# Court Critics Now on Both Left and Right SUPREME COURT'S IMAGE DECLINES AS NOMINATION BATTLES LOOM 

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## Court Critics Now on Both Left and Right SUPREME COURT'S IMAGE DECLINES AS NOMINATION BATTLE LOOMS

With an aging Supreme Court possibly facing major changes, the court's public image has eroded significantly. Currently, $57 \%$ of Americans have a favorable opinion of the Supreme Court, with $30 \%$ expressing an unfavorable view. In the past, favorable views of the court typically surpassed $70 \%$; even in January 2001, shortly after the Supreme Court's ruling deciding the contentious presidential election, 68\% expressed a positive opinion of the court.

Two very different factors are contributing to the court's lower standing with the public. Democrats turned more negative toward the Supreme Court in the wake of its controversial decision in Bush v. Gore. Positive opinions of the court among Democrats fell from 78\% in May 1997 to 61\% in January 2001. Democratic support for the court has continued to ebb, and now stands at 51\%.

But much of the recent decline in positive views of the court has come among conservative Republicans. Favorable opinions of the Supreme Court among both conservative Republicans and white

| Supreme Court Losing Favor |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Favorable opinion of Supreme Court |  |  |  |
|  | Jan | June |  |
|  | $\frac{2001}{\%}$ | $\frac{2005}{\%}$ | Change |
| Total | 68 | 57 | -11 |
| Republican | 80 | 64 | -16 |
| Democrat | 61 | 51 | -10 |
| Independent | 69 | 62 | -7 |
| Conserv. Repub. | 78 | 59 | -19 |
| Mod./Lib. Repub. | 84 | 72 | -12 |
| Conserv./Mod. Dem | m. 66 | 52 | -14 |
| Liberal Democrat | 54 | 51 | -3 |
| White Protestant | 71 | 57 | -14 |
| --Evangelical | 73 | 51 | -22 |
| --Mainline | 69 | 63 | -6 |
| White Catholic | 74 | 64 | -10 |
| Secular | 58 | 52 | -6 | evangelical Protestants have declined by about 20 points since January 2001. An analysis of the poll finds that Republicans who want the court to take a tougher stand against abortion rights are more dissatisfied with the court than Republicans who do not.

The latest national survey by the Pew Research Center for the People \& the Press, conducted June 8-12 among 1,464 Americans, finds that the struggle over the court's future is beginning to intensify. Overall, $47 \%$ of the public says the selection of the next Supreme Court justice is very important to them personally, up from $38 \%$ in March. But at this point, the issue is mainly of interest to the extreme wings of each political party. Fully six-in-ten conservative Republicans (61\%), and the same number of liberal Democrats, attach great importance to the selection of the next nominee. That compares with just four-in-ten conservative and moderate Democrats, and about the same number of moderate and liberal Republicans (38\%).

On what is likely to be a pivotal issue in a Supreme Court nomination battle - abortion rights - the public continues to strongly oppose the complete overturning of the Roe v. Wade decision. By $63 \%-30 \%$, the public rejects the idea of completely overturning the 1973 decision establishing a woman's right to abortion. That margin has remained stable for more than a decade.

In many ways, the political divide over that landmark court decision reflects the battle lines over the court's future. Solid majorities in most demographic groups oppose completely overturning the Roe v. Wade decision, but opposition is greatest among liberal Democrats (82\%) and seculars (82\%).

Conservative Republicans are by far the most supportive of overturning the Roe $v$. Wade decision (62\%). This represents a deep division within the Republican base, as Republicans who describe themselves as moderate or liberal favor maintaining Roe v. Wade by a $71 \%$ to $25 \%$ margin. The only other major group in which a majority favors completely overturning Roe $v$. Wade is white evangelical Protestants (52\%).

