

2004

**National
Opinion
Poll**

**POLITICS AND
THE 2004 ELECTION**

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The Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies

2004 National Opinion Poll

The 2004 Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies National Opinion Poll is a national survey of 1,642 adults, conducted between September 15 and October 10, 2004. The survey's questions cover a broad range of topics including politics and the 2004 election, education, and health care. The survey has two components: a national general population sample of 850 adults and a national sample of 850 adult African Americans. There are 58 African American respondents in the general population sample who are also part of the national sample of African Americans. Altogether, 1,642 adults, ages 18 years or older, are included in this study. This first release of the survey's findings covers views on politics and the 2004 election, as well as some health related questions. In the following months, the Joint Center will release findings on the other areas identified above. The survey methodology is described in an accompanying appendix.

POLITICS AND THE 2004 ELECTION

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The Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies' 2004 National Opinion Poll reveals an interesting mix of continuity and change when compared with the findings from our 2000 and 2002 National Opinion Polls. The nation's black population and its largely white general population continue to hold similar views on a number of subjects—but diverge significantly on others.

The Joint Center's 2004 survey was fielded shortly after Labor Day, at the start of the political season, just as Americans began paying more serious attention to the forthcoming election. In rating what are the country's most important national problems, both black respondents and those in the general population identified very different priorities from those dominating the 2000 Presidential election campaign, with the war in Iraq, the economy, and health issues topping the list. The survey results also suggest that African Americans will continue their support for the Democratic party in November 2004, albeit at a lower level than in the last

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Presidential campaign. Also—and in a remarkable turnaround from the 1998-2000 period—African Americans' financial circumstances were in significant decline.

Responses to several questions in this year's survey showed that sharp racial and ideological divides characterize the current political environment. African Americans, liberals, and moderates hold either mixed or unfavorable views of the current presidential administration, while conservatives view the Bush presidency favorably. Conservatives approve of President Bush's job performance, and believe the country is going in the right direction. African Americans, liberals, and moderates tend to think the country is "on the wrong track."

The survey shows limited African American support for President Bush—not only personally and with regard to his job performance but also regarding the war in Iraq. Vice President Cheney is viewed less unfavorably than President Bush by African Americans, but only because he is less well known. Bush's Democratic rival in the presidential campaign, Senator John Kerry, is viewed favorably by blacks, though somewhat less favorably than Al Gore was viewed during the 2000 election campaign. Senator Kerry's running mate, Sen. John Edwards, is better known and viewed more favorably than Gore's 2000 Vice Presidential pick, Sen. Joseph Lieberman.

Finally, in a hypothetical election match-up between Bush and Kerry, blacks put Kerry ahead of Bush 69 to 18 percent, while Ralph Nader received just two percent. Also, black voters indicated a preference for a Democratic Congress, with 71 percent saying they would vote for the Democratic candidate in their congressional district and 16 percent opting for the Republican candidate.

MOST IMPORTANT NATIONAL PROBLEM (Table 1)

The priorities of blacks and whites were closer in the 2004 survey than in our 2000 survey. This greater similarity has likely been influenced by our occupation of Iraq, terrorism, and the state of the economy. Among African Americans the highest rated problems were the economy (31 percent), followed by the war in Iraq (22 percent), healthcare issues (20 percent), and terrorism (10 percent). In the 2000 survey, Iraq and terrorism were not issues at all, and only 14 percent of blacks identified the economy as the number one problem. This year, only seven percent said education was the number one problem, compared with 26 percent who said so in 2000. Crime was named as the top problem by only one percent this year, compared with 17 percent in 2000.

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Among white respondents, in 2004 the top mentioned problem was the war in Iraq (25 percent), followed by the economy (21 percent), healthcare issues (17 percent), and terrorism (16 percent). Several problems that significant numbers of whites mentioned as the top national problem in 2000 had virtually disappeared in their 2004 responses, including education (three percent), crime (one percent), Social Security (one percent), moral decline (three percent), and taxes (zero percent); those problems were collectively mentioned as the most important national problem by 56 percent of whites in 2000, but by only eight percent in 2004.

PRESIDENTIAL AND CONGRESSIONAL JOB RATINGS (Tables 2 and 3)

Among whites this year, President Bush's job approval ratings were a little higher than Congress's, while among blacks both received poor ratings. Among blacks, 76 percent gave Bush fair or poor marks, while 22 percent rated his job performance as excellent or good; in 2002 Bush's job approval rating among blacks was 39 percent excellent/good vs. 59 percent fair/poor. A majority of whites, 54 percent, rated Bush's job performance as fair or poor, while 46 percent rated his job performance as excellent or good; Bush's marks from whites in the Joint Center's 2002 survey were 61 percent excellent/good vs. 38 percent fair/poor.

Among blacks, Bush fared best, albeit not well, with conservatives, both secular (33 percent excellent or good) and Christian (35 percent). Every black subgroup rated Bush's job performance negatively. Among the general population, Bush also fared best with conservatives, with 59 percent of secular conservatives, and 66 percent of Christian conservatives judging his job performance as excellent or good.

Congress's job approval ratings were somewhat poorer than Bush's with all groups, and like Bush's ratings, they were lower than in 2002. Blacks and whites gave Congress similar scores. Among blacks, 20 percent rated Congress's work as excellent or good, and 74 percent rated its work as fair or poor; in the 2002 survey, the respective grades were 34 vs. 61 percent. Among whites, 24 percent rated Congress's work as excellent or good, while 70 percent rates it fair or poor; in 2002, whites rated Congress 36 vs. 57 percent.

Among the subgroups of both the black and general populations, no significant differences showed up in evaluations of Congress's performance.

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FINANCIAL STATUS (Table 4)

In 1998, for the first time in a Joint Center survey, blacks responded more favorably than whites when asked whether they were financially better or worse off (or doing the same) than in the previous year; similar results were obtained in 1999 and 2000. In the 2002 survey, only 18.9 percent of blacks said they were financially better off, while 36.7 percent said they were worse off. White responses were similar that year, with 15.9 percent of whites saying they were better off and 34.7 percent saying their finances had gotten worse.

