

# After the Storm:

*How the American Electorate Views Conservative Issues  
in the Aftermath of the 2006 Midterm Elections*

by **Richard Nadler**

*Americas Majority Foundation*



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# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In his 1996 State of the Union address, President William Jefferson Clinton famously stated: “The era of big government is over.” Ten years of rapid government expansion ensued. The past election saw the repudiation of the party historically associated with limited government, and the election of numerous Senators and Congressmen explicitly committed to an expanded state role in trade, health care, education, energy regulation, and even climate control. It is therefore fair to inquire: Is the era of limited government over?

In the same election, pro-lifers suffered ballot-issue defeats in the West and Midwest, losing an abortion ban in South Dakota, an embryonic stem cell authorization in Missouri, and parental notification requirements in Oregon and California. Border security candidates were defeated in the Southwest; and the Congressional ranks of Operation Iraqi Freedom supporters were decimated.

Has the nation become more liberal on social issues? on national security?

“Progressive” commentators read the election of 2006 a sea change in American public opinion: a sharp turn to the Left on issues ranging from taxation, to global warming, to the war against terror. Conservatives prefer to explain their defeat in terms of broken promises – a failure of the administration to deliver a conservative agenda.

The Americas Majority Foundation Voter Opinion Survey (AMF-VOS) evaluates public opinion on 19 signature conservative issues, removed from their party-political context. It is based on 10,952 online surveys of registered voters, taken between January 30 and February 18, 2007 by MarketTools, Inc. The responses are weighted by race and sex to conform to their percentage of the electorate in the 2004 presidential election as reported by the U.S. Census Bureau Current Population Survey. (see “Notes on the Data Base,” pg 10).

# Summary of Findings

## Issue I: Federal Taxation (Survey Document Question #24)

- **Degree of conservative consensus:** 79.9% of respondents who self-define as “very conservative” support a reduction in federal taxation.
- **Public consensus:** A 63.5% **conservative majority** supports a federal tax reduction.

## Issue II: Local Taxation (Survey Document Question #25)

- **Degree of conservative consensus:** 73.4% of respondents who self-define as “very conservative” support a reduction of local taxes.
- **Public consensus:** A 58.6% **conservative majority** supports a local tax reduction.

## Issue III: Taxation and the Courts (Survey Document Question #36)

- **Degree of conservative consensus:** 79.8% of respondents who self-define as “very conservative” oppose court-imposed taxation.
- **Public consensus:** A 56.5% **conservative majority** opposes judicial taxation.

## Issue IV: Health Care (Survey Document Question #39)

- **Degree of conservative consensus:** 70.5% of respondents who self-define as “very conservative” prefer either a market-based expansion of benefits financed through tax cuts (45.5%); or a total freeze on additional government action in this area (25.0%).
- **Public consensus:** A 57.8% **liberal majority** of respondents endorse an expansion of government-provided health care benefits, either in the form of universal coverage (38.7%) or subsidized insurance for the poor (19.1%).

## Issue V: Personal Retirement Accounts (Survey Document Question #40)

- **Degree of conservative consensus:** 71.0% of respondents who self-define as “very conservative” support Personal Retirement Accounts funded by existing Social Security taxes.
- **Public consensus:** A 46.8% **conservative plurality** of the general public favors Personal Retirement Accounts.

## Issue VI: Abortion (Survey Document Question #28)

- **Degree of conservative consensus:** 53.9% of respondents who self-define as “very conservative” would prohibit abortion where a pregnancy does not threaten the mother’s life; 79.6 % of respondents who self-define as “very conservative” would ban abortion beyond the “three exceptions” of rape, incest, and life-of-the-mother.
- **Public consensus:** A **conservative majority** of the general public – 51.7% – would restrict abortion more than current law accommodates. A **liberal plurality** prefers abortion-on-demand to the “three exceptions” position, 48.2%-to-42.3%.

## Issue VII: Embryonic Stem Cell Research (Survey Document Question #29)

- **Degree of conservative consensus:** 69.4% of respondents who self-define as “very conservative” would prohibit embryonic stem cell research.
- **Public consensus:** A 47.0% **liberal plurality** favors unrestricted stem cell research.

## Issue VIII: School Choice (Survey Document Question #37)

- **Degree of conservative consensus:** 85.2% of respondents who self-define as “very conservative” support school choice over public school assignment; 78.6% support school choice that includes private and religious school options.
- **Public consensus:** A 72.5% **conservative majority** prefers parental choice to public school assignment; 57.1% support public school choice with private and religious school options.

**Issue IX: The Teaching of Human Origins** (Survey Document Question #30)

- **Degree of conservative consensus:** 82.0% of respondents who self-define as “very conservative” endorse the teaching of the man’s Divine origin in school. 31.4% would teach Creation to the exclusion of Darwinism.
- **Public consensus:** A 72.3% **conservative majority** supports the teaching of man’s Divine origin in school; 59.3% support teaching both Creation and Darwinism.

**Issue X: School-Based Sex Education for Teens** (Survey Document Question #27)

- **Degree of conservative consensus:** 91.0% of respondents who self-define as “very conservative” prefer either school-based abstinence education (51.6%) or non-school, parent-delivered sex education (39.4%) to school-based birth control education.
- **Public consensus:** A 63.7% **conservative majority** favors either school-based abstinence education (29.1%) or non-school, parent-provided sex education (34.6%) to school-based birth control education.

**Issue XI: Definition of Marriage** (Survey Document Question #26)

- **Degree of conservative consensus:** 81.7% of respondents who self-define as “very conservative” endorse traditional marriage – one man, one woman -- as a contract with exclusive rights reserved to it.
- **Public consensus:** A **conservative majority** (63.9%) supports one-man, one-woman marriage as the exclusive legally recognized form. But a **liberal majority** (52.0%) would extend benefits to same-sex couples that have traditionally been reserved for married couples.

**Issue XII: Affirmative Action** (Survey Document Question #38)

- **Degree of conservative consensus:** 79.5% of respondents who self-define as “very conservative” reject quota-based, compensatory affirmative action.
- **Public consensus:** A 67.7% **conservative majority** of Americans reject quota-based affirmative action as a means to repair historic wrongs.

**Issue XIII: Judicial Activism on Social Issues** (Survey Document Question #35)

- **Degree of conservative consensus:** 92.1% of respondents who self-define as “very conservative” reject an activist role for courts in social legislation.
- **Public consensus:** A 67.4% **conservative majority** condemns judges who overturn social laws and customary practices – specifically, gay marriage bans, Ten Commandments displays, and school prayer.

**Issue XIV: Global Warming** (Survey Document Question #23)

- **Degree of conservative consensus:** 33.7% of respondents who self-define as “very conservative” – a narrow plurality – consider global warming a fake problem.
- **Public consensus:** A 76.3% **liberal majority** considers global warming a genuine problem requiring government action; a narrow, 38.2% **liberal plurality** considers the problem a “serious threat” requiring “immediate government attention.”

**Issue XV: War on Terror** (Survey Document Question #22)

- **Degree of conservative consensus:** 88.6% of respondents who self-define as “very conservative” consider Islamic terrorism a major threat.
- **Public consensus:** A 59.6% **conservative majority** regards Islamic terrorism as a major threat.

**Issue XVI: The War in Iraq** (Survey Document Question #21)

- **Degree of conservative consensus:** 65.8% of respondents who self-define as “very conservative” consider the Iraq war just, winnable, and a part of the overall war against terror.
- **Public consensus:** Among all respondents, a 73.7% **liberal majority** disbelieves that the war in Iraq is both just and winnable; however, 79.0% believe that the motives for launching it were moral.

**Issue XVII: Illegal Aliens** (Survey Document Question #32)

- **Degree of conservative consensus:** 50.7% of respondents who self-define as “very conservative” believe that illegal aliens should be either deported or incarcerated.
- **Public consensus:** A 61.0% **liberal majority** supports amnesty for illegal aliens in one of three forms: citizenship; a guest-worker program with a path to citizenship; or a guest worker program without a path to citizenship.

**Issue XVIII: Criminal Sentencing** (Survey Document Question #33)

- **Degree of conservative consensus:** Respondents who self-define as “very conservative” believe that American courts are too lenient in judging major crimes and minor crimes by 80.7% and 58.6% respectively.
- **Public consensus:** A 70.6% **conservative majority** supports harsher punishment of major crime; a 41.6% **conservative plurality** supports harsher punishment of minor crime.

**Issue XIX: Gun Rights** (Survey Document Question #34)

- **Degree of conservative consensus:** 74.3% of respondents who self-define as “very conservative” support individual 2<sup>nd</sup> Amendment rights.
- **Public consensus:** A 44.0% **conservative plurality** supports an individual’s right to own and bear arms.

# METHOD

In this study, each of the 19 conservative signature issues addressed in the AMF-VOS is reported four ways.

## **First determination: Conservative consensus**

“Conservative issues” are defined by the majority or plurality opinion of the 1008 survey respondents who self-defined as “very conservative.” We preferred this approach to one in which the authors of the survey imposed their own definitions.

Conservatives are by not of one mind. The level of consensus that these issues command varies considerably. For instance, a near-unanimous 92.1% of conservatives oppose judicial activism on social issues – but only 50.7% support punitive action against illegal aliens; 85.2% support school choice, but a slender 33.7% plurality rejects global warming as a problem.

The percentage of “very conservative” respondents who agree with the dominant position of “very conservative” respondents we term the “**Degree of conservative consensus.**”

For purposes of this study, “liberal” means nothing more than “non-conservative”. Thus a “liberal consensus” is reported where a majority of total respondents selected *defined* opinions (i.e., excluding “not sure” or “don’t know”) that were not part of the conservative consensus.

On questions where respondents were given multiple policy options, an element of subjectivity enters into this. For instance, most respondents who self-define as “very conservative” prefer a form of school choice that includes private and religious school options. Some conservatives (self-defined) would include private schools, but not private religious schools. Others would include only public school choice – the charter school option, as it is popularly called. We treat all three opinions as part of the conservative consensus on *school choice*, which is presented in the AMF-VOS as an alternative to “assigned public schools.”

## **Second Determination: Findings**

The ensuing study reports, and charts, our basic findings of public opinion on each of the 19 conservative signature issues in four categories:

- 1) responses of the general public— a percentage breakdown of all those surveyed;

- 2) responses of three ethnicities – a percentage breakdown of African Americans, Hispanics, and non-Hispanic Whites;
- 3) responses by gender – a percentage breakdown of male and female respondents; and
- 4) responses by three categories of political self-identification – a percentage breakdown of the responses of Democrats, Republicans and Independents.

### **Third Determination: Analysis**

The AMF-VOS collected a rich cross-section of demographics. Respondents supplied information on income, age, portfolio ownership, union membership, religious faith, public/private sector employment, veteran status, and voting history. The **analysis** section introduces data of interest from cross-tabs that are not charted in this book.

### **Fourth Determination: Conclusions**

Finally we report a **conclusion** on the popular strength or weakness of each conservative issue with the general public. In this context:

- A **conservative majority** signifies that a majority of total respondents selected positions included in the conservative consensus;
- A **conservative plurality** signifies that a plurality of total respondents, but a majority of respondents expressing a defined opinion (i.e., excluding “don’t know” or “no opinion”) selected positions within the conservative consensus;
- A **liberal majority** signifies that a majority of respondents selected defined positions not included within the conservative consensus.
- A **liberal plurality** signifies that a plurality of total respondents, and a majority of respondents expressing a defined opinion, selected positions not included in the conservative consensus.

### **Notes on the Topics**

In many instances, AMF-VOS questions were designed to supplement, rather than replicate, findings of other public polls. For example: the commitment of the public to border security is well established from numerous studies. For a good cross-sample of previous polls, see:

<http://www.pollingreport.com/immigration.htm>

Less well surveyed is the public response to the “illegals” themselves. What policy should be adopted toward undocumented aliens who are current residents of the U.S.? Issue XVII of the AMF-VOS polls five potential answers to this question.

Similarly, the AMF-VOS question on abortion attempts to ascertain not merely the percentages on each side of the question, but the moral basis of their positions: i.e., the percentage in both camps who base their position on the human status of the fetus, or lack thereof. And the AMF-VOS survey of the Iraq war invites respondents to judge the morality, as well as the winnability, of that conflict.

### **Notes on the Data Base**

The AMF-VOS surveyed 10,952 voters online between January 30 and February 18 of 2007 in partnership with MarketTools, Inc. There were two major imbalances in the data set, one intentional, one incidental.

The first major imbalance was a choice. The **Americas Majority Foundation Voter Opinion Project** will also include subsequent reports on Hispanic voters and African American voters. It was

necessary for A.M.F. to sample these groups beyond their frequency in the electorate in order to achieve populations sufficient for the projected studies.

The second major imbalance was incidental to the survey method. MarketTools, Inc. maintains a multi-million person database of survey-takers, who accumulate “free gift” points for participating in polls of various types. The voluntary participants are roughly 3/4ths female. The extent to which gender acts as an independent variable remains a matter of intense debate; but no pollster disregards its measurable presence in issues ranging from gun control to party affiliation.

When we calculated percentages in this study, we weighted each respondent for ethnicity and sex, modeling the proportions of each “gender+race” category to its proportion in the 2004 presidential election as reported by the U.S. Census Bureau at:

<http://www.census.gov/population/www/socdemo/voting.html>

Other imperfections in the data set remain. For instance, too few Asian-Americans were polled to calculate a statistically meaningful group weight. The very elderly, 75 years and older, are unlikely to be computer literate, and are consequently under-represented in online surveys, including ours. Low-income groups, over-represented in our raw sample, are somewhat underrepresented once the ethnicity and gender weights were applied. (As weighted, roughly 40% of respondents fall below median household income, 60%, above. The income distribution of active voters, as measured by the Census Bureau tables reference above, seem similarly skewed toward above-median-income households, although direct comparisons were not possible.)

But the online survey technology had many virtues to recommend it. Freed of the obligation to impose on reluctant subjects, the Foundation was not forced to choose between width and depth – between a short survey with many respondents, and a long survey with few. Instead, the AMF-VOS compiled extensive demographics and extensive opinions from large numbers of American voters.

Whatever one may say of the “self-selection” of the survey-takers, the motivation, based on free gifts, was politically neutral. The proof of this lies in how closely the political portions of the poll track the largest conventional surveys, such as exit polls of the New York Times, Edison-Mitofsky, and the Los Angeles Times.

The raw data includes significant sample sizes at all income levels, family sizes, and marital statuses. The numbers of urban, suburban and rural respondents are all extensive. Zip codes were compiled, so that state and sectional separations are possible.

Rather than debate the merits of this huge data set, we have elected to make it freely available for download in Excel format at:

<http://www.amermaj.com>

The downloadable data set – AMF-VOS-dataset.xls -- includes the weights we used, so that researchers can deploy our adjustments for race and sex, or discard them and calculate their own.

The AMF-VOS questionnaire is also available for download, as is the full text of this report. The files are (respectively) AMF-VOS-questions.pdf and AMF-VOS.pdf

The charts in the current study report our weighted numbers, adjusted for sex and race. The underlying raw numbers are as follows:

African American Males	825
African American Females	2467
Non-Hispanic White Males	1452
Non-Hispanic White Females	3702

Hispanic or Latino Males	645
Hispanic or Latino Females	1623
Asian Males	47
Asian Females	81
Other/Mixed-race Males	42
Other/Mixed-race Females	68
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>10952</b>

## **A Personal Note**

I would like to thank the board of the John W. Uhlmann Foundation for its faith in this project, and its assistance in realizing it.

The proper goal of politics is to convince one’s fellow citizens of what is right, not to regurgitate their attitudes back to them. As one who has spent a significant part of his adult life fighting the excessive influence of pollsters in politics, I wish to add this caution: A public poll on conservative issues is not a “to-do” list for conservatives, liberals, or anyone else. Politics, as an honorable profession, is persuasion, not peristalsis. The popular weakness of a conservative issue is not a case for its abandonment; its strength is not a mandate to press it.

The AMF-VOS demonstrates that some issues on which a consensus of conservatives agree are endorsed by a popular majority, while others are not. It reveals that some “signature issues” are less popular among conservatives than others. If one believes (as I happen to) that the public presentation of catastrophic global warming is essentially fraudulent, the ubiquity of its acceptance is no argument against its argument; and if one believes (as I do not) that border security requires mass deportations, then the unpopularity of this view is no argument for its abandonment.

A poll can provide a map of where you are. It cannot – must not! – tell you where to go.

Richard Nadler  
 President  
 Americas Majority Foundation  
 March 25, 2007

# Presentation

## Section I – Taxation

The AMF-VOS queried respondents on federal, local, and judicial taxation.

### Issue I: Federal Taxation (Survey Document Question #24)

Which of these statements is closest to your opinion about the overall revenues and taxes of the federal government?

- i. Our federal government collects more than enough revenue to provide basic services; therefore, overall taxes should be reduced.
- ii. Our federal government does not collect enough revenue to provide basic services; therefore overall taxes should be increased.
- iii. Our federal government collects the right amount of revenue to provide basic services; therefore, overall taxes should remain roughly where they are now.

**Degree of conservative consensus:** 79.9% of respondents who self-define as “very conservative” support a reduction in federal taxation (option i).

