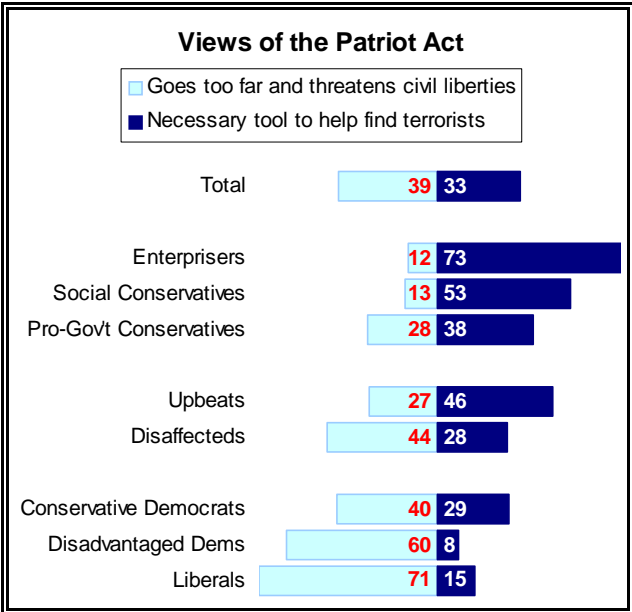
Disaffecteds – and of the three GOP groups – believe the torture of suspected terrorists can at least sometimes be justified.

Patriot Act: Ideological Divisions

The Patriot Act almost perfectly encapsulates the black-and-white differences in the national security attitudes of Enterprisers and Liberals. Fully 73% of Enterprisers see the Patriot Act as a necessary tool in the war on terror; a virtually identical percentage of Liberals (71%) say the Patriot Act goes too far and threatens civil liberties. And while many Americans are only dimly aware of the act – from half to two-thirds of most groups in the electorate say they know little or nothing about it – awareness is greatest among the Enterprisers and Liberals.



Other typology groups fall somewhere between these extremes, although Disadvantaged Democrats also register strong objections to the Patriot Act. Significantly, while Pro-Government Conservatives are more supportive of an activist government than are other GOP groups, many have reservations about the Patriot Act. A small plurality of Pro-Government Conservatives (38%) deem it a necessary tool, compared with 28% saying it goes too far and threatens civil liberties.



The Republican-leaning Disaffecteds, however, by a margin of 44% to 28% side with Democratic groups in thinking that the Patriot Act’s costs to civil liberties outweigh its benefits in fighting terrorism. Upbeats, the other independent group, support the act by a similar margin (46%-27%).

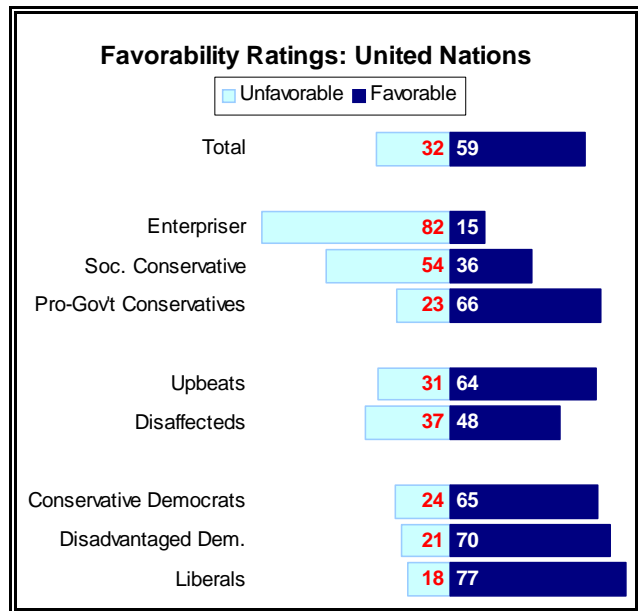
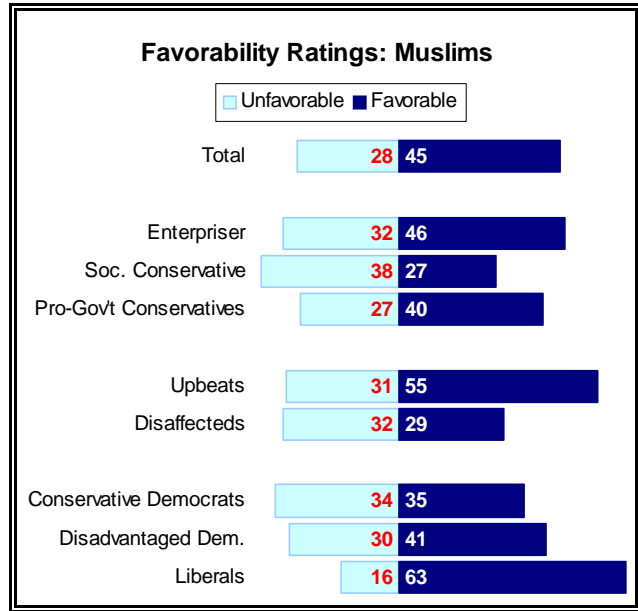
Favorability Ratings: Muslims, the U.N.

Regardless of their opinion on Islamic terrorism and their view of U.S. military action in Iraq, most Americans do not harbor negative feelings toward members of the Muslim faith in general. A plurality (45%) expresses a favorable opinion of Muslims, while only 28% have an unfavorable assessment. A significant minority (27%) says they are not familiar enough with Muslims to offer an opinion.

Favorable views are highest among the relatively well-educated Liberals (63%) and Upbeats (55%). Among Social Conservatives, negative views of Muslims outweigh positive ones by 38%-27%, and two other groups are about evenly divided: the Disaffecteds (32% unfavorable/29% favorable) and Conservative Democrats (34%/35%).

Attitudes toward the United Nations divide in a more predictably partisan pattern. The public, by a margin of 59% to 32%, has a favorable view of the world body. Among Enterprisers, however, just 15% have a favorable opinion of the U.N., compared with 82% who express a negative opinion. A majority in only one other group, Social Conservatives, express a negative opinion of the U.N. (54% unfavorable).

By contrast, two-thirds (66%) of Pro-Government Conservatives join with other groups in the center and left of the political spectrum in expressing positive views of the U.N. Liberals are the most likely to view the U.N. favorably (77% do so), but they are also joined in this view by 64% of Upbeats, 65% of Conservative Democrats and 70% of Disadvantaged Democrats.



PROFILES OF THE TYPOLOGY GROUPS

ENTERPRISERS

PAST TYPOLOGY COUNTERPART: Staunch Conservatives, Enterprisers

9% OF ADULT POPULATION
10% OF REGISTERED VOTERS

PARTY ID: 81% Republican, 18% Independent/No Preference, 1% Democrat (98% Rep/Lean Rep)

BASIC DESCRIPTION: As in 1994 and 1999, this extremely partisan Republican group's politics are driven by a belief in the free enterprise system and social values that reflect a conservative agenda. Enterprisers are also the strongest backers of an assertive foreign policy, which includes nearly unanimous support for the war in Iraq and strong support for such anti-terrorism efforts as the Patriot Act.

DEFINING VALUES: Assertive on foreign policy and patriotic; anti-regulation and pro-business; very little support for government help to the poor; strong belief that individuals are responsible for their own well being. Conservative on social issues such as gay marriage, but not much more religious than the nation as a whole. Very satisfied with personal financial situation.

Key Beliefs:	General	
	<u>Population</u>	<u>Enterprisers</u>
Most corporations make a fair and reasonable amount of profit	39%	88%
Stricter environmental laws and regulations cost too many jobs and hurt the economy	31%	74%
Using overwhelming military force is the best way to defeat terrorism around the world	39%	84%
Poor people today have it easy because they can get government benefits without doing anything in return	34%	73%

WHO THEY ARE: Predominantly white (91%), male (76%) and financially well-off (62% have household incomes of at least \$50,000, compared with 40% nationwide). Nearly half (46%) have a college degree, and 77% are married. Nearly a quarter (23%) are themselves military veterans. Only 10% are under age 30.

LIFESTYLE NOTES: 59% have a gun in the home; 53% trade stocks and bonds, and 30% are small business owners – all of which are the highest percentages among typology groups. 48% attend church weekly; 36% attend bible study or prayer group meetings.

2004 ELECTION: Bush 92%, Kerry 1%. Bush's most reliable supporters (just 4% of Enterprisers did not vote)

MEDIA USE: Enterprisers follow news about government and politics more closely than any other group, and exhibit the most knowledge about world affairs. The Fox News Channel is their primary source of news (46% cite it as a main source) followed by newspapers (42%) radio (31%) and the internet (26%).

SOCIAL CONSERVATIVES

PAST TYPOLOGY COUNTERPART: Moralists, Moderate Republicans

11% OF ADULT POPULATION
13% OF REGISTERED VOTERS

PARTY ID: 82% Republican, 18% Independent/No Preference, 0% Democrat (97% Rep/Lean Rep)

BASIC DESCRIPTION: While supportive of an assertive foreign policy, this group is somewhat more religious than are Enterprisers. In policy terms, they break from the Enterprisers in their cynical views of business, modest support for environmental and other regulation, and strong anti-immigrant sentiment.

DEFINING VALUES: Conservative on social issues ranging from gay marriage to abortion. Support an assertive foreign policy and oppose government aid for the needy, believing people need to make it on their own. Strongly worried about impact of immigrants on American society. More middle-of-the-road on economic and domestic policies, expressing some skepticism about business power and profits, and some support for government regulation to protect the environment. While not significantly better-off than the rest of the nation, most express strong feelings of financial satisfaction and security.

Key Beliefs:	General Population	Social Conservatives
Homosexuality is a way of life that should be discouraged by society	44%	65%
The growing number of newcomers from other countries threatens traditional American customs and values	40%	68%
Poor people today have it easy because they can get government benefits without doing anything in return	34%	68%
Business corporations make too much profit	54%	66%

WHO THEY ARE: Predominantly white (91%), female (58%) and the oldest of all groups (average age is 52; 47% are 50 or older); nearly half live in the South. Most (53%) attend church weekly; 43% are white evangelical Protestants (double the national average of 21%).

LIFESTYLE NOTES: 56% have a gun in their home, and 51% attend Bible study groups.

2004 ELECTION: Bush 86%, Kerry 4%.

MEDIA USE: Half of Social Conservatives cite newspapers as a main source of news; the Fox News Channel (34%) and network evening news (30%) are their major TV news sources.

PRO-GOVERNMENT CONSERVATIVES

PAST TYPOLOGY COUNTERPART: Populist Republicans

9% OF ADULT POPULATION
10% OF REGISTERED VOTERS

PARTY ID: 58% Republican, 40% Independent/No Preference, 2% Democrat (86% Rep/Lean Rep)

BASIC DESCRIPTION: Pro-Government Conservatives stand out for their strong religious faith and conservative views on many moral issues. They also express broad support for a social safety net, which sets them apart from other GOP groups. Pro-Government Conservatives are skeptical about the effectiveness of the marketplace, favoring government regulation to protect the public interest and government assistance for the needy. They supported George W. Bush by roughly five-to-one.

DEFINING VALUES: Religious, financially insecure, and favorable toward government programs. Support the Iraq war and an assertive foreign policy, but less uniformly so than Enterprisers or Social Conservatives. Back government involvement in a wide range of policy areas, from poverty assistance to protecting morality and regulating industry.

Key Beliefs:	General Population	Pro-gov't Conservatives
Books that contain dangerous ideas should be banned from public school libraries	44%	62%
Religion is a very important part of my life	74%	91%
The government should do more to help needy Americans, even if it means going deeper into debt	57%	80%
Government regulation of business is necessary to protect the public interest	49%	66%
We should all be willing to fight for our country, whether it is right or wrong	46%	67%

WHO THEY ARE: Predominately female (62%) and relatively young; highest percentage of minority members of any Republican-leaning group (10% black, 12% Hispanic). Most (59%) have no more than a high school diploma. Poorer than other Republican groups; nearly half (49%) have household incomes of less than \$30,000 (about on par with Disadvantaged Democrats). Nearly half (47%) are parents of children living at home; 42% live in the South.

LIFESTYLE NOTES: Most (52%) attend religious services at least weekly; nearly all describe religion as “very important” in their lives. Gun ownership is lower (36%) than in other GOP groups. Just 14% trade stocks and bonds in the market; 39% say someone in their home has faced unemployment in the past year.

2004 ELECTION: Bush 61%, Kerry 12%. Fully 21% said they didn't vote in November.

MEDIA USE: Most Pro-Government Conservatives consult traditional news sources, including newspapers (48%) and network TV (31%). No more or less engaged in politics than the national average.

UPBEATS

PAST TYPOLOGY COUNTERPART: New Prosperity Independents, Upbeats

11% OF ADULT POPULATION
13% OF REGISTERED VOTERS

PARTY ID: 56% Independent/No Preference, 39% Republican, 5% Democrat (73% Rep/Lean Rep)

BASIC DESCRIPTION: Upbeats express positive views about the economy, government and society. Satisfied with their own financial situation and the direction the nation is heading, these voters support George W. Bush's leadership in economic matters more than on moral or foreign policy issues. Combining highly favorable views of government with equally positive views of business and the marketplace, Upbeats believe that success is in people's own hands, and that businesses make a positive contribution to society. This group also has a very favorable view of immigrants.

DEFINING VALUES: Very favorable views of government performance and responsiveness defines the group, along with similarly positive outlook on the role of business in society. While most support the war in Iraq, Upbeats have mixed views on foreign policy – but most favor preemptive military action against countries that threaten the U.S. Religious, but decidedly moderate in views about morality.

Key Beliefs:	General Population	Upbeats
Government often does a better job than people give it credit for	45%	68%
Most elected officials care what people like me think	32%	64%
Most corporations make a fair and reasonable profit	39%	78%
Immigrants strengthen our country	45%	72%
As Americans, we can always find ways to solve our problems and get what we want	59%	74%

WHO THEY ARE: Relatively young (26% are under 30) and well-educated, Upbeats are among the wealthiest typology groups (39% have household incomes of \$75,000 or more). The highest proportion of Catholics (30%) and white mainline Protestants (28%) of all groups, although fewer than half (46%) attend church weekly. Mostly white (87%), suburban, and married, they are evenly split between men and women.

LIFESTYLE NOTES: High rate of stock ownership (42%, 2nd after Enterprisers).

2004 ELECTION: Bush 63%, Kerry 14%.

MEDIA USE: Upbeats are second only to Liberals in citing the internet as their main news source (34% compared with 23% nationwide); 46% also cite newspapers. No more or less engaged in politics than the national average.

DISAFFECTEDS

PAST TYPOLOGY COUNTERPART: Embittered, Disaffecteds

9% OF ADULT POPULATION
10% OF REGISTERED VOTERS

PARTY ID: 68% Independent/No Preference, 30% Republican, 2% Democrat (60% Rep/Lean Rep)

BASIC DESCRIPTION: Disaffecteds are deeply cynical about government and unsatisfied with both their own economic situation and the overall state of the nation. Under heavy financial pressure personally, this group is deeply concerned about immigration and environmental policies, particularly to the extent that they affect jobs. Alienated from politics, Disaffecteds have little interest in keeping up with news about politics and government, and few participated in the last election.

DEFINING VALUES: Despite personal financial strain – and belief that success is mostly beyond a person’s control – Disaffecteds are only moderate supporters of government welfare and assistance to the poor. Strongly oppose immigration as well as regulatory and environmental policies on the grounds that government is ineffective and such measures cost jobs.

Key Beliefs:	General Population	Disaffecteds
Immigrants today are a burden on our country because they take our jobs, housing and health care	44%	80%
Government is always wasteful and inefficient	47%	70%
Most elected officials don’t care what people like me think	63%	84%
Hard work and determination are no guarantee of success for most people	28%	48%

WHO THEY ARE: Less educated (70% have attended no college, compared with 49% nationwide) and predominantly male (57%). While a majority (60%) leans Republican, three-in-ten are strict independents, triple the national rate. Disaffecteds live in all parts of the country, though somewhat more are from rural and suburban areas than urban.

LIFESTYLE NOTES: Somewhat higher percentages than the national average have a gun in the home, and report that someone in their house has been unemployed in the past year.

2004 ELECTION: Bush 42%, Kerry 21%. Nearly a quarter (23%) said they didn’t vote in the last election.

MEDIA USE: Disaffecteds have little interest in current events and pay little attention to the news. No single medium or network stands out as a main source.

LIBERALS

PAST TYPOLOGY COUNTERPART: Liberal Democrats/Seculars/60's Democrats

17% OF GENERAL POPULATION

19% OF REGISTERED VOTERS

PARTY ID: 59% Democrat; 40% Independent/No Preference, 1% Republican (92% Dem/Lean Dem)

BASIC DESCRIPTION: This group has nearly doubled in proportion since 1999. Liberal Democrats now comprise the largest share of Democrats. They are the most opposed to an assertive foreign policy, the most secular, and take the most liberal views on social issues such as homosexuality, abortion, and censorship. They differ from other Democratic groups in that they are strongly pro-environment and pro-immigration.

