

AEI STUDIES IN PUBLIC OPINION

POLLS ON PATRIOTISM AND MILITARY SERVICE

<http://www.aei.org/publicopinion9>

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Before September 11th 2001, substantial majorities consistently told pollsters that they were proud to be Americans. In a Gallup question from January 2001, for example, 55 percent described themselves as “extremely” proud of being an American and 32 percent “very” proud. Just 2 percent said they were “only a little” or “not at all” proud. In June 2009, when Gallup last repeated the question, 58 percent described themselves as extremely proud and 24 percent very proud. Five percent said they were only a little or not at all proud.

The events of September 11th produced overt displays of patriotism. People said they flew their flags more than in the past and they sang the Star Spangled Banner. Those activities have receded, but patriotic sentiment is still strong. According to a June 2006 Fox News/Opinion Dynamics poll, 56 percent of those surveyed believed that Americans are more patriotic today than they were five years ago.

American patriotism is not blind patriotism. Polls show that Americans find a lot to criticize in their society. But they still love their country, and they are not reluctant to say so.

Self-Professed Patriotism

- How proud are you to be an American...extremely proud, very proud, moderately proud, only a little proud, or not at all proud?

		Extremely Proud	Very Proud	Moderately Proud	Only a Little Proud	Not At All Proud
Jan. 2001	Gallup	55	32	9	1	1
Jun. 2002	Gallup	65	25	6	1	2
Sep. 2002	Gallup	69	23	5	1	1
Jun. 2003	Gallup	70	20	6	2	1
Jan. 2004	Gallup	69	22	5	3	1
Jan. 2005	Gallup	61	22	12	3	1
Jan. 2006	Gallup	59	26	9	3	1
Jun. 2006	Gallup	57	25	10	3	3
Jun. 2008	CNN/ORC	61	28	7	2	1
Jan. 2009	CNN/ORC	57	26	12	3	1
Jan. 2009	Gallup	58	24	12	3	2

(Percentage who say “Extremely Proud” by party)

		Republicans	Democrats
Jan. 2001	Gallup	62	52
Jun. 2002	Gallup	77	58

Sep. 2002	Gallup	80	61
Jun. 2003	Gallup	84	61
Jan. 2004	Gallup	82	57
Jan. 2005	Gallup	71	54
Jun. 2006	Gallup	74	47

- How proud are you of the United States?

		Very proud	Fairly proud	Not very proud	Not at all proud
Aug. 9-11, 2007	Zogby	69	20	9	2
Sep. 13-16, 2007	Zogby	67	21	9	3
Dec. 12-14, 2007	Zogby	69	21	7	3
May 29-Jun. 1, 2009	Zogby	60	28	9	2

- Do you consider yourself very patriotic, somewhat patriotic, or not very patriotic?

		Very Patriotic	Somewhat Patriotic	Not Very Patriotic	Unpatriotic (vol.)
Sep. 20-23, 2001	CBS News/NYT	72	24	3	0
Aug. 17-21, 2006	CBS News/NYT	62	33	4	1

- Now I am going to read you another series of statements on some different topics. For each statement, please tell me if you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it, or completely disagree with it. The first one is...I am very patriotic?

		Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree
May 1987	PSRA/Pew	43	46	7	1
May 1988	PSRA/Pew	51	38	6	2
Feb. 1989	PSRA/Pew	51	40	6	1
May 1990	PSRA/Pew	48	40	8	2
Nov. 1991	PSRA/Pew	58	33	5	2
Jun. 1992	PSRA/Pew	52	39	5	2
Jul. 1994	PSRA/Pew	51	40	6	2
Nov. 1997	PSRA/Pew	48	42	6	2
Sep. 1999	PSRA/Pew	49	38	8	3
Aug. 2002	PSRA/Pew	54	38	2	4
Aug. 2003	PSRA/Pew	56	35	5	2
Dec. 2006-					
Jan. 2007	PSRA/Pew	49	41	6	2
Apr. 2009	PSRA/Pew	54	34	6	3

(Percentage who say "Completely Agree" by party)

		Republicans	Democrats
1987	PSRA/Pew	51	40
1988	PSRA/Pew	59	48
1991	PSRA/Pew	65	52
1992	PSRA/Pew	58	49
1994	PSRA/Pew	64	45
1997	PSRA/Pew	59	43
1999	PSRA/Pew	64	49
2002	PSRA/Pew	63	50
2003	PSRA/Pew	71	48
2007	PSRA/Pew	61	45
2009	PSRA/Pew	71	46

(Percentage who say “Completely Agree” by race)

		White	Black
1987	PSRA/Pew	44	27
1988	PSRA/Pew	54	32
1989	PSRA/Pew	53	34
1990	PSRA/Pew	50	46
1991	PSRA/Pew	61	44
1992	PSRA/Pew	55	37
1994	PSRA/Pew	53	39
1997	PSRA/Pew	50	33
1999	PSRA/Pew	52	32
2002	PSRA/Pew	57	45
2003	PSRA/Pew	59	38
2007	PSRA/Pew	NA	NA
2009	PSRA/Pew	56	52

- How patriotic are you? Would you say extremely patriotic, very patriotic, somewhat patriotic, or not especially patriotic?

		Extremely Patriotic	Very Patriotic	Somewhat Patriotic	Not Especially Patriotic
Jun. 1994	Gallup	21	43	28	7
Jun. 1999	Gallup/ CNN/USA Today	21	44	28	7
Jan. 2002	Gallup/Harwood	24	47	24	4
Aug. 2002	Wash Post/ Kaiser/Harvard	27	43	24	5
Jan. 2005	Gallup	26	46	22	5

- How proud are you to be an American...very proud, quite proud, not very proud, or not at all proud?

		Very Proud	Quite Proud	Not Very Proud	Not At All Proud
Jun. 1981	Gallup	78	19	2	1
Dec. 1981	Gallup	80	16	2	1
Jun. 1986	Gallup	89	10	1	*
Jun. 1990	Gallup	74	23	2	*
May 1991	Gallup	77	19	3	*
Nov. 2000*	Gallup/ CNN/USA Today	73	22	4	1

Note: * Question wording was, “How proud are you of being an American today?...”

- How proud are you to be an American – extremely proud, very proud, moderately proud, only a little proud or not at all proud?

		Extremely proud	Very proud	Moderately proud	Somewhat proud	Not very proud
Mar. 2002	ABC News/WP	74	18	5	2	1
Sep. 2002	ABC News/WP	69	23	6	1	1
Sep. 2006	ABC News/WP	60	24	10	3	2

- There’s been a lot of talk in the last few years about patriotism in America. Do you consider yourself very patriotic, somewhat patriotic, or not very patriotic?

Very Patriotic	Somewhat Patriotic	Not Very Patriotic
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Jun. 1983	NYT	52	38	7
Nov. 1983	NYT	53	37	5
Jun. 1991	CBS News/NYT	55	37	5
Sept. 2001	CBS News/NYT	72	24	3
Aug. 2006	CBS News/NYT	62	33	4

- How proud are you of America in each of the following...very proud, somewhat proud, or not proud at all?

		Very Proud	Somewhat Proud	Not Very Proud	Not Proud At All
Its scientific and technological achievements					
Feb. 1996	NORC	48	42	4	1
Sep. 2001	NORC	76	21	2	*
Mar. 2002	NORC	70	28	1	*
Sep. 2002	Wash Post	69	28	2	1
Aug. 2004	NORC	57	36	3	1
Its history					
Feb. 1996	NORC	48	37	8	4
Sep. 2001	NORC	68	26	4	2
Mar. 2002	NORC	56	37	5	1
Sep. 2002	Wash Post	62	33	2	2
Aug. 2004	NORC	61	30	5	2
America's armed forces					
Feb. 1996	NORC	47	40	7	2
Sep. 2001	NORC	80	17	1	1
Mar. 2002	NORC	84	15	1	*
Sep. 2002	Wash Post	81	16	1	2
Aug. 2004	NORC	74	19	4	2
Its achievements in the arts and literature					
Feb. 1996	NORC	29	54	8	2
Sep. 2001	NORC	56	37	3	1
Mar. 2002	NORC	49	43	4	1
Sep. 2002	Wash Post	46	46	3	2
Aug. 2004	NORC	39	47	6	1
The way democracy works					
Feb. 1996	NORC	28	52	13	3
Sep. 2001	NORC	61	36	2	1
Mar. 2002	NORC	52	44	3	1
Sep. 2002	Wash Post	49	41	5	4
Aug. 2004	NORC	32	52	8	2
America's economic achievements					
Feb. 1996	NORC	28	51	15	3
Sep. 2001	NORC	60	35	4	*
Mar. 2002	NORC	57	37	4	2
Sep. 2002	Wash Post	40	49	7	3
Aug. 2004	NORC	38	47	10	3

Its political influence in the world

Feb. 1996	NORC	21	55	16	3
Sep. 2001	NORC	38	51	7	2
Mar. 2002	NORC	34	55	7	3
Sep. 2002	Wash Post	30	48	13	8
Aug. 2004	NORC	22	52	18	3

Its fair and equal treatment of all groups in society

Feb. 1996	NORC	17	37	30	11
Sep. 2001	NORC	35	46	14	4
Mar. 2002	NORC	24	52	19	5
Sep. 2002	Wash Post	28	45	15	11
Aug. 2004	NORC	26	47	18	6

Its achievements in sports

Feb. 1996	NORC	36	48	8	3
Aug. 2004	NORC	42	44	7	2

Its Social Security system

Feb. 1996	NORC	14	35	37	11
Aug. 2004	NORC	13	41	33	10

NOTE: Sep. 2001 NORC survey conducted after Sep. 11 terrorist attacks, on Sep. 13-27.

