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**After Hussein's Capture...**

**BUSH RALLY, BUT NO FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN CONCERNS  
ABOUT IRAQ**

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## After Hussein's Capture...

### **BUSH RALLY, BUT NO FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN CONCERNS ABOUT IRAQ**

The public holds more positive opinions of President Bush and the decision to go to war in Iraq in response to the capture of Saddam Hussein. Bush has made significant gains with the public, and more importantly with voters. In historical terms, the president's job approval gain (from 50% in November to 57% currently) is on par with Ronald Reagan's gain following the 1983 U.S. invasion of Grenada, and the rally Bill Clinton experienced in the spring of 1995 after the Oklahoma City bombing.

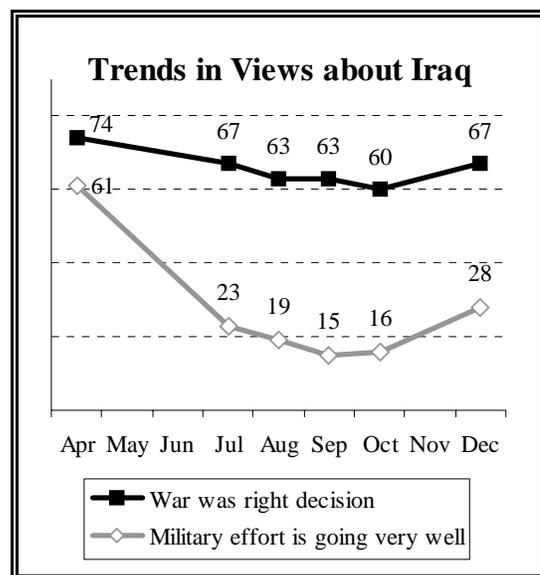
The rallies for Reagan and Clinton signaled sustained gains in popularity that led to their reelection victories. However, the larger rallies for other recent presidents in their first term – Jimmy Carter following the 1979 Iranian hostage crisis and George H.W. Bush after the first Gulf War – dissipated and both failed to win reelection.

In that regard, overall public opinion about the president and the war itself has not been fundamentally recast by Hussein's capture. Support for the war has risen modestly, but public concern over American casualties in Iraq has increased as well. Half say the level of casualties is more than they expected, up from 42% in September. And while more Americans have a positive view of the situation in Iraq, just 28% think things there are going *very well*.

Two-thirds of Americans believe the United States made the right decision in going to war in Iraq, up from 60% in October. In addition, more now say the president has a clear plan to bring the situation in Iraq to a successful conclusion, though the public is

	<u>Before</u>	<u>After</u>	<u>Change</u>
<i>George W. Bush</i>			
Saddam Hussein's capture	50	57	+7
Iraq war begins	55	67	+12
Sept. 11 attacks	51	80	+29
<i>Bill Clinton*</i>			
Oklahoma City bombing	46	51	+5
<i>George H.W. Bush</i>			
Gulf War begins	59	79	+20
<i>Ronald Reagan*</i>			
Grenada invasion	49	53	+4
<i>Jimmy Carter*</i>			
Iran hostages	32	51	+19

\* Gallup Poll trends



split on this issue (44% say he has a clear plan, 45% believe he does not).

The latest nationwide survey by the Pew Research Center, conducted Dec. 15-17 among 815 adults, suggests that the staying power of the Bush rally is strongly linked to U.S. fortunes in Iraq over the next year. As in the past, the public is divided about the president's overall record: 39% think that in the long run Bush will be a successful president, while 20% think he will be unsuccessful and 38% say it is too early to tell. However, both groups agreed on the primacy of Iraq to judgments about Bush's performance. In an open-ended format, fully 49% of those who believe Bush's presidency will be successful cited the war in Iraq as his greatest accomplishment. Conversely, about as many of those who take a negative view of Bush's presidency (48%) cite the war as his biggest failure.

Significantly, while more Americans back the decision to go to war, an increasing number also say it has helped in the broader struggle against terrorism. By more than two-to-one (59%-26%), people believe the war in Iraq has helped, not hurt, the war on terrorism. In September, there was a closer division of opinion on this issue (54% helped, 31% hurt). At the same time, however, the public continues to offer a mixed assessment of the how well the United States has taken Iraqi interests into account in rebuilding the country; 46% say it has, largely unchanged from three months ago (45%).

Clearly, the immediate political impact of Hussein's capture has been positive for the president. Bush has gotten as big a boost in his reelection prospects than he has in his overall approval rating. Among registered voters, he now leads an unnamed Democrat by 49%-37%. Moreover, satisfaction with national conditions, which stood at 38% in October – the lowest mark in Bush's presidency – also has risen, to 44%.

<b>Assessing Iraq, After Hussein's Capture</b>		
	<u>September</u>	<u>December</u>
<i>War in Iraq has...</i>	%	%
Helped war on terrorism	54	59
Hurt war on terrorism	31	26
No effect/DK	<u>15</u>	<u>15</u>
	100	100
<i>Casualties in Iraq</i>		
More than expected	42	50
Fewer than expected	49	39
About as expected	4	5
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100
<i>U.S. job taking Iraqi interests into account</i>		
Excellent	9	11
Good	36	35
Only fair	35	27
Poor	11	16
Don't know	<u>9</u>	<u>11</u>
	100	100
<i>Bush has a clear plan</i>		
Yes	32	44
No	58	45
Don't know	<u>11</u>	<u>11</u>
	100	100

**Other Issues...**

The survey also finds that a decade after the approval of the North American Free Trade

Agreement (NAFTA), the public is deeply divided over the impact of major trade agreements, both on the country and on their own lives. The division of opinion on the impact of trade pacts on the country is illustrative: roughly a third say they have been a good thing (34%), about as many say they have been a bad thing (33%), and the same percentage (33%) did not offer an opinion.

