

NEWS RELEASE

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FOR FURTHER INFORMATION Carroll Doherty, Associate Director

MORE OPTIMISM ON IRAQ, BUT MOST EXPECT LONG U.S. STAY

The public is more optimistic over the situation in Iraq as a result of that nation's recent elections, but remains skeptical of the Bush administration's decision to go to war. Moreover, the elections have not improved opinions of President Bush's handling of Iraq. The survey, largely completed before the president's European trip, finds 40% approving of Bush's job performance on Iraq, down slightly from early January (45%).

The latest nationwide poll by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, conducted Feb. 16-21 among 1,502 Americans, finds that 47% think the recent elections will lead to greater stability in Iraq. Just 29% expressed such hopes in January, prior to the election. Moreover, there has been a modest rise in the number who see things in Iraq going at least fairly well – from 48% last month to 54% currently.

Yet there are no signs the election has increased public optimism that U.S. troops can be withdrawn from Iraq any time soon. More than half (54%) believe U.S. forces will have to remain in Iraq for at least two years, with 22% saying they expect troops to stay longer than five years. In July, 44% said that the troops would have to remain for at least two years.

| Post-Election Views of Iraq | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|------------------|------------------|--|--|--|--|
| | Jan | Feb | | | | |
| Elections will | 2005 | 2005 | | | | |
| make Iraq | % | % | | | | |
| More stable | 29 | 47 | | | | |
| Less stable | 14 | 7 | | | | |
| Little change | 49 | 40 | | | | |
| Don't know | 8 | <u>6</u> | | | | |
| | $1\overline{00}$ | $1\overline{00}$ | | | | |
| Iraq situation is going | | | | | | |
| Very/Fairly well | 48 | 54 | | | | |
| Not well | 49 | 42 | | | | |
| Don't know | <u>3</u> | <u>4</u> | | | | |
| | 100 | 100 | | | | |
| Military action in Iraq | | | | | | |
| Right decision | 51 | 47 | | | | |
| Wrong decision | 44 | 47 | | | | |
| Don't know | <u>5</u> | <u>6</u> | | | | |
| | 100 | 100 | | | | |
| How much longer will | July | Feb | | | | |
| US troops need to stay | 2004 | 2005 | | | | |
| Less than a year | 17 | 11 | | | | |
| One to two years | 31 | 27 | | | | |
| Two to five years | 27 | 32 | | | | |
| Longer than 5 years | 17 | 22 | | | | |
| Don't know | <u>8</u> | 8 | | | | |
| | 100 | 100 | | | | |

As was the case throughout 2004, a majority of Americans (55%) favor keeping U.S. forces in Iraq until the situation there has stabilized. But there is steadily increasing opposition to the initial

decision to go to war. Nearly half (47%) say the decision to go to war was wrong, the highest percentage expressing that view since the war began. And for the first time, as many people say the war was the wrong decision as feel it was right.

The public also remains divided on the impact of the Iraq war on the fight against terrorism. A slight plurality (44%) thinks the war has helped the war on terrorism, while nearly as many (41%) think it has hurt. Attitudes on this measure have changed little over the past several months.

Most Americans (52%) are skeptical that the Iraq elections will lead to democracy elsewhere in the Middle East, while 36% think that other Middle East countries are likely to become more democratic. And the public is split over whether democracy in Iraq can succeed if Islamic religious leaders are elected to positions of power; 40% doubt that democracy can succeed if Islamic religious leaders have a prominent role, 37% say it can, while a relatively large number (23%) declined to offer an opinion.

The survey shows that Bush's overall job approval rating stands at 46%, down slightly from 50% in January. The president's enduring strength is his handling of terrorism – 59% approve of the president's performance in that area. But the public is divided over the president's handling of foreign affairs (43% approve/46% disapprove); last month, a small plurality (48%) approved of his job in this area. And the president continues to receive negative ratings for his handling of the situation in Iraq. Overall, 53%

| Bush Job Approval | | | | | | |
|--|-------------------------------|----------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|--|--|
| Overall job | Janu <u>App</u> % 50 | Dis % 43 | Febr. <u>App</u> % 46 | uary <u>Dis</u> % 47 | | |
| Handling Terrorist threats Foreign policy Situation in Iraq | 62 48 45 | 33 43 50 | 59 43 40 | 34 46 53 | | |

disapprove of the job he has done there, and 61% say Bush does not have a clear plan for bringing the situation in Iraq to a successful conclusion. That is slightly more than the number who expressed that view last fall (55% in October and September).

Bush One-Word Descriptions Familiar

Just as Bush's overall approval rating has remained fairly stable for the past several months, so too have opinions of national conditions. Roughly four-in-ten (38%) say they are satisfied with the way things are going in the country, while 56% are dissatisfied. That is comparable to measures since last May, when satisfaction was somewhat lower (33%).

