

AEI STUDIES IN PUBLIC OPINION

POLLS ON PATRIOTISM (June 2002)

OVERVIEW: Last year, AEI scholar Walter Berns published an elegant little book called *Making Patriots* in which he traced the unique history of the idea of patriotism in the United States.

Through the crude instrument of public opinion polls, this compilation of data looks at Americans' love of their country and their willingness to sacrifice for it. As the data below show, questions about patriotism are not asked very often by pollsters. It is interesting to speculate about why. Perhaps pollsters believe that attitudes about patriotism don't change and therefore it is not necessary to ask about them often. But that argument would apply to many other poll questions that are asked regularly. Perhaps there is something vaguely embarrassing about asking about love of country. Whatever the reasons, it is useful to be reminded of the durability of patriotic sentiments.

Many people believe (including many Americans interviewed by pollsters) that something fundamental changed after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. Eighty-seven percent told *Public Agenda* that Americans appreciated their country more after September 11. Another interpretation is that September 11 reminded Americans of some basic truths including a deep love of country.

In a handful of survey questions before September 11, Americans said the country was divided on its most important values. Was it true, or were people simply saying what they thought pollsters wanted to hear – a fashionable pop cynicism of sorts? It's hard to know, but after September 11, when pollsters asked the same question, an equally large majority said that the country was united.

- 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 of being 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
Mar. 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	74	18	5	2	1

● 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 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. 15-Oct. 17, 2001	ISR	81	12	2	1	1
Mar. 11-Apr. 16, 2002	ISR	70	24	2	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	*

● 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

● 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

● 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
Jun. 1983	NYT	52	38	7
Nov. 1983	NYT	53	37	5
Jun. 1991	CBS News/NYT	55	37	5

- 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

- 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

- 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

- 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?

		Better in America	About the Same	Better in Other Countries
1994	NORC/GSS	79	15	4

- 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/GSS	14	24	33	21	4

- 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/GSS	70	20	7	2	1

- 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. 15-Oct. 17, 2001	ISR	82	12	2	2	1
Mar. 11-Apr.16, 2002	ISR	65	27	4	3	1

● 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 Willing	Fairly Willing	Neither	Fairly Unwilling	Very Unwilling
1996	NORC/GSS	6	9	11	16	55

● 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/GSS	39	41	12	5	2

● 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/GSS	47	39	13	1

● 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/GSS	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/GSS	35	45	15	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
1996	NORC/GSS				
	Its scientific and technological achievements	48	42	4	1
	Its history	48	37	8	4
	America’s armed forces	47	40	7	2
	Its achievements in sports	36	48	8	3
	Its achievements in the arts and literature	29	54	8	2
	The way democracy works	28	52	13	3
	America’s economic achievements	28	51	15	3

Its political influence in the world	21	55	16	3
Its fair and equal treatment of all groups in society	17	37	30	11
Its Social Security system	14	35	37	11

● 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

● How proud are you to be [substitute own nationality]? (1990-93 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? (1995 NORC)

● How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement? Generally speaking, (country) is a better country than most other countries? (1995 NORC)

	---How Proud?--- Very Proud	---Rather Be A Citizen of My--- --- Country Than Any Other---		-----My Country Is----- -----A Better Country-----	
		Strongly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Agree
Ireland	77	46	39	17	53
United States	76	70	20	39	41
India	75	NA	NA	NA	NA
Poland	69	49	35	9	24
Nigeria	68	NA	NA	NA	NA
Turkey	67	NA	NA	NA	NA
South Africa	64	NA	NA	NA	NA
Brazil	64	NA	NA	NA	NA
Canada	61	54	25	37	41
Slovenia	59	46	29	6	20
Mexico	56	NA	NA	NA	NA
Argentina	55	NA	NA	NA	NA
North Ireland	54	NA	NA	NA	NA
Britain	54	41	30	13	40
Iceland	54	NA	NA	NA	NA
Chile	53	NA	NA	NA	NA
Austria	53	55	28	26	38
Latvia	49	41	25	8	18
Romania	48	NA	NA	NA	NA
Hungary	47	61	25	7	18
South Korea	45	NA	NA	NA	NA
Spain	45	25	47	6	28
Norway	45	45	32	17	48
China	43	NA	NA	NA	NA
Portugal	42	NA	NA	NA	NA
Denmark	42	NA	NA	NA	NA
Lithuania	41	NA	NA	NA	NA
Italy	41	29	34	7	31
Sweden	41	37	32	11	33
Bulgaria	39	64	21	19	31

