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Midterm Election Preview
AMERICANS THINKING ABOUT IRAQ, BUT FOCUSED ON THE ECONOMY

*Foreign policy survey section conducted in collaboration with the
Council on Foreign Relations*

Also Including:

*Commentary by Lee Feinstein, Senior Fellow & Director of Strategic Policy
Council on Foreign Relations*

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Midterm Election Preview

AMERICANS THINKING ABOUT IRAQ, BUT FOCUSED ON THE ECONOMY

A possible war with Iraq is an increasing concern of the American public. It has emerged as the national issue that people discuss most often with family and friends, and news interest in the Iraq debate rose dramatically in September. But as the midterm elections approach, it is the economy and other domestic issues – not Iraq or terrorism – that *voters* most want to hear about in their states and districts.

The latest Pew Research Center survey of 1,513 Americans, conducted Oct. 2-6, shows that six-in-ten Americans are following the debate over possible military action against Iraq very closely – up from 48% in September – making it the year’s top news story. Roughly half (52%) say the subject of a possible war with Iraq comes up frequently in conversation, somewhat more than the proportion who mention the economy, the threat of new terrorist attacks, or other issues.

Yet the increasing national focus on a confrontation with Iraq is having no discernible impact on the battle for Congress, which remains deadlocked with less than a month to go. And when thinking about the midterm election the economy, by far, tops the voters’ agenda. Asked in an open-ended format which single issue they would most like the candidates to discuss, fully 55% mentioned the economy or economic issues. By contrast, just 22% cited terrorism/foreign policy issues including references to “war” or “Iraq,” which were named specifically by just 7%. This is the second survey this year finding that, on an unprompted basis, voters express much more interest in hearing from candidates about domestic concerns than the war on terrorism or foreign policy issues.

The race for control of Congress remains stuck in a statistical dead heat. This is the third time since June that Democrats have held a slight 46%-44% lead over Republicans. The parties’ images also have shown little change, with Republicans holding a substantial edge on Iraq and terrorism. For the first time this year, Democrats are favored on the economy, but only slightly (41%-37%).

There has been some movement in President Bush’s ratings over the past few months. The current poll, conducted before Bush’s Oct. 7 speech on Iraq, shows the president’s overall job performance rating once again dipping to the low 60’s (to 61% from 67% in mid-September). Fully

Two Tracks		
	<i>Paying attention to Iraq</i>	
	Sept	Oct
<i>Following news</i>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2002</u>
<i>about possible war</i>	%	%
Very closely	48	60
Fairly closely	29	28
Not closely	21	11
Don’t know	2	1
	100	100
	<i>Wanting to hear</i>	
	<i>about the economy</i>	
	June	Oct
<i>Issues voters</i>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2002</u>
<i>want discussed</i>	%	%
Economic issues	20	55
Domestic/Social issues	56	48
Terrorism/Foreign	26	22
Taxes	12	10

seven-in-ten continue to approve of the president's handling of the war on terrorism while a solid majority (56%) gives him a positive rating on Iraq. Roughly half (49%) approve of the president's performance on the economy, down from 53% in June. There remains, however, little correspondence between changes in the president's approval ratings and the congressional horse race.

The public is more bearish about an economic recovery than at the beginning of the year. Today, just 34% expect that economic conditions will improve over the course of the next year, well below the 44% who held that opinion in January. Assessments of the stock market are about the same as in January, with slightly more than a third (36%) expecting the market to go up over the next year. Investors are somewhat more bullish than non-investors about the market; 43% of those with 401k accounts or other market investments expect the market to gain ground, compared with 25% of those who do not have investments.

Clearly, the president's major arguments in favor of taking military action against Iraq are resonating with the public. Eight-in-ten Americans believe Iraq already possesses nuclear weapons or could soon obtain them. Two-thirds think Saddam had a hand in the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks. And by an overwhelming margin (85%-8%), the public believes that in order to deal with the threat posed by Iraq, Saddam must be removed rather than disarmed and allowed to remain in power.

There is much less unanimity over the possible costs and consequences of a war with Iraq. Nearly half (48%) are concerned that the conflict would do a lot of damage to the U.S. image among Muslim nations, and a 45% plurality expects that if there is a conflict most Iraqis will end up supporting Saddam. As with any deployment of U.S. forces, casualties are a concern: 50% expect relatively light U.S. losses, while 40% say there will be a large number of American casualties.

Fears of Iraq			
	<u>All</u>	<i>Use of Force</i>	
	<u>%</u>	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>
<i>Saddam close to having or has nuclear weapons</i>			
Yes	79	86	70
No	11	6	19
Don't know	<u>10</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>11</u>
	100	100	100
<i>Saddam helped 9-11 attacks</i>			
Yes	66	79	42
No	21	13	41
Don't know	<u>13</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>17</u>
	100	100	100
Worries about War			
<i>If attacked Iraqi people will ...</i>			
Support Saddam	45	40	58
Turn against Saddam	37	43	25
Don't know	<u>18</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>17</u>
	100	100	100
<i>Will hurt U.S. image among Muslims ...</i>			
A lot	48	36	71
A little	29	35	19
Not much at all	17	24	6
Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100	100
<i>U.S. casualties ...</i>			
A large number	40	32	56
Relatively few	50	59	37
Don't know	<u>10</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>7</u>
	100	100	100

Perhaps not surprisingly, supporters and opponents of military action have dramatically different perceptions of how a conflict with Iraq would unfold. The biggest differences come over whether a first strike against Iraq would embolden other nations to follow suit in future wars and whether traditional U.S. allies will join us in this one. Further analysis finds that seeing a war with Iraq as part of the struggle against terrorism has the most powerful impact of the perceptions tested on backing military action.

To a surprising degree, both supporters and opponents of military action agree on the threat posed by Iraq: Fully seven-in-ten war *opponents* believe Saddam either possesses nuclear weapons already or will soon do so, and 66% of this group believes that in order to address the Iraqi threat Saddam must be removed, not just disarmed.

Overall, the public remains supportive of military action to achieve Saddam's ouster. Roughly six-in-ten (62%) currently favor military action against Iraq, little change from September and August. The public is deeply split along partisan and ideological lines on this issue. Republicans, both conservative and moderates, favor military action by roughly eight-to-one. A thin majority of conservative and moderate Democrats also back the use of force against Iraq, but liberal Democrats oppose military action (56%-37%).

Republicans United, Democrats Divided on Iraq			
	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>DK/Ref.</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Total	62	28	10=100
<i>Party & Ideology</i>			
Conserv. GOP	80	11	9=100
Lib/Mod GOP	79	10	11=100
Cons/Mod Dem.	53	38	9=100
Liberal Dem.	37	56	7=100
<i>2002 House Vote</i>			
Republican	77	14	9=100
Democratic	45	45	10=100

And while relatively little discussion has occurred about the aftermath of a possible war, a solid majority of the public (60%) favors a major U.S. effort to rebuild Iraq and establish a stable government there after the war. About a third (32%) would oppose this. Majorities of both supporters and opponents of military action favor the effort to rebuild Iraq.

Congressional Race Remains Tight

As has been the case for the past year, neither political party has a clear advantage in the upcoming battle for control of the House. Voters are evenly divided, with 44% favoring the Republican candidate in their district, and 46% favoring the Democrat. And when the population is limited to likely voters, this is virtually unchanged (47% intend to vote Democratic, 46% Republican).

Interest in the campaign remains comparable to past midterm elections. Today, 45% of voters say they have given quite a lot of thought to the upcoming race, compared with 42% at this point in the 1998 race and 44% in early October 1994. Similarly, two-thirds are following news about candidates and campaigns in their state and district at least fairly closely, on par with news interest in early October 1994 and 1998.

Public intentions to vote are also comparable with previous midterms. Fully 95% of registered voters say they plan to vote on Nov. 5, and nearly two-thirds (64%) rank their chance of voting as a “10” on a scale from one-to-ten. Both figures are virtually identical to early October measures in 1994 and 1998.

One difference from the elections of four and eight years ago is the absence of a partisan gap in voter interest. In each of the past two monthly surveys, Democrats have expressed as much interest in the election as Republicans, which represents a break from previous years. In 1998, for example, Republicans were 10% more likely to say they had given a lot of thought to the race and 7% more likely to be following campaign news, both strong indicators of actual turnout on election day. This year, Democrats are just as likely to have followed news and thought about the election. However Democrats remain somewhat less likely than Republicans to label themselves as “definite” voters.

Ballot Remains Divided ...					
	Nov	Feb	June	Sept	
<i>Registered Voters</i>	<u>2001</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>Now</u>
	%	%	%	%	%
Republican	44	46	44	44	44
Democratic	44	45	46	46	46
Undecided	<u>12</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>10</u>
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
<i>Likely Voters</i>				%	%
Republican	--	--	--	47	46
Democratic	--	--	--	46	47
Undecided	--	--	--	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>
				<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
... Midterm Interest On Par					
<i>Registered Voters</i>	<i>Early October ...</i>				
	<u>1994</u>	<u>1998</u>	<u>2002</u>		
	%	%	%		
Given “quite a lot” of thought to election	44	42	45		
Following news “very” or “fairly” closely		65	64		
Definitely will vote		66	64		

No Turnout Gap				
	<i>Early-Oct 1998</i>		<i>Early-Oct 2002</i>	
<i>Likely turnout indicators ...</i>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>
	%	%	%	%
Thought a lot	50	40	47	46
Following news	72	65	69	70
Definite voter	70	64	70	64

Persistent Gender Gap

There are few surprises in congressional voting intentions when the population is broken into subgroups. There is a substantial gender gap – with men favoring Republican candidates by 51% to 39% and women favoring Democratic candidates by roughly the same margin (52% to 38%). This gender gap is similar across all age groups, but is particularly noteworthy among younger voters who do not have children. Women age 18-49 without children favor the Democratic candidate in their district by a 65% to 26% margin, while their male counterparts are voting Republican by a 57% to 35% margin. The gender gap among parents, and among those age 50 and older, is less pronounced.

As in most midterm elections, each party is holding on to its partisan base, with competition focused primarily on political independents. Currently, 42% of independents favor the Democratic candidate in their district, while 35% favor the Republican. This is similar to the 41%-38% Democratic edge among independents a month ago. African-American voters remain firmly in the Democratic camp, while whites, on the whole, favor the Republicans (50% to 40%).

Despite stock market doldrums, Republicans hold an edge among active stock market investors, while Democrats are clearly favored by those who are not in the market. To a large extent, however, this simply reflects longstanding income differences between investors and non-investors. Fully 86% of respondents in households earning \$75,000 or more annually have some kind of market investment, compared with just 22% of those earning under \$20,000 annually.

Not surprisingly, the majority (56%) of those who favor military action in Iraq plan to vote Republican on Nov. 5, while nearly three-quarters (72%) of those in opposition to military action intend to vote Democratic.

The Generic House Vote (Based on Registered Voters)			
	<i>Voting Intentions</i>		
	<u>Rep</u> %	<u>Dem</u> %	<u>Undec</u> %
Total	44	46	10=100
Women	38	52	10=100
Men	51	39	10=100
Women 18-49	37	56	7=100
Mothers	44	50	6=100
Non-Mothers	26	65	9=100
Men 18-49	51	38	11=100
Fathers	46	41	13=100
Non-Fathers	57	35	8=100
Women 50+	40	48	12=100
Men 50+	51	41	8=100
White	50	40	10=100
Black	8	87	5=100
Republican	95	3	2=100
Democrat	6	92	2=100
Independent	35	42	23=100
<i>Income</i>			
\$75,000+	56	39	5=100
\$50-\$75k	47	40	13=100
\$30-\$50k	45	47	8=100
\$20-\$30k	37	52	11=100
Under \$20k	22	66	12=100
<i>Stock Market*</i>			
Active investor	50	42	8=100
Investor	48	43	9=100
Non-investor	36	52	12=100
<i>Force in Iraq</i>			
Favor	56	34	10=100
Oppose	21	72	7=100
* Investors (50% of RVs) have retirement funds, mutual funds, or stock in the stock market, but have not traded recently. Active investors (13% of RVs) have traded within the past six months.			

Economy Top Concern

The economy has risen to become the predominant concern in the minds of voters as they consider their congressional vote. However, there is no evidence that it is working to the advantage of either party.

Fully 55% of voters cited a range of economic issues, including jobs and unemployment and the state of the budget, when asked what issues they want to hear candidates in their state and district talk about. This represents a dramatic increase from June, when just 20% cited economic issues as a priority. Voters also want to hear about a number of other domestic issues; one-in-five (21%) identified education and one-in-ten (9%) cited health care and health insurance as issues they want to hear discussed. Unlike the economy, voter interest in these campaign issues is relatively unchanged from June.