And the public's initial reaction to the massive Medicare prescription drug plan is favorable, although many Americans say they think the legislation will not go far enough in addressing prescription drug needs. A majority (55%) approves of the plan, but even more people (61%) say they think the drug coverage will be insufficient. Large majorities of Democrats and independents express that concern, but so do half of Republicans.

***Long View of Bush Changes Little***

President Bush's approval rating now stands at 57%, up from 50% in October and November, and the highest rating he has received since July; 34% disapprove of his performance in office. While there remain vast differences between Democrats and Republicans in opinions about Bush, approval of the president increased a full 10 percentage points among Democrats since November; gains among independents were smaller.

The president has made bigger gains in approval among women than among men. Currently the gender gap in approval is very small – just three points – with 59% of men and 56% of women approving of Bush's job performance.

Approval among women is up 10 points since last month, while the gains among men are a more modest five points.

Despite the latest good news for Bush, there has been no increase in the percentage of Americans who say they expect Bush to be a successful president. About four-in-ten (39%) believe Bush will go down as a successful president, say he will be, which is virtually unchanged from October 2002 (40%), while 20% think he will be unsuccessful (up from 15% last year).

Most Republicans (77%) expect the president to be successful, while pluralities of Democrats and independents (43% and 45% respectively) say it is too early to know. Only 18% of Democrats think he will be successful, and twice that number (37%) expect him to be unsuccessful. There is little gender difference in expectations.

The war in Iraq figures heavily in assessments of Bush's presidency among both his

<b>Judging the President</b>		
<i>Presidents's job performance</i>	<u>Nov 03</u>	<u>Dec 03</u>
	%	%
Approve	50	57
Disapprove	40	34
Don't know	<u>10</u>	<u>9</u>
	100	100
<i>Bush presidency will be...</i>	<u>Oct 02</u>	<u>Dec 03</u>
Successful	40	39
Unsuccessful	15	20
Too early	44	38
Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100

supporters and his critics. Among those who expect Bush to succeed as president, nearly half (49%) say the war in Iraq has been the most important accomplishment of his presidency thus far. Nearly a quarter (23%) mention the war on terrorism. Other accomplishments such as the tax cut or Medicare reform are mentioned by 6% or fewer of those who judge Bush's presidency as successful. Democrats and independents who expect him to succeed are just as likely as Republicans to single out the war in Iraq and the fight against terrorism as the president's top achievements.

The war also is seen as Bush's biggest failure, by those who believe his presidency will be unsuccessful. Nearly half of this group (48%) mentions the war in Iraq, while 12% mention foreign policy in general and 9% mention the war on terrorism. The economy is cited the president's biggest failure by 19% of those who believe Bush's presidency will be unsuccessful. Compared with those with less education, fewer college graduates mention the war as a notable failure and more mention domestic issues, including the economy.

### ***Bush's Reelection Bounce***

With the capture of Saddam Hussein and an uptick in the number of people who see the war in Iraq going well, the political terrain has shifted in the president's favor, at least temporarily. Bush now leads an unnamed Democratic opponent by a margin of 49% to 37% among registered voters; last month, the race was a 42%-42% dead heat. Bush's advantage is now about the same as it was in April, around the time of the fall of Baghdad. Virtually all Republicans now support Bush (94%, up 10 points from October). Bush also gained 10 points since October among independents, a plurality of whom support the president's reelection (42%, to 30% for a Democrat).

<b>A Foreign Affairs Presidency</b>		
	Accomplishments	Failures
	%	%
<b><i>Foreign affairs (net)</i></b>	<b>69</b>	<b>63</b>
War in Iraq/Saddam	49	48
War on terrorism	23	9
Foreign policy/relations	2	12
<b><i>Domestic affairs (net)</i></b>	<b>15</b>	<b>33</b>
Economy	6	19
Tax cuts	6	3
Abortion	2	--
Medicare reform	2	6
Poverty/favors rich	--	3
Other domestic	--	6
<b><i>Personal qualities (net)</i></b>	<b>9</b>	<b>6</b>
Leadership/integrity	7	5
Morality/religious	2	1
Other	2	6
Nothing	1	10
Don't know	1	23

\*Accomplishments mentioned by those who believe Bush will be successful; Failures mentioned by those who believe he will be unsuccessful

<b>Bush Reelection Prospects Brighten</b>			
(Based on registered voters)			
	Reelect Bush	Prefer Democrat	Other/DK
	%	%	%
<b>December 2003</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>14=100</b>
October 2003	42	42	16=100
April 2003	48	34	18=100
<i>Bush Sr.</i>			
January 1992	41	45	14=100
<i>December 2003</i>			
Republican	94	2	4=100
Democrat	13	78	9=100
Independent	42	30	28=100
<i>October 2003</i>			
Republican	84	8	8=100
Democrat	10	81	9=100
Independent	32	43	25=100

Democrats are less united – 78% would support an unnamed Democratic candidate – but show little change from October. Just 13% of Democrats favor Bush’s reelection, which represents little change since October (10%).

Satisfaction with the ways things are going in the nation has increased somewhat since Pew last measured it in October, but the public overall remains divided, with 44% satisfied and 47% dissatisfied. Satisfaction among Republicans has increased by 11 points ( to 71%) but remains low among Democrats (now 28%, up only five points). A majority of women are dissatisfied (52%), while only 41% of men feel this way.

***Two-thirds Say War Was Right Decision***

Currently, two-thirds of Americans (67%) believe the U.S. made the right decision in going to war against Iraq, up from 60% in October. Support for the war has remained fairly steady since the summer, in spite of continuing U.S. casualties.

Hussein’s capture appears to have had the biggest effect on how Democrats view the war. A majority of Democrats (56%) now say the U.S. made the right decision in going to war, while 40% disagree. In October, just 39% of Democrats felt the war was the right decision. There has been far less movement among independents, roughly six-in-ten independents backed the decision to go to war both in October and currently. Republican support for the decision to attack Iraq remains overwhelming (90% now, 85% in October).