- Would you describe yourself as more or less patriotic than the average American? Is that a lot or a little?

		A Lot More Patriotic	A Little More Patriotic	Same Patriotic (Vol.)	A Little Less Patriotic	A Lot Less Patriotic
Jun. 1998	Fox News/OD	27	33	25	9	2
Jun. 1999	Fox News/OD	27	33	26	9	2
Oct. 2001	Fox News/OD	31	28	30	8	1
Jun.-Jul. 2003	Fox News/OD	32	29	28	6	1
Jun. 2004	Fox News/OD	37	27	24	8	1
Jun. 2005	Fox News/OD	31	26	30	8	1
Jun. 2006	Fox News/OD	34	32	20	11	2

NOTE: When broken down by party in June 2006, 28 percent of Democrats said they were a lot more patriotic, 28 percent a little more patriotic, 19 percent a little less patriotic, 2 percent a lot less patriotic and 21 percent the same; 44 percent of Republicans said they were a lot more patriotic, 34 percent a little more patriotic, 4 percent a little less patriotic, 2 percent a lot less patriotic, and 16 percent the same; 28 percent of independents said they were a lot more patriotic, 37 percent a little more patriotic, 7 percent a little less patriotic, 3 percent a lot less patriotic, and 23 percent the same.

- I'm going to read a few statements: for each one, please tell me if you agree or disagree with it...Whatever its faults, the United States still has the best system of government in the world?

		Agree	Disagree
Apr. 1992	ABC News	85	14
Sep. 1994	ABC News	84	13
May 1996	ABC News	83	15
Dec. 2000	ABC News/Wash Post	89	11

Dec. 2007	ABC News/Facebook	81	17
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- Overall, do you think the signers of the Declaration of Independence would be pleased or disappointed by the way the United States has turned out?

		Pleased	Disappointed
Jun. 1999	Gallup	44	55
Jun.-Jul. 2001	Gallup	54	42
Jun. 2003	Gallup	50	48

- How much would you agree or disagree with the following statements: I am proud to be an American. Do you strongly agree, agree, neither agree or disagree, disagree, or disagree strongly?

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Sep.-Oct. 2001	ISR	81	12	2	1	1
Mar.-Apr. 2002	ISR	70	24	2	2	1

- Are you proud or ashamed that George W. Bush is President of the United States?

		Proud	Ashamed
Jan. 2002*	Zogby	82	8
Nov. 2003	Zogby	56	26
Jan. 2005	Zogby	54	31
Jun. 2005	Zogby	51	37
Early Sep. 2005	Zogby	49	38
Late Sep. 2005	Zogby	50	36
May 2007	Zogby	45	42

Note: * Question wording was “Are you proud or ashamed to have George W. Bush as President of the United States?”

- Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: The United States is the greatest country in the history of the world.

		Agree	Disagree
Jun. 26-27, 2007	Fox News/OD	80	16

- Are you proud or ashamed of this country?

		Proud	Ashamed
May 17-20, 2007	Zogby	89	9

- Given everything that has happened in the United States and around the world, do you personally feel more or less patriotic today than you did five years ago?

		More	Less	Same
Jun. 13-14, 2006	Fox News/OD	57	17	25

- How proud are you of being an American citizen?

		Very Proud	Somewhat Proud	Not Very Proud	Not At All Proud
May 1995	CBS News	82	14	2	1

- How proud would you say you are to be an American citizen?

		Very Proud	Somewhat Proud	Not Very Proud	Not At All Proud
May 2002	Harris Interactive	84	12	2	*

- Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: being an American is a big part of who I am?

		Agree	Disagree
Mar. 2000	NYT	91	8

- When you hear the national anthem, the Star Spangled Banner, being played, do you usually feel proud to be an American?

		Yes	No
May 2002	Harris Interactive	90	5

- How proud are you to be an American...extremely proud, very proud, somewhat proud, or not very proud?

		Extremely Proud	Very Proud	Somewhat Proud	Not Very Proud
1994	NORC	47	39	13	1

NOTE: When broken down by race, 49 percent of whites and 35 percent of blacks said they were “extremely proud.” When broken down by party, 56 percent of Republicans, 47 percent of Democrats, and 40 percent of independents said they were “extremely proud.” When broken down by education, 41 percent of college graduates and 49 percent of non-college graduates said they were “extremely proud.” Among those in the 18-29 age bracket, 38 percent said they were “extremely proud;” in the 30-44 age breakdown, 40 percent said they were “extremely proud;” in the 45-64 age bracket, 54 percent said they were “extremely proud;” and in the 65+ age bracket, 60 percent said they were “extremely proud.”

- How important is being an American to you, where 0 is not at all important and 10 is the most important thing in your life?

		0-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9-10
1996	NORC	4	3	15	24	55

- We have some questions about where you live: your neighborhood or village, your town or city, your county, and so on. By “neighborhood” we mean the part of the town/city you live in. If you live in a village, we take this as your “neighborhood.” How close do you feel to America...very close, close, not very close, or not close at all?

		Very Close	Close	Not Very Close	Not Close At All
1996	NORC	35	45	15	4
2004	NORC	51	37	9	2

Note: 2004 Survey asked of a 1/2 sample.

Views of Other Americans' Patriotism

- Do you think average Americans are more or less patriotic than they were 25 years ago?

		More Patriotic	Less Patriotic
Jun. 1998	Fox News/OD	18	68
Jun. 1999	Fox News/OD	16	74
Jun.-Jul. 2003	Fox News/OD	55	30
Jun 2004	Fox News/OD	45	37
Jun. 2005	Fox News/OD	43	42

Jun. 2006 Fox News/OD 36 50

NOTE: When broken down by party in June 2006, 39 percent of Democrats answered more patriotic, 46 percent less patriotic; 36 percent of Republicans answered more patriotic, 54 percent less patriotic; 30 percent of independents answered more patriotic, 54 percent less patriotic.

- Are people today as patriotic as they were when you went to school?

		Yes	No
Jun. 1983	NYT	27	68
Nov. 1983	NYT	31	63

- Given everything that has happened in the United States and around the world, do you think Americans generally are more or less patriotic today than you did five years ago?

		More	Less	Same
Jun. 13-14, 2006	Fox News/OD	56	31	9

- How patriotic would you say most Americans are? Would you say extremely patriotic, very patriotic, somewhat patriotic, or not especially patriotic?

		Extremely Patriotic	Very Patriotic	Somewhat Patriotic	Not Especially Patriotic
Jan. 2002	Gallup/Harwood	8	47	41	3

- How proud do you think most people in this country are to be Americans - extremely proud, very proud, moderately proud, only a little proud, or not at all?