What Voters Want Discussed	
	%
Economic Issues	55
Economy	40
Jobs/Employment	16
Balanced budget	4
Domestic/Social Issues	48
Education	21
Health care	9
Crime	4
Caring for elderly	3
Environment	2
Social Security	2
Terrorism/Foreign	22
Terrorism	11
Foreign policy	6
Iraq	4
National security	3
Taxes	10

More than one-in-five voters (22%) volunteered issues relating to terrorism, national security, foreign policy or Iraq as topics they want to hear candidates discuss. Of these, 11% want to hear candidates' views on terrorism, and 4% want to hear candidates' positions on Iraq. In general, men express more interest in these topics than women.

Little Advantage on Economy, Foreign Policy

Despite high voter interest in the economy and domestic policy, the impact of these issues on voting intentions is, at best, limited. Democrats have a slight advantage among those who want to hear candidates talk about economic issues. These voters favor the Democratic candidate over the Republican by 50% to 42%.

<i>Want to hear candidates discuss ...</i>	<i>Voting intentions</i>		
	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Undec</u>
Economic issues	42	50	8=100
Terrorism/Iraq/ Foreign policy	48	46	6=100
Education issues	41	50	9=100
Health care issues	35	56	9=100
Taxes	60	31	9=100

Similarly, voters who want to hear candidates discuss foreign policy, the war in Iraq or the war on terrorism are roughly evenly divided between the two parties (48% favor the Republican candidate, 46% the Democrat). It is only when it comes to health care and taxes – issues which are clear strengths for the Democratic and Republican parties, respectively – that voter interests are clearly aligned with voting intentions.

While voters on both sides may want to hear candidates discuss economic issues, economic perceptions clearly pose a *potential* problem for the Republicans. While voters who rate their financial situation as excellent or good lean Republican at this point by a 55% to 38% margin, half of voters say they are in only fair or poor financial shape, and favor the Democrats by 55% to 34%.

And economic outlook is also strongly related to voting preferences. Fully two thirds (68%) of those who think the nation’s economy will get worse over the next year say they plan to vote for the Democratic candidate in their district. But just 18% of voters hold this view at this time.

Nation’s Economic Outlook (Based on Registered Voters)			
<i>Voting intention</i>	<i>Economy will ...</i>		
	Get Better	Stay the Same	Get Worse
	%	%	%
Republican	58	43	21
Democrat	35	48	68
Undecided	7	9	11
	100	100	100
<i>Number of cases</i>	(442)	(448)	(204)

What Americans are Talking About

With so many major events over the past year, Americans are talking about a range of national issues. The possibility of war with Iraq is the most frequently discussed issue – 52% say this often comes up in their personal conversations and another 32% say this happens at least occasionally. Nearly as many (48%) frequently discuss the threat of terrorist attacks on the U.S. and roughly four-in-ten often talk about problems with health insurance and HMOs, economic conditions in the nation, and problems with public education.

An analysis of what voters are discussing reveals that Democratic voters are talking about the economy with friends and family more frequently than are those who plan to vote Republican. But Democratic voters are talking about many issues more often, including a possible war with Iraq, and problems with health insurance and Social Security.

	All Americans	<i>Voting ...</i>	
	%	Rep %	Dem %
<i>Talk about “frequently”</i>			
Possible war with Iraq	52	49	62
Terrorist attacks	48	46	49
Health insurance/HMOs	44	41	52
Economic conditions	40	36	54
Public education	40	39	47
Stock market instability	30	36	34
Business scandals	23	25	29
Social Security problems	22	19	30

However, the growing focus on Iraq has created a bigger gap in the interest of Democratic and Republican voters on a number of other issues, including the economy. In June, Democratic voters were only slightly more likely than those intending to vote Republican to be discussing economic conditions frequently. Today, the economy remains a frequent conversation among Democratic voters, but is frequently discussed by just 36% of those intending to vote Republican. Similarly, problems with public education came up frequently among half of both Republican and Democratic voters in June. Today, this topic is significantly more prevalent among Democratic voters than Republicans.

Party Images

In the current survey, the Democrats hold, at best, a slight 41%-37% edge as the party better able to deal with the economy. Still, this represents an improvement from January, when a plurality favored the Republicans to handle the economy (45% to 33%).

And while a 44% plurality continues to see the Republican Party as best able to deal with the terrorist threat at home, Democrats have made gains since the beginning of the year. In January, just 16% favored the Democratic Party on this issue. Today, this has risen to 28%. Republicans also have a solid lead when it comes to handling the situation in Iraq – 46% of voters think Republicans would make wiser decisions about what to do in Iraq, 30% have more confidence in the Democratic Party.

Democrats Gain on Economy, Terrorism			
<i>(Based on Registered Voters)</i>			
<i>Which party can best handle ...</i>	<i>The economy</i>		
	<i>Jan %</i>	<i>Sept %</i>	<i>Oct %</i>
Republican	45	37	37
Democratic	33	37	41
Both/Neither/DK	22	26	22
	100	100	100
	<i>Terrorist threat</i>		
Republican	50	45	44
Democratic	16	23	28
Both/Neither/DK	34	32	28
	100	100	100

Though the Republican Party has a clear edge on the issue of homeland defense, it is not clear that this is translating into an electoral advantage. Voters who are worried about the prospects of another terrorist attack on the United States are no more likely to vote Republican than those who do not worry about the prospects of another attack. Rather, voters worried about terrorism divide their electoral preferences (47% Democratic, 44% Republican) almost exactly the same way as those who are not worried (45% Democratic, 44% Republican).

Business Scandals Fail to Resonate

For the most part, the wave of recent business scandals has not become a significant factor in the November congressional elections. Compared to other political issues, it is a relatively infrequent topic of conversation among voters, and just 2% of voters volunteered it as an issue they specifically want to hear the candidates discuss during the campaign.

As has been the case throughout the year, roughly three-in-ten Americans say they are following news about corporate corruption very closely, with no signs of increasing interest in recent months. And when asked whether Congress has passed a law to toughen regulations on corporate accounting practices or not, just 28% correctly said “yes.” Roughly four-in-ten said they didn’t know, and fully 31% believed, incorrectly, no law had been passed.

Moreover, there is little evidence that either party has a clear advantage on the issue. In early September, a Pew Research Center poll found that, if anything, the Republican Party held a slight edge on “dealing with corporate corruption.”

Which Party Can Do A Better Job ... (Based on registered voters)			
	Rep Party %	Dem Party %	Both/ Neither/ DK %
Dealing with corporate corruption (<i>early September</i>)	36	31	33=100
Bringing corrupt business executives to justice (<i>form 1</i>)	37	38	25=100
Requiring corporations to reform their business practices (<i>form 2</i>)	33	41	26=100

The current survey tests public views on this issue in two ways, with one question focusing on bringing corrupt business executives to justice, the other on reforming business practices. While neither party has an advantage in being seen as the party that will bring corrupt business executives to justice, Democrats have a slight edge (41%-33%) as the party that will require corporations to reform their business practices. The Democrats’ advantage is greatest among those who think that Congress did not enact corporate accounting legislation this summer; this group favors the Democrats on the issue by two-to-one.

Incumbent Support on Par

Most voters (58%) say they want to see their own member of Congress reelected – virtually the same as in 1998 and 1990, but significantly higher than in 1994. And while Americans are divided over whether they want to see most members of Congress reelected (39% say yes, 38% no), this is identical to 1998. In 1994, a majority (56%) said they wanted to see most incumbents kicked out.

Support for Incumbents (Based on Registered Voters)				
	Oct 1990*	Early 1994	October ... 1998	2002
	%	%	%	%
<i>Reelect own member</i>				
Yes	62	49	58	58
No	22	29	20	19
Other/DK	16	22	22	23
	100	100	100	100
<i>Reelect most members</i>				
Yes	--	28	39	39
No	--	56	39	38
Don't know	--	16	22	23
		100	100	100

* Gallup Organization

Voters rate national issues as slightly more important than in past elections, but overall, the electorate takes into account a range of issues when evaluating their congressional candidates. Slightly more than a third

(35%) say local or state issues make the biggest difference in how they vote, while 28% say national issues are most important – up from 23% four years ago, and 22% in early October 1994. One-quarter say a candidate’s character or experience makes the biggest difference to them, while just 5% say party is the predominant factor in their vote.

While not the biggest factor, party is a factor in many people’s electoral choices, and this is particularly the case among Democratic voters this year. Half of those intending to vote for the Democratic candidate in their district (49%) say the issue of which party controls Congress will be a factor in their vote – just 39% of Republican voters say the same. But overall, 55% of registered voters say the makeup of the 108th congress will not be a factor in their vote.

<i>Party control a factor?</i>	All RVs %	<i>Vote Intention</i>	
		Rep %	Dem %
Yes	42	39	49
No	55	58	47
Don't know	$\frac{3}{100}$	$\frac{3}{100}$	$\frac{4}{100}$
<i>Vote is a vote ...</i>			
For Bush	30	54	10
Against Bush	20	3	40
Bush not a factor	44	40	45
Don't know	$\frac{6}{100}$	$\frac{3}{100}$	$\frac{5}{100}$

President Bush’s performance may well be a growing factor in the election this year. Half of registered voters say they think of their vote this fall as a vote for or against the president, up from 44% in early September. Fully 54% of Republican voters think of their vote as a vote *for* George W. Bush, while 40% of those who intend to vote Democratic consider their vote a vote *against* the president. While Bush remains a bigger factor for Republican voters, Democratic voters are thinking more about the president than a month ago, when only 30% said they were voting *against* the president.

No Evidence of 401k Fallout

The recent downturn in the stock market is affecting a significant proportion of the electorate. A solid majority Americans (57%), and 63% of registered voters say they have some of their finances invested in the stock market, either through retirement accounts, mutual funds, or stocks. One-quarter of voters (24%) have made changes to their investments over the past year, and 14% have bought or sold shares within the past six months. Those who have experienced market losses are about twice as likely as those who have not to have made recent changes to their investments.

But there is no evidence that voters are connecting these recent market experiences to the congressional elections. Voters who have market investments are significantly more likely than non-investors to favor the Republican candidate in their district, largely reflecting differences in income. But among investors, gains and losses have little relation to prospective votes. Nearly half (49%) of investors who say they have lost a lot of money recently plan to vote Republican, while 43% favor the Democratic candidate in their district. This is no different from those who have *not* lost money recently, who are divided between the parties (45% intend to vote Republican, 44% Democratic).

Gains, Losses have Little Effect on Vote			
(Based on Registered Voters)			
	<i>Voting Intention</i>		
	<u>Rep</u> %	<u>Dem</u> %	<u>Undec</u> %
Investor	49	43	8=100
Lost a lot	49	43	8=100
Lost a little	53	42	5=100
Same/Gained	45	44	11=100
Non-Investor	36	52	12=100

War Support More Solid Than Opposition

A solid majority of the public – 62% – supports military action in Iraq to end Saddam Hussein’s rule, with 28% opposed, a division of public opinion on the issue which has been relatively unchanged throughout the course of the year. Aside from the partisan gap over taking military action against Iraq, support for military force is considerably stronger among men than among women, though a majority of women (56%) also support the use of force.

Older Americans are somewhat less supportive than younger people of using force against Iraq. Half of those age 65 and older say they favor military action against Baghdad; 34% are opposed. By contrast, two-thirds (65%) of those younger than 50 are in favor. African Americans are divided, with 47% opposing the use of force and 43% in favor, while whites support military action by a fairly substantial margin (65%-25%).

Support for Military Action in Iraq			
	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>DK/Ref.</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Total	62	28	10=100
Men	68	24	8=100
Women	56	32	12=100
White	65	25	10=100
Black	43	47	10=100
<i>Age</i>			
Under 30	65	27	8=100
30 - 49	66	26	8=100
50 - 64	61	28	11=100
65 +	50	34	16=100
<i>Party ID</i>			
Republican	80	10	10=100
Democrat	49	43	8=100
Independent	61	30	9=100
<i>2000 Pres. Vote</i>			
Bush	79	12	9=100
Gore	45	45	10=100

Most of those who take a position on Iraq say that their opinion is strongly held, but supporters of military action are more solid in their views than the opponents. While 62% of Americans favor military action against Iraq, 49% say they support that position strongly while just 12% say they could change their mind. By contrast, among the 28% who oppose the use of force, 17% feel strongly and 11% say they could change their opinion. Among those who have thought “a lot” about the issue, 58% strongly support military action; 22% strongly oppose it. Among respondents who have thought less about the issue, support for the use of force is weaker.

Opposition More Engaged

While strong supporters of military action in Iraq outnumber strong opponents by nearly three-to-one (49% to 17%), the opponents show a greater level of interest and engagement in the issue. Overall, 62% of those who oppose military action – and 70% of those who feel strongly about the issue – say they frequently talk about Iraq with friends and family. By comparison, just half of those who favor the use of military force and 53% of those who strongly hold that view – say they frequently discuss the matter.

