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**Blacks, Hispanics Resist Republican Appeals  
But Conservative White Christians Are Stronger Supporters  
Than In 2000, National Annenberg Election Survey Data Show**

Republicans have failed to make the significant gains they hoped for among minority voters in the last four years, but their core support among evangelical and born-again white Protestants is stronger, the University of Pennsylvania's National Annenberg Election Survey shows.

As the Democratic National Convention begins, 66 percent of African-American registered voters called themselves Democrats and just 7 percent say they are Republicans, numbers almost unchanged since 2000, when it was 65 to 7 percent. Among registered Hispanics, Democrats now outnumber Republicans 45 to 24 percent, compared to a 39 to 21 percent margin in 2000.

But among registered white Protestants who described themselves as born-again or evangelical – a share of the population bigger than blacks and Hispanics together -- Republicans now enjoy majority status. Fifty-one percent of this group called themselves Republicans, while 22 percent said they were Democrats. Four years ago, 43 percent said they were Republicans and 24 percent said they were Democrats.

The data, derived from interviews with 3,715 registered voters between July 1 and 21, also showed George W. Bush more popular with evangelical and born-again white Protestants and less popular among blacks and Hispanics than he was among 3,311 registered voters interviewed by the 2000 Annenberg survey from July 1 through 21, 2000.

Seventy-one percent of registered white evangelical and born-again Christians now view Bush favorably and just 19 percent see him unfavorably, up from 63 percent favorable, 19 percent unfavorable in 2000.

That ratio is reversed among African-Americans, where 12 percent view Bush favorably and 72 percent unfavorably. In July of 2000, 34 percent had a favorable view and just 40 percent an unfavorable opinion.

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Despite their Democratic leaning, Hispanics still had a positive balance of opinion on Bush. Forty-eight percent had a favorable view, and 38 percent an unfavorable view. But at this point in 2000, 56 percent of Hispanics had a favorable opinion of Bush and 30 percent an unfavorable opinion.

The data offered mixed messages about the degree of motivation among these groups, all of whom are heavily targeted in get-out-the-vote efforts. Among registered voters, 30 percent of the evangelical and born again white Protestants, 27 percent of the African-Americans and 24 percent of the Hispanics said they were following the presidential campaign very closely.

Another important measure of interest showed a dramatic increase since four years ago for all groups, but most of all for Hispanics. Thirty-two percent of the evangelical and born-again white Protestants said they had discussed politics with family or friends at least four days in the last week, double the 16 percent of four years ago.

For registered Hispanics, the percentage was 31 percent, up from 10 percent in 2000. And for blacks it was 28 percent, up from 11 percent in 2000. For all registered voters, it was 34 percent, up from 15 percent in 2000.

Another measurement reflected greater Hispanic interest this time. When all 4,275 citizens in the survey were considered, 76 percent of all Hispanic citizens said they were registered to vote. Four years ago, the comparable percentage was only 60 percent. For blacks, the current percentage was 76 percent, down from 82 percent and for white born-again and evangelical Protestants, it was 88 percent, up from 82 percent.

On a range of answers from registered voters, the born-again or evangelical white Protestants were more supportive of Bush and more conservative than other groups. For example, 72 percent of them approved of his handling of the presidency, compared to 53 percent for white Protestants who said they were not born-again or evangelical, 51 percent for white Catholics, 52 percent for Hispanics and 14 percent for African-Americans.

Fifty-seven percent of the born-again or evangelical Protestants said they favored a constitutional amendment to prohibit states from having same-sex marriages, compared to 38 percent of other white Protestants, 39 percent of white Catholics, 45 percent of Hispanics and 39 percent of blacks.

On Iraq, 63 percent of the born-again or evangelical white Protestants said the war there had been worth it, while 32 percent said it had not. Other white Protestants split evenly, with 49 percent giving each answer. Forty-four percent of white Catholics said the war was worth it while 51 percent said it was not. Twenty-nine percent of Hispanics said it was worth it, while 66 percent said it was not. Among blacks, just 9 percent said the war was worth it while 84 percent said it was not.

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On these issues and many others, those who attended church more often tended to be more conservative, more Republican and more pro-Bush. For example, among born-again or evangelical white Protestants, 78 percent of those who attended religious services once a week or more approved of Bush's handling of the presidency, while only 60 percent of those who attended less often. Among blacks, while the percentage approving was low among both groups, 18 percent of the more frequent church attenders approved and only 9 percent of the less frequent attenders did.