		Extremely Proud	Very Proud	Moderately Proud	Only a Little Proud	Not At All Proud
Jun. 2003	Gallup	42	35	20	2	*

International Comparisons

- How proud are you to be [substitute own nationality]? (2005-2006 World Values Survey)
- How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements...I would rather be a citizen of (country) than of any other country in the world? (2003-2004 World Values Survey)
- How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement? Generally speaking, (country) is a better country than most other countries? (2003-2004 World Values Survey)

	----How Proud?---- Very Proud	----Rather Be A Citizen of My---- ---- Country Than Any Other---- Strongly Agree	Agree	-----My Country Is----- -----A Better Country----- Strongly Agree	Agree
Ireland	72	40	41	10	45
United States	76	74	15	40	38
India*	73	NA	NA	NA	NA
Poland	69	41	37	6	25
Nigeria*	67	NA	NA	NA	NA
Turkey*	68	NA	NA	NA	NA
South Africa	71	42	42	26	44
Brazil*	64	NA	NA	NA	NA
Canada	63	58	27	30	49
Slovenia	58	39	31	6	23
Mexico*	69	NA	NA	NA	NA
Argentina*	58	NA	NA	NA	NA
Northern Ireland*	40	NA	NA	NA	NA

Britain	51	40	31	13	35
Iceland*	60	NA	NA	NA	NA
Chile	60	44	39	16	40
Austria	54	50	27	24	43
Latvia	36	12	31	3	24
Romania*	47	NA	NA	NA	NA
Hungary	55	51	35	7	25
South Korea	36	37	33	10	33
Spain	51	20	54	10	38
Norway	46	45	32	14	47
China*	37	NA	NA	NA	NA
Portugal	58	36	46	9	34
Denmark	40	56	27	29	38
Lithuania*	27	NA	NA	NA	NA
Italy*	40	29	34	7	31
Sweden	40	29	32	9	31
Bulgaria	42	54	25	15	29
Finland	49	56	25	20	46
Switzerland	34	20	35	3	22
Belarus*	31	NA	NA	NA	NA
France	36	35	25	11	30
Estonia*	25	NA	NA	NA	NA
Germany	21	18	41	3	31
Belgium*	28	NA	NA	NA	NA
Japan	27	61	25	39	37
Russia	30	44	33	19	29
Slovakia	32	25	28	3	17
Czech Republic	29	31	38	6	23
Netherlands*	20	16	32	8	37
Philippines	80	48	36	22	32
New Zealand	65	53	28	28	46

Note: NA = Not Asked. * means that the results are from NORC's 1995 data for the second and third question. Question wording is the same.

The U.S. versus Elsewhere

- If you were free to do so, would you like to go and settle in another country?

		Yes	No
Mar. 1948	Gallup	3	93
Mar. 1949	Gallup	6	93
Feb. 1950	Gallup	5	93
Jan. 1960	Gallup	6	91
Feb. 1971	Gallup	11	86
Apr. 1972	Gallup	13	87
Dec. 1972	Gallup	11	86
Jan. 1974	Gallup	10	87
Jun. 1976	Gallup	9	89
May 1991	Gallup	9	90
Aug. 1994*	Luntz	19	79
Apr. 1995	Gallup	12	87

NOTE: *Question wording was, "Please tell me whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statement...If I were free to do so, I would like to go and settle in another country?" Results are combined.

- Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: the American way of life is superior to that of any other country? (If Agree) Do you say you agree strongly or would you agree somewhat?

		Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Disagree
Jan. 1975	Yankelovich	58	22	20
Jun. 1982	Yankelovich	70	20	10
Jun. 1983	NYT	57	21	17

- How much would you agree or disagree with the following statement: I would rather be a citizen of America than of any other country in the world? Do you strongly agree, agree, neither agree or disagree, disagree, or disagree strongly?

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Sep.-Oct. 2001	ISR	82	12	2	2	1
Mar.-Apr. 2002	ISR	65	27	4	3	1

- All things being equal, would you prefer to live in the United States or would you prefer to live in some other country?

		U.S.	Other Country
Mar. 2004	Fox News/OD	93	5
Jun. 2005	Fox News/OD	93	6

NOTE: When broken down by party in June 2005, 89 percent of Democrats would rather live in the United States, 10 percent in another country; 98 percent of Republicans would rather live in the United States, 1 percent in another country; 92 percent of independents in the United States, 6 percent in another country.

- Do you believe the United States is the best country in the world to live in or is there another country that is better?

		U.S.	Another country
Feb. 27-28, 2007	Fox News/OD	86	7
Feb. 17-18, 2009	Fox News/OD	90	7

- Do you think that most people living in other countries would like to live in the United States if they could?

		Yes	No
Feb. 27-28, 2007	Fox News/OD	74	13

- Do you think that most people living in the United States would like to live somewhere else if they could?

		Yes	No
Feb. 27-28, 2007	Fox News/OD	9	78

- If you had the opportunity to leave the United States and permanently live in another country, would you take it?

		Yes	No
May 2006	Fox News/OD	17	76

NOTE: When broken down by party, 8 percent of Republicans and 24 percent of Democrats said they would leave the United States.

- Do you feel that the quality of life is better in America than in most other advanced industrial countries, about the same, or do you feel that people are better off in most other advanced industrial countries than they are in the United States?

-----Quality of Life-----
 Better in About Better in Other

1994	NORC	America 79	the Same 15	Countries 4
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- How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements...agree strongly, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, or disagree strongly? The world would be a better place if people from other countries were more like Americans.

		Agree Strongly	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Disagree Strongly
1996	NORC	14	24	33	21	4
Sept. 2001	NORC	26	23	18	25	6
Dec. 2001	NORC	21	27	21	25	6
Aug. 2004	NORC	16	26	34	18	6

Note: 2004 Survey asked of a ½ sample.

- How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements...agree strongly, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree or disagree strongly? Generally speaking, America is a better country than most other countries.

		Agree Strongly	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Disagree Strongly
1996	NORC	39	41	12	5	2
Sept. 2001	NORC	54	31	9	5	1
Dec. 2001	NORC	53	33	7	6	1
Aug. 2004	NORC	40	39	14	4	1

Note: 2004 Survey asked of ½ sample.

- If you could double your income by getting a good job in another country, would you take the job even if it meant you would have to live away from the United States for several years?

		Yes	No
Jun. 1983	NYT	24	70

- How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements...agree strongly, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree or disagree strongly? I would rather be a citizen of America than of any other country in the world?

		Agree Strongly	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Disagree Strongly
1996	NORC	70	20	7	2	1
Sept. 2001	NORC	89	8	2	1	-
Dec. 2001	NORC	88	9	2	1	-
Aug. 2004	NORC	74	15	7	2	-

Note: In August 2004, the questions was phrased as 'How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?...Agree strongly, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree or disagree strongly...I would rather be a citizen of America than of any other country in the world'. It was also asked of ½ sample.

- If you could be a citizen of any country in the world, which one would you choose?

		U.S.	Other
Feb. 2003	ORC	83	15

NOTE: Of those who answered "Other," the top countries mentioned were Canada and Australia, both at 3 percent.

- If you could improve your work or living conditions, how willing or unwilling would you be to move outside America...very willing, fairly willing, neither willing nor unwilling, fairly unwilling, or very unwilling?

Very	Fairly	Fairly	Very
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1996	NORC	Willing 6	Willing 9	Neither 11	Unwilling 16	Unwilling 55
• True or false: People who work hard in this nation are likely to succeed?						
May 1997	ORC	True 79	False 18			
• True or false: I believe the United States' greatest days are ahead of it?						
May 1997	ORC	True 56	False 37			

September 11th Effects

- The next questions are about the September 11th terrorist attacks on the United States. As far as you can tell, did each of the following actually happen, or not? (If Yes) Do you think this will probably last for a long while, for only a few months or is it already over?

Jan. 2002 Public Agenda/Pew Charitable Trusts

	Yes, Happened	No, Did Not Happen	-----Will Last----- Long Time	Few Months	Already Over
Some people thought that Americans would appreciate their country more in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks.	87	12	54	38	6
Some people thought that people would become more caring and thoughtful toward one another as a result of the terrorist attacks	74	24	34	46	18
Some people thought that America's elected officials would put politics aside and pay more attention to what was good for the country as a result of the terrorist attacks	55	39	30	45	23

- Do you think Americans are more _____ today than they were before September 11?

Jun. 2002 Fox News/OD

	Yes	No
Patriotic	85	12
Caring	77	19
Determined	76	17
Honest	40	46

- Which of the following best describes your level of patriotism after September 11? Would you say you feel much more patriotic, somewhat more patriotic, or do you have about the same level of patriotism?

Jan. 2002	TIPP/IBD-CSM	Much More Patriotic 36	Somewhat More Patriotic 24	About the Same 39
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- Right after September 11, many people noted increased feelings of patriotism and neighborliness. Since then do you think those feelings have faded a little, some but not a lot, a lot but not completely, or have those feelings completely faded?

		Feelings of Patriotism Faded a Little	Some, But Not a Lot	A Lot, But Not Completely	Completely	All (Vol.)
Mar. 2002	Fox News/OD	32	33	10	2	19
Jun. 2002	Fox News/OD	34	37	13	1	12
Sep. 2002	Fox News/OD	34	30	10	3	19

- Within the past two weeks, have you, personally, done any of the following as a direct result of September 11th? How about display an American flag?

		Yes	No
Sep. 2001*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	82	18
Mar. 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	68	32
Sep. 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	66	34

Note: * Question wording was, "As a result of the terrorist attacks this past Tuesday, have you, personally, done or plan to do any of the following? How about...?"

- In the past week have you made a special effort to display the flag?

		Yes	No
Sep. 2001	Fox News/OD	80	20
Oct. 2001	Fox News/OD	79	20
Mar. 2002	Fox News/OD	61	39

- Since September 11th, has there been too much, too little or the right amount of showing the American flag?