DEFINING VALUES: Strongest preference for diplomacy over use of military force. Pro-choice, supportive of gay marriage and strongly favor environmental protection. Low participation in religious activities. Most sympathetic of any group to immigrants as well as labor unions, and most opposed to the anti-terrorism Patriot Act.

Key Beliefs:	General Population	Liberals
Relying too much on military force to defeat terrorism creates hatred that leads to more terrorism	51%	90%
I worry the government is getting too involved in the issue of morality	51%	88%
Stricter environmental laws and regulations are worth the cost	60%	89%
Poor people have hard lives because government benefits don't go far enough to help them live decently	52%	80%

WHO THEY ARE: Most (62%) identify themselves as liberal. Predominantly white (83%), most highly educated group (49% have a college degree or more), and youngest group after Bystanders. Least religious group in typology: 43% report they seldom or never attend religious services; nearly a quarter (22%) are seculars. More than one-third never married (36%). Largest group residing in urban areas (42%) and in the western half the country (34%). Wealthiest Democratic group (41% earn at least \$75,000).

LIFESTYLE NOTES: Largest group to have been born (or whose parents were born) outside of the U.S. or Canada (20%). Least likely to have a gun in the home (23%) or attend bible study or prayer group meetings (13%).

2004 ELECTION: Bush 2%, Kerry 81%

MEDIA USE: Liberals are second only to Enterprisers in following news about government and public affairs most of the time (60%). Liberals' use of the internet to get news is the highest among all groups (37%).

CONSERVATIVE DEMOCRATS

PAST TYPOLOGY COUNTERPART: Socially Conservative Democrats / New Dealers

14% OF ADULT POPULATION
15% OF REGISTERED VOTERS

PARTY ID: 89% Democrat, 11% Independent/No Preference, 0% Republican,(98% Dem/Lean Dem)

BASIC DESCRIPTION: Religious orientation and conservative views set this group apart from other Democratic-leaning groups on many social and political issues. Conservative Democrats' views are moderate with respect to key policy issues such as foreign policy, regulation of the environment and the role of government in providing a social safety net. Their neutrality on assistance to the poor is linked, at least in part, to their belief in personal responsibility.

DEFINING VALUES: Less extreme on moral beliefs than core Republican groups, but most oppose gay marriage and the acceptance of homosexuality, and support a more active role for government in protecting morality. No more conservative than the national average on other social issues such as abortion and stem-cell research. Most oppose the war in Iraq, but views of America's overall foreign policy are mixed and they are less opposed to Bush's assertive stance than are other Democratic groups.

Key Beliefs:	General Population	Conservative Democrats
It is necessary to believe in God in order to be moral and have good values	50%	72%
Most people who want to get ahead can make it if they're willing to work hard	68%	82%
We should all be willing to fight for our country, whether it is right or wrong	46%	49%**
The government should do more to help needy Americans, even if it means going deeper into debt	57%	59%**

** Figures are notable for being so different from other Democratic groups.

WHO THEY ARE: Older women and blacks make up a sizeable proportion of this group (27% and 30%, respectively). Somewhat less educated and poorer than the nation overall. Allegiance to the Democratic party is quite strong (51% describe themselves as "strong" Democrats) but fully 85% describe themselves as either conservative or moderate ideologically.

LIFESTYLE NOTES: 46% attend church at least once a week, 44% attend Bible study or prayer group meetings, a third (34%) have a gun in their house.

2004 ELECTION: Bush 14%, Kerry 65%.

MEDIA USE: Emphasis on traditional providers as main news sources: newspapers (50%) and network TV news (42%).

DISADVANTAGED DEMOCRATS

PAST TYPOLOGY COUNTERPART: Partisan Poor

10% OF GENERAL POPULATION

10% OF REGISTERED VOTERS

PARTY ID: 84% Democrat; 16% Independent/No Preference, 0% Republican (99% Dem/Lean Dem)

BASIC DESCRIPTION: Least financially secure of all the groups, these voters are very anti-business, and strong supporters of government efforts to help the needy. Minorities account for a significant proportion of this group; nearly a third (32%) are black, roughly the same proportion as among Conservative Democrats. Levels of disapproval of George W. Bush job performance (91%) and candidate choice in 2004 (82% for Kerry) are comparable to those among Liberals.

DEFINING VALUES: Most likely to be skeptical of an individual's ability to succeed without impediments and most anti-business. Strong belief that government should do more to help the poor, yet most are disenchanting with government. Strongly supportive of organized labor (71% have a favorable view of labor unions).

Key Beliefs:	General Population	Disadvantaged Democrats
Hard work and determination are no guarantee of success for most people	28%	79%
Poor people have hard lives because government benefits don't go far enough to help them live decently	52%	80%
Most elected officials don't care what people like me think	63%	87%
Business corporations make too much profit	54%	76%
We should pay less attention to problems overseas and concentrate on problems here at home	49%	72%

WHO THEY ARE: Low average incomes (32% below \$20,000 in household income); most (77%) often can't make ends meet. Six-in-ten are female. Three-in-ten (32%) are black and 14% are Hispanic. Not very well educated, 67% have at most a high-school degree. Nearly half (47%) are parents of children living at home.

LIFESTYLE NOTES: Nearly a quarter (23%) report someone in their household is a member of a labor union, and 58% report that they or someone in the home has been unemployed in the past year— both far larger proportions than in any other group. Only 27% have a gun in the home.

2004 ELECTION: 2% Bush, 82% Kerry

MEDIA USE: Largest viewership of CNN as main news source among all groups (31%). Only group in which a majority (53%) reads newspapers.

BYSTANDERS

PAST TYPOLOGY COUNTERPART: Bystanders

10% OF ADULT POPULATION
0% OF REGISTERED VOTERS

PARTY ID: 56% Independent/No Preference, 22% Republican, 22% Democrat

BASIC DESCRIPTION: These Americans choose not to participate in or pay attention to politics, or are not eligible to do so (non-citizens).

DEFINING VALUES: Cynical about government and the political system. Uninterested in political news.

Key Beliefs:	General Population	Bystander s
Follow what's going on in government and public affairs most/some of the time	80%	45%
Voted in 2004 Presidential election	74%	3%

WHO THEY ARE: Young (39% are under age 30, average age is 37). Lowest education (24% have not finished high school). Less religious than any group other than Liberals (26% attend church weekly). Largely concentrated in the South and West, relatively few in the East and Midwest. One-in-five are Hispanic.

LIFESTYLE NOTES: About half (49%) say they often can't make ends meet, fewer than among Pro-Government Conservatives, Disadvantaged Democrats or Disaffecteds; 30% attend bible groups or prayer meetings; 30% own a gun.

2004 ELECTION: 96% did not vote in presidential election.

MEDIA USE: Television is the main news source for Bystanders (79%) as for all other typology groups, with network news (24%) the most frequently cited TV source; 34% read newspapers and 23% get their news from the radio.

ABOUT THE SURVEYS

Results for the main Political Typology Survey are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International among a nationwide sample of 2,000 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period Dec. 1-16, 2004. For results based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling is plus or minus 2.5 percentage points. For results based on Form 1 (N=993) or Form 2 (N=1007) only, the error attributable to sampling is plus or minus 3.5 percentage points. For results based on abbreviated field periods, with sample sizes ranging from 419 to 523, the margin of error is plus or minus 5.5 percentage points.

The Typology Callback Survey obtained callback telephone interviews with 1,090 respondents from the December 2004 Typology survey from March 17 to March 27, 2005. Statistical results are weighted to correct known demographic discrepancies. The margin of sampling error for the recontacted respondents is plus or minus 3.5% 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.

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 three 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.

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 Annual Social & Economic Supplement data from the Census Bureau (March 2003). 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.

For the typology callback survey, as many as 10 attempts were made to contact each original survey respondent. Calls were staggered over times of day and days of the week to maximize the chance of making contact with potential respondents. Each household received at least one daytime call in an attempt to complete and interview. The 1,090 interviews represent a recontact rate of 55%.

METHODOLOGY FOR CREATING THE TYPOLOGY

The value dimensions used to create the typology are each based on the combined responses to two or more survey questions. The questions used to create each scale were those shown statistically to be most strongly related to the underlying dimension. Each of the individual survey questions use a "balanced alternative" format that presents respondents with two statements and asks them to choose the one that most closely reflects their own views. To measure intensity, each question is followed by a probe to determine whether or not respondents feel strongly about the choice they selected.

As in past typologies, a measure of political attentiveness and voting participation was used to extract the "Bystander" group, people who are largely unengaged and uninvolved in politics. A statistical cluster analysis was used to sort the remaining respondents into relatively homogeneous groups based on the nine value scales, party identification, and self reported ideology. Several different cluster solutions were evaluated for their effectiveness in producing cohesive groups that are distinct from one another, large enough in size to be analytically practical, and substantively meaningful. The final solution selected to produce the new political typology was judged to be strongest on a statistical basis and to be most persuasive from a substantive point of view.

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF TYPOLOGY GROUPS

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Enterprisers</u>	<u>Social</u> <u>Conservatives</u>	<u>Pro-Government</u> <u>Conservatives</u>	<u>Upbeats</u>	<u>Disaffecteds</u>	<u>Conservative</u> <u>Democrats</u>	<u>Disadvantaged</u> <u>Democrats</u>	<u>Liberals</u>	<u>Bystanders</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Sex										
Male	48	76	42	38	50	57	44	40	46	48
Female	<u>52</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>58</u>	<u>62</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>43</u>	<u>56</u>	<u>60</u>	<u>54</u>	<u>52</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Age										
Under 30	21	10	13	24	26	12	17	17	28	39
30-49	39	46	37	39	36	44	37	37	40	40
50-64	22	24	21	22	21	27	23	30	21	12
65 and older	16	18	26	14	16	15	23	13	10	8
Sex and Age										
Men 18-29	11	9	6	10	12	7	8	10	14	21
Men 30-49	19	34	14	12	18	26	17	13	18	18
Men 50+	18	31	21	16	19	22	18	17	12	8
Women 18-29	10	1	7	14	14	4	8	8	14	18
Women 30-49	20	12	24	27	18	18	20	24	21	22
Women 50+	20	11	26	20	18	20	27	26	18	12
Race										
White	80	91	91	85	87	81	64	58	83	80
Black	12	1	4	10	7	7	30	32	6	7
Hispanic*	10	5	7	12	7	8	11	14	9	20
Other	7	6	4	3	6	9	5	9	9	11
Education										
College Grad.	27	46	28	15	37	11	16	13	49	13
Some College	24	25	26	26	33	18	26	20	26	14
High School Grad.	37	26	39	43	25	52	44	44	23	49
<H.S. Grad.	12	3	7	16	4	18	14	23	2	24
Sample size - December 2004	(2000)	(219)	(236)	(163)	(248)	(179)	(261)	(167)	(359)	(168)

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

Continued ...

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF TYPOLOGY GROUPS (continued)

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Enterprisers</u>	<u>Social</u> <u>Conservatives</u>	<u>Pro-Government</u> <u>Conservatives</u>	<u>Upbeats</u>	<u>Disaffecteds</u>	<u>Conservative</u> <u>Democrats</u>	<u>Disadvantaged</u> <u>Democrats</u>	<u>Liberals</u>	<u>Bystanders</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Region										
East	19	17	14	18	21	21	21	19	24	16
Midwest	24	22	22	23	28	27	23	32	20	19
South	35	34	47	42	33	30	41	35	22	35
West	22	27	17	17	18	22	15	14	34	30
Family Income (based on those that answered)										
\$75,000+	24	41	30	10	39	13	15	8	41	8
\$50,000-\$74,999	16	21	17	11	20	16	14	14	15	15
\$30,000-\$49,999	25	25	27	30	23	27	29	26	20	24
\$20,000-\$29,999	16	6	15	17	8	17	22	20	12	26
<\$20,000	19	7	11	32	10	27	20	32	12	27
Religious Affiliation										
Protestant	56	61	68	64	55	58	62	59	36	49
Catholic	25	20	24	25	30	22	29	25	23	26
Other Christian	3	6	2	2	4	4	1	1	2	2
Jewish	3	3	0	1	1	2	2	2	8	0
Secular	8	6	3	4	5	9	1	5	22	12
White Protestant Evangelical	21	34	43	37	22	20	16	11	5	17
White Prot. Non-Evangelical	23	23	21	19	28	27	20	17	24	25
White Catholic	17	12	18	17	26	18	17	15	17	11
Black Protestant	9	0	2	7	4	5	24	26	3	6
Attend Religious Services										
At least once a week	40	48	53	52	46	39	46	43	18	26
At least a few times a year	34	26	31	35	32	34	34	39	38	39
Seldom or never	25	25	15	11	22	25	19	17	43	34
Labor Union member										
Yes, someone in household	14	10	14	10	8	13	18	23	14	10
Yes, respondent a member	9	7	7	6	7	9	14	13	10	4
Sample size - December 2004	(2000)	(219)	(236)	(163)	(248)	(179)	(261)	(167)	(359)	(168)

Continued ...

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF TYPOLOGY GROUPS (continued)

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Enterprisers</u>	<u>Social Conservatives</u>	<u>Pro-Government Conservatives</u>	<u>Upbeats</u>	<u>Disaffecteds</u>	<u>Conservative Democrats</u>	<u>Disadvantaged Democrats</u>	<u>Liberals</u>	<u>Bystanders</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<i>Military Veteran</i>										
Yes, someone in household	21	27	28	23	24	23	23	23	12	9
Yes, respondent a veteran	13	23	17	12	16	13	14	10	7	7
<i>Marital Status</i>										
Married	54	77	66	55	59	57	49	42	44	49
Never Married	23	10	11	19	22	15	22	29	36	34
Divorced/Separated	14	8	13	15	11	19	16	18	15	12
Widowed	8	5	10	11	7	7	13	11	5	5
<i>Parental Status</i>										
Parent, child living at home	37	43	32	47	33	31	37	47	27	46
<i>Have any guns in your home</i>										
Yes	37	59	56	36	40	45	34	27	23	30
No	60	34	39	62	59	51	65	70	76	66
<i>Own a small business</i>										
Yes	16	30	14	11	15	21	14	8	17	10
No	84	69	85	88	85	78	86	92	83	90
<i>Trade stocks or bonds in the market</i>										
Yes	28	53	35	14	42	17	20	18	38	11
No	71	46	64	85	57	80	80	82	61	89
<i>Someone in household unemployed within last 12 months</i>										
Yes	37	28	18	39	28	42	37	58	40	45
No	63	72	82	60	72	57	63	42	60	54
<i>You or your parents born in country other than U.S. or Canada</i>										
Yes	16	12	12	11	18	14	13	9	20	28
No	84	88	88	89	82	86	87	91	80	72
Sample size - December 2004	(2000)	(219)	(236)	(163)	(248)	(179)	(261)	(167)	(359)	(168)

POLITICAL PROFILE OF TYPOLOGY GROUPS

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Enterprisers</u>	<u>Social Conservatives</u>	<u>Pro-Government Conservatives</u>	<u>Upbeats</u>	<u>Disaffecteds</u>	<u>Conservative Democrats</u>	<u>Disadvantaged Democrats</u>	<u>Liberals</u>	<u>Bystanders</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
2004 Presidential Vote										
Bush	36	92	86	61	63	42	14	2	2	2
Kerry	36	1	4	12	14	21	65	82	81	1
Didn't vote	22	4	6	21	14	23	13	13	13	96
Party Identification										
Republican	30	81	82	58	39	30	0	0	1	22
Democrat	34	1	0	2	5	2	89	84	59	22
Independent	30	15	15	33	45	53	11	14	38	43
Other	*	0	0	0	*	2	0	0	0	0
No preference/DK	6	3	3	7	11	13	*	2	2	13
Republican/lean Republican	45	98	97	86	73	60	0	0	2	39
Democrat/lean Democrat	46	1	1	3	14	10	98	99	92	38
Independent, no leaning	9	1	2	11	13	30	2	1	6	23
Strong Republican	17	62	51	33	16	14	0	0	0	8
Strong Democrat	19	0	0	0	1	0	51	55	35	6
Ideology										
Conservative	39	85	66	58	47	29	41	27	1	32
Moderate	37	14	29	38	43	46	44	48	35	33
Liberal	19	1	3	2	6	16	9	16	62	24
Conservative Republican	20	70	56	36	22	10	0	0	0	11
Moderate/Liberal Repub.	10	11	24	21	17	18	0	0	1	10
Conserv./Moderate Dem.	22	1	0	2	5	2	76	62	17	13
Liberal Democrat	10	0	0	0	0	0	8	14	42	8
Bush Job Approval*										
Approve	49	95	88	77	67	62	33	4	11	45
Disapprove	46	5	6	16	25	30	59	95	86	45
Overall opinion of George W. Bush*										
Favorable	53	96	91	89	71	72	41	9	9	58
Unfavorable	45	3	7	10	28	22	56	91	89	37
Sample size - December 2004	(2000)	(219)	(236)	(163)	(248)	(179)	(261)	(167)	(359)	(168)

TYPOLOGY GROUPS AND THE ISSUES

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Enterprisers</u>	<u>Social</u> <u>Conservatives</u>	<u>Pro-Government</u> <u>Conservatives</u>	<u>Upbeats</u>	<u>Disaffecteds</u>	<u>Conservative</u> <u>Democrats</u>	<u>Disadvantaged</u> <u>Democrats</u>	<u>Liberals</u>	<u>Bystanders</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<i>With next Supreme Court appointment, Bush should make the court...</i>										
More liberal	24	4	5	9	13	10	27	33	52	26
More conservative	28	64	50	36	30	30	26	15	5	17
About the same as it is now	41	26	40	41	53	53	40	43	39	38
<i>Importance of next Sup. Court justice</i>										
Very important	38	59	47	33	37	30	28	31	49	19
Somewhat important	36	29	36	51	37	28	39	41	31	38
Not too/ at all important	23	12	14	15	24	34	29	23	19	37
<i>Economic Issues</i>										
<i>Social Security private accounts*</i>										
Favor	46	88	56	59	59	44	36	17	28	48
Oppose	44	7	30	26	28	44	58	76	65	32
<i>View of Pres. Bush's tax cuts</i>										
All should be made permanent	28	82	42	27	35	33	14	13	8	18
Tax cuts for wealthy should be repealed	35	5	30	33	27	27	43	47	49	35
All tax cuts should be repealed	25	8	17	25	23	24	31	30	34	28
<i>Increase in minimum wage from \$5.15 per hour to \$6.45 per hour</i>										
Favor	86	46	79	94	86	84	92	95	94	92
Oppose	12	49	18	5	11	13	6	3	5	7
<i>Gov't guaranteeing health insurance for all citizens</i>										
Favor	65	23	59	63	55	64	73	65	90	67
Oppose	30	76	37	33	38	26	23	29	8	25
Sample size - December 2004	(2000)	(219)	(236)	(163)	(248)	(179)	(261)	(167)	(359)	(168)
*Sample size - March 2005	(1090)	(139)	(135)	(86)	(133)	(90)	(120)	(78)	(240)	(69)

Continued ...