In the 2004 survey, African Americans' responses were significantly more negative than whites' to this question, the first time this has happened since 1998. These responses confirm income, poverty, and employment data that document a reversal in their economic progress. Among blacks, 38 percent said they were worse off, while only 17 percent said they were better off (the balance of the respondents said they were doing the same financially). In contrast, among whites 29 percent said they were worse off, but 26 percent indicated they were better off.

Every subgroup of African Americans in this year's survey said they were financially worse off than in the previous year. The responses of young black adults (ages 18 to 25: 47 percent worse off vs. 17 percent better off), those without a high school degree (47 vs. 11 percent), and those in the lowest income group (58 vs. 13 percent) were the most negative.

In the general population, high percentages of low-income persons reported being financially worse off. This was the response of 50 percent of those making less than \$15,000 (with 12 percent saying they were better off) and 42 percent of those making between \$15,000 and \$30,000 (with 15 percent better off). By contrast, those being financially better off outnumbered those being worse off by more than two-to-one among the highest earning households.

DIRECTION OF THE COUNTRY (Table 5)

Consistent with the generally negative economic assessment, when asked if the country is going in the right direction, whites and blacks both responded negatively, although African Americans were much more negative in their judgement. For each African American who thought the country was on the right track (18 percent), there were four who responded that it was on the wrong track (74 percent). A majority of whites (54 percent) said that things in the country were on the wrong track, while 39 percent believed they were going in the right

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direction. In the 1999 Joint Center survey, a majority of blacks (55 percent) and whites (51 percent) thought things in the country have "pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track".

Among blacks, every subgroup thought the country was on the wrong track—by at least a two-to-one margin. Among the general population, all subgroups, except conservatives and those with household incomes greater than \$90,000, also believed the country was on the wrong track.

FEELINGS TOWARD PUBLIC FIGURES (Table 6)

Survey respondents were asked to rate their feelings toward ten public figures, four of whom are black and six of whom are white. The Joint Center has included this type of leadership question in every survey since 1992, including certain prominent national leaders in each survey (e.g., Jesse Jackson and Colin Powell) while rotating others in (e.g., Barak Obama and Hillary Clinton) or out (e.g., Bill Clinton and Al Sharpton) over time.

Included in these questions was an explicit name recognition question. Among the black population, George W. Bush, Hillary Clinton, John Kerry, Colin Powell, Dick Cheney, and Jesse Jackson are widely known. Less well known among blacks are John Edwards (unknown to 20 percent of the respondents), Condoleezza Rice (unknown to 22 percent), Ralph Nader (unknown to 30 percent), and newcomer Barack Obama (unknown to 63 percent) (these percentages reflect the response "never heard of him"). Among the general population: Jackson, Clinton, Cheney, Bush, Kerry, and Powell are widely known to the public; Edwards and Nader are unknown to 24 percent, Rice is unknown to 23 percent, and Obama is unknown to 71 percent.

GEORGE W. BUSH. This year's survey shows that President George W. Bush's ratings among African Americans (currently 30 percent favorable to 67 percent unfavorable) have dropped significantly since 2002 (51 to 39 favorable to unfavorable), and are also lower than in 2000 when he was elected president (29 to 55 favorable to unfavorable). The only two subgroups of the black population to view Bush favorably are Christian conservatives (50 to 47 percent) and Republicans (91 to 9 percent).

Bush is viewed much more favorably by the general population, with 53 percent viewing him favorably and 45 percent unfavorably. However, even among this population his favorably ratings are down dramatically. In our 2002 National Opinion Poll, 73 percent viewed him

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favorably and 24 percent unfavorably; in 2000 the corresponding ratings were 54 percent favorable and 34 percent unfavorable.

JOHN KERRY. While not as high as Al Gore's ratings in our survey during the 2000 election campaign (86 to 7 percent favorable to unfavorable), Sen. John Kerry's ratings this year among African Americans show a solid five-to-one favorable scoring (78 to 16 percent). By a substantial margin, Kerry is viewed more favorably than unfavorably by all subgroups of the black population, with the exception of black Republicans (24 to 75 percent favorable to unfavorable). Among the general population, Kerry's ratings are slightly less (but not statistically different) than Bush's, with 49 percent rating him favorably and 45 percent unfavorably.

JOHN EDWARDS AND DICK CHENEY. Among African Americans who know something about him, Sen. John Edwards is viewed very positively, with 68 percent rating him favorably and 13 percent unfavorably. Vice President Dick Cheney's unfavorable rating is twice as high as his favorable rating - - with 30 percent of blacks rating him favorably and 59 percent unfavorably. Among those in the general population, Edwards' and Cheney's favorable ratings are the same (47 percent), but Edwards holds an edge due to his lower unfavorable ratings (28 percent for Edwards vs. 43 percent for Cheney). Like Bush, Cheney's ratings are down from both 2000 and 2002.

RALPH NADER. Ralph Nader remains unknown (apart from name identification) to 30 percent of blacks and 24 percent of those in the general population. While Nader was viewed relatively positively among blacks in 2000 (40 percent to 19 percent favorable to unfavorable), he is now viewed unfavorably (30 percent to 40 percent favorable to unfavorable). The same comparison holds with respect to Nader's ratings among the general population. His 2000 ratings of 43 percent favorable to 25 percent unfavorable have since plunged into negative territory, with this year's survey showing 30 percent favorable to 46 percent unfavorable.

BARACK OBAMA. Rising Democratic star Barack Obama, a U.S. Senate candidate from Illinois and an African American, is viewed very favorably by those who know who he is in both the black and the general populations. However, he remains largely unknown to the wider population, with 63 percent of blacks and 71 percent of those in the general population reporting that they know nothing about him. Among blacks, his favorable to unfavorable ratings are 30 to 7 percent, and among the general population they are 22 to 7 percent.

JESSE JACKSON. Jesse Jackson's ratings have declined slightly among both the black and the general populations since 2002. In the 2002 survey, 60 percent of African Americans rated

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Jackson favorably, and 26 percent rated him unfavorably. In 2004, 58 percent of blacks rated him favorably and 29 percent rated him unfavorably; surprisingly, 13 percent of African Americans said they did not know enough about him to rate him. Jackson's 2004 ratings (33 to 53 percent favorable to unfavorable) among the general population were mostly unchanged from 2002 (31 to 55 percent).