Dissatisfaction with the Supreme Court among Republicans is closely tied to views about Roe v. Wade. The roughly half of Republicans who would like to see the abortion decision overturned are twice as likely as their counterparts who support the status quo to give the Court an unfavorable rating (33\% vs. 16\%).

| Public Opposed to Overturning 'Roe' |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Completely overturn Roe v. Wade? |  |  |  |
|  | $\frac{\text { Yes }}{\%}$ |  | $\frac{\mathrm{DK}}{\%}$ |
| Total | 30 | 63 | 7=100 |
| Men | 31 | 62 | 7=100 |
| Women | 29 | 64 | 7=100 |
| White | 31 | 63 | 6=100 |
| Black | 28 | 60 | 12=100 |
| Hispanic | 31 | 62 | 7=100 |
| 18-29 | 29 | 66 | 5=100 |
| 30-49 | 28 | 65 | $7=100$ |
| 50-64 | 32 | 62 | 6=100 |
| 65+ | 34 | 57 | 9=100 |
| College graduate | 20 | 75 | 5=100 |
| Some college | 32 | 63 | 5=100 |
| H.S. or less | 35 | 57 | 8=100 |
| Republican | 48 | 47 | 5=100 |
| Democrat | 19 | 75 | 6=100 |
| Independent | 25 | 69 | 6=100 |
| Conserv Repub | 62 | 33 | 5=100 |
| Mod./Lib Repub | 25 | 71 | 4=100 |
| Cons./Mod Dem | 23 | 72 | 5=100 |
| Liberal Democrat | + 13 | 82 | 5=100 |
| White Protestant | 37 | 56 | $7=100$ |
| --Evangelical | 52 | 41 | $7=100$ |
| --Mainline | 21 | 71 | 8=100 |
| White Catholic | 31 | 65 | 4=100 |
| Secular | 12 | 82 | 6=100 |
| Attend church |  |  |  |
| Weekly or more | 46 | 48 | 6=100 |
| Sometimes | 22 | 70 | 8=100 |
| Seldom or never | 17 | 77 | 6=100 |

Attitudes toward Roe $v$. Wade also are a major factor in Republican views of how President Bush should approach a possible court vacancy. Overall, a 35\% plurality wants President Bush to select a nominee who will keep the court as it is now; $29 \%$ favor a nominee who will move the court in a more conservative direction; and $28 \%$ favor a nominee who will make the court more liberal.

Fully three-quarters of Republican opponents of the Roe decision (76\%) want Bush to appoint a justice who will make the court more conservative, compared with just $33 \%$ of Republican supporters of Roe. A plurality of Republican supporters of the Roe precedent (43\%) believe Bush should appoint a justice who keeps the court about the same as it is now.

There also is a large gap in the intensity of opinions about the court's future between Republicans who oppose Roe and those who support it. Fully 62\% of Roe opponents within the party say the decision of how to fill an upcoming vacancy on the Court is very important to them personally; just $43 \%$ of those who support Roe agree.

## Congress, GOP Down

The new Pew survey finds further evidence of public dissatisfaction with Congress. About half of

## Republicans Divided by Roe

|  | Republicans <br> who want to... <br> Overturn Maintain |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| View of the | $\frac{\text { Roe }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { Roe }}{\%}$ |
| Supreme Court | 57 | 71 |
| Favorable | 33 | 16 |
| Unfavorable | $\underline{10}$ | $\underline{13}$ |
| Don't know | $\underline{100}$ | 100 |
| Appoint justice who |  |  |
| will make Court... | 76 | 33 |
| More conservative | $*$ | 18 |
| More liberal | 21 | 43 |
| Same as now | $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{6}$ |
| Don't know | 100 | 100 |
| Next appointment is... |  |  |
| Very important | 62 | 43 |
| Somewhat important | 27 | 29 |
| Not too/at all important | 10 | 28 |
| Don't know | $\underline{1}$ | $\underline{*}$ |
|  | 100 | 100 |
| Number of cases | $(222)$ | $(222)$ | Americans (49\%) express a favorable opinion of Congress, a decline from 56\% a year ago and the lowest mark since the 1999 impeachment trial of former President Bill Clinton (48\% in January 1999).

Views of Congress remain partisan, but the decline in congressional favorability has come among members of both parties. The shift has been greatest among those at either end of the political spectrum. Just three-in-ten liberal Democrats (31\%) have a positive view of Congress, down from 53\% last June. Conservative Republicans also are less happy with Congress; $58 \%$ have a favorable opinion of Congress, compared with $70 \%$ a year ago.

Positive opinions of the Republican Party have slipped since the end of last year. Currently, $48 \%$ have a favorable opinion of the GOP, with $44 \%$ unfavorable. In December 2004, positive opinions of the Republican Party outnumbered negative ones by $52 \%-42 \%$. Over the same period, ratings for the Democratic Party have been stable ( $53 \%$ then/52\% now). In the new poll, fewer than half of those ages 65 and older (46\%) express a positive opinion of the Republican Party, down from 57\% last December.