Strong opponents of the war also show significantly more interest in news about the political debate over military action, and are three times as likely as strong supporters of military action to want to hear candidates discuss the issue as part of their campaigns.

Reasons For and Against War

Most supporters of military action against Iraq share the Bush administration’s underlying rationale for the use of force. Respondents were asked to describe, in their own words, why they favored military action. The perceived link between the Iraqi regime and terrorism – either past or future – and the more general perception of the threat Iraq poses to the United States and the world form the basis for support.

Among those who favor the use of force, six-in-ten mention some aspect of the military or terrorist threat from Iraq as a reason for their support. Nearly one-in-five (17%) explicitly mention the prevention of future terrorism. Many (13%) say that Iraq was linked to Sept. 11 or other past terrorist acts, and the same number support military action on a belief that Iraq has weapons of mass destruction.

A quarter of those who favor military action explain their position in terms of Saddam Hussein personally: that he is dangerous; that he is evil; that he is a tyrant who oppresses his people; or that he simply needs to be removed from power.

<i>Percent who ...</i>	Strong Opponents Most Engaged			
	<i>---Support---</i>		<i>---Oppose---</i>	
	<u>Strong</u> %	<u>Soft</u> %	<u>Soft</u> %	<u>Strong</u> %
Frequently talk about Iraq	53	39	51	70
Closely follow news about Iraq	62	55	52	72
Want candidates to discuss Iraq	5	6	10	15
<i>Number of cases</i>	(716)	(179)	(170)	(261)

Reasons for Supporting the Use of Force	
60%	Terrorist connection/threat/safety (Net)
17%	Prevent future terrorism
13%	Iraq linked to 9-11/supports terrorists
13%	Nuclear, chemical, or bio weapons
9%	National security/protect U.S.
9%	Threats, danger (general)
25%	References to Saddam (Net)
14%	Get rid of him/kill him
8%	Help Iraqi people/he’s a tyrant
6%	He’s crazy/a monster/evil
Reasons for Opposing the Use of Force	
24%	Military and civilian casualties
12%	Won’t do any good/pointless
10%	Not enough proof/reasons not explained
10%	Will create problems/destabilize region
9%	Haven’t hurt us/no preemption
8%	Don’t have support from allies
7%	Will hurt the war on terrorism

Concern over of casualties, both military and civilian, is the leading factor cited by opponents of military action against Iraq. Nearly a quarter of opponents (24%) mentioned casualties, while 10% cited a lack of proof that Iraq is involved in terrorism and the same number fear it will destabilize the region or cause a wider war. Among other reasons are that the war in Iraq won't do any good (12%) and concerns about striking first when we have not been attacked (9%).

Weapons Inspections a Key Issue

The issue of weapons inspections, now at the center of diplomatic efforts by the U.S. and the United Nations, could affect public opinion on military action, at least in the short run. Significant numbers of people say they would switch positions on the use of force, depending on whether or not Saddam Hussein cooperates with “full and complete” weapons inspections.

If Saddam were to agree to such rigorous weapons inspections, half of the supporters of military action (51%) would continue to favor the use of force, but a sizable minority (43%) would oppose taking military action. Similarly, if Saddam were to reject tough weapons inspections, most of those who do not favor (50%) would remain opposed, but 39% would then support military action against Iraq. Thus, depending on the outcome of the current debate over weapons inspections, a majority of the public (55%) could oppose the use of force, or, alternatively, an overwhelming majority of the public (72%) could favor it.

Still, there is widespread doubt that Saddam can be effectively disarmed. Overall, 85% think he has to be removed from power, and only 8% think he could be disarmed and left in power. Even among opponents of American military action, just one-in-five (21%) think Saddam can be disarmed but left in power.

But Americans have not completely ruled out the possibility that a peaceful solution might be found. A majority of 56% say they think war still might be avoided, while 39% believe that war seems inevitable. Those who oppose using force are more optimistic than supporters. Seven-in-ten opponents (69%) believe military action can be averted; proponents of the use of force are divided, with 46% feeling that war is inevitable and 50% saying it still can be avoided.

Weapons Inspections Influences Opinion on Military Action...			
		<i>“Full and complete” weapons inspections</i>	
		Iraq	Does
		Cooperates	Not
	<u>All</u>		
	%	%	%
<i>Use of force?</i>			
Favor	62	31	72
Oppose	28	55	14
Don't know	<u>10</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>14</u>
	100	100	100
... But Most Think Saddam Can't Be Just Disarmed			
		<i>Use of Force</i>	
		Favor	Oppose
	<u>All</u>		
	%	%	%
Must be removed	85	95	66
Could be disarmed	8	3	21
Other/Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>13</u>
	100	100	100

Most Don't See Rush to War

As the debate on the possibility of military action in Iraq heads for a resolution in Congress, the public is generally positive about the process, but very cynical in its evaluation of political leaders who do not agree with them on the issue.

Half of Americans (51%) say the president is giving the question of military action careful thought, but a substantial minority (34%) say he is moving too quickly and just one-in-ten say he moving too slowly. Half (51%) also believe Congress is giving the issue careful consideration, while nearly a quarter (24%) think lawmakers are moving too slowly and 15% say they are rushing through the debate.

And yet an overwhelming majority of the public says that politicians on the other side of the issue are not sincere in their beliefs – that they are taking their position for political reasons. This view is as strong among supporters of the war as among opponents. Three-quarters of supporters of military action think politicians who oppose the war are doing so for political reasons, and 80% of opponents of the war say that about politicians who support the war. These views may reflect political cynicism as much as anything, given the generally positive opinion concerning debate about this issue.

Public Perceptions About Iraq

At the heart of public opinion about what the U.S. should do in Iraq are a series of key perceptions about Saddam's capabilities and intentions, the level of allied support, and the consequences of war. Public opinion is united on two essential points stressed by the Bush administration as it has tried to make its case to the public: an overwhelming majority of the public (79%) thinks Saddam Hussein is close to obtaining nuclear weapons or already has them. And two-thirds (66%) believe that he helped the terrorists who attacked the U.S. on Sept. 11.

But the public is divided on several other key worries. While most (56%) say they are not concerned that attacking Iraq without first having been attacked will send a signal to other nations that preemptive strikes are acceptable, 40% do worry about this. Half (51%) think most traditional U.S. allies would join in a military effort against Iraq, but

<i>Percent who think ...</i>	<u>All</u> %	<i>Those who ...</i>		<u>Diff.</u>
		<u>Favor</u> %	<u>Oppose</u> %	
Saddam has nuclear weapons	79	86	70	16
Saddam helped 9/11 terrorists	66	79	42	37
Preemption precedent not a worry	56	70	30	40
Traditional allies will join the war	51	65	27	38
There will be few U.S. casualties	50	59	37	22
War won't hurt U.S. image in Mideast	46	59	25	34
Most Iraqis will turn against Saddam	37	43	25	18
Iraq war will help war on terrorism	52	67	21	46

33% think they would not go along with such an effort. And half (50%) think a war with Iraq will result in relatively few American casualties, while about 40% think there will be many casualties.

Public opinion also is split on the question of whether the image of the U.S. among Muslim nations will suffer major damage: 48% hold this view, while nearly as many (46%) believe damage to the U.S. image will be minimal. And more Americans believe that the Iraqi people will support Saddam in the event of a U.S. attack than think they will turn against him (45% vs. 37%).

Ties to Terrorism Shape Views on Force

A key concern is whether military action in Iraq will help or hinder the more general war against terrorism. About half of the public (52%) thinks that a war with Iraq will help the war on terrorism, but a third (34%) disagree and think it will hurt the effort.

This perception, along with the belief that Saddam Hussein was linked to the Sept. 11 attacks, is critical to opinion on taking military action against Iraq. An analysis of opinion about the use of force shows that viewing Iraq through the lens of the fight against terrorism – the perspective at the core of the Bush administration’s policy – is the most important determinant of support or opposition to military action.

Beliefs about the likelihood of allied support are also highly influential in shaping attitudes about war. And people who do not worry about the ramifications of the example of a preemptive strike are significantly more supportive of military action than those who do worry about this. Perceptions of Saddam’s nuclear capability make a difference, but are not a deciding factor for many people, given how widely shared is the view that he has or can obtain nuclear weapons: Even among those who oppose military action, 70% think he has, or will soon have, nuclear weapons.

The power of these key perceptions to override other concerns can be seen in two typical examples. Surprisingly, the issue of casualties is less influential than many other concerns. Among people who think Saddam helped the terrorists on 9/11, those who expect heavy U.S. casualties from a war with Iraq still support it by a wide majority (61%-28%). Similarly, 73% of those who expect that ousting Saddam Hussein will help the war on terrorism support using military force, even though they expect heavy U.S. casualties.

Importance of Perceptions in Shaping Support or Opposition to War	
<u>Perception</u>	<u>Influence*</u>
Saddam helped 9/11 terrorists?	***
Help/hurt war on terrorism?	***
Most allies will join us?	**
Preemption precedent?	**
Saddam has nuclear weapons?	*
Many/few US casualties?	*
Iraqis will turn on Saddam?	*
US image in Mideast hurt?	*

* Based on multiple regression. Symbols represent the extent to which each perception is related to support or opposition to the use of force in Iraq to remove Saddam from power (with *** being the highest and * being the lowest).

The importance of allied support is seen in a similar comparison. Here, a concern with “going it alone” overcomes even the perception that Saddam is close to having nuclear weapons. Among those who think he has or soon will have nuclear arms, the belief that our allies will join us results in overwhelming support for military action (81%-14%); those believing our allies will not join us oppose military action by a margin of 47% to 43% – again, even among those who think he has nuclear weapons or may soon possess them.

Perceptions of how Muslim nations would react to a U.S. attack on Iraq have almost no impact on whether people favor or oppose military action when other more critical concerns are taken into account. And perceptions about whether the Iraqi people will rise up against Saddam have little independent impact on whether the public favors or opposes military action.

Few Supporters Have Second Thoughts

The survey shows that opinion on taking military action against Iraq did not significantly change when the question was retested after respondents were asked for their perceptions of the situation. The vast majority of respondents (79%) gave the same response about the use of military force at two different points in the survey. Despite having been taken through a wide range of considerations and possible arguments for and against their own position, only 7% changed sides; 14% moved between categories of strength or into or out of the undecided category.

Among those who changed their views, most moved in the direction of support for military action. Among those who strongly favored military action at the beginning of the series, 94% remained strongly committed. But of those supporters who initially said they might change their mind, a quarter (26%) ended up moving from tentative support to strong support of military action, and only 7% switched sides to oppose the use of force.

<i>Opinion on use of force after series of considerations</i>	Views on Military Action Not Easily Moved		
	<i>Initial Opinion on Use of Force</i>		
	<u>Favor</u> %	<u>Oppose</u> %	<u>DK/Ref.</u> %
Favor	94	15	31
Oppose	4	82	14
Don't know	2	3	55
	100	100	100

By contrast, nearly a quarter of the strong opponents of military action shifted their views, with 7% continuing to oppose war but saying they might change their minds and 12% saying they now favored the use of force. And among opponents who initially said they might change their minds, fully one-fifth did so and said they favored military action at the conclusion of the survey. Among those who were initially undecided on the question, 28% ultimately said they would support military action, while 14% would oppose it. Only 55% of this group remained undecided.

Bush Job Rating at 61%

President Bush's job approval rating now stands at 61%, virtually the same level as in late August (60%). His job rating had risen to 67% in mid-September, following his speeches for the 9/11 anniversary and his address to the United Nations.

In terms of his ratings on specific issues, the president gets his highest marks on handling terrorist threats. Fully 71% approve of his handling of terrorist threats, largely unchanged since June when 74% gave him a positive rating. Bush wins bipartisan approval on this issue – 89% of Republicans and 59% of Democrats say he is doing a good job in dealing with terrorism.

The president also receives relatively good marks for his handling of situations in the Middle East and Iraq (58%, 56%). But views of Bush's performance in these areas are more divided along partisan lines. More than eight-in-ten Republicans and fewer than four-in-ten Democrats give the president positive ratings on the Middle East and Iraq.

Half Approve of Bush on Economy

Roughly half of Americans (49%) approve of the job the president is doing on the economy, while 40% disapprove. The president's rating in this area has fallen steadily since the start of the year: from 60% in January to 53% in June and 49% currently. Americans give the president comparable marks for his handling of the jobs situation (47% approve, 38% disapprove).

