

March 10, 2007

TO: Interested Parties
FROM: Matt Bennett, Sharon Burke, Bill Galston and Elaine Kamarck
RE: America's Role in the World - Results of a New Poll

Overview

As we approach the fourth anniversary of the invasion of Iraq, Americans are palpably anxious about the US role in the 21st century world. The public understands that the threat of terrorism is growing and cannot be stemmed by democracy imposed by force. For most Americans, the soaring rhetoric of the President's second Inaugural Address has crashed into the reality of Iraq, leaving them wondering about how we make our way in a world that seems to be shifting away from American leadership. Because of its failures, the Bush Doctrine has left the public shaken, not stirred.

With the ground having shifted so much, so quickly on national security and foreign policy, Third Way undertook a national poll to test American public opinion in these areas. Our survey, conducted by Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates* earlier this month, serves as the foundation for this memo. We provide these findings to help policymakers understand the major currents in American public opinion as they set out to design security-related policy and messaging.

In short, we have found that a substantial majority of the public is now in a highly practical and less confident frame of mind, both in how they view the threats to our nation and how they view potential solutions. The majority we identified was created by Independents swinging to the Democrats' point of view on these issues. These two groups, along with a surprisingly sizable minority of disillusioned Republicans, have built a new consensus about America's role in the world, as illustrated by the following findings:

Finding #1: Realism trumps idealism.

Finding #2: There is less public confidence in America and its power.

Finding #3: Both political parties have severe weaknesses.

* 807 likely voters in the 2008 presidential elections, conducted Jan. 30–Feb. 4, 2007 (MOE +/- 3.45%). See the Appendix for the poll results.

Finding #1: Realism (Security) Trumps Idealism (Spreading Democracy)

Americans have rejected idealism. They now largely agree with critics of the Iraq War like retired General William Odom, who wrote recently that “the President’s policy is based on illusions, not realities.”[†] The poll findings on this point were not ambiguous, and the sentiments largely crossed partisan lines. It is now the broad American public—not just the President’s fiercest adversaries—demanding that their leaders do the following things:

Recognize that the terrorist threat has grown: Despite their view that terrorism is the defining menace of our times (86% of respondents agreed that “terrorism is as serious a threat to America and the world today as Nazism and Communism were in the 20th century”), the public sees the threat as having *grown* since 9-11: by a margin of 69-21%, they think the threat of terrorism against the US is increasing, not decreasing. They utterly reject (by a 65-point margin) the Dick Cheney proposition[†] that the lack of another domestic attack since 9-11 is a sign that we are safer. Huge majorities of Republicans join Democrats and Independents in these views.

Moreover, on balance the public is more worried about being attacked by terrorists than they are about other nightmare scenarios—79% are worried about a terrorist using a nuclear weapon against an American city, while only 57% worry that terrorists might seize control of a Middle Eastern country and shut off their oil supply.

Reject the Bush Doctrine: There is deep public skepticism about the notion that spreading democracy by force works to protect us. First, Americans are crystal clear in their beliefs about our inability to impose our values at the point of a gun: 83% (including 72% of Republicans) agreed that “the US cannot impose democracy by force on another country.” And their realism on this point is sharp: by a margin of 70-27%, respondents agreed that “sometimes it’s better to leave a dictator in charge of a hostile country if he is contained, rather than risk chaos that we can’t control if he is brought down.”

Obviously, much of the disillusionment about America’s ability to spread democracy is driven by the chaos in Iraq—overall, a 23-point majority thinks the Iraq War has made the US less safe. In choosing the “less safe” option, Independents (57-27%) were much closer to Democrats (78-12%) than to Republicans (24-62%).

But it also points to their lingering unease about the direction the United States has taken in the battle against terrorism. Only 33% of respondents strongly support “promoting freedom and democracy in the Islamic world” as a means of fighting

[†] Appearing on *Meet the Press* on September 10, 2006, the Vice President said “Well, Tim, I think we’ve done a pretty good job of securing the nation against terrorists...I don’t know how much better you can do than no attack for the last five years... You’ve got to give some credence to the notion that maybe somebody did something right.”

terror.[‡] They have, it seems, rejected the President's assertion that "it is the policy of the United States to seek and support the growth of democratic movements and institutions in every nation and culture, with the ultimate goal of ending tyranny in our world."² Indeed, respondents were much more focused on concrete steps we need to take at home: 94 percent said the most important way to fight terrorism is to make America energy independent."