## Rating the Parties Ideologically

As in the past, most Americans see themselves close to the center of the ideological spectrum. And they view the two parties as being about equally distant from their own position. However, the new poll finds more political independents see the Republican Party as too conservative than see Democratic Party as too liberal.

On an ideological scale of 1-6 (where 1 is the most conservative and 6 is the most liberal), the midpoint is 3.5 and the public's self-rating, on average, is 3.4 . The Republican Party, on average, receives a rating of 2.6; the

| Where the Parties Stand |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Average rating of... |  |  |
| Rating | Your- | Rep | Dem |
| given by... |  | Party | Party |
| All Americans | 3.4 | 2.6 | 4.2 |
| Republicans | 2.7 | 2.6 | 4.7 |
| Democrats | 4.0 | 2.4 | 4.0 |
| Independents | 3.6 | 2.8 | 4.0 |
| Average ratings ba place each item on represents very co very liberal. | those w from 1 tive and | o were ab 6 wher 6 " repres | $\begin{aligned} & \text { le to } \\ & \text { "1" } \end{aligned}$ <br> nts | average rating for the Democratic Party is the same distance in the liberal direction (4.2).

On average, Republicans rate the Democratic Party as more liberal than Democrats rate their own party (4.7 vs. 4.0). By contrast, Democrats place the GOP at about the same place on the spectrum as Republicans place their party (2.4 vs. 2.6). Independents view the Republican Party as slightly further away from the ideological midpoint than the Democratic Party (2.8 for Republican Party; 4.0 for Democratic Party).

This can also be seen by comparing how independents rate themselves versus how they rate the two parties. Roughly half of

## Half of Independents See GOP Leaning Right

| Placement of...* | Total | Rep | Dem | Ind |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| The Republican Party | \% | \% | \% | \% |
| More conservative than self | 47 | 28 | 64 | 51 |
| Same as self | 21 | 43 | 8 | 17 |
| More liberal than self | 20 | 24 | 17 | 19 |
| Don't know | $\underline{12}$ | $\underline{5}$ | 11 | 13 |
|  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| The Democratic Party |  |  |  |  |
| More liberal than self | 42 | 69 | 28 | 36 |
| Same as self | 24 | 10 | 34 | 28 |
| More conservative than self | 22 | 13 | 29 | 24 |
| Don't know | $\underline{12}$ | 8 | $\underline{9}$ | $\underline{12}$ |
|  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Percentages show how many place each party higher, lower, or at the same position as themselves on a scale from 1 to 6 where " 1 " represents very conservative and " 6 " represents very liberal. independents (51\%) rate the Republican Party as more conservative than themselves; fewer independents (36\%) rate the Democratic Party as more liberal than themselves.

Significantly, more Republicans are in tune ideologically with the GOP than Democrats are with their party. A plurality of Republicans (43\%) rate their party the same as they rate themselves. By contrast, only about a third of Democrats (34\%) give the Democratic Party the same rating they
give themselves.

## Ideology and Issues

The public's view of the parties’ ideological stances on social issues, like homosexuality and abortion, is almost evenly split. About as many say the Republican Party is too conservative on these issues (38\%) as believe the Democratic Party is too liberal (35\%).

There is a comparable divide in opinions of the parties’ ideological positions on economic issues. However, there are bigger differences in the public's perceptions of where the parties stand on foreign policy and national security issues. Nearly half (46\%) say the Democratic Party is 'not tough enough' on these issues. Views of the Republican Party's positions on national security are more divided; 31\% believe the GOP is not tough enough on foreign policy, while $22 \%$ say it is too tough.

Pluralities of independents rate the GOP as being too conservative on social issues (41\%) and economic issues (38\%). By contrast, pluralities of independents say the Democratic Party is about right on both sets of issues.

Like the general public, independents are divided in their assessment of the Republican Party's positions on foreign policy; a third say their positions are about right, with somewhat smaller percentages saying they are not tough enough (30\%) or too tough (26\%). But a plurality of independents (44\%) believe the Democratic Party is not tough enough on foreign policy.