**Findings:** see charts, pages 44 & 57.

1) 63.5% of respondents believe that federal taxes should be reduced, compared to 6.6% who want them raised, and 29.9% who would hold overall taxes constant.

2) Among the three ethnicities charted – African Americans, Hispanics, and non-Hispanic Whites -- support for tax cuts is highest among African Americans (70.8%), and lowest among non-Hispanic Whites (62.2%). Support for federal tax hikes is highest among Hispanics (9.5%), and lowest among Blacks (6.3%). Satisfaction with the current level of federal taxation is highest among Whites (31.4%), and lowest among Blacks (22.9%).

3) Slightly more women than men endorsed a tax cut (64.1%-vs-62.9%). More men than women endorsed a tax hike (9.1%-vs-4.5%)

4) Among three broad political groups – Democrats, Republicans and Independents – Republicans, at 69.5%, were most inclined to support federal tax cuts; Democrats, at 57.6%, least so. Democrats expressed the highest level of satisfaction with the tax status quo (32.4%, compared to 29.9% of the general public). Among Independents, 63.8% endorsed a federal tax reduction.

### **Analysis**

If limited government has fallen out of fashion in Washington, it is not because it has fallen out of fashion among the people. Significant majorities of both genders, each ethnicity, and the three political identity groups favored a federal tax reduction.

Even among public employees, support for a federal tax cut exceeds support for a tax increase, 59.1%-to 6.6%.

The politics of taxation revolves as much around who pays, as how much is paid. The AMF-VOS did not address the structure of federal taxes. This question, and the one which follows, assessed the underlying appeal of tax cuts – nothing more, nothing less.

**Conclusion:** A 63.5% **conservative majority** supports a federal tax reduction.

## **Issue II: Local Taxation (Survey Document Question #25)**

Which of these statements is closest to your opinion about the overall revenues and taxes of your local governments?

- i. Our local governments collect more than enough revenue to provide basic services; therefore, local taxes should be reduced.
- ii. Our local governments do not collect enough revenue to provide basic services; therefore, local taxes should be increased.
- iii. Our local governments collect the right amount of taxes to provide basic services; therefore, local taxes should remain roughly where they are now.

**Degree of conservative consensus:** 73.4% of respondents who self-define as “very conservative” support a reduction of local taxes (option i).

**Findings:** see charts, pages 44 & 57.

1) 58.6% of respondents held that local taxes should be reduced, compared to 7.7% who wanted them raised, and 33.8% who would hold local taxes constant.

2) Among the three ethnicities reported, support for local tax cuts is highest among African Americans (64.8%), and lowest among non-Hispanic Whites (57.1%). Support for local tax hikes is highest among Latinos (10.1%), and lowest among non-Hispanic Whites (7.4%). Satisfaction with the status quo is highest among Whites (35.6%), and lowest among Hispanics (27.2%).

3) The attitudes of women and men toward local taxes were similar.

4) Among the three charted political groups, Republicans, at 64.8%, were most inclined to support local tax cuts; Democrats, at 53.3%, least. Democrats, at 36.4%, expressed the highest level of satisfaction with the status quo. Independents preferred a local tax reduction over an increase, 57.4%-7.5%.

### **Analysis**

In this question, the AMF-VOS measured whether voters preferred the taxes levied by those governments closest to them over those of the federal authority. In general, they did, but not by

much. Among the charted groups, support for tax cuts ranged 3%-to-6% lower on the local level than on the federal level, and satisfaction with the status quo was correspondingly higher. Support for tax increases varied even less, with roughly 1% more respondents favoring a local tax increase than favored a federal tax increase.

By wide margins, each gender, each ethnicity, and all three political-identity groups favored a reduction of local taxation. This included traditionally liberal demographics as well. For instance, public employees surveyed favored a local tax cut over an increase 55.4%-to-34.4%.

**Conclusion:** A 58.5% **conservative majority** supports a local tax reduction.

### **Issue III: Taxation and the Courts (Survey Document Question #36)**

Which of the following statements is closest to your opinion on the correct role of our courts in fiscal matters?

- i. Taxing and spending are the responsibility of officials whom we elect, not judges. Courts have no business raising taxes.
- ii. Courts have acted appropriately in forcing legislatures to spend more money on public purposes like education when they refused to do so on their own.
- iii. I don't know enough about this to have an informed opinion.

**Degree of conservative consensus:** 79.8% of respondents who self-define as “very conservative” oppose court-imposed taxation (option i).

**Findings:** see charts, pages 50 & 62.

1) Overall, respondents opposed court-ordered taxation 56.5% to 18.7%, with 24.8% undecided.

2) Non-Hispanic Whites opposed judicial taxation by a wide majority: 59.6%-to-16.6%. Minorities also opposed it, but by pluralities: 40.2%-29.9% among African Americans, and 46.3%-to-23.0% among Latinos.

3) There was a sharp difference in the level of opposition registered by gender. 66.1% of men opposed court-ordered taxes, compared to 48.2% of women. But their level of support for judicially-mandated taxes was similar: 20.0% among men, compared to 17.6% among women. Statistically, men were far more aware of the issue: 13.9% were undecided, compared to 34.2% of females.

4) Republicans oppose judicial taxation by an overwhelming majority, 71.8% to 9.0%. A substantial plurality of Democrats (43.6%-to-27.0%) oppose judicial tax mandates. Independents align between the two major parties, opposing judicial levies 55.2%-to-19.5%. There is a substantial spread in awareness of the issues among the parties. 29.3% of Democrats “don't know enough to have an informed opinion”, compared to 25.3% of Independents and 19.2% of Republicans.

### **Analysis**

Judicial taxation has been imposed in a limited number of desegregation cases, and in an extensive number of state school finance formula cases. The AMF-VOS question on judicial taxation had two purposes: to measure awareness of the judicial taxation as an issue, and to measure response to it. Roughly a quarter of the voting public has not formulated an opinion on judicial taxation, but among voters who have, the practice is ubiquitously unpopular. Condemnation of judicial taxation crosses ethnic, gender, and party lines. Even among self-defined liberals, the AMF-VOS found opposition running 38.5%-to-33.2%, with 28.3% undecided.

**Conclusion:** A 56.5% **conservative majority** opposes judicial taxation.

## Section II – Entitlements

The long-term growth of government is driven primarily by entitlements: Social Security, Medicare and Medicaid. The AMF-VOS featured one question on health care, and one on retirement security. What the survey registered, paradoxically, was an increase in public support for both privatization and socialization.

### Issue IV: Health Care (Survey Document Question #39)

Beyond Medicaid and Medicare, different plans have been offered to provide health care to the uninsured. Which of these statements is closest to your opinion on expanding government health care benefits beyond our current Medicaid and Medicare systems?

- i. The government can't afford Medicaid and Medicare as they are currently structured, so no more government benefits should be created.
- ii. Government should give citizens an ongoing tax deduction so that they can buy their own health care plans tailored to their needs, and the needs of their families.
- iii. Government should subsidize health insurance, but only for those who can't afford health care for themselves.
- iv. Government should provide universal health care for all citizens, regardless of cost, because it is a fundamental human right.

**Degree of conservative consensus:** 70.5% of respondents who self-define as “very conservative” prefer either a market-based expansion of benefits financed through tax cuts (45.5%), or a total freeze on additional government action in this area (25.0%) (options ii & i respectively).

**Findings:** see charts, pages 51 & 64.

1) A 57.8% majority of all respondents endorsed an expansion of government-provided health care benefits, either in the form of universal coverage (38.7%) or subsidized insurance for the poor (19.1%). The two conservative options – funding individual health care by reducing taxes, and halting the expansion of government health benefits polled 42.3% -- respectively 31.5% and 10.8%.

2) Among the three ethnicities charted, only African Americans gave universal coverage a majority (51.0%) rather than a plurality (38.7% overall). Support for subsidies for the poor was strongest among African Americans (21.2%), and weakest among Latinos (18.4%). Non-Hispanic whites were the most supportive of the tax deduction option (33.1%); African Americans, least (21.1%). 11.3% of non-Hispanic Whites opposed government expansion of benefits, compared to 6.7% of African Americans.

3) Gender preferences differed significantly on three of the four options. More males than females would freeze benefits (13.8% compared to 8.2%). More males than females prefer the tax deductibility option (33.6% to 29.6%). And more women than men endorse universal coverage (43.2% to 33.5%).

4) Republicans are least supportive of universal coverage (20.7%); and most supportive of tax deductibility (45.3%). A majority of Democrats support universal coverage (54.5%). The classical liberal position – health care subsidies for the poor – polls roughly one fifth across the political spectrum. Political “independents” track the general public very closely on health care.

### Analysis

The voting public has moved away from both the classical liberal position – government assistance, but for the poor only – and the classical conservative position – non-involvement by the

government. The dominant leftist position is now a socialist vision of universal care. The dominant conservative position rolls back taxes, but targets the savings to health insurance.

The bad news for conservatives is that universal coverage now commands a plurality among options for health care reform. On the other hand, universal coverage is the preferred option of less than 40% of respondents. The second most popular approach focuses on private insurance financed with tax breaks.

**Conclusion:** A 57.8% **liberal majority** of respondents endorse an expansion of government-provided health care benefits, either in the form of universal coverage (38.7%) or through subsidized insurance for the poor (19.1%).

## **Issue V: Personal Retirement Accounts (Survey Document Question #40)**

Most experts agree that Social Security faces bankruptcy by the middle of this century unless changes are made. One suggestion is that workers should be allowed to divert part of their payroll tax into Personal Retirement Accounts, consisting of stocks and bonds in mutual funds. Which of these statements is closest to your opinion on Personal Retirement Accounts?

- i. American workers should be allowed to invest part of their Social Security tax into Personal Retirement Accounts, so that they can accumulate their own nest egg for their retirement, regardless of what politicians do to Social Security.
- ii. Personal Retirement Accounts are a risky scheme that will undermine retirement security by taking money out of the Social Security system and investing it in Wall Street.
- iii. I don't know enough about Personal Retirement Accounts to have an informed opinion.

**Degree of conservative consensus:** 71.0% of respondents who self-define as “very conservative” support Personal Retirement Accounts funded by existing Social Security taxes (option i).

**Findings:** see charts, pages 52 & 64.

- 1) A substantial plurality of the public – 46.8% – favors Personal Retirement Accounts (PRAs), compared to 31.2% who oppose them.
- 2) Support for the partial privatization of Social Security is stronger, and opposition is weaker, among minorities than among non-Hispanic whites. Hispanics favor PRAs 50.9%-to-23.6%; Blacks, 47.4%-to-26.1%; Whites, 46.3%-32.5%.
- 3) Both males and females support PRAs, but the margin among men (52.4%-to-34.5%) is substantially greater than among women (42.0%-to 28.3%). Women are more than twice as likely as men to have no fixed opinion (29.7%-to-13.2%).
- 4) Democrats oppose PRAs 41.9%-to-32.8%; Republicans support them 64.6%-to-16.5%. A plurality of independents support the private accounts as well: 43.2%-to-35.8%.

### **Analysis**

The continuing popularity of PRAs, despite strong attacks launched against them by liberal groups, is a function of the public's familiarity with work-based retirement vehicles and personal investment accounts. Of 10,952 respondents in the AMF-VOS, 47.6% had 401(k) plans; 40.0%, had conventional IRAs; 29.3% had personal brokerage accounts; 17.1% had Roth IRAs; and 9.2% owned 403(b)s. Only 22.5% of respondents lacked financial savings assets.

Familiarity with markets increases the popularity of market-based solutions. Taking the commonest work-based investment as an example: among the respondents with 401(k) plans (nearly half the total surveyed), support for PRAs ran 53.3% to 28.1%.

Support for Personal Retirement Accounts is broadly based. PRAs are among a handful of conservative issues more popular among minorities than among non-Hispanic Whites.

**Conclusion:** A 46.8% **conservative plurality** of the general public favors Personal Retirement Accounts.

## Section III – Social Issues

The AMF-VOS queried respondents on eight social issues: abortion, stem cell research, school choice, the teaching of human origins, sex education, the definition of marriage, quota-based affirmative action, and the role of courts in social policy. With the exception of stem cell research, the general public leans toward social positions espoused by self-defined conservatives. But on some issues, notably abortion and marriage, a liberal plurality is evident within a multi-option policy environment.

### Issue VI: Abortion (Survey Document Question #28)

Which of these statements is closest to your opinion on abortion?

- i. Abortion should be illegal in all cases, because the unborn child is a human being and should be protected under law.
- ii. Abortion is nobody's business except that of the pregnant woman and her doctor.
- iii. Abortion should be allowed in only one situation: when the pregnancy threatens the life of the mother.
- iv. Abortion should be allowed in only three cases: to save the life of the mother, to terminate a pregnancy caused by rape, and to terminate a pregnancy caused by incest.
- v. Abortion should not be restricted until the last 3 months of a pregnancy.
- vi. Abortion should be legal at all times, because the fetus is not a human being and should not be protected under law.

**Degree of conservative consensus:** 79.6 % of respondents who self-define as “very conservative” would not allow abortion beyond the “three exceptions” of rape, incest, or life-of-the-mother (options i, iii, and iv combined). 53.9% of respondents who self-define as “very conservative” would prohibit abortion where the pregnancy did not threaten the mother's life (options i and iii combined).

**Findings:** see charts, pages 46 & 59.

1) A majority of the public – 51.7% -- supports some degree of regulation on abortion (options i, iii, iv & v). A plurality of the public – 48.2% -- supports abortion on demand (options ii & iv). 42.3% of respondents would allow abortion in no circumstances other than rape, incest, or a life-threatening pregnancy (options i, iii & iv).

2) Latinos are the most pro-life among the three charted ethnicities. 50.6% support the three restrictive positions (option i, iii and iv), compared to 42.3% among the general public, 42.0% among African Americans, and 41.8% among non-Hispanic Whites. The percentage of Latinos rejecting abortion “because the unborn child is a human being” is 17.5%, compared to 13.1% of African Americans, and 10.9% of non-Hispanic Whites.

3) Male respondents were slightly more supportive of the three restrictive positions than women – 44.5%, compared to 40.4%. But a higher percentage of men than women agreed that “the fetus is not a human being” – 6.0% versus 3.8%.

4) Democrats supported the three most permissive positions – options ii, v, & vi – over the three most restrictive positions, 69.8%-to-30.2%. Republicans supported the restrictive positions over the permissive positions 59.2%-to-40.8%. Independents favored the permissive positions, 63.7%-to-36.3%. The two abortion-on-demand positions (options ii and vi) drew majority support among Democrats (58.7%) and Independents (53.6%).

## Analysis

Since the U.S. Supreme Court’s 2000 decision in *Stenberg v. Carhart*, abortion-on-demand has, for all practical purposes, been the law of the land. This standard is far more permissive than that established under *Roe v. Wade* (option v), which posited a public interest in the preservation of fetal life in the last “trimester” of a pregnancy. A slender majority of the public – 51.7% -- favors restrictions on abortion beyond what federal courts currently uphold. But this majority divides sharply on what restrictions it would impose.

For all practical purposes, option ii (“Abortion is nobody’s business...”) and option vi (“...the fetus is not a human being, and should not be protected”) are the same. In combination, these options were selected by 48.2% of respondents. Both express a rationale for abortion-on-demand. But the percentage of respondents who based their support for abortion on the non-humanity of the fetus was less than one-in-twenty. 90.0% of those who supported abortion-on-demand did so on libertarian grounds.

Religion was strongest indicator of pro-life sentiment, but denomination generally was not. Among those respondents who “believe strongly in an afterlife in which people will be rewarded and punished for what they have done”(question 20), 65.1% support the three “restrictionist” positions. The restrictionist positions were supported by 64.3% of those who attended services once per week, and by 82.6% of those who attended more than once per week.

The AMF-VOS survey did not include the dimension of public funding – i.e., whether taxpayers should be responsible for the abortion decisions of individuals. It is probable that the sizeable portion of the public that objects to abortion restrictions on libertarian grounds objects to public funding of abortion on libertarian grounds as well.

**Conclusion:** A **conservative majority** of the general public – 51.7% – would restrict abortion more than current law accommodates. A **liberal plurality** (48.2%) prefers abortion-on-demand to the three restrictionist positions (42.3%).

## Issue VII: Embryonic Stem Cell Research (Survey Document Question #29)

Today, scientists are attempting to find cures for diseases by experimenting with human cells at a very early stage of development. Some of these experiments destroy human embryos to harvest stem cells. Other experiments, using stem cells taken from adults, do not destroy human embryos. Which of these statements is closest to your opinion on stem cell research?

- i. Stem cell research which destroys human embryos should be forbidden, but other forms of stem cell research should be allowed.
- ii. All stem cell research should be allowed because of the potential medical good that may result.

- iii. All stem cell research should be forbidden because human science should not play God with unformed human cells.
- iv. I am not well enough informed to have a definite opinion on this issue.

**Degree of conservative consensus:** 69.4% of respondents who self-define as “very conservative” reject embryonic stem cell research (options i and iii combined).

**Findings:** see charts, pages 46 & 59.

1) A considerable plurality of the general public – 47.0% -- supports unrestricted stem cell research (option ii). 36.9% would prohibit the use of embryonic stem cells.