TYPOLGY GROUPS AND THE ISSUES (continued)

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Enterprisers</u>	<u>Social</u> <u>Conservatives</u>	<u>Pro-Government</u> <u>Conservatives</u>	<u>Upbeats</u>	<u>Disaffecteds</u>	<u>Conservative</u> <u>Democrats</u>	<u>Disadvantaged</u> <u>Democrats</u>	<u>Liberals</u>	<u>Bystanders</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<i>Limiting the amount patients can be awarded in medical malpractice lawsuits</i>										
Favor	63	81	76	61	72	54	57	53	58	61
Oppose	30	16	18	30	23	37	35	41	37	29
<i>“Outsourcing” is...</i>										
Bad for the economy	69	43	67	71	55	78	81	87	72	65
Good for the economy	22	44	18	22	37	13	10	8	19	26
<i>Allowing immigrants to enter the U.S. legally and work here for a limited amount of time*</i>										
Favor	50	71	44	47	57	46	43	30	58	40
Oppose	44	26	50	47	38	51	50	63	36	54
<i>Priority of reducing budget deficit*</i>										
Top priority	39	23	33	41	32	43	44	45	50	30
Important but lower priority	46	59	50	45	55	37	35	43	42	52
Not too important	6	10	7	6	8	8	8	1	4	3
Doesn't need to be addressed	5	8	6	5	2	5	7	3	3	11
<i>Raising taxes in order to reduce deficit*</i>										
Favor	31	12	27	32	34	19	25	23	56	18
Oppose	66	87	73	67	63	78	71	66	41	76
<i>Lowering defense/military spending in order to reduce deficit*</i>										
Favor	35	16	16	19	31	33	29	41	65	35
Oppose	60	84	78	77	65	60	63	50	33	57
<i>Lowering domestic spending in order to reduce deficit*</i>										
Favor	54	81	63	53	61	44	48	29	48	60
Oppose	35	13	23	36	30	38	40	45	47	26
Sample size - December 2004	(2000)	(219)	(236)	(163)	(248)	(179)	(261)	(167)	(359)	(168)
*Sample size - March 2005	(1090)	(139)	(135)	(86)	(133)	(90)	(120)	(78)	(240)	(69)

Continued ...

TYPOLOGY GROUPS AND THE ISSUES (continued)

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Enterprisers</u>	<u>Social</u> <u>Conservatives</u>	<u>Pro-Government</u> <u>Conservatives</u>	<u>Upbeats</u>	<u>Disaffecteds</u>	<u>Conservative</u> <u>Democrats</u>	<u>Disadvantaged</u> <u>Democrats</u>	<u>Liberals</u>	<u>Bystanders</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<i>Programs designed to help blacks, women and other minorities get better jobs and education*</i>										
Favor	67	31	49	71	70	60	74	68	82	79
Oppose	28	63	45	24	27	31	22	25	14	16
<i>Drilling in the ANWR*</i>										
Favor	46	92	71	46	49	60	46	30	14	36
Oppose	49	5	23	51	47	32	46	57	85	59
<i>Free trade agreements like NAFTA and WTO for U.S.</i>										
Good thing for the U.S.	47	47	36	47	59	40	43	41	50	58
Bad thing for the U.S.	34	40	44	27	24	43	34	41	34	23
<i>Higher priority right now</i>										
Cutting taxes	32	50	31	37	29	42	31	32	14	36
Reducing the Federal deficit	61	43	61	57	64	47	62	61	83	50
Neither	2	3	1	2	*	3	2	1	1	2
<i>Social Issues</i>										
<i>Stem cell research priorities</i>										
Research that might result in new cures	56	38	40	47	53	53	57	60	84	55
Not destroying potential life of embryos	32	49	45	46	36	31	30	26	11	32
<i>Making it more difficult for a woman to get an abortion</i>										
Favor	36	54	54	53	37	35	37	22	10	43
Oppose	55	38	40	41	54	47	51	67	88	49
<i>Allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally</i>										
Favor	32	8	12	17	28	26	19	37	80	32
Oppose	61	90	84	76	64	67	74	55	15	59
Sample size - December 2004	(2000)	(219)	(236)	(163)	(248)	(179)	(261)	(167)	(359)	(168)
*Sample size - March 2005	(1090)	(139)	(135)	(86)	(133)	(90)	(120)	(78)	(240)	(69)

Continued ...

TYPOLGY GROUPS AND THE ISSUES (continued)

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Enterprisers</u>	<u>Social</u> <u>Conservatives</u>	<u>Pro-Government</u> <u>Conservatives</u>	<u>Upbeats</u>	<u>Disaffecteds</u>	<u>Conservative</u> <u>Democrats</u>	<u>Disadvantaged</u> <u>Democrats</u>	<u>Liberals</u>	<u>Bystanders</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<i>Teaching creationism ALONG WITH evolution in public schools*</i>										
Favor	57	83	62	64	61	60	46	50	49	48
Oppose	33	12	28	22	34	22	33	36	48	39
<i>Teaching creationism INSTEAD OF evolution in public schools*</i>										
Favor	33	41	51	40	34	40	41	24	11	44
Oppose	54	49	33	44	59	44	36	60	85	39
<i>Displaying the Ten Commandments in government buildings*</i>										
Proper	74	89	92	92	81	80	82	84	35	77
Improper	22	10	5	8	15	10	16	11	61	17
<i>Attend Bible study or prayer group</i>										
Yes	36	36	51	52	35	38	44	41	13	30
No	64	63	48	48	65	61	56	59	87	70
<i>Have a friend, colleague, or family member who is gay*</i>										
Yes	46	37	37	41	43	33	34	48	73	36
No	54	60	61	59	55	67	66	52	27	64
<i>Foreign Policy Issues</i>										
<i>Spending on national defense</i>										
Increase	20	41	30	24	21	26	18	13	10	11
Keep same	54	54	61	59	62	48	55	42	47	57
Cut back	19	1	4	13	10	21	18	38	37	23
<i>Use of torture against suspected terrorist in order to gain important information</i>										
Often justified	15	24	17	11	9	24	20	8	6	20
Sometimes justified	30	39	36	43	36	30	29	29	15	31
Rarely justified	24	22	30	19	26	18	16	16	39	18
Never justified	27	10	14	22	26	19	32	41	38	28

TYPOLGY GROUPS AND THE ISSUES (continued)

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Enterprisers</u>	<u>Social</u> <u>Conservatives</u>	<u>Pro-Government</u> <u>Conservatives</u>	<u>Upbeats</u>	<u>Disaffecteds</u>	<u>Conservative</u> <u>Democrats</u>	<u>Disadvantaged</u> <u>Democrats</u>	<u>Liberals</u>	<u>Bystanders</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<i>Using military force against countries that may seriously threaten our country but have not attacked us</i>										
Often justified	14	32	24	13	14	17	15	5	1	12
Sometimes justified	46	57	58	54	57	46	43	33	32	41
Rarely justified	21	7	11	16	18	15	18	26	44	18
Never justified	14	3	4	11	5	12	14	28	23	20
<i>Using military force in Iraq</i>										
Right decision	49	94	88	72	66	50	28	15	11	57
Wrong decision	44	5	8	18	24	40	61	76	87	35
<i>How well is the U.S. military effort in Iraq going</i>										
Very well	10	24	21	14	11	10	7	4	2	4
Fairly well	40	64	62	58	52	38	29	21	14	43
Not too well	28	8	14	18	23	23	41	39	41	28
Not at all well	18	2	1	7	8	22	20	32	42	14
<i>What to do in Iraq...</i>										
Keep troops in Iraq until stabilized	56	88	81	68	72	45	33	26	52	46
Bring troops home as soon as possible	40	10	18	29	24	49	64	68	44	48
<i>Patriot Act</i>										
Necessary tool	33	73	53	38	46	28	29	8	15	22
Goes too far	39	12	13	28	27	44	40	60	71	36
<i>Have a friend, colleague, or family member who has served in Iraq*</i>										
Yes	49	49	54	51	41	48	48	57	45	48
No	51	51	46	49	59	52	52	43	54	52
Sample size - December 2004	(2000)	(219)	(236)	(163)	(248)	(179)	(261)	(167)	(359)	(168)
*Sample size - March 2005	(1090)	(139)	(135)	(86)	(133)	(90)	(120)	(78)	(240)	(69)

Continued ...

TYPOLOGY GROUPS AND MEDIA USE

<i>Main News Source*</i>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Enterprisers</u>	Social	Pro-Government	<u>Disaffecteds</u>	Conservative	Disadvantaged	<u>Liberals</u>	<u>Bystanders</u>	
			<u>Conservatives</u>	<u>Conservatives</u>		<u>Upbeats</u>	<u>Democrats</u>			<u>Democrats</u>
Television	74	68	83	82	67	76	85	78	57	79
Local	15	10	13	19	16	22	14	14	9	23
Network (NET)	29	17	30	31	29	30	42	32	22	24
CNN	20	8	23	21	20	15	27	31	18	19
Fox News Channel	19	46	34	23	17	16	11	12	6	19
Newspapers	45	42	50	48	46	38	50	53	46	34
Radio	21	31	16	18	21	20	14	16	28	23
Magazines	4	5	4	3	6	3	3	2	7	2
Internet	23	26	16	19	34	19	16	18	37	19
Sample size - December 2004	(2000)	(219)	(236)	(163)	(248)	(179)	(261)	(167)	(359)	(168)

* Note: Figures add to more than 100% because respondents could list more than one main news source.

Party ID Within Center Groups*			
		<u>Upbeats</u>	<u>Disaffected</u>
		%	%
1994	Republican/lean Rep	39	34
	Democrat/lean Dem	48	51
	Independent/no lean	<u>13</u>	<u>15</u>
		100	100
1999	Republican/lean Rep	54	33
	Democrat/lean Dem	21	31
	Independent/no lean	<u>25</u>	<u>36</u>
		100	100
2005	Republican/lean Rep	73	60
	Democrat/lean Dem	14	10
	Independent/no lean	<u>13</u>	<u>30</u>
		100	100

* The names of the "middle" groups have changed over the years. Columns show most comparable previous Typology groups to the current Upbeats and Disaffecteds.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS
DECEMBER 2004 POLITICAL TYPOLOGY SURVEY
FINAL TOPLINE
December 1 - 16, 2004
N=2000

ON FORM ONE Q.1/1a PRECEDES Q.2 --- ON FORM TWO, Q.2 PRECEDES Q.1/1a

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>	Dis- <u>approve</u>	Don't <u>know</u>		<u>Approve</u>	Dis- <u>approve</u>	Don't <u>know</u>
December, 2004	48	44	8=100	August, 2002	67	21	12=100
Mid-October, 2004	44	48	8=100	Late July, 2002	65	25	10=100
August, 2004	46	45	9=100	July, 2002	67	21	12=100
July, 2004	46	46	8=100	June, 2002	70	20	10=100
June, 2004	48	43	9=100	April, 2002	69	18	13=100
May, 2004	44	48	8=100	Early April, 2002	74	16	10=100
Late April, 2004	48	43	9=100	February, 2002	78	13	9=100
Early April, 2004	43	47	10=100	January, 2002	80	11	9=100
Late March, 2004	47	44	9=100	2001			
Mid-March, 2004	46	47	7=100	Mid-November, 2001	84	9	7=100
February, 2004	48	44	8=100	Early October, 2001	84	8	8=100
Mid-January, 2004	56	34	10=100	Late September, 2001	86	7	7=100
Early January, 2004	58	35	7=100	Mid-September, 2001	80	9	11=100
2003				Early September, 2001	51	34	15=100
December, 2003	57	34	9=100	August, 2001	50	32	18=100
November, 2003	50	40	10=100	July, 2001	51	32	17=100
October, 2003	50	42	8=100	June, 2001	50	33	17=100
September, 2003	55	36	9=100	May, 2001	53	32	15=100
Mid-August, 2003	56	32	12=100	April, 2001	56	27	17=100
Early August, 2003	53	37	10=100	March, 2001	55	25	20=100
Mid-July, 2003	58	32	10=100	February, 2001	53	21	26=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				
2002							
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				

IF APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE (1,2 IN Q.1) ASK:

Q.1a Do you (approve/disapprove) very strongly, or not so strongly?

	<u>Nov 2003</u>	<u>Sept 2003</u>	<u>June 2002</u>	<u>April 2001</u>
48 Approve	50	55	70	56
34 Very strongly	34	35	46	34
12 Not so strongly	14	18	21	20
2 Don't know (VOL)	2	2	3	2
44 Disapprove	40	36	20	27
35 Very strongly	30	27	8	18
8 Not so strongly	9	9	12	9
1 Don't know (VOL)	1	*	0	*
<u>8</u> Don't know/Refused	<u>10</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>17</u>
100	100	100	100	100

ASK ALL:

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

	<u>Sat- isfied</u>	<u>Dis- satisfied</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>		<u>Sat- isfied</u>	<u>Dis- satisfied</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
December, 2004	39	54	7=100	January, 1999	53	41	6=100
Mid-October, 2004	36	58	6=100	November, 1998	46	44	10=100
July, 2004	38	55	7=100	Early September, 1998	54	42	4=100
May, 2004	33	61	6=100	Late August, 1998	55	41	4=100
Late February, 2004	39	55	6=100	Early August, 1998	50	44	6=100
Early January, 2004	45	48	7=100	February, 1998	59	37	4=100
December, 2003	44	47	9=100	January, 1998	46	50	4=100
October, 2003	38	56	6=100	September, 1997	45	49	6=100
August, 2003	40	53	7=100	August, 1997	49	46	5=100
April, 2003 ¹	50	41	9=100	January, 1997	38	58	4=100
January, 2003	44	50	6=100	July, 1996	29	67	4=100
November, 2002	41	48	11=100	March, 1996	28	70	2=100
September, 2002 ²	41	55	4=100	October, 1995	23	73	4=100
Late August, 2002	47	44	9=100	June, 1995	25	73	2=100
May, 2002	44	44	12=100	April, 1995	23	74	3=100
March, 2002	50	40	10=100	July, 1994	24	73	3=100
Late September, 2001	57	34	9=100	March, 1994	24	71	5=100
Early September, 2001	41	53	6=100	October, 1993	22	73	5=100
June, 2001	43	52	5=100	September, 1993	20	75	4=100
March, 2001	47	45	8=100	May, 1993	22	71	7=100
February, 2001	46	43	11=100	January, 1993	39	50	11=100
January, 2001	55	41	4=100	January, 1992	28	68	4=100
October, 2000 (RV's)	54	39	7=100	November, 1991	34	61	5=100
September, 2000	51	41	8=100	Late Feb, 1991 (Gallup)	66	31	3=100
June, 2000	47	45	8=100	August, 1990	47	48	5=100
April, 2000	48	43	9=100	May, 1990	41	54	5=100
August, 1999	56	39	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

¹ Asked April 8, 2003 only; N=395.

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

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=993]:

Q.3F1 What's your view... Do you think the country is more politically divided these days than in the past, or not?

66 More politically divided
26 Not more divided
8 Don't know/Refused
100

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1007]:

Q.4F2 Thinking about the people you know, are they more divided over politics these days than in the past, or not?