## Rating the Parties on Issues

|  | Rep | Dem |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| On social issues such as | Party | Party |
| homosexuality and abortion | \% | \% |
| Too conservative | 38 | 13 |
| Too liberal | 13 | 35 |
| About right | 34 | 36 |
| Don't know | 15 | $\underline{16}$ |
|  | 100 | 100 |

On economic issues such as
taxes and gov't programs

| Too conservative | 36 | 14 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |

Too liberal $\quad 17 \quad 33$
About right $33 \quad 39$
Don't know $\quad 14 \quad 14$
On foreign policy and national security issues
Too tough 22
$\begin{array}{lll}\text { Not tough enough } & 31 \quad 46\end{array}$
About right $35 \quad 35$
Don't know $\quad \underline{12} \quad \frac{14}{100}$

## Independents View the Parties

|  | Rep <br> Party | Dem <br> Party |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| On social issues... | $\frac{\%}{\%}$ | $\frac{14}{}$ |
| Too conservative | 14 | 27 |
| Too liberal | 30 | 41 |
| About right | $\underline{15}$ | $\underline{18}$ |
| Don't know | 38 | 100 |
|  | 18 | 29 |
| On economic issues... | 29 | 39 |
| Too conservative | $\underline{15}$ | $\underline{14}$ |
| Too liberal | 100 | 100 |

Based on 450 respondents who think of themselves as independents.

## ABOUT THE SURVEY

Results for this survey are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International among a nationwide sample of 1,464 adults, 18 years of age or older, from June 8-12, 2005. For results based on the total sample, one can say with $95 \%$ confidence that the error attributable to sampling is plus or minus 3 percentage points. For results based on Form $1(\mathrm{~N}=726)$ or Form $2(\mathrm{~N}=738)$ only, the error attributable to sampling is plus or minus 4 percentage points.

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

## PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE \& THE PRESS JUNE 2005 NEWS INTEREST INDEX / MEDIA UPDATE FINAL TOPLINE <br> JUNE 8-12, 2005 <br> $\mathrm{N}=1,464$

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

June, 2005
Late May, 2005
Mid-May, 2005
Late March, 2005
Mid-March, 2005
February, 2005
January, 2005
2004
December, 2004
Mid-October, 2004
August, 2004
July, 2004
June, 2004
May, 2004
Late April, 2004
Early April, 2004
Late March, 2004
Mid-March, 2004
February, 2004
Mid-January, 2004
Early January, 2004
2003
December, 2003
November, 2003
October, 2003
September, 2003
Mid-August, 2003
Early August, 2003
Mid-July, 2003
Early July, 2003
June, 2003
May, 2003
April 10-16, 2003
April 9, 2003
April 2-7, 2003
March 28-April 1, 2003
March 25-27, 2003
March 20-24, 2003
March 13-16, 2003
February, 2003
January, 2003

| Approve | Dis- <br> approve | Don't <br> know |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 42 | 49 | $10=100$ |
| 42 | 48 | $10=100$ |
| 43 | 50 | $7=100$ |
| 49 | 46 | $5=100$ |
| 45 | 46 | $9=100$ |
| 46 | 47 | $7=100$ |
| 50 | 43 | $7=100$ |
|  |  |  |
| 48 | 44 | $8=100$ |
| 44 | 48 | $8=100$ |
| 46 | 45 | $9=100$ |
| 46 | 46 | $8=100$ |
| 48 | 43 | $9=100$ |
| 44 | 48 | $8=100$ |
| 48 | 43 | $9=100$ |
| 43 | 47 | $10=100$ |
| 47 | 44 | $9=100$ |
| 46 | 47 | $7=100$ |
| 48 | 44 | $8=100$ |
| 56 | 34 | $10=100$ |
| 58 | 35 | $7=100$ |
|  |  |  |
| 57 | 34 | $9=100$ |
| 50 | 40 | $10=100$ |
| 50 | 42 | $8=100$ |
| 55 | 36 | $9=100$ |
| 56 | 32 | $12=100$ |
| 53 | 37 | $10=100$ |
| 58 | 32 | $10=100$ |
| 60 | 29 | $11=100$ |
| 62 | 27 | $11=100$ |
| 65 | 27 | $8=100$ |
| 72 | 22 | $6=100$ |
| 74 | 20 | $6=100$ |
| 69 | 25 | $6=100$ |
| 71 | 23 | $6=100$ |
| 70 | 24 | $6=100$ |
| 67 | 26 | $7=100$ |
| 55 | 34 | $11=100$ |
| 54 | 36 | $10=100$ |
| 58 | 32 | $10=100$ |
|  |  |  |