2) Among the charted ethnic groups, Hispanics register the highest level of opposition to embryonic stem cell research – 40.3% opposed, versus 40.9% in favor. African American groups give the lowest plurality to unrestricted stem cell research (37.3%), largely because of the high percentage who are undecided (27.5% vs. 16.1% of the general public). Non-Hispanic whites are the most supportive of unrestricted stem cell research – 48.4%.

3) Males and females show similar levels of opposition to embryonic stem cell research – 36.2% and 37.6% respectively – but are less unified on what they would allow. 51.1% of men endorse unrestricted stem cell research, compared to 43.3% of women.

4) 53.7% of Republicans oppose embryonic stem cell research, compared to 25.1% of Democrats and 36.9% of independents. Democrats give an absolute majority (58.0%) to unrestricted stem cell research; independents, a plurality (47.0%).

### **Analysis**

The opposition to embryonic stem cell research is concentrated primarily among religious voters. Those who describe themselves as “deeply religious” are 63.7% opposed. Those who attend services weekly are 55.8% opposed; those who attend more than weekly, 70.1%.

Self-described “evangelicals” oppose embryonic stem cell research 68.3%-to-17.0%. Catholic opposition is narrower: 42.5%-to-41.3%.

Roughly one-sixth of the public -- 16.1% -- has not formulated an opinion on this issue.

**Conclusion:** A 47.0% **liberal plurality** favors unrestricted stem cell research.

### **Issue VIII: School Choice (Survey Document Question #37)**

Instead of sending their children to an assigned public school, “school choice” proposals enable parents to choose schools, and to compel public officials to help fund that choice. Which of these statements about “school choice” is closest to your opinion?

- i. Parents should be allowed to choose their children’s schools, whether public or private, and this choice should include religious schools, if the parents prefer these.
- ii. Parents should be allowed to choose their children’s schools, whether public or private, but this choice should not include religious schools.
- iii. Parents should be allowed to choose the public schools their child attends, but not private schools of any kind.
- iv. Parents should not be allowed to choose the schools their children attend. All available tax resources should be spent on improving local public schools, not on school choice schemes.

**Degree of conservative consensus:** 85.2% of respondents who self-define as “very conservative” support school choice over public school assignment (options i, ii, and iii); 78.6% support school choice that includes that includes private and religious schools (option i).

**Findings:** see charts, pages 50 & 63.

1) A solid majority of respondents – 72.5% -- preferred some form of school choice to public school assignment. 57.1% prefer unrestricted choice – i.e., an option to choose among schools that are public or private, secular or religious. Another 5.7% exclude religious school options, but not other private schools, while 9.7% would restrict choice to public school options – the basic premise of the charter school movement. 27.5% of respondents prefer the current system of assigned public schools.

2) Support for school choice is strongest among Hispanics (80.8%) and African Americans (79.3%). Non-Hispanic Whites support school choice over public school assignment 70.7%-to-29.3%. Support for charter school choice (but not private school choice) is highest among whites, at 10.0%.

3) Choice options were supported by 74.5% of male respondents, and 70.8% of females.

4) Choice options were endorsed by 79.1% of Republicans, 67.9% of Democrats, and 69.6% of Independents. Unrestricted choice was favored by a majority of Republicans and Independents – 68.9% and 51.7% respectively – and by a plurality of Democrats (49.3%).

### **Analysis**

It is difficult to find a conservative issue more popular among the general public, regardless of race, gender or political affiliation. Households with public sector employees (Question 10) are no exception. Respondents from such families favor school choice over public school assignment 69.5% to 30.5%, and an absolute majority of them (53.3%) favor unrestricted choice.

While the desire for school choice is ubiquitous, it is strongest among minorities, whose children have been victimized by underperforming, unsafe, overpriced public schools generation after generation.

**Conclusion:** A 72.5% **conservative majority** prefers parental choice to public school assignment; 57.1% support public school choice that includes private and religious school options.

### **Issue IX: The Teaching of Human Origins (Survey Document Question #30)**

The Bible teaches that creation, including the creation of man, was a divine act. Charles Darwin taught that creatures, including man, could evolve to their current state by natural processes, without divine intervention. How these concepts should be presented to children has been fiercely debated. Which of these statements is closest to your opinion on the teaching of human origins?

- i. Schools should teach solely that human origins are the result of Darwinian evolution.
- ii. Schools should teach solely that human origins are the act of a creator God.
- iii. Schools should present the evidence for both theories, and let the children decide for themselves.
- iv. Schools should teach neither theory, in order not to offend the values of parents and taxpayers.

**Degree of conservative consensus:** 82.0% of respondents who self-define as “very conservative” endorse the teaching of the man’s Divine origins in school (options ii and iii); 31.4% would teach Divine creation to the exclusion of Darwinism (option iii).

**Findings:** see charts, pages 47 & 60.

1) A 59.3% majority of the general public believes that schools should present both Creation and Evolution in teaching human origins. This is more than triple the percentage who want Evolution taught alone (17.4%), and quadruple the percentage who favor the exclusive presentation of Divine creation (13.0%).

2) Respondents of the three charted ethnicities preferred, by similar margins, the presentation of both theories of human origins in school (option iii). But among both Hispanics and Blacks, those wanting one version taught exclusively preferred creation to evolution – Hispanics by 16.4%-to-15.9%, African Americans by 23.9% to 7.8%.

3) By near-identical margins, men and women prefer the two-theory option. But men are likelier than women to prefer Darwinism-only (21.5%-vs-13.7%, and women are likelier than men to prefer Creation-only (14.9%-vs-10.8%).

4) The two-theory approach to teaching human origins is preferred by the charted political groups: 54.4% of Democrats, 62.0% of Independents, and 63.6% of Republicans. Among respondents preferring an exclusive approach, Republicans give the edge to Creation, 17.4%-to-9.4%; Democrats and Independents prefer evolution, 23.0%-to-11.6% and 20.0%-to-8.2% respectively.

### **Analysis**

The public schools that educate 90%-plus of America's elementary and secondary-aged children teach "evolution only." Yet the percentage of the public that wants a natural-selection-only approach to human origins (17.4%) is actually lower than the percentage that doesn't want Darwinism taught at all (23.3%, combining options ii and iv). A majority of self-defined liberals prefer teaching both Creation and Evolution (53.4%), as do self-defined moderates (61.9%). The public is clearly less secular than policy makers on this issue.

African Americans are particularly disaffected with "evolution-only." Support for "creation-only" is higher among Blacks than among the self-defined "very conservatives" (23.9%-vs-20.8%).

**Conclusion:** A 72.3% **conservative majority** supports the teaching of man's Divine origins in school; 59.3% support teaching Creation in addition to Darwinism.

### **Issue X: School-Based Sex Education for Teens** (Survey Document Question #27)

Policy makers debate whether teenagers should be taught sexual restraint, or whether they should be provided with detailed information on which to base their sexual choices. Which of these statements is closest to your opinion on this matter?

- i. Teaching sexual abstinence prior to marriage should be the central focus of sex education at school.
- ii. Teaching sexual abstinence until marriage is the job of parents; schools should not teach about sex at all.
- iii. Sexual experimentation is natural, and schools should provide teens with information about birth control.
- iv. Sexual experimentation is natural, but parents, not schools, should provide teens with information about sex.

**Degree of conservative consensus:** 91.0% of respondents who self-define as "very conservative" prefer either school-based abstinence education (51.6% - option i) or non-school, parent-delivered sex education (39.4% - options ii & iv) to school-based birth control education (option iii).

**Findings:** see charts, pages 45 & 58.

1) 42.7% of the all respondents explicitly favor “abstinence” as the focus of sex education (options i & ii). 36.2% of respondents favored school-based sex education that included information on contraception (option iii). 34.6% of respondents preferred parents to schools as the source of sexual education for children (options ii & iv).

2) African American respondents recorded the highest rate of approval for abstinence education (50.6%), and for school-based abstinence education (35.3%). Of the charted ethnicities, Blacks were least supportive of school-based contraceptive information (30.2%). Conversely, non-Hispanic whites were the most supportive of school-based birth control education (37.3%), and least supportive of school-based abstinence information (28.0%).

3) The attitudes of men and women were similar on this issue. Slightly more women than men favored both school based abstinence education and school based contraceptive information. Slightly more men than women preferred the two parent-based options (ii & iv).

4) Party affiliation correlates strongly with sex education preferences. 57.0% of Republicans would center sex education around abstinence, compared to 33.7% of Democrats. 46.9% of Democrats endorse school-based contraceptive information, compared to 22.3% of Republicans. On both issues, Independents are more liberal than Republicans, more conservative than Democrats: 42.7% favor abstinence-centered sex education; 36.2% endorse school-based birth control education.

### **Analysis**

A small liberal plurality prefers school-based contraceptive information to the purely parent-based options, 36.2%-to-34.6%. However: given the ubiquity of explicit, S.I.E.C.U.S.-based sex-education curricula in public schools,<sup>1</sup> it is astonishing how many respondents want something else. The desire for abstinence-based sex education was strongest among groups with high unwed birth rates – African Americans and Latinos.

**Conclusion:** A 63.7% **conservative majority** favors either school-based abstinence education (29.1%) or non-school, parent-provided sex education (34.6%) to school-based birth control education.

### **Issue XI: Definition of Marriage (Survey Document Question #26)**

In recent years, some states have legalized same-sex marriage, while others have passed amendments defining marriage as the traditional union of one man and one woman. Which of these statements is closest to your opinion?

- i. Marriage should remain a legal contract between one man and one woman. Same-sex couples should not have all the legal rights of married couples regarding adoption, tax deductions, and spousal benefits from health care and retirement plans.
- ii. Marriage should remain a legal contract between one man and one woman. However, same sex couples should have the same rights as married couples regarding adoption, tax deductions, and spousal benefits from health care and retirement plans.
- iii. Same sex couples should be allowed to marry, with the same rights as male-female couples.
- iv. I have no strong opinion on this subject.

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<sup>1</sup> “Sexuality Information and Education Council of the United States; see: [www.siecus.org](http://www.siecus.org)

**Degree of conservative consensus:** 81.7% of respondents who self-define as “very conservative” endorse traditional marriage – one man, one woman -- as a contract with exclusive rights reserved to it (option i.)

**Findings:** see charts, pages 45 & 58.

1) A 63.9% majority of the general public endorses traditional marriage – one man, one woman – as the exclusive legal form of marriage (option i). But a 52.0% majority of the general public endorses equal rights for same-sex couples in adoption, tax deductions, health care benefits, and retirement benefits (options ii & iii). A 39.5% minority would reserve these benefits for partners in traditional marriages.

2) By a considerable margin, African Americans are the most tradition-minded of the three charted ethnicities on this subject. 69.7% of Blacks endorse man-woman marriage as the exclusively recognized form, compared to 61.0% of Hispanics and 63.6% of non-Hispanic whites. 47.9% of Blacks would restrict benefits to couples in a traditional marriage, compared to 39.5% of respondents overall. 40.4% of Blacks would extend marital-type benefits to same-sex couples – well below the general public’s 52.0%.

3) On marriage, men are more tradition-minded than women. 43.9% of men would restrict couples benefits to traditional marriage, compared to 35.7% of women. 30.7% of women support gay marriage with full benefits, compared to 23.9% of men.

4) Gay marriage, with full benefits, its supported by 40.7% of Democrats, compared to 9.4% of Republicans and 33.0% of Independents. Among Republicans 58.7% support traditional marriage, with exclusive benefits and 84.8% support man-woman marriage as the exclusive legally recognized form. 64.3% of Democrats support full couples-benefits for same-sex couples, compared to 55.7% of Independents and 35.5% of Republicans.

### **Analysis**

To the religious groups that generally support a conservative social agenda, one may add African Americans as strong endorsers of traditional marriage.

The general public remains tradition-minded as to the form of marriage, but ambivalent as to its content. Marriage historically endowed its partners with a menu of benefits and liabilities under law. The potential liabilities have been eroded by no-fault divorce and the repeal of anti-adultery statutes. More recently, the exclusive nature of benefits accruing to marriage has been challenged as discriminatory vis-à-vis other forms of cohabitation. So while most respondents express a desire to protect traditional marriage, they do not necessary endorse the exclusive rights traditionally associated with it.

**Conclusion:** A **conservative majority** (63.9%) supports one-man, one-woman marriage as the exclusive legally recognized form. But a **liberal majority** (52.0%) would extend benefits to same-sex couples that have traditionally been reserved for married couples.

### **Issue XII: Affirmative Action (Survey Document Question #38)**

Affirmative action programs guarantee minimal percentages of government benefits to certain groups in order to compensate the members of these groups for historic wrongs. Which of these statements is closest to your opinion about affirmative action programs?

- i. Government should continue to use quotas to compensate minority communities for historic injustices by giving them a guaranteed share in public contracts and college admissions.

- ii. Affirmative action programs were justified at one time in our history, but have outlived their usefulness.
- iii. Government should be color-blind, and should never use affirmative action quotas to give an advantage to individuals of any group.
- iv. I have mixed feelings on affirmative action programs, and am unsure whether or not they should continue.

**Degree of conservative consensus:** 79.5% of respondents who self-define as “very conservative” reject quota-based, compensatory-based affirmative action (options ii & iii).

**Findings:** see charts, pages 51 & 63.

- 1) Quota-based affirmative action is opposed by the general public 67.7% to 12.2%, with 20.1% undecided.
- 2) African Americans support affirmative action 54.7% to 15.7%. Hispanics and non-Hispanic whites oppose it, 55.9%-to-24.8% and 69.8%-to-53.% respectively.
- 3) An equal percentage of men and women support quota-based affirmative action – 12.2%. But substantially more men than women explicitly oppose it – 67.7%, compared to 57.1%. More women than men than “have mixed feelings” (30.7%, compared to 20.1%).
- 4) Substantial majorities of both Republicans and Independents oppose quota-based affirmative action – 79.8%-to-4%, and 74.2%-to-8% respectively. A 45.1%-to-21.7% plurality of Democrats opposes affirmative action, while a third (33.2%) report “mixed feelings.”

### **Analysis**

Apart from African Americans, whose forebears entered this country as an oppressed group, it is hard to find any demographic that favors quota-based affirmative action. Hispanics respondents reject the concept 55.9%-to-24.8%; government employees, 60.1%-to-13.8%; self-identified liberals, 56.7%-to-19.4%. The conservative concept of race-neutral law is popular across the political spectrum, across the age spectrum, across the income spectrum.

**Conclusion:** A 67.7% **conservative majority** of Americans reject government-imposed discrimination as a means to repair historic wrongs.

### **Issue XIII: Judicial Activism on Social Issues (Survey Document Question #35)**

Which of the following statements is closest to your opinion on the correct role of our courts in religious and moral matters?

- i. Activist judges have gone too far in moral religious and matters, banning prayer from schools, overturning legislated bans on gay marriage, and removing the Ten Commandments from public buildings.
- ii. Our courts have acted appropriately in banning religious displays and practices from the public sphere, ensuring the separation of Church and State.
- iii. I don’t know enough about this to have an informed opinion.

**Degree of conservative consensus:** 92.1% of respondents who self-define as “very conservative” reject an activist role for courts in social legislation.

**Findings:** see charts, pages 49 & 62.

1) 67.4% of all respondents believe that courts have acted overzealously in overturning social laws and customary practices. 22.1% of respondents defend the role of the courts on the basis of the separation of church and state.

2) Among the three charted ethnicities, social-issue judicial activism is most resented (option i) by non-Hispanic Whites (69.1%), and most defended (option ii) by Hispanics (24.5%). African Americans are least likely to express an opinion on the issue (18.2%, compared to 10.5% overall.)

3) Women are likelier than men to object to such court intrusions (69.8% versus 64.6%). Men are more inclined than women to defend the judges on the basis of church-state separation (26.2% versus 18.5%).

4) Respondents were uniform across party lines in rejecting social-issue activism, but the size of the majority varied by party affiliation. Among Democrats, the ratio of opposition-to-support was 53.1%-to-33.1%; among Republicans, 86.4%-to-7.4%; among Independents, 67.4%-to-22.1%.

### **Analysis**

In striking down social laws and customary practices, contemporary courts have veered well to the Left of public sentiment. Self-identified Christians comprised 77.2% of the total AMF-VOS sample. By wide margins, all Christian denominations opposed judicial activism in social issues. (Jews, however, endorsed the separation argument 57.8% to 27.8%.)

Even among self-identified liberals, judicial activism cannot muster a majority in the named cases (Ten Commandments, prayer-in-school, gay marriage bans). Such activism does poll a plurality – 48.6% of liberals agree with the judges, 40.6% oppose them.

But among other traditionally liberal groups – Hispanics, Blacks, Democrats, public employees, union members, low-income workers – opposition to social-issue judicial activism is robust.

**Conclusion:** A 67.4% **conservative majority** condemns judges who overturn social laws and customary practices – specifically, gay marriage bans, Ten Commandments displays, and school prayer.

## **Section IV – National Threats**

Conservatives and liberals rank “national threats” differently. The AMF-VOS explored four such imputed dangers: global warming, the war on terror, the war in Iraq, and illegal immigration.

### **Issue XIV: Global Warming (Survey Document Question #23)**

Which of these statements about “global warming” is closest to your opinion?