53 More divided
40 Not more divided
7 Don't know/Refused
100

ASK IF 'MORE DIVIDED' IN EITHER (1 IN Q.3F1 OR 1 IN Q.4F2) [N=1178]:

Q.5 Why do you think people are more divided these days? What are they more divided about? [**OPEN END; ENTER MULTIPLE RESPONSES BUT DO NOT PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL; IF RESPONDENT VOLUNTEERS "BUSH" ENTER BUSH, BUT ALSO PROBE "What is it about George W. Bush that divides people?"**]

36 FOREIGN POLICY (NET)
32 War/Iraq
3 Terrorism/ 9/11
2 Other foreign policy issues
19 DOMESTIC ISSUES (NET)
13 Economy/jobs
3 Healthcare
2 Taxes
1 Social Security
4 Other domestic issues
14 RELIGION AND MORALITY (NET)
5 Religion
3 Values/morals
3 Gay marriage/gay rights
2 Abortion
1 Church-State divide
1 Christian Right
3 Other religious/moral issues
12 LEADERSHIP/ELECTED OFFICIALS (NET)
6 President Bush
1 Democrats/liberals
1 Republicans/conservatives
4 Other leaders/the way the country is run
4 People are ignorant/selfish/scared/stubborn
3 CAMPAIGN/ELECTION (NET)
2 Election/Close election
* Negative Campaign
1 Other campaign/election
3 Rich-poor gap
3 Politics
3 Political parties/Both Republicans and Democrats
2 Everything is more divided

Q.5 CONTINUED...

- 2 Money
- 2 People have different views
- 1 Ideology/political philosophy
- 1 Media
- 1 Race
- 1 The way things are going
- 1 Immigrants
- 6 Other
- 9 Don't know

ASK ALL:

Q.6 All in all, how do you feel about George W. Bush being reelected President? Are you **[READ]**

- 15 Excited
- 34 Happy
- 29 Unhappy
- 15 Or depressed
- 7 **(VOL. DO NOT READ)** Don't know/Refused
- 100

Q.7 Here are some stories covered by news organizations this past month. For each, please tell me if you happened to follow this news story very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely. **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE WITH ITEMS a FIRST, FOLLOWED BY RANDOMIZED ITEMS b THRU e; OBSERVE FORM SPLITS AND DATES]**

	Very Closely	Fairly Closely	Not too Closely	Not at all Closely	DK/Ref
a. News about the current situation in Iraq	34	44	15	6	1=100
Mid-October, 2004	42	38	11	8	1=100
Early September, 2004	47	37	9	6	1=100
August, 2004	39	42	12	6	1=100
July, 2004	43	40	11	6	*=100
June, 2004	39	42	12	6	1=100
April, 2004	54	33	8	5	*=100
Mid-March, 2004	47	36	12	4	1=100
Early February, 2004	47	38	10	4	1=100
Mid-January, 2004	48	39	9	4	*=100
December, 2003	44	38	11	6	1=100
November, 2003	52	33	9	5	1=100
October, 2003	38	40	14	7	1=100
September, 2003	50	33	10	6	1=100
Mid-August, 2003	45	39	10	5	1=100
Early July, 2003	37	41	13	8	1=100
June, 2003	46	35	13	6	*=100
May, 2003	63	29	6	2	*=100
April 11-16, 2003 ³	47	40	10	2	1=100
April 2-7, 2003	54	34	9	2	1=100
March 20-24, 2003	57	33	7	2	1=100

³ From March 20 to April 16, 2003 the story was listed as "News about the war in Iraq."

Q.7 CONTINUED...

	Very <u>Closely</u>	Fairly <u>Closely</u>	Not too <u>Closely</u>	Not at all <u>Closely</u>	DK/Ref
March 13-16, 2003 ⁴	62	27	6	4	1=100
February, 2003	62	25	8	4	1=100
January, 2003	55	29	10	4	2=100
December, 2002	51	32	10	6	1=100
Late October, 2002	53	33	8	5	1=100
Early October, 2002	60	28	6	5	1=100
Early September, 2002	48	29	15	6	2=100
ASK FORM 1 ONLY, DECEMBER 1-7, 2004 ONLY [N=523]:					
b1.F1 A fistfight between players and fans at an NBA game	24	25	25	26	*=100
ASK FORM 1 ONLY, DECEMBER 8-15, 2004 ONLY [N=419]:					
b2.F2 Recent reports of steroid use by some Major League Baseball players	22	28	23	27	0=100
ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=993]:					
c.F1 Controversy over the results of the recent election in Ukraine	10	22	29	38	1=100
ASK FORM 2 ONLY, DECEMBER 1-7, 2004 ONLY [N=523]:					
d1.F2 The conviction of Scott Peterson for the murder of his wife, Laci Peterson	21	27	27	24	1=100
April, 2004 ⁵	20	37	24	17	2=100
July, 2003	22	34	26	17	1=100
May, 2003	31	31	21	16	1=100
ASK FORM 2 ONLY, DECEMBER 8-15, 2004 ONLY [N=436]:					
d2.F2 The debate in Washington over reorganizing the nation's intelligence system	16	31	29	22	2=100
ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1007]:					
e.F2 The death of Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat	18	38	25	17	2=100

NO QUESTION 8

⁴ From October 2002 to March 13-16, 2003 the story was listed as "Debate over the possibility that the U.S. will take military action in Iraq." In Early September 2002 the story was listed as "Debate over the possibility that the U.S. will invade Iraq."

⁵ In April, 2004 the story was listed as "The murder of Laci Peterson." In 2003 the story was listed as "The murder of Laci Peterson, the pregnant California woman whose husband has been charged in her death."

ASK ALL:

Q.9 Can you tell me the name of the person George W. Bush has nominated to replace Colin Powell as Secretary of State?

43 Yes, Correct, Condoleezza Rice / Condi / Rice
 5 Yes, Incorrect, any other person
52 No, Don't know/Refused
 100

Q.10 Do you happen to know when Iraq is scheduled to hold its first national elections? Will it be this winter, sometime in the spring, or later in the summer?

57 This winter
 10 Sometime in the spring
 5 Later in the summer
28 Don't know/Refused
 100

ASK ALL:

Q.11 I'm going to read you some pairs of statements that will help us understand how you feel about a number of things. As I read each pair, tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your own views — even if neither is exactly right. The first pair is... **(READ AND RANDOMIZE)** **(AFTER CHOICE IS MADE, PROBE: Do you feel STRONGLY about that, or not?)**

		Jun 03	Jul 02	Feb 02	Sep 00	Aug 99	Oct 97	Jun 97	Oct 96	Apr 96	Oct 95	Apr 95	Oct 94	Jul 94
a.	Government is almost always													
	47 wasteful and inefficient	48	--	--	52	51	--	59	56	--	63	63	64	66
	38 Strongly	38	--	--	43	41	--	49	48	--	53	51	54	54
	9 Not Strongly	10	--	--	9	10	--	10	8	--	10	12	10	12
	Government often does a better													
	45 job than people give it credit for	46	--	--	40	43	--	36	39	--	34	34	32	31
	28 Strongly	28	--	--	27	28	--	23	25	--	20	19	19	17
	17 Not Strongly	18	--	--	13	15	--	13	14	--	14	15	13	14
	<u>8</u> Neither/Don't know	<u>6</u>	--	--	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>	--	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	--	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100			100	100		100	100		100	100	100	100

		Jun 03	Jul 02	Feb 02	Sep 00	Aug 99	Oct 97	Jun 97	Oct 96	Apr 96	Oct 95	Apr 95	Oct 94	Jul 94
b.	Government regulation of business is													
	49 necessary to protect the public interest	--	54	50	--	48	--	--	45	--	45	43	38	41
	32 Strongly	--	39	35	--	32	--	--	29	--	28	25	24	24
	17 Not Strongly	--	15	15	--	16	--	--	16	--	17	18	14	17
	Government regulation of business													
	41 usually does more harm than good	--	36	41	--	44	--	--	46	--	50	51	55	54
	30 Strongly	--	27	31	--	32	--	--	33	--	37	38	41	39
	11 Not Strongly	--	9	10	--	12	--	--	13	--	13	13	14	15
	<u>10</u> Neither/Don't know	--	<u>10</u>	<u>9</u>	--	<u>8</u>	--	--	<u>9</u>	--	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>
	100		100	100		100			100		100	100	100	100

Q.11 CONTINUED...

		Jun	Jul	Feb	Sep	Aug	Oct	Jun	Oct	Apr	Oct	Apr	Oct	Jul
		<u>03</u>	<u>02</u>	<u>02</u>	<u>00</u>	<u>99</u>	<u>97</u>	<u>97</u>	<u>96</u>	<u>96</u>	<u>95</u>	<u>95</u>	<u>94</u>	<u>94</u>
c.	Poor people today have it easy because they can get government benefits without doing anything in return	34	--	--	--	45	--	45	46	--	54	52	48	53
	34 Strongly	24	--	--	--	30	--	33	35	--	36	37	35	37
	11 Not Strongly	10	--	--	--	15	--	12	11	--	18	15	13	16
	Poor people have hard lives because government benefits don't go far enough to help them live decently	52	--	--	--	42	--	42	40	--	36	39	41	39
	40 Strongly	42	--	--	--	31	--	31	28	--	25	28	31	27
	12 Not Strongly	13	--	--	--	11	--	11	12	--	11	11	10	12
	<u>14</u> Neither/Don't know	<u>11</u>	--	--	--	<u>13</u>	--	<u>13</u>	<u>14</u>	--	<u>10</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>8</u>
	100	100				100		100	100		100	100	100	100
d.	The government should do more to help needy Americans, even if it means going deeper into debt	57	--	--	--	57	--	--	46	49	47	46	50	48
	46 Strongly	--	--	--	--	44	--	--	36	42	35	33	39	35
	11 Not Strongly	--	--	--	--	13	--	--	10	7	12	13	11	13
	The government today can't afford to do much more to help the needy	33	--	--	--	35	--	--	44	44	47	47	43	47
	22 Strongly	--	--	--	--	23	--	--	31	34	31	34	31	32
	11 Not Strongly	--	--	--	--	12	--	--	13	10	16	13	12	15
	<u>10</u> Neither/Don't know	--	--	--	--	<u>8</u>	--	--	<u>10</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>
	100					100			100	100	100	100	100	100
e.	The position of blacks in American society has improved in recent years	73	--	--	--	78	--	73	73	--	69	70	67	72
	59 Strongly	--	--	--	--	63	--	55	57	--	52	52	50	52
	14 Not Strongly	--	--	--	--	15	--	18	16	--	17	18	17	20
	There hasn't been much real progress for blacks in recent years	20	--	--	--	18	--	22	21	--	27	26	27	25
	14 Strongly	--	--	--	--	13	--	16	16	--	20	19	20	18
	6 Not Strongly	--	--	--	--	5	--	6	5	--	7	7	7	7
	<u>7</u> Neither/Don't know	--	--	--	--	<u>4</u>	--	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	--	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>
	100					100		100	100		100	100	100	100
f.	Racial discrimination is the main reason why many black people can't get ahead these days	27	--	--	31	28	25	33	28	--	37	34	34	32
	18 Strongly	16	--	--	22	19	--	22	19	--	25	21	24	20
	9 Not Strongly	8	--	--	9	9	--	11	9	--	12	13	10	12
	Blacks who can't get ahead in this country are mostly responsible for their own condition	60	--	--	54	59	61	54	58	--	53	56	54	59
	44 Strongly	50	--	--	43	46	--	41	45	--	38	40	40	43
	16 Not Strongly	14	--	--	11	13	--	13	13	--	15	16	14	16
	<u>13</u> Neither/Don't know	<u>12</u>	--	--	<u>15</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>14</u>	--	<u>10</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>9</u>
	100	100			100	100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100

Q.11 CONTINUED...

		Jun	Jul	Feb	Sep	Aug	Oct	Jun	Apr	Jun	Oct	Apr	Oct	Jul
		<u>03</u>	<u>02</u>	<u>02</u>	<u>00</u>	<u>99</u>	<u>97</u>	<u>97</u>	<u>97</u>	<u>96</u>	<u>95</u>	<u>95</u>	<u>94</u>	<u>94</u>
g.	Immigrants today strengthen our country because of their hard													
	45 work and talents	46	--	--	50	46	41	41	38	37	--	--	--	31
	32 Strongly	30	--	--	36	30	--	26	19	--	--	--	--	17
	13 Not Strongly	16	--	--	14	16	--	15	19	--	--	--	--	14
	Immigrants today are a burden on our country because they take our													
	44 jobs, housing and health care	44	--	--	38	44	48	48	52	54	--	--	--	63
	34 Strongly	35	--	--	29	34	--	37	38	--	--	--	--	49
	10 Not Strongly	9	--	--	9	10	--	11	14	--	--	--	--	14
	<u>11</u> Neither/Don't know	<u>10</u>	--	--	<u>12</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>9</u>	--	--	--	<u>6</u>
	100	100			100	100	100	100	100	100				100

NO ITEM H.

		Jun	Jul	Feb	Sep	Aug	Oct	Jun	Oct	Apr	Oct	Apr	Oct	Jul
		<u>03</u>	<u>02</u>	<u>02</u>	<u>00</u>	<u>99</u>	<u>97</u>	<u>97</u>	<u>96</u>	<u>96</u>	<u>95</u>	<u>95</u>	<u>94</u>	<u>94</u>
i.	The best way to ensure peace is through													
	30 military strength	--	--	--	--	33	--	--	36	--	36	35	40	36
	25 Strongly	--	--	--	--	26	--	--	30	--	28	27	32	28
	5 Not Strongly	--	--	--	--	7	--	--	6	--	8	8	8	8
	Good diplomacy is the best way to													
	55 ensure peace	--	--	--	--	55	--	--	53	--	59	58	52	58
	46 Strongly	--	--	--	--	45	--	--	44	--	49	46	43	46
	9 Not Strongly	--	--	--	--	10	--	--	9	--	10	12	9	12
	<u>15</u> Neither/Don't know	--	--	--	--	<u>12</u>	--	--	<u>11</u>	--	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>
	100					100			100		100	100	100	100

		Jun	Jul	Feb	Sep	Aug	Oct	Jun	Oct	Apr	Oct	Apr	Oct	Jul
		<u>03</u>	<u>02</u>	<u>02</u>	<u>00</u>	<u>99</u>	<u>97</u>	<u>97</u>	<u>96</u>	<u>96</u>	<u>95</u>	<u>95</u>	<u>94</u>	<u>94</u>
j.	We should all be willing to fight for our													
	46 country, whether it is right or wrong	--	--	--	48	47	--	--	48	--	49	49	47	52
	39 Strongly	--	--	--	41	39	--	--	39	--	38	39	39	43
	7 Not Strongly	--	--	--	7	8	--	--	7	--	11	10	8	9
	It's acceptable to refuse to fight in a war													
	46 you believe is morally wrong	--	--	--	45	47	--	--	47	--	48	47	47	45
	38 Strongly	--	--	--	37	38	--	--	39	--	38	38	37	35
	8 Not Strongly	--	--	--	8	9	--	--	8	--	10	9	10	10
	<u>8</u> Neither/Don't know	--	--	--	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	--	--	<u>7</u>	--	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>
	100				100	100			100		100	100	100	100

		Jun	Jul	Feb	Sep	Aug	Oct	Jun	Oct	Apr	Oct	Apr	Oct	Jul
		<u>03</u>	<u>02</u>	<u>02</u>	<u>00</u>	<u>99</u>	<u>97</u>	<u>97</u>	<u>96</u>	<u>96</u>	<u>95</u>	<u>95</u>	<u>94</u>	<u>94</u>
k.	Most people who want to get ahead can													
	68 make it if they're willing to work hard	--	--	--	73	74	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	68
	62 Strongly	--	--	--	66	66	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	59
	6 Not strongly	--	--	--	7	8	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	9
	Hard work and determination are no													
	28 guarantee of success for most people	--	--	--	24	23	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	30
	22 Strongly	--	--	--	20	18	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	22
	6 Not strongly	--	--	--	4	5	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	8
	<u>4</u> Neither/Don't know	--	--	--	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	<u>2</u>
	100				100	100								100

Q.11 CONTINUED...