When respondents are asked to describe Bush in a single word, his image elicits slightly more negative than positive characterizations (42% vs. 34%). Those with a favorable view of

| One-Word Descriptions of Bush | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----|----|-------------|-----|--|--|--|
| | • | | May 2004 | | | | |
| One-word description | % | % | % | % | | | |
| Positive | 52 | 36 | 33 | 34 | | | |
| *Honest, integrity, leader | | | | | | | |
| Negative | 27 | 36 | 37 | 42 | | | |
| *Arrogant, incompetent, idio | ot | | | | | | |
| Neutral | 9 | 13 | 13 | 11 | | | |
| *Fair, conservative, preside | nt | | | | | | |
| No answer/DK | 12 | 15 | <u>17</u> | 13 | | | |
| | 100 | | 100 | 100 | | | |
| *Top three words in each category | | | | | | | |

Bush most frequently volunteered such terms as "honest," "good," "integrity," and "leader" to describe the president. The most common negative references included "arrogant," "incompetent," and "idiot."

Signs of Optimism

The public is much more optimistic about stability in Iraq than it was prior to the election, when just 29% thought the election would lead to greater stability. This is presumably a reaction to an election in Iraq that drew extensive news coverage and was largely seen as successful.

A wide partisan gap separates views on whether the elections will lead to greater stability in Iraq. Fully 71% of Republicans expect the elections will result in more stability; 45% of independents and just 29%

| Iraqi Elections | | | | | | | | |
|---|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|--|--|--|--|
| Heard about elections A lot A little Nothing Don't know | Total % 52 41 7 * 100 | Rep % 59 35 6 * 100 | 46 | % 53 | | | | |
| Iraqi elections will lead to More stable situation Less stable situation Not much change Don't know | 47 7 40 <u>6</u> 100 | 71 5 19 <u>5</u> 100 | 29 9 56 <u>6</u> 100 | 45 6 44 <u>5</u> 100 | | | | |

of Democrats agree. However, there is more optimism across the political spectrum than there was before the election. In January, 46% of Republicans, 25% of independents and 17% of Democrats felt the elections would lead to greater stability.

Nearly all Americans say they have heard at least something about the recent elections in Iraq, and more than half (52%) have heard a lot about the elections. Republicans are somewhat more likely than independents and Democrats to say they have heard a lot about the elections.

Those who have heard a lot about the elections are considerably more likely than those who have not to predict greater stability for Iraq (by 54%-40%). But partisanship is a factor here as well. Among Republicans and independents, respondents who have heard a lot about the elections are much more upbeat about prospects for stability than those who are less attentive. By contrast, attentiveness to the elections has only slight impact on Democratic opinions on whether the balloting will lead to greater stability in Iraq.

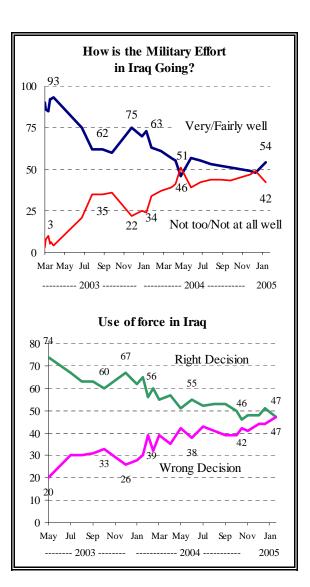
Declining Support for War

Despite the recent uptick in the number who take a positive view of the situation in Iraq, perceptions of the U.S. military effort have declined over the long-term. A year ago, 63% felt that the U.S. military effort was going very or fairly well; currently, 54% take a positive view of the military operation.

Opposition to the decision to go to war also has been rising steadily. A year ago, 39% opposed the decision to go to war, while 56% were in favor. The public is now evenly split on the war (47% right decision, 47% wrong decision).

Opinion on the war has long been politically polarized. Currently, Republicans back the decision to use military force in Iraq by seven-to-one (84%-12%). Democrats oppose the use of force by a somewhat smaller margin (74%-19%).

Notably, independents have become much more skeptical of the decision to use force. Currently, 53% of independents say the U.S. made the wrong decision to go to war, the highest



percentage of opposition among independents since the war began.