There has been a comparable shift in opinion on whether the war in Iraq has helped or hurt the broader struggle against terrorism. Democrats, by 47%-39%, believe the war in Iraq has aided the fight against terrorism; that marks a change since September when, by 49%-36%, more Democrats felt it undermined the war against terror. By contrast, just over half of independents (53% now, 57% September) have consistently said the war in Iraq has helped in the struggle against terrorism.

<b>More Democrats Believe War was Right Decision</b>				
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
	%	%	%	%
<i>October</i>				
<i>War in Iraq was...</i>				
Right decision	60	85	39	59
Wrong decision	33	10	54	35
Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>December</i>				
Right decision	67	90	56	60
Wrong decision	26	5	40	33
Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>7</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Change in Right decision</i>	+7	+5	+17	+1

***But Casualties Still Worrisome***

More Americans say the military operation in Iraq is going *very well* than did so in October (28% now vs. 16% in October), but the plurality view is that the military effort is going *fairly well* (47%). Just 22% say the war is not going well, down from 36% two months ago. And while increasing numbers of Republicans, Democrats and independents say the effort is going very well, the partisan gap in perceptions remains significant. Nearly twice as many Republicans as Democrats believe the military operation is going very well (42% vs. 22%).

	Sept 2003	Dec 2003	Change
% saying casualties more than expected	%	%	
Total	42	50	+8
Republican	30	36	+6
Democrat	51	67	+16
Independent	43	47	+4

Perceptions of the U.S. casualty toll in Iraq have not improved as a result of Hussein’s capture. Half of Americans say the U.S. has suffered more casualties than they expected, compared with 39% who say there have been fewer casualties than expected. In September, a 49% plurality said casualties had been less than expected.

An increasing number of Democrats say the U.S. toll in Iraq has been higher than they anticipated; 67% say that now, compared with 51% in September. Opinion has been more stable among independents and Republicans. There continues to be a sizable gender gap on this issue: 46% of men say there have been fewer casualties in Iraq than they expected, compared with only a third (33%) of women.

***Divided Over Bush’s Iraq Plans***

Just as many Americans believe the president lacks a clear plan for bringing the situation in Iraq to a successful conclusion (45%), as say he does have a clear plan (44%). Still, that reflects some movement in the president’s direction. In October, more said he lacked a clear plan for successfully concluding the war by a 54% to 35% margin.

As in the past, views on this issue are highly influenced by partisanship. Roughly three-quarters of Republicans say Bush has a clear plan for successfully exiting from Iraq, compared with

	Total	Rep	Dem	Ind
<i>Clear plan for successful conclusion?</i>	%	%	%	%
Has a clear plan	44	74	23	44
Does not	45	23	67	43
Don’t know	<u>11</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>13</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Explained plan clearly?</i>				
Explained clearly	35	72	13	28
Not clearly	59	23	83	68
Don’t know	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100	100	100

roughly one-quarter of Democrats, while independents are evenly divided.

Partisan differences are even more pronounced over whether Bush has “explained clearly” his plans for exiting from Iraq. Most Americans (59%) say he has not explained those plans clearly enough, while 35% believe he has. This represents no significant change since October, when 63% said he had not clearly explained his plans for bringing the situation in Iraq to a successful conclusion and 32% believed he had. By a more than three-to-one margin (72%-23%), Republicans believe the president has clearly articulated his plans and by more than six-to-one (83%-13%), Democrats say he has not.

***Iraqis Seen as More Supportive***

The public continues to take a measured view of the U.S. rebuilding effort in Iraq. Just under half (46%) say the U.S. and its allies have done at least a good job in taking the needs of the Iraqi people into account, but nearly as many (43%) rate that effort as only fair or poor. This view has not changed materially since September, when 45% said the allies were doing an excellent or good job of addressing the needs of Iraqis and 46% said they were not.

However, there has been an increase in the number of Americans who say that most people in Iraq support America’s policies in Iraq. Nearly half (47%) express that view today, while 34% say most Iraqis oppose U.S. policies. In September these figures were nearly the reverse, a plurality of Americans (47%) felt that most Iraqis were opposed to America’s policies there while 39% saw Iraqi support.

<b>More Think Iraqis Favor U.S. Policies</b>		
	<u>Sept 2003</u>	<u>Dec 2003</u>
<i>Most Iraqis...</i>	%	%
Support US policies	39	47
Oppose US policies	47	34
Don't know	<u>14</u>	<u>19</u>
	100	100

***Hussein’s Capture: Big Story, Not Biggest***

While Hussein’s capture drew intense news coverage, the public’s attention to the story was not out of proportion with their general, day-to-day interest in news from Iraq. Every respondent had heard about Saddam’s capture, and 44% say they followed reports about the capture of Saddam Hussein very closely. Attention to Hussein’s capture was no higher than general interest in news about the current situation in Iraq (44% following very closely). This level of public attention to news about Iraq is in line with polling conducted since the summer, and there has been no spiked in interest with news of Hussein’s capture.

While public attention to this story was high, interest levels fall short of a number of other recent news events. The story garnered about as much public attention as the killing of Hussein's sons over the summer (45% followed very closely). It also is comparable to the disaster involving the space shuttle Columbia disaster (46%) and the November 2001 anthrax scare (47%), in terms of public interest. Notably, the capture of Hussein has garnered much less public interest than the Littleton, Colorado school shootings in 1999 (68% followed very closely), or the sniper shootings in the Washington, D.C. area last summer (65%).