		Jun <u>03</u>	Jul <u>02</u>	Feb <u>02</u>	Sep <u>00</u>	Aug <u>99</u>	Oct <u>97</u>	Jun <u>97</u>	Oct <u>96</u>	Apr <u>96</u>	Oct <u>95</u>	Apr <u>95</u>	Oct <u>94</u>	Jul <u>94</u>
i.	Success in life is pretty much determined													
	16 by forces outside of our control	--	--	--	--	15	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	18
	11 Strongly	--	--	--	--	10	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	12
	5 Not strongly	--	--	--	--	5	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	6
	78 Everyone has it in their own power to succeed	--	--	--	--	80	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	79
	68 Strongly	--	--	--	--	72	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	67
	10 Not strongly	--	--	--	--	8	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	12
	<u>6</u> Neither/Don't know	--	--	--	--	<u>5</u>	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	<u>3</u>
	100					100								100
		Jun <u>03</u>	Jul <u>02</u>	Feb <u>02</u>	Sep <u>00</u>	Aug <u>99</u>	Oct <u>97</u>	Jun <u>97</u>	Oct <u>96</u>	Apr <u>96</u>	Oct <u>95</u>	Apr <u>95</u>	Oct <u>94</u>	Jul <u>94</u>
m.	Too much power is concentrated in the													
	77 hands of a few large companies	--	80	77	--	77	--	--	75	--	77	75	73	76
	64 Strongly	--	67	62	--	62	--	--	61	--	62	59	58	59
	13 Not Strongly	--	13	15	--	15	--	--	14	--	15	16	15	17
	The largest companies do NOT have													
	16 too much power	--	12	17	--	17	--	--	18	--	18	20	20	19
	9 Strongly	--	7	9	--	10	--	--	10	--	9	10	10	9
	7 Not Strongly	--	5	8	--	7	--	--	8	--	9	10	10	10
	<u>7</u> Neither/Don't know	--	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>	--	<u>6</u>	--	--	<u>7</u>	--	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>
	100		100	100		100			100		100	100	100	100
		Jun <u>03</u>	Jul <u>02</u>	Feb <u>02</u>	Sep <u>00</u>	Aug <u>99</u>	Oct <u>97</u>	Jun <u>97</u>	Oct <u>96</u>	Apr <u>96</u>	Oct <u>95</u>	Apr <u>95</u>	Oct <u>94</u>	Jul <u>94</u>
n.	Business corporations make too													
	53 much profit	51	58	54	54	52	--	51	51	--	53	51	50	52
	46 Strongly	43	51	44	46	42	--	43	43	--	44	42	40	43
	7 Not Strongly	8	7	10	8	10	--	8	8	--	9	9	10	9
	Most corporations make a fair													
	39 and reasonable amount of profit	42	33	39	38	42	--	43	42	--	43	44	44	43
	25 Strongly	27	22	24	28	29	--	28	27	--	27	26	28	27
	14 Not Strongly	15	11	15	10	13	--	15	15	--	16	18	16	16
	<u>8</u> Neither/Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>	--	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	--	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100		100	100		100	100	100	100
		Jun <u>03</u>	Jul <u>02</u>	Feb <u>02</u>	Sep <u>00</u>	Aug <u>99</u>	Oct <u>97</u>	Jun <u>97</u>	Oct <u>96</u>	Apr <u>96</u>	Oct <u>95</u>	Apr <u>95</u>	Oct <u>94</u>	Jul <u>94</u>
o.	Elected officials in Washington lose touch													
	66 with the people pretty quickly	--	--	--	66	68	--	--	69	72	73	76	74	71
	54 Strongly	--	--	--	53	55	--	--	58	59	60	64	61	58
	12 Not Strongly	--	--	--	13	13	--	--	11	13	13	12	13	13
	Elected officials in Washington try hard to													
	26 stay in touch with voters back home	--	--	--	27	26	--	--	25	23	24	21	22	25
	15 Strongly	--	--	--	18	16	--	--	15	14	14	12	13	14
	11 Not Strongly	--	--	--	9	10	--	--	10	9	10	9	9	11
	<u>8</u> Neither/Don't know	--	--	--	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	--	--	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>
	100				100	100			100	100	100	100	100	100

		Jun 03	Jul 02	Feb 02	Sep 00	Aug 99	Oct 97	Jun 97	Oct 96	Apr 96	Oct 95	Apr 95	Oct 94	Jul 94
p.	Most elected officials care what													
	32 people like me think	33	--	--	39	35	--	28	38	--	33	32	29	34
	19 Strongly	18	--	--	26	21	--	17	23	--	18	18	17	18
	13 Not Strongly	15	--	--	13	14	--	11	15	--	15	14	12	16
	Most elected officials don't care													
	63 what people like me think	62	--	--	55	60	--	67	58	--	64	64	68	64
	52 Strongly	51	--	--	44	49	--	55	48	--	53	53	56	51
	11 Not Strongly	11	--	--	11	11	--	12	10	--	11	11	12	13
	<u>5</u> Neither/Don't know	<u>5</u>	--	--	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	--	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	--	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100			100	100		100	100		100	100	100	100

Q.12 Would you say your overall opinion of... [INSERT ITEM; ROTATE ITEMS a. AND b. WITH c. ALWAYS LAST] is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? [INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE."] How about [NEXT ITEM]?

		-----Favorable-----			----Unfavorable----			Never Heard of	Can't Rate
		Total	Very	Mostly	Total	Very	Mostly		
a.	The Republican Party	52	15	37	42	17	25	0	6=100
	June, 2004	51	12	39	40	14	26	0	9=100
	Early February, 2004	52	14	38	42	16	26	*	6=100
	June, 2003	58	14	44	33	10	23	0	9=100
	April, 2003	63	14	49	31	10	21	*	6=100
	December, 2002	59	18	41	33	11	22	*	8=100
	July, 2001	48	11	37	42	15	27	*	10=100
	January, 2001	56	13	43	35	13	22	*	9=100
	September, 2000 (RVs)	53	11	42	40	12	28	0	7=100
	August, 1999	53	8	45	43	12	31	*	4=100
	February, 1999	44	7	37	51	15	36	0	5=100
	January, 1999	44	10	34	50	23	27	0	6=100
	Early December, 1998	46	11	35	47	20	27	*	7=100
	Early October, 1998 (RVs)	52	9	43	42	14	28	0	6=100
	Early September, 1998	56	9	47	37	11	26	*	7=100
	March, 1998	50	10	40	43	12	31	*	7=100
	August, 1997	47	9	38	47	11	36	*	6=100
	June, 1997	51	8	43	42	11	31	1	6=100
	January, 1997	52	8	44	43	10	33	*	5=100
	October, 1995	52	10	42	44	16	28	*	4=100
	December, 1994	67	21	46	27	8	19	*	6=100
	July, 1994	63	12	51	33	8	25	*	4=100
	May, 1993	54	12	42	35	10	25	0	11=100
	July, 1992	46	9	37	48	17	31	*	6=100
b.	The Democratic Party	53	13	40	41	14	27	*	6=100
	June, 2004	54	12	42	36	11	25	0	10=100
	Early February, 2004	58	14	44	37	9	28	*	5=100
	June, 2003	54	11	43	38	10	28	0	8=100
	April, 2003	57	13	44	36	11	25	*	7=100
	December, 2002	54	15	39	37	10	27	*	9=100
	July, 2001	58	18	40	34	10	24	*	8=100
	January, 2001	60	18	42	30	9	21	1	9=100

Q.12 CONTINUED...

	-----Favorable-----			-----Unfavorable-----			Never Heard of	Can't Rate
	Total	Very	Mostly	Total	Very	Mostly		
September, 2000 (RVs)	60	16	44	35	12	23	*	5=100
August, 1999	59	14	45	37	9	28	*	4=100
February, 1999	58	11	47	37	11	26	0	5=100
January, 1999	55	14	41	38	12	26	0	7=100
Early December, 1998	59	18	41	34	10	24	0	7=100
Early October, 1998 (RVs)	56	11	45	38	9	29	*	6=100
Early September, 1998	60	13	47	33	8	25	*	7=100
March, 1998	58	15	43	36	10	26	*	6=100
August, 1997	52	11	41	42	10	32	0	6=100
June, 1997	61	10	51	33	8	25	*	6=100
January, 1997	60	13	47	35	7	28	*	5=100
October, 1995	49	9	40	48	11	37	0	3=100
December, 1994	50	13	37	44	13	31	*	6=100
July, 1994	62	13	49	34	7	27	*	4=100
May, 1993	57	14	43	34	9	25	0	9=100
July, 1992	61	17	44	33	9	24	*	6=100
c. The news media	43	8	35	51	18	33	*	6=100
Late October, 2000 (RVs)	50	7	43	45	14	31	0	5=100
February, 1999 (RVs)	48	6	42	49	14	35	0	3=100
March, 1998 (RVs)	45	7	38	53	17	36	*	2=100
October, 1997 (RVs)	50	6	44	48	14	34	*	2=100

NO QUESTION 13-14

Q.15 How would you rate economic conditions in this country today... as excellent, good, only fair, or poor?

	Excellent		Good		Only Fair		Poor		Don't know/ Refused	
	Total	Very	Total	Very	Total	Very	Total	Very	Total	Very
December, 2004	3		33		43		20		1=100	
Early November, 2004 (RVs)	5		31		37		26		1=100	
Mid-September, 2004	4		34		40		20		2=100	
August, 2004	3		30		45		21		1=100	
Late April, 2004	4		34		38		22		2=100	
Late February, 2004	2		29		42		26		1=100	
February 9-12, 2004 (Gallup)	2		31		46		21		0=100	
January 12-15, 2004 (Gallup)	3		34		42		21		0=100	
January 2-5, 2004 (Gallup)	3		40		41		16		*=100	
December 11-14, 2003 (Gallup)	3		34		44		19		*=100	
November 3-5, 2003 (Gallup)	2		28		49		21		*=100	
October 24-26, 2003 (Gallup)	2		24		44		30		*=100	
October 6-8, 2003 (Gallup)	2		20		50		27		1=100	
September 8-10, 2003 (Gallup)	1		20		49		30		*=100	
August 4-6, 2003 (Gallup)	1		24		52		23		*=100	
August 5-8, 2002 (Gallup)	1		27		52		19		1=100	
August 16-19, 2001 (Gallup)	2		34		49		14		1=100	
August 18-19, 2000 (Gallup)	25		49		21		4		1=100	
August 24-26, 1999 (Gallup)	14		50		28		7		1=100	
September 1, 1998 (Gallup)	11		54		25		9		1=100	
August 22-25, 1997 (Gallup)	8		41		38		13		*=100	
October 26-29, 1996 (Gallup)	5		42		39		13		1=100	
November 6-8, 1995 (Gallup)	2		28		47		22		1=100	

Q.15 CONTINUED...

	<u>Excellent</u>	<u>Good</u>	<u>Only</u>		<u>Don't know/</u>
			<u>Fair</u>	<u>Poor</u>	<u>Refused</u>
July 15-17, 1994 (<i>Gallup</i>)	1	26	52	21	*=100
June 29-30, 1993 (<i>Gallup</i>)	1	14	52	32	1=100
Aug. 31-Sept., 1992 (<i>Gallup</i>) (<i>RVs</i>)	1	9	37	53	*=100

NO QUESTION 16

On another subject...

Q.17 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/</u>	<u>Refused</u>
						<u>(VOL)</u>	
December, 2004	74	46	21	4	24	2	3
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 ⁶	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	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	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	82	40	15	4	--	1	*

⁶ In March 2003, the question was worded "news about the war in Iraq." In Mid-September 2001, the question was worded "news about the terrorist attacks." In September 1995, question wording did not include "international." In Early January 1991 the question asked about "the latest developments in the Persian Gulf."

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' TELEVISION AS EITHER 1ST OR 2ND RESPONSE IN Q.17 ASK Q.18. IF NOT, SKIP TO Q.19

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

ASK ALL:

Q.19 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. Other's aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, some of the time, only now and then, or hardly at all?

	<u>Most of the time</u>	<u>Some of the time</u>	<u>Only now and then</u>	<u>Hardly at all</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
December, 2004	45	35	14	5	1=100
November, 2004 (RVs)	61	27	9	3	*=100
Mid-October, 2004 (RVs)	63	26	8	3	*=100
June, 2004	44	34	15	7	*=100
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
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

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

Q.19 CONTINUED...

	<u>Most of the time</u>	<u>Some of the time</u>	<u>Only now and then</u>	<u>Hardly at all</u>	(VOL.) DK/Ref
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.20 Now I'm going to read a few more pairs of statements. Again, just tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your own views — even if neither is exactly right. The first pair is... **(READ AND RANDOMIZE ITEMS Q THRU Z FOLLOWED BY RANDOMIZED ITEMS AA THRU HH) (AFTER CHOICE IS MADE, PROBE: Do you feel STRONGLY about that, or not?)**

		Jun <u>03</u>	Jul <u>02</u>	Feb <u>02</u>	Sep <u>00</u>	Aug <u>99</u>	Oct <u>97</u>	Jun <u>97</u>	Oct <u>96</u>	Apr <u>96</u>	Oct <u>95</u>	Apr <u>95</u>	Oct <u>94</u>	Jul <u>94</u>
q.	This country should do whatever it takes													
77	to protect the environment	--	--	--	78	80	--	--	77	--	77	74	77	78
63	Strongly	--	--	--	67	67	--	--	66	--	65	63	65	62
14	Not Strongly	--	--	--	11	13	--	--	11	--	12	11	12	16
	This country has gone too far in its efforts													
18	to protect the environment	--	--	--	17	15	--	--	18	--	20	22	19	19
12	Strongly	--	--	--	12	10	--	--	13	--	13	15	13	12
6	Not Strongly	--	--	--	5	5	--	--	5	--	7	7	6	7
<u>5</u>	Neither/Don't know	--	--	--	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	--	--	<u>5</u>	--	3	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>
100					100	100			100		100	100	100	100
r.	Stricter environmental laws and regulations													
31	cost too many jobs and hurt the economy	--	--	--	31	28	--	--	30	--	35	39	32	33
21	Strongly	--	--	--	22	19	--	--	22	--	23	28	23	21
10	Not Strongly	--	--	--	9	9	--	--	8	--	12	11	9	12
	Stricter environmental laws and regulations													
60	are worth the cost	--	--	--	61	65	--	--	63	--	61	57	62	62
48	Strongly	--	--	--	50	50	--	--	51	--	47	44	49	45
12	Not Strongly	--	--	--	11	15	--	--	12	--	14	13	13	17
<u>9</u>	Neither/Don't know	--	--	--	<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>	--	--	<u>7</u>	--	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>
100					100	100			100		100	100	100	100

Q.20 CONTINUED...

		Jun 03	Jul 02	Feb 02	Sep 00	Aug 99	Oct 97	Jun 97	Oct 96	Apr 96	Oct 95	Apr 95	Oct 94	Jul 94
s.	There are no real limits to growth													
	51 in this country today	--	--	--	--	54	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	51
	36 Strongly	--	--	--	--	38	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	33
	15 Not strongly	--	--	--	--	16	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	18
	People in this country should learn													
	41 to live with less	--	--	--	--	40	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	45
	30 Strongly	--	--	--	--	30	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	30
	11 Not strongly	--	--	--	--	9	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	15
	<u>8</u> Neither/Don't know	--	--	--	--	<u>6</u>	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	<u>4</u>
	100					100								100
		Jun 03	Jul 02	Feb 02	Sep 00	Aug 99	Oct 97	Jun 97	Oct 96	Apr 96	Oct 95	Apr 95	Oct 94	Jul 94
t.	As Americans, we can always find ways													
	59 to solve our problems and get what we want	--	--	--	59	63	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	52
	45 Strongly	--	--	--	46	47	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	35
	14 Not strongly	--	--	--	13	16	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	17
	This country can't solve many of its													
	36 important problems	--	--	--	36	32	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	45
	27 Strongly	--	--	--	29	24	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	30
	9 Not strongly	--	--	--	7	8	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	15
	<u>5</u> Neither/Don't know	--	--	--	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	<u>3</u>
	100				100	100								100
		Jun 03	Jul 02	Feb 02	Sep 00	Aug 99	Oct 97	Jun 97	Oct 96	Apr 96	Oct 95	Apr 95	Oct 94	Jul 94
u.	Homosexuality is a way of life													
	49 that should be accepted by society	47	--	--	50	49	46	45	44	44	45	47	46	46
	35 Strongly	33	--	--	35	33	--	32	32	29	29	30	33	26
	14 Not Strongly	14	--	--	15	16	--	13	12	15	16	17	13	20
	Homosexuality is a way of life that													
	44 should be discouraged by society	45	--	--	41	44	48	50	49	49	50	48	48	49
	38 Strongly	38	--	--	35	37	--	43	42	42	41	40	41	41
	6 Not Strongly	7	--	--	6	7	--	7	7	7	9	8	7	8
	<u>7</u> Neither/Don't know	<u>8</u>	--	--	<u>9</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100			100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
		Jun 03	Jul 02	Feb 02	Sep 00	Aug 99	Oct 97	Jun 97	Oct 96	Oct 95	Jun 95	Apr 95	Oct 94	Jul 94
v.	Books that contain dangerous ideas should													
	44 be banned from public school libraries	45	--	--	48	52	--	46	44	46	42	45	42	46
	38 Strongly	39	--	--	41	43	--	39	39	37	--	40	36	37
	6 Not Strongly	6	--	--	7	9	--	7	5	9	--	5	6	9
	Public school libraries should be allowed													
	51 to carry any books they want	52	--	--	48	45	--	50	51	52	53	52	53	55
	41 Strongly	43	--	--	40	36	--	40	43	41	--	44	47	39
	10 Not Strongly	9	--	--	8	9	--	10	9	11	--	9	8	12
	<u>5</u> Neither/Don't know	<u>3</u>	--	--	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	--	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100			100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.20 CONTINUED...

		Jun <u>03</u>	Jul <u>02</u>	Feb <u>02</u>	Sep <u>00</u>	Aug <u>99</u>	Oct <u>97</u>	Jun <u>97</u>	Oct <u>96</u>	Apr <u>96</u>	Oct <u>95</u>	Apr <u>95</u>	Oct <u>94</u>	Jul <u>94</u>
w.	74 Religion is a very important part of my life	--	--	--	75	75	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
	66 Strongly	--	--	--	69	67	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
	8 Not Strongly	--	--	--	6	8	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
	24 Religion is not that important to me	--	--	--	23	22	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
	15 Strongly	--	--	--	15	12	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
	9 Not Strongly	--	--	--	8	10	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
	<u>2</u> Neither/Don't Know	--	--	--	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
	100				100	100								

NO ITEM X.