Among blacks 37 percent of those who attended church more than once a week favored banning all abortion, a view held by only 17 percent who attended less frequently. Among the born-again or evangelical white Protestants, 61 percent of those who attended weekly or more often favored a ban but just 25 percent of those who came less frequently.

With both campaigns arguing intensely about values, the contrasts between blacks and evangelical or born-again white Protestants were sharp. Forty-seven percent of registered black respondents rated Kerry above Bush on sharing their values, while 10 percent rated Bush higher. Among the evangelical or born-again white Protestants, 63 percent rated Bush higher and 21 percent gave Kerry an edge.

The favorable and unfavorable opinions of Kerry, whom the Democrats will nominate for President in Boston this week, were not very different from attitudes toward Al Gore four years ago. Blacks were 65 percent favorable, 10 percent unfavorable on Kerry, compared to 69 to 13 percent for Gore in 2000. Hispanics were 45 percent favorable, 29 percent unfavorable, compared to 63 percent favorable and 23 percent unfavorable in 2000.

But only 25 percent of evangelical or born again-white Protestants viewed Kerry favorably, while 50 percent viewed him unfavorably. Four years ago, 32 percent of them viewed Gore favorably and 49 percent viewed him unfavorably.

That National Annenberg Election Survey, the largest academic election poll, is a project of the Annenberg Public Policy Center of the University of Pennsylvania ([www.AnnenbergPublicPolicyCenter.org](http://www.AnnenbergPublicPolicyCenter.org)). It has been tracking the presidential campaign since October 7, and interviewing will continue until after Election Day. Dr. Kathleen Hall Jamieson is the director of the survey. Ken Winneg is the managing director of the survey. Adam Clymer is the political director of the survey.

Another major election project of the Annenberg Public Policy Center is [FactCheck.org](http://FactCheck.org), a project that tries to hold politicians accountable by exposing false or misleading campaign statements. It is available online at [www.FactCheck.Org](http://www.FactCheck.Org).

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All charts reflect respondents who say they are registered to vote.

**Table A**

		Blacks	Hispanics	White Born again Protestants	White Protestants not born again	White Catholics	Total
<b>Percent of all registered voters 2004</b>		<b>10%</b>	<b>7%</b>	<b>26%</b>	<b>19%</b>	<b>22%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Party ID 2004</b>	<b>Republican</b>	<b>7%</b>	<b>24%</b>	<b>51%</b>	<b>37%</b>	<b>29%</b>	<b>32%</b>
	<b>Democrat</b>	<b>66%</b>	<b>45%</b>	<b>22%</b>	<b>30%</b>	<b>38%</b>	<b>34%</b>
	<b>Independent</b>	<b>17%</b>	<b>22%</b>	<b>19%</b>	<b>27%</b>	<b>26%</b>	<b>24%</b>
Party ID 2000	Republican	7%	21%	43%	33%	30%	30%
	Democrat	65%	39%	24%	29%	33%	32%
	Independent	19%	23%	23%	30%	27%	27%
<b>Bush 2004</b>	<b>Favorable</b>	<b>12%</b>	<b>48%</b>	<b>71%</b>	<b>52%</b>	<b>48%</b>	<b>49%</b>
	<b>Unfavorable</b>	<b>72%</b>	<b>38%</b>	<b>19%</b>	<b>39%</b>	<b>40%</b>	<b>40%</b>
Bush 2000	Favorable	34%	56%	63%	52%	54%	52%
	Unfavorable	40%	30%	19%	27%	27%	28%
<b>Kerry 2004</b>	<b>Favorable</b>	<b>65%</b>	<b>45%</b>	<b>25%</b>	<b>45%</b>	<b>47%</b>	<b>43%</b>
	<b>Unfavorable</b>	<b>10%</b>	<b>29%</b>	<b>50%</b>	<b>36%</b>	<b>29%</b>	<b>35%</b>
Gore 2000	Favorable	69%	63%	31%	44%	47%	44%
	Unfavorable	13%	23%	49%	36%	33%	37%
<b>2004 Discussed Politics with family or friends in the past week</b>							
<b>Four through seven days</b>		<b>28%</b>	<b>31%</b>	<b>32%</b>	<b>38%</b>	<b>33%</b>	<b>34%</b>
<b>Zero to three days</b>		<b>72%</b>	<b>68%</b>	<b>67%</b>	<b>62%</b>	<b>67%</b>	<b>65%</b>
2000 Discussed Politics with family or friends in the past week							
Four through seven days		11%	10%	16%	15%	16%	15%
Zero to three days		88%	88%	83%	84%	84%	84%