The partisan gap on Bush's ratings on the economy is predictably wide, but he continues to receive a net positive rating from independents (49%-41%). The president has lost some ground since June among college graduates, however. College graduates approved of his handling of the economy by 58%-35% in June. In the current survey, they approve of his job performance on this issue by 50%-42%.

As in June, roughly a third of Americans (31%) say Bush is doing all he can to improve the economy while fully twice as many (63%) think he could be doing more. Among partisan groups, only a majority of Republicans (54%) believe the president is doing as much as he can on the economy. Just 16% of Democrats and 24% of independents agree.

	Jan	June	Oct
<i>Bush's handling of the economy</i>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2002</u>
	%	%	%
Approve	60	53	49
Disapprove	28	36	40
Don't know	<u>12</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>11</u>
	100	100	100
<i>Bush ...</i>			
Is doing all he can on the economy	48	33	31
Could be doing more	46	62	63
Can't say	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100

More See Terrorism as Priority

Despite the public's concern about the struggling economy, particularly in regard to the midterm election, an increasing number of people rate terrorism as a more important priority for the president. More than four-in-ten (45%) say it is more important for Bush to focus on the war on terrorism, while 36% say it is more essential that he focus on the economy. In late August, a narrow 39% plurality said it was more important for the president to focus on the economy.

The shift on this issue – perhaps in response to Iraq – has been most pronounced among Republicans. In August, Republicans viewed the war on terrorism as a greater priority by 46%-33%; in the current survey, that margin has grown to 59%-22%. Among Democrats, the change has been more modest: by 45%-38%, Democrats regard the economy as the more important priority. In August, the margin was 44%-30%.

Bush Improves On Corporate Scandals

In June, the public was divided over the president's handling of the recent series of corporate scandals (40% approve, 38% disapprove). But perceptions of his performance in this area have improved noticeably. Roughly half (49%) approve of the job he is doing on this issue, while 35% disapprove.

Bush Gets Higher Marks From Informed Public			
<i>Bush's handling of corporate corruption</i>	<i>All</i>	<i>Aware that Congress passed accounting law</i>	
		<i>Yes</i>	<i>No/DK</i>
	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>
Approve	49	59	45
Disapprove	35	31	36
Don't know	16	10	19
	100	100	100

Americans are generally unaware of the passage of legislation this summer, with Bush's backing, to toughen regulations on corporate accounting practices. Fewer than three-in-ten knew this occurred. But those who are aware Congress and the president agreed on this legislation give Bush much higher marks on this issue than those who are not. Six-in-ten (59%) of those who knew about enactment of the accounting regulations approve of Bush's handling of this issue compared with 45% of those who did not know the law was passed.

Bush Legacy? Too Soon to Tell

The public is not quite ready to declare Bush's presidency successful. A 44% plurality says it is too early to tell. But among those who are willing to render judgment, more see his tenure as successful than unsuccessful (by 40%-15%). As Bush was about to take office in January 2001, not surprisingly, most Americans (58%) said it was too soon to tell if he would be successful. But the proportion who said his presidency would be unsuccessful has not increased since then.

The president fares better on this measure than his predecessor did at a comparable stage in his presidency. In October 1994, the month before Republicans captured Congress, more Americans predicted Bill Clinton's presidency would be unsuccessful than successful (35%-14%).

Increased Interest in 9/11 Reports

The debate over possible military action against Iraq dominated the September news interest index, but the public also paid increasing attention to reports that the FBI and CIA had information about the 9/11 attacks before they occurred. Four-in-ten Americans (41%) followed that story very closely, up from 32% in June.

The recent hurricanes that struck the Gulf Coast attracted a comparable level of news interest (38% very closely). Not surprisingly, there is a strong regional component to interest in this story. Six-in-ten of those living in the South (59%) paid very close attention to news of the hurricanes. Interest was significantly lower in other parts of the country.

Nearly a third of Americans (32%) tracked continued Middle East violence very closely. Interest in this story peaked in April (44% very closely), following a series of Palestinian suicide bombings and Israeli counter-attacks.

The same proportion of the public (32%) followed recent fluctuations in the stock market very closely. As expected, active investors – those who have traded stocks in the last six months – tracked the news on the stock market much more closely than those who merely hold investments and people who are not invested in the stock market. Six-in-ten active investors (62%) followed news on the stock market very closely compared with 38% of less active investors and just 18% of non-investors.

News about business scandals and corporate corruption continue to attract very close interest from about three-in-ten Americans (29%). And roughly about a quarter say they paid very close attention to the government budget difficulties affecting their states.

*Commentary by Lee Feinstein, Senior Fellow
Council on Foreign Relations*

A sizable majority of Americans continue to support a war to oust Saddam Hussein, and most seem to believe the worst about possible links between the Iraqi leader and the Al Qaeda terrorists, according to a new poll by the Pew Research Center For The People & The Press in collaboration with the Council on Foreign Relations.

The poll was conducted before President Bush's widely watched Oct. 7 television address in which he made his case for military action to the nation. The president's speech, however, hit many of the themes that seem to resonate strongly with the public as measured by the poll's results, particularly the president's discussion of "high-level links" between Iraq and Al Qaeda, and the status of Iraq's nuclear program.

When asked the question Congress is currently debating – whether the main goal of military action should be ridding Saddam Hussein of his weapons of mass destruction or ousting him – Americans come down strongly on the side of removal. But they are more divided when asked whether the United States should go ahead with military action against Saddam if he were to cooperate with weapons inspectors.

Americans give high marks when asked to rate how the president and Congress are handling the situation. At the same time, the public by an overwhelming majority says the positions taken by elected leaders have more to do with politics as usual than the substantive concerns raised by Saddam Hussein.

An Iraq-Al Qaeda Connection?

As in previous surveys, a solid majority (62%) of Americans say they support military action to "end Saddam Hussein's rule," about the same percentage indicating support for military action last month.

The Pew results indicate that the imputation of an Iraq-9/11 link strongly resonates with a majority of Americans, even though most analysts inside and outside government have disputed the suggestion of a direct link, and earlier suggestions by administration officials asserting such a link have been muted. Two-thirds of those surveyed (66%) say they believe "Saddam Hussein helped the terrorists in the September 11 attacks."

Similarly, a large majority of those surveyed believe Saddam is on the threshold of having a nuclear weapons capability. Two-thirds of those surveyed (65%) say they believe Saddam is "close to having" nuclear weapons, and 14% believe he "already has" them. A recently released report of the CIA, though far from reassuring, indicates Saddam may still have some distance to travel. It says Iraq now lacks the weapons-grade material needed for a nuclear bomb; is "unlikely" to produce enough weapons-grade materials for a nuclear bomb "until the last half of the decade"; but could produce a nuclear weapon "within a year" if it could find "fissile material from abroad."

The public's assessment of Saddam's nuclear capabilities is in keeping with its strong views on the need to oust him as well as his weapons of mass destruction. When asked if Saddam "can be disarmed but left in power, or do you think he has to be removed from power," 85% favor getting rid of the Iraqi leader.

The Likelihood of War

Although most Americans favor military action against Iraq, the poll suggests most do not believe war is inevitable, and support for military action declines under certain circumstances.

Of those questioned, most (56%) say they believe "war still might be avoided." Moreover, of those who support military action, 43% say they would oppose "using military force against Iraq," if Saddam cooperates with "full and complete weapons inspections."

Conversely, 39% of those who say they now oppose military action to oust Saddam say they would change their minds if the Iraqi leader refuses to cooperate.

How Are they Doing?

The survey results indicate most Americans give reasonably high marks to the president and Congress for their handling of the debate over Iraq. Most Americans (56%) approve of the president's handling of the "situation with Iraq." About a third of Americans say the president is "moving too quickly" on Iraq, but half (51%) say he is "giving careful thought to the issue." Congress's ratings are comparable.

Despite these generally high marks, most Americans question the motivation of their elected leaders on Iraq. Among those who favor military action, three-quarters say they believe most officials who oppose war "are taking their positions for political reasons." Only 16% say these politicians are "sincere in their beliefs." Opponents of military action hold similarly cynical views of politicians who favor war in Iraq.

As has been the case in the past, those surveyed rate Republicans as better able to address national security issues. The GOP was rated as the party that "could do a better job" making "wise decisions" about Iraq by a margin of 46%-30%, and the Republican Party has a similar advantage when it comes to "dealing with the terrorist threat at home."

Conclusion

Unlike the debate over the first war against Iraq in 1991, which was delayed until after the 1990 midterm elections, this debate is taking place just before the election.

In this political season, Americans are both skeptical of their leaders' political motives but, in the aftermath of 9/11, in a mood to believe the worst about reports of Iraq's links to Al Qaeda and the status of its weapons program. That is an unusual combination, which may challenge the usual calculations about the minor role foreign policy plays in national elections.

PERCENT FOLLOWING EACH NEWS STORY "VERY CLOSELY"

	<u>Debate Over Iraq</u> %	<u>FBI/* CIA Reports</u> %	<u>Hurricanes in Gulf & Louisiana</u> %	<u>Violence* in Middle East</u> %	<u>Stock Market Reports</u> %	<u>Business Scandals</u> %	<u>State Budget Problems</u> %	<u>(N)</u>
Total	60	41	38	32	32	29	25	(1513)
Sex								
Male	65	44	37	33	35	32	25	(688)
Female	56	38	40	31	29	27	24	(825)
Race								
White	59	40	37	28	32	27	23	(1256)
Non-white	64	48	46	48	33	37	32	(235)
Black	62	50	53	47	32	37	37	(143)
Hispanic [^]	53	29	43	33	22	23	22	(93)
Age								
Under 30	49	33	34	23	16	16	12	(261)
30-49	61	43	36	30	32	27	23	(597)
50+	66	45	44	39	40	39	33	(635)
Education								
College Grad.	68	49	34	31	45	37	29	(525)
Some College	62	40	36	29	32	29	24	(371)
High School Grad.	56	38	39	33	28	28	23	(488)
<H.S. Grad.	52	38	48	36	18	19	24	(116)
Region								
East	67	54	33	36	37	36	28	(276)
Midwest	58	32	27	27	32	29	22	(409)
South	58	42	59	37	31	29	26	(522)
West	59	40	22	27	29	24	23	(306)
Party ID								
Republican	64	41	38	28	36	29	25	(492)
Democrat	65	45	41	38	34	36	27	(484)
Independent	56	38	37	31	29	25	24	(425)
Internet User								
Yes	62	40	34	32	33	28	23	(1013)
No	58	43	46	33	30	32	28	(500)

[^] The designation, Hispanic, is unrelated to the white-black categorization.

* Based on split samples; Ns do not apply.

Question: Now I will read a list of some other things that have been in the news this past month. As I read each item, tell me if you happened to follow this news story very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely?

TREND IN BUSH'S HANDLING OF THE ECONOMY

	--- January 2002 ---		--- June 2002 ---		--- October 2002 ---		June-Oct Change
	Approve %	Disapprove %	Approve %	Disapprove %	Approve %	Disapprove %	
Total	60	28	53	36	49	40	-4
Sex							
Male	62	30	55	36	51	39	-3
Female	59	26	51	37	48	40	-3
Race							
White	65	24	56	33	53	35	-3
Non-white	43	46	37	51	32	60	-5
Black	37	53	32	55	26	68	-6
Hispanic [^]	59	22	58	32	58	30	0
Race and Sex							
White Men	65	27	58	33	55	35	-3
White Women	64	21	55	33	52	35	-3
Age							
Under 30	63	26	56	33	55	37	-1
30-49	65	25	56	36	51	38	-5
50-64	55	32	52	38	45	44	-7
65+	52	33	42	40	45	40	+3
Sex and Age							
Men under 50	66	25	58	34	53	37	-5
Women under 50	62	26	54	35	51	39	-3
Men 50+	55	38	51	37	48	43	-3
Women 50+	53	28	45	40	43	42	-2
Education							
College Grad.	61	34	58	35	50	42	-8
Some College	59	28	56	34	52	38	-4
High School Grad.	65	24	52	36	49	38	-3
<H.S. Grad.	50	29	39	43	46	42	+7
Family Income							
\$75,000+	63	32	62	30	56	36	-6
\$50,000-\$74,999	66	28	52	38	51	38	-1
\$30,000-\$49,999	65	24	55	36	47	44	-8
\$20,000-\$29,999	64	24	51	39	49	44	-2
<\$20,000	47	35	40	46	43	42	+3

[^] The designation Hispanic is unrelated to the white-black categorization.

Question: Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling the economy?

Continued ...