This doubt about idealism is pervasive: by a stunning 53-point margin, respondents agreed that "in the last few years, the US has focused too much on lofty ideals. We should focus instead on real threats to our own security." This answer largely—thought not entirely—defied partisanship: Republicans agreed 63-34%, Independents 75-23% and Democrats 85-12%. These findings suggest that the public has rejected the President's lofty rhetoric: "Renewed in our strength—tested, but not weary—we are ready for the greatest achievements in the history of freedom."³

Focus on securing America: The public's bottom line is simple: it wants the United States to concentrate on protecting itself. When asked what should be the main purpose of American foreign policy, respondents chose "protecting the security of the US and our allies" (66%) over "promoting freedom and democracy" (21%) and "advancing our economic interest" (9%). Interestingly, Republicans were the most likely to choose self-interest over freedom and democracy (75-18%). When we asked the question more bluntly in a split sample, even *more* respondents (68%) chose the statement: "The main goal of US foreign policy should be to protect American security, whether it spreads our ideals or not" over a competing statement about the value of spreading our ideals, freedom and democracy.

Do what works: In short, Americans want the United States to do whatever it takes to achieve the main objective of securing this country—even if that involves unpleasant tradeoffs. By 58-38%, respondents said they would support negotiating with countries that support terrorism, such as Iran and Syria, if "it will help protect our security interests." There is a partisan split—Republicans oppose the idea by 5 points—but others strongly embrace it (Democrats 67-29% and Independents 62-34%).

Another partisan split emerges on the question of whether the United States has "a moral obligation to help free other peoples from tyranny and to help create new democracies, even if that means using military force." A substantial majority of Republicans (62%) said that we do, but only 37% of Democrats and 46% of Independents agreed.

Still, in keeping with its highly pragmatic mood, large majorities of the public make a distinction between states that sponsor terrorists and the terrorists themselves. This

[‡] It is worth noting, however, that this view of spreading democracy by force does not translate into a lack of faith in democracy itself: 65 percent of those polled believe that free elections are the best antidote to terrorism and that more democracies in the world will mean more security for America. And while Democrats are more skeptical, they still express belief in this sentiment by a 56-34% margin.

appears to be a question of efficacy, not a moral judgment: terrorists do not respond to negotiations, so Americans want the US to take the fight to the terrorists. By a 15-point margin, respondents preferred a statement that terrorists could not be deterred and “the only way to defeat them is to go on the offensive against them and attack them wherever they are,” compared to a statement saying that we should follow a Cold War model of containment and deterrence.

Finding #2: There is Less Public Confidence in America and Its Power

Americans are now more humble and more practical. They want our leaders to recognizing the limitations on our own power and recognize that we are not always right, but they do not want the United States to withdraw from the world. Rather, they want this nation to use power in support of the right ends. In part, that means a greater reliance on our allies. For policymakers, the public is demanding the following:

Understand the limits of American power: The public is clearly uneasy about the global standing and track record of the United States: only 32% of respondents (including just a bare majority of Republicans) think that American power is *always* “a force for good in the world.” A substantial majority (59%) said we are *sometimes* a force for good. That answer, which is fairly damning in its faint praise, was chosen by, 71% of Democrats, 59% of Independents and 63% of women

Moreover, a large majority now rejects the notion of American exceptionalism: by a margin of 58-36%, more respondents agreed with the statement that “it is a dangerous illusion to believe that America is superior to other nations; we should not be attempting to reshape other nations in light of our values” over the proposition that “America is an exceptional nation with superior political institutions and ideals and a unique destiny to shape the world.” Democrats preferred the more modest statement by 72-22% and Independents by 67-27%. While the partisan split was real (Republicans said that the US is exceptional by 64-30%), it is striking that 30% of Republicans would side with the other point of view on this question.

This is not to say that Americans have lost faith in this nation’s greatness. Rather, this response reflects humility, apparently born of frustration with the bravado of President Bush. Americans remain proud of our nation and our achievements, but they do not want us to attempt to stand astride the world on our own.