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**Table B**

	Blacks	Hispanics	White Born again Protestants	White Protestants not born again	White Catholics	Total
Do you feel things in this country are generally going in the right direction or do you feel things are seriously off on the wrong track?						
<b>Right direction</b>	9%	33%	45%	42%	40%	37%
<b>Wrong track</b>	85%	57%	46%	51%	51%	54%
Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling his job as president?						
<b>Approve</b>	14%	52%	72%	53%	51%	51%
<b>Disapprove</b>	84%	45%	27%	45%	47%	47%
Respondents were asked to rate George W. Bush and John Kerry on whether they “care about people like me” on a scale of zero to ten. The following data represents the percentage of people ranking Bush higher, Kerry higher, or both equal.						
<b>Bush higher</b>	10%	36%	58%	40%	35%	39%
<b>Kerry higher</b>	73%	45%	24%	39%	48%	44%
<b>Equal</b>	4%	6%	8%	10%	10%	8%
Respondents were asked to rate George W. Bush and John Kerry on whether they “share my values” on a scale of zero to ten. The following data represents the percentage of people ranking Bush higher, Kerry higher, or both equal.						
<b>Bush higher</b>	10%	31%	63%	42%	38%	41%
<b>Kerry higher</b>	71%	40%	21%	41%	47%	43%
<b>Equal</b>	8%	12%	6%	9%	9%	7%
Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling the nation’s economy?						
<b>Approve</b>	9%	46%	65%	48%	44%	45%
<b>Disapprove</b>	89%	48%	31%	47%	53%	51%
All in all, do you think the situation in Iraq was worth going to war over, or not?						
<b>Yes, worth it</b>	9%	29%	63%	49%	44%	44%
<b>No, not worth it</b>	84%	66%	32%	49%	51%	52%
Would you favor or oppose an amendment to the U. S. Constitution saying that NO state can allow two men to marry each other or two women to marry each other?						
<b>Strongly favor</b>	36%	37%	54%	32%	32%	36%
<b>Somewhat favor</b>	3%	8%	3%	6%	7%	5%
<b>Somewhat oppose</b>	8%	11%	8%	14%	12%	11%
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	43%	38%	28%	39%	40%	40%
Would you favor or oppose the federal government banning all abortions?						
<b>Strongly favor</b>	23%	28%	39%	12%	24%	23%
<b>Somewhat favor</b>	5%	5%	9%	7%	6%	7%
<b>Somewhat oppose</b>	13%	11%	17%	20%	21%	17%
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	53%	47%	30%	57%	44%	48%

	Blacks	Hispanics	White Born again Protestants	White Protestants not born again	White Catholics	Total
Do you personally favor or oppose completely eliminating the estate tax, that is the tax on property left by people who die?						
<b>Favor</b>	54%	44%	65%	69%	70%	65%
<b>Oppose</b>	34%	42%	29%	26%	24%	29%
Now I'd like to talk to you about the state of the economy. How would you rate economic conditions in this country today?						
<b>Excellent</b>	1%	5%	5%	3%	4%	4%
<b>Good</b>	7%	21%	37%	30%	28%	28%
<b>Fair</b>	35%	42%	38%	42%	44%	41%
<b>Poor</b>	57%	31%	19%	24%	24%	28%
Thinking about the federal government in Washington, how much of the time do you think you can trust the federal government to do what is right?						
<b>Always</b>	<1%	6%	2%	2%	2%	2%
<b>Most of the time</b>	15%	33%	26%	29%	23%	23%
<b>Some of the time</b>	63%	54%	65%	65%	68%	66%
<b>Never</b>	13%	7%	6%	4%	6%	7%
Do you think the U.S. should keep military troops in Iraq until a stable government is established there, or do you think the U.S. should bring its troops home as soon as possible?						
<b>Keep troops in Iraq</b>	25%	48%	61%	56%	56%	54%
<b>Bring troops home</b>	73%	49%	34%	40%	42%	42%
Recently, photographs were made public that appeared to show U.S. soldiers abusing Iraqi prisoners. Do you think the soldiers mistreated these prisoners on their own, or do you think they were following orders from their commanders?						
<b>On their own</b>	22%	37%	43%	34%	31%	34%
<b>Followed orders</b>	54%	39%	33%	47%	42%	44%