		Too Much	Right Amount	Too Little
Oct. 2001	PSRA/Pew	8	73	17
Mar. 2002	PSRA/Pew	16	66	16

- Please tell me whether or not you have done each of the following things in response to last week's events. Have you displayed an American flag?

		Yes	No
Sep. 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	79	21

- Have you purchased an American flag in the last 10 months, that is, since September 11, 2001?

		Yes	No
Jun. 2002	Fox News/ OD	55	45

- Please tell me whether each of these is something you have or have not done as a result of the terrorist attacks...Sang God Bless America?

		Yes	No
Sep. 2001	Harris Interactive	70	30

- Please tell me whether each of these is something you have or have not done as a result of the terrorist attacks...Sang the Star Spangled Banner?

		Yes	No
Sep. 2002	Harris Interactive	63	37

- Since September 11, have you been more or less likely to wear red, white, and blue?

		More Likely	Less Likely	Same
Oct. 2001	Fox News/OD	60	8	30

- Are you displaying an American flag on a daily basis these days--either at your home, on your car or anywhere else, or not?

		Yes	No
Mar. 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	65	35
Sep. 2002	ABC News	68	32

(If Yes) Did you start displaying the flag on a daily basis after September 11th, or were you doing it before then?

		Before	After
Mar. 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	38	62
Sep. 2002	ABC News	45	55

- Which of the following, if any, do you think you will do this Fourth of July? How about display an American flag?

		Yes	No
Jun.-Jul. 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	66	33
Jun. 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	83	16

- And again, thinking about your own community, are there a lot, some, or hardly any displays of patriotism such as flags, bumper stickers, and signs?

		A Lot	Some	Hardly Any
Aug. 2002	PSRA/Pew	78	18	4

- Will you, personally, be doing anything this Fourth of July as a remembrance of the events of September 11th, or not?

		Yes	No
Jun. 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	35	60

- Do you think life in the United States will ever completely return to normal, that is, the way it was before 9/11?

		Yes, Already Has	Yes, It Will Eventually	No
Jun. 2002	Fox News/OD	10	25	62

- As result of the beginning of the war in the Persian Gulf, have you...displayed an American flag?

		Yes	No
Mar. 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	56	44

WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO BE A PATRIOT: *Pollsters don't ask people what it means to be a patriot often. Around 60 percent told New York Times interviewers in 1983 that it was enough to love your country to be patriotic. A third said you needed to "do something." More than seven in ten said serving in the military was a demonstration of patriotism. A few pollsters have explored obligations of citizenship, and their data are reproduced below.*

- Do you think someone can be patriotic if they don't support the Iraq war?

		Yes	No
Mar. 2006	CBS New	83	12

- Does someone actually have to do something to be patriotic--or is it enough to love your country?

		Do	
		Something	Enough
Jun. 1983	NYT	33	61
Nov. 1983	NYT	34	59

- Here are some things that people think of as patriotic. Other people think that patriotism really doesn't have much to do with these things. What do you think? Is _____ a sign of patriotism, or doesn't patriotism have much to do with it?

		Sign of Patriotism	Not A Sign of Patriotism
Voting			
Jun. 1983	NYT	83	14
Nov. 1983	NYT	81	16
Serving in the armed forces			
Jun. 1983	NYT	72	21
Nov. 1983	NYT	63	31
Doing jury duty			
Jun. 1983	NYT	67	28
Nov. 1983	NYT	63	31
Joining in the singing of the Star Spangled Banner			
Jun. 1983	NYT	77	19
Paying taxes honestly			
Jun. 1983	NYT	61	33
Working in the Peace Corps			
Jun. 1983	NYT	55	34
Buying only American products			
Jun. 1983	NYT	52	43
Working in a political campaign			
Jun. 1983	NYT	49	44

- Patriotism means many things to many people. I am going to read a number of activities that some people believe are important parts of patriotism. For each activity, I would like you to say if you agree or disagree that the activity is an "important part of patriotism." How about...?

Jan. 2002 Gallup/Harwood

	Agree	Disagree
Voting	97	3
Volunteering in the community	89	11
Displaying an American flag	86	14
Working for the common good, even when it runs counter to one's immediate self-interests	85	13
Engaging in conversations with other people about important political issues our nation faces	84	15
Raising one's voice in opposition to prevailing public opinion in times of national crisis if one believes core democratic values at stake	83	16
Donating money to a community organization that helps those in need	82	17

Questioning the decisions of our nation's leaders, even when they are trying to rally the country	77	21
Demonstrating on behalf of a cause one believes in strongly even when the cause is unpopular	75	24
Attending a parade celebrating America	74	26

- We all know that Americans have certain rights, such as the right to free speech and to a free public education. Now I'd like you to consider what obligations or responsibilities, if any, we have towards others. For each of the following, do you feel it is an absolutely essential obligation for us as Americans, a very important obligation, or is entirely a matter of personal preference...?

Jan.-Apr. 1996 Gallup/UVA

	Absolutely Essential	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Personal Preference
Treating all people equally regardless of race or ethnic background	57	33	6	4
Reporting a crime that one has witnessed	54	36	7	4
Taking action to help if you hear someone screaming or see them being attacked	54	34	7	6
Being able to speak and understand English	53	33	11	4
Voting in elections	53	29	9	9
Working to reduce inequality and injustice	41	42	12	6
Being civil with others with whom we disagree	35	45	14	6
Keeping fully informed about news and public issues	30	42	19	10
Donating blood or organs to help with medical needs	20	37	18	26
Volunteering time to community service	16	42	26	16

- Do you feel the following is a very important obligation, a somewhat important obligation, or not an obligation that a citizen owes to the country...?

Feb. 1999 Penn/Schoen/Berland

	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not an Obligation
Reporting a crime you may have witnessed	90	7	2
Attending parent teacher conferences	89	9	2
Voting in elections	87	10	3
Being able to speak and understand English	85	12	3
Serving in the military if drafted	76	13	10
Keeping fully informed about news and public issues	73	24	2
Serving on a jury if called	73	23	3
Contributing to help the less fortunate	71	22	6
Protesting unjust public policies	61	22	12
Participating in "Town Hall" community decision making meetings	59	31	7
Participating in neighborhood organizations	56	38	5
Volunteering some time to community services	55	40	3
Volunteering for the military	48	35	16

- Some people say the following things are important for being truly American. Others say they are not important. How important do you think each of the following is...to respect America's political institutions and laws...very important, fairly important, not very important or not important at all?

Very Fairly Not Very Not Important

		Important	Important	Important	At All
1996	NORC	63	28	5	2
2004	NORC	74	23	2	1

Note: 2004 Survey asked of 1/2 sample.

- Which of these statements comes closer to your own view...it is essential that America remains one nation or parts of America should be allowed to become fully separate nations if they choose to?

		Remain One Nation	Allow to Become Separate
1996	NORC	86	5

MILITARY SERVICE: In the New York Times poll in the section above, a substantial majority of Americans said serving in the military was a sign of patriotism. The tables below provide some idea of how many people have served and are serving in the military. The military is also consistently one of the most positively viewed institutions in the country. Eighty-four percent of Americans gave the military a favorable rating according to the Pew Research Center's survey taken April 2008. In Gallup's June 2009 survey, 82 percent had a great deal or quite a lot of confidence in the military.

- Have you ever served as a member of the armed forces of the United States?

		Yes	No
Dec. 1984	Roper GfK-NOP	19	81

- Did you serve in a combat zone during the [wars named]? (Asked of those who were in service during wartime)

		Yes	No	Not In Service/ No Service In Wartime
Dec. 1984	Roper GfK-NOP	7	6	86

- I'd like to get your opinion of some groups and organizations in the news. Is your overall opinion of the military very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable, or very unfavorable?

		Very Favorable	Mostly Favorable	Mostly Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable
Jun. 1985	PSRA/Pew	24	53	13	5
Jul. 1986	PSRA/Pew	32	53	7	3
Jan. 1987	PSRA/Pew	19	54	11	5
Apr. 1987	PSRA/Pew	17	63	12	4
Jan. 1988	PSRA/Pew	20	57	14	3
May 1990	PSRA/Pew	18	55	15	6
Mar. 1991	PSRA/Pew	60	34	2	2
May 1993	PSRA/Pew	32	53	8	2
Jul. 1994	PSRA/Pew	30	57	8	3
Feb. 1996	PSRA/Pew	33	49	12	4
May 1997	PSRA/Pew	23	57	11	5
Oct. 1997	PSRA/Pew	22	56	13	5
Sep. 1998	PSRA/Pew	29	57	7	3
Jun. 1999	PSRA/Pew	36	47	11	2
Jan. 2001	PSRA/Pew	32	50	9	3
Jul. 2001	PSRA/Pew	29	52	7	4
Sep. 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	58	36	2	2
May 2002	PSRA/Newsweek	59	34	3	2

Jun. 2004	PSRA/Pew	48	37	7	3
Mar. 2005	PSRA/Pew	49	38	6	3
Oct. 2005	PSRA/Pew	44	38	8	4
Dec. 2006-					
Jan. 2007	PSRA/Pew	47	37	8	3
Mar. 2007	PSRA/Pew	43	34	11	6
Jul. 2007	PSRA/Pew	47	31	9	6
Apr. 2008	PSRA/Pew	49	35	8	3

- Do you or does any member of your immediate family now serve in the U.S. Armed Forces or in the U.S. reserves?