- i. Global warming is a serious threat to our security requiring immediate government attention and serious commitment by all citizens.
- ii. Global warming is a moderate problem requiring steady, non-extreme policy changes.
- iii. Global warming is a fake problem, engineered by scientists and politicians who want more of our money.
- iv. I am not sure whether global warming is, or is not, a serious problem.

**Degree of conservative consensus:** 33.7% of respondents who self-define as “very conservative” – a narrow plurality – consider global warming “a fake problem” (option iii).

**Findings:** see charts, pages 43 & 56.

- 1) A substantial majority of the general public – 76.3% – considers global warming a genuine problem (options i & ii). A slight majority of these – 38.2% – think the problem “serious”. A majority of the public – 61.8% – does not consider the problem urgent.
- 2) Among the three charted ethnicities, the minorities are likelier than the general public to label global warming “a serious threat”. 54.8% of Hispanics so term it, as do 51.6% of African Americans. 34.7% of non-Hispanic Whites consider the threat serious. Skepticism of global warming is lowest among Blacks (2.2%) and highest among non-Hispanic Whites (9.5%).
- 3) Females are likelier than males to consider global warming a serious threat (40.7% vs. 35.3%). Males are likelier than females to be global warming skeptics (11.9% vs. 5.3%).
- 4) 54.4% of Democrats consider global warming a serious threat, compared to 42.1% of Independents and 17.6% of Republicans. Conversely, 17.0% of Republicans disbelieve that warming is a problem, compared to 5.7% of independents, and 1.7% of Democrats.

### **Analysis**

While a hefty majority of respondents consider global warming a problem, only 38.2% consider the threat serious.

Among those who self-define as “very conservative”, only 16.0% consider global warming a major threat. But even among conservatives, 45.0% label it a problem of some sort – more than the 33.7% who consider global warming a fraud. 21.0% of are undecided on the issue – far more than the 8.4% of the general public expressing uncertainty. Skepticism is thus the conservative plurality position vis-à-vis government action. But acceptance is the conservative plurality position toward the existence of the problem. So if conservative leaders wish to influence the public on this issue, they’d do well to start with their own.

**Conclusion:** A 76.3% **liberal majority** considers global warming a genuine problem requiring government action; a narrow, 38.2% **liberal plurality** considers the problem a “serious threat” requiring “immediate government action.”

### **Issue XV: War on Terror (Survey Document Question #22)**

Which of the following statements is closest to your opinion on the “War on Terror”?

- i. Islamic terrorism is a major threat which requires the immediate attention of the government and all citizens.
- ii. Islamic terrorism is a threat, but it is not highly important compared to other challenges facing America today.
- iii. Islamic terrorism is a fake threat, used by some politicians to increase their power by scaring Americans.

**Degree of conservative consensus:** 88.6% of respondents who self-define as “very conservative” regard Islamic terrorism as a major threat (option i).

**Findings:** see charts, pages 43 & 56.

- 1) 59.6% of the general public considers Islamic terrorism a major threat. Only 3.4% of respondents consider the threat false.
- 2) 63.0% of non-Hispanic Whites, 53.8% of Hispanics, and 41.5% of African Americans term the threat “major.” By 50.6% to 41.5%, Blacks respondents preferred option ii -- “a threat, but not

highly important” – over option i -- “a major threat.” African Americans registered the highest level of skepticism (8.0%) regarding the reality of the threat (option iii).

3) More males than females consider Islamic terrorism a major threat (63.0%-vs-56.6%). Few men or women regard the existence of the threat skeptically (3.5% and 3.3% respectively).

4) The political parties diverge radically on this topic. 83.2% of Republicans consider Islamic terrorism a major threat, compared to 42.2% of Democrats. Skepticism of the existence of a threat is low among partisans of both parties, but almost non-existent among Republicans (5.4% among Democrats, 0.6% among Republicans). 53.0% of Independents consider Islamic terrorism a “major threat;” 4.0% consider it a “fake threat.”

### **Analysis**

The primary debate concerning Islamic terrorism centers not on its existence (96.5% agree), but on its importance. A clear majority of Americans consider it a major problem, requiring immediate attention. Roughly one third of the public regards Islamic terrorism a secondary problem. The conspiratorial view – that Islamic terror is a fake threat, a sinister diversion – has gained little popular purchase.

**Conclusion:** A 59.6% **conservative majority** regards Islamic terrorism as a major threat.

### **Issue XVI: The War in Iraq** (Survey Document Question #21)

Which of these statements about the war in Iraq is closest to your opinion?

- i. The war in Iraq is an evil war, promoted by lying politicians for corporate gain.
- ii. The war in Iraq is a mistake. We entered it for good motives, but our information about weapons of mass destruction proved incorrect.
- iii. The war in Iraq is a just war against dangerous tyrants and terrorists, but it has failed because it was badly planned and poorly executed.
- iv. The war in Iraq is a just war, and part of our overall war against terror. It is a war which America will win if we have the courage to persevere.

**Degree of conservative consensus:** 65.8% of respondents who self-define as “very conservative” consider the Iraq war just, winnable, and a part of the overall war against terror.

**Findings:** see charts, pages 42 & 56.

1) For a variety of reasons (options i, ii, and iii.), a 73.7% majority of the general public considers the war in Iraq a failure. 79.0% believe that the motives for going to war were proper (options ii, iii, and iv). 26.3% believe that America can, and should, win; 21.0% consider the war fundamentally evil.

2) Hispanics are slightly more skeptical of the war than average – 26.0% call it evil, 21.6% think we can, and should, win. But African Americans are by far the most skeptical. 38.9% of Blacks consider the war “evil”; only 6.6% believe we can, and should, win. Non-Hispanic whites alone among the three charted ethnicities give a majority, albeit slender (51.8%), to the two options that term the war “just” (options iii and iv).

3) The primary divide between male and female respondents on the war concerns the prospects for victory. 29.6% of men believe that we can, and should, win, compared to 23.5% of women. Slightly more women than men regard the war as evil (21.7%-vs-20.1%).

4) Huge differences are apparent in Democrat and Republican responses. 36.7% of Democrats consider the Iraq war evil, compared to 1.9% of Republicans; 55.1% of Republicans think America can, and should win, compared to 4.9% of Democrats. Independents are notably more hostile to the war effort than the general public. 18.6% of Independents believe American can, and should win, compared to 26.3% of the entire sample. A plurality of Independents – 34.0% -- consider the war a mistake, based on incorrect intelligence (option ii).

### **Analysis**

The nation is almost evenly divided between those who think the war should be won (47.5%) and those who think it was evil, or at best a mistake (52.5%). Opinion on the war is media driven. By no military criteria is the Multi-National Force, or the elected Iraqi government it fostered, losing in Iraq. The insurgency is numerically small, geographically confined, and ubiquitously unpopular among Iraqis. But it is a fact that nearly three-quarters of Americans believe that the war effort has failed.

**Conclusion:** A 73.7% **liberal majority** disbelieves that the war in Iraq is both just and winnable; however, 79.0% believe that the motives for launching it were moral.

### **Issue XVII: Illegal Aliens (Survey Document Question #32)**

Under an “amnesty” proposal, current residents of the United States who entered illegally could normalize their status without being punished for breaking U.S. immigration laws. In your opinion, immigrants currently in the country without legal authorization should be:

- i. Given amnesty, and recognized as U.S. citizens.
- ii. Given amnesty as guest workers, with an eventual path to citizenship.
- iii. Given amnesty, but only as temporary guest workers.
- iv. Sent back to the country they came from.
- v. Incarcerated as criminals.
- vi. I'm not sure.

**Degree of conservative consensus:** 50.7% of respondents who self-define as “very conservative” believe that illegal aliens should be either deported or incarcerated (options iv and v).

**Findings:** see charts, pages 48 & 61.

1) In settling the status of illegal aliens, the general public prefers the three amnesty proposals (options i, ii, and iii) over the two punitive proposals (options iv and v) by 61.0% to 33.5%, with 5.5% undecided. Among the three amnesty options (and among the six options overall), a “guest worker” program “with an eventual path to citizenship” is most popular, with 37.8% support. Deportation, one of the two punitive options, is the next most popular, with 32.1% support. Neither immediate U.S citizenship for illegals, nor incarceration, drew much support – 3.2% and 1.5% respectively.

2) Majorities of the three charted ethnicities supported amnesty: 79.9% of Hispanics, 63.4% of African Americans, and 59.1% of non-Hispanic Whites. A majority of Hispanics – 51.0% -- supported the guest worker/path to citizenship option. Latinos also registered the highest level of support for option i -- amnesty-with-citizenship (13.1%).

3) Men and women varied little on this issue, except in the percentages undecided: 7.1% of females, vs 3.6% of males. A majority of both genders supported the three amnesty options: men by 61.8%, women by 60.2%.

4) The three amnesty proposals are supported by all three charted political groups, but by differing percentages: 53.9% of Republicans; 61.1% of Independents; and 67.5% of Democrats. All three groups prefer the guest worker/path-to-citizenship option among the three amnesty proposals. But the plurality position among Republicans – the most popular among the six – is deportation (40.0%).

### **Analysis**

The public's support for border control, a conservative issue in its own right, is well documented (see: [pollingreport.com/immigration/htm](http://pollingreport.com/immigration/htm) for a good cross-sample of polling on border fences, employee penalties, identification cards, etc.) The AMF-VOS attempted to isolate opinion on the illegal aliens themselves. The AMF-VOS question explicitly labeled their act of entry "illegal," and explicitly labeled proposals to normalize their situation without punishment as "amnesty."

This was the sole "conservative signature issue" with majority support from the "very conservative" that did not also have majority support from all conservatives ("very conservative" plus "somewhat conservative" in question 16, pg 40) and majority support from all Republicans ("strong Republican" and "leans Republican" in question 12, pg 38). These two groups – all self-defined conservatives and all self-defined Republicans – favored the three amnesty proposals by 60.7% and 53.9% respectively. Even among the "very conservative", the amnesty proposals, explicitly so labeled, drew the support of 43.4% of respondents.

The consensus among conservatives for punishing resident illegal aliens with deportation or incarceration is slender. Only global warming polls more ambiguously.

**Conclusion:** A 61.0% **liberal majority** supports amnesty for illegal aliens in one of three forms: citizenship; a guest-worker program with a path to citizenship; or a guest worker program without a path to citizenship.

## **Section V – Law and Order**

The AMF-VOS posed two questions on law-and-order, long a conservative bastion. The first sought to measure public satisfaction/dissatisfaction with the outcomes (verdicts) of the criminal justice system. The second measured the relative strength of the polarities in the debate over guns: a regime of individual Second Amendment rights versus a regime of gun control.

### **Issue XVIII: Criminal Sentencing** (Survey Document Question #33)

Which of these statements is closest to your opinion on how American courts handle criminal cases?

- i. Too lenient on both major and minor crimes
- ii. Too tough on both major and minor crimes
- iii. Too tough on major crimes, too lenient on minor crimes
- iv. Too lenient on major crimes, too tough on minor crimes
- v. Too lenient on major crimes, just about right on minor crimes
- vi. Just about right on major crimes, too tough on minor crimes
- vii. Just about right on major crimes, too lenient on minor crimes

- viii. Too tough on major crimes, just about right on minor crimes
- ix. Just about right on both major and minor crimes

**Degree of conservative consensus:** Respondents who self-define as “very conservative” believe that American courts are too lenient in judging major crimes and minor crimes by 80.7% and 58.6% respectively.

**Findings:** see charts, pages 48 & 61.

- 1) A 70.6% majority of the general public believes that courts judge major crimes too leniently, versus 3.4% who consider major crime verdicts too tough. A 41.6% plurality of the general public believes that courts judge minor crimes too leniently, versus 35.3% who consider minor crime verdicts too tough.
- 2) All three charted ethnicities agree that courts are excessively lenient on major crime: 72.2% of non-Hispanic Whites, 65.3% of Hispanics, and 63.0% of Blacks share this view. However, African American respondents alone believe (by a plurality) that our courts are too harsh on minor crimes -- 48.6% “too tough” vs 30.7% “too lenient”.
- 3) Women are slightly more conservative than men on crime. 72.3% of females consider courts too lenient on major crime perpetrators, versus 68.8% of men; 42.3% of females consider courts too lenient on minor crime, versus 40.7% of men.
- 4) All three charted political groups agree that courts are excessively lenient on major crime: 77.2% of Republicans, 70.8% of Independents, and 65.4% of Democrats. A small plurality of Republicans and Independents believe that minor crimes are handled too leniently as well. A plurality of Democrat respondents consider the courts excessively harsh on minor crimes (42.3% to 33.4%).

### **Analysis**

A sizeable majority of AMF-VOS respondents think that our courts are lax in sentencing those convicted of major crimes. The dissatisfaction extends far beyond traditional conservative constituencies. Among those respondents who self-defined as “very liberal,” 58.1% considered major-crime sentences weak.

“Major crime” and “minor crime” are terms of art in law enforcement. But in a survey, each participant defines them to his own satisfaction. When an individual judges that sentences are “too lenient”, he is expressing dissatisfaction over the level of protection the criminal justice system affords against peril. When he describes sentences as “too harsh,” he is describing the criminal justice system as part of the peril he faces. In this context, the plurality of African American respondents who labeled minor crime sentencing “too tough” deserves further study.

**Conclusion:** A 70.6% **conservative majority** supports harsher punishment of major crime; a 41.6% **conservative plurality** supports harsher punishment of minor crime.

### **Issue XIX: Gun Rights (Survey Document Question #34)**

Which of these statements best reflects your attitude toward the personal ownership and use of firearms?

- i. The individual right to own and bear fire arms is an important part of the Constitution, and an important deterrent to crime.
- ii. The individual right to own and bear fire arms is out of date, and should be replaced by gun control measures to ensure public safety.

- iii. Neither view reflects my opinion.

**Degree of conservative consensus:** 74.3% of respondents who self-define as “very conservative” consider the individual right to own and bear arms a Constitutional guarantee, and a deterrent to crime (option i).

**Findings:** see charts, pages 49 & 62.

- 1) A 44.0% plurality of the general public supports an individual right to own and bear firearms; 33.1% believe that gun control should replace gun ownership.
- 2) Among the three charted ethnicities, non-Hispanic Whites are most supportive of the pro-gun position (46.2% for gun rights, compared to 31.1% for gun control). A plurality of Hispanics and Blacks prefer gun control to gun ownership: 42.0%-to-37.7% among Hispanics, 41.2%-to-33.2% among African Americans.
- 3) A majority of men prefer gun ownership to gun control, 52.2%-to-29.3%. A narrow plurality of women also prefer Second Amendment rights, 36.8%-to-36.5%.
- 4) Republican and Independent respondents supports option i over option ii, 62.1%-to-19.3% and 41.9%-to-31.5% respectively. Democrats favor gun control (option ii), 46.5%-to-28.6%.

### **Analysis**

The pro-gun plurality includes not only conservatives, Republicans, and independents, but minority men. Hispanics divide sharply by gender on the issue. Latinos are pro-gun, 47.3%-37.4%; Latinas are pro-gun-control, 45.2%-to-28.8%. African American men favor gun ownership over gun control 44.5%-to-34.4%. Black women prefer gun control, 45.1%-to-24.7%.

**Conclusion:** A 44.0% **conservative plurality** supports an individual’s right to own and bear arms.

Question 2: Which phrase best describes your gender, and your racial or ethnic heritage?

	General Public 10,952 surveyed		African Americans 3,292 surveyed		Hispanic & Latino 2,268 surveyed		Non-Hispanic White 5,205 surveyed	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
African American Male	501	4.6%	1347	40.9%				
African American Female	721	6.6%	1945	59.1%				
Non-Hispanic White Male	4024	36.7%					2462	47.3%
Non-Hispanic White Female	4634	42.3%					2743	52.7%
Hispanic or Latino Male	305	2.8%			1049	46.3%		
Hispanic or Latino Female	355	3.2%			1219	53.7%		
Other Male	262	2.4%						
Other Female	150	1.4%						
Total	10952	100.0%	3292	100.0%	2268	100.0%	5205	100.0%

Question 3: How old are you?

	General Public 10,952 surveyed		African Americans 3,292 surveyed		Hispanic & Latino 2,268 surveyed		Non-Hispanic White 5,205 surveyed	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
18-24 years old	87	0.8%	83	2.5%	88	3.9%	17	0.3%
25-34 years old	988	9.1%	557	17.1%	585	25.9%	334	6.5%
35-44 years old	1775	16.3%	883	27.1%	698	30.9%	691	13.4%
45-54 years old	3368	31.0%	1028	31.5%	552	24.4%	1628	31.5%
55-64 years old	3315	30.5%	611	18.7%	262	11.6%	1744	33.7%
65-74 years old	1334	12.3%	103	3.2%	72	3.2%	750	14.5%
75 years or older	11	0.1%	1	0.0%	1	0.0%	6	0.1%
Total	10878	100.0%	3267	100.0%	2258	100.0%	5170	100.0%

Question 4: What income range best describes your yearly household income. ("Yearly household income" is the sum of what everyone living with you earns in a year).