Finland	38	NA	NA	NA	NA
Switzerland	38	NA	NA	NA	NA
Belarus	35	NA	NA	NA	NA
France	35	NA	NA	NA	NA
Estonia	30	NA	NA	NA	NA
East Germany	29	39	31	10	23
Belgium	29	NA	NA	NA	NA
Japan	29	71	17	51	32
Russia	26	40	29	17	18
Czechoslovakia	25	NA	NA	NA	NA
Czech Republic	NA	47	25	8	14
Netherlands	21	16	32	8	37
West Germany	20	32	31	10	26
Philippines	NA	29	58	12	47
New Zealand	NA	51	29	28	49
Slovakia	NA	42	26	7	14

Note: NA = Not Asked

AFTER SEPTEMBER 11: After September 11, 36 percent told one pollster that they felt much more patriotic, and 24 percent said they felt somewhat more patriotic than in the past. Thirty-nine percent said their patriotic feelings were unchanged. The tragic events of September 11 produced more overt displays of patriotism such as flag-flying and singing of the Star Spangled Banner. Those activities have receded somewhat.

- 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. 26-27, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics		
		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. 9-13, 2002	TIPP/IBD-CSM	Much More Patriotic	Somewhat More Patriotic	About the Same
		36	24	39

- 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?

		Not At All (Vol.)	A Little	Some, But Not A Lot	A Lot, But Not Completely	Completely
Mar. 12-13, 2002	Fox News/ Opinion Dynamics	19	32	33	10	2
Jun. 18-19, 2002	Fox News/ Opinion Dynamics	12	34	37	13	1

- 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?

Sep. 14-15, 2001 *	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	Yes	No
Mar. 8-9, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	82	18
		68	32

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?

Sep. 19-20, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	80	20
Oct. 3-4, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	79	20
Mar. 12-13, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	61	39

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

Oct. 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	Too Much	Right Amount	Too Little
Mar. 2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	8	73	17
		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. 20-21, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	79	21

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

Jun. 2002	Fox News/ Opinion Dynamics	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?

Sep. 27, 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?

Sep. 27, 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. 3-4, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	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. 7-10, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	65	35

(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. 7-10, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	38	62

● 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. 28- Jul. 1, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	66	33
Jun. 21-23, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	83	16

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

Jun. 21-23, 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. 26-27, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	10	25	62

WHAT IT MEANS TO BE A PATRIOT: *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.*

- 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

- 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/GSS	86	5

- 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

● 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
Taking action to help if you hear someone screaming or see them being attacked	54	34	7	6
Reporting a crime that one has witnessed	54	36	7	4
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 Important	Fairly Important	Not Very Important	Not Important At All
1996	NORC/GSS	63	28	5	2

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. When the idea of "my country right or wrong" is introduced, the answers look different.

In 1998, when Gallup asked whether the country should return to the draft, only 16 percent said that we should. In October and November 2001, when Fox News and Opinion Dynamics asked whether we should reinstitute the draft if more soldiers were needed in the war against terrorism, about three-quarter favored the idea. When the question was repeated in May 2002, 57 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

● 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 Condition	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/Opinion Dynamics	74	18

● 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

● 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/GSS	11	21	18	37	11

● I'm going to read you some pairs of statements that will help us understand how you feel about a number of things. As I read each pair, tell me whether the first statement or the second statement comes closer to your own views—even if neither is exactly right...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

● 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

● Do you think we should continue to draft young men for the army, or should we rely on volunteers for occupation forces?