COLIN POWELL. Secretary of State Colin Powell continues to be one of the most favorably viewed figures across all groups and subgroups. Powell's ratings, while down from 2002, were quite high among those in both the black (69 percent favorable) and the general population (74 percent favorable); 23 percent of blacks and 17 percent of those in the general population rated Powell unfavorably. In 2002, Powell's favorable ratings were 73 percent among blacks and 89 percent among whites. He continues to be rated very favorably by every subgroup of the black and the general populations. On balance, Powell was the most favorably viewed figure in the survey; this was also the case in the Joint Center's 2002 National Opinion Poll.

HILLARY CLINTON. Sen. Hillary R. Clinton is viewed as favorably as her husband among African Americans. Her favorability ratings among blacks (80 to 15 percent favorable to unfavorable) were the highest of all of the public figures who were rated. All subgroups of the black population, except black Republicans, responded very favorably to Senator Clinton. Among the general population, her favorable ratings (53 to 42 percent favorable to unfavorable) were slightly better than Bush's and Kerry's. The only subgroups that viewed her unfavorably were Republicans (78 percent unfavorable), conservatives (67 percent unfavorable), and those from households with more than \$60,000 in annual income (48 to 49 percent favorable to unfavorable).

CONDOLEEZZA RICE. National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice was viewed somewhat similarly by both African Americans and the general population. She is essentially unknown to one-fifth of both population groups, not surprisingly given that she has never run for national office. A larger proportion of respondents in the general population viewed her favorably (51 percent) than in the black population (44 percent); one-third of blacks and a quarter of those in the general population rated her unfavorably. Her unfavorable ratings have increased significantly since the 2002 National Opinion Poll, when only 12 percent of blacks and 9 percent of those in the general population rated her unfavorably.

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BLACK PARTISANSHIP (Table 7)

Black partisan identification -- the way blacks identify themselves as members of or “leaners toward” one party or the other -- continues to show signs of change. There has been no significant overall change since the Joint Center's 2002 National Opinion Poll, but Democratic identification is down from the 2000 survey, and significant changes have emerged among certain age groups.

In 2004, as in 2002, 63 percent of African Americans are self-identified Democrats, 23 percent self-identified Independents, and 10 percent self-identified Republicans. In 2000, 74 percent of African Americans were self-identified Democrats, 20 percent were self-identified Independents, and 4 percent were self-identified Republicans.

While overall partisan identification among African Americans is unchanged from 2002, changes are evident across various age cohorts. Younger African Americans (ages 18 to 25) were much more likely in 2004 to identify as Democrats -- rising from 54 percent to 71 percent among 19-to-25-year-olds and from 56 to 63 percent among those ages 26 to 35. However, older African Americans were less likely this year (than in 2002) to identify themselves as Democrats and more likely to identify as Republicans. Between 2002 and 2004, the Democratic/Republican split among those between ages 51 and 64 shifted from 70 percent/5 percent to 55 percent /15 percent. During the same period, black seniors went from a 75 percent/7 percent Democratic/Republican split to a 66 percent/12 percent split. Both of these older age cohorts also showed a small rise in the percentage of self-identified Independents.

The shifts do fall within the margin of error for these subgroups, but it is notable that this is the first time in recent Joint Center surveys that younger African Americans became more Democratic and older African Americans became less so.

THE BLACK 2004 PRESIDENTIAL VOTE (Table 8)

When asked their presidential preference, 69 percent of African Americans chose Senator Kerry and 18 percent chose President Bush; 2 percent chose Ralph Nader. Kerry received 5 percentage points less support than Al Gore did in the Joint Center's 2000 survey, while support for Bush doubled -- from 9 to 18 percent. Bush's support rose from its 2000 levels among every cohort of the black population.

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While all subgroups of the black population backed Kerry over Bush, meaningful differences emerged between subgroups. Kerry received as much or more support than Gore from the youngest cohort and from liberals, moderates, those without a high school diploma, and middle income blacks (earning \$15,000-\$60,000). However, Kerry received significantly less support from African Americans over age 50 (60 percent from those ages 51 to 64, and 67 percent from black seniors); this is nearly 18 percentage points less support than Gore received in the 2000 survey.

Further, black Christian conservatives' support for Kerry (49 percent) is 20 percentage points lower than their support for Gore in the 2000 survey. Finally, Kerry ran well behind Gore in support from higher-income African Americans; Gore received 77 percent support from those earning \$60,000-\$90,000, while Kerry only 62 percent support; Gore received 81 percent support from those making over \$90,000, while Kerry received only 68 percent support from them.

THE BLACK 2004 CONGRESSIONAL VOTE (Table 9)

When asked about their voting intentions regarding the congressional races in their home districts, 71 percent of African Americans said they would vote for the Democratic candidate and 16 percent said they would vote for the Republican.

In 2000, blacks favored Democrats over Republicans for Congress 84 to 7 percent, and in 2002, the margin was 71 to 11 percent. While all subgroups of the black population said they would back the Democrats over the Republicans in House contests this year, several subgroups showed at least 20 percent support for the GOP candidates. These included blacks between ages 51 and 64, blacks in the Midwest and West, black conservatives, those with less than a high school degree, and those with household incomes above \$60,000.

CAMPAIGN ISSUES (Table 10)

Six of the issues that have been raised during the 2004 presidential campaign were mentioned in the survey, falling under the categories of education, the war in Iraq, gay marriage, and vote counting.

SCHOOL VOUCHERS (Table 10a). A plurality (48 percent) of both African Americans and those in the general population said they supported school vouchers, while 47 percent of blacks and

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44 percent of those in the general population oppose school vouchers. This year's survey was the first Joint Center National Opinion Poll in which black support for school vouchers lagged behind support in the general population. Among blacks, those under age 35 (54 percent), black Republicans (63 percent), and those from households with children (57 percent) were most supportive of vouchers this year, although this support represents a significant decline among these groups since 2000.