	General Public 10,952 surveyed		African Americans 3,292 surveyed		Hispanic & Latino 2,268 surveyed		Non-Hispanic White 5,205 surveyed	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Less than \$15,000	351	3.2%	157	4.8%	105	4.7%	140	2.7%
At least \$15,000, less than \$25,000	602	5.6%	210	6.4%	176	7.9%	274	5.3%
At least \$25,000, less than \$35,000	865	8.0%	283	8.7%	275	12.3%	394	7.7%
At least \$35,000, less than \$45,000	979	9.1%	338	10.4%	255	11.4%	452	8.8%
At least \$45,000, less than \$60,000	1490	13.8%	481	14.8%	347	15.5%	704	13.7%
At least \$60,000, less than \$75,000	1380	12.8%	372	11.4%	303	13.6%	670	13.0%
At least \$75,000, less than \$100,000	2350	21.7%	667	20.5%	367	16.5%	1144	22.2%
At least \$100,000, less than \$175,000	2202	20.4%	620	19.0%	319	14.3%	1072	20.8%
At least \$175,000, less than \$250,000	399	3.7%	87	2.7%	50	2.2%	197	3.8%
At Least \$250,000	197	1.8%	42	1.3%	34	1.5%	94	1.8%
Total	10818	100.0%	3258	100.0%	2230	100.0%	5142	100.0%

Question 5: Which statement best describes your marital status?

	General Public 10,952 surveyed		African Americans 3,292 surveyed		Hispanic & Latino 2,268 surveyed		Non-Hispanic White 5,205 surveyed	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Currently married to first and only spouse	5371	49.5%	1247	38.3%	1067	47.4%	2648	51.3%
Previously married, now remarried	2011	18.5%	470	14.4%	369	16.4%	1005	19.5%
Single, never married	1502	13.8%	908	27.9%	478	21.2%	568	11.0%
Previously married, now divorced	1519	14.0%	542	16.6%	296	13.1%	706	13.7%
Previously married, now widow or widower	454	4.2%	91	2.8%	42	1.9%	234	4.5%
Total	10857	100.0%	3257	100.0%	2252	100.0%	5161	100.0%

Question 6: Many Americans own a portfolio of mutual funds, stocks or bonds. Do you have any of the following assets (you can check more than one):

	General Public 10,952 surveyed		African Americans 3,292 surveyed		Hispanic & Latino 2,268 surveyed		Non-Hispanic White 5,205 surveyed	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
401(k) retirement fund	5213	47.6%	1593	48.4%	949	41.9%	2485	47.7%
403(b) retirement fund	1010	9.2%	323	9.8%	179	7.9%	479	9.2%
Federal Thrift Savings Plan (TSP)	447	4.1%	219	6.7%	102	4.5%	191	3.7%
IRA (Individual Retirement Account)	4380	40.0%	748	22.7%	546	24.1%	2260	43.4%
Roth IRA (Roth Individual Retirement Account)	1874	17.1%	337	10.2%	251	11.1%	945	18.1%
Health Savings Account	905	8.3%	282	8.6%	190	8.4%	430	8.3%
Educational Savings Account	768	7.0%	248	7.5%	176	7.8%	335	6.4%
Individual brokerage account	3214	29.3%	521	15.8%	340	15.0%	1679	32.2%
I do not own any of the above	2463	22.5%	947	28.8%	861	38.0%	1063	20.4%
Other	599	5.5%	165	5.0%	99	4.4%	303	5.8%

Question 7: What range best describes the total value of your portfolio of mutual funds, stocks and bonds?

	General Public 10,952 surveyed		African Americans 3,292 surveyed		Hispanic & Latino 2,268 surveyed		Non-Hispanic White 5,205 surveyed	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Less than \$15,000	1510	13.9%	716	21.9%	441	19.6%	642	12.5%
At least \$15,000, less than \$25,000	707	6.5%	291	8.9%	171	7.6%	307	6.0%
At least \$25,000, less than \$50,000	831	7.7%	297	9.1%	175	7.8%	385	7.5%
At least \$50,000, less than \$75,000	720	6.6%	250	7.7%	142	6.3%	337	6.5%
At least \$75,000, less than \$100,000	656	6.1%	179	5.5%	103	4.6%	324	6.3%
At least \$100,000, less than \$175,000	1079	10.0%	177	5.4%	114	5.1%	565	11.0%
At least \$175,000, less than \$250,000	668	6.2%	119	3.6%	79	3.5%	340	6.6%
At least \$250,000, less than \$500,000	1039	9.6%	148	4.5%	68	3.0%	554	10.7%
At least \$500,000	1047	9.7%	79	2.4%	106	4.7%	577	11.2%
I own no stocks, bonds or mutual funds	2579	23.8%	1005	30.8%	850	37.8%	1124	21.8%
Total	1836	100.0%	3262	100.0%	2250	100.0%	5153	100.0%

Question 8: How many dependent children live in your household?

	General Public 10,952 surveyed		African Americans 3,292 surveyed		Hispanic & Latino 2,268 surveyed		Non-Hispanic White 5,205 surveyed	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
None	7342	67.1%	1642	50.2%	995	44.0%	3721	71.8%
One	1465	13.4%	700	21.4%	441	19.5%	606	11.7%
Two	1409	12.9%	580	17.7%	485	21.5%	598	11.5%
Three	465	4.3%	222	6.8%	213	9.4%	184	3.5%
Four	134	1.2%	81	2.5%	72	3.2%	47	0.9%
Five	36	0.3%	22	0.7%	26	1.1%	12	0.2%
Six	20	0.2%	15	0.5%	19	0.8%	6	0.1%
Other	63	0.6%	11	0.3%	9	0.4%	6	0.1%
Total	10934	100.0%	3273	100.0%	2258	100.0%	5179	100.0%

Question 9: What best describes the place where you live:

	General Public 10,952 surveyed		African Americans 3,292 surveyed		Hispanic & Latino 2,268 surveyed		Non-Hispanic White 5,205 surveyed	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Urban (city with a population greater than 300,000)	1881	17.2%	1153	35.0%	803	35.4%	673	12.9%
Medium City (population 50,000 to 300,000)	1666	15.2%	545	16.5%	441	19.5%	767	14.7%
Suburban (adjoining an Urban or Medium city)	4115	37.6%	1170	35.6%	637	28.1%	2008	38.6%
Small Town (fewer than 50,000, not next to an Urban or Medium City)	1695	15.5%	255	7.8%	204	9.0%	898	17.3%
Rural area	1573	14.4%	165	5.0%	179	7.9%	850	16.3%
Other	20	0.2%	3	0.1%	4	0.2%	9	0.2%
Total	10950	100.0%	3292	100.0%	2268	100.0%	5205	100.0%

Question 10: Check the characteristics below that apply to your household (You can check more than one):

	General Public 10,952 surveyed		African Americans 3,292 surveyed		Hispanic & Latino 2,268 surveyed		Non-Hispanic White 5,205 surveyed	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
My household includes one or more union members	1897	17.3%	773	23.5%	475	20.9%	839	16.1%
My household includes one or more local, state, or federal government employees	1676	15.3%	739	22.5%	338	14.9%	752	14.5%
My household includes one or more active duty members of the U.S. armed forces	210	1.9%	76	2.3%	61	2.7%	58	1.1%
My household includes one or more veterans of the U.S. armed forces	2644	24.1%	647	19.7%	374	16.5%	1334	25.6%
None of the above statements apply to my household	5849	53.4%	1577	47.9%	1278	56.3%	2801	53.8%

Question 11: What best describes how often you vote?

	General Public 10,952 surveyed		African Americans 3,292 surveyed		Hispanic & Latino 2,268 surveyed		Non-Hispanic White 5,205 surveyed	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
I vote at least once a year	7784	71.1%	2391	72.6%	1470	64.8%	3719	71.4%
I vote at least once every two years	2212	20.2%	570	17.3%	420	18.5%	1077	20.7%
I vote at least once every four years	956	8.7%	332	10.1%	377	16.6%	409	7.9%
Total	10952	100.0%	3292	100.0%	2268	100.0%	5205	100.0%

Question 12: Which phrase best describes your political party preference?

	General Public 10,952 surveyed		African Americans 3,292 surveyed		Hispanic & Latino 2,268 surveyed		Non-Hispanic White 5,205 surveyed	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
I am a strong Democrat	1878	17.1%	1452	44.1%	550	24.2%	673	12.9%
I generally lean Democrat	2632	24.0%	1172	35.6%	648	28.6%	1141	21.9%
I am a strong Republican	1530	14.0%	87	2.6%	267	11.8%	822	15.8%
I generally lean Republican	2492	22.8%	136	4.1%	354	15.6%	1366	26.2%
I prefer another political party	98	0.9%	20	0.6%	31	1.3%	49	0.9%
I am a political independent	2322	21.2%	425	12.9%	418	18.4%	1154	22.2%
Total	10952	100.0%	3292	100.0%	2268	100.0%	5205	100.0%

Question 13: In my last vote for President of the United States, I cast my ballot for a:

	General Public 10,952 surveyed		African Americans 3,292 surveyed		Hispanic & Latino 2,268 surveyed		Non-Hispanic White 5,205 surveyed	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Democrat	5244	49.2%	2779	87.0%	1207	57.7%	2200	43.2%
Republican	5021	47.1%	343	10.7%	817	39.1%	2703	53.1%
Other	385	3.6%	71	2.2%	67	3.2%	186	3.7%
Total	10650	100.0%	3193	100.0%	2091	100.0%	5090	100.0%

Question 14: In my last vote for U.S. Senate, I cast my ballot for a:

	General Public 10,952 surveyed		African Americans 3,292 surveyed		Hispanic & Latino 2,268 surveyed		Non-Hispanic White 5,205 surveyed	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Republican	4391	42.4%	337	10.8%	760	37.6%	2344	47.4%
Democrat	5596	54.0%	2714	86.8%	1196	59.1%	2426	49.0%
Other	369	3.6%	76	2.4%	68	3.4%	178	3.6%
Total	10356	100.0%	3127	100.0%	2024	100.0%	4948	100.0%

Question 15: In my last vote for U.S. Congress, I cast my ballot for a:

	General Public 10,952 surveyed		African Americans 3,292 surveyed		Hispanic & Latino 2,268 surveyed		Non-Hispanic White 5,205 surveyed	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Republican	4331	41.8%	305	9.8%	748	37.1%	2321	46.9%
Democrat	5622	54.3%	2712	86.9%	1182	58.7%	2441	49.3%
Other	505	3.9%	104	3.3%	84	4.2%	188	3.8%
Total	10357	100.0%	3121	100.0%	2014	100.0%	4949	100.0%

Question 16: Ideology -- I would describe myself as:

	General Public 10,952 surveyed		African Americans 3,292 surveyed		Hispanic & Latino 2,268 surveyed		Non-Hispanic White 5,205 surveyed	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Very conservative	1138	10.4%	242	7.4%	221	9.8%	568	10.9%
Somewhat conservative	2792	25.5%	693	21.0%	486	21.4%	1389	26.7%
Moderate	4045	36.9%	1327	40.3%	824	36.3%	1884	36.2%
Somewhat liberal	1929	17.6%	624	18.9%	429	18.9%	901	17.3%
Very liberal	749	6.8%	239	7.3%	215	9.5%	343	6.6%
None of the above	299	2.7%	167	5.1%	93	4.1%	119	2.3%
Total	10952	100.0%	3292	100.0%	2268	100.0%	5205	100.0%

Question 17: Religion 1 -- I would describe myself as:

	General Public 10,952 surveyed		African Americans 3,292 surveyed		Hispanic & Latino 2,268 surveyed		Non-Hispanic White 5,205 surveyed	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Deeply religious	2543	23.2%	1173	35.6%	501	22.2%	1137	21.8%
Somewhat religious	4755	43.4%	1487	45.2%	1032	45.7%	2242	43.1%
Not very religious	1845	16.8%	321	9.8%	382	16.9%	925	17.8%
Secular, not religious	399	8.2%	151	4.6%	129	5.7%	462	8.9%
A believer in nature	673	6.1%	86	2.6%	168	7.4%	332	6.4%
Other	236	2.2%	73	2.2%	48	2.1%	107	2.1%
Total	10951	100.0%	3292	100.0%	2260	100.0%	5205	100.0%

Question 18: Religion 2 -- My religious belief is best described as:

	General Public 10,952 surveyed		African Americans 3,292 surveyed		Hispanic & Latino 2,268 surveyed		Non-Hispanic White 5,205 surveyed	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Catholic	2772	25.5%	290	8.9%	1232	54.5%	1340	25.9%
Protestant Christian	3502	32.2%	957	29.2%	199	8.8%	1796	34.7%
Evangelical Christian	781	7.2%	256	7.8%	203	9.0%	364	7.0%
Other Christian	1405	12.9%	1044	31.8%	278	12.3%	531	10.3%
Islam	21	0.2%	20	0.6%	6	0.3%	1	0.0%
Judaism	575	5.3%	6	0.2%	32	1.4%	332	6.4%
Atheism	309	2.8%	31	1.0%	53	2.3%	160	3.1%
Other	1525	14.0%	676	20.6%	256	11.3%	654	12.6%
Total	10890	100.0%	3281	100.0%	2259	100.0%	5177	100.0%

Question 19: I attend religious services:

	General Public 10,952 surveyed		African Americans 3,292 surveyed		Hispanic & Latino 2,268 surveyed		Non-Hispanic White 5,205 surveyed	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Never	1570	14.4%	221	6.7%	287	12.7%	797	15.4%
Very seldom	3645	33.4%	1064	32.4%	725	32.1%	1752	33.8%
Mostly on major religious holidays	1104	10.1%	164	5.0%	310	13.7%	533	10.3%
Once a month	415	3.8%	159	4.8%	119	5.3%	188	3.6%
Twice a month	628	5.8%	264	8.1%	150	6.6%	284	5.5%
Once a week	2573	23.6%	840	25.6%	485	21.4%	1226	23.6%
More than once a week	970	8.9%	569	17.3%	187	8.2%	408	7.9%
Total	10905	100.0%	3280	100.0%	2263	100.0%	5187	100.0%

Question 20: Which statement best describes your attitude toward life after death?

	General Public 10,952 surveyed		African Americans 3,292 surveyed		Hispanic & Latino 2,268 surveyed		Non-Hispanic White 5,205 surveyed	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
I believe strongly in an afterlife in which people will be rewarded and punished for what they have done on earth	4679	43.0%	1863	57.0%	1089	48.2%	2122	41.0%
Life after death is a fiction that people invented to comfort themselves	832	7.6%	108	3.3%	161	7.1%	430	8.3%
I believe in an afterlife, but am uncertain about its nature	3631	33.4%	843	25.8%	668	29.5%	1775	34.3%
I have no fixed opinion on this subject	1738	16.0%	453	13.9%	343	15.2%	846	16.4%
Total	10880	100.0%	3268	100.0%	2260	100.0%	5174	100.0%

Question 21: Which of these statements about the war in Iraq is closest to your opinion?

	General Public 10,952 surveyed		African Americans 3,292 surveyed		Hispanic & Latino 2,268 surveyed		Non-Hispanic White 5,205 surveyed	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
The war in Iraq is an evil war, promoted by lying politicians for corporate gain.	2285	21.0%	1268	38.9%	586	26.0%	919	17.7%
The war in Iraq is a mistake. We entered it for good motives, but our information about weapons of mass destruction proved incorrect.	3425	31.5%	1314	40.3%	667	29.6%	1573	30.4%
The war in Iraq was a just war against dangerous tyrants and terrorists, but it has failed because it was badly planned and poorly executed.	2309	21.2%	464	14.2%	516	22.9%	1146	22.1%
The war in Iraq is a just war, and part of our overall war against terror. It is a war which America will win if we have the courage to persevere.	2867	26.3%	216	6.6%	487	21.6%	1541	29.7%
Total	10886	100.0%	3262	100.0%	2256	100.0%	5179	100.0%

Question 22: Which of the following statements is closest to your opinion on the “War on Terror”?

	General Public 10,952 surveyed		African Americans 3,292 surveyed		Hispanic & Latino 2,268 surveyed		Non-Hispanic White 5,205 surveyed	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Islamic terrorism is a major threat which requires the immediate attention of the government and all citizens.	6476	59.6%	1345	41.5%	1210	53.8%	3261	63.0%
Islamic terrorism is a threat, but it is not highly important compared to other challenges facing America today.	4025	37.0%	1639	50.6%	882	39.3%	1794	34.7%
Islamic terrorism is a fake threat, used by some politicians to increase their power by scaring Americans.	368	3.4%	259	8.0%	155	6.9%	121	2.3%
Total	10869	100.0%	3243	100.0%	2247	100.0%	5177	100.0%

Question 23: Which of these statements about “global warming” is closest to your opinion?

	General Public 10,952 surveyed		African Americans 3,292 surveyed		Hispanic & Latino 2,268 surveyed		Non-Hispanic White 5,205 surveyed	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Global warming is a serious threat to our security requiring immediate government attention and serious commitment by all citizens.	4155	38.2%	1681	51.6%	1240	54.8%	1795	34.7%
Global warming is a moderate problem, requiring steady, non-extreme policy changes.	4153	38.1%	1031	31.6%	656	29.0%	2068	39.9%
Global warming is a fake problem, engineered by scientists and politicians who want more of our money.	910	8.4%	72	2.2%	132	5.9%	493	9.5%
I am not sure whether global warming is, or is not, a serious problem.	1668	15.3%	475	14.6%	232	10.3%	823	15.9%
Total	10886	100.0%	3258	100.0%	2260	100.0%	5180	100.0%

Question 24: Which of these statements is closest to your opinion about the overall revenues and taxes of the federal government?