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**Table C**

**All Registered Respondents**

	<b>18-29 years old</b>	<b>30-44 years old</b>	<b>45-64 years old</b>	<b>65 and over</b>	<b>Church attendance once a week or more</b>	<b>Church attendance less than once a week</b>	<b>Total</b>
Do you feel things in this country are generally going in the right direction or do you feel things are seriously off on the wrong track?							
<b>Right direction</b>	36%	41%	38%	31%	41%	34%	37%
<b>Wrong track</b>	57%	52%	54%	58%	49%	58%	54%
Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling his job as president?							
<b>Approve</b>	47%	52%	55%	46%	60%	44%	51%
<b>Disapprove</b>	51%	47%	44%	50%	37%	54%	47%
For the following person in politics, please tell me if your opinion is favorable or unfavorable, George W. Bush.							
<b>Favorable</b>	45%	50%	51%	47%	60%	42%	49%
<b>Unfavorable</b>	43%	39%	39%	40%	30%	47%	40%
For the following person in politics, please tell me if your opinion is favorable or unfavorable, John Kerry							
<b>Favorable</b>	46%	41%	42%	45%	36%	48%	43%
<b>Unfavorable</b>	29%	38%	37%	31%	43%	29%	35%
Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as:							
<b>Republican</b>	28%	35%	34%	30%	39%	28%	32%
<b>Democrat</b>	34%	33%	34%	39%	32%	36%	34%
<b>Independent</b>	26%	23%	25%	23%	21%	27%	24%
Respondents were asked to rate George W. Bush and John Kerry on whether they "care about people like me" on a scale of zero to ten. The following data represents the percentage of people ranking Bush higher, Kerry higher, or both equal.							
<b>Bush higher</b>	31%	39%	44%	36%	49%	33%	39%
<b>Kerry higher</b>	55%	43%	40%	42%	35%	50%	44%
<b>Equal</b>	7%	8%	9%	8%	7%	9%	8%
Respondents were asked to rate George W. Bush and John Kerry on whether they "share my values" on a scale of zero to ten. The following data represents the percentage of people ranking Bush higher, Kerry higher, or both equal.							
<b>Bush higher</b>	32%	43%	45%	39%	52%	33%	41%
<b>Kerry higher</b>	52%	43%	40%	40%	32%	50%	43%
<b>Equal</b>	8%	6%	8%	7%	6%	8%	7%
Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling the nation's economy?							
<b>Approve</b>	37%	46%	49%	43%	54%	38%	45%
<b>Disapprove</b>	57%	50%	48%	53%	42%	58%	51%