| Approve | Disapprove | Don't know |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 61 | 28 | 11=100 |
| 59 | 29 | $12=100$ |
| 61 | 30 | $9=100$ |
| 67 | 22 | $11=100$ |
| 63 | 26 | $11=100$ |
| 60 | 27 | $13=100$ |
| 67 | 21 | $12=100$ |
| 65 | 25 | $10=100$ |
| 67 | 21 | $12=100$ |
| 70 | 20 | $10=100$ |
| 69 | 18 | $13=100$ |
| 74 | 16 | $10=100$ |
| 78 | 13 | $9=100$ |
| 80 | 11 | $9=100$ |
| 84 | 9 | $7=100$ |
| 84 | 8 | $8=100$ |
| 86 | 7 | $7=100$ |
| 80 | 9 | $11=100$ |
| 51 | 34 | $15=100$ |
| 50 | 32 | $18=100$ |
| 51 | 32 | $17=100$ |
| 50 | 33 | $17=100$ |
| 53 | 32 | $15=100$ |
| 56 | 27 | $17=100$ |
| 55 | 25 | $20=100$ |
| 53 | 21 | $26=100$ |

## QUESTION 2 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

Now, a different kind of question...
ASK ALL:
I. 1 If "6" represents a very liberal position in politics and "1" represents a very conservative position, where on this scale of 6 to 1 would you rate (INSERT ITEM; ROTATE ITEMS a. AND b. WITH ITEM c.
ALWAYS LAST)? Again, 6 is very liberal and 1 is very conservative, and you can use any number in between. [IF ANSWERS "DON'T KNOW"/"NEVER HEARD OF" DO NOT PROBE.]

|  |  | Based on Those Who Could Rate |  |  |  |  |  | Never heard of/ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | -Conservative- |  |  | - Liberal - |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | 1 | $\underline{2}$ | $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{4}$ | $\underline{5}$ | $\underline{6}$ | DK/Refused | (N) |
| a. | The Republican Party | 27 | 27 | 22 | 11 | 7 | $6=100$ | 9\% | 1,332 |
| b. | The Democratic Party | 5 | 6 | 21 | 24 | 22 | $22=100$ | 10\% | 1,329 |
| c. | Yourself | 11 | 14 | 31 | 20 | 15 | $9=100$ | 7\% | 1,377 |
|  | Early Sept, 2004 | 15 | 13 | 30 | 17 | 12 | $13=100$ | 8\% |  |
|  | Mid-March, 2004 | 12 | 12 | 30 | 20 | 14 | $12=100$ | 6\% |  |
|  | Mid-January, 2004 | 15 | 15 | 27 | 18 | 14 | $11=100$ | 5\% |  |
|  | January, 2000 | 15 | 16 | 31 | 16 | 10 | $12=100$ | 8\% |  |
|  | May, 1999 | 13 | 12 | 30 | 20 | 11 | $14=100$ | 7\% |  |
|  | September, 1996 | 17 | 10 | 31 | 18 | 13 | $11=100$ | 6\% |  |
|  | September, 1988 | 14 | 15 | 29 | 20 | 12 | $10=100$ | 6\% |  |
|  | Newsweek: 1984 | 16 | 9 | 31 | 19 | 12 | $13=100$ | 6\% |  |

QUESTION 3 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE
ASK ALL:
Q. 4 Now I'd like your opinion of some groups and organizations in the news. (First,) would you say your overall opinion of... (INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE) is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? (INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE")