		Yes, Self	Yes, Other	No
Aug. 1990	CBS News/NYT	2	16	79
Jan. 1991+	CBS News/NYT	3	23	74
Jan. 1991+	CBS News/NYT	2	24	74
Jan. 1991+	CBS News	3	21	76
Feb. 1991+	CBS News/NYT	2	25	74
Feb. 1991	CBS News/NYT	1	27	71
Feb. 1991	CBS News	1	24	75
Mar. 1991+	CBS News/NYT	3	19	78
Feb. 1992*	CBS News/NYT	NA	21	79
Mar. 1992*	CBS News/NYT	NA	19	81
Sep. 1994*	CBS News/NYT	NA	21	79
Oct. 1994*	CBS News/NYT	NA	15	85
Jan. 1996	CBS News/NYT	3	17	79
Feb. 1998	CBS News/NYT	3	13	83
Sep. 2001*	CBS News/NYT	NA	14	86
Sep. 2001	CBS News/NYT	3	19	77
Oct. 2001	CBS News	3	21	76
Sep. 2002	CBS News/NYT	2	29	69
Feb. 2003	CBS News/NYT	3	20	77
Mar. 2003	CBS News/NYT	2	17	81
Apr. 2003	CBS News	2	22	76
Apr. 2003+	CBS News/NYT	2	21	77
Jul. 2003	CBS News/NYT	2	17	80
Mar. 2004	CBS News	2	20	77
Sept. 2004	CBS News/NYT	2	19	78
Oct. 2004	CBS News/NYT	1	18	80
Oct. 2004	CBS News/NYT	2	18	80
Oct. 2004	CBS News/NYT	1	18	80
Nov. 2004	CBS News/NYT	1	18	80
Dec. 2005	CBS News/NYT	1	16	81
May 2006^	CBS News/NYT	1	26	72
Jul. 2006	CBS News/NYT	2	22	76
Oct. 2006	CBS News/NYT	1	23	75
Apr. 2007	CBS News/NYT	2	20	77
May. 2007	CBS News/NYT	2	19	80
Sept. 2007	CBS News/NYT	2	20	77

NOTE: * Results for “Yes, self” were not coded. + Results for “Yes, self” and “Yes, self and other” are combined.
 ^ oversample of age 65 and over.

- Did you or did any close relative serve in the United States Armed Forces during World War II? (If Yes) Was that you or someone else in your family?

		Yes, Self	Yes, Other	No
Nov. 1991	CBS News/NYT	9	53	35
Jan. 1994*	CBS News	NA	66	33

Jul. 1995	CBS News/NYT	9	56	34
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NOTE: *Results for “Yes, self” were not coded.

- Are you a current member or veteran of the U.S. Armed Forces?

		Current	Veteran	No
May 19-20, 1999	Fox News/OD	2	14	84
Nov. 18-19, 2003	Fox News/OD	3	16	81
Apr. 21-22, 2004	Fox News/OD	3	12	85
Aug. 24-25, 2004*	Fox News/OD	2	14	84
Sept. 7-8, 2004*	Fox News/OD	2	13	85

NOTE: * Sample is likely voters.

- Have you yourself ever served in the U.S. armed forces or the U.S. reserves?

		Yes	No
Aug. 1990	CBS News/NYT	22	78
Jan. 1991	CBS News/NYT	18	82
Jan. 1991	CBS News/NYT	21	79
Feb. 1991	CBS News/NYT	19	81
Feb. 1991	CBS News	21	79
Feb. 1992	CBS News/NYT	18	82
Mar. 1992	CBS News/NYT	20	80
Dec. 1992	CBS News	20	80
Dec. 1992	CBS News/NYT	18	82
Jan. 1993	CBS News/NYT	20	80
Feb. 1993	CBS News/NYT	20	80
May 1993	CBS News	18	82
Sep. 1994	CBS News/NYT	19	81
Mar. 1995	CBS News/NYT	19	81
Aug. 1996	CBS News/NYT	16	84
Aug. 1996	CBS News/NYT	18	82
Sep. 1996	CBS News/NYT	18	82
Oct. 1996	CBS News	19	81
Feb. 1998	CBS News/NYT	19	81
Feb. 2000	CBS News/NYT	17	83
Apr. 2000	CBS News/NYT	18	82
Jul. 2000	CBS News/NYT	17	83
Oct. 2000	CBS News/NYT	18	82
Mar. 2001	CBS News/NYT	19	80
Sep. 2001	CBS News/NYT	17	83
Oct. 2001	CBS News	16	84
Apr. 2003	CBS News	17	83
Apr. 2003	CBS News/NYT	15	84
Nov. 2003	CBS News	15	85
Mar. 2004	CBS News	17	83
Aug. 2004	CBS News	16	84
Sep. 2004	CBS News	16	84
Sep. 2004	CBS News/NYT	16	84
Sep. 2004	CBS News	19	81
Oct. 2004	CBS News/NYT	17	82
Oct. 2004	CBS News	16	84
Oct. 2004	CBS News/NYT	16	84
Oct. 2004	CBS News/NYT	15	85
Nov. 2004	CBS News/NYT	15	85
Dec. 2005	CBS News/NYT	16	84

- Do you personally know anyone in the Armed Forces or National Guard who has been or is being sent to the Middle East for military action in Iraq?

		Yes	No
Nov. 18-19, 2003	Fox News/OD	46	54
Aug. 24-25, 2004*	Fox News/OD	61	39

NOTE: * likely voters.

- Do you favor or oppose reinstating the military draft in the United States?

		Favor	Oppose
Jun. 2007	CBS News/MTV/NYT	9	87

Note: Sample is 17 to 29 year-olds.

- How likely do you think it is that the United States will reinstate the military draft in the next few years – very likely, somewhat likely, not too likely, or not at all likely?

		Very likely	Somewhat likely	Not too likely	Not at all likely
Jun. 2007	CBS News/MTV/NYT	13	29	39	17

- Now I am going to read you a list of institutions in American society. Please tell me how much confidence you, yourself, have in each one – a great deal, quite a lot, some, very little, or none at all. The military?

		Great deal/ quite a lot	Some	Very little/ None
Jun. 1975	NBC/WSJ	58	25	12
Jan. 1977	NBC/WSJ	57	25	12
Nov. 1981	NBC/WSJ	50	29	20
Oct. 1986	NBC/WSJ	63	24	11
Dec. 1988	NBC/WSJ	46	33	15
Dec. 1991	NBC/WSJ	78	15	6
Jan. 1996	NBC/WSJ	70	22	7
May 1996	NBC/WSJ	66	25	7
Jun. 1998	NBC/WSJ	64	25	10
Dec. 2000	NBC/WSJ	63	25	10
Jan. 2002	NBC/WSJ	85	11	3
Jul. 2002	NBC/WSJ	82	14	4
Jul. 2007	NBC/WSJ	67	22	10
Jan. 2009	NBC/WSJ	69	22	7

- Now I am going to read you a list of institutions in American society. Please tell me how much confidence you, yourself, have in each one – a great deal, quite a lot, some, or very little. The military?