“NO CHILD LEFT BEHIND” (Table 10b). President Bush's signature education program, “No Child Left Behind,” fared very poorly with both the black and the general populations. Among African Americans, almost three times as many gave the program fair or poor grades (67 percent) as gave it excellent or good grades (23 percent). While the general public rated Bush's education program more favorably than African Americans, they too gave it poor grades, with only 32 percent rating it excellent or good, and a majority (56 percent) giving it fair or poor marks.

BUSH'S HANDLING OF IRAQ (Table 10c). President Bush's handling of the Iraq war was widely disfavored by African Americans, with 72 percent disapproving and only 20 percent approving. All subgroups of the black population except Republicans disapproved of Bush's handling of Iraq. A bare majority (51 percent) of the general public also disapproved of Bush's handling of the war, while 42 percent approved.

IRAQ AND THE WAR ON TERRORISM (Table 10d). By a three-to-one margin, African Americans thought the war in Iraq has *hurt* the war on terrorism (66 to 22 percent). By large margins, all subgroups (save Republicans) of the black population believed the Iraq war has hurt the war on terrorism. Among the general public, a small plurality (45 to 42 percent) believed the war in Iraq has hurt the war on terrorism; only conservatives and Republicans thought the Iraq war has been helping the war on terrorism.

GAY MARRIAGE (Table 10e). When presented with the options of gay marriage, civil unions, or no legal recognition for gay relationships, African American responses were more conservative than those of the general population. By only a single percentage point plurality, African Americans favored giving some legal status to gay Americans, with 23 percent favoring gay marriage and 24 percent favoring civil unions. However, 46 percent of African Americans supported *no* legal recognition of gay relationships. Among black subgroups, those most opposing any legal recognition were black Christian conservatives (62 percent) and those living in the South (57 percent).

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A majority (57 percent) of those in the general population supported some legal recognition of gay relationships, either gay marriage (29 percent) or civil unions (28 percent); only slightly more than a third of those in the general population favored the “no legal recognition” position.

WILL YOUR VOTE BE COUNTED? (Table 10f). This year’s survey respondents were asked if they were concerned about whether their vote will be counted in the upcoming election. It is not surprising, following the Florida 2000 fiasco and reports of vote suppression, that 63 percent of African Americans said they were very concerned that their votes might not be counted. It was somewhat unexpected, however, that almost half (48 percent) of those in the general population expressed similar concerns. Four-fifths of African Americans and two-thirds of those in the general population expressed some level of concern (either “very” or “somewhat” concerned) about whether their votes would be counted.

HEALTH ISSUES AND THE 2004 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

Health issues have figured prominently in the 2004 Presidential election campaign, and were ranked by our survey respondents as third on the list of the “most important national problems,” following the war in Iraq and the economy. Several questions in the 2004 survey related to health issues of special importance to Americans this campaign year. Our findings from six of those questions are included next. (Further findings will be released separately.)

THE FEDERAL ROLE IN HEALTHCARE (Table 11a). Respondents were asked whether they believed the federal government was doing enough to help the states with health programs, such as Medicaid. Two-thirds of African Americans and a bare majority (51 percent) of the general population thought the federal government was not doing enough to help the states with health programs. Solid majorities of all black subgroups thought that the federal government was not doing enough to help the states. Among the general population, solid majorities of Democrats, Independents, liberals, and moderates likewise thought the federal government was not helping enough, but only 28 percent of Republicans and 38 percent of conservatives held this view.

RACIAL DISPARITIES IN HEALTHCARE (TABLE 11B). The respondents were also asked whether there were disparities in health care access and quality between African Americans and whites. A significant proportion of both the black (19 percent) and the general (30 percent) populations said they did not know. Overall, 60 percent of African Americans thought there were disparities (either large or small) in health care between blacks and whites, compared with 43 percent of those in the general population. The modal response (39 percent) among African

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Americans was that there were large health disparities between the races. The modal response (28 percent) among those in the general population was that there were no such health disparities.

CHANGES IN MEDICARE: AWARENESS (TABLE 11C). Approximately half of those in both the black and the general populations indicated that they knew little or nothing about the recent changes in Medicare. Among African American, 16 percent said they had read or heard “a great deal” about these changes, while 33 percent said they had read or heard “some.” The responses from the general population were virtually identical to those from the black population, namely, 17 percent said they had read or heard a great deal and 35 percent said they had read or heard some. Not surprisingly, both black seniors (62 percent) and seniors in the general population (68 percent) were the most likely to respond that they had read or heard either a great deal or some about the changes to Medicare.

MEDICARE CHANGES: GOOD FOR SENIORS? (Table 12) When asked whether the changes to Medicare involving a prescription drug benefit were good or bad for seniors, half of the respondents in both populations said they did not know enough to judge. Among those who knew about the prescription drug benefit, opinion was fairly equally split between those who thought it was good for seniors and those who thought it was bad. Among African Americans, the split was 22 percent “good” versus 23 percent “bad.” Among the general population, respondents thinking the benefit was good (28 percent) slightly outnumbered those who thought it was bad for seniors.

Seniors in both populations were more negative about the Medicare drug bill than those under age 65. Among African Americans, 32 percent of seniors thought the Medicare bill was bad for them, while 25 percent thought it was good. Among seniors in the general population, 39 percent thought it was bad for them, while 26 percent judged it as good.

GOVERNMENT NEGOTIATING WITH DRUG COMPANIES (Table 13). Asked whether they thought the federal government should negotiate with drug companies for lower prescription costs for seniors—something forbidden by the recent Medicare drug bill—large majorities of both populations in the survey supported that proposition. Among Africans, 82 percent thought the government should negotiate lower drug prices for seniors, and 73 percent of respondents in the general population thought likewise. By at least a two-to-one, every subgroup of both the black and general populations favored the federal government’s negotiating lower drug prices for seniors.

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PRESCRIPTION DRUG BENEFITS AND VOTING (Table 14). The survey asked whether the issue of prescription drug benefits for seniors will be important to respondents as they decide how they will vote in the Presidential election. Given how high healthcare ranked on the list of most important national problems, it was not surprising that 47 percent of African Americans and 25 percent of those in the general population said that the issue of prescription drug benefits would be very important in their voting choice.