| Q. 4 CONTINUED... |  | -------Favorable----- |  |  | -----Unfavorable----- <br> Total Very Mostly |  |  | (VOL) <br> Never | $\begin{aligned} & \text { (VOL) } \\ & \text { Can't } \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Total |  | Mostly |  |  |  | Heard of | Rate |
|  | June, 1997 | 51 | 8 | 43 | 42 | 11 | 31 | 1 | $6=100$ |
|  | January, 1997 | 52 | 8 | 44 | 43 | 10 | 33 | * | $5=100$ |
|  | October, 1995 | 52 | 10 | 42 | 44 | 16 | 28 | * | $4=100$ |
|  | December, 1994 | 67 | 21 | 46 | 27 | 8 | 19 | * | $6=100$ |
|  | July, 1994 | 63 | 12 | 51 | 33 | 8 | 25 | * | $4=100$ |
|  | May, 1993 | 54 | 12 | 42 | 35 | 10 | 25 | 0 | 11=100 |
|  | July, 1992 | 46 | 9 | 37 | 48 | 17 | 31 | * | $6=100$ |
| b. | The Democratic Party | 52 | 12 | 40 | 39 | 13 | 26 | * | $9=100$ |
|  | December, 2004 | 53 | 13 | 40 | 41 | 14 | 27 | * | 6=100 |
|  | June, 2004 | 54 | 12 | 42 | 36 | 11 | 25 | 0 | 10=100 |
|  | Early February, 2004 | 58 | 14 | 44 | 37 | 9 | 28 | * | $5=100$ |
|  | June, 2003 | 54 | 11 | 43 | 38 | 10 | 28 | 0 | $8=100$ |
|  | April, 2003 | 57 | 13 | 44 | 36 | 11 | 25 | * | $7=100$ |
|  | December, 2002 | 54 | 15 | 39 | 37 | 10 | 27 | * | $9=100$ |
|  | July, 2001 | 58 | 18 | 40 | 34 | 10 | 24 | * | $8=100$ |
|  | January, 2001 | 60 | 18 | 42 | 30 | 9 | 21 | 1 | $9=100$ |
|  | September, 2000 (RVs) | 60 | 16 | 44 | 35 | 12 | 23 | * | $5=100$ |
|  | August, 1999 | 59 | 14 | 45 | 37 | 9 | 28 | * | 4=100 |
|  | February, 1999 | 58 | 11 | 47 | 37 | 11 | 26 | 0 | $5=100$ |
|  | January, 1999 | 55 | 14 | 41 | 38 | 12 | 26 | 0 | $7=100$ |
|  | Early December, 1998 | 59 | 18 | 41 | 34 | 10 | 24 | 0 | $7=100$ |
|  | Early October, 1998 (RVs) | 56 | 11 | 45 | 38 | 9 | 29 | * | 6=100 |
|  | Early September, 1998 | 60 | 13 | 47 | 33 | 8 | 25 | * | $7=100$ |
|  | March, 1998 | 58 | 15 | 43 | 36 | 10 | 26 | * | 6=100 |
|  | August, 1997 | 52 | 11 | 41 | 42 | 10 | 32 | 0 | $6=100$ |
|  | June, 1997 | 61 | 10 | 51 | 33 | 8 | 25 | * | 6=100 |
|  | January, 1997 | 60 | 13 | 47 | 35 | 7 | 28 | * | $5=100$ |
|  | October, 1995 | 49 | 9 | 40 | 48 | 11 | 37 | 0 | 3=100 |
|  | December, 1994 | 50 | 13 | 37 | 44 | 13 | 31 | * | 6=100 |
|  | July, 1994 | 62 | 13 | 49 | 34 | 7 | 27 | * | $4=100$ |
|  | May, 1993 | 57 | 14 | 43 | 34 | 9 | 25 | 0 | $9=100$ |
|  | July, 1992 | 61 | 17 | 44 | 33 | 9 | 24 | * | $6=100$ |
| c. | Congress | 49 | 6 | 43 | 40 | 10 | 30 | * | 11=100 |
|  | June, 2004 | 56 | 7 | 49 | 33 | 7 | 26 | * | $11=100$ |
|  | July, 2001 | 57 | 7 | 50 | 32 | 8 | 24 | * | $11=100$ |
|  | March, 2001 | 56 | 6 | 50 | 36 | 10 | 26 | 1 | $7=100$ |
|  | January, 2001 | 64 | 10 | 54 | 23 | 5 | 18 | 1 | $12=100$ |
|  | September, 2000 (RVs) | 61 | 8 | 53 | 32 | 5 | 27 | * | $7=100$ |
|  | August, 1999 | 63 | 8 | 55 | 34 | 7 | 27 | * | $3=100$ |
|  | June, 1999 | 56 | 9 | 47 | 39 | 9 | 30 | * | $5=100$ |
|  | February, 1999 | 52 | 4 | 48 | 44 | 8 | 36 | 0 | $4=100$ |
|  | January, 1999 | 48 | 7 | 41 | 45 | 15 | 30 | 0 | $7=100$ |
|  | Early December, 1998 | 52 | 11 | 41 | 41 | 12 | 29 | 0 | $7=100$ |
|  | Early October, 1998 (RVs) | 62 | 7 | 55 | 33 | 8 | 25 | 0 | $5=100$ |
|  | Early September, 1998 | 66 | 7 | 59 | 27 | 5 | 22 | 0 | $7=100$ |
|  | October, 1997 | 53 | 5 | 48 | 44 | 11 | 33 | 0 | $3=100$ |
|  | August, 1997 | 50 | 6 | 44 | 44 | 11 | 33 | 0 | $6=100$ |
|  | June, 1997 | 52 | 4 | 48 | 42 | 8 | 34 | 0 | 6=100 |
|  | May, 1997 | 49 | 5 | 44 | 42 | 10 | 32 | * | $9=100$ |