		Jun <u>03</u>	Jul <u>02</u>	Feb <u>02</u>	Sep <u>00</u>	Aug <u>99</u>	Oct <u>97</u>	Jun <u>97</u>	Oct <u>96</u>	Apr <u>96</u>	Oct <u>95</u>	Apr <u>95</u>	Oct <u>94</u>	Jul <u>94</u>
y.	I'm generally satisfied with the way things are going for me financially	--	--	--	59	64	--	--	57	57	--	--	--	56
	44 Strongly	--	--	--	46	48	--	--	43	44	--	--	--	36
	15 Not Strongly	--	--	--	13	16	--	--	14	13	--	--	--	20
	I'm not very satisfied with my financial situation	--	--	--	39	34	--	--	41	42	--	--	--	43
	33 Strongly	--	--	--	33	28	--	--	36	37	--	--	--	33
	6 Not Strongly	--	--	--	6	6	--	--	5	5	--	--	--	10
	<u>2</u> Neither/Don't know	--	--	--	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	--	--	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	--	--	--	<u>1</u>
	100				100	100			100	100				100

		Jun <u>03</u>	Jul <u>02</u>	Feb <u>02</u>	Sep <u>00</u>	Aug <u>99</u>	Oct <u>97</u>	Jun <u>97</u>	Oct <u>96</u>	Apr <u>96</u>	Oct <u>95</u>	Apr <u>95</u>	Oct <u>94</u>	Jul <u>94</u>
z.	I often don't have enough money to make ends meet	--	--	--	37	29	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	36
	29 Strongly	--	--	--	30	22	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	27
	6 Not strongly	--	--	--	7	7	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	9
	Paying the bills is generally not a problem for me	--	--	--	59	68	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	63
	48 Strongly	--	--	--	48	54	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	43
	14 Not strongly	--	--	--	11	14	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	20
	<u>3</u> Neither/Don't know	--	--	--	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	<u>1</u>
	100				100	100								100

		March <u>2002</u>
aa.	It IS NOT necessary to believe in God in order to be moral and have good values	50
	36 Strongly	--
	10 Not strongly	--
	It IS necessary to believe in God in order to be moral and have good values	47
	46 Strongly	--
	5 Not strongly	--
	<u>3</u> Neither/Don't know	<u>3</u>
	100	100

Q.20 CONTINUED...

- bb. Using overwhelming military force is the best
39 way to defeat terrorism around the world
30 Strongly
9 Not strongly
 Relying too much on military force to defeat
51 terrorism creates hatred that leads to more terrorism
42 Strongly
9 Not strongly
10 Neither/Don't know
100
- cc. In foreign policy, the U.S. should take into account the interests
53 of its allies even if it means making compromises with them
38 Strongly
15 Not strongly
 In foreign policy, the U.S. should follow its OWN national
37 interests even when its allies strongly disagree
27 Strongly
10 Not strongly
10 Neither/Don't know
100
- dd. The growing number of newcomers from other countries
40 threaten traditional American customs and values
29 Strongly
11 Not strongly
 The growing number of newcomers from other countries
50 strengthens American society
34 Strongly
16 Not strongly
10 Neither/Don't know
100
- ee. 44 It's best for the future of our country to be active in world affairs
33 Strongly
11 Not strongly
 We should pay less attention to problems overseas and
49 concentrate on problems here at home
41 Strongly
8 Not strongly
7 Neither/Don't know
100

Q.20 CONTINUED...

- ff. Americans need to be willing to give up more privacy and freedom in order to be safe from terrorism
- | | |
|----------|--------------------|
| 35 | Strongly |
| 24 | Not strongly |
| 11 | Neither/Don't know |
| <u>5</u> | |
| 100 | |
- gg. The government should do more to protect morality in society
- | | |
|----------|---|
| 41 | Strongly |
| 31 | Not strongly |
| 10 | Neither/Don't know |
| 51 | I worry the government is getting too involved in the issue of morality |
| 40 | Strongly |
| 11 | Not strongly |
| 8 | Neither/Don't know |
| <u>8</u> | |
| 100 | |

NO QUESTIONS 21 THROUGH 30

On another subject...

Q.31 How much, if anything, have you heard about a proposal which would allow younger workers to invest a portion of their Social Security taxes in private retirement accounts, which might include stocks or mutual funds — a lot, a little or nothing at all?

		Early Sept 2004 ⁸	RV's Sept 2000
23	A lot	19	26
43	A little	41	43
33	Nothing at all	39	30
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
100		100	100

Q.32 Generally, do you favor or oppose this proposal?

Heard about		-- Early Sept 2004 --		---- Sept 2000 ----		
Total	Proposal ⁹	Heard about		Heard about		
		Total	Proposal	RV's	Proposal	
54	54	Favor	58	61	70	71
30	35	Oppose	26	28	21	23
<u>16</u>	<u>11</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>16</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>6</u>
100	100		100	100	100	100

(N=1420)

⁸ In Early September 2004 and 2000 the question was worded "... portion of their payroll taxes in private retirement accounts, which might include stocks or mutual funds, rather than having all of it go toward Social Security."

⁹ Based on the percent who heard "A lot" or "A little" in Q.31.

Q.33 As you may know, the federal government has debated whether to fund certain kinds of medical research known as ‘stem cell research’ ... How much have you heard about this? **[READ, IN ORDER]**

		Aug <u>2004</u>	March <u>2002</u>
47	A lot	42	27
41	A little [OR]	43	52
11	Nothing at all	15	20
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	*	<u>1</u>
100		100	100

Q.34 All in all, which is more important... **[READ, IN ORDER]**

		Aug <u>2004</u>	March <u>2002</u>
56	Conducting stem cell research that might result in new medical cures [OR]	52	43
32	Not destroying the potential life of human embryos involved in this research	34	38
<u>12</u>	Don't know/Refused [VOL, DO NOT READ]	<u>14</u>	<u>19</u>
100		100	100

Q.35 Which comes closer to your view about the tax cuts passed under President Bush over the past few years?**[READ IN ORDER]**

		Early Sept <u>2004</u>
28	All of the tax cuts should be made permanent	27
35	Tax cuts for the wealthy should be repealed, while others stay in place, OR	31
25	All of the tax cuts should be repealed	28
<u>12</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL. DO NOT READ)	<u>14</u>
100		100

Q.36 Do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose **[INSERT ITEM, RANDOMIZE]**?
How about... **[NEXT ITEM]**?

		----- FAVOR -----			----- OPPOSE -----			Don't know
		Net	Strongly Favor	Favor	Net	Strongly Oppose	Oppose	
a.	Making it more DIFFICULT for a woman to get an abortion	36	19	17	55	29	26	9=100
	Early February, 2004	36	17	19	58	30	28	6=100
	November, 2003	35	19	16	57	29	28	8=100
	August, 2003 ¹⁰	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

¹⁰ In August 2003 and earlier the question was worded: "Changing the laws to make it more difficult for a woman to get an abortion."

Q.36 CONTINUED...

		----- FAVOR -----			----- OPPOSE -----			
		<i>Strongly</i>			<i>Strongly</i>			Don't
		<u>Net</u>	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>know</u>
b.	Allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally	32	14	18	61	38	23	7=100
	August, 2004	29	8	21	60	35	25	11=100
	July, 2004	32	10	22	56	33	23	12=100
	March, 2004	32	10	22	59	35	24	9=100
	Early February, 2004	30	9	21	63	42	21	7=100
	November, 2003	30	10	20	62	41	21	8=100
	October, 2003	31	9	21	58	33	25	12=100
	Mid-July, 2003	38	10	28	53	30	23	9=100
	March, 2001	35	8	27	57	34	23	8=100
	June, 1996	27	6	21	65	41	24	8=100
c.	An increase in the minimum wage, from \$5.15 an hour to \$6.45 an hour	86	53	33	12	4	8	2=100
	June, 2001	87	49	38	12	4	8	1=100
	October, 1999	82	48	34	16	4	12	2=100
	February, 1998 ¹¹	80	48	32	19	5	14	1=100
d.	The U.S. government guaranteeing health insurance for all citizens, even if it means raising taxes	65	31	34	30	10	20	5=100
	Early September, 2004	66	30	36	26	11	15	8=100
	August, 2003	67	23	44	29	10	19	4=100
e.	Limiting the amount that patients can be awarded in medical malpractice lawsuits	63	31	32	30	14	16	7=100

Q.37 Do you think that we should increase our spending on national defense, keep it about the same, or cut it back?

		Mid- Early (RVs)								Oct- Oct- Oct-						
		July	Oct	Sept	Sept	Aug	June	Sept	Feb	Oct	Sept	Nov	Nov	Nov	Nov	Dec
		<u>2004</u>	<u>2001</u>	<u>2001</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>1999</u>	<u>1999</u>	<u>1997</u>	<u>1995</u> ¹²	<u>94+</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>90+</u>	<u>86+</u>	<u>82+</u>	<u>78+</u>	<u>74+</u>
20	Increase	25	50	32	34	27	31	17	19	18	10	12	21	22	32	13
54	Keep same	53	41	44	48	54	47	57	56	53	52	53	55	52	45	47
19	Cut back	18	7	20	14	16	19	24	24	26	36	32	23	24	16	33
<u>7</u>	DK/Ref.	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

+ Chicago Council on Foreign Relations

¹¹ In February 1998, the question was worded: "An increase in the minimum wage, from \$5.15 an hour to \$6.15 an hour."

¹² In 1995 and previous years, the question was worded: "Do you think that we should expand our spending on national defense, keep it about the same or cut it back?"

Q.38 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 be justified, rarely be justified, or never be justified?

		July	Aug	May
		<u>2004</u>	<u>2003</u>	<u>2003</u>
14	Often justified	20	20	22
46	Sometimes justified	40	43	45
21	Rarely justified	22	19	17
14	Never justified	14	13	13
<u>5</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100	100

NO QUESTIONS 39-40

Thinking about trade for a moment...

Q.41 In general, do you think that free trade agreements like NAFTA, and the World Trade Organization, have been a good thing or a bad thing for the United States? [INTERVIEWER: IF RESPONDENT ASKS WHAT NAFTA IS, "The North American Free Trade Agreement"]

		July	March	Dec ¹³	Early Sept	Nov	Sept
		<u>2004</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2003</u>	<u>2001</u>	<u>1997</u>	<u>1997</u>
47	Good thing	47	44	34	49	45	47
34	Bad thing	34	37	33	29	34	30
<u>19</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>19</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>23</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100

NO QUESTIONS 42- 43

Q.44 All in all, which do you think should be the higher priority right now – cutting taxes or reducing the federal budget deficit?

		<i>CBS/NY Times</i> <u>Nov 2004</u>
32	Cutting taxes	28
61	Reducing the federal budget deficit	67
1	Neither (VOL.)	1
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>4</u>
100		100

¹³ In December 2003 the question's wording and interviewer instructions were: "...free trade agreements like NAFTA, (the North American Free Trade Agreement) and the WTO (World Trade Organization)... [INTERVIEWER: READ OUT FULL NAMES ONLY IF RESPONDENT IS UNCERTAIN]. In Early September 2001 and earlier the question was worded: "So far, do you think that NAFTA, the North American Free Trade Agreement, has been a good thing or a bad thing from a U.S. point of view?"

Q.45 Do you think the U.S. made the right decision or the wrong decision in using military force against Iraq?

	<u>Right decision</u>	<u>Wrong decision</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
December, 2004	49	44	7=100
November, 2004 (RVs)	48	41	11=100
Mid-October, 2004	46	42	12=100
Early October, 2004	50	39	11=100
Early September, 2004	53	39	8=100
August, 2004	53	41	6=100
July, 2004	52	43	5=100
June, 2004	55	38	7=100
May, 2004	51	42	7=100
Early April, 2004	57	35	8=100
Mid-March, 2004	55	39	6=100
Late February, 2004	60	32	8=100
Early February, 2004	56	39	5=100
Mid-January, 2004	65	30	5=100
Early January, 2004	62	28	10=100
December, 2003	67	26	7=100
October, 2003	60	33	7=100
September, 2003	63	31	6=100
August, 2003	63	30	7=100
Early July, 2003	67	30	7=100
May, 2003	74	20	6=100

Q.46 How well is the U.S. military effort in Iraq going? **[READ IN ORDER]**

	<u>Very well</u>	<u>Fairly well</u>	<u>Not too well</u>	<u>Not at all well</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
December, 2004	10	40	28	18	4=100
Mid-October, 2004	13	38	26	17	6=100
Early September, 2004	12	40	26	18	4=100
August, 2004	12	41	28	16	3=100
July, 2004	13	42	26	16	3=100
June, 2004	16	41	25	14	4=100
May, 2004	10	36	32	19	3=100
Late April, 2004	12	43	26	15	4=100
Early April, 2004	14	43	26	13	4=100
Mid-March, 2004	16	45	26	11	2=100
Early February, 2004	17	46	23	11	3=100
Mid-January, 2004	22	51	18	6	3=100
Early January, 2004	23	47	18	7	5=100
December, 2003	28	47	16	6	3=100
October, 2003	16	44	25	11	4=100
September, 2003	15	47	26	9	3=100
August, 2003	19	43	24	11	3=100
Early July, 2003	23	52	16	5	4=100
<i>April 10-16, 2003</i>	<i>61</i>	<i>32</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>3=100</i>
<i>April 8-9, 2003</i>	<i>60</i>	<i>32</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>2=100</i>
<i>April 2-7, 2003</i>	<i>55</i>	<i>37</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3=100</i>
<i>March 25-April 1, 2003</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>46</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>5=100</i>
<i>March 23-24, 2003</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>6=100</i>
<i>March 20-22, 2003</i>	<i>65</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>7=100</i>

Q.47 Do you think the U.S. should keep military troops in Iraq until the situation has stabilized, or do you think the U.S. should bring its troops home as soon as possible?

		Mid- Oct <u>2004</u>	Early Sept <u>2004</u>	Aug <u>2004</u>	July <u>2004</u>	June ¹⁴ <u>2004</u>	May <u>2004</u>	Late April <u>2004</u>	Early April <u>2004</u>	Early Jan <u>2004</u>	Oct <u>2003</u>	Sept <u>2003</u>
56	Keep troops in Iraq	57	54	54	53	51	53	53	50	63	58	64
40	Bring troops home	36	40	42	43	44	42	40	44	32	39	32
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.48 How much have you heard or read about the Patriot Act, adopted in 2001, which is now up for renewal in Congress – a lot, some, not much, or nothing at all?

		<i>CBS/NY Times</i> <u>April 2004</u>
15	A lot	12
29	Some	27
27	Not much	28
26	Nothing at all	30
<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>2</u>
100		100

ASKED DECEMBER 2-15, 2004 ONLY [N=1700]:

Q.49 Which comes closer to your view... Is the Patriot Act a necessary tool that helps the government find terrorists or does it go too far and pose a threat to civil liberties?

Based on those who those that heard			<i>CBS/NY Times</i> <u>April 2004¹⁵</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>A lot/Some</u>		
33	46	Necessary tool	52
39	48	Goes too far	42
<u>28</u>	<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>6</u>
100	100		100
	(N=804)		

Now thinking about your personal life...

Q.50 For each description I read, please tell me if it applies to you or not. (First,...) **(INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE ITEMS)**

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
a. Do you happen to have any guns, rifles or pistols in your home?	37	60	3=100
Mid-October, 2004	39	59	2=100
Mid-July, 2003 ¹⁶	34	63	3=100
August, 2002	35	62	3=100
April, 2000	35	62	3=100

¹⁴ In June 2004 and earlier, the question was worded: "Do you think the U.S. should keep military troops in Iraq until a stable government is established there, or do you think the U.S. should bring its troops home as soon as possible?"

¹⁵ The CBS/NY Times question was preceded with: "Some people say the Patriot Act is a necessary tool that helps the government find terrorists, while others say it goes too far and is a threat to civil liberties."

¹⁶ From 1997 to 2003, the question asked about "guns or revolvers in your home." In 1993, the question asked about "guns in this household."

Q.50 CONTINUED...

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
June, 1997	40	57	3=100
December, 1993	45	53	2=100
b. Are you the owner of a small business?	16	84	*=100
Mid-October, 2004	15	85	*=100
August, 1999	14	86	*=100
c. Do you trade stocks or bonds in the stock market?	28	71	1=100
Mid-October, 2004	31	68	1=100
Mid-July, 2003	29	69	2=100
August, 2002	34	65	1=100
August, 1999	25	75	*=100
d. Over the past 12 months, has there been a time when you or someone in your household has been without a job and looking for work, or not?	37	63	*=100
Mid-October, 2004	36	63	1=100
e. Were you or either of your parents born in a country other than the United States or Canada?	16	84	*=100
August, 2002	14	86	*=100
August, 1999	15	84	1=100
f. Do you attend Bible study or prayer group meetings?	36	64	*=100
August, 2002	41	58	1=100
August, 1999	34	66	*=100

ASK ALL:

INT1 Do you use a computer at your workplace, at school, at home, or anywhere else on at least an occasional basis?

INT2 Do you ever go online to access the Internet or World Wide Web or to send and receive email?