Among subgroups in the African American population, there was comparatively little variation on this question. Secular conservatives represented the only black subgroup where the modal response to the question was not very important or not important at all. In the general population as well, a majority (52 percent) of secular conservatives said the issue was not important to their vote. Also, in the general population, those with more education and income were more likely than others to say that this issue of prescription drug benefits for seniors was not important to their decision in the November elections.

* * *

TABLE 1. “What do you think is the single most important problem facing the country today?”

	Population					
	—Black—		—White—		—General—	
	2000 %	2004 %	2000 %	2004 %	2000 %	2004 %
Education	26	7	24	3	24	5
Prescription Drugs/Healthcare	18	20	18	17	19	17
Crime, Violence, Drugs	16	1	7	1	9	-
Employment/Economy (Jobs, Poverty, Homelessness, Hunger)	14	31	4	21	6	22
Social Security/Medicare	8	1	6	1	7	1
Morals/Moral Crisis (Family Values, Corruption, Scandals)	4	-	12	3	13	2
Gun Control	3	-	1	-	1	-
Race Relations/Racism	2	1	-	-	1	-
Taxes	2	-	7	-	7	-
Terrorism	1	10	3	16	3	15
War in Iraq	-	22	-	25	-	25
Homeland Security	-	-	-	1	-	1
Other/None/Don't Know	6	7	18	12	10	12
(N =)	850	850	679	741	850	850

TABLE 2. “How would you rate the job that President Bush is doing? Is it excellent, good, only fair, or poor?”

	—Black Population—				—General Population—			
	Excellent/ Good %	Fair/ Poor %	D/K %	(N)	Excellent/ Good %	Fair/ Poor %	D/K %	(N)
Total	22	76	2	850	42	57	1	850
White	-	-	-	-	46	54	1	741
Men	23	75	1	384	41	59	-	393
Women	20	76	3	465	44	54	1	457
Ages 18-25	20	80	-	116	31	67	2	118
26-35	20	79	1	169	48	52	-	137
36-50	21	76	4	233	45	55	-	273
51-64	24	73	2	154	39	61	1	166
65+	22	83	4	123	47	52	2	116
Northeast	24	74	2	153	42	58	-	163
Midwest	23	76	1	164	45	54	2	196
South	18	79	3	448	44	56	-	305
West	31	67	2	85	37	62	1	186
Liberal	12	84	2	246	15	84	1	185
Moderate	18	81	1	325	34	67	-	271
Secular conservative	33	66	-	61	59	39	2	95
Christian conservative	35	65	2	171	66	34	-	266
Less than HS	15	83	2	60	36	64	-	44
HS Graduate	22	76	2	177	40	58	2	230
Some College/Tech	21	77	2	253	41	59	-	213
Bachelor's Degree	21	74	4	243	48	52	1	227
College Degree+	20	79	1	85	43	57	-	115
Less than \$15,000	20	80	-	65	28	68	4	76
\$15,000 - \$35,000	19	79	2	128	37	62	1	130
\$35,000 - \$60,000	18	80	2	196	46	55	-	178
\$60,000 - \$90,000	24	74	2	205	46	54	-	165
More than \$90,000	28	71	2	55	44	56	-	82

TABLE 3. “How would you rate the job that congress is doing? Is it excellent, good, only fair, or poor?”

	—Black Population—				—General Population—			
	Excellent/ Good %	Fair/ Poor %	D/K %	(N)	Excellent/ Good %	Fair/ Poor %	D/K %	(N)
Total	20	74	6	850	24	71	6	850
White	-	-	-	-	24	70	6	741
Men	20	75	5	384	21	75	5	393
Women	19	73	8	465	27	67	7	457
Ages 18-25	29	68	3	116	25	64	11	118
26-35	19	76	5	169	31	62	7	137
36-50	20	74	6	233	24	70	5	273
51-64	18	75	7	154	18	79	4	166
65+	18	74	8	123	19	79	2	116
Northeast	16	76	8	153	27	67	7	163
Midwest	22	74	4	164	23	71	6	196
South	20	74	7	448	22	73	5	305
West	22	72	6	85	25	70	6	186
Liberal	17	80	4	246	13	82	4	185
Moderate	17	79	4	325	24	70	6	271
Secular conservative	27	67	7	61	26	64	9	95
Christian conservative	27	66	7	171	28	68	3	266
Less than HS	17	70	12	60	31	59	9	44
HS Graduate	20	73	8	177	24	69	7	230
Some College/Tech	24	71	4	253	25	80	5	213
Bachelor's Degree	17	76	6	243	30	66	4	227
College Degree+	11	86	3	85	10	85	6	115
Less than \$15,000	17	79	5	65	19	70	11	76
\$15,000 - \$35,000	19	77	4	128	23	71	6	130
\$35,000 - \$60,000	20	73	7	196	20	75	6	178
\$60,000 - \$90,000	17	78	5	205	25	72	3	165
More than \$90,000	20	72	2	55	24	76	4	82

TABLE 4. “Would you say that you are financially better off, worse off, or about the same now as you were a year ago?”

	Black Population					General Population				
	Better %	Same %	Worse %	D/K %	(N)	Better %	Same %	Worse %	D/K %	(N)
Total	17	43	38	2	850	26	44	29	1	850
White	-	-	-	-	-	26	46	27	1	741
Men	19	39	40	2	384	28	40	30	2	393
Women	16	46	37	1	465	24	47	28	0	457
Ages 18-25	17	36	47	-	116	26	43	31	-	118
26-35	18	37	41	3	169	43	30	24	3	137
36-50	18	41	40	1	233	23	46	30	1	273
51-64	20	47	31	2	154	23	43	34	1	166
65+	12	48	37	3	123	20	53	28	-	116
Northeast	17	54	29	-	153	23	44	33	1	163
Midwest	21	35	41	2	164	21	52	27	-	196
South	16	40	42	2	448	30	38	30	2	305
West	16	50	31	4	85	27	44	28	1	186
Liberal	11	43	45	-	246	16	48	37	-	185
Moderate	17	42	40	1	325	25	40	34	1	271
Secular conservative	30	36	34	-	61	38	37	25	-	95
Christian conservative	20	47	28	4	171	30	48	20	2	266
Less than HS	11	37	47	5	60	23	41	30	7	44
HS Graduate	22	43	33	1	177	21	46	32	1	230
Some College/Tech	19	39	42	-	253	26	38	36	-	213
Bachelor's Degree	13	45	39	4	243	30	45	23	1	227
College Degree+	17	45	37	1	85	30	46	23	-	115
Less than \$15,000	13	29	58	-	65	12	37	50	1	76
\$15,000 - \$35,000	12	45	40	3	128	15	42	42	1	130
\$35,000 - \$60,000	13	48	38	1	196	25	48	26	1	178
\$60,000 - \$90,000	20	44	32	4	205	35	48	16	1	165
More than \$90,000	26	39	35	1	55	40	47	17	-	82

TABLE 5. “Do you feel things in the country are generally going in the right direction, or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?”