	--- January 2002 ---		--- June 2002 ---		--- October 2002 ---		June-Oct Change
	Approve %	Disapprove %	Approve %	Disapprove %	Approve %	Disapprove %	
Total	60	28	53	36	49	40	-4
Region							
East	57	31	53	39	49	41	-4
Midwest	63	25	53	36	44	42	-9
South	63	28	53	35	53	36	0
West	57	29	52	37	49	40	-3
Religious Affiliation							
Total White Protestant	67	21	59	28	57	32	-2
White Protestant Evangelical	72	17	64	24	59	29	-5
White Prot. Non-Evangelical	62	25	53	33	55	35	+2
White Catholic	67	22	57	34	53	35	-4
Secular	48	41	35	46	43	45	+8
Community Size							
Large City	57	34	51	38	48	40	-3
Suburb	65	26	58	34	50	41	-8
Small City/Town	57	28	50	39	51	38	+1
Rural Area	67	25	54	33	49	40	-5
Party ID							
Republican	80	9	78	16	77	14	-1
Democrat	45	43	33	54	29	64	-4
Independent	60	32	50	40	49	41	-1
Party and Ideology							
Conservative Republican	81	8	83	12	80	10	-3
Moderate/Liberal Republican	81	11	68	22	74	19	+6
Conservative/Moderate Democrat	49	40	37	49	33	59	-4
Liberal Democrat	30	55	28	66	16	81	-12
2000 Presidential Vote							
Bush	86	6	77	16	77	15	0
Gore	34	57	30	60	24	68	-6
Marital Status							
Married	64	27	58	31	54	36	-4
Unmarried	56	29	46	42	45	43	-1
Parental Status							
Parent	63	28	56	34	52	38	-4
Non-Parent	59	28	49	38	48	40	-1
Labor Union							
Union Household	55	32	48	43	40	48	-8
Non-Union Household	62	27	54	35	51	38	-3

ABOUT THIS SURVEY

Results for this survey are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates among a nationwide sample of 1,513 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period October 2-6. Based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 3 percentage points. For results based on Registered Voters (N=1,158), the sampling error is plus or minus 3.5 percentage points. For results based on Form 1 (N=936) the sampling error is plus or minus 3.5 percentage points; for Form 2 (N=577) the sampling error is plus or minus 4.5 percentage points.

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

SURVEY METHODOLOGY IN DETAIL

The sample for this survey is a random digit sample of telephone numbers selected from telephone exchanges in the continental United States. The random digit aspect of the sample is used to avoid "listing" bias and provides representation of both listed and unlisted numbers (including not-yet-listed). The design of the sample ensures this representation by random generation of the last two digits of telephone numbers selected on the basis of their area code, telephone exchange, and bank number.

The telephone exchanges were selected with probabilities proportional to their size. The first eight digits of the sampled telephone numbers (area code, telephone exchange, bank number) were selected to be proportionally stratified by county and by telephone exchange within county. That is, the number of telephone numbers randomly sampled from within a given county is proportional to that county's share of telephone numbers in the U.S. Only working banks of telephone numbers are selected. A working bank is defined as 100 contiguous telephone numbers containing one or more residential listings.

The sample was released for interviewing in replicates. Using replicates to control the release of sample to the field ensures that the complete call procedures are followed for the entire sample. The use of replicates also insures that the regional distribution of numbers called is appropriate. Again, this works to increase the representativeness of the sample.

At least 10 attempts were made to complete an interview at every sampled telephone number. The calls were staggered over times of day and days of the week to maximize the chances of making a contact with a potential respondent. All interview breakoffs and refusals were re-contacted at least once in order to attempt to convert them to completed interviews. In each contacted household, interviewers asked to speak with the "youngest male 18 or older who is at home." If there is no eligible man at home, interviewers asked to speak with "the oldest woman 18 or older who is at home." This systematic respondent selection technique has been shown empirically to produce samples that closely mirror the population in terms of age and gender.

Non-response in telephone interview surveys produces some known biases in survey-derived estimates because participation tends to vary for different subgroups of the population, and these subgroups are likely to vary also on questions of substantive interest. In order to compensate for these known biases, the sample data are weighted in analysis. The demographic weighting parameters are derived from a special analysis of the most recently available Census Bureau's Current Population Survey (March 2001). This analysis produced population parameters for the demographic characteristics of households with adults 18 or older, which are then compared with the sample characteristics to construct sample weights. The analysis only included households in the continental United States that contain a telephone. The weights are derived using an iterative technique that simultaneously balances the distributions of all weighting parameters.

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
& COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
EARLY OCTOBER 2002 ELECTION STUDY
FINAL TOPLINE
October 2-6, 2002
N = 1,513**

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

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
Early October, 2002	61	30	9=100
Mid-September, 2002	67	22	11=100
Early September, 2002	63	26	11=100
Late August, 2002	60	27	13=100
August, 2002	67	21	12=100
Late July, 2002	65	25	10=100
July, 2002	67	21	12=100
June, 2002	70	20	10=100
April, 2002	69	18	13=100
Early April, 2002	74	16	10=100
February, 2002	78	13	9=100
January, 2002	80	11	9=100
Mid-November, 2001	84	9	7=100
Early October, 2001	84	8	8=100
Late September, 2001	86	7	7=100
Mid-September, 2001	80	9	11=100
Early September, 2001	51	34	15=100
August, 2001	50	32	18=100
July, 2001	51	32	17=100
June, 2001	50	33	17=100
May, 2001	53	32	15=100
April, 2001	56	27	17=100
March, 2001	55	25	20=100
February, 2001	53	21	26=100

Q.2 How much thought have you given to the coming November election, quite a lot, or only a little?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1,158]:

	<u>Quite A lot</u>	<u>(VOL.) Some</u>	<u>Only A Little</u>	<u>None/DK/ Refused</u>
Early October, 2002	45	6	45	4=100
Early September, 2002	36	5	54	5=100
Late October, 1998	49	11	35	5=100
Early October, 1998	42	8	43	7=100
November, 1994	56	7	32	5=100
October, 1994	45	7	45	3=100
October, 1994	44	2	50	4=100
<i>Gallup</i> : October, 1990 ¹	43	7	46	4=100
<i>Gallup</i> : October, 1982	29	22	37	12=100
<i>Gallup</i> : October, 1978	23	22	39	17=100
<i>Gallup</i> : September, 1978	21	18	44	18=100

¹ Gallup trends based on total respondents.

R.1 These days, many people are so busy they can't find time to register to vote, or move around so often they don't get a chance to re-register... Are you NOW registered to vote in your precinct or election district, or haven't you been able to register so far?

IF 1 'YES, REGISTERED' IN R.1 ASK:

R.1a Are you absolutely certain you are registered to vote, or is there a chance your registration has lapsed because you moved or for some other reason?

77 Yes, registered
 73 Absolutely certain
 3 Chance registration has lapsed
 1 Don't know/Refused
 22 No, not registered
 1 Don't know/Refused
 100

ASK ALL:

Q.3 How closely have you followed news about candidates and election campaigns in your state and district? Have you followed it very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1,158]:

	Very Closely	Fairly Closely	Not too Closely	Not at all Closely	DK/Ref.
Early October, 2002	21	46	22	10	1=100
Early September, 2002	20	34	29	16	1=100
Late October, 1998	26	45	20	9	*=100
Early October, 1998	21	43	24	11	1=100
Early September, 1998	20	35	28	17	*=100
Early August, 1998	16	35	25	24	*=100
June, 1998	12	31	32	25	*=100
April, 1998 ²	19	37	23	21	*=100
November, 1994	23	49	21	7	*=100
October, 1994	18	43	28	10	1=100
Early October, 1994	28	37	21	14	*=100
September, 1994	22	37	28	13	*=100
November, 1990 ³	44	36	13	7	*=100
October, 1990 ⁴	18	32	28	22	*=100

ASK Q.4 THROUGH Q.12 OF REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY (R.1a=1):

Q.4 How often would you say you vote... always, nearly always, part of the time, or seldom?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1,158]:

	Always	Nearly Always	Part of the time	Seldom	(VOL.)		DK/Ref.
					Never Vote	Other	
Early October, 2002	50	33	11	4	*	1	1=100
Early September, 2002	59	25	11	4	1	*	*=100
August, 2002	53	32	10	4	1	*	*=100
Early November, 2000	57	26	8	6	1	2	*=100
Late October, 2000	52	30	9	6	1	2	0=100
Mid-October, 2000	54	27	10	6	*	3	*=100
Early October, 2000	51	29	10	6	3	1	*=100
September, 2000	61	21	9	7	*	2	*=100
June, 2000	58	26	10	4	1	1	*=100
Late September, 1999	40	47	9	3	*	1	*=100
Early September, 1998	53	33	9	4	1	0	*=100

² In April 1998, September 1994 and October 1990, story was listed as "Candidates and election campaigns in your state."

³ In November 1990, story was listed as "Candidates and elections in your state."

⁴ October 1990 trend based on total respondents.

Q.4 CONTINUED...

	<u>Always</u>	<u>Nearly Always</u>	<u>Part of The time</u>	<u>Seldom</u>	<u>(VOL.) Never Vote</u>	<u>(VOL.) Other</u>	<u>DK/Ref.</u>
June, 1998	49	33	12	5	1	0	0=100
September, 1997	62	26	8	3	*	1	*=100
November, 1996	55	28	8	6	1	2	*=100
October, 1996	52	30	9	5	2	2	*=100
Late September, 1996	52	31	10	4	1	2	*=100
June, 1996	52	33	9	4	1	1	*=100
February, 1996	42	41	11	4	1	1	*=100
October, 1995	53	35	7	4	*	1	*=100
April, 1995	53	34	9	4	*	*	*=100
November, 1994	58	28	8	5	1	*	0=100
October, 1994	55	32	10	3	*	*	*=100
July, 1994	52	34	10	4	*	*	*=100
June, 1992	60	29	7	3	1	*	*=100
May, 1992	50	35	10	4	*	1	*=100
November, 1991	46	41	9	4	0	*	*=100
May, 1990	42	42	11	4	*	1	*=100
Gallup: November, 1988	57	26	10	4	2	1	*=100
Gallup: October, 1988	56	26	12	4	1	1	*=100
May, 1988	43	41	11	3	1	2	*=100
January, 1988	49	39	9	2	*	1	*=100
May, 1987	43	43	9	3	1	1	*=100

Q.5 If the elections for U.S. Congress were being held TODAY, would you vote for the Republican Party's candidate or the Democratic Party's candidate for Congress in your district?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED 3 OR 9 IN Q.5, ASK:

Q.5a As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to the Republican or the Democrat?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1,158]:

	<u>Republican/ Lean Rep.</u>	<u>Democrat/ Lean Dem.</u>	<u>Other/ Undecided</u>
Early October, 2002	44	46	10=100
Early September, 2002	44	46	10=100
June, 2002	44	46	10=100
February, 2002	46	45	9=100
Early November, 2001	44	44	12=100
2000 Election			
Early November, 2000	42	48	10=100
Early October, 2000	43	47	10=100
July, 2000	43	47	10=100
February, 2000	44	47	9=100
October, 1999	43	49	8=100
June, 1999	40	50	10=100
1998 Election			
November, 1998	42	48	10=100
Late October, 1998	40	47	13=100
Early October, 1998	43	44	13=100
Early September, 1998	45	46	9=100
Late August, 1998	44	45	11=100
Early August, 1998	42	49	9=100
June, 1998	44	46	10=100
March, 1998	40	52	8=100
February, 1998	41	50	9=100
January, 1998	41	51	8=100
August, 1997	45	48	7=100

Q.5/5a CONTINUED...

	<u>Republican/ Lean Rep.</u>	<u>Democrat/ Lean Dem.</u>	<u>Other/ Undecided</u>
1996 Election			
November, 1996 ⁵	44	48	8=100
October, 1996	42	49	9=100
Late September, 1996	43	49	8=100
Early September, 1996	43	51	6=100
July, 1996	46	47	7=100
June, 1996	44	50	6=100
March, 1996	44	49	7=100
January, 1996	46	47	7=100
October, 1995	48	48	4=100
August, 1995	50	43	7=100
1994 Election			
November, 1994	45	43	12=100
October, 1994	47	44	9=100
Early October, 1994	52	40	8=100
September, 1994	48	46	6=100
July, 1994	45	47	8=100

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS:

Q.6 Do you, yourself, plan to vote in the election this November?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1,158]:

	<u>Yes, Plan To Vote</u>	<u>No, Don't Plan To</u>	<u>Can't Say/ Don't know</u>
Early October, 2002 [^]	95	3	2=100
Early November, 2000	96	3	1=100
Late October, 2000	97	2	1=100
Mid-October, 2000	96	2	2=100
Early October, 2000	97	2	1=100
September, 2000	95	3	2=100
June, 2000	95	2	3=100
Late October, 1998 ^{6^}	91	6	3=100
Early October, 1998 [^]	92	4	4=100
Early September, 1998 [^]	95	2	3=100
Late August, 1998 [^]	93	3	4=100
June, 1998 [^]	95	3	2=100
November, 1996	96	2	2=100
October, 1996	98	1	1=100
Late September, 1996	98	1	1=100
Early September, 1996	96	2	2=100
July, 1996	95	3	2=100
June, 1996	96	2	2=100
November, 1994 [^]	93	5	2=100
October, 1994 [^]	95	3	2=100
October, 1992	98	1	1=100
September, 1992	98	1	1=100
August, 1992	97	1	2=100
June, 1992	97	1	2=100
Gallup: November, 1988	97	2	1=100
Gallup: October, 1988	98	1	1=100

[^] Non-Presidential elections

⁵ November 1996 trend based on likely voters.