| Q. 4 CONTINUED... |  | -------Favorable------ |  |  | $\qquad$ Unfavorable <br> Total Very Mostly |  |  | (VOL) <br> Never <br> Heard of | (VOL) <br> Can't <br> Rate |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Total | Very | Mostly |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | February, 1997 | 52 | 6 | 46 | 40 | 9 | 31 | * | $8=100$ |
|  | January, 1997 | 56 | 6 | 50 | 40 | 8 | 32 | * | $4=100$ |
|  | June, 1996 | 45 | 6 | 39 | 50 | 12 | 38 | * | $5=100$ |
|  | April, 1996 | 45 | 6 | 39 | 50 | 13 | 37 | 0 | $5=100$ |
|  | January, 1996 | 42 | 4 | 38 | 54 | 16 | 38 | * | $4=100$ |
|  | October, 1995 | 42 | 4 | 38 | 55 | 13 | 42 | 0 | $3=100$ |
|  | August, 1995 | 45 | 5 | 40 | 47 | 13 | 34 | * | $7=100$ |
|  | June, 1995 | 53 | 8 | 45 | 42 | 11 | 31 | * | $5=100$ |
|  | February, 1995 | 54 | 10 | 44 | 37 | 10 | 27 | 0 | $9=100$ |
|  | July, 1994 | 53 | 7 | 46 | 43 | 9 | 34 | * | $4=100$ |
|  | May, 1993 | 43 | 8 | 35 | 48 | 13 | 35 | 0 | $9=100$ |
|  | November, 1991 | 51 | 7 | 44 | 43 | 9 | 34 | 0 | $6=100$ |
|  | March, 1991 | 66 | 16 | 50 | 26 | 7 | 19 | 0 | $8=100$ |
|  | May, 1990 | 59 | 6 | 53 | 34 | 9 | 25 | 1 | $6=100$ |
|  | May, 1988 | 64 | 8 | 56 | 28 | 5 | 23 | 0 | $8=100$ |
|  | January, 1988 | 64 | 6 | 58 | 29 | 4 | 25 | 0 | $7=100$ |
|  | May, 1987 | 74 | 10 | 64 | 20 | 4 | 16 | * | $6=100$ |
|  | January, 1987 | 59 | 7 | 52 | 31 | 8 | 23 | 0 | $10=100$ |
|  | June, 1985 | 67 | 9 | 58 | 26 | 5 | 21 | * | $7=100$ |
| d. | The Supreme Court | 57 | 8 | 49 | 30 | 8 | 22 | * | $13=100$ |
|  | July, 2001 | 70 | 15 | 55 | 20 | 6 | 14 | * | $10=100$ |
|  | March, 2001 | 72 | 15 | 57 | 20 | 5 | 15 | * | $8=100$ |
|  | January, 2001 | 68 | 18 | 50 | 21 | 8 | 13 | 1 | $10=100$ |
|  | October, 1997 | 77 | 13 | 64 | 18 | 6 | 12 | * | $5=100$ |
|  | May, 1997 | 72 | 16 | 56 | 22 | 5 | 17 | 0 | 6=100 |
|  | July, 1994 | 80 | 18 | 62 | 16 | 3 | 13 | * | 4=100 |
|  | May, 1993 | 73 | 17 | 56 | 18 | 4 | 14 | 0 | $9=100$ |
|  | November, 1991 | 72 | 18 | 54 | 21 | 5 | 16 | 0 | $7=100$ |
|  | May, 1990 | 65 | 10 | 55 | 25 | 7 | 18 | 1 | $9=100$ |
|  | January, 1988 | 79 | 14 | 65 | 13 | 2 | 11 | * | $8=100$ |
|  | May, 1987 | 76 | 13 | 63 | 17 | 2 | 15 | * | $7=100$ |
|  | Roper, March 1985 | 64 | 17 | 47 | 28 | 7 | 21 | $8=100$ |  |