	—Black Population—				—General Population—			
	Right Direction %	Wrong Track %	D/K %	(N)	Right Direction %	Wrong Track %	D/K %	(N)
Total	18	74	8	850	36	57	7	850
White	-	-	-	-	39	54	7	741
Men	19	74	6	384	34	58	7	393
Women	16	74	10	465	37	56	7	457
Ages 18-25	15	78	7	116	34	58	8	118
26-35	18	75	6	169	42	53	5	137
36-50	14	78	8	233	38	55	7	273
51-64	25	68	7	154	30	63	7	166
65+	17	71	13	123	37	56	7	116
Northeast	20	72	8	153	35	60	6	163
Midwest	20	75	5	164	38	55	7	196
South	14	77	9	448	37	55	7	305
West	27	61	11	85	32	60	8	186
Liberal	11	84	5	246	18	79	3	185
Moderate	13	79	8	325	26	65	9	271
Secular conservative	29	57	15	61	58	38	4	95
Christian conservative	30	59	11	171	52	38	10	266
Less than HS	12	84	4	60	25	66	9	44
HS Graduate	24	65	11	177	34	59	7	230
Some College/Tech	14	79	7	253	34	61	5	213
Bachelor's Degree	17	74	9	243	42	51	7	227
College Degree+	18	76	6	85	37	54	10	115
Less than \$15,000	15	81	3	65	24	71	5	76
\$15,000 - \$35,000	18	72	10	128	26	68	5	130
\$35,000 - \$60,000	13	79	8	196	35	58	7	178
\$60,000 - \$90,000	21	69	10	205	45	48	7	165
More than \$90,000	28	67	5	55	50	48	2	82

TABLE 6. "I'm going to read a list of names of people in public life. I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as either very favorable, favorable, unfavorable, or very unfavorable. If you haven't heard about someone or don't know enough about them to rate them, just say so."

	Black Population				General Population			
	Favorable %	Unfavorable %	D/K %	(N)	Favorable %	Unfavorable %	D/K %	(N)
George W. Bush	30	67	4	850	53	45	2	850
John Kerry	78	16	6		49	45	7	
John Edwards	68	13	20		47	28	24	
Dick Cheney	30	59	12		47	43	9	
Ralph Nader	30	40	30		30	46	24	
Barack Obama	30	7	63		22	7	71	
Jesse Jackson	58	29	13		33	53	14	
Colin Powell	69	23	9		74	17	9	
Hillary Clinton	80	15	5		53	42	5	
Condoleezza Rice	44	33	22		51	26	23	

TABLE 7. "In politics, do you consider yourself a Democrat, a Republican, or an independent?"

	Black Population Only															
	Democratic (%)			Independent (%)			Republican (%)			D/K-R/A (%)			Total			
	2000	2002	2004	2000	2002	2004	2000	2002	2004	2000	2002	2004	2000	2002	2004	
Total	74	63	63	20	24	23	4	10	10	4	23	2	3	4	850	850
Ages 18-25	51	54	71	36	34	22	9	9	5	4	22	4	3	2	76	116
26-35	70	56	63	24	29	20	5	15	12	1	20	1	1	5	148	169
36-50	79	65	62	18	21	26	4	12	9	0	26	0	3	4	234	233
51-64	77	70	55	18	21	24	3	5	15	2	24	2	4	7	173	154
65+	82	75	66	13	16	20	1	7	12	4	20	4	2	2	150	123

TABLE 8. "Suppose the 2004 Presidential election were being held today. Among the three major nominees George W. Bush, John Kerry, and Ralph Nader, who would you like to see win?" - 2004 National Opinion Poll Results Compared With 2000 National Opinion Poll Results, Black Population Only

	2004 National Opinion Poll					2000 National Opinion Poll				
	Kerry %	Bush %	Nader %	D/K %	(N)	Gore %	Bush %	Nader %	D/K %	(N)
Total	69	18	2	11	850	74	9	2	14	850
Men	69	18	3	9	384	74	10	3	13	367
Women	68	18	2	13	465	74	8	2	16	483
Ages 18-25	83	14	-	3	116	72	8	3	16	76
26-35	68	17	2	13	169	70	9	4	12	148
36-50	69	16	3	12	233	74	14	2	12	234
51-64	60	24	4	12	154	77	13	5	13	173
65+	67	19	3	11	123	85	6	-	13	150
Northeast	59	21	2	19	153	79	11	3	7	152
Midwest	69	24	2	6	164	72	8	3	17	149
South	72	14	2	12	448	73	9	1	17	444
West	67	23	6	4	85	73	10	5	11	105
Liberal	79	8	2	11	246	77	9	3	12	317
Moderate	75	13	3	10	325	75	8	2	14	215
Secular conservative	63	29	0	8	61	72	10	7	11	88
Christian conservative	49	36	4	11	171	69	11	1	19	188
Less than HS	76	17	2	5	60	75	10	1	13	77
HS Graduate	61	20	5	15	177	72	10	3	14	268
Some College/Tech	72	17	2	9	253	74	8	1	16	224
College Degree+	70	17	1	12	328	77	7	3	13	245
Less than \$15,000	75	15	3	7	65	78	5	-	17	56
\$15,000 - \$35,000	73	14	4	9	128	70	11	1	18	152
\$35,000 - \$60,000	75	14	2	9	196	75	11	4	11	186
\$60,000 - \$90,000	62	22	2	14	205	77	9	1	13	183
More than \$90,000	68	24	1	11	55	81	5	-	14	92