⁶ In Early November 2000, Late October 1998, November 1996 and November 1994 the question was worded: "Do you yourself plan to vote in the election this Tuesday, or not?"

Q.7 Next, I'd like you to rate your chances of voting in the election this November on a scale of 10 to 1. If 10 represents a person who DEFINITELY will vote and 1 represents a person who definitely will NOT vote, where on this scale of 10 to 1 would you place yourself?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1,158]:

	Definitely will vote										Definitely will not vote	DK/Ref.
	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1		
Early October, 2002	64	10	10	4	3	4	1	*	*	2	2=100	
Early November, 2000	80	6	5	2	1	3	*	*	*	3	1=100	
Late October, 2000	83	5	5	1	1	2	*	1	1	1	*=100	
Mid-October, 2000	80	7	4	3	1	3	1	*	*	1	1=100	
Early October, 2000	78	7	5	2	2	2	*	1	1	1	1=100	
Late October, 1998	70	6	7	4	1	4	1	1	1	4	1=100	
Early October, 1998	64	9	10	4	2	4	1	2	1	2	1=100	
November, 1996	77	7	7	2	1	2	*	1	*	2	1=100	
October, 1996	77	9	7	2	2	2	*	*	*	1	*=100	
Late September, 1996	78	10	6	2	1	1	*	*	*	1	1=100	
November, 1994	67	9	8	2	2	4	1	1	1	3	2=100	
October, 1994	66	10	9	4	2	4	1	1	*	2	1=100	
Gallup: September, 1992	77	5	4	3	2	4	*	1	*	4	*=100	
Gallup: November, 1988	77	7	6	2	1	3	*	*	*	2	2=100	
Gallup: October, 1988	73	8	7	3	2	3	1	*	*	1	2=100	

Q.8 What will make the biggest difference in how you vote for Congress in your district — national issues, local or state issues, the candidate's political party, or the candidate's character or experience? **(IF MORE THAN ONE, PROBE WITH: Well, which is most important?)**

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1,158]:

	National	State/Local	Political	Character/	Other	None	DK/Ref.
	Issues	Issues	Party	Experience			
Early October, 2002	28	35	5	25	2	1	4=100
June, 2002	26	30	5	33	2	1	3=100
October, 2000	21	42	9	21	1	1	5=100
July, 2000	18	40	6	32	1	1	2=100
Late October, 1998	20	39	5	27	3	2	4=100
Early October, 1998	23	36	7	28	1	*	5=100
Early September, 1998	22	34	5	33	2	*	4=100
Early August, 1998	20	38	5	31	2	*	4=100
June, 1998	22	37	4	32	1	1	3=100
March, 1998	18	37	6	35	1	1	2=100
November, 1996	23	38	6	25	2	*	6=100
October, 1996	19	45	7	26	1	1	1=100
Late September, 1996	25	38	6	24	2	*	5=100
Early September, 1996	18	42	6	30	1	*	3=100
November, 1994	22	38	5	30	1	*	4=100
Late October, 1994	22	38	3	29	3	1	4=100
Early October, 1994	22	27	5	39	2	1	4=100
CBS/NYT: 10/24-28, 1986	22	25	6	40	1	1	5=100
CBS/NYT: 9/28-10/1, 1986	20	23	9	41	3	*	4=100

Q.9 Thinking about your vote for Congress this fall, will the issue of which party controls Congress, the Republicans or the Democrats, be a factor in your vote, or not?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1,158]:

		Early Sept <u>2002</u>	June <u>2002</u>	Feb <u>2002</u>	Early Oct <u>2000</u>	July <u>2000</u>	Late Oct <u>1998</u>	Early Oct <u>1998</u>	Early Sept <u>1998</u>	Early Aug <u>1998</u>	June <u>1998</u>
42	Yes, will be a factor	44	47	46	46	46	46	47	41	44	45
55	No, will not	51	50	49	50	49	50	49	56	53	51
<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.10 Do you think of your vote for Congress this fall as a vote for George W. Bush, as a vote against George W. Bush, or isn't George W. Bush much of a factor in your vote?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1,158]:

	<u>For</u>	<u>Against</u>	Not a <u>Factor</u>	DK/ <u>Ref.</u>
Early October, 2002	30	20	44	6=100
Early September, 2002	29	15	51	5=100
February, 2002	34	9	50	7=100
Clinton: Late October, 1998	20	17	58	5=100
Clinton: Early October, 1998	19	23	52	6=100
Clinton: Early September, 1998	18	16	63	3=100
Clinton: Late August, 1998	20	17	61	2=100
Clinton: Early August, 1998	21	18	57	4=100
Clinton: June, 1998	20	18	57	5=100
Clinton: March, 1998	21	15	59	5=100
Clinton: September, 1996	24	18	51	7=100
Clinton: November, 1994	17	21	55	7=100
Clinton: October, 1994	17	21	57	5=100
Clinton: Early October, 1994	17	23	54	6=100
<i>CBS/NYT (BUSH):</i> 10/28-31, 1990	19	15	61	6=100
<i>CBS/NYT (REAGAN):</i> 10/24-28, 1986	26	12	55	7=100
<i>CBS/NYT (REAGAN):</i> 9/28-10/1, 1986	26	16	51	7=100
<i>CBS/NYT (REAGAN):</i> 10/23-28, 1982	23	21	51	5=100

Q.11 Would you like to see your representative in Congress be re-elected in the next congressional election, or not?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1,158]: (VOL)

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	Congressperson <u>Not running</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
Early October, 2002	58	19	2	21=100
June, 2002	58	23	1	18=100
Early November, 2000	59	16	2	23=100
October, 2000	60	17	1	22=100
July, 1999	66	23	*	11=100
Late October, 1998	64	19	1	16=100
Early October, 1998	58	20	2	20=100
Early September, 1998	63	20	1	16=100
March, 1998	63	21	1	15=100
January, 1998	66	23	0	11=100
August, 1997	66	22	0	12=100
Early November, 1996	60	16	3	21=100
October, 1996	62	19	2	17=100
Late September, 1996	55	17	2	26=100
Early September, 1996	62	19	2	17=100
November, 1994	58	25	1	16=100
October, 1994	55	30	2	13=100
Early October, 1994	49	29	2	20=100
Gallup: October 1990	62	22	2	14=100

Q.12 Regardless of how you feel about your own representative, would you like to see most members of Congress re-elected in the next congressional election, or not?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1,158]:

		June 2002	Oct 2000	July 1999	Late Oct 1998	Early Oct 1998	Early Sept 1998	March 1998	Jan 1998	Aug 1997	Early Sept 1996	Nov 1994	Late Oct 1994	Early Oct 1994
39	Yes	45	40	41	41	39	46	45	44	45	43	31	31	28
38	No	37	34	47	37	39	36	41	43	42	43	51	56	56
<u>23</u>	DK/Ref.	<u>18</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>16</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

ASK ALL RESPONDENTS:

Q.13 Now I will read a list of some other things that have been in the news this past month. As I read each item, tell me if you happened to follow this news story very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely. [INSERT ITEM; ROTATE; OBSERVE FORM SPLITS]

		Very Closely	Fairly Closely	Not too Closely	Not at all Closely	DK/ Ref.
a.	Debate over the possibility that the U.S. will take military action in Iraq					
	Early September, 2002 ⁷	60	28	6	5	1=100
		48	29	15	6	2=100
b.	Recent major ups and downs in the U.S. stock market					
	Early September, 2002	32	30	19	18	1=100
	Late July, 2002	27	30	20	22	1=100
	March, 2001	33	33	15	18	1=100
	Mid-October, 2000	27	27	18	27	1=100
	April, 2000	20	26	23	31	1=100
	Early April, 2000	18	28	23	31	*=100
	March, 2000	19	29	20	32	*=100
	March, 1999	23	29	21	26	1=100
	March, 1999	18	29	22	31	*=100
	January, 1999	24	28	19	28	1=100
	Early September, 1998	32	31	20	17	*=100
	Mid-August, 1998	17	23	21	39	*=100
	January, 1998	21	25	23	31	*=100
	November, 1997 ⁸	25	36	18	20	1=100
	September, 1997	14	22	23	40	1=100
	April, 1997	17	21	22	40	*=100
	February, 1996	12	20	25	42	1=100
c.	News about business scandals and corporate corruption					
	Early September, 2002	29	37	19	14	1=100
	Late July, 2002 ⁹	28	33	22	16	1=100
	July, 2002	29	34	19	17	1=100
	February, 2002 ¹⁰	31	33	18	17	1=100
	January, 2002	28	33	19	19	1=100
	December, 2001 ¹¹	19	24	20	35	2=100
		11	23	28	36	2=100

⁷ In Early September, 2002 the question was worded, "...U.S. will invade Iraq."

⁸ In November 1997, April 1997 and February 1996, the story was listed as "Recent major ups and downs in the stock market."

⁹ In Late July 2002 and July 2002 the story was listed as "Recent business scandals involving WorldCom and other major U.S. corporations."

¹⁰ In February 2002 and January 2002 the story was listed as "The ongoing investigation into the bankruptcy of the Enron corporation."

¹¹ In December 2001 the question was worded "The bankruptcy of the Enron Corporation and its impact on the retirement investments of Enron employees."

Q.13 CONTINUED...

		<u>Very Closely</u>	<u>Fairly Closely</u>	<u>Not too Closely</u>	<u>Not at all Closely</u>	<u>DK/ Ref.</u>
d.	Recent hurricanes in the Gulf of Mexico and Louisiana	38	34	18	10	*=100
e.	News about government budget problems in your state	25	36	24	15	*=100

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=936]:

f.F1	Reports of the FBI and CIA having information about terrorist plans prior to the September 11 th attacks	41	37	15	7	*=100
	June, 2002	32	36	21	10	1=100

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=577]:

g.F2	Continued violence in the Middle East between the Palestinians and the Israelis	32	39	20	8	1=100
	June, 2002	38	33	18	10	1=100
	April, 2002	38	37	14	10	1=100
	Early April, 2002	44	33	13	9	1=100
	December, 2001	31	40	19	9	1=100
	Early September, 2001	21	33	25	20	1=100
	April, 2001 ¹²	22	34	24	19	1=100
	Mid-October, 2000	30	38	18	13	1=100
	Early October, 2000	21	30	27	21	1=100
	January, 1997	12	23	29	35	1=100
	October, 1996	17	34	26	23	*=100
	May, 1988	18	37	34	9	2=100

12

In April 2001 the story was listed as "Continued violence in the Middle East." In Mid-October 2000 the story was listed as "Continued violence in the Middle East between the Palestinians and the Israelis." In Early October 2000 the story was listed as "Renewed violence in the Middle East between the Palestinians and the Israelis." In January 1997 the story was listed as "Renewed tensions between Israelis and Palestinians over Hebron." In October 1996 the story was listed as "Renewed violence between Israelis & Palestinians on the West Bank and in Jerusalem." In May 1988 the story was listed as "The conflict in the Middle East between the Palestinians and the Israelis in the occupied territories."

Now thinking about President Bush...

Q.14 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling [INSERT ITEM, ROTATE; OBSERVE FORM SPLITS]

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>DK/Ref.</u>
a. The economy	49	40	11=100
June, 2002	53	36	11=100
January, 2002	60	28	12=100
Early September, 2001	47	44	9=100
February, 2001	50	22	28=100
Clinton: Early September, 1998	71	23	6=100
Clinton: September, 1997	60	34	6=100
Clinton: January, 1996	50	42	8=100
Clinton: June, 1995	46	46	8=100
Clinton: October, 1994	45	46	9=100
Clinton: July, 1994	38	56	6=100
Bush, Sr.: August, 1990	40	52	8=100
Bush, Sr.: May, 1990	42	47	11=100
b. Terrorist threats	71	22	7=100
June, 2002	74	18	8=100
Clinton: September, 1998 ¹³	72	20	8=100

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=936]:

c.f1 The situation in the Middle East	58	34	8=100
June, 2002	64	28	8=100
Early September, 2001	45	35	20=100
Clinton: September, 1997	50	36	14=100
Clinton: October, 1996*	51	35	14=100
Clinton: October, 1994*	56	35	9=100
* Gallup/CNN/USA Today trend			

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=577]:

d.F2 The situation with Iraq	56	34	10=100
Clinton: February, 1998*	58	32	10=100
Clinton: September, 1996*	55	25	20=100
Clinton: October, 1994*	59	33	8=100
Bush, Sr.: September, 1991*	64	30	6=100
* Gallup/CNN/USA Today trend			

e. The jobs situation	47	38	15=100
June, 2002	50	37	13=100
Clinton: July, 1994	40	52	8=100
f. Corporate corruption and the business scandals	49	35	16=100
June, 2002 ¹⁴	40	38	22=100

Q.15 Right now, which is more important for President Bush to focus on... the economy or the war on terrorism?