On another subject...
Q. 5 In making his next appointment to the Supreme Court, should President Bush choose someone who will make the court more liberal, someone who will make it more conservative, or someone who will keep the court about the same as it is now?

|  | March | Clinton <br> Gallup <br> March 1993 |  |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: |
| 28 | More liberal | $\frac{2005}{24}$ | 29 |
| 29 | More conservative | 28 | 29 |
| 35 | About the same as it is now | 41 | 38 |
| $\frac{8}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused | $\frac{7}{4}$ | $\underline{4}$ |
|  |  | 100 | 100 |

Q. 6 How important is the president's choice of the next Supreme Court justice to you personally? [READ]

|  |  | March |
| ---: | :--- | :---: |
| 47 | Very important | $\frac{2005}{38}$ |
| 29 | Somewhat important | 36 |
| 14 | Not too important | 15 |
| 8 | Not at all important | 8 |
| $\frac{2}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | $\underline{3}$ |
|  |  | 100 |

QUESTIONS 7 THROUGH 25 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE
Now, I have a few questions about the political parties...
FOR Q. 26 THROUGH Q.28, HALF OF RESPONDENTS SHOULD GET THE REPUBLICAN PARTY FIRST ON ALL QUESTIONS; HALF OF RESPONDENTS SHOULD GET THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY FIRST ON ALL QUESTIONS.
Q. 26 First thinking about social issues such as homosexuality and abortion, has the [INSERT ITEM; ROTATE] become too conservative, too liberal, or is it about right on social issues such as homosexuality and abortion? What about [ALTERNATE ITEM]? Has it become too conservative, too liberal, or is it about right on social issues such as homosexuality and abortion?
a. The Republican Party
b. The Democratic Party

| Too <br> Conservative <br> 38 | Too <br> Liberal | About <br> right | DK/ <br> $\underline{\text { Ref }}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 13 | 35 | 36 | $15=100$ |

Q. 27 Now thinking about economic issues such as taxes and government programs, do you think the [INSERT ITEM; ROTATE IN SAME ORDER AS Q.26] has become too conservative, too liberal, or is it about right on economic issues such as taxes and government programs? What about [ALTERNATE ITEM]? Has it become too conservative, too liberal, or is it about right on economic issues such as taxes and government programs?
a. The Republican Party

| Too <br> Conservative <br> 36 | Too <br> Liberal | About <br> right | DK/ <br> Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 14 | 33 | 39 | $14=100$ |

Q. 28 Now thinking about foreign policy and national security issues, do you think the [INSERT ITEM; ROTATE IN SAME ORDER AS Q.26] is too tough, not tough enough, or about right in its approach to foreign policy and national security issues? What about [ALTERNATE ITEM]? Do you think it is too tough, not tough enough, or about right in its approach to foreign policy and national security issues?
a. The Republican Party

| Too <br> tough <br> 22 | Not tough <br> enough | About <br> right | DK/ <br> 35 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | | $\underline{\text { Ref }}$ |
| :---: |
| $12=100$ |

## QUESTIONS 29 THROUGH 36 HELD OR PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

Lastly on a different subject...
Q. 37 In 1973 the Roe versus Wade decision established a woman's constitutional right to an abortion, at least in the first three months of pregnancy. Would you like to see the Supreme Court completely overturn its Roe versus Wade decision, or not?

|  |  | ------- Gallup-------- |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Jan | March | Aug $^{1}$ | Oct |
| 30 | Yes | $\underline{2003}$ | $\underline{2002}$ | $\frac{1992}{31}$ | $\frac{1989}{33}$ |
| 63 | No | 62 | 60 | 60 | 61 |
| $\frac{7}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | $\underline{7}$ | $\underline{4}$ | $\underline{6}$ | $\underline{6}$ |
|  |  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |


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