	General Public 10,952 surveyed		African Americans 3,292 surveyed		Hispanic & Latino 2,268 surveyed		Non-Hispanic White 5,205 surveyed	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Our federal government collects more than enough revenue to provide basic services; therefore, overall taxes should be reduced.	6913	63.5%	2307	70.8%	1482	65.8%	3222	62.2%
Our federal government does not collect enough revenue to provide basic services; therefore, overall taxes should be increased.	720	6.6%	204	6.3%	215	9.5%	332	6.4%
Our federal government collects the right amount of revenue to provide basic services; therefore, overall taxes should remain roughly where they are now.	3253	29.9%	747	22.9%	555	24.7%	1627	31.4%
Total	10886	100.0%	3258	100.0%	2251	100.0%	5182	100.0%

Question 25: Which of these statements is closest to your opinion about the overall revenues and taxes of your local governments?

	General Public 10,952 surveyed		African Americans 3,292 surveyed		Hispanic & Latino 2,268 surveyed		Non-Hispanic White 5,205 surveyed	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Our local governments collect more than enough revenue to provide basic services; therefore, local taxes should be reduced.	6383	58.6%	2119	64.8%	1411	62.6%	2963	57.1%
Our local governments do not collect enough revenue to provide basic services; therefore, local taxes should be increased.	837	7.7%	246	7.5%	228	10.1%	381	7.4%
Our local governments collect the right amount of taxes to provide basic services; therefore, local taxes should remain roughly where they are now.	3680	33.8%	903	27.6%	613	27.2%	1845	35.6%
Total	10900	100.0%	3267	100.0%	2252	100.0%	5189	100.0%

**Question 26: In recent years, some states have legalized same-sex marriage, while others have passed amendments defining marriage as the traditional union of one man and one woman. Which of these statements is closest to your opinion?**

	General Public 10,952 surveyed		African Americans 3,292 surveyed		Hispanic & Latino 2,268 surveyed		Non-Hispanic White 5,205 surveyed	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Marriage should remain a legal contract between one man and one woman. Same-sex couples should not have all the legal rights of married couples regarding adoption, tax deductions, and spousal benefits from health care and retirement plans.	4306	39.5%	1569	47.9%	855	37.8%	2008	38.7%
Marriage should remain a legal contract between one man and one woman. However, same sex couples should have the same rights as married couples regarding adoption, tax deductions, and spousal benefits from health care and retirement plans.	2656	24.4%	712	21.8%	524	23.2%	1291	24.9%
Same sex couples should be allowed to marry, with the same rights as male-female couples.	3006	27.6%	610	18.6%	685	30.3%	1465	28.2%
I have no strong opinion on this subject	936	8.6%	381	11.6%	196	8.7%	424	8.2%
Total	10904	100.0%	3273	100.0%	2260	100.0%	5187	100.0%

**Question 27: Policy makers debate whether teenagers should be taught sexual restraint, or whether they should be provided with detailed information on which to base their sexual choices. Which of these statements is closest to your opinion on this matter?**

	General Public 10,952 surveyed		African Americans 3,292 surveyed		Hispanic & Latino 2,268 surveyed		Non-Hispanic White 5,205 surveyed	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Teaching sexual abstinence prior to marriage should be the central focus of sex education at school.	3167	29.1%	1155	35.3%	700	31.0%	1449	28.0%
Teaching sexual abstinence until marriage is the job of parents; schools should not teach about sex at all.	1485	13.6%	501	15.3%	335	14.8%	688	13.3%
Sexual experimentation is natural, and schools should provide teens with information on birth control.	3946	36.2%	985	30.2%	786	34.9%	1993	37.3%
Sexual experimentation is natural, but parents, not schools, should provide teens with information about sex.	2288	21.0%	626	19.2%	435	19.3%	1110	21.4%
Total	10886	100.0%	3266	100.0%	2255	100.0%	5179	100.0%

Question 28: Which of these statements is closest to your opinion on abortion?

28	General Public 10,952 surveyed		African Americans 3,292 surveyed		Hispanic & Latino 2,268 surveyed		Non-Hispanic White 5,205 surveyed	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Abortion should be illegal in all cases, because the unborn child is a human being and should be protected under law.	1254	11.5%	426	13.1%	394	17.5%	565	10.9%
Abortion is nobody's business except that of the pregnant woman and her doctor.	4731	43.4%	1527	46.8%	825	36.7%	2254	43.5%
Abortion should be allowed in only one situation: when the pregnancy threatens the life of the mother.	813	7.5%	204	6.2%	189	8.4%	390	7.5%
Abortion should be allowed in only three cases: to save the life of the mother, to terminate a pregnancy caused by rape, and to terminate a pregnancy caused by incest.	2542	23.3%	740	22.7%	556	24.7%	1212	23.4%
Abortion should not be restricted until the last 3 months of a pregnancy.	1024	9.4%	230	7.1%	174	7.7%	512	9.9%
Abortion should be legal at all times, because the fetus is not a human being and should not be protected under law.	527	4.8%	136	4.2%	113	5.0%	253	4.9%
Total	10891	100.0%	3263	100.0%	2251	100.0%	5184	100.0%

Question 29: Today, scientists are attempting to find cures for diseases by experimenting with human cells at a very early stage of development. Some of these experiments destroy human embryos to harvest stem cells. Other experiments, using stem cells taken from adults, do not destroy human embryos. Which of these statements is closest to your opinion on stem cell research?

	General Public 10,952 surveyed		African Americans 3,292 surveyed		Hispanic & Latino 2,268 surveyed		Non-Hispanic White 5,205 surveyed	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Stem cell research which destroys human embryos should be forbidden, but other forms of stem cell research should be allowed.	3695	33.9%	924	28.3%	773	34.4%	1811	34.9%
All stem cell research should be allowed because of the potential medical good that may result.	5113	47.0%	1215	37.3%	919	40.9%	2510	48.4%
All stem cell research should be forbidden because human science should not play God with unformed human cells.	324	3.0%	224	6.9%	132	5.9%	119	2.3%
I am not well enough informed to have a definite opinion on this issue.	1758	16.1%	898	27.5%	425	18.9%	745	14.4%
Total	10890	100.0%	3262	100.0%	2249	100.0%	5185	100.0%

Question 30: The Bible teaches that creation, including the creation of man, was a divine act. Charles Darwin taught that creatures, including man, could evolve to their current state by natural processes, without divine intervention. How these concepts should be presented to children has been fiercely debated. Which of these statements is closest to your opinion on the teaching of human origins:

	General Public 10,952 surveyed		African Americans 3,292 surveyed		Hispanic & Latino 2,268 surveyed		Non-Hispanic White 5,205 surveyed	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Schools should teach solely that human origins are the result of Darwinian evolution.	1891	17.4%	253	7.8%	357	15.9%	966	18.6%
Schools should teach solely that human origins are the act of a Creator God.	1416	13.0%	779	23.9%	369	16.4%	588	11.3%
Schools should present the evidence for both theories, and let the children decide for themselves.	6452	59.3%	1766	54.2%	1262	56.1%	3120	60.2%
Schools should teach neither theory, in order not to offend the values of parents and taxpayers.	1125	10.3%	460	14.1%	260	11.6%	508	9.8%
Total	10884	100.0%	3259	100.0%	2249	100.0%	5181	100.0%

Question 31: How important an issue is immigration reform? (Immigration reform"" includes border security", illegal immigration levels, legal immigration levels," and the status of resident non-citizens.)

	General Public 10,952 surveyed		African Americans 3,292 surveyed		Hispanic & Latino 2,268 surveyed		Non-Hispanic White 5,205 surveyed	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
The most important issue facing America	1638	15.1%	409	12.6%	356	15.8%	791	15.3%
Highly important	6903	63.4%	1901	58.3%	1219	54.0%	3362	64.9%
Somewhat important	2030	18.7%	802	24.6%	549	24.3%	900	17.4%
Not very important	310	2.8%	146	4.5%	133	5.9%	123	2.4%
Total	10881	100.0%	3257	100.0%	2257	100.0%	5178	100.0%

Question 32: Under an “amnesty” proposal, current residents of the United States who entered illegally could normalize their status without being punished for breaking U.S. immigration laws. In your opinion, immigrants currently in the country without legal authorization should be:

	General Public 10,952 surveyed		African Americans 3,292 surveyed		Hispanic & Latino 2,268 surveyed		Non-Hispanic White 5,205 surveyed	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Given amnesty, and recognized as U.S. citizens.	350	3.2%	215	6.6%	296	13.1%	101	1.9%
Given amnesty as guest workers, with an eventual path to citizenship.	4120	37.8%	1259	38.6%	1150	51.0%	1904	36.7%
Given amnesty, but only as temporary guest workers.	2177	20.0%	594	18.2%	356	15.8%	1064	20.5%
Sent back to the country they came from.	3497	32.1%	769	23.6%	309	13.7%	1803	34.7%
Incarcerated as criminals.	167	1.5%	34	1.0%	27	1.2%	88	1.7%
I'm not sure.	597	5.5%	393	12.0%	117	5.2%	233	4.5%
Total	10908	100.0%	3263	100.0%	2255	100.0%	5193	100.0%

Question 33: Which of these statements is closest to your opinion on how American courts handle criminal cases?

	General Public 10,952 surveyed		African Americans 3,292 surveyed		Hispanic & Latino 2,268 surveyed		Non-Hispanic White 5,205 surveyed	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Too lenient on both major and minor crimes	3925	36.1%	795	24.5%	739	32.9%	1961	37.9%
Too tough on both major and minor crimes	178	1.6%	149	4.6%	91	4.1%	51	1.0%
Too tough on major crimes, too lenient on minor crimes	150	1.4%	82	2.5%	80	3.6%	52	1.0%
Too lenient on major crimes, too tough on minor crimes	2702	24.8%	1043	32.1%	560	25.0%	1245	24.0%
Too lenient on major crimes, just about right on minor crimes	1056	9.7%	209	6.4%	167	7.4%	533	10.3%
Just about right on major crimes, too tough on minor crimes	972	8.9%	387	11.9%	178	7.9%	441	8.5%
Just about right on major crimes, too lenient on minor crimes	447	4.1%	120	3.7%	78	3.5%	217	4.2%
Too tough on major crimes, just about right on minor crimes	43	0.4%	26	0.8%	24	1.1%	16	0.3%
Just about right on both major and minor crimes	1403	12.9%	439	13.5%	325	14.5%	662	12.8%
Total	10876	100.0%	3250	100.0%	2242	100.0%	5178	100.0%

Question 34: Which of these statements best reflects your attitude toward the personal ownership and use of firearms?

	General Public 10,952 surveyed		African Americans 3,292 surveyed		Hispanic & Latino 2,268 surveyed		Non-Hispanic White 5,205 surveyed	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
The individual right to own and bear fire arms is an important part of the Constitution, and an important deterrent to crime.	4783	44.0%	1080	33.2%	847	37.7%	2392	46.2%
The individual right to own and bear fire arms is out of date, and should be replaced by gun control measures to ensure public safety.	3603	33.1%	1340	41.2%	942	42.0%	1609	31.1%
Neither view reflects my opinion.	2490	22.9%	836	25.7%	456	20.3%	1178	22.7%
Total	10876	100.0%	3256	100.0%	2246	100.0%	5179	100.0%

Question 35: Which of the following statements is closest to your opinion on the correct role of our courts in religious and moral matters?

	General Public 10,952 surveyed		African Americans 3,292 surveyed		Hispanic & Latino 2,268 surveyed		Non-Hispanic White 5,205 surveyed	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Activist judges have gone too far in moral and religious matters, banning prayer from schools, overturning legislated bans on gay marriage, and removing the Ten Commandments from public buildings.	7318	67.4%	2011	62.0%	1316	58.6%	3575	69.1%
Our courts have acted appropriately in banning religious displays and practices from the public sphere, ensuring the separation of Church and State.	2401	22.1%	640	19.7%	549	24.5%	1139	22.0%
I don't know enough about this to have an informed opinion.	1146	10.5%	591	18.2%	380	16.9%	461	8.9%
Total	10865	100.0%	3242	100.0%	2245	100.0%	5175	100.0%

Question 36: Which of the following statements is closest to your opinion on the correct role of our courts in fiscal matters?

	General Public 10,952 surveyed		African Americans 3,292 surveyed		Hispanic & Latino 2,268 surveyed		Non-Hispanic White 5,205 surveyed	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Taxing and spending are the responsibility of officials whom we elect, not judges. Courts have no business raising taxes.	6140	56.5%	1308	40.2%	1040	46.3%	3082	59.6%
Courts have acted appropriately in forcing legislatures to spend more money on public purposes like education when they refused to do so on their own.	2030	18.7%	973	29.9%	515	23.0%	860	16.6%
I don't know enough about this to have an informed opinion.	2693	24.8%	969	29.8%	689	30.7%	1229	23.8%
Total	10863	100.0%	3249	100.0%	2245	100.0%	5171	100.0%

Question 37: Instead of sending their children to an assigned public school, "school choice" proposals enable parents to choose schools, and to compel public officials to help fund that choice. Which of these statements about "school choice" is closest to your opinion?

	General Public 10,952 surveyed		African Americans 3,292 surveyed		Hispanic & Latino 2,268 surveyed		Non-Hispanic White 5,205 surveyed	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Parents should be allowed to choose their children's schools, whether public or private, and this choice should include religious schools, if the parents prefer these.	6124	57.1%	2125	65.3%	1483	65.9%	2863	55.3%
Parents should be allowed to choose their children's schools, whether public or private, but this choice should not include religious schools.	616	5.7%	209	6.4%	158	7.0%	278	5.4%
Parents should be allowed to choose the public school their child attends, but not private schools of any kind.	1056	9.7%	248	7.6%	178	7.9%	519	10.0%
Parents should not be allowed to choose the schools their children attend; all available tax resources should be spent on improving local public schools, not on school choice schemes.	2993	27.5%	674	20.7%	431	19.1%	1521	29.3%
Total	10879	100.0%	3256	100.0%	2250	100.0%	5181	100.0%

**Question 38: Affirmative action programs guarantee minimal percentages of government benefits to certain groups in order to compensate the members of these groups for historic wrongs. Which of these statements is closest to your opinion about affirmative action programs?**

	General Public 10,952 surveyed		African Americans 3,292 surveyed		Hispanic & Latino 2,268 surveyed		Non-Hispanic White 5,205 surveyed	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Government should continue to use quotas to compensate minority communities for historic injustices by giving them a guaranteed share in public contracts and college admissions.	1330	12.2%	1784	54.7%	557	24.8%	274	5.3%
Affirmative action programs were justified at one time in our history, but have outlived their usefulness.	2944	27.4%	249	7.6%	524	23.4%	1575	30.4%
Government should be color-blind, and should never use affirmative action quotas to give an advantage to individuals of any group.	3771	34.7%	265	8.1%	506	22.5%	2040	39.4%
I have mixed feelings on affirmative action programs, and am unsure whether or not they should continue.	2804	25.8%	961	29.5%	659	29.3%	1294	25.0%
Total	10882	100.0%	3259	100.0%	2246	100.0%	5183	100.0%

**Question 39: Beyond Medicaid and Medicare, different plans have been offered to provide health care to the uninsured. Which of these statements is closest to your opinion on expanding government health care benefits beyond our current Medicaid and Medicare systems?**

	General Public 10,952 surveyed		African Americans 3,292 surveyed		Hispanic & Latino 2,268 surveyed		Non-Hispanic White 5,205 surveyed	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
The government can't afford Medicaid and Medicare as they are currently structured, so no more government benefits should be created.	1172	10.8%	217	6.7%	229	10.2%	585	11.3%
Government should give citizens an ongoing tax deduction so that they can buy their own health care plans to to their needs, and the needs of their families.	3420	31.5%	684	21.1%	624	27.8%	1717	33.1%
Government should subsidize health insurance, but only for those who can't afford health care for themselves.	2074	19.1%	687	21.2%	414	18.4%	975	18.8%
Government should provide universal health care for all citizens, regardless of cost, because it is a fundamental human right.	4208	38.7%	1655	51.0%	980	43.6%	1903	36.7%
Total	10874	100.0%	3242	100.0%	2246	100.0%	5179	100.0%

Question 40: Most experts agree that Social Security faces bankruptcy later this century unless changes are made. One suggestion is that workers should be allowed to divert part of their payroll tax into Personal Retirement Accounts, consisting of stocks and bonds in mutual funds. Which of these statements is closest to your opinion on Personal Retirement Accounts?

	General Public 10,952 surveyed		African Americans 3,292 surveyed		Hispanic & Latino 2,268 surveyed		Non-Hispanic White 5,205 surveyed	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
American workers should be allowed to invest part of their Social Security tax into Personal Retirement Accounts, so that they can accumulate their own nest egg for their retirement, regardless of what politicians do to Social Security.	5094	46.8%	1542	47.4%	1142	50.9%	2401	46.3%
Personal retirement accounts are a risky scheme that will undermine retirement security by taking money out of the Social Security system and investing it in Wall Street.	3389	31.2%	849	26.1%	529	23.6%	1683	32.5%
I don't know enough about Personal Retirement Accounts to have an informed opinion.	2395	22.0%	860	26.5%	574	25.6%	1096	21.2%
Total	10878	100.0%	3250	100.0%	2245	100.0%	5180	100.0%

Question 41: Which political party do you trust most to fight international terrorism?