<b>Recent Major Events</b>	
	Followed very closely
	%
Sept. 11 attacks {9-01}	74
H.S. shooting in Littleton, CO {4-99}	68
Sniper shootings near D.C. {10-02}	65
Beginning of war in Iraq {3-03}	58
Release of US aircrew from China {4-01}	55
Anthrax incidents {11-01}	47
Columbia shuttle disaster {2-03}	46
Killing of Uday and Qusay {8-03}	45
<b>Capture of Saddam {12-03}</b>	<b>44</b>

Selected major events of past four years. Ongoing stories (i.e. Iraq, economy, gas prices, terrorism) not shown.

Six-in-ten say they first heard about Saddam's capture from television. This is somewhat lower than the 73% who first heard about the start of the war in Iraq from TV in March, and probably reflects the timing of the news – the first reports came early on Sunday morning. Nearly a quarter (22%) say they first heard about the capture from talking with others, either in person (11%) or over the telephone (11%). As was the case with the beginning of the war in Iraq, more people cited cable TV networks as their first source than network news or local news.

While the timing of news events clearly plays a major role in how people first hear about them, the Internet has grown as an initial source of news about major stories. Almost no one reported first learning about the 9/11 attacks online (1%), but that increased to 3% who said they first learned of the start of the Iraq war from the Internet. In the current survey, 6% of respondents say they first heard the news of Hussein's capture over the Internet.

<b>First Heard about Saddam's Capture</b>			
<i>How first heard about...</i>	<u>Saddam capture</u>	<u>Start of Iraq war</u>	<u>Sept. 11 Attacks</u>
	%	%	%
Television	60	73	44
Cable	26	37	11
Network	20	22	20
Local	11	11	9
Talking with others	22	8	31
Radio	10	13	22
Internet	6	3	1
Newspapers	1	2	*
Other	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{2}{2}$
	100	100	100

### ***Beyond Hussein: Other News***

Public interest in news about *outbreaks of the flu and a national shortage of flu vaccinations* is nearly as high as attention to news of Hussein and Iraq – 41% say they have followed this news very closely, and another third have followed fairly closely. This is comparable to public interest in news about the spread of SARS from Asia earlier this year (39% followed very closely), and both are among the most followed news stories of 2003. Overall, women paid somewhat more attention to this story than men (46% vs. 36% following very closely). Parents with children at home expressed only slightly more interest in this story than non-parents of a comparable age (41% vs. 34% very closely).

	<b>Top Recent News Stories</b>	
	<i>Following...</i>	
	<u>Very</u> <u>closely</u> %	<u>Fairly</u> <u>closely</u> %
Capture of Saddam	44	37
Current situation in Iraq	44	38
Flu outbreaks	41	33
California wildfires*	38	35
Economic conditions	35	38
Michael Jackson scandal*	29	27
Medicare reform	25	28
Democratic primary race	16	26
Mutual fund scandals*	15	24
Campaign finance decision	8	17

Questions asked Nov 18-Dec 1; all others Dec 15-17

Nearly as many (38%) followed news about *damage caused by California wildfires* in November very closely, and not surprisingly, interest was far higher in Western states (51%) than in the rest of the nation (34%). Public interest in *reports about the condition of the U.S. economy* have remained high all year. Currently, 35% report following economic news very closely; interest has ranged from 32% to 42% throughout the year.

About three-in-ten Americans (29%) reported following news about *recent charges of child molestation against Michael Jackson* very closely. This is slightly higher than interest in the previous major scandal involving the pop singer in late 1993, which just 19% followed very closely. African-American respondents were significantly more interested in this news story than were whites (42% vs. 26% followed very closely.)

The *Medicare reform legislation recently signed into law* was followed very closely by a quarter of Americans. Another 28% say they followed this news fairly closely, while nearly half followed news about Medicare reform not too closely (22%) or not at all (23%). While older Americans tend to follow all types of news more closely than youngsters, the gap on this issue is particularly large, with people age 65 and older more than four times as likely as those under age 30 to be following this news very closely (45% vs. 10%). African-Americans also were significantly more interested in this story than whites (37% to 24%). Aside from these age and racial disparity, however, public interest did not vary across the population.

Just 15% of Americans followed news about *Wall Street scandals involving mutual fund managers* in November. Twice as many (33%) said they did not follow this story at all closely. By comparison, roughly three-in-ten were following news about WorldCom and other corporate scandals very closely in the summer of 2002, as well as the Enron scandals earlier that year.

People who have mutual fund investments aside from those in retirement accounts – a group that comprise about 30% of the public – were much more likely than those with no mutual fund investments to follow this story very closely (22% vs. 12%). Yet people whose retirement investments include mutual funds showed no greater interest in this story than those with no mutual fund investments at all (12%).

Despite its impact on the election campaign, just 8% followed news of *the Supreme Court decision upholding campaign finance reform legislation* very closely. Most people followed this not too closely (28%) or not closely at all (45%). Public interest in *the race for the Democratic presidential nomination* remains fairly low – just 16% are following election news very closely while most are paying little (27%) or no (30%) attention. Democrats are slightly more interested in primary race than are Republicans (20% very closely vs. 13% among Republicans). The gap is more striking at the other end of the spectrum – Republicans are nearly twice as likely as Democrats (36% vs. 19%) to say they are not paying attention to campaign news.

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#### **ABOUT THIS SURVEY**

Results for the survey are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates among a nationwide sample of 815 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period December 15 - 17, 2003. 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 4 percentage points. For results based on either Form 1 (N=377) or Form 2 (N=438), the sampling error is plus or minus 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.