BASED ON GENERAL PUBLIC [N=2000]:

	<i>Computer User</i>		
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
December, 2004	80	20	*=100
Mid-October, 2004	79	21	*=100
Early September, 2004	78	22	*=100
August, 2004	75	25	*=100
April, 2004	73	27	0=100
March, 2004 ¹⁷	75	25	*=100
August, 2003	77	23	*=100
Mid-July, 2003	75	25	*=100
January, 2003	76	24	0=100
December, 2002	76	24	*=100
Early October, 2002	75	25	*=100
August, 2002	78	22	*=100

Based on Total Respondents:

	<i>Goes Online</i>		
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
December, 2004	72	28	*=100
Mid-October, 2004	72	28	*=100
Early September, 2004	72	28	*=100
August, 2004	68	32	0=100
April, 2004	66	34	*=100
March, 2004 ¹⁷	68	32	*=100
August, 2003	67	33	*=100
Mid-July, 2003	65	35	*=100
January, 2003	67	33	*=100
December, 2002	67	33	*=100
Early October, 2002	63	37	*=100
August, 2002	69	31	*=100

INT1/INT2 CONTINUED...

Based on Total Respondents:

¹⁷ Beginning in 2004, the online use question is asked of all respondents (in previous years it was asked only of those who identified themselves as computer users). This modification was made to adjust to changes in technology and means of access to the Internet, and increases the percent who are classified as Internet users by 1-2 percentage points.

	<i>Computer User</i>			<i>Goes Online</i>		
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
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 ¹⁸	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
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 ¹⁹	--	--	--	14	86	*=100

¹⁸ In March 2000, "or anywhere else" was added to the question wording.

¹⁹ 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?

ASK ALL:

PARTY 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>
2004 Trend						
December, 2004	31	34	30	3	*	2=100
Mid-October, 2004	30	33	30	4	*	3=100
Late September, 2004	29	30	31	6	*	4=100
Mid-September, 2004	29	31	30	5	*	5=100
Early September, 2004	30	33	31	3	*	3=100
August, 2004	31	35	27	4	*	3=100
July, 2004	29	33	32	3	*	3=100
June, 2004	30	34	31	3	*	2=100
May, 2004	29	35	26	5	1	4=100
Early May, 2004	27	34	31	4	1	3=100
Late April, 2004	30	31	31	5	*	3=100
Early April, 2004	31	32	28	4	1	4=100
Late March, 2004	30	34	28	4	*	4=100
March, 2004	27	35	32	4	*	2=100
Mid-February, 2004	30	33	30	4	*	3=100
Early February, 2004	31	33	31	3	*	2=100
Mid-January, 2004	31	31	31	4	1	2=100
Early January, 2004	29	34	31	4	*	2=100
Yearly Totals						
2004	30	33	30	4	*	3=100
2003	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 1 IN PARTY, ASK [N=662]:

PARTYSTR Do you consider yourself a STRONG Republican, or NOT a strong Republican?

		Late															
		July	Aug	Sept	Sept	Aug	Nov	Oct	April	Oct	July	June	May	Feb	May	Jan	May
		2004	2003	2000	1999	1999	1997	1995	1995	1994	1994	1992	1990	1989	1988	1988	1987
18	Strong	17	14	14	10	11	11	11	15	16	13	11	13	15	13	12	11
<u>13</u>	Not strong	<u>12</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>14</u>
31%		29	27	27	24	25	25	30	30	31	29	28	28	31	28	27	25

IF ANSWERED 2 IN PARTY, ASK [N=641]:

PARTYSTR Do you consider yourself a STRONG Democrat, or NOT a strong Democrat?

		Late															
		July	Aug	Sept	Sept	Aug	Nov	Oct	April	Oct	July	June	May	Feb	May	Jan	May
		204	2003	2000	1999	1999	1997	1995	1995	1994	1994	1992	1990	1989	1988	1988	1987
19	Strong	20	15	19	15	15	14	14	14	18	15	14	16	17	19	19	18
<u>15</u>	Not strong	<u>13</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>19</u>
34%		33	31	34	31	33	32	30	29	32	33	32	33	38	38	39	37

IF ANSWERED 3,4,5 OR 9 IN PARTY, ASK [N=697]:

PARTYLN As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to the Republican Party or the Democratic Party?
(VOL.)

	Republican	Democrat	Other/DK/Ref.
December, 2004	41	33	26=100
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

IF REPUBLICAN OR LEAN REPUBLICAN (1 IN PARTY OR 1 IN PARTYLN) ASK [N=955]:

Q.24 Do you ever vote for Democratic candidates, or do you always vote Republican?

71	Sometimes vote for Democratic candidates
22	Always vote Republican
<u>7</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

IF DEMOCRAT OR LEAN DEMOCRAT (2 IN PARTY OR 2 IN PARTYLN) ASK [N=872]:

Q.25 Do you ever vote for Republican candidates, or do you always vote Democratic?

56	Sometimes vote for Republican candidates
38	Always vote Democratic
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS
LATE MARCH 2005 POLITICAL TYPOLOGY CALLBACK SURVEY
FINAL TOPLINE
March 17-27, 2005
N=1,090

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>Dis-</u> <u>approve</u>	<u>Don't</u> <u>know</u>		<u>Approve</u>	<u>Dis-</u> <u>approve</u>	<u>Don't</u> <u>know</u>
Late March, 2005	49	46	5=100	Mid-September, 2002	67	22	11=100
Mid-March, 2005	45	46	9=100	Early September, 2002	63	26	11=100
February, 2005	46	47	7=100	Late August, 2002	60	27	13=100
January, 2005	50	43	7=100	August, 2002	67	21	12=100
2004				Late July, 2002	65	25	10=100
December, 2004	48	44	8=100	July, 2002	67	21	12=100
Mid-October, 2004	44	48	8=100	June, 2002	70	20	10=100
August, 2004	46	45	9=100	April, 2002	69	18	13=100
July, 2004	46	46	8=100	Early April, 2002	74	16	10=100
June, 2004	48	43	9=100	February, 2002	78	13	9=100
May, 2004	44	48	8=100	January, 2002	80	11	9=100
Late April, 2004	48	43	9=100	2001			
Early April, 2004	43	47	10=100	Mid-November, 2001	84	9	7=100
Late March, 2004	47	44	9=100	Early October, 2001	84	8	8=100
Mid-March, 2004	46	47	7=100	Late September, 2001	86	7	7=100
February, 2004	48	44	8=100	Mid-September, 2001	80	9	11=100
Mid-January, 2004	56	34	10=100	Early September, 2001	51	34	15=100
Early January, 2004	58	35	7=100	August, 2001	50	32	18=100
2003				July, 2001	51	32	17=100
December, 2003	57	34	9=100	June, 2001	50	33	17=100
November, 2003	50	40	10=100	May, 2001	53	32	15=100
October, 2003	50	42	8=100	April, 2001	56	27	17=100
September, 2003	55	36	9=100	March, 2001	55	25	20=100
Mid-August, 2003	56	32	12=100	February, 2001	53	21	26=100
Early 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				
2002							
December, 2002	61	28	11=100				
Late October, 2002	59	29	12=100				
Early October, 2002	61	30	9=100				

IF APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE (1,2 IN Q.1) ASK:

Q.1a Do you (approve/disapprove) very strongly, or not so strongly?

	Dec <u>2004</u>	Nov <u>2003</u>	Sept <u>2003</u>	June <u>2002</u>	April <u>2001</u>
49 Approve	48	50	55	70	56
32 Very strongly	34	34	35	46	34
16 Not so strongly	12	14	18	21	20
1 Don't know (VOL)	2	2	2	3	2
46 Disapprove	44	40	36	20	27
36 Very strongly	35	30	27	8	18
10 Not so strongly	8	9	9	12	9
* Don't know (VOL)	1	1	*	0	*
<u>5</u> Don't know/Refused	<u>8</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>17</u>
100	100	100	100	100	100

ASK ALL:

Q.2 Now I'd like your views on some people and organizations. (First,) would you say your overall opinion of... [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE ITEMS a THRU k, FOLLOWED BY RANDOMIZED ITEMS I THRU p WITH ITEM q ALWAYS LAST] is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? [INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE."]

		-----Favorable-----			-----Unfavorable-----			Never	Can't
		Total	Very	Mostly	Total	Very	Mostly	Heard of	Rate
a.	George W. Bush	53	23	30	45	27	18	0	2=100
	Mid-October, 2004 (RVs)	56	26	30	42	23	19	*	2=100
	Early October, 2004 (RVs)	57	27	30	40	20	20	0	3=100
	Early September, 2004	52	25	27	43	24	19	*	5=100
	September 11-14	49	24	25	46	27	19	0	5=100
	September 8-10	55	28	27	40	21	19	*	5=100
	August, 2004	58	27	31	39	22	17	0	3=100
	June, 2004	52	19	33	45	22	23	*	3=100
	Early February, 2004	53	21	32	44	25	19	0	3=100
Gallup:	January 29 - February 1, 2004	52	--	--	47	--	--	--	1=100
Gallup:	January 2-5, 2004	65	--	--	35	--	--	--	*=100
Gallup:	October 6-8, 2003	60	--	--	39	--	--	--	1=100
Gallup:	June 9-10, 2003	66	--	--	33	--	--	--	1=100
	April, 2003	72	37	35	25	11	14	0	3=100
	December, 2002	68	35	33	27	11	16	0	5=100
	July, 2001	61	22	39	35	14	21	*	4=100
	January, 2001	60	24	36	33	12	21	0	7=100
	May, 2000	58	18	40	31	12	19	1	10=100
	March, 1999 ²⁰	61	21	40	21	7	14	4	14=100
	November, 1997	54	13	41	18	6	12	9	19=100
b.	Dick Cheney	48	15	33	42	20	22	2	8=100
	Mid-October, 2004 (RVs)	48	17	31	46	25	21	*	6=100
	Early October, 2004 (RVs)	48	14	34	41	20	21	*	11=100
	Early September, 2004	43	13	30	42	23	19	2	13=100
	September 11-14	41	13	28	44	24	20	1	14=100
	September 8-10	48	14	34	40	23	17	2	10=100

²⁰

In March 1999 and November 1997 the category was listed: "Texas Governor George W. Bush."

Q.2 CONTINUED...

		-----Favorable-----			-----Unfavorable-----			Never	Can't
		<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Heard of</u>	<u>Rate</u>
	August, 2004	47	13	34	41	20	21	2	10=100
	April, 2003	60	21	39	27	12	15	3	10=100
	December, 2002	59	20	39	26	10	16	5	10=100
	July, 2001	58	19	39	26	6	20	6	10=100
	January, 2001	62	20	42	18	5	13	2	18=100
	December, 1994	42	10	32	19	5	14	21	18=100
	March, 1991 ²¹	68	33	35	6	2	4	10	16=100
	May, 1990	20	3	17	11	3	8	44	25=100
c.	Donald Rumsfeld	39	10	29	41	18	23	7	13=100
	April, 2003	61	24	37	19	6	13	9	11=100
d.	Condoleezza Rice	57	22	35	28	11	17	5	10=100
e.	Hillary Clinton	57	22	35	36	17	19	*	7=100
	December 2002	47	15	32	44	23	21	1	8=100
	July, 2001	53	20	33	42	23	19	1	4=100
	January, 2001	60	25	35	35	16	19	*	5=100
	May, 2000	49	15	34	42	22	20	1	8=100
	Early December, 1998	66	32	34	31	15	16	*	3=100
	Early October, 1998 (RVs)	58	24	34	36	18	18	*	6=100
	Early September, 1998	64	24	40	31	13	18	0	5=100
	Late August, 1998	63	25	38	34	13	21	*	3=100
	March, 1998	65	26	39	31	14	17	*	4=100
	January, 1997	57	17	40	40	17	23	*	3=100
	June, 1996	53	13	40	43	17	26	*	4=100
	April, 1996	49	12	37	46	19	27	0	5=100
	February, 1996	42	14	28	54	27	27	0	4=100
	January, 1996	42	10	32	54	26	28	0	4=100
	October, 1995	58	14	44	38	14	24	--	4=100
	August, 1995	49	16	33	47	22	25	*	4=100
	December, 1994	50	17	33	45	20	25	1	4=100
	July, 1994	57	19	38	40	18	22	1	2=100
	May, 1993	60	19	41	29	11	18	1	10=100
f.	Bill Clinton	64	24	40	32	13	19	0	4=100
	December, 2002	46	17	29	49	27	22	*	5=100
	July, 2001	50	20	30	46	27	19	0	4=100
	January, 2001	64	23	41	34	17	17	0	2=100
	May, 2000	48	17	31	47	28	19	*	5=100
	March, 1999	55	21	34	42	23	19	*	3=100
	December, 1998	55	23	32	43	24	19	0	2=100
	Early October, 1998 (RVs)	52	15	37	44	24	20	0	4=100
	Early September, 1998	57	18	39	41	23	18	0	2=100
	Late August, 1998	54	18	36	44	24	20	0	2=100
	March, 1998	62	22	40	35	16	19	*	3=100
	November, 1997	63	19	44	35	14	21	0	2=100
	October, 1997	62	15	47	36	16	20	*	2=100
	September, 1997	62	18	44	35	14	21	0	3=100

²¹

In March 1991 and May 1990 the category was listed: "Richard Cheney."

Q.2 CONTINUED...

		-----Favorable-----			-----Unfavorable-----			Never	Can't
		<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Heard of</u>	<u>Rate</u>
	August, 1997	61	16	45	38	17	21	0	1=100
	April, 1997	61	17	44	37	16	21	*	2=100
	January, 1997	66	17	49	32	14	18	*	2=100
	October, 1996 (RVs)	57	12	45	41	19	22	0	2=100
	June, 1996	61	16	45	37	14	23	*	2=100
	April, 1996	57	16	41	40	16	24	0	3=100
	February, 1996	55	20	35	43	21	22	0	2=100
	January, 1996	56	13	43	42	15	27	0	2=100
	August, 1995	49	13	36	49	20	29	0	2=100
	February, 1995	55	14	41	42	17	25	0	3=100
	December, 1994	51	17	34	46	22	24	0	3=100
	July, 1994	58	15	43	41	16	25	*	1=100
	May, 1993	60	18	42	35	12	23	0	5=100
	July, 1992	59	17	42	34	9	25	0	7=100
	June, 1992	46	10	36	47	14	33	1	6=100
	May, 1992	53	11	42	42	10	32	*	5=100
	March, 1992	53	10	43	40	11	29	1	6=100
	February, 1992	59	15	44	31	7	24	2	8=100
	January, 1992	37	9	28	15	4	11	27	21=100
	November, 1991	30	5	25	10	2	8	39	21=100
g.	John Kerry	49	13	36	41	17	24	2	8=100
	Mid-October, 2004 (RVs)	56	21	35	40	16	24	0	3=100
	Early October, 2004 (RVs)	53	16	37	41	16	25	*	6=100
	Early September, 2004	49	17	32	43	19	24	*	8=100
	September 11-14	51	17	34	40	19	21	*	9=100
	September 8-10	50	18	32	44	18	26	0	6=100
	August, 2004	56	23	33	36	14	22	1	7=100
	June, 2004	50	11	39	41	16	25	0	9=100
	Early February, 2004	58	14	44	28	8	20	1	13=100
	January, 2003	30	6	24	16	4	12	36	18=100
h.	Howard Dean	32	6	26	31	11	20	12	25=100
	January, 2003	13	2	11	12	3	9	57	18=100
i.	Rudy Giuliani	60	20	40	17	5	12	7	16=100
	May, 2000	37	9	28	18	6	12	26	19=100
j.	John McCain	59	15	44	17	4	13	8	16=100
	July, 2001	51	14	37	22	5	17	13	14=100
	January, 2001	59	18	41	15	3	12	9	17=100
	May, 2000	54	14	40	20	5	15	11	15=100
	ABC/WP: February, 2000	60	--	--	21	--	--	--	19=100
	CNN/USA Today/Gallup: December, 1999 ²²	57	--	--	11	--	--	14	18=100
k.	Arnold Schwarzenegger	57	13	44	28	10	18	1	14=100

²²

For the CNN/USAToday/Gallup Poll in December 1999, the category was listed: "Arizona Senator John McCain."

Q.2 CONTINUED...