	General Public 10,952 surveyed		African Americans 3,292 surveyed		Hispanic & Latino 2,268 surveyed		Non-Hispanic White 5,205 surveyed	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Democrats	2287	21.0%	1350	41.3%	712	31.5%	899	17.3%
Republicans	3600	33.0%	332	10.2%	613	27.1%	1915	36.9%
Neither	3687	33.8%	1086	33.2%	612	27.1%	1770	34.1%
Don't know	1324	12.1%	498	15.3%	323	14.3%	603	11.6%
Total	10898	100.0%	3266	100.0%	2260	100.0%	5186	100.0%

Question 42: Which political party do you trust most to restrain government spending?

	General Public 10,952 surveyed		African Americans 3,292 surveyed		Hispanic & Latino 2,268 surveyed		Non-Hispanic White 5,205 surveyed	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Democrats	3082	28.3%	1693	52.2%	896	39.9%	1263	24.4%
Republicans	2438	22.4%	221	6.8%	435	19.4%	1292	24.9%
Neither	4648	42.7%	1058	32.6%	691	30.8%	2322	44.8%
Don't know	709	6.5%	274	8.4%	221	9.9%	305	5.9%
Total	10877	100.0%	3246	100.0%	2242	100.0%	5181	100.0%

Question 43: Which political party do you trust most to keep taxes low?

	General Public 10,952 surveyed		African Americans 3,292 surveyed		Hispanic & Latino 2,268 surveyed		Non-Hispanic White 5,205 surveyed	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Democrats	2550	23.5%	1676	51.7%	847	37.7%	956	18.5%
Republicans	3321	30.7%	309	9.5%	529	23.5%	1772	34.4%
Neither	4259	39.3%	1021	31.5%	661	29.4%	2114	41.0%
Don't know	702	6.5%	236	7.3%	211	9.4%	315	6.1%
Total	10832	100.0%	3242	100.0%	2248	100.0%	5157	100.0%

Question 44: Which political party do you trust most to halt illegal immigration?

	General Public 10,952 surveyed		African Americans 3,292 surveyed		Hispanic & Latino 2,268 surveyed		Non-Hispanic White 5,205 surveyed	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Democrats	1920	17.7%	1043	32.1%	533	23.7%	782	15.1%
Republicans	2623	24.2%	559	17.2%	611	27.2%	1296	25.1%
Neither	4913	45.3%	1188	36.6%	761	33.9%	2443	47.3%
Don't know	1390	12.8%	455	14.0%	341	15.2%	643	12.4%
Total	10846	100.0%	3245	100.0%	2246	100.0%	5164	100.0%

Question 45: Which political party do you trust most to defend traditional marriage?

	General Public 10,952 surveyed		African Americans 3,292 surveyed		Hispanic & Latino 2,268 surveyed		Non-Hispanic White 5,205 surveyed	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Democrats	1343	12.4%	983	30.2%	438	19.5%	478	9.3%
Republicans	5428	50.2%	1060	32.6%	1047	46.6%	2737	53.3%
Neither	2831	26.2%	784	24.1%	457	20.3%	1373	26.7%
Don't know	1203	11.1%	423	13.0%	306	13.6%	548	10.7%
Total	10805	100.0%	3249	100.0%	2249	100.0%	5137	100.0%

Question 46: Which political party do you trust most to give parents the power to choose the schools their children attend?

	General Public 10,952 surveyed		African Americans 3,292 surveyed		Hispanic & Latino 2,268 surveyed		Non-Hispanic White 5,205 surveyed	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Democrats	2801	25.8%	1595	49.2%	864	38.5%	1117	21.6%
Republicans	2918	26.9%	444	13.7%	539	24.0%	1500	29.0%
Neither	3358	30.9%	767	23.7%	489	21.8%	1683	32.6%
Don't know	1773	16.3%	433	13.4%	352	15.7%	868	16.8%
Total	10850	100.0%	3239	100.0%	2244	100.0%	5168	100.0%

Question 47: Which political party do you trust most to protect the rights of unborn children?

	General Public 10,952 surveyed		African Americans 3,292 surveyed		Hispanic & Latino 2,268 surveyed		Non-Hispanic White 5,205 surveyed	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Democrats	1835	16.9%	1166	35.9%	566	25.2%	700	13.6%
Republicans	4388	40.4%	726	22.3%	833	37.0%	2248	43.5%
Neither	3147	29.0%	838	25.8%	518	23.0%	1536	29.7%
Don't know	1486	13.7%	520	16.0%	334	14.8%	681	13.2%
Total	10856	100.0%	3251	100.0%	2250	100.0%	5166	100.0%

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12. Which phrase best describes your political party preference?

	Men	Men	Women	Women	Dems	Dems	GOP	GOP	Indep	Indep	All	All
Democrat	1763	34.6%	2747	46.9%	4510	100.0%	4022	100.0%	2322	100.0%	4510	41.2%
Republican	2089	41.0%	1932	33.0%							4022	36.7%
Other Party	45	0.9%	53	0.9%							98	0.9%
Independent	1194	23.5%	1128	19.2%							2322	21.2%
<b>Total</b>	<b>5092</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>5860</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>4510</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>4022</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>2322</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>10952</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

13. In my last vote for President of the United States, I cast my ballot for a

	Men	Men	Women	Women	Dems	Dems	GOP	GOP	Indep	Indep	All	All
Democrat	2228	44.7%	3016	53.2%	4067	92.0%	129	3.3%	1018	46.8%	5244	49.2%
Republican	2569	51.5%	2452	43.3%	327	7.4%	3790	95.7%	878	40.4%	5021	47.1%
Other	189	3.8%	196	3.5%	29	0.7%	42	1.1%	278	12.8%	385	3.6%
<b>Total</b>	<b>4986</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>5664</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>4423</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>3961</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>2174</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>10650</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

14. In my last vote for U.S. Senate, I cast my ballot for a

	Men	Men	Women	Women	Dems	Dems	GOP	GOP	Indep	Indep	All	All
Republican	2308	47.2%	2083	38.1%	263	6.1%	3402	88.2%	698	33.7%	4391	42.4%
Democrat	2426	49.6%	3170	58.0%	4019	92.5%	408	10.6%	1142	55.1%	5596	54.0%
Other	157	3.2%	212	3.9%	61	1.4%	47	1.2%	232	11.2%	369	3.6%
<b>Total</b>	<b>4891</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>5465</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>4343</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>3857</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>2072</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>10356</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

15. In my last vote for U.S. Congress, I cast my ballot for a

	Men	Men	Women	Women	Dems	Dems	GOP	GOP	Indep	Indep	All	All
Republican	2271	46.3%	2060	37.8%	254	5.9%	3376	87.6%	678	32.5%	4331	41.8%
Democrat	2456	50.1%	3166	58.0%	4032	93.2%	423	11.0%	1139	54.5%	5622	54.3%
Other	175	3.6%	229	4.2%	41	0.9%	56	1.5%	271	13.0%	404	3.9%
<b>Total</b>	<b>4902</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>5455</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>4327</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>3855</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>2088</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>10357</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

21. Which of these statements about the war in Iraq is closest to your opinion?

	Men	Men	Women	Women	Dems	Dems	GOP	GOP	Indep	Indep	All	All
The war in Iraq is an evil war, promoted by lying politicians for corporate gain.	1020	20.1%	1264	21.7%	1645	36.7%	75	1.9%	538	23.3%	2285	21.0%
The war in Iraq is a mistake. We entered it for good motives, but our information about weapons of mass destruction proved incorrect.	1490	29.4%	1935	33.3%	1838	41.0%	775	19.4%	785	34.0%	3425	31.5%
The war in Iraq was a just war against dangerous tyrants and terrorists, but it has failed because it was badly planned and poorly executed.	1061	20.9%	1248	21.5%	780	17.4%	943	23.6%	559	24.2%	2309	21.2%
The war in Iraq is a just war, and part of our overall war against terror. It is a war which America will win if we have the courage to persevere.	1500	29.6%	1367	23.5%	222	4.9%	2197	55.1%	430	18.6%	2867	26.3%
<b>Total</b>	5071	100.0%	5814	100.0%	4485	100.0%	3990	100.0%	2312	100.0%	10886	100.0%

22. Which of the following statements is closest to your opinion on the "War on Terror":

	Men	Men	Women	Women	Dems	Dems	GOP	GOP	Indep	Indep	All	All
Islamic terrorism is a major threat which requires the immediate attention of the government and all citizens.	3191	63.0%	3285	56.6%	1888	42.2%	3317	83.2%	1223	53.0%	6476	59.6%
Islamic terrorism is a threat, but it is not highly important compared to other challenges facing America today.	1696	33.5%	2328	40.1%	2347	52.4%	647	16.2%	993	43.0%	4025	37.0%
Islamic terrorism is a fake threat, used by some politicians to increase their power by scaring Americans.	179	3.5%	189	3.3%	242	5.4%	22	0.6%	92	4.0%	368	3.4%
<b>Total</b>	5066	100.0%	5802	100.0%	4477	100.0%	3986	100.0%	2308	100.0%	10869	100.0%

23. Which of these statements about "global warming" is closest to your opinion?

	Men	Men	Women	Women	Dems	Dems	GOP	GOP	Indep	Indep	All	All
Global warming is a serious threat to national security requiring immediate government attention and serious commitment by all citizens.	1783	35.3%	2372	40.7%	2440	54.4%	703	17.6%	971	42.1%	4155	38.2%
Global warming is a moderate problem, requiring steady, non-extreme policy changes.	1996	39.5%	2156	37.0%	1488	33.2%	1749	43.7%	897	38.9%	4153	38.1%
Global warming is a fake problem, engineered by scientists and politicians who want more of our money.	600	11.9%	309	5.3%	77	1.7%	681	17.0%	132	5.7%	910	8.4%
I am not sure whether global warming is, or is not, a serious problem.	678	13.4%	990	17.0%	477	10.6%	868	21.7%	304	13.2%	1668	15.3%
<b>Total</b>	5057	100.0%	5827	100.0%	4482	100.0%	4001	100.0%	2304	100.0%	10886	100.0%

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**24. Which of these statements is closest to your opinion about the overall revenues and taxes of the federal government?**

	Men	Men	Women	Women	Dems	Dems	GOP	GOP	Indep	Indep	All	All
Our federal government collects more than enough revenue to provide basic services; therefore, overall taxes should be reduced.	3186	62.9%	3727	64.1%	2586	57.6%	2777	69.5%	1470	63.8%	6913	63.5%
Our federal government collects does not collect enough revenue to provide basic services; therefore, overall taxes should be increased.	460	9.1%	260	4.5%	448	10.0%	92	2.3%	176	7.6%	720	6.6%
Our federal government collects the right amount of revenue to provide basic services; therefore, overall taxes should remain roughly where they are now.	1423	28.1%	1830	31.5%	1454	32.4%	1128	28.2%	659	28.6%	3253	29.9%
<b>Total</b>	<b>5069</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>5817</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>4488</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>3997</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>2305</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>10886</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

**25. Which of these statements is closest to your opinion about the overall revenues and taxes of your local governments?**

	Men	Men	Women	Women	Dems	Dems	GOP	GOP	Indep	Indep	All	All
Our local governments collect more than enough revenue to provide basic services; therefore, local taxes should be reduced.	2940	58.0%	3443	59.0%	2392	53.3%	2592	64.8%	1326	57.4%	6383	58.6%
Our local governments do not collect enough revenue to provide basic services; therefore, local taxes should be increased.	454	9.0%	382	6.6%	464	10.3%	187	4.7%	173	7.5%	837	7.7%
Our local governments collect the right amount of taxes to provide basic services; therefore, local taxes should remain roughly where they are now.	1673	33.0%	2006	34.4%	1633	36.4%	1222	30.5%	813	35.2%	3680	33.8%
<b>Total</b>	<b>5067</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>5831</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>4489</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>4001</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>2312</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>10900</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

**26. In recent years, some states have legalized same-sex marriage, while others have passed amendments defining marriage as the traditional union of one man and one woman. Which of these statements is closest to your opinion:**

	Men	Men	Women	Women	Dems	Dems	GOP	GOP	Indep	Indep	All	All
Marriage should remain a legal contract between one man and one woman. Same-sex couples should not have all the legal rights of married couples regarding adoption, tax deductions, and spousal benefits from health care and retirement plans.	2224	43.9%	2082	35.7%	1191	26.5%	2344	58.7%	742	32.1%	4306	39.5%
Marriage should remain a legal contract between one man and one woman. However, same sex couples should have the same rights as married couples regarding adoption, tax deductions, and spousal benefits from health care and retirement plans.	1200	23.7%	1456	25.0%	1062	23.6%	1042	26.1%	525	22.7%	2656	24.4%
Same sex couples should be allowed to marry, with the same rights as male-female couples.	1213	23.9%	1793	30.7%	1833	40.7%	377	9.4%	762	33.0%	3006	27.6%
I have no strong opinion on this subject.	431	8.5%	504	8.6%	414	9.2%	231	5.8%	282	12.2%	936	8.6%
<b>Total</b>	<b>5068</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>5835</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>4500</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>3994</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>2311</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>10904</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

**27. Policy makers debate whether teenagers should be taught sexual restraint, or whether they should be provided with detailed information on which to base their sexual choices. Which of these statements is closest to your opinion on this matter?**

	Men	Men	Women	Women	Dems	Dems	GOP	GOP	Indep	Indep	All	All
Teaching sexual abstinence prior to marriage should be the central focus of sex education at school.	1451	28.6%	1717	29.5%	1023	22.8%	1561	39.1%	565	24.5%	3167	29.1%
Teaching sexual abstinence until marriage is the job of parents; schools should not teach about sex at all.	734	14.5%	751	12.9%	489	10.9%	715	17.9%	256	11.1%	1485	13.6%
Sexual experimentation is natural, and schools should provide teens with information on birth control.	1791	35.3%	2155	37.0%	2102	46.9%	891	22.3%	924	40.0%	3946	36.2%
Sexual experimentation is natural, but parents, not schools, should provide teens with information about sex.	1091	21.5%	1197	20.6%	867	19.3%	830	20.8%	565	24.5%	2288	21.0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>5067</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>5820</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>4481</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>3997</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>2310</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>10886</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

**28. Which of these statements is closest to your opinion on abortion?**

	Men	Men	Women	Women	Dems	Dems	GOP	GOP	Indep	Indep	All	All
Abortion should be illegal in all cases, because the unborn child is a human being and should be protected under law.	542	10.7%	712	12.2%	297	6.6%	734	18.3%	206	8.9%	1254	11.5%
Abortion is nobody's business except that of the pregnant woman and her doctor.	1931	38.1%	2800	48.0%	2339	52.1%	1250	31.2%	1100	47.8%	4731	43.4%
Abortion should be allowed in only one situation: when the pregnancy threatens the life of the mother.	433	8.6%	380	6.5%	212	4.7%	470	11.7%	130	5.6%	813	7.5%
Abortion should be allowed in only three cases: to save the life of the mother, to terminate a pregnancy caused by rape, and to terminate a pregnancy caused by incest.	1276	25.2%	1266	21.7%	846	18.9%	1171	29.2%	502	21.8%	2542	23.3%
Abortion should not be restricted until the last 3 months of a pregnancy.	577	11.4%	447	7.7%	498	11.1%	285	7.1%	232	10.1%	1024	9.4%
Abortion should be legal at all times, because the fetus is not a human being and should not be protected under law.	305	6.0%	223	3.8%	296	6.6%	94	2.3%	133	5.8%	527	4.8%
<b>Total</b>	<b>5064</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>5828</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>4488</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>4004</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>2303</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>10891</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

**29. Today, scientists are attempting to find cures for diseases by experimenting with human cells at a very early stage of development. Some of these experiments destroy human embryos to harvest stem cells. Other experiments, using stem cells taken from adults, do not destroy human embryos. Which of these statements is closest to your opinion on stem cell research?**

	Men	Men	Women	Women	Dems	Dems	GOP	GOP	Indep	Indep	All	All
Stem cell research which destroys human embryos should be forbidden, but other forms of stem cell research should be allowed	1692	33.4%	2003	34.4%	1004	22.4%	1986	49.7%	685	29.6%	3695	33.9%
All stem cell research should be allowed because of the potential medical good that may result.	2588	51.1%	2525	43.3%	2604	58.0%	1286	32.2%	1177	50.9%	5113	47.0%
All stem cell research should forbidden, because human science should not play God with unformed human cells.	140	2.8%	184	3.2%	120	2.7%	158	4.0%	43	1.9%	324	3.0%
I am not well enough informed to have a definite opinion on this issue.	644	12.7%	1114	19.1%	760	16.9%	563	14.1%	409	17.7%	1758	16.1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>5064</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>5826</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>4488</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>3993</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>2314</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>10890</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

**30. The Bible teaches that creation, including the creation of man, was a divine act. Charles Darwin taught that creatures, including man, could evolve to their current state by natural processes, without divine intervention. How these concepts should be presented to children has been fiercely debated. Which of these statements is closest to your opinion on the teaching of human origins:**