TABLE 9. “Thinking about the U.S. House election this November, in the congressional district where you live, if that election were held today, for whom would you vote: the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate?” - - Asked of black population only

	Democrat %	Republican %	D/K %	(N)
Total	71	16	12	850
White	-	-	-	-
Men	71	19	10	384
Women	72	14	15	465
Ages 18-25	86	12	2	116
26-35	71	18	11	169
36-50	68	14	17	233
51-64	69	20	12	154
65+	68	16	16	123
Northeast	70	13	17	153
Midwest	66	25	10	164
South	74	13	12	448
West	71	21	8	85
Liberal	82	7	11	246
Moderate	75	12	12	325
Secular conservative	65	32	3	61
Christian conservative	56	31	13	171
Less than HS	69	25	6	60
HS Graduate	64	16	21	177
Some College/Tech	76	16	7	253
Bachelor's Degree	73	13	15	243
College Degree+	75	17	8	85
Less than \$15,000	74	17	8	65
\$15,000 - \$35,000	76	15	9	128
\$35,000 - \$60,000	79	12	9	196
\$60,000 - \$90,000	63	20	17	205
More than \$90,000	65	22	13	55

TABLE 10. Selected Campaign Issues

10a. "Would you support a voucher system where parents would get money from the government to send their children to the public, private, or parochial school of their choice?"

——Black Population——				——General Population——			
Yes	No	D/K	(N)	Yes	No	D/K	(N)
%	%	%		%	%	%	
48	47	6	850	48	44	8	850

10b. "On balance, how would you rate the federal government's 'No Child Left Behind' education program? Would you say it has been excellent, good, only fair, or poor?"

——Black Population——				——General Population——			
Excellent/ Good	Fair/Poor	D/K	(N)	Excellent/ Good	Fair/Poor	D/K	(N)
%	%	%		%	%	%	
23	67	10	850	32	56	12	850

10c. "Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling the situation in Iraq?"

——Black Population——				——General Population——			
Approve	Disapprove	D/K	(N)	Approve	Disapprove	D/K	(N)
%	%	%		%	%	%	
20	72	7	850	42	51	6	850

10d. "Do you think the war in Iraq has helped the war on terrorism, or has it hurt the war on terrorism?"

——Black Population——				——General Population——			
Helped	Hurt	D/K	(N)	Helped	Hurt	D/K	(N)
%	%	%		%	%	%	
22	66	12	850	42	45	12	850

10e. "Which comes closest to your view? Gay couples should be allowed to legally marry, or Gay couples should be allowed to form civil unions but not legally marry, or There should be no legal recognition of a gay couple's relationship?"

——Black Population——				——General Population——				
Legally Marry	Civil Unions	No Recognition	D/K	Legally Marry	Civil Unions	No Recognition	D/K	(N)
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
23	24	46	7	29	28	37	7	850

10f. "How concerned are you that your vote will be counted in the up-coming election? Are you very concerned, somewhat concerned, or not concerned at all?"

——Black Population——				——General Population——			
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TABLE 10. Selected Campaign Issues

Very %	Somewhat %	Not At All %	D/K %	(N)	Very %	Somewhat %	Not At All %	D/K %	(N)
63	16	19	2	850	48	20	30	2	850

TABLE 11. Campaign Issues: Healthcare

11a. “Do you think the federal government is doing enough to help the states with health programs such as Medicaid?”

Black Population				General Population			
Yes %	No %	D/K %	(N)	Yes %	No %	D/K %	(N)
21	67	12	850	27	51	22	850

11b. “Do you think there are large, small, or no disparities in health care access and quality between whites and African Americans?”

Black Population					General Population				
Large %	Small %	None %	D/K %	(N)	Large %	Small %	None %	D/K %	(N)
39	21	21	19	850	24	18	28	30	850

11c. “As you may know, there is a new Medicare bill that provides prescription drug benefits for senior citizens and changes the way Medicare will cover the medical expenses of some senior citizens. How much have you heard or read about these changes to Medicare: a great deal, some, not much, or nothing at all?”

Black Population					General Population				
Great Deal %	Some %	Not Much/None %	D/K %	(N)	Great Deal %	Some %	Not Much/None %	D/K %	(N)
16	33	47	4	850	17	35	46	2	850

TABLE 12. “Do you think the Medicare bill affecting prescription drugs for senior citizens passed by congress will be good for senior citizens or bad for senior citizens, or haven’t you heard enough about it?”

	—Black Population—				—General Population—			
	Good %	Bad %	D/K %	(N)	Good %	Bad %	D/K %	(N)
Total	22	23	55	850	28	23	49	850
White	-	-	-	-	30	22	48	741
Men	24	22	54	384	27	25	48	393
Women	20	25	55	465	29	21	50	457
Ages 18-25	20	15	64	116	32	18	50	118
26-35	25	17	58	169	26	18	57	137
36-50	17	25	58	233	27	19	54	273
51-64	25	26	49	154	29	25	46	166
65+	25	32	43	123	26	39	35	116
Northeast	22	16	62	153	22	25	53	163
Midwest	15	28	58	164	28	18	55	196
South	24	24	51	448	32	25	43	305
West	20	24	56	85	27	24	49	186
Liberal	19	29	52	246	22	30	48	185
Moderate	22	24	53	325	28	27	45	271
Secular conservative	22	18	59	61	31	20	49	95
Christian conservative	27	17	56	171	33	13	54	266
Less than HS	18	20	61	60	30	14	57	44
HS Graduate	26	24	50	177	29	22	49	230
Some College/Tech	20	22	58	253	24	23	53	213
Bachelor’s Degree	20	27	53	243	30	22	49	227
College Degree+	29	20	51	85	32	28	40	115
Less than \$15,000	25	32	43	65	24	30	46	76
\$15,000 - \$35,000	21	16	63	128	24	22	54	130
\$35,000 - \$60,000	22	24	54	196	21	22	57	178
\$60,000 - \$90,000	23	21	56	205	35	19	46	165
More than \$90,000	24	22	54	55	33	28	39	82

TABLE 13. “Do you think the federal government should negotiate with drug companies for lower prescription drug prices for seniors, or should drug companies set those prices without government involvement?”