	<u>Late Aug 2002</u>
36 The economy	39
45 War on terrorism	34
* Neither (VOL.)	2
17 Both (VOL.)	22
<u>2</u> Don't know/Refused	<u>3</u>
100	100

¹³ In September 1998 the question was "Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling current threats from international terrorist groups?"

¹⁴ In June 2002 the item was worded "Recent business scandals."

Q.16 In the long run, do you think George W. Bush will be a successful or unsuccessful president, or do you think it is too early to tell?

		<u>Jan 2001</u>	<u>-- Clinton -- Early Oct 1994</u>
40	Successful	26	14
15	Unsuccessful	15	35
44	Too early to tell	58	48
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100

ASK Q.17 AND Q.18 OF REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY (R.1a=1):

Q.17 What one issue would you most like to hear the candidates in your state or district talk about this fall? [OPEN ENDED; PROMPT ONCE WITH "What would you name second?" ACCEPT UP TO THREE MENTIONS]

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1,158]:		<u>June 2002</u>	<u>Early Oct 1998</u>	<u>Early Sept 1998</u>	<u>June 1998</u>
40	Economy/Economic issues	7	6	8	4
21	Education issues	20	24	20	20
16	Jobs/Employment	6	3	4	5
11	Dealing with terrorism/terrorists	9	*	1	—
10	Taxation	12	8	11	13
9	Health care	13	8	6	5
6	Foreign policy/International relations	7	1	2	2
4	Balanced budget	4	3	2	3
4	Iraq	—	—	—	—
4	Crime/Crime control/All other crime issues	6	7	9	14
3	Caring for seniors/Elder care	3	2	1	—
3	National security	12	1	1	1
2	Environment	4	2	2	2
2	Social Security	3	6	4	9
2	Business scandals/reform	—	—	—	—
2	Morality/Character issues	2	3	4	4
2	State/local issues	1	3	4	--
2	Family/Child care issues	1	1	1	3
2	Politicians/Political system	2	4	3	--
2	Abortion	2	3	2	4
1	Highway construction	*	*	1	1
1	Immigration	1	*	*	*
1	Welfare/Welfare reform	1	1	3	—
1	George W. Bush/The President	*	3	—	—
1	Poverty/Homelessness	2	3	2	2
1	Size/Scope of government	1	2	2	—
1	Wages/Salaries	*	1	1	—
1	None	*	*	*	*
11	No answer/DK/Refused	16	2	21	18
55	ECONOMIC (NET)	20	14	15	15
22	FOREIGN POLICY/TERRORISM (NET)	26	3	4	3

Q.18 Next, please tell me if you think the REPUBLICAN Party or the DEMOCRATIC Party could do a better job in each of the following areas... (First,) which party could do a better job of...**[INSERT ITEM; OBSERVE FORM DIFFERENCES]**

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1,158]:

	Republican Party	Democratic Party	(VOL.) Both Equally	(VOL.) Neither	Don't Know
a. Dealing with the economy	37	41	4	5	13=100
Early September, 2002	37	37	9	6	11=100
January, 2002	45	33	--	5	17=100
May, 2001 ¹⁵	33	46	8	4	9=100
June, 1999	35	45	9	3	8=100
March, 1999	39	45	5	3	8=100
Early September, 1998	41	37	9	4	9=100
March, 1998	39	41	13	3	4=100
October, 1994	46	33	5	6	10=100
October, 1992 ¹⁶	36	45	10	0	9=100
October, 1990 ¹⁷	37	35	0	0	28=100

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=709]:

b.F1 Making wise decisions about what to do in Iraq	46	30	7	4	13=100
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ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=449]:

c.F2 Dealing with the terrorist threat at home	44	28	7	5	16=100
Early September, 2002	45	23	14	6	12=100
January, 2002	50	16	--	6	28=100

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=709]:

d.F1 Bringing corrupt business executives to justice	37	38	6	7	12=100
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ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=449]:

e.F2 Requiring corporations to reform their business practices	33	41	5	4	17=100
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ASK ALL RESPONDENTS:

Q.19 From what you've heard or read, do you happen to know if Congress has passed a law to toughen regulations on corporate accounting practices, or not?

28	Yes, has passed
31	No
41	Don't know/Refused
100	

15 Trend was worded: "... keeping the country prosperous?"

16 Gallup poll conducted Oct. 23-25, 1992 based on registered voters.

17 Gallup poll conducted Oct 25-28, 1990, based on general population.

Now, thinking about your own personal finances...

Q.20 How would you rate your own personal financial situation? Would you say you are in excellent shape, good shape, only fair shape or poor shape?

		Late (RVs)										U.S. News & World Report				
		June 2002	Sept 2001	June 2001	June 2000	Aug 1999	May 1997	Sept 1996	Feb 1995	Mar 1994	Dec 1993	Jan 1993	Oct 1992	Aug 1992	May 1992	Jan 1992
7	Excellent shape	5	7	6	9	6	7	8	8	5	5	4	6	5	4	4
39	Good shape	40	40	38	43	43	43	47	39	41	34	33	34	30	35	32
37	Only fair shape	37	37	39	35	41	38	34	38	40	45	46	40	47	45	45
16	OR poor shape	16	14	16	11	9	11	10	14	13	15	16	19	17	15	18
<u>1</u>	DK/Ref.	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Q.21 Over the course of the next year, do you think the financial situation of you and your family will improve a lot, improve some, get a little worse or get a lot worse?

		Late										U.S. News & World Report			
		June 2002	Jan 2002	Sept 2001	June 2001	Jan 2001	Jan 1999	May 1997	Feb 1995	March 1994	Oct 1992	Aug 1992	May 1992	Jan 1992	
10	Improve a lot	11	12	9	11	11	17	12	11	10	9	6	8	9	
54	Improve some	55	53	46	52	46	55	56	53	57	51	50	49	46	
13	Get a little worse	15	15	16	15	18	7	10	13	11	14	20	22	19	
5	Get a lot worse	4	5	4	4	9	3	2	3	3	3	5	4	5	
12	Stay the same (VOL)	11	11	17	14	12	14	17	17	16	15	14	13	16	
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	
<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	

Q.22 A year from now, do you expect that economic conditions in the country as a whole will be better than they are at present, or worse, or just about the same as now?

		Newsweek				Newsweek Early							
		June 2002	Jan 2002	Jan 2001	June 2000	Oct 1998	Sept 1998	May 1990	Feb 1989	Sept 1988	May 1988	Jan 1988	Jan 1984
34	Better	30	44	18	15	16	18	18	25	24	24	22	35
18	Worse	20	17	33	24	22	17	31	22	16	20	26	13
42	Same	46	36	44	55	57	61	45	49	51	46	45	49
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>3</u>
<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Q.23 In your opinion, is President Bush doing as much as he can to improve economic conditions or do you think he could be doing more?

		--- Bush, Sr. ---			
		June 2002	Jan 2002	March 1992	Jan 1992
31	Doing as much as he can	33	48	21	21
63	Could be doing more	62	46	76	76
<u>6</u>	Can't say	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

NO QUESTIONS 24 THRU 27

Q.28 Over the next 12 months, do you think the stock market is most likely to go up a lot, go up some, stay about the same, go down some, or go down a lot?

		-- Newsweek --		
		Jan	Dec	Sept
		<u>2001</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>1997</u>
36	Total Go up	34	29	32
3	Go up a lot	4	6	--
33	Go up some	30	23	--
31	Stay about the same	26	25	33
24	Total Go Down	30	26	16
18	Go down some	23	20	--
6	Go down a lot	7	6	--
<u>9</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>10</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>19</u>
100		100	100	100

Q.29 Now I am going to read a list of things that have been in the news recently. For each, please tell me how often, if ever, it comes up in your conversations with family and friends. First how often do you talk about [INSERT ITEM; ROTATE]... frequently, occasionally, hardly ever or never? What about...

		Frequ- ently	Occasi- onally	Hardly Ever	Never	DK/ Ref.
a.	Problems with public education	40	31	18	10	1=100
	June, 2002	48	28	17	7	*=100
	Early September, 1998	48	31	15	6	*=100
b.	Problems with health insurance and HMOs	44	28	17	10	1=100
	June, 2002	51	24	16	9	*=100
	Early September, 1998	44	29	17	10	*=100
c.	Problems with the Social Security system	22	31	31	15	1=100
	June, 2002	33	31	23	13	0=100
	Early September, 1998	31	33	26	10	*=100
d.	The issue of corporate corruption and business scandals	23	37	25	14	1=100
	June, 2002 ¹⁸	22	30	27	20	1=100
e.	The possibility of war with Iraq	52	32	10	5	1=100
f.	Economic conditions in the nation	40	37	14	8	1=100
	June, 2002	46	32	17	5	*=100
g.	The threat of terrorist attacks against the U.S.	48	38	10	4	*=100
	June, 2002 ¹⁹	55	31	10	4	*=100
	Early September, 1998	37	37	20	6	*=100
h.	Recent major ups and downs in the stock market	30	31	22	16	1=100

¹⁸ In June 2002 the question was worded, "The collapse of Enron and other recent business scandals."

¹⁹ In June 2002 the question was worded, "Terrorist attacks against Americans at home or abroad."

Now a few questions about the situation in Iraq.

Q.30 How much have you yourself thought about whether the US should use military force to remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq? **[READ]**

		Mid-Sept <u>2002</u>	Late Aug <u>2002</u>	Jan 1991 ²⁰
54	A Great deal	<u>55</u>	<u>46</u>	<u>66</u>
32	Some	<u>27</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>24</u>
8	Only a little – OR –	<u>9</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>6</u>
5	Not at all	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>2</u>
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Q.31 Would you favor or oppose taking military action in Iraq to end Saddam Hussein's rule?

ASK IF FAVOR OR OPPOSE ("1" OR "2" IN Q.31):

Q.32 Do you feel strongly about this, or do you think you might change your mind?

		Mid-Sept <u>2002</u>	Late Aug <u>2002</u>	----- Gallup ²¹ -----				
				June <u>2002</u>	Nov <u>2001</u>	Feb <u>2001</u>	June <u>1993</u>	March <u>1992</u>
62	Favor	<u>64</u>	<u>64</u>	<u>59</u>	<u>74</u>	<u>52</u>	<u>70</u>	<u>55</u>
	49 Feel Strongly							
	12 Might Change mind							
	1 Don't know/Refused							
28	Oppose	<u>23</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>40</u>
	17 Feel Strongly							
	11 Might Change mind							
	* Don't know/Refused							
<u>10</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>13</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>
<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

ASK Q.33 THRU Q.47 OF FORM 1 RESPONDENTS ONLY: (FORM 2 SKIP TO Q.48)

ASK IF FAVOR MILITARY ACTION (1 IN Q.31) [N=568]:

Q.33F1 Do you think that most politicians who oppose military action in Iraq are sincere in their beliefs, or do you think most are taking their position for political reasons?

16	Sincere in their beliefs
75	Taking position for political reasons
3	Both (VOL.)
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused
<u>100</u>	

ASK IF OPPOSE MILITARY ACTION (2 IN Q.31) [N=272]:

Q.34F1 Regardless of your feelings about the war against Iraq, do you think that most politicians who support military action in Iraq are sincere in their beliefs, or do you think most are taking their position for political reasons?

14	Sincere in their beliefs
80	Taking position for political reasons
1	Both (VOL.)
<u>5</u>	Don't know/Refused
<u>100</u>	

²⁰ In January 1991 the question was worded "How much thought have you given to the question of whether the U.S. should use military force against Iraq if it does not withdraw its forces from Kuwait?"

²¹ Gallup trend was worded "Would you favor or oppose sending American troops back to the Persian Gulf in order to remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq?"

ASK ALL FORM 1 RESPONDENTS [N=936]:

Now just a few more questions about the situation in Iraq.

ROTATE Q.35 THROUGH Q.44

Q.35F1 What's your opinion based on what you've heard or read: Is Saddam Hussein close to having nuclear weapons, or is he a long way from getting nuclear weapons?