	Men	Men	Women	Women	Dems	Dems	GOP	GOP	Indep	Indep	All	All
Schools should teach solely that human origins are the result of Darwinian evolution.	1091	21.5%	800	13.7%	1032	23.0%	374	9.4%	462	20.0%	1891	17.4%
Schools should teach solely that human origins are the act of a Creator God.	549	10.8%	867	14.9%	518	11.6%	694	17.4%	189	8.2%	1416	13.0%
Schools should present the evidence for both theories, and let the children decide for themselves.	3005	59.3%	3448	59.2%	2436	54.4%	2541	63.6%	1431	62.0%	6452	59.3%
Schools should teach neither theory, in order not to offend the values of parents and taxpayers.	419	8.3%	706	12.1%	495	11.0%	388	9.7%	227	9.8%	1125	10.3%
<b>Total</b>	<b>5064</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>5821</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>4481</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>3997</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>2309</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>10884</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

**31. How important an issue is immigration reform? ("Immigration reform" includes border security, illegal immigration levels, legal immigration levels, and the status of resident non-citizens.)**

	Men	Men	Women	Women	Dems	Dems	GOP	GOP	Indep	Indep	All	All
The most important issue facing America	825	16.3%	812	14.0%	482	10.8%	783	19.6%	353	15.3%	1638	15.1%
Highly important	3183	62.9%	3720	63.9%	2672	59.6%	2748	68.8%	1434	62.2%	6903	63.4%
Somewhat important	908	17.9%	1122	19.3%	1147	25.6%	417	10.4%	440	19.1%	2030	18.7%
Not very important	145	2.9%	165	2.8%	182	4.1%	48	1.2%	78	3.4%	310	2.8%
<b>Total</b>	<b>5061</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>5819</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>4483</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>3996</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>2305</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>10881</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

**32. Under an "amnesty" proposal, current residents of the United States who entered illegally could normalize their status without being punished for breaking U.S. immigration laws. In your opinion, immigrants currently in the country without legal authorization should be:**

	Men	Men	Women	Women	Dems	Dems	GOP	GOP	Indep	Indep	All	All
Given amnesty, and recognized as U.S. citizens.	158	3.1%	192	3.3%	236	5.2%	43	1.1%	66	2.9%	350	3.2%
Given amnesty as guest workers, with an eventual path to citizenship.	1895	37.4%	2225	38.1%	1987	44.2%	1209	30.2%	902	39.1%	4120	37.8%
Given amnesty, but only as temporary guest workers.	1077	21.3%	1100	18.8%	814	18.1%	905	22.6%	441	19.1%	2177	20.0%
Sent back to the country they came from.	1644	32.4%	1852	31.7%	1117	24.8%	1604	40.0%	731	31.7%	3497	32.1%
Incarcerated as criminals.	112	2.2%	55	0.9%	47	1.0%	84	2.1%	32	1.4%	167	1.5%
I'm not sure.	181	3.6%	416	7.1%	295	6.6%	160	4.0%	137	5.9%	597	5.5%
<b>Total</b>	<b>5067</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>5840</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>4496</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>4005</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>2309</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>10908</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

**33. Which of these statements is closest to your opinion on how American courts handle criminal cases:**

	Men	Men	Women	Women	Dems	Dems	GOP	GOP	Indep	Indep	All	All
Too lenient on both major and minor crimes	1784	35.2%	2141	36.8%	1263	28.5%	1821	45.5%	811	35.2%	3925	36.1%
Too tough on both major and minor crimes	103	2.0%	75	1.3%	117	2.6%	28	0.7%	27	1.2%	178	1.6%
Too tough on major crimes, too lenient on minor crimes	75	1.5%	75	1.3%	35	0.8%	38	1.0%	25	1.1%	150	1.4%
Too lenient on major crimes, too tough on minor crimes	1175	23.2%	1527	26.3%	1225	27.7%	839	21.0%	605	26.3%	2702	24.8%
Too lenient on major crimes, just about right on minor crimes	522	10.3%	534	9.2%	410	9.3%	425	10.6%	212	9.2%	1056	9.7%
Just about right on major crimes, too tough on minor crimes	519	10.3%	453	7.8%	530	12.0%	204	5.1%	231	10.0%	972	8.9%
Just about right on major crimes, too lenient on minor crimes	201	4.0%	245	4.2%	181	4.1%	167	4.2%	94	4.1%	447	4.1%
Too tough on major crimes, just about right on minor crimes	24	0.5%	19	0.3%	26	0.6%	8	0.2%	9	0.4%	43	0.4%
Just about right on both major and minor crimes	660	13.0%	743	12.8%	641	14.5%	468	11.7%	287	12.5%	1403	12.9%
<b>Total</b>	<b>5063</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>5812</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>4428</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>3998</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>2301</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>10876</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

Page 62 Table 2: Gender/Political Self-Definition

**34. Which of these statements best reflects your attitude toward the personal ownership and use of firearms:**

	Men	Men	Women	Women	Dems	Dems	GOP	GOP	Indep	Indep	All	All
The individual right to own and bear fire arms is an important part of the Constitution, and an important deterrent to crime.	2645	52.2%	2138	36.8%	1279	28.6%	2481	62.1%	968	41.9%	4783	44.0%
The individual right to own and bear fire arms is out of date, and should be replaced by gun control measures to ensure public safety.	1485	29.3%	2118	36.5%	2079	46.5%	771	19.3%	727	31.5%	3603	33.1%
Neither view reflects my opinion.	937	18.5%	1553	26.7%	1115	24.9%	743	18.6%	615	26.6%	2490	22.9%
<b>Total</b>	<b>5067</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>5809</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>4473</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>3995</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>2310</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>10876</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

**35. Which of the following statements is closest to your opinion on the correct role of our courts in religious and moral matters:**

	Men	Men	Women	Women	Dems	Dems	GOP	GOP	Indep	Indep	All	All
Activist judges have gone too far in moral and religious matters, banning prayer from schools, overturning legislated bans on gay marriage, and removing the Ten Commandments from public buildings.	3263	64.6%	4055	69.8%	2373	53.1%	3446	86.4%	1444	62.5%	7318	67.4%
Our courts have acted appropriately in banning religious displays and practices from the public sphere, ensuring the separation of Church and State.	1326	26.2%	1075	18.5%	1480	33.1%	296	7.4%	600	26.0%	2401	22.1%
I don't know enough about this to have an informed opinion.	463	9.2%	682	11.7%	614	13.7%	248	6.2%	265	11.5%	1146	10.5%
<b>Total</b>	<b>5052</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>5812</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>4467</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>3990</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>2309</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>10865</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

**36. Which of the following statements is closest to your opinion on the correct role of our courts in fiscal matters:**

	Men	Men	Women	Women	Dems	Dems	GOP	GOP	Indep	Indep	All	All
Taxing and spending are the responsibility of officials whom we elect, not judges. Courts have no business raising taxes.	3335	66.1%	2805	48.2%	1952	43.6%	2859	71.8%	1276	55.2%	6140	56.5%
Courts have acted appropriately in forcing legislatures to spend more money on public purposes like education when they refused to do so on their own.	1007	20.0%	1023	17.6%	1209	27.0%	357	9.0%	451	19.5%	2030	18.7%
I don't know enough about this to have an informed opinion.	703	13.9%	1990	34.2%	1311	29.3%	766	19.2%	584	25.3%	2693	24.8%
<b>Total</b>	<b>5045</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>5818</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>4472</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>3982</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>2311</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>10863</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

**37. Instead of sending their children to an assigned public school, "school choice" proposals enable parents to choose schools, and to compel public officials to help fund that choice. Which of these statements about "school choice" is closest to your opinion?**

	Men	Men	Women	Women	Dems	Dems	GOP	GOP	Indep	Indep	All	All
Parents should be allowed to choose their children's schools, whether public or private, and this choice should include religious schools, if the parents prefer these.	2952	58.4%	3262	56.0%	2206	49.3%	2754	68.9%	1196	51.7%	6214	57.1%
Parents should be allowed to choose their children's schools, whether public or private, but this choice should not include religious schools.	349	6.9%	267	4.6%	321	7.2%	161	4.0%	124	5.4%	616	5.7%
Parents should be allowed to choose the public school their child attends, but not private schools of any kind.	463	9.2%	593	10.2%	512	11.4%	249	6.2%	289	12.5%	1056	9.7%
Parents should not be allowed to choose the schools their children attend; all available tax resources should be spent on improving local public schools, not on school choice schemes.	1295	25.6%	1698	29.2%	1433	32.0%	835	20.9%	703	30.4%	2993	27.5%
<b>Total</b>	<b>5059</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>5820</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>4472</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>3999</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>2312</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>10879</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

**38. Affirmative action programs guarantee minimal percentages of government benefits to certain groups in order to compensate the members of these groups for historic wrongs. Which of these statements is closest to your opinion about affirmative action programs?**

	Men	Men	Women	Women	Dems	Dems	GOP	GOP	Indep	Indep	All	All
Government should continue to use quotas to compensate minority communities for historic injustices by giving them a guaranteed share in public contracts and college admissions.	619	12.2%	711	12.2%	970	21.7%	160	4.0%	186	8.0%	1330	12.2%
Affirmative action programs were justified at one time in our history, but have outlived their usefulness.	1448	28.6%	1529	26.3%	977	21.8%	1315	32.9%	666	28.8%	2977	27.4%
Government should be color-blind, and should never use affirmative action quotas to give an advantage to individuals of any group.	1980	39.1%	1791	30.8%	1043	23.3%	1872	46.9%	818	35.4%	3771	34.7%
I have mixed feelings on affirmative action programs, and am unsure whether or not they should continue.	1018	20.1%	1786	30.7%	1488	33.2%	646	16.2%	644	27.8%	2804	25.8%
<b>Total</b>	<b>5065</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>5817</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>4478</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>3993</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>2314</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>10882</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

**39. Beyond Medicaid and Medicare, different plans have been offered to provide health care to the uninsured. Which of these statements is closest to your opinion on expanding government health care benefits beyond our current Medicaid and Medicare systems:**

	Men	Men	Women	Women	Dems	Dems	GOP	GOP	Indep	Indep	All	All
The government can't afford Medicaid and Medicare as they are currently structured, so no more government benefits should be created.	697	13.8%	475	8.2%	240	5.4%	674	16.9%	244	10.6%	1172	10.8%
Government should give citizens an ongoing tax deduction so that they can buy their own health care plans tailored to their needs, and the needs of their families.	1700	33.6%	1720	29.6%	886	19.8%	1808	45.3%	685	29.8%	3420	31.5%
Government should subsidize health insurance, but only for those who can't afford health care for themselves.	971	19.2%	1103	19.0%	919	20.5%	687	17.2%	453	19.7%	2074	19.1%
Government should provide universal health care for all citizens, regardless of cost, because it is a fundamental human right.	1695	33.5%	2513	43.2%	2435	54.4%	826	20.7%	919	39.9%	4208	38.7%
<b>Total</b>	<b>5063</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>5811</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>4480</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>3995</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>2301</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>10874</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

**40. Most experts agree that Social Security faces bankruptcy by the middle of this century unless changes are made. One suggestion is that workers should be allowed to divert part of their payroll tax into Personal Retirement Accounts, consisting of stocks and bonds in mutual funds. Which of these statements is closest to your opinion on Personal Retirement Accounts:**

	Men	Men	Women	Women	Dems	Dems	GOP	GOP	Indep	Indep	All	All
American workers should be allowed to invest part of their Social Security tax into Personal Retirement Accounts, so that they can accumulate their own nest egg for their retirement, regardless of what politicians do to Social Security.	2653	52.4%	2440	42.0%	1471	32.8%	2578	64.6%	996	43.2%	5094	46.8%
Personal retirement accounts are a risky scheme that will undermine retirement security by taking money out of the Social Security system and investing it in Wall Street.	1746	34.5%	1643	28.3%	1879	41.9%	659	16.5%	825	35.8%	3389	31.2%
I don't know enough about Personal Retirement Accounts to have an informed opinion.	668	13.2%	1728	29.7%	1134	25.3%	752	18.9%	486	21.1%	2395	22.0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>5067</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>5811</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>4484</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>3989</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>2307</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>10878</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

41. Which political party do you trust most to fight international terrorism?

	Men	Men	Women	Women	Dems	Dems	GOP	GOP	Indep	Indep	All	All
Democrats	930	18.3%	1357	23.3%	2030	45.2%	36	0.9%	214	9.3%	2287	21.0%
Republicans	2113	41.7%	1486	25.5%	211	4.7%	2967	73.9%	407	17.6%	3600	33.0%
Neither	1665	32.8%	2022	34.7%	1557	34.7%	740	18.4%	1336	57.9%	3687	33.8%
Don't know	361	7.1%	963	16.5%	692	15.4%	271	6.8%	350	15.2%	1324	12.1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>5069</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>5828</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>4490</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>4014</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>2307</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>10898</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

42. Which political party do you trust most to restrain government spending?

	Men	Men	Women	Women	Dems	Dems	GOP	GOP	Indep	Indep	All	All
Democrats	1244	24.6%	1838	31.6%	2503	55.9%	172	4.3%	396	17.1%	3082	28.3%
Republicans	1311	25.9%	1127	19.4%	170	3.8%	2029	50.9%	234	10.1%	2438	22.4%
Neither	2335	46.2%	2313	39.7%	1520	33.9%	1581	39.7%	1472	63.7%	4648	42.7%
Don't know	167	3.3%	542	9.3%	288	6.4%	205	5.1%	209	9.0%	709	6.5%
<b>Total</b>	<b>5057</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>5820</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>4481</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>3987</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>2311</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>10877</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

43. Which political party do you trust most to keep taxes low?

	Men	Men	Women	Women	Dems	Dems	GOP	GOP	Indep	Indep	All	All
Democrats	920	18.3%	1630	28.1%	2133	47.8%	127	3.2%	280	12.2%	2550	23.5%
Republicans	2000	39.7%	1321	22.8%	309	6.9%	2601	65.4%	399	17.4%	3321	30.7%
Neither	1942	38.6%	2317	40.0%	1712	38.4%	1071	26.9%	1407	61.3%	4259	39.3%
Don't know	173	3.4%	529	9.1%	305	6.8%	180	4.5%	211	9.2%	702	6.5%
<b>Total</b>	<b>5035</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>5797</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>4459</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>3979</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>2297</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>10832</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

44. Which political party do you trust most to halt illegal immigration?

	Men	Men	Women	Women	Dems	Dems	GOP	GOP	Indep	Indep	All	All
Democrats	794	15.7%	1126	19.5%	1614	36.1%	90	2.3%	209	9.1%	1920	17.7%
Republicans	1387	27.4%	1237	21.4%	458	10.2%	1852	46.6%	304	13.2%	2623	24.2%
Neither	2530	50.0%	2384	41.2%	1760	39.3%	1619	40.7%	1461	63.5%	4913	45.3%
Don't know	348	6.9%	1042	18.0%	641	14.3%	413	10.4%	327	14.2%	1390	12.8%
<b>Total</b>	<b>5059</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>5789</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>4473</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>3974</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>2301</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>10846</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

45. Which political party do you trust most to defend traditional marriage?

	Men	Men	Women	Women	Dems	Dems	GOP	GOP	Indep	Indep	All	All
Democrats	503	10.0%	840	14.5%	1124	25.3%	62	1.6%	150	6.5%	1343	12.4%
Republicans	2767	55.1%	2661	46.0%	1448	32.6%	3085	77.7%	857	37.4%	5428	50.2%
Neither	1379	27.5%	1452	25.1%	1255	28.2%	561	14.1%	976	42.6%	2831	26.2%
Don't know	374	7.4%	829	14.3%	620	13.9%	263	6.6%	310	13.5%	1203	11.1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>5023</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>5782</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>4447</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>3971</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>2293</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>10805</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

46. Which political party do you trust most to give parents the power to choose the schools their children attend?

	Men	Men	Women	Women	Dems	Dems	GOP	GOP	Indep	Indep	All	All
Democrats	1163	23.0%	1638	28.2%	2005	44.9%	398	10.0%	382	16.6%	2801	25.8%
Republicans	1653	32.7%	1265	21.8%	499	11.2%	2064	51.8%	343	14.9%	2918	26.9%
Neither	1706	33.8%	1651	28.5%	1210	27.1%	975	24.5%	1118	48.5%	3358	30.9%
Don't know	528	10.5%	1245	21.5%	751	16.8%	546	13.7%	460	20.0%	1773	16.3%
<b>Total</b>	<b>5050</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>5799</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>4465</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>3983</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>2303</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>10850</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

47. Which political party do you trust most to protect the rights of unborn children?

	Men	Men	Women	Women	Dems	Dems	GOP	GOP	Indep	Indep	All	All
Democrats	794	15.7%	1040	17.9%	1407	31.5%	201	5.0%	220	9.5%	1835	16.9%
Republicans	2215	43.8%	2174	37.5%	1049	23.5%	2644	66.2%	659	28.6%	4388	40.4%
Neither	1557	30.8%	1589	27.4%	1286	28.8%	771	19.3%	1047	45.4%	3147	29.0%
Don't know	488	9.7%	998	17.2%	718	16.1%	378	9.5%	378	16.4%	1486	13.7%
<b>Total</b>	<b>5054</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>5801</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>4460</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>3994</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>2304</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>10856</b>	<b>100.0%</b>