	—Black Population—				—General Population—			
	Government Negotiate %	Company Set Prices %	D/K %	(N)	Government Negotiate %	Company Set Prices %	D/K %	(N)
Total	82	12	6	850	73	20	7	850
White	-	-	-	-	74	19	6	741
Men	83	13	4	384	70	24	6	393
Women	81	12	7	465	76	17	7	457
Ages 18-25	81	14	5	116	65	25	10	118
26-35	83	12	5	169	78	18	4	137
36-50	81	10	8	233	70	21	9	273
51-64	78	16	6	154	76	19	5	166
65+	88	8	3	123	77	19	4	116
Northeast	82	10	8	153	71	20	9	163
Midwest	79	14	6	164	70	24	5	196
South	83	11	6	448	75	18	7	305
West	78	18	4	85	75	18	6	186
Liberal	83	10	6	246	81	16	4	185
Moderate	85	11	4	325	79	15	6	271
Secular conservative	68	26	6	61	61	25	14	95
Christian conservative	77	15	8	171	68	26	6	266
Less than HS	81	13	6	60	66	30	5	44
HS Graduate	77	15	8	177	74	20	7	230
Some College/Tech	85	10	5	253	80	13	7	213
Bachelor's Degree	84	12	4	243	68	24	8	227
College Degree+	78	15	8	85	76	21	3	115
Less than \$15,000	83	12	4	65	72	21	7	76
\$15,000 - \$35,000	82	10	8	128	77	18	5	130
\$35,000 - \$60,000	87	9	4	196	75	17	7	178
\$60,000 - \$90,000	74	19	7	205	72	22	6	165
More than \$90,000	84	13	3	55	78	18	4	82

TABLE 14. “How important will the issue of prescription drug benefits for senior citizens be to you in deciding how to vote in the presidential election? Will it be very important, somewhat important, not very important, or not important at all?”

	——Black Population——				——General Population——					
	Very %	Somewhat %	Not Very/Not At All %	D/K %	(N)	Very %	Somewhat %	Not Very/Not At All %	D/K %	(N)
Total	47	30	19	4	850	25	38	34	3	850
White	-	-	-	-	-	23	38	36	3	741
Men	45	31	19	4	384	23	37	37	3	393
Women	48	29	18	4	465	27	39	36	2	457
Ages 18-25	44	29	18	8	116	22	43	28	7	118
26-35	48	29	22	2	169	15	41	40	3	137
36-50	49	31	15	5	233	21	38	39	2	273
51-64	46	27	23	5	154	27	37	34	2	166
65+	49	31	16	3	123	39	47	24	1	116
Northeast	40	33	23	4	153	20	47	29	4	163
Midwest	44	27	24	5	164	27	40	32	1	196
South	51	31	14	5	448	27	33	38	3	305
West	43	27	27	3	85	25	37	35	3	186
Liberal	49	35	15	2	246	28	39	30	3	185
Moderate	53	30	15	3	325	28	44	26	2	271
Secular conservative	27	24	39	10	61	14	31	52	4	95
Christian conservative	41	32	21	6	171	22	36	41	2	266
Less than HS	50	28	16	6	60	39	43	16	2	44
HS Graduate	47	33	12	7	177	32	36	30	2	230
Some College/Tech	46	29	21	4	253	26	45	27	2	213
Bachelor's Degree	50	27	21	3	243	19	34	45	3	227
College Degree+	39	38	19	4	85	17	38	42	3	115

APPENDIX: METHODOLOGY

2004 NATIONAL OPINION POLL

The survey was designed and the questionnaire developed at the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies. The overall study design consisted of two groups: a national general population sample of 850 and a national sample of African Americans of 850. There are 58 African American respondents in the general population sample who are also part of the national sample of African Americans. Thus, in total, there are 1,642 adults, 18 years of age or older, who are included in this study.

The survey results are based upon (random digit dialing) telephone interviews with 1,642 adults that were conducted between September 15, 2004, and October 10, 2004. The field work was done by *Research America* of Philadelphia, PA. Randomized procedures were used to select respondents within each household reached by telephone, and after the initial call, there were at least eight 'call-backs' if no interview was completed.

The results of this survey for both the general population sample and the black population sample should be interpreted with a statistical margin of error of ± 3.5 percentage points. That is, one can say with 95 percent confidence that the statements made based upon the procedures employed have a random error (sampling error, random measurement error, *etc.*) component of ± 3.5 percentage points. Actually, this survey like all surveys does not have a margin of error. The individual items in the survey have margins of error; the margin of error for a question is based upon its sample variance, the level of confidence desired (*e.g.*, 95 percent), and upon sample size.¹ The ± 3.5 percentage points is a conservative estimate of margin of error; *i.e.*, many items—especially those where large majorities of either sample hold similar positions—have a margin of error much smaller than ± 3.5 percentage points.

In addition to the random error component in surveys, there are potentially non-random errors that may be present. While this survey is based upon random digit dialing techniques that effectively deal with potential problems in telephone surveys such as unlisted numbers, new numbers, *etc.*, non-response in telephone surveys produces a variety of known (and probably some unknown) biases. Further, a telephone survey by definition defines its population as those individuals with some reasonable expectation of being reached by telephone. Such a definition, of course, eliminates certain populations; for example, most homeless people, and others living in poverty, who are unreachable by phone are not part of the sample population. Thus, the statements made based upon this survey most likely cannot be generalized to apply to homeless people, black or white.

During the field work phase of the survey, an effort was made to maximize the use of same-race interviewers, and a majority of the interviews were conducted with same-race interviewers (*i.e.*, black interviewers for black respondents and white interviewers for white respondents).

The sample data from the overall survey are weighted in the analyses to population parameters for a variety of demographic factors. The parameters used in this weighting are from the U.S. Bureau of the Census's November 2002 Current Population Survey and prior Joint Center surveys.

¹ A random sample is a random subset of a population. One makes observations on suitable units of a random sample in order to make statements about the population and to estimate the error associated with such statements. A common misconception regarding surveys and associated statistical theory, is that 'population' (or population size) is a factor in margin of error. This is not true. Population does not appear in the statistical formulation for margin of error.

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