Use our allies: By a margin of 76-18%, respondents chose the statement: “we are stronger and more able to achieve our goals abroad when we work with alliances and international organization” over one about how alliances tie us down and prevent us from achieving our goals. And some went even further: by 58-39%, respondents agreed that “the US should invade other countries only when we have the military and financial support of the UN, NATO or both.” Independents agreed with that statement 57-40% and Democrats 70-25%; they were joined by 43% of Republicans who agreed that we should get the support of international organizations before invading.

Consequently, Americans now believe that we must leverage the power of our allies in fighting terror and protecting our interests. 84% supported a statement that

we should “use diplomacy to bring our allies into the struggle” in the fight against terrorism. 61% of men, 59% of Independents and 56% overall agreed strongly with that proposition.

This is a substantial change from the months after 9-11, in which the Bush unilateral approach had much broader appeal. At the time, respondents in a Democracy Corps survey split about evenly when asked which statement came closer to their view: “America’s security depends on building strong ties with other nations. Bottom line, America’s security depends on its own military strength.”⁴

Finding #3: Both Political Parties Have Severe Weaknesses

We tested some long-held preconceptions about the two political parties. Not surprisingly, partisans view their party more favorably. Consequently, we highlight below the judgments about the two parties made by Independent respondents⁵:

Republicans: Independents are uneasy about the direction that President Bush has taken the country, and they took it out on his party in November.** Much of this negativity remains—when asked whether a series of statements apply to Republicans or Democrats, Independents overwhelmingly pointed to Republicans for these negative statements:

- “They are too quick to use military force when diplomacy is called for instead” (66-38%). (Republican respondents picked their own party here by 23 points.)
- “They are too stubborn about refusing to negotiate with countries that don’t like us” (66-42%)

And despite six years of Republican leadership, Independents chose Democrats by a 58-47% margin when read the statement: “They understand the times we live in and America’s place in the world, and they know how that place in the world can and should be maintained.”

Democrats: But for all of the loss in trust that the President and his party have suffered, Democrats have not made up much ground of their own with Independents. By large margins, Independent respondents said the following negative statements apply more to Democrats:

- “They are unwilling to use military force, event when it’s necessary to protect America” (59-38%) (Even Democrats picked their own party here by a 3-point margin.)
- “They are not tough enough to do what is needed to protect America” (57-41%)

⁵ Respondents could say that a given statement applied to both parties, which explains why some of the responses add up to more than 100.

** A small plurality of Independents in our poll voted for Democrats in the 2006 House races, after having favored Bush by a 12-point margin in 2004.

And despite deep public dissatisfaction about Iraq, including its impact on our fighting forces, when read the positive statement “they understand and respect the military,” Independents said it applies more to Republicans by 21 points (76-55%).

Overall, Independents show a general frustration with both parties. They believe that Democrats *and* Republicans are too driven by ideology and unrealistic ideals when it comes to America’s role in the world. (Independents split evenly between the two parties on such a statement.)

Conclusion

There is no question that Americans reject the Bush Doctrine and want to know what the US government is doing to keep them safe. The results of this poll should not be misinterpreted, however, to mean that Americans are cynical or defeatist. Americans still believe in the power of democracy, but they want a foreign policy focused on results and reality, not broken promises and illusions. At the same time, both Republican and Democratic leaders have an uphill battle in convincing the public that they are capable of delivering results at a crucial moment in the nation’s history.

¹ Lt. Gen. William E. Odom (USA ret.), “Victory is Not an Option,” *The Washington Post*, Feb. 11, 2007 (p. B-1).

² President George W. Bush Second Inaugural Address, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/inaugural/>

³ *Id.*

⁴ Survey by Democracy Corps. (Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research), April 2-4, 2002 1001 national likely voters

REPORT TO THIRD WAY

RESULTS OF NATIONAL SECURITY POLL



February 7, 2006

METHODOLOGY

Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates conducted 807 telephone interviews nationwide among likely voters in the 2008 presidential election. The interviews were conducted on January 30 – February 4, 2007. Margin of error for the entire sample is $\pm 3.45\%$ and larger for subgroups.