## TREND IN PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL

	-----November 2003-----			-----December 2003-----			Change	
	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>in Approval</u>	<u>(N)</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
<b>Total</b>	50	40	10=100	57	34	9=100	+7	(815)
<b>Sex</b>								
Male	54	38	8	59	34	7	+5	(390)
Female	46	42	12	56	34	10	+10	(425)
<b>Age</b>								
Under 30	42	46	12	53	38	9	+11	(145)
30-49	55	36	9	60	31	9	+5	(283)
50-64	50	39	11	60	35	5	+10	(193)
65+	48	44	8	55	33	12	+7	(176)
<b>Sex and Age</b>								
Men under 50	53	38	9	59	32	9	+6	(211)
Women under 50	47	41	12	56	35	9	+9	(217)
Men 50+	56	37	7	60	35	5	+4	(173)
Women 50+	43	45	12	56	34	10	+13	(196)
<b>Education</b>								
College Grad.	51	43	6	54	39	7	+3	(273)
Some College	53	36	11	58	34	8	+5	(178)
High School or less	48	40	12	60	31	9	+12	(354)
<b>Family Income</b>								
\$75,000+	57	37	6	65	29	6	+8	(174)
\$50,000-\$74,999	55	40	5	66	32	2	+11	(109)
\$30,000-\$49,999	49	42	9	60	32	8	+11	(178)
<\$30,000	43	42	15	47	44	9	+4	(227)
<b>Region</b>								
East	45	46	9	59	33	8	+14	(142)
Midwest	55	36	9	53	40	7	-2	(226)
South	49	39	12	60	30	10	+11	(289)
West	50	40	10	56	34	10	+6	(158)
<b>Party ID</b>								
Republican	88	9	3	92	4	4	+4	(254)
Democrat	20	71	9	32	60	8	+12	(254)
Independent	49	42	9	54	37	9	+5	(232)

Question: Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling his job as president?

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS**  
**DECEMBER 2003 NEWS INTEREST INDEX**  
**FINAL TOPLINE**  
**December 15 - 17, 2003**  
**N=815**

**ON FORM ONE Q.1 PRECEDES Q.2 --- ON FORM TWO, Q.2 PRECEDES Q.1**

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>
December, 2003	57	34	9=100
November, 2003	50	40	10=100
October, 2003	50	42	8=100
September, 2003	55	36	9=100
Mid-August, 2003	56	32	12=100
Early August, 2003	53	37	10=100
Mid-July, 2003	58	32	10=100
Early July, 2003	60	29	11=100
June, 2003	62	27	11=100
May, 2003	65	27	8=100
April 10-16, 2003	72	22	6=100
April 9, 2003	74	20	6=100
April 2-7, 2003	69	25	6=100
March 28-April 1, 2003	71	23	6=100
March 25-27, 2003	70	24	6=100
March 20-24, 2003	67	26	7=100
March 13-16, 2003	55	34	11=100
February, 2003	54	36	10=100
January, 2003	58	32	10=100
December, 2002	61	28	11=100
Late October, 2002	59	29	12=100
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

**Q.1 CONTINUED...**

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
April, 2001	56	27	17=100
March, 2001	55	25	20=100
February, 2001	53	21	26=100

**ON FORM ONE Q.1 PRECEDES Q.2 --- ON FORM TWO, Q.2 PRECEDES Q.1**

Q.2 All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in this country today?

	<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Dissatisfied</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
December, 2003	44	47	9=100
October, 2003	38	56	6=100
August, 2003	40	53	7=100
April, 2003 <sup>1</sup>	50	41	9=100
January, 2003	44	50	6=100
September, 2002 <sup>2</sup>	41	55	4=100
Late August, 2002	47	44	9=100
May, 2002	44	44	12=100
March, 2002	50	40	10=100
Late September, 2001	57	34	9=100
Early September, 2001	41	53	6=100
June, 2001	43	52	5=100
March, 2001	47	45	8=100
February, 2001	46	43	11=100
January, 2001	55	41	4=100
September, 2000	51	41	8=100
June, 2000	47	45	8=100
April, 2000	48	43	9=100
August, 1999	56	39	5=100
January, 1999	53	41	6=100
November, 1998	46	44	10=100
Early September, 1998	54	42	4=100
Late August, 1998	55	41	4=100
Early August, 1998	50	44	6=100
February, 1998	59	37	4=100
January, 1998	46	50	4=100
September, 1997	45	49	6=100
August, 1997	49	46	5=100
January, 1997	38	58	4=100
July, 1996	29	67	4=100
March, 1996	28	70	2=100
October, 1995	23	73	4=100
June, 1995	25	73	2=100
April, 1995	23	74	3=100
July, 1994	24	73	3=100
March, 1994	24	71	5=100
October, 1993	22	73	5=100

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<sup>1</sup> Asked April 8, 2003 only; N=395.

<sup>2</sup> The September 2002 trend is from a Pew Global Attitudes Project survey, fielded August 19 to September 8, 2002 and released December 4, 2002.

**Q.2 CONTINUED...**

	<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Dissatisfied</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
September, 1993	20	75	4=100
May, 1993	22	71	7=100
January, 1993	39	50	11=100
January, 1992	28	68	4=100
November, 1991	34	61	5=100
Late February, 1991 (Gallup)	66	31	3=100
August, 1990	47	48	5=100
May, 1990	41	54	5=100
January, 1989	45	50	5=100
September, 1988 (RVs)	50	45	5=100
May, 1988	41	54	5=100
January, 1988	39	55	6=100

Q.3 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?