		Great deal/ quite a lot	Some	Very little/ None (vol.)
May 1975	Gallup (AIPO)	58	25	12
Jan. 1977	Gallup	57	25	12
Apr. 1978*	Gallup	48	30	17
Apr. 1978	Gallup	48	30	17
Apr. 1979	Gallup (AIPO)	54	29	15
Oct. 1980	Gallup (AIPO)	53	28	16
Jul. 1981 ^	Gallup (AIPO)	53	30	17
Nov. 1981	Gallup (AIPO)	50	29	20

Aug. 1983	Gallup	53	29	13
Oct. 1984 ^	Gallup/Newsweek	58	24	15
May 1985	Gallup	61	28	9
Jul. 1986	Gallup	63	24	11
Jul. 1987	Gallup (AIPO)	61	28	10
Mar. 1988 ^	Gallup	46	33	15
Sept. 1988	Gallup	58	30	10
Sept. 1989**	Gallup	63	37	
Mar. 1990 ^	Gallup	52	32	14
Aug. 1990	Gallup	68	22	8
Feb. 1991	Gallup	85	11	3
Mar. 1991	Gallup/Newsweek	88	8	4
Oct. 1991	Gallup	69	20	9
Mar. 1993	Gallup	67	23	9
Mar. 1994	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	64	26	8
Apr. 1994 ^	Gallup	49	34	14
Apr. 1995	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	64	27	8
May 1996	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	66	25	7
Jun. 1998	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	64	25	10
Jun. 1999	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	68	26	6
Jun. 2000	Gallup	64	26	8
Dec. 2000	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	72	20	7
Jun. 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	66	24	8
Jun. 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	79	16	5
Jun. 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	82	14	4
May 2004	Gallup	75	19	5
May 2005	Gallup	74	18	8
Jun. 2006	Gallup	73	19	6
Jun. 2007	Gallup	69	21	9
Jun. 2008	Gallup	71	20	8
Jun. 2009	Gallup	82	12	5

*Gallup Unchurched Americans Survey

** Gallup Giving and Volunteering in the US Survey

^ For these surveys, there was no 'None' category. It was not included.

- Opportunities exist for young adults to serve their country, through military or non-military service. Non-military, civilian service includes tutoring and mentoring disadvantaged youth, improving health services, building affordable housing, cleaning parks and streams, and helping communities respond to disasters. If both military and non-military service offered similar educational and health benefits, how much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

Feb. 22-25, 2007 ABC News/Wash Post

	Agree	Disagree
I think it is important for young people to serve their country, but this service should be voluntary	73	19
Besides the military and non-military options mentioned above, there should be another option for young people to serve their country	63	19
I would support a draft where young adults can choose between military and non-military service	43	46
I would support a draft, but only for military service	24	64
I would support a draft, but only for non-military service	14	72
I don't think it is important for young people to serve their country	14	77

- Is there anyone you yourself know on a personal basis--a family member, friend or acquaintance in the military--who has served in Iraq since the war began in March 2003?

		Yes	No
Aug. 25-28, 2005	ABC News/Wash Post	62	38

- Do you have any close personal friends or family members who are currently serving in Iraq or elsewhere in the Middle East as part of U.S. forces there?

		Yes	No
Apr. 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	29	70

NOTE: In January and February 2004, the *Washington Post*/Kaiser Family Foundation/Harvard Unity poll conducted a survey of military families. The results can be found at http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/politics/polls/vault/stories/poll_militaryfamilies.pdf

- This Memorial Day, will you be visiting a cemetery to put flowers or a flag on the grave of a friend or family member

		Yes	No/ Not Sure
May 2003	Fox News/OD	50	50

- Have you ever served in the military?

		Yes	No
Nov. 2004	NEP	18	82

National Election Pool (NEP) survey of voters leaving polling places

WILLINGNESS TO SERVE AND FIGHT: In five questions asked between 1981 and 1995 by Gallup, around seven in ten said that they would be willing to fight for our country. About two in ten said they would not. An April 2009 question from Pew that uses a part of Stephen Decatur's formulation "my country right or wrong" finds 53 percent completely or mostly agreeing that we all should be willing to fight for our country whether it is right or wrong. Twent-five percent mostly disagreed with the statement and 16 percent completely disagreed.

In 2007, when Gallup/CNN/USA Today interviewers asked whether the country should return to the draft, only 18 percent said that it should. In October and November 2001, when Fox News and Opinion Dynamics asked whether the country should reinstate the draft if more soldiers were needed in the war against terrorism, about three-quarters favored the idea. When the question was repeated in April 2004, 41 percent approved of reinstating the draft.

- Of course, we all hope that there will not be another war, but if it were to come to that, would you be willing to fight for your country?

		Yes	No
Jan. 1981	Gallup/CARA	71	20
Apr. 1981	Gallup	68	22
Jul. 1989	Gallup	77	14
Jun. 1990	Gallup	70	19
Sep. 1995	Gallup	77	23

- Forgetting any issues of age or health, if it were to become necessary to defend America, would you be willing to fight and, if need be, die in this war against terrorism?

		Yes	No
Jun. 1998*	Fox News/OD	74	18
Oct. 2001	Fox News/OD	76	15
Jun. 2002	Fox News/OD	74	17
Sep. 2002	Fox News/OD	74	16

NOTE: * Question wording was, "If the United States were under a military threat from a foreign country, would you be willing to fight and, if need be, die for your country?"

- I'm going to read you some pairs of statements that will help us understand how you feel about a number of things. As I read each pair, tell me whether the first statement or the second statement comes closer to your own views—even if neither is exactly right...We should all be willing to fight for our country, whether it is right or wrong (or) it's acceptable to refuse to fight in a war you believe is morally wrong? Do you feel strongly about that or not?

		Should Be Willing Strongly	Should Be Willing Not Strongly	Acceptable to Refuse Not Strongly	Acceptable to Refuse Strongly
Jul. 1994	PSRA/Times Mirror	43	9	10	35
Apr. 1995	PSRA/Times Mirror	39	10	9	38
Nov. 1995	PSRA/Times Mirror	38	11	10	38
Jul.-Sep. 1999	PSRA/Pew	39	8	9	38
Aug.-Sep. 2000	PSRA/Pew	41	7	8	37
Dec. 2004	PSRA/Pew	39	7	8	38

- For each statement, please tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it...We all should be willing to fight for our country whether it is right or wrong?

		Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree
Apr.-May 1987	Gallup/Times Mirror	17	37	27	13
May 1988	Gallup/Times Mirror	23	34	24	14
Jan.-Feb. 1989	Gallup/Times Mirror	22	35	23	15
May 1990	PSRA/Times Mirror	22	33	24	16
Oct.-Nov. 1991	PSRA/Times Mirror	30	30	21	16
May-Jun. 1992	PSRA/Times Mirror	24	33	25	14
May 1993	PSRA/Times Mirror	21	34	29	13
Jul. 1994	PSRA/Times Mirror	25	28	25	20
Nov. 1997	PSRA/Pew	21	31	26	19
Sep.-Oct. 1999	PSRA/Pew	21	28	28	18
Aug. 2002	PSRA/Pew	22	30	27	16
Aug. 2003	PSRA/Pew	23	29	25	18
Dec. 2006-					
Jan. 2007	PSRA/Pew	20	30	26	19
Mar. 2008	PSRA/Pew	28	29	21	16
Oct. 2008	PSRA/Pew	29	35	19	12
Apr. 2009	PSRA/Pew	24	29	25	16

Note: Sixty percent of those in veteran households agreed while 48 percent in non-veteran households agreed in 2007.

- How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements...agree strongly, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, or disagree strongly? People should support their country even if the country is in the wrong?

		Agree Strongly	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Disagree Strongly
1996	NORC	11	21	18	37	11
2004	NORC	12	24	22	31	9

- Do you think that Americans should support this country in wartime even if they believe that its actions are wrong?

		Yes	No
Jun. 1983	NYT	70	23
Nov. 1983	NYT	72	21

- Do you think the United States should return to the draft at this time, or not?

		Yes	No
Feb. 1977*	Gallup	36	54
Mar. 1979*	Gallup	46	46
Jul. 1980	Gallup	58	34
Jul. 1981	Gallup	48	45
Oct. 1981	ABC News/Wash Post	43	51
Sep. 1983	ABC News/Wash Post	38	57
Mar. 1985	ABC News/Wash Post	25	73
Jun. 1998	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	16	81
Jan. 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	27	69
Oct. 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	17	81
Oct. 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	14	85
Aug. 2007	Gallup	18	80

*NOTE: Question wording began, “As you may know, there is no longer a military draft and those who serve in the armed forces are volunteers. Recently, however, the armed forces have had trouble in getting enough volunteers to meet manpower needs...”

- Do you favor or oppose the reinstatement of the draft for the Armed Forces?

		Favor	Oppose
Jan. 1980	NBC/AP	62	29
Jan. 1981	NBC/AP	65	28
Jul. 1981	NBC/AP	59	33
Dec. 1981	NBC/AP	52	38
Dec. 1990*	NBC/WSJ	58	38
Jan. 2003+	NBC/WSJ	39	52

NOTE: * Question wording was “...reinstating the draft if the United States goes to war in the Persian Gulf?” + Question wording was “reinstating the draft if the United States goes to war against Iraq?”

- If it becomes clear that more soldiers are needed in the war against terrorism, would you approve or disapprove of reinstating the military draft?

		Approve	Disapprove
Oct. 2001	Fox News/OD	76	16
Nov. 2001	Fox News/OD	74	18
May 2002	Fox News/OD	57	34
Jan. 2003	Fox News/OD	56	36
Apr. 2004	Fox News/OD	41	51

- If there were a national emergency, do you think we should return to a military draft or should we continue to rely on volunteers?