	18-29 years old	30-44 years old	45-64 years old	65 and over	Church attendance once a week or more	Church attendance less than once a week	Total
All in all, do you think the situation in Iraq was worth going to war over, or not?							
<b>Yes, worth it</b>	43%	48%	45%	37%	48%	40%	44%
<b>No, not worth it</b>	53%	47%	53%	55%	45%	56%	52%
Would you favor or oppose an amendment to the U. S. Constitution saying that NO state can allow two men to marry each other or two women to marry each other?							
<b>Strongly favor</b>	27%	36%	38%	42%	50%	26%	36%
<b>Somewhat favor</b>	4%	8%	5%	3%	3%	6%	5%
<b>Somewhat oppose</b>	13%	12%	10%	8%	8%	12%	11%
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	48%	38%	38%	39%	31%	46%	40%
Would you favor or oppose the federal government banning all abortions?							
<b>Strongly favor</b>	23%	22%	22%	28%	41%	10%	23%
<b>Somewhat favor</b>	10%	7%	5%	6%	6%	7%	7%
<b>Somewhat oppose</b>	14%	17%	17%	18%	16%	17%	17%
<b>Strongly oppose</b>	50%	51%	49%	40%	31%	60%	48%
Do you personally favor or oppose completely eliminating the estate tax, that is the tax on property left by people who die?							
<b>Favor</b>	57%	65%	67%	66%	64%	65%	65%
<b>Oppose</b>	32%	28%	29%	29%	30%	28%	29%
Now I'd like to talk to you about the state of the economy. How would you rate economic conditions in this country today?							
<b>Excellent</b>	2%	3%	5%	4%	4%	3%	4%
<b>Good</b>	24%	29%	28%	27%	32%	24%	28%
<b>Fair</b>	46%	39%	41%	39%	40%	42%	41%
<b>Poor</b>	28%	29%	26%	29%	24%	30%	28%
Thinking about the federal government in Washington, how much of the time do you think you can trust the federal government to do what is right?							
<b>Always</b>	2%	1%	2%	<1%	2%	1%	2%
<b>Most of the time</b>	18%	25%	22%	29%	25%	22%	23%
<b>Some of the time</b>	74%	62%	66%	63%	62%	69%	66%
<b>Never</b>	4%	8%	9%	5%	7%	7%	7%
Do you think the U.S. should keep military troops in Iraq until a stable government is established there, or do you think the U.S. should bring its troops home as soon as possible?							
<b>Keep troops in Iraq</b>	47%	56%	58%	50%	56%	53%	54%
<b>Bring troops home</b>	48%	41%	38%	46%	40%	44%	42%
Recently, photographs were made public that appeared to show U.S. soldiers abusing Iraqi prisoners. Do you think the soldiers mistreated these prisoners on their own, or do you think they were following orders from their commanders?							
<b>On their own</b>	45%	36%	33%	20%	32%	35%	34%
<b>Followed orders</b>	35%	36%	49%	51%	42%	45%	44%



## Survey Methodology

The National Annenberg Election Survey (NAES) is a survey conducted each presidential election by the Annenberg Public Policy Center of the University of Pennsylvania.

The 2004 National Annenberg Election Survey is based on telephone interviews which began October 7, 2003 and will continue past Election Day.

The sample of telephone exchanges called was randomly selected by a computer from a complete list of thousands of active residential exchanges across the country. Within each exchange, random digits were added to form a complete telephone number, thus permitting access to both listed and unlisted numbers. Within each household, one adult was designated by a random procedure to be the respondent for the survey. The interviewing is conducted by Schulman, Ronca, Bucuvalas, Inc.

The results have been weighted to take account of household size and number of telephone lines into the residence and to adjust for variation in the sample relating to geographic region, sex, race, age and education.

This report deals with two sets of interviewing, in 2004 and in 2000.

In 2004, interviewing was conducted from July 1 through July 21, 2004, when 4,542 people were interviewed, of whom 4,275 were citizens and 3,715 said they were registered voters, and from July 1 through 21, 2000, when. In theory, in 19 out of 20 cases, results for all respondents and all citizens will differ will differ by no more than one percentage points, up or down, from what would have been obtained by interviewing all American adults. For smaller subgroups the margin of sampling error would be higher. For all registered voters, it would be plus or minus two percentage points. For registered voters who were either white Catholics, white born-again or evangelical Protestants or white Protestants who were not born again or evangelical, it would be plus or minus three percentage points. For registered blacks, it would be plus or minus six percentage points. For Hispanics, it would be plus or minus seven percentage points.

In 2000, interviewing was also conducted from July 1 through July 21, when 4,177 people were interviewed, of whom 4,056 were citizens and 3,311 said they were registered voters, and from July 1 through 21, 2000, when. In theory, in 19 out of 20 cases, results for all respondents, all citizens and all registered voters will differ will differ by no more than two percentage points, up or down, from what would have been obtained by interviewing all American adults. For smaller subgroups the margin of sampling error would be higher. For registered voters who were white born-again or evangelical Protestants, it would be plus or minus three percentage points. For registered white Catholics and for white Protestants who were not born again or evangelical, it would be plus or minus four percentage points. For registered blacks, it would be plus or minus six percentage points. For Hispanics, it would be plus or minus eight percentage points.

Moreover, some questions were not asked of all respondents, which would lead to higher potential error. In addition to sampling error, the practical difficulties of conducting any survey of public opinion may introduce other sources of error into the poll. Variations in the wording and order of questions, for example, may lead to somewhat different results.

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