		Early		----- Clinton -----									
		Oct	Jan	Jan	Early	Sept	Feb	Oct	May	Jan	Oct	Sept	Aug
		<u>2002</u>	<u>2001</u>	<u>1999</u>	<u>1998</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1993</u>
39	Successful	40	26	44	38	18	14	21	21	18	22	13	
20	Unsuccessful	15	15	24	24	34	35	26	19	25	22	25	
38	Too early to tell	44	58	29	35	43	48	52	57	56	54	60	
<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	

**IF "SUCCESSFUL" (1 IN Q.3) ASK [N=334]:**

Q.4 In your opinion, what has been the most important accomplishment in George W. Bush's presidency so far? **[OPEN-END, SEE PRECODES. ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES BUT DO NOT PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL]**

- 69 NET: FOREIGN AFFAIRS**
- 49 The war in Iraq / Capture of Saddam
- 23 The war on terrorism / Afghanistan / Response to 9-11
- 2 Foreign policy (general) / Foreign relations
- 15 NET: DOMESTIC AFFAIRS**
- 6 The economy
- 6 The tax cut
- 2 Stand on abortion
- 2 Medicare reform / Prescription drugs
- 9 NET: PERSONAL QUALITIES**
- 7 Leadership/Integrity/Honor
- 2 Morality/Religious values
- 2 Other [SPECIFY]
- 1 No major accomplishments so far
- 12 Don't know/Refused

**IF “UNSUCCESSFUL” (2 IN Q.3) ASK [N=162]:**

Q.5 In your opinion, what has been the biggest failure in George W. Bush’s presidency so far? [**OPEN-END, SEE PRECODES. ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES BUT DO NOT PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL**]

- 63 NET: FOREIGN AFFAIRS**
- 48 The war in Iraq
- 12 Foreign policy (general) / Foreign relations
- 9 The war on terrorism / Afghanistan / Response to 9-11
- 33 NET: DOMESTIC AFFAIRS**
- 19 The economy
- 6 Medicare reform / Prescription drugs
- 3 The tax cut
- 3 Poverty/Favoring rich over poor
- 2 Not enough attention to domestic issues
- 2 Environment
- 2 Other domestic issues
- 6 NET: PERSONAL QUALITIES**
- 5 Lack of leadership/Lying/Secrecy
- 1 Lack of morals
- 6 Other [**SPECIFY**]
- 0 No major failures so far
- 3 Don’t know/Refused

**ASK ALL:**

Q.6 Now I will read a list of some stories covered by news organizations 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; RANDOMIZE WITH ITEM a. ALWAYS FIRST.**]

		Very Closely	Fairly Closely	Not too Closely	Not at all Closely	DK/Ref
a.	The capture of Saddam Hussein	44	37	14	5	*=100
b.	News about the current situation in Iraq	44	38	11	6	1=100
	November, 2003	52	33	9	5	1=100
	October, 2003	38	40	14	7	1=100
	September, 2003	50	33	10	6	1=100
	Mid-August, 2003	45	39	10	5	1=100
	Early July, 2003	37	41	13	8	1=100
	June, 2003	46	35	13	6	*=100
	May, 2003	63	29	6	2	*=100
	April 11-16, 2003 <sup>3</sup>	47	40	10	2	1=100
	April 2-7, 2003	54	34	9	2	1=100
	March 20-24, 2003	57	33	7	2	1=100
	March 13-16, 2003 <sup>4</sup>	62	27	6	4	1=100
	February, 2003	62	25	8	4	1=100

<sup>3</sup> From March 20 to April 16, 2003 the story was listed as “News about the war in Iraq.”

<sup>4</sup> From October 2002 to March 13-16, 2003 the story was listed as “Debate over the possibility that the U.S. will take military action in Iraq.” In Early September 2002 the story was listed as “Debate over the possibility that the U.S. will invade Iraq.”

**Q.6 CONTINUED...**

	Very Closely	Fairly Closely	Not too Closely	Not at all Closely	DK/Ref
January, 2003	55	29	10	4	2=100
December, 2002	51	32	10	6	1=100
Late October, 2002	53	33	8	5	1=100
Early October, 2002	60	28	6	5	1=100
Early September, 2002	48	29	15	6	2=100
<b>c. The race for the Democratic presidential nomination</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>1=100</b>
November, 2003	11	26	34	28	1=100
October, 2003	12	27	28	32	1=100
September, 2003	17	25	30	27	1=100
Mid-August, 2003	12	27	27	33	1=100
May, 2003	8	19	31	41	1=100
January, 2003 <sup>5</sup>	14	28	29	28	1=100
December, 1999	16	36	24	23	1=100
October, 1999	17	32	28	22	1=100
September, 1999	15	31	33	20	1=100
July, 1999	15	38	24	22	1=100
June, 1999	11	25	29	34	1=100
September, 1995	12	36	30	22	*=100
August, 1995	13	34	28	25	*=100
June, 1995	11	31	31	26	1=100
December, 1991	10	28	32	30	*=100
October, 1991	12	26	31	29	2=100
November, 1987	15	28	35	21	1=100
September, 1987	14	34	37	14	1=100
<b>d. Reports about the condition of the U.S. economy</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>2=100</b>
November, 2003	40	34	15	10	1=100
October, 2003	32	39	16	12	1=100
September, 2003	39	30	18	12	1=100
March, 2003	40	35	16	8	1=100
February, 2003	42	33	15	10	*=100
January, 2003	40	35	13	11	1=100
December, 2002	38	34	17	10	1=100
February, 2002	35	40	15	9	1=100
January, 2002	30	44	16	9	1=100
December, 2001	37	40	13	8	2=100
Mid-November, 2001	41	36	15	7	1=100
June, 2001	24	41	18	16	1=100
May, 2001	34	36	15	15	0=100
April, 2001	36	34	16	13	1=100
February, 2001	30	39	18	12	1=100
January, 2001	32	38	17	11	2=100
June, 1995	26	41	22	11	*=100
March, 1995	27	45	19	9	*=100
February, 1995	23	41	22	13	1=100

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<sup>5</sup> In January 2003, the story was listed as "Recent announcements by prominent Democrats about plans to run for president in 2004." In 1999, the story was listed as "News about candidates for the 2000 presidential election." In 1995, the story was listed as "News about the Republican presidential candidates." In September 1987, the story was listed as "Coverage of the Democratic and Republican candidates for the presidential nomination."