		-----Favorable-----			-----Unfavorable-----			Never	Can't
		<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Heard of</u>	<u>Rate</u>
l.	The United Nations	59	14	45	32	11	21	*	9=100
	Late February, 2004	55	14	41	35	15	20	--	10=100
	Early September, 2001	77	23	54	18	6	12	1	4=100
	August, 1999	76	19	57	19	5	14	*	5=100
	June, 1999	70	19	51	23	7	16	0	7=100
	Early September, 1998	69	14	55	23	7	16	*	8=100
	September, 1997	64	11	53	28	9	19	*	8=100
	February, 1996	65	19	46	29	9	20	1	5=100
	June, 1995	67	14	53	28	8	20	*	5=100
	February, 1995	62	13	49	26	8	18	*	12=100
	July, 1994	76	21	55	19	5	14	1	4=100
	May, 1993	73	21	52	17	4	13	0	10=100
	May, 1990	70	15	55	19	6	13	1	10=100
m.	The military	87	49	38	9	3	6	*	4=100
	June, 2004	85	48	37	10	3	7	*	5=100
	<i>Newsweek</i> : May 16-17, 2002	93	59	34	5	2	3	--	2=100
	<i>Newsweek</i> : September 13-14, 2001	94	58	36	4	2	2	--	2=100
	July, 2001	81	29	52	11	4	7	*	8=100
	January, 2001	82	32	50	12	3	9	0	6=100
	August, 1999	89	30	59	10	2	8	*	1=100
	June, 1999	83	36	47	13	2	11	0	4=100
	Early September, 1998	86	29	57	10	3	7	0	4=100
	October, 1997	78	22	56	18	5	13	0	4=100
	May, 1997	80	23	57	16	5	11	0	4=100
	February, 1996	82	33	49	16	4	12	*	2=100
	July, 1994	87	30	57	11	3	8	*	2=100
	May, 1993	85	32	53	10	2	8	0	5=100
	March, 1991	94	60	34	4	2	2	0	2=100
	May, 1990	73	18	55	21	6	15	*	6=100
	January, 1988	77	20	57	17	3	14	*	6=100
	April, 1987	80	17	63	16	4	12	0	4=100
	January, 1987	73	19	54	16	5	11	*	11=100
	July, 1986	85	32	53	10	3	7	0	5=100
	June, 1985	77	24	53	18	5	13	*	5=100
n.	Labor unions	56	17	39	33	9	24	1	10=100
	March, 2002	59	15	44	32	9	23	1	8=100
	July, 2001	51	12	39	36	10	26	1	12=100
	March, 2001	63	16	47	28	7	21	1	8=100
	August, 1999	59	12	47	36	9	27	*	5=100
	Early September, 1998	52	12	40	38	13	25	*	10=100
	June, 1997	58	15	43	35	10	25	*	7=100
	May, 1997	49	15	34	39	13	26	*	12=100
	April, 1996	47	10	37	45	17	28	*	8=100
	February, 1996	54	17	37	41	14	27	*	5=100
	July, 1994	57	14	43	38	10	28	*	5=100
	January, 1988	52	10	42	39	10	29	*	9=100
	July, 1985	46	9	37	47	17	30	*	7=100

Q.2 CONTINUED...

	-----Favorable-----			-----Unfavorable-----			Never Heard of	Can't Rate
	Total	Very	Mostly	Total	Very	Mostly		
o. The Christian conservative movement	41	15	26	34	15	19	9	16=100
March, 2002	45	10	35	29	11	18	12	15=100
March, 2001	42	9	33	31	11	20	11	16=100
p. The National Rifle Association	49	18	31	39	17	22	2	10=100
June, 1999	46	17	29	45	21	24	1	8=100
September, 1998	48	16	32	40	18	22	2	10=100
August, 1995	44	16	28	45	21	24	1	10=100
June, 1995	44	16	28	48	24	24	2	6=100
July, 1994	55	19	36	37	16	21	1	7=100
q. Muslims	45	7	38	28	9	19	1	26=100
Late February, 2004	48	13	35	32	14	18	--	20=100
Mid-July, 2003	47	9	38	31	12	19	1	21=100
June, 2003	50	12	38	30	10	20	1	19=100
March, 2002	47	7	40	29	11	18	1	23=100

ROTATE Q.3 AND Q.4

Q.3 If George W. Bush could run for president again in 2008, would you like to see him serve as president for a third term, or not?

27 Yes
 69 No
4 Don't know/Refused
 100

Q.4 If Bill Clinton could run for president again in 2008, would you like to see him serve as president again, or not?

43 Yes
 55 No
2 Don't know/Refused
 100

ROTATE Q.5 AND Q.6

Q.5 Now I am going to read you the names of some possible candidates for the REPUBLICAN nomination for president in 2008. AFTER I READ ALL THE NAMES, please tell me which one you would most like to see nominated as the Republican party's candidate for president? (**PROBE IF NECESSARY:** Well as of today, to whom do you most lean?) (**READ AND RANDOMIZE**)

7 Jeb Bush
 4 Bill Frist
 27 Rudy Giuliani
 32 John McCain
 17 Condoleezza Rice
 * Other (**VOL. DO NOT READ**)
 7 None (**VOL. DO NOT READ**)
6 Don't know/Refused (**VOL. DO NOT READ**)
 100

Q.6 Now I am going to read you the names of some possible candidates for the DEMOCRATIC nomination for president in 2008. AFTER I READ ALL THE NAMES, please tell me which one you would most like to see nominated as the Democratic party's candidate for president? (**PROBE IF NECESSARY:** Well as of today, to whom do you most lean?) (**READ AND RANDOMIZE**)

34 Hillary Clinton
 9 Howard Dean
 16 John Edwards
 16 John Kerry
 9 Bill Richardson
 1 Other (**VOL. DO NOT READ**)
 10 None (**VOL. DO NOT READ**)
 5 Don't know/Refused (**VOL. DO NOT READ**)
 100

On a different subject...

Q.7 How much, if anything, have you heard about a proposal which would allow younger workers to invest a portion of their Social Security taxes in private retirement accounts, which might include stocks or mutual funds — have you heard a lot, a little or nothing at all?

		Mid- March <u>2005</u>	Feb <u>2005</u>	Dec <u>2004</u>	Early ²³ Sept <u>2004</u>	(RVs) Sept <u>2000</u>
48	A lot	46	43	23	19	26
41	A little	32	35	43	41	43
11	Nothing at all	22	21	33	39	30
*	Don't know/Refused	*	1	1	1	1
100		100	100	100	100	100

Q.8 Generally, do you favor or oppose this proposal?

		Mid- March <u>2005</u>	Feb <u>2005</u>	Dec <u>2004</u>	Early Sept <u>2004</u>	(RVs) Sept <u>2000</u>
46	Favor	44	46	54	58	70
44	Oppose	40	38	30	26	21
10	Don't know/Refused	16	16	16	16	9
100		100	100	100	100	100

²³ In Early September 2004 and 2000 the question was worded "... portion of their payroll taxes in private retirement accounts, which might include stocks or mutual funds, rather than having all of it go toward Social Security."

Q.9 In general, do you think that personal bankruptcy should be made easier for people to claim, more difficult for people to claim, or should it remain as it is?

		<i>Gallup</i> <u>May 1997</u>
8	Easier	7
39	More difficult	39
47	Remain as it is	48
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>6</u>
100		100

Q.10 Would you favor or oppose allowing oil and gas drilling in the Alaskan Arctic National Wildlife Refuge?

		Mid-March <u>2005</u>
46	Favor	42
49	Oppose	46
<u>5</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>12</u>
100		100

ROTATE QUESTIONS 11 AND 12

Q.11 Would you generally favor or oppose teaching creationism ALONG WITH evolution in public schools?

		<i>CBS/NY Times</i> <u>Nov 2004</u> ²⁴
57	Favor	65
33	Oppose	29
<u>10</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>6</u>
100		100

Q.12 Would you generally favor or oppose teaching creationism INSTEAD OF evolution in public schools?

		<i>CBS/NY Times</i> <u>Nov 2004</u>
33	Favor	37
54	Oppose	51
<u>13</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>12</u>
100		100

Q.13 Do you favor or oppose affirmative action programs designed to help blacks, women and other minorities get better jobs and education?

		<u>Aug</u> ²⁵ <u>2003</u>	<u>May</u> <u>2003</u>	<u>Aug</u> <u>1995</u>
67	Favor	64	63	58
28	Oppose	31	29	36
<u>5</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>5</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100	100

²⁴ CBS/New York Times question asked about 'creation' instead of "creationism" in Q.11 only.

²⁵ In August 2003 the question was part of a list of items. In May 2003 and August 1995 the question opened with: "In order to overcome past discrimination..."

Q.14 Do you think the use of torture against suspected terrorists in order to gain important information can often be justified, sometimes be justified, rarely be justified, or never be justified?

		<u>July 2004</u>
15	Often justified	15
30	Sometimes justified	28
24	Rarely justified	21
27	Never justified	32
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>4</u>
100		100

Q.15 There's been some discussion recently about "outsourcing" – meaning when American businesses hire workers in other parts of the world in order to save money. Which comes closer to your view on this issue?
[READ AND ROTATE]

69	Outsourcing is bad for the American economy because it sends good jobs overseas
	OR
22	Outsourcing is good for the American economy because it keeps the cost of goods and services down
2	Both [VOL.]
2	Neither [VOL.]
<u>5</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

Q.16 Do you believe that it is proper or improper for the Ten Commandments to be displayed in a government building?

		<u>Aug 2004</u>
74	Proper	72
22	Improper	23
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>5</u>
100		100

Q.17 Considering what the president and Congress need to deal with this year, do you think reducing the budget deficit should be a top priority, important but lower priority, not too important or does it not need to be addressed this year?

39	Top priority
46	Important but lower priority
6	Not too important
5	Does not need to be addressed this year
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

Q.18 Would you favor or oppose [INSERT ITEM, RANDOMIZE] as a way to reduce the budget deficit?

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
a. Raising taxes	31	66	3=100
b. Lowering defense and military spending	35	60	5=100
c. Lowering domestic spending	54	35	11=100

Q.19 Would you favor or oppose a policy allowing immigrants to enter the U.S. legally and work here for a limited period of time, but then they would have to go home?

50	Favor
44	Oppose
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

Q.20 In making his next appointment to the Supreme Court, should President Bush choose someone who will make the court more liberal, someone who will make it more conservative, or someone who will keep the court about the same as it is now?

		Clinton
		<i>Gallup</i>
		<u>March 1993</u>
24	More liberal	29
28	More conservative	29
41	About the same as it is now	38
<u>7</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>4</u>
100		100

Q.21 How important is the president's choice of the next Supreme Court justice to you personally? [READ]

38	Very important
36	Somewhat important
15	Not too important
8	Not at all important
<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100	

Q.22 Some people think of American society as divided into two groups, the "haves" and the "have-nots," while others think it's incorrect to think of America that way. Do you, yourself, think of America as divided into "haves" and "have-nots," or don't you think of America that way?

		--- Gallup ---				
		Late Feb	June	Oct	Aug	CBS/NY Times
		<u>2004</u>	<u>2001</u>	<u>1999</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>Aug 1984</u>
38	Yes, divided into "haves" and "have-nots"	38	44	39	26	31
59	No	59	53	59	71	61
<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>8</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100

Q.23 If you had to choose, which of these groups are you in, the haves or the have-nots?

		--- Gallup ---			
		Late Feb	June	Oct	Aug
		<u>2004</u>	<u>2001</u>	<u>1999</u>	<u>1988</u>
48	Haves	59	52	67	59
34	Have-nots	27	32	24	17
8	Neither (VOL)	7	10	6	15
<u>10</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>
100		100	100	100	100

ASK ALL:

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

<i>Trend</i>	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>	(VOL)	(VOL)	<u>Don't know</u>
				No	Other	
				<u>Preference</u>	<u>Party</u>	
Late March, 2005	29	32	36	2	*	1=100
Mid-March, 2005	30	34	29	4	*	3=100
February, 2005	31	32	30	4	1	2=100
January, 2005	32	33	30	4	*	1=100
December, 2004	31	34	30	3	*	2=100
Mid-October, 2004	30	33	30	4	*	3=100
Late September, 2004	29	30	31	6	*	4=100
Mid-September, 2004	29	31	30	5	*	5=100
Early September, 2004	30	33	31	3	*	3=100
August, 2004	31	35	27	4	*	3=100
July, 2004	29	33	32	3	*	3=100
June, 2004	30	34	31	3	*	2=100
May, 2004	29	35	26	5	1	4=100
Early May, 2004	27	34	31	4	1	3=100
Late April, 2004	30	31	31	5	*	3=100
Early April, 2004	31	32	28	4	1	4=100
Late March, 2004	30	34	28	4	*	4=100
March, 2004	27	35	32	4	*	2=100
Mid-February, 2004	30	33	30	4	*	3=100
Early February, 2004	31	33	31	3	*	2=100
Mid-January, 2004	31	31	31	4	1	2=100
Early January, 2004	29	34	31	4	*	2=100
<i>Yearly Totals</i>						
2004	30	33	30	4	*	3=100
2003	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

PARTY CONTINUED...

	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>	<u>No Preference/ 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
			<u>Independent/ No Pref/Oth/DK</u>	
1989	33	33	34=100	
1987	26	35	39=100	

(All party identification trends based on general public.)

IF ANSWERED 1 IN PARTY, ASK:

PARTYSTR Do you consider yourself a STRONG Republican, or NOT a strong Republican?

	<u>Strong</u>	<u>Not strong</u>
Late March, 2005	16	13=29%
December, 2004	18	13=31%
July, 2004	17	12=29%
August, 2003	14	13=27%
September, 2000	14	13=27%
Late September, 1999	10	14=24%
August, 1999	11	14=25%
November, 1997	11	14=25%
October, 1995	11	19=30%
April, 1995	15	15=30%
October, 1994	16	15=31%
July, 1994	13	16=29%
June, 1992	11	17=28%
May, 1990	13	15=28%
February, 1989	15	16=31%
May, 1988	13	15=28%
January, 1988	12	15=27%
May, 1987	11	14=25%

IF ANSWERED 2 IN PARTY, ASK:

PARTYSTR Do you consider yourself a STRONG Democrat, or NOT a strong Democrat?

	<u>Strong</u>	<u>Not strong</u>
Late March, 2005	18	14=32%
December, 2004	19	15=34%
July, 2004	20	13=33%
August, 2003	15	16=31%
September, 2000	19	15=34%
Late September, 1999	15	16=31%
August, 1999	15	18=33%
November, 1997	14	18=32%
October, 1995	14	16=30%
April, 1995	14	15=29%
October, 1994	18	14=32%

PARTYSTR CONTINUED...	<u>Strong</u>	<u>Not strong</u>
July, 1994	15	18=33%
June, 1992	14	18=32%
May, 1990	16	17=33%
February, 1989	17	21=38%
May, 1988	19	19=38%
January, 1988	19	20=39%
May, 1987	18	19=37%

IF ANSWERED 3, 4, 5 OR 9 IN PARTY, ASK:

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

	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Refused to lean</u>
Late March, 2005	13	17	9=39%
December, 2004	14	12	9=35%
August, 2003	12	16	14=42%
August, 2002	12	13	13=38%
September, 2000	11	13	15=39%
Late September, 1999	14	15	16=45%
August, 1999	15	15	12=42%

ASK REPUBLICANS AND REPUBLICAN LEANERS ONLY (PARTY=1 OR PARTYLN=1):

Q.24R 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?

BASED ON REPUBLICANS/REPUBLICAN LEANERS [N=525]:

		(RVs)				
		<u>July 2004</u>	<u>Aug 2003</u>	<u>May 2002</u>	<u>May 2001</u>	<u>Sept 2000</u>
8	Excellent	12	6	6	10	6
43	Good	49	51	49	50	43
36	Only fair	33	37	38	32	44
9	Poor	4	5	5	5	5
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100

ASK DEMOCRATS AND DEMOCRATIC LEANERS ONLY (PARTY=2 OR PARTYLN=2):

Q.24D 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?

BASED ON DEMOCRATS/DEMOCRATIC LEANERS [N=481]:

		(RVs)				
		<u>July 2004</u>	<u>Aug 2003</u>	<u>May 2002</u>	<u>May 2001</u>	<u>Sept 2000</u>
3	Excellent	6	5	5	8	11
30	Good	43	33	39	39	52
51	Only fair	40	51	43	40	32
14	Poor	8	9	10	7	4
<u>2</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>1</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100

IF ANSWERED 1,2 IN PARTY, ASK [N=674]:

Q.25 Has there ever been a time when you have thought of yourself as an INDEPENDENT?

50	Yes
49	No
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

ROTATE Q.26 AND Q.27

IF ANSWERED 1, 3, 4, 5 OR 9 IN PARTY, ASK [N=784]:

Q.26 Has there ever been a time when you have thought of yourself as a DEMOCRAT?

46	Yes
52	No
<u>2</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

IF ANSWERED 2, 3, 4, 5 OR 9 IN PARTY, ASK [N=722]:

Q.27 Has there ever been a time when you have thought of yourself as a REPUBLICAN?

31	Yes
67	No
<u>2</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

ASK ALL:

Q.28 And one last short list... [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE WITH ITEM d ALWAYS LAST]

		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
a.	Do you display the flag at your home, in your office, or on your car?	64	36	*=100
	Mid-July, 2003	69	29	2=100
	August, 2002	75	25	*=100
b.	Do you smoke cigarettes on a regular basis?	18	82	*=100
	August, 2002	23	77	*=100
	August, 1999	24	76	*=100
c.	Do you have a friend, colleague or family member who has served in the military effort in Iraq over the past two years?	49	51	*=100
d.	Do you have a friend, colleague, or family member who is gay?	46	54	*=100
	Mid-October, 2004	46	52	2=100
	Mid-July, 2003	45	52	3=100
	August, 2002	45	53	2=100
	August, 1999	39	60	1=100

Q.29 Do you consider the United States a Christian nation, or not?

		<u>March 2002</u>	<u>June 1996</u>
71	Yes	67	60
26	No	25	34
<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>
100		100	100