65	Close to having nuclear weapons
11	Long way from getting nuclear weapons
14	Already has nuclear weapons (VOL.)
10	Don't know/Refused
<u>100</u>	

Q.36F1 And what's your opinion, based on what you've heard or read: Do you believe that Saddam Hussein helped the terrorists in the September 11th attacks, or don't you think he was involved?

66	Helped the terrorists
21	Was not involved
13	Don't know/Refused
<u>100</u>	

Q.37F1 If the U.S. uses military force in Iraq, do you think this will help the war on terrorism, or will it hurt the war on terrorism?

52	Help
34	Hurt
14	Don't know/Refused
<u>100</u>	

Q.38F1 What do we have to do to deal with the possible threat posed by Saddam Hussein? Do you think he can be disarmed but left in power, or do you think he has to be removed from power?

8	Disarmed, but left in power
85	Think he has to be removed from power
1	Neither / Not a threat / No action needed (VOL.)
1	Other (VOL.)
5	Don't Know/Refused
<u>100</u>	

Q.39F1 From what you've heard or read... if the U.S. attacks Iraq, would most of the Iraqi people support Saddam Hussein, or would most of the Iraqi people turn against Hussein?

45	Most will support Hussein
37	Most will turn against Hussein
18	Don't know/Refused
<u>100</u>	

Q.40F1 In your opinion, if the U.S. takes military action against Iraq, how much, if at all, will it hurt the image of the United States among Muslim nations? **[READ, IN ORDER]**

48	A lot
29	A little --OR--
17	Not much at all
6	Don't know/Refused
<u>100</u>	

Q.41F1 From what you have heard or read, what's your impression of what a war with Iraq would be like? Do you think the U.S. will suffer a large number of casualties, or do you think there will be relatively few American casualties?

40	A large number of U.S. casualties
50	Relatively few American casualties
10	Don't know/Refused
100	

Q.42F1 And in your opinion, if the U.S. takes military action against Iraq, will most of our traditional allies join us, or won't they?

51	Most allies will join us
33	They will not
8	Mixed / some will, some won't (VOL.)
8	Don't know/Refused
100	

Q.43F1 If the U.S. were to use military force against Iraq, would you worry that this sends a signal to other nations that it is O.K. to strike first against their enemies, or would you not worry about this?

40	Worried that it will send signal that it's OK to strike first
56	Not worried about this
4	Don't know/Refused
100	

Q.44F1 If the U.S. takes military action against Iraq, would you favor or oppose a major American effort in Iraq after the war to rebuild the country and establish a stable government?

60	Favor
32	Oppose
8	Don't know/Refused
100	

Q.45F1/

Q.53F2 What's your opinion of how Congress is handling the debate about possible military action in Iraq... are they rushing through the debate, are they moving too slowly, or are they giving it careful thought?

BASED ON ALL RESPONDENTS [N=1,513]:

15	Rushing through the debate
24	Moving too slowly
51	Giving careful thought
10	Don't know/Refused
100	

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=936]:

Q.46F1 And finally, after thinking about different aspects of a possible war with Iraq, let me ask you again: Would you favor or oppose taking military action in Iraq to end Saddam Hussein's rule?

ASK IF FAVOR OR OPPOSE ("1" OR "2" IN Q.46):

Q.47F1 Do you feel strongly about this, or do you think you might change your mind?

65	Favor
53	Feel Strongly
11	Might Change mind
1	Don't know/Refused
27	Oppose
15	Feel Strongly
11	Might Change mind
1	Don't know/Refused
8	Don't know/Refused
100	

ASK Q.48 THRU Q.53 OF FORM 2 RESPONDENTS ONLY: (FORM 1 SKIP TO Q.55)

ASK IF FAVOR MILITARY ACTION (1 IN Q.31) [N=344]:

Q.48F2 People give many different reasons for supporting military action in Iraq. What are the most important reasons why you support going to war in Iraq? [OPEN ENDED: ACCEPT UP TO 3 REASONS; PROMPT ONCE WITH "Any other reasons"]

- 17 Prevent future terrorism
- 14 Get rid of/kill Saddam Hussein
- 13 Link to terrorism/Al Qaeda/9-11
- 13 Nuclear/chemical/biological weapons
- 9 National security/Protect the U.S.
- 9 Threat/Danger (general)
- 8 Help Iraqi people/Human rights/He's a tyrant
- 6 Saddam Hussein is crazy/evil/a monster
- 5 Military is only option/Need to end it
- 5 Stability in Mideast/Oil supply
- 5 Dangerous to delay/Will only get worse
- 3 Finish job from Gulf War
- 3 Must act to be taken seriously/U.S. image
- 2 Help economy
- 2 Defiance of U.N. weapons inspections
- 2 Protect freedom
- 2 Protect future generations
- 2 Make world safer
- 2 Retribution/Eye for an eye
- 1 Support/believe President Bush
- 7 Other
- 7 Don't know/Refused

ASK IF OPPOSE MILITARY ACTION (2 IN Q.31) [N=167]:

Q.49F2 People give many different reasons for opposing military action in Iraq. What are the most important reasons why you oppose going to war in Iraq? [OPEN ENDED: ACCEPT UP TO 3 REASONS; PROMPT ONCE WITH "Any other reasons"]

- 24 Military and civilian casualties
- 12 Won't do any good/Pointless
- 10 Not enough proof/Reasons not explained
- 10 Will create more problems/Destabilize region
- 9 They haven't hurt us/Shouldn't attack first
- 8 Lack allied/United Nations/international support
- 7 Will hurt war on terrorism/Increase threat
- 6 Economic costs
- 6 Wrong motivations (oil, personal, political)
- 5 Not our business/Don't get involved
- 4 Anti-war/Believe in peace
- 4 Should find non-military solution
- 4 Wrong to impose our views on others
- 3 Focus on problems at home
- 3 Would hurt U.S. image abroad
- 3 Need public/Congressional support first
- 2 No clear plan/We aren't prepared
- 1 Long war/Quagmire
- 17 Other
- 3 Don't know/Refused

ASK IF FAVOR MILITARY ACTION (1 IN Q.31) [N=344]:

Q.50F2 If Saddam Hussein does cooperate with full and complete weapons inspections, would you favor or oppose using military force against Iraq?

51	Favor
43	Oppose
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

ASK IF OPPOSE MILITARY ACTION (2 IN Q.31) [N=167]:

Q.51F2 If Saddam Hussein does not cooperate with full and complete weapons inspections, would you favor or oppose using military force against Iraq?

39	Favor
50	Oppose
<u>11</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

ASK ALL FORM 2 RESPONDENTS [N=577]:

ROTATE QUESTIONS 52 AND 53

Q.52F2 What's your opinion of how George W. Bush is handling the situation with Iraq... is he moving toward military action too quickly, is he moving too slowly, or is he giving the situation careful thought?

34	Moving too quickly
10	Moving too slowly
51	Giving careful thought
<u>5</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

Q.53F2 What's your opinion of how Congress is handling the debate about possible military action in Iraq... are they rushing through the debate, are they moving too slowly, or are they giving it careful thought?

Identical question wording as Q.45F1; See Q.45F1 for aggregated results [Form split and Q.52F2/Q.53F2 rotation had no significant effect on responses]

Q.54F2 Which comes closer to your view? At this point, does war in Iraq seem inevitable to you, or do you think it still might be avoided?

39	War seems inevitable
56	War still might be avoided
<u>5</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

ASK ALL:

Thinking more generally,

Q.55 How worried are you that there will soon be another terrorist attack in the United States? **[READ]**

		Late Aug <u>2002</u>	June <u>2002</u>	Jan <u>2002</u>	Dec <u>2001</u>	Oct 15-21 <u>2001</u>	Oct 10-14 <u>2001</u>	Early Oct <u>2001</u>
20	Very worried	16	32	20	13	29	27	28
46	Somewhat worried	46	44	42	39	42	40	45
22	Not too worried	25	17	28	27	18	19	15
11	Not at all worried	12	7	9	19	10	12	11
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>1</u>	*	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Now, just a few questions for statistical purposes only.

Q.56 Do you use a computer at your workplace, at school, at home or anywhere else on at least an occasional basis?

IF "1, YES" (USE A COMPUTER) IN Q.56, ASK:

Q.57 Do you ever go online to access the Internet or World Wide Web or to send and receive email?

	<i>Computer User</i>			Based on Total Respondents: <i>Goes Online</i>		
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
Early October, 2002	75	25	*=100	63	37	*=100
June, 2002	74	26	*=100	66	34	*=100
May, 2002	75	25	*=100	66	34	*=100
April, 2002	71	29	*=100	62	38	0=100
February, 2002	71	29	*=100	62	38	0=100
January, 2002	73	27	0=100	62	38	0=100
Mid-November, 2001	73	27	0=100	62	38	0=100
Mid-September, 2001	72	28	*=100	62	38	*=100
June, 2001	72	28	*=100	62	38	0=100
May, 2001	75	25	*=100	64	36	0=100
April, 2001	72	28	*=100	62	38	0=100
February, 2001	72	28	0=100	60	40	*=100
January, 2001	71	29	*=100	61	39	0=100
July, 2000	68	31	1=100	55	45	*=100
June, 2000	68	31	1=100	56	44	*=100
April, 2000	68	32	*=100	54	46	*=100
March, 2000 ²²	72	28	0=100	61	39	0=100
February, 2000	67	33	*=100	52	48	0=100
January, 2000	68	32	*=100	52	48	*=100
December, 1999	67	33	*=100	53	47	0=100
October, 1999	67	33	*=100	50	50	0=100
Late September, 1999	68	32	*=100	52	48	*=100
September, 1999	70	30	*=100	53	47	0=100
August, 1999	67	33	*=100	52	48	0=100
July, 1999	68	32	*=100	49	51	0=100
June, 1999	64	35	1=100	50	50	*=100
May, 1999	66	33	1=100	48	52	0=100
April, 1999	71	29	*=100	51	49	*=100
March, 1999	68	32	*=100	49	51	*=100
February, 1999	68	32	*=100	49	51	*=100
January, 1999	69	31	*=100	47	53	*=100
Early December, 1998	64	36	*=100	42	58	0=100
November, 1998	--	--	--	37	63	*=100
Early September, 1998	64	36	*=100	42	58	*=100
Late August, 1998	66	34	0=100	43	57	*=100
Early August, 1998	66	34	*=100	41	59	*=100
April, 1998	61	39	*=100	36	64	0=100
January, 1998	65	35	*=100	37	63	0=100
November, 1997	66	34	*=100	36	63	1=100
June, 1997	60	40	0=100	--	--	--
Early September, 1996	56	44	*=100	--	--	--
July, 1996	56	44	*=100	23	77	0=100
April, 1996	58	42	*=100	21	79	*=100
March, 1996	61	39	*=100	22	78	0=100
February, 1996	60	40	0=100	21	79	*=100
January, 1996	59	41	0=100	21	79	0=100
June, 1995 ²³	--	--	--	14	86	*=100

22 In March 2000, "or anywhere else" was added to the question wording.

23 The 1995 figure combines responses from two separate questions:
 (1) Do you or anyone in your household ever use a modem to connect to any computer bulletin boards, information services such as CompuServe or Prodigy, or other computers at other locations? (IF YES, PROBE: Is that you, someone else or both?) (2) Do you, yourself, ever use a computer at (work) (school) (work or school) to connect with computer bulletin boards, information services such as America Online or Prodigy, or other computers over the Internet?

Thinking about your own personal finances...

A.1 Do you have a retirement plan besides Social Security? **[IF YES: Is any of your retirement money in the stock market through stocks, mutual funds or a 401k plan?]**

47	Yes, retirement plan in the stock market
13	Yes, but not in stock market
37	No, no retirement plan
<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

A.2 **[IF 1,2 IN A.1 READ: Aside from retirement accounts...]** Do you currently own shares in a mutual fund that includes stock?

36	Yes
60	No
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

A.3 Do you currently own stock in any INDIVIDUAL COMPANIES besides a company that you or someone else in your household works for?

23	Yes
74	No
<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

A.4 Within the past year, have you made changes to your investments -- that is -- decided to buy or sell any stocks or shares in a mutual fund? **[IF YES ASK: Have you made any changes within the past six months?]**

12	Yes, within past six months
8	Yes, within past year
77	No changes in the past year
<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

ASK OF THOSE WHO OWN STOCK OR MUTUAL FUNDS (1 "YES" in A.1, A.2 OR A.3) [N=942]:

A.5 Over the past year, has the value of your stock and mutual fund investments gone up a lot, gone up a little, stayed about the same, gone down a little, or gone down a lot?

2	Gone up a lot
9	Gone up a little
15	Stayed about the same
28	Gone down a little
39	Gone down a lot
<u>7</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	