The data is broken down into the following audiences:

- **Men (377 total; +/- 5.05%)**
- **Women (430 total; +/- 4.73%)**
- **Democrats (277 total; +/- 5.89%)**
- **Republicans (243 total; +/- 6.29%)**
- **Independents** consider themselves to be an Independent or other party member **(287 total; +/- 5.78%)**
- **Iraq** – know someone who is serving or has served in Iraq or Afghanistan **(515 total; +/- 4.32%)**

DEFINING THE THREAT

86/12% agree/disagree with the following statement: “Terrorism is as serious a threat to America and the world today as Nazism and Communism were in the 20th century.”

86% agree (61% strongly + 25% somewhat)

12% disagree (7% strongly + 5% somewhat)

Men	Women	Dem	Rep	Indy	Iraq
85/14	88/11	83/16	93/5	85/15	86/12

What do you think the phrase “cold war” refers to?	All	Age		
		<35	35-49	50+
Correct Answers	46	46	45	53
Incorrect Answers	32	26	28	27
Don't know	23	26	27	19

CORRECT RESPONSES: What do you think the phrase “cold war” refers to?	All	Men	Women	Dem	Rep	Indy	Iraq
Conflict between United States and Russia, political differences between US and Russia after WWII	22	30	15	18	27	23	24
Communism vs. democracy/capitalism	8	11	5	7	8	9	7
Nuclear attack, atomic bomb, arms race, threat of a nuclear attack by Russia on the U.S. in the 60s	8	10	5	7	7	9	9
Conflict between two countries, power struggle	4	3	5	4	4	4	4
Happened in the past, post-WWII	4	5	4	4	4	5	5

INCORRECT RESPONSES: What do you think the phrase “cold war” refers to?	All	Men	Women	Dem	Rep	Indy	Iraq
A war without weapons, a lot of talking, arguing, threats but no action	11	9	12	10	13	10	10
A war, world war, people dying	4	4	4	4	3	5	4
Means nothing, there is no such thing	3	1	4	4	2	2	3
Political, economical war	2	1	3	1	3	2	2
Standoff, stalemate, war that is never ending, war that no one ever wins	2	1	2	2	1	1	1
Things going on no one knows about, spying	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
Nazism, Germany, Berlin Wall	1	1	1	1	2	0	1
Cold war is going on now, Iran, Iraq	1	1	1	0	0	2	1
Others	7	7	6	5	7	8	6

Which of the following is closer to your view?	All	Men	Women	Dem	Rep	Indy	Iraq
The struggle against terrorism is different than the Cold War: we aren't in a struggle against another superpower, we are fighting a stateless enemy	58	62	55	63	49	61	59
The struggle against terrorism is like the Cold War: it is a long-term conflict, one that must be fought with a range of means	32	29	36	26	46	27	32
Don't know	9	9	10	11	5	11	10

Which of the following is closer to your view?	All	Men	Women	Dem	Rep	Indy	Iraq
We can't contain terrorism, and we can't deter the terrorists from attacking us. The only way to defeat them is to go on the offensive against them and attack them wherever they are.	49	54	44	45	60	42	50
During the Cold War we contained the Soviets, deterred them from attacking us and our allies, and put pressure on them until they collapsed. That's what we should do to defeat the terrorists and the states that sponsor them.	34	32	37	41	25	36	30
Don't know	17	14	19	14	15	22	20

Do you support or oppose doing this to fight terrorism? <i>Showing Strongly Support</i>	Most Important*	All		Men	Women	Dem	Rep	Indy	Iraq
		Strongly Support	Total Support/ Oppose						
Make America energy independent	28	78	94/5	79	77	73	82	78	79
Use diplomacy to bring our allies into the struggle	21	56	84/13	61	51	54	54	59	56
Use military force to defeat terrorists and the states that harbor them	20	40	70/26	47	34	25	61	38	42
Provide economic assistance to poor countries to prevent them from becoming terrorist havens	12	29	69/28	32	27	34	25	29	28
Promote freedom and democracy in the Islamic world	11	33	66/29	33	33	24	41	35	33

**Of the things I just read you that America could do to fight global terrorism, which do you think is most important for the country to do?*

How worried are you about this? <i>Showing Very Worried</i>	Worries Most*	All		Men	Women	Dem	Rep	Indy	Iraq
		Very Worried	Total Worried/ Not Worried						
Terrorists might obtain a nuclear weapon and explode it in an American city	46	41	79/20	39	44	41	44	40	39
Fear of terrorism will lead us to invade another country and get involved in a prolonged military conflict	22	34	74/24	25	42	48	18	32	30
Fear of terrorism will lead us to restrict civil liberties in America	16	30	64/35	28	31	38	14	35	28
Terrorists might seize control of some Middle Eastern countries and cut off our oil supplies	9	20	57/41	18	23	20	23	19	18