**Q.6 CONTINUED...**

	Very <u>Closely</u>	Fairly <u>Closely</u>	Not too <u>Closely</u>	Not at all <u>Closely</u>	DK/Ref
December, 1994	28	43	20	9	*=100
October, 1994	27	40	20	12	1=100
June, 1994	25	42	23	10	*=100
May, 1994	33	40	16	10	1=100
January, 1994	34	39	16	10	1=100
Early January, 1994	36	44	13	7	*=100
December, 1993	35	41	15	8	1=100
October, 1993	33	38	20	9	*=100
September, 1993	37	40	14	8	1=100
Early September, 1993	39	39	14	9	*=100
August, 1993	41	36	14	9	*=100
May, 1993	37	38	18	6	1=100
e. The Medicare reform legislation recently signed into law	25	28	22	23	2=100
November, 2003 <sup>6</sup>	26	28	25	21	*=100
July, 1999	19	35	25	20	1=100
January, 1998	18	30	27	25	*=100
June, 1997	24	27	25	23	1=100
February, 1997	20	27	23	28	2=100
January, 1996	30	36	22	12	*=100
September, 1995	31	40	18	11	*=100
August, 1995	27	37	21	15	*=100
June, 1995	28	34	23	14	1=100
f. Early outbreaks of the flu and a national shortage of flu vaccinations	41	33	16	9	1=100
g. The Supreme Court decision upholding campaign finance reform legislation	8	17	28	45	2=100
April, 2001 <sup>7</sup>	14	27	25	33	1=100

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<sup>6</sup> In November 2003 the story was listed as "The debate in Washington about how to reform the Medicare system." In July 1999 the story was listed as "President Clinton's proposals to change the Medicare system." In January 1998 the story was listed as "President Clinton's proposal to offer Medicare to younger retirees and uninsured Americans between 55 and 64." In January 1996 and September 1995 the story was listed as "The debate in Washington over the future of the Medicare (system/program)." In August and June 1995 the story was listed as "A proposal in Congress to reduce the growth in the rate of spending on Medicare."

<sup>7</sup> In April 2001 the story was listed as "The debate in Congress over campaign finance reform."

Thinking again about politics...

Q.7 Looking ahead, would you like to see George W. Bush re-elected president in 2004 or would you prefer that a Democratic candidate win the election? [INTERVIEWER: IF R SAYS "OTHER" OR "SOMEONE ELSE," PROBE ONCE: "If you had to choose, would you like to see George W. Bush re-elected or would you prefer that a Democratic candidate win the election?"]

	----- Total -----			----- Registered Voters -----			(N=623)
	Bush Re-elected	Prefer Democrat	Other/ DK	Bush Re-elected	Prefer Democrat	Other/ DK	
December, 2003	47	38	15=100	49	37	14=100	
October, 2003	40	44	16=100	42	42	16=100	
September, 2003	44	43	13=100	45	43	12=100	
August, 2003	40	39	21=100	43	38	19=100	
Mid-July, 2003	45	37	18=100	47	37	16=100	
April, 2003	46	35	19=100	48	34	18=100	
Late March, 2003 <sup>8</sup> (Gallup)	51	36	13=100	51	36	13=100	
Mid-March, 2003 (Gallup)	45	42	13=100	45	42	13=100	
February, 1992	40	48	12=100	39	49	12=100	
January, 1992	42	42	16=100	41	45	14=100	
November, 1991	41	43	16=100	41	44	15=100	

Q.8 As you may know, Congress passed a new Medicare law that includes some coverage of prescription drug costs and changes the way Medicare covers other medical expenses for senior citizens. Overall, would you say you strongly approve, approve, DISapprove, or strongly disapprove of these recent changes?

12	Strongly approve
43	Approve
17	Disapprove
10	Strongly disapprove
<u>18</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100	

Q.9 In your opinion, does the Medicare legislation go too far, not far enough, or is it about right in how much it covers prescription drugs for seniors?

	Nov <u>2003</u> <sup>9</sup>	Aug <u>2003</u>
6	7	10
61	57	51
18	19	21
<u>15</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>18</u>
100	100	100

<sup>8</sup> The March 2003 trends are from Gallup and were worded: "If George W. Bush runs for re-election in 2004, in general are you more likely to vote for Bush or for the Democratic Party's candidate for president?"

<sup>9</sup> In November 2003 the question was worded: "There are currently proposals before Congress to include prescription drug coverage in Medicare benefits for seniors. What do you think... will the Medicare legislation go too far..."

Q.10 In general, do you think that free trade agreements like NAFTA, (the North American Free Trade Agreement) and the WTO (World Trade Organization), have been a good thing or a bad thing for the United States? **[INTERVIEWER: READ OUT FULL NAMES ONLY IF RESPONDENT IS UNCERTAIN]**

		Early Sept 2001 <sup>10</sup>	Nov 1997	Sept 1997
34	Good thing	49	45	47
33	Bad thing	29	34	30
<u>33</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>22</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>23</u>
100		100	100	100

Q.11 Thinking about the financial situation of you and your family... Do you think these free trade agreements (like NAFTA and the WTO) have definitely helped, probably helped, probably hurt, or definitely hurt the financial situation of you and your family? **[INTERVIEWER: READ OUT FULL NAMES ONLY IF RESPONDENT IS UNCERTAIN]**

2	Definitely helped
25	Probably helped
24	Probably hurt
14	Definitely hurt
15	Neither (VOL.)
<u>20</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100	

Now thinking about Iraq...

Q.12 Do you think the U.S. made the right decision or the wrong decision in using military force against Iraq?