		Draft	Volunteers
Feb. 1982	NORC	80	15
Feb. 1984	NORC	81	17

- Do you think we should return to a military draft at this time, or should we continue to rely on volunteers?

		Draft	Volunteers
Feb. 1983	NORC	29	67
Feb. 1984	NORC	23	73

- I am going to read a few statements. After each, please tell me if you agree with that statement or disagree with it, or if, perhaps, you have no opinion about that statement...the military draft should be re-instituted?

		Agree	Disagree
Jul. 1984	ABC News/Wash Post	49	43
Jul. 1988	ABC News/Wash Post	37	55

- There has not been a military draft in this country since the 1970s. How would you feel about reinstating the draft and requiring young men to serve in the military at this time? Do you favor reinstating the military draft, or think it should be considered, or think it should not be considered?

		Favor Draft	Should Be Considered	Should Not Be Considered
Jan. 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	13	37	46
Sep. 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	7	28	62

- Do you favor a volunteer military, or do you think we should reinstate the draft?

		Volunteer	Draft
Jan. 1991	USA Today	69	20

- If a military invasion of another country using ground troops becomes necessary to punish those responsible for Tuesday's attack, would you favor or oppose the reinstatement of the draft?

		Yes	No
Sep. 2001	Harris Interactive/ CNN/Time	66	28

- If you were twenty years old and our country were at war, would you be willing to fight under any condition, under some but not all conditions, or under no condition?

		Any Condition	Some Conditions	No Condition
Apr. 1996	Gallup/UVA	31	48	12

- If the United States were under a military threat from a foreign country, would you be willing to fight and, if need be, die for your country?

		Yes	No
Jun. 1998	Fox News/OD	74	18

- People feel differently about how far a government should go. Here is a list of things which some people believe in and some don't. Let's take them one at a time. Do you think the government should or should not...make every adult male spend at least two years in the Army?

Should Should Not

- | | | | | | |
|-----------|---------------|----|----|--|--|
| Mar. 1939 | Roper GfK-NOP | 18 | 76 | | |
|-----------|---------------|----|----|--|--|
- Do you think we should continue to draft young men for the Army, or should we rely on volunteers for occupation forces?
- | | | | | | |
|-----------|--------|-------------|-----------------|--|--|
| Aug. 1945 | Gallup | Draft
43 | Volunteer
47 | | |
|-----------|--------|-------------|-----------------|--|--|
- The Selective Service Law ends in May. Do you think Congress should or should not vote to continue the Draft Law for another year?
- | | | | | | |
|---------------|--------|--------------|------------------|--|--|
| Apr.-May 1946 | Gallup | Should
63 | Should Not
29 | | |
|---------------|--------|--------------|------------------|--|--|
- Do you think Congress should pass a law that would permit the government to draft young men to serve in the Armed Forces?
- | | | | | | |
|-----------|--------|--------------|------------------|--|--|
| Mar. 1948 | Gallup | Should
63 | Should Not
23 | | |
|-----------|--------|--------------|------------------|--|--|
- The Selective Service Law ends in June. Do you think Congress should or should not vote to continue the Draft Law for another three years?
- | | | | | | |
|-----------|--------|--------------|------------------|--|--|
| Jan. 1950 | Gallup | Should
57 | Should Not
33 | | |
|-----------|--------|--------------|------------------|--|--|
- Do you think the time has come when this country should do away with the draft or not?
- | | | | | | |
|-----------|--------|-----------|----------|--|--|
| Oct. 1956 | Gallup | Yes
11 | No
75 | | |
|-----------|--------|-----------|----------|--|--|
- Do you favor or oppose the reinstatement of the military draft in the United States?
- | | | | | | |
|-----------|----------|------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Jun. 2005 | AP/Ipsos | Strongly Approve
11 | Somewhat Oppose
15 | Somewhat Oppose
23 | Strongly Oppose
47 |
|-----------|----------|------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
- Would you favor or oppose instating a military draft?
- | | | | | | |
|-----------|------------------------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Jan. 2005 | Martilla Comm./
Security & Peace Inst | Strongly Favor
15 | Not So Strongly Favor
13 | Not So Strongly Oppose
16 | Strongly Oppose
50 |
|-----------|------------------------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|
- If the U.S. went to war with Iraq, would you, yourself, volunteer to serve, or encourage an immediate family member such as a brother, sister, spouse, child or grandchild, to serve in the armed services?
- | | | | | | |
|-----------|--------------|-----------|----------|--|--|
| Oct. 2002 | TIPP/IBD-CSM | Yes
49 | No
46 | | |
|-----------|--------------|-----------|----------|--|--|
- If the United States finds itself at war and needing many more active-duty personnel in the armed forces, would you prefer the re-establishment of the draft or only voluntary recruitment for the military?
- | | | | | | |
|-----------|--------------|-------------|-----------------|--|--|
| Oct. 2002 | TIPP/IBD-CSM | Draft
26 | Voluntary
69 | | |
|-----------|--------------|-------------|-----------------|--|--|
- If a military draft is reinstated, do you think young women should be required to serve as well as young men?

Jan. 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	Yes 49	No 46
-----------	---------------	-----------	----------

- Do you support or oppose reinstating the draft?

Jan. 2003	Zogby International	Support 33	Oppose 62
-----------	---------------------	---------------	--------------

- The United States has not had a military draft since the 1970s. If more soldiers are needed in Iraq or in other places, would you favor or oppose reinstating the draft that requires young people to serve in the military?

Oct. 2004	SRBI/Time	Favor 31	Oppose 64
-----------	-----------	-------------	--------------

NOTE: Sample is registered voters.

- Do you favor or oppose re-instatement of the draft?

Oct. 2004	Marist	Favor 27	Oppose 68
-----------	--------	-------------	--------------

- Do you think it is very likely, likely, not very likely, or not likely at all that the draft will be reinstated in the next year?

Oct. 2004	Marist	Very Likely 11	Likely 21	Not Very Likely 40	Not at All Likely 28
-----------	--------	-------------------	--------------	-----------------------	-------------------------

- Do you favor or oppose reinstating the military draft?

Apr. 2004	Quinnipiac	Favor 26	Oppose 67
-----------	------------	-------------	--------------

UNITED OR DIVIDED?: We have found a small number of questions on national unity from the past, starting in the Vietnam war. They are displayed below. In November 2004 and January 2005, large majorities of around 70 percent said the country was more deeply divided than it had been in the past several years. After President Obama's election, that declined to 57 percent.

- Do you think the country is—or is not—more deeply divided this year on the major issues facing the country than it has been in the past several years?

Dec. 2000	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	No, Not Divided 33	Yes, Divided 64
Jan. 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	33	63
Nov. 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	26	72
Jan. 2005	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	27	70
Nov. 2008	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	40	57

- Which statement comes closer to your own views: Americans are united and in agreement about the most important values, or Americans are greatly divided when it comes to the most important values?

Aug. 1998	Kaiser/Wash Post/Harvard	United 31	Divided 66
-----------	--------------------------	--------------	---------------

Dec. 1998	Wash Post	34	62
Nov. 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	74	24
Sept. 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	69	30
Jan. 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	45	53
Nov. 2004	Gallup	34	65

- Here are some statements which have been made about the war in Vietnam. For each, tell me if you tend to agree or disagree...The real tragedy of the war in Vietnam is that it has divided us here at home?

		Disagree	Agree
Oct. 1969	Harris Interactive	29	64

- Do you think this country remains deeply divided over the Vietnam War, or not? (If Yes) Do you think those divisions are in the process of healing, or not?

		Not Divided	Divided/ Healing	Divided/ Not Healing	Divided/ Not Sure
Mar. 1995	L.A. Times	38	34	15	6

- There is a lot of discussion today about whether Americans are divided or united. Some say that Americans are united and in agreement about the most important values. Others think that Americans are greatly divided when it comes to the most important values. What is your view about this?

		United	Divided
Feb.-Apr.1993	NORC	32	63

- Would you say that America is growing together or growing apart?

		Growing Together	Growing Apart
Jul.-Aug. 1998	Yankelovich/Ford Foundation	33	58

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

		More Politically Divided	Not More Divided
Dec. 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	66	26
Sep. 2006	PSRA/Pew Research Center	70	24
Jan. 2007	PSRA/Pew Research Center	66	28
Jan. 2009*	PSRA/Pew Research Center	46	45
Mar. 2009*	PSRA/Pew Research Center	61	34

Note: January 2009 and March 2009 Surveys were asked of ½ samples.

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

		More Divided	Not More Divided
Dec. 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	53	40
Jan. 2007	PSRA/Pew Research Center	51	41
Jan. 2009	PSRA/Pew Research Center	47	47

- Do you believe that the country has become more united or more divided in the past four years?