**Of the things I just read you, which worries you most?*

Which of the following is the MOST important reason why terrorists attacked us on 9/11 and want to do it again?	All	Men	Women	Dem	Rep	Indy	Iraq
They hate our values, such as democracy, religious liberty, and the equality of men and women	44	41	46	41	51	40	44
They hate our policies such as support for Israel and American military bases in the Middle East	35	37	33	39	28	37	34
They want to establish an Islamic state and see us as their main obstacle	14	14	14	12	17	14	14
Don't know	8	8	8	8	4	10	8

ATTITUDES TOWARD U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

58/39% agree/disagree with the following statement: “The US should invade other countries only when we have the military and financial support of the UN, NATO, or both.”

58% agree (33% strongly + 25% somewhat)
39% disagree (24% strongly + 15% somewhat)

Men	Women	Dem	Rep	Indy	Iraq
49/48	66/31	70/25	43/55	57/40	53/43

83/15% agree/disagree with the following statement: “The US cannot impose democracy by force on another country.”

83% agree (60% strongly + 23% somewhat)
15% disagree (5% strongly + 10% somewhat)

Men	Women	Dem	Rep	Indy	Iraq
82/15	85/13	90/9	72/25	87/11	83/15

70/27% agree/disagree with the following statement: “Sometimes it’s better to leave a dictator in charge of a hostile country if he is contained, rather than risk chaos that we can’t control if he is brought down.”

70% agree (35% strongly + 35% somewhat)
27% disagree (14% strongly + 13% somewhat)

Men	Women	Dem	Rep	Indy	Iraq
68/31	71/24	81/15	54/43	71/26	65/31

Do you believe that American power is a force for good in the world...?	All	Men	Women	Dem	Rep	Indy	Iraq
Always	32	36	28	18	52	28	35
Sometimes	59	55	63	71	45	59	57
Rarely	5	6	5	5	1	9	5
Never	2	2	3	4	0	3	2
Don’t know	1	2	1	2	1	1	1

Which of the following statements is closer to your view?	All	Men	Women	Dem	Rep	Indy	Iraq
We are stronger and more able to achieve our goals abroad when we work with alliances and international organizations	76	70	81	83	62	79	75
Alliances and international organizations tie us down and prevent us from using our power effectively to achieve our goals	18	24	13	11	31	16	18
Don't know	6	6	6	6	7	5	6

Which of the following comes closer to your view?	All	Men	Women	Dem	Rep	Indy	Iraq
Free elections are the best antidote to terrorism, and the more democracies there are, the safer America will be	65	68	62	56	73	67	68
Free elections in some countries could be dangerous to the US because they could result in the election of unfriendly governments that want to harm us	26	25	28	34	21	23	22
Don't know	9	8	10	11	6	11	10

58/38% agree/disagree with the following statement: “If negotiating with countries that support terrorism, like Iran and Syria, will help protect our security interests, the US should consider negotiating with them.”

58% agree (22% strongly + 36% somewhat)
38% disagree (22% strongly + 16% somewhat)

Men	Women	Dem	Rep	Indy	Iraq
61/38	57/37	67/29	46/51	62/34	58/37

48/50% agree/disagree with the following statement: “The US has a moral obligation to help free other peoples from tyranny and to help create new democracies, even if that means using military force.”

48% agree (17% strongly + 31% somewhat)
50% disagree (22% strongly + 28% somewhat)

Men	Women	Dem	Rep	Indy	Iraq
51/48	46/53	37/61	62/37	46/52	51/47

Which of the following do you think should be the main purpose of American foreign policy?	All	Men	Women	Dem	Rep	Indy	Iraq
Protecting the security of the US and our allies	66	68	64	59	75	65	68
Promoting freedom and democracy	21	18	24	26	18	20	20
Advancing our economic interest	9	10	8	10	6	10	8
Don't know	4	4	4	5	2	4	4

Which of the following statements comes closer to your view?	All	Men	Women	Dem	Rep	Indy	Iraq
The main goal of US foreign policy should be to protect American security, whether it spreads our ideals or not	68	72	64	66	71	67	71
The main goal of US foreign policy should be to spread our ideals, including freedom and democracy	27	23	30	27	26	27	23
Don't know	5	5	6	7	3	5	5

75/22% agree/disagree with the following statement: "In the last few years, the US has focused too much on lofty ideals. We should focus instead on real threats to our own security."