		Draft	Volunteer
Aug. 1945	Gallup	43	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?

		Should	Should Not
Apr.-May 1946	Gallup	63	29

- Do you think Congress should pass a law that would permit the government to draft young men to serve in the armed forces?

		Should	Should Not
Mar. 1948	Gallup	63	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?

		Should	Should Not
Jan. 1950	Gallup	57	33

- Do you think the time has come when this country should do away with the draft or not?

		Yes	No
Oct. 1956	Gallup	11	75

- Do you think we 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/AIPO	58	34
Jul. 1981	Gallup/AIPO	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

*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..."

- 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/GSS	80	15
Feb. 1984	NORC/GSS	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/GSS	29	67
Feb. 1984	NORC/GSS	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

● 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 more soldiers are needed in the war against terrorism, would you approve or disapprove of reinstating the draft?

		Approve	Disapprove
Oct. 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	76	16
Nov. 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	74	18
May 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	57	34

UNITED OR DIVIDED?: Today nearly three-quarters of Americans say we are united and in agreement about the most important values. In 1998, only a third gave that response. We have found a small number of questions on national unity from the past, starting in the Vietnam war. They are displayed below.

● 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?

		United	Divided
Aug. 1998	Kaiser/Wash Post/Harvard	31	66
Dec. 18-22, 1998	Wash Post	34	62
Nov. 26-27, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	74	24

● 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	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. 15-19, 1995	L.A. Times	38	34	15	6

● President Carter has said that the country is divided and is undergoing a “crisis of confidence.” Do you tend to agree or disagree?

		Disagree	Agree
Jul. 18-19, 1979	Gallup/Newsweek	18	75

● 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. 5-Apr. 26, 1993	NORC/GSS	32	63

● 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?

		No, Not Divided	Yes, Divided
Dec. 15-17, 2000	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	33	64
Jan. 15-17, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	33	63

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

		Growing Together	Growing Apart
Jul. 14-Aug. 4, 1998	Yankelovich/Ford Foundation	33	58

ATTITUDES OF YOUNG PEOPLE: A near majority of college undergraduates in an October 2001 poll described themselves as very patriotic and 44 percent as somewhat patriotic. They are less enthusiastic than their elders about reinstating the draft.

● 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

● 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	Institute of Politics	48	44	6	1

● 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

● 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

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

		Strongly Support	Somewhat Support	Somewhat Oppose	Strongly Oppose
Oct. 2001	Institute of Politics	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	Institute of Politics	29	31	38

Key:

ISR = Institute of Social Research, University of Michigan

NASS = National Association of Secretaries of State

Other Recent AEI Studies in Public Opinion:

“Attitudes Toward Social Security Privatization,” May 2002, can be viewed at <http://www.aei.org/ps/psbowman8.pdf>

“Attitudes Toward Homosexuality,” May 2002, can be viewed at <http://www.aei.org/ps/psbowman7.pdf>

“The 2000 Election: What the Polls Said,” February 2002, can be viewed at <http://www.aei.org/ps/psbowman6.pdf>

“Public Opinion and the Clinton Legacy,” February 2002, can be viewed at <http://www.aei.org/ps/psbowman3.pdf>

“Attitudes about Work and Leisure in America,” August 2001, can be viewed at <http://www.aei.org/ps/psbowman4.pdf>

Forthcoming:

“Attitudes Toward Welfare Reform”

“Attitudes About Divided Government”

“The Nostalgia Impulse”

Suggested Readings:

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

For comments or questions
contact Karlyn H. Bowman at kbowman@aei.org

Compiled by Karlyn H. Bowman, Resident Fellow (kbowman@aei.org)
Todd J. Weiner, Research Assistant (tweiner@aei.org),
Jennifer Benz, Intern, and Julia Beien, Intern