		More United	More Divided
Oct. 2004	TIME/SRBI	41	47

ATTITUDES OF YOUNG PEOPLE: In his book *Surprise, Security, and the American Experience*, historian John Lewis Gaddis relates a story about a classroom experience after 9/11. “Would it be OK now for us to be patriotic?” a student asked the professor. Gaddis replied, “Yes, I think it would.” Although we don’t have historical data on college students’ patriotism, a near majority of them (48 percent) in a poll taken soon after 9/11 described themselves as very patriotic and another 44 percent as somewhat patriotic. In October 2004, those responses were 39 and 49 percent, respectively. Young people, like their elders, are not enthusiastic about reinstating the draft.

- Do you think we should return to the military draft at this time, or not? (Asked of persons 13 to 17 years of age)

		Yes
1980	Gallup	38
1985	Gallup	15
1986	Gallup	12
1988	Gallup	12
1989	Gallup	9
1998	Gallup/CNN/USATODAY	16
2003 Early	Gallup/CNN/USATODAY	27
2003 Late	Gallup/CNN/USATODAY	17
2004	Gallup/CNN/USATODAY	14
2007	Gallup/CNN/USATODAY	18

- When it comes to your feelings about being an American, do you consider yourself very patriotic, somewhat patriotic, not very patriotic, or not at all patriotic? (Asked of college undergraduates)

		Very Patriotic	Somewhat Patriotic	Not Very Patriotic	Not At All
Oct. 2001	Harvard IOP	48	44	6	1
Oct. 2002	Harvard IOP	33	57	8	2
Apr. 2003	Harvard IOP	43	49	7	1
Oct. 2003	Harvard IOP	39	50	9	2
Mar. 2004	Harvard IOP	32	55	10	2
Oct. 2004	Harvard IOP	39	49	9	2

NOTE: IOP stands for Institute of Politics.

- Would you favor or oppose requiring all young men to give one year of service to the nation, either in the military services or in non-military work here or abroad, such as work in hospitals or with elderly people? (Asked of persons 13 to 17 years old)

		Favor
1977	Gallup	47
1984	Gallup	62
1986	Gallup	62
1989	Gallup	49
1992	Gallup	52

- Would you favor or oppose requiring all young women to give one year of service to the nation, either in the military services or in non-military work here or abroad, such as work in hospitals or with elderly people? (Asked of persons 13 to 17 years old)

		Favor
1977	Gallup	38
1984	Gallup	51
1986	Gallup	56
1989	Gallup	44
1992	Gallup	47

- Would you favor or oppose requiring all young Americans to give one year of service to the nation, either in the military services or in non-military work here or abroad, such as work in hospitals or with elderly people? (Asked of persons 13 to 17) years old)

		Favor
2000	Gallup	51
2004*	Gallup	42

NOTE: * Question wording was “Would you favor or oppose requiring all men and women to give one year of service to the nation, either in the military or in non-military work, such as work in hospitals or with elderly people?”

- How likely do you think it is that a draft will be enacted because of the war in Iraq?

		Very Likely	Somewhat Likely	Somewhat Unlikely	Not at All Likely
May 2004	Ipsos/Newsweek	11	25	28	35
Oct. 2004	Ipsos/Newsweek	8	26	33	32

NOTE: Respondents between ages 18-29 only.

- If you were drafted into the military, would you serve?

		Yes	No
May 2004	Ipsos/Newsweek	62	36
Oct. 2004	Ipsos/Newsweek	66	29

NOTE: Respondents between ages 18-29 only.

- How patriotic are you? Would you say...extremely patriotic, very patriotic, somewhat patriotic, or not especially patriotic? (Asked of persons 18 to 29 years old)

		Extremely Patriotic	Very Patriotic	Somewhat Patriotic	Not Especially Patriotic
Aug. 2002	Wash Post/Kaiser/Harvard	18	33	36	11

NOTE: Among those in the 30-49 age bracket, 71 percent said they were “extremely” or “very” patriotic; in the 50-64 age breakdown, 79 percent said they were “extremely” or “very” patriotic; in the 65+ age bracket, 76 percent said they were “extremely” or “very” patriotic.

- Now I’m going to read you some different goals that young people might have. Using a scale from 1 to 10, please rate each one in terms of its importance to you personally. If a particular goal is “extremely important” to you pick a number closer to 10. If it has average importance, pick a number around 5 or 6. And if a particular goal is not really important to you pick a number closer to 1. You can select any number between 1 and 10, depending on how strongly you feel. Here is the first one—being a good American who cares about the good of the country? (Asked of persons 15 to 24 years of age)

		1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9-10
Nov. 1998	Tarrance/ Lake-Snell/NASS	2	3	15	37	43

- And using the same scale, with 1 meaning not important at all, and 10 being the most important thing in your life—how important is being an American to you personally? (Asked of persons 15 to 24 years of age)

		1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9-10
Nov. 1998	Tarrance/ Lake-Snell/NASS	3	2	9	25	62

- Would you support or oppose reinstating the military draft? (Asked of college undergraduates)

		Strongly Support	Somewhat Support	Somewhat Oppose	Strongly Oppose
Oct. 2001	Harvard IOP	8	22	26	42

- If the draft was reinstated and you were selected—would you eagerly serve, serve with reservation, or would you try to seek an alternative? (Asked of college undergraduates)

		Eagerly Serve	Serve With Reservation	Seek An Alternative
Oct. 2001	Harvard IOP	29	31	38

- If it were decided that more troops were necessary to carry on the military campaigns in Iraq, Afghanistan, and other places in the war on terror and a draft were reinstated—would you join the military, accept the draft, or avoid the draft? (Asked of college undergraduates)

		Join Military	Accept Draft	Avoid Draft
Oct. 2003	Harvard IOP	11	38	46

- Which of the following do you most agree with...Being a good citizen means having some special obligations or being a good citizens simply means being a good person? (Asked of college undergraduates)

		Special Obligations	Good Person
Apr. 2003	Harvard IOP	52	46

- If another military conflict similar to the Iraq situation arises in the near future, how likely would you be to join the U.S. military...very likely, somewhat likely, not very likely, or not at all likely? (Asked of college undergraduates)

		Very Likely	Somewhat Likely	Not Very Likely	Not At All Likely
Apr. 2003	Harvard IOP	4	11	23	60

- Do you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose a national law that would require one year of national service from all young Americans, with the option of either military or non-military service? (Asked of college undergraduates)

		Strongly Support	Somewhat Support	Somewhat Oppose	Strongly Oppose
Apr. 2003	Harvard IOP	10	21	23	45

New Questions

- Do you display the flag at your home, in your office, or on your car?

		Yes, display the flag	No
Aug. 2002	PSRA/Pew	75	25
Jul. 2003	PSRA/Pew	69	29
Mar. 2005	PSRA/Pew	64	36

Jan. 2007	PSRA/Pew	62	38
Apr. 2009	PSRA/Pew	59	40

- Do you own an American flag?

		Yes	No
Jun. 26-27, 2007	Fox News/OD	86	14

- Have you flown an American flag at any time during the past year?

		Yes	No
Jun. 26-27, 2007	Fox News/OD	68	32

- Thinking of the changes our nation has faced since the U.S. Constitution was adopted nearly 220 years ago, do you think it is time to make, serious changes, minor changes, or no changes at all to the basic make-up of our national government?

		Dramatic changes	Serious changes	Minor changes	No changes
Jun. 19-21, 2007	Zogby International	5	13	45	34

- In your own personal identity, do you think of yourself as your own race first, as an American first, or what?

		Own race	American
Sep. 2008	ABC News	15	79
Jan. 2009	ABC News	12	78

- The U.S. constitution was adopted almost 220 years ago. How relevant do you believe it is to modern society?

		Completely relevant	Mostly relevant	Not very relevant	Not at all relevant
Jun. 19-21, 2007	Zogby International	50	40	7	1

Key:

ISR = Institute of Social Research, University of Michigan

NASS = National Association of Secretaries of State

Many pollsters in the United States regularly supply us with their data. This report could not have been done without their assistance, and we thank them for it. The data in this report come from the archive of public opinion polls at the American Enterprise Institute and from the Roper GfK-NOP Center's archive at the University of Connecticut in Storrs, Connecticut. The Roper GfK-NOP Center is the oldest and largest archive of public opinion data in the world. To learn more about the Roper GfK-NOP Center, visit <http://roperweb.ropercenter.uconn.edu>

Suggested Readings:

Berns, Walter, *Making Patriots*, The University of Chicago Press, 2001.

The *Washington Post*, Kaiser Family Foundation, and Harvard University's poll on military families, conducted in January-February 2004, <http://www.kff.org/kaiserpolls/pomr032904pkg.cfm>

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<http://www.zogby.com/features/featuredtables.dbm?ID=165>