75% agree (45% strongly + 30% somewhat)
22% disagree (9% strongly + 13% somewhat)

Men	Women	Dem	Rep	Indy	Iraq
73/26	77/20	85/12	63/34	75/23	72/26

Which of the following statements comes closer to your view?	All	Men	Women	Dem	Rep	Indy	Iraq
It is a dangerous illusion to believe America is superior to other nations; we should not be attempting to reshape other nations in light of our values	58	52	63	72	30	67	56
America is an exceptional nation with superior political institutions and ideals and a unique destiny to shape the world	36	42	31	22	64	27	38
Don't know	6	6	6	6	7	6	6

Which of the following is closer to your view?	All	Men	Women	Dem	Rep	Indy	Iraq
People in some countries want freedom and democracy more than people in other countries	55	55	55	61	46	57	59
People all over the world share the desire to live in freedom and to govern themselves democratically	40	41	40	34	50	39	37
Don't know	5	4	5	6	4	4	4

PARTY PRECONCEPTIONS

Do you think this statement applies or does not apply to the... [PARTY]? <i>Showing Applies</i>	All				Men		Women		Dem		Rep		Indy		Iraq	
	Strongly Applies		Applies		D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R
	D	R	D	R												
They are unwilling to use military force, even when it's necessary to protect America	27	20	62	39	65	39	58	40	53	50	74	27	59	38	60	36
They are not tough enough to do what is needed to protect America	25	16	58	45	63	49	55	40	45	49	76	41	57	41	65	43
They blame America for many of the world's problems	24	14	53	41	55	41	53	43	57	53	50	31	60	39	55	38
They are driven by ideology and have an overly idealistic view of what America can achieve	21	29	64	67	64	73	62	62	62	68	64	69	66	63	63	66
They understand the times we live in and America's place in the world, and they know how that place in the world can and should be maintained	18	24	65	62	61	62	69	60	79	55	55	89	58	47	63	62
They understand and respect the military	27	48	63	79	56	86	68	74	80	73	52	87	55	76	63	79
They are too quick to use military force when diplomacy is called for instead	8	39	36	70	33	69	38	72	33	81	37	60	38	66	35	68
They are too stubborn about refusing to negotiate with countries that don't like us	13	34	45	67	44	71	46	63	42	77	51	54	42	66	44	65

WAR ON TERROR AND IRAQ

Do you think that the threat of terrorism against the United States is increasing or decreasing right now?	All	Men	Women	Dem	Rep	Indy	Iraq
Increasing	69	66	70	74	59	71	67
Decreasing	21	24	18	16	30	18	23
Neither, staying the same	7	7	7	7	6	8	7
Don't know	4	2	5	3	5	4	4

Which is closer to your view?	All	Men	Women	Dem	Rep	Indy	Iraq
The fact that the US has not suffered a major terrorist attack on our soil since September 11, 2001 does <u>NOT</u> necessarily mean we are winning the war on terror because terrorists may be designing new plans to attack the US in the near future	80	72	86	89	67	82	79
The fact that the US has not suffered a major terrorist attack on our own soil since September 11, 2001 means that we are winning the war on terror	15	22	9	7	29	11	16
Don't know	5	6	5	4	5	7	5

Do you think that the invasion of Iraq has made the US more safe or less safe?	All	Men	Women	Dem	Rep	Indy	Iraq
More safe	32	39	26	12	62	27	35
Less safe	55	47	61	78	24	57	51
Neither, staying the same	10	11	9	8	10	13	12
Don't know	3	2	4	2	4	4	2

Which is closer to your view?	All	Men	Women	Dem	Rep	Indy	Iraq
The war in Iraq is a distraction that diverts resources and attention away from the real war on terror	54	49	59	76	21	59	52
The war in Iraq is an important part of the war on terror	39	45	34	18	73	32	43
Don't know	7	6	8	6	5	9	5