		Oct 2003	Sept 2003	Aug 2003	Early July 2003	---- April ---- 10-16 8-9 2-7	----- March 2003 ----- 28-4/1 25-27 23-24 20-22	Late Jan 1991
67	Right decision	60	63	63	67	74 74 72	69 74 74 71	77
26	Wrong decision	33	31	30	24	19 19 20	25 21 21 22	15
<u>7</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>7</u> <u>7</u> <u>8</u>	<u>6</u> <u>5</u> <u>5</u> <u>7</u>	<u>9</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100 100 100	100 100 100 100	100

Q.13 How well is the U.S. military effort in Iraq going? **[READ IN ORDER]**

		Oct 2003	Sept 2003	Aug 2003	Early July 2003	---- April ---- 10-16 8-9 2-7	--- March 2003 --- 25-4/1 23-24 20-22
28	Very well	16	15	19	23	61 60 55	39 45 65
47	Fairly well	44	47	43	52	32 32 37	46 41 25
16	Not too well	25	26	24	16	3 3 3	8 6 2
6	Not at all well	11	9	11	5	1 3 2	2 2 1
<u>3</u>	DK/Ref.	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u> <u>2</u> <u>3</u>	<u>5</u> <u>6</u> <u>7</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100 100 100	100 100 100

<sup>10</sup> In Early September 2001 and earlier the question was worded: "So far, do you think that NAFTA, the North American Free Trade Agreement, has been a good thing or a bad thing from a U.S. point of view?"

**ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=377]:**

Q.14F1 Do you think George W. Bush has a clear plan for bringing the situation in Iraq to a successful conclusion, or don't you think so?

		Oct <u>2003</u>	Sept <u>2003</u>
44	Has a clear plan	35	32
45	Doesn't have a clear plan	54	58
<u>11</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>11</u>	<u>10</u>
100		100	100

**ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=438]:**

Q.15F2 Do you think George W. Bush has explained clearly his plans for bringing the situation in Iraq to a successful conclusion, or do you think he has not explained his plans clearly enough?

		Oct <u>2003</u>	Sept <u>2003</u>	March <u>2003</u> <sup>11</sup>	Feb <u>2003</u>	Jan <u>2003</u>	Dec <u>2002</u>	Late <u>Oct</u> <u>2002</u>	Mid- <u>Sept</u> <u>2002</u>	Late <u>Aug</u> <u>2002</u>	<i>NY Times</i> <u>Aug</u> <u>1990</u> <sup>12</sup>
35	Explained clearly	32	30	49	53	42	48	48	52	37	50
59	Not clearly	63	63	47	40	53	45	45	37	52	41
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>9</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

**ASK ALL:**

Q.16 Do you think the war in Iraq has helped the war on terrorism, or has it hurt the war on terrorism?

		Sept <u>2003</u>	May <u>2003</u>	April <u>2003</u> <sup>13</sup>	Early <u>Oct</u> <u>2002</u>
59	Helped	54	65	63	52
26	Hurt	31	22	22	34
6	No effect (VOL)	7	6	--	--
<u>9</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>14</u>
100		100	100	100	100

Q.17 Based on what you've seen and read, do MOST people in Iraq support or do most oppose America's current policies in Iraq?

		Sept <u>2003</u>
47	Support	39
34	Oppose	47
<u>19</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>14</u>
100		100

<sup>11</sup> From 2002 through March 2003, the question was worded: "Do you think George W. Bush has explained clearly what's at stake as to why the U.S. might use military force to end the rule of Saddam Hussein, or do you think he has not explained the reasons clearly enough?"

<sup>12</sup> New York Times trend was worded: "Do you think George Bush has explained clearly what's at stake and why the U.S. is sending troops to Saudi Arabia, or do you think ..."

<sup>13</sup> In April 2003, the question was worded: "Do you think the war in Iraq will help the war on terrorism, or will it hurt the war on terrorism?" In Early October 2002 the question was worded: "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?"

Q.18 So far, has the U.S. suffered more casualties in Iraq than you expected before the war began, or fewer casualties than you expected?

		Sept <u>2003</u>
50	More than expected	42
39	Fewer than expected	49
5	About as expected (VOL.)	4
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	5
100		100

Q.19 In re-building Iraq, how good a job are the U.S. and its allies doing in taking into account the needs and interests of the Iraqi people? Is the coalition doing an excellent job, a good job, only a fair job or a poor job in taking into consideration the interests and needs of the Iraqi people?

		Sept <u>2003</u>	May <u>2003</u>
11	Excellent	9	18
35	Good	36	41
27	Only fair	35	26
16	Poor	11	6
<u>11</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>
100		100	100

Q.20 How did you FIRST learn about the capture of Saddam Hussein? Was it from talking with others; listening to the radio; watching television; reading a newspaper; or going online over the Internet?

**IF "TELEVISION" (3 IN Q.20), ASK:**

Q.20a Was this on an all-news cable channel such as CNN, MSNBC or the Fox CABLE news channel; on network broadcast television such as ABC, NBC, or CBS; or on a local television news broadcast in your area?

**IF "TALKING WITH OTHERS" (1 IN Q.20) ASK:**

Q.20b Was this in a face-to-face conversation with someone or in a telephone call?

**IF "INTERNET" (5 IN Q.20) ASK:**

Q.20c Was this from e-mail, an instant message, or from a web site?

		<i>Iraq War Starts</i>	<i>Terrorist Attacks</i>
		March <u>2003<sup>14</sup></u>	Sept <u>2001</u>
22	Talking with others	8	31
11	Face to face	5	16
11	Telephone calls	2	15
10	Radio	13	22
60	Television	73	44
26	Cable channel	37	11
20	Network news	22	20
11	Local news	11	9
1	Newspaper	2	*
6	Internet	3	1
*	Email	*	*
1	Instant message	*	0
5	Web Site	2	*
1	Other	1	2
0	Did not know about it	0	0
*	Don't know/Refused	*	*
<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

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<sup>14</sup> In March 2003 the question was worded "... such as CNN, MSNBC, FOX News or CNBC." The September 2001 trend is from a survey conducted for the Pew Internet and American Life Project (N=2039). The question was worded "... such as CNN or CNBC."