Yet independents remain supportive of maintaining U.S. forces in Iraq until the situation there is stabilized. A majority of independents (55%) favor keeping U.S. forces in Iraq until the situation is stabilized, while 42% support withdrawing the troops as soon as possible. About eight-in-ten Republicans (79%) and fewer than half as many Democrats (36%) favor keeping the troops in Iraq until it is stabilized. These opinions have held steady for the past several months.

| Decision to go to War | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|----|----|---------|--|--|--|
| Right Wrong DK | | | | | | |
| | % | % | % | | | |
| All | 47 | 47 | 6 = 100 | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| Men | 53 | 43 | 4=100 | | | |
| Women | 43 | 50 | 7=100 | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| Under 50 | 51 | 45 | 4=100 | | | |
| 50+ | 42 | 50 | 8=100 | | | |
| | | | - | | | |
| Republican | 84 | 12 | 4=100 | | | |
| Democrat | 19 | 74 | 7=100 | | | |
| Independent | 42 | 53 | 5=100 | | | |
| macponacin | | | 0 100 | | | |

News Interest Index

Attention to news about the current situation in Iraq leads this month's news interest index, with 38% of the public following that story very closely. Overall interest in Iraq is down from last month when nearly half the public (48%) tracked news about the situation in Iraq. Roughly a quarter of Americans (27%) say they paid very close attention to the elections in Iraq.

Discussion of how to deal with the Social Security system captured the very close attention of nearly a third of the public (32%) this month. Democrats' interest in this story is slightly higher than Republicans' and independents' (40% vs. 30% and 28%, respectively). Interest in the Social Security debate is significantly greater than in the late 1990s; in January 1998, just 18% followed reports on Social Security very closely.

| February News Interest | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|-----------|--|--|--|--|--|
| Following | | | | | | |
| <u>ver</u> | y closely | | | | | |
| News stories | % | | | | | |
| Situation in Iraq | 38 | | | | | |
| Social Security debate | 32 | | | | | |
| Iraq election | 27 | | | | | |
| N. Korea nuclear weapons | 3 22 | | | | | |
| Michael Jackson trial | 8 | | | | | |

Reports on North Korea's nuclear weapons program were followed very closely by 22% of the public. That is about the same level of interest in reports on North Korea's weapons in September 2003 (19% very closely). Just 8% of Americans say they paid very close attention to the Michael Jackson trial. That is the lowest level of interest in reports about Jackson's legal problems in the past decade. In November 2003, 29% said they closely tracked child molestation charges against Jackson.

ABOUT THE SURVEY

Results for this survey are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International among a nationwide sample of 1,502 adults, 18 years of age or older, from February 16-21, 2005. For results based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling is plus or minus 3 percentage points. For results based on Form 1 (N=761) or Form 2 (N=741) only, the error attributable to sampling is plus or minus 4 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.

PERCENT FOLLOWING EACH NEWS STORY "VERY CLOSELY"

| Current situation in <u>Iraq</u> % | Discussion of how to deal with Social Sec. | Bush's proposal to deal with Social Sec. | Recent election in <u>Iraq</u> % | N. Korea's nuclear weapon program % | Michael Jackson Trial % |
|--|---|---|---|---|--|
| 38 | 32 | 31 | 27 | 22 | 8 |
| 41 | 33 | 36 | 29 | 28 | 7 |
| 36 | 32 | 26 | 26 | 17 | 8 |
| 38 | 32 | 31 | 27 | 21 | 6 |
| 39 | 34 | 33 | 26 | 26 | 16 |
| 37 | 38 | 34 | 15 | 22 | 19 |
| 50 | 24 | 35 | 28 | 14 | 21 |
| 41 | 33 | 36 | 28 | 27 | 5 |
| 35 | 30 | 26 | 27 | 16 | 6 |
| 29 | 14 | 14 | 18 | 13 | 12 |
| 39 | 26 | 30 | 25 | 20 | 6 |
| 46 | 45 | 38 | 35 | 26 | 7 |
| 39 | 50 | 48 | 33 | 32 | 7 |
| 40 | 37 | 36 | 35 | 26 | 6 |
| 35 | 28 | 27 | 24 | 23 | 5 |
| 38 | 31 | 28 | 25 | 19 | 10 |
| 43 | 36 | 36 | 23 | 20 | 13 |
| 39 36 45 31 42 37 41 | 34 35 35 23 30 40 28 | 29 33 35 24 29 39 26 | 28 22 28 30 37 21 26 | 23 21 23 21 21 21 24 23 | 6 6 8 9 5 11 6 |
| | situation in Iraq % 38 38 41 36 38 39 37 50 41 35 29 39 46 39 40 35 38 43 39 36 45 31 42 37 | Current situation in situation in Iraq % of how to deal with Social Sec. % % 38 38 32 41 33 36 32 38 32 39 34 37 38 50 24 41 33 35 30 29 14 39 26 46 45 39 50 40 37 35 28 38 31 43 36 35 28 38 31 43 36 35 35 31 23 | Current situation in situation in Iraq of how to deal with Social Sec. proposal to deal with Social Sec. % % % 38 32 31 41 33 36 36 32 26 38 32 31 39 34 33 37 38 34 50 24 35 41 33 36 35 30 26 29 14 14 39 26 30 46 45 38 39 50 48 40 37 36 35 28 27 38 31 28 43 36 36 39 34 29 36 35 33 45 35 35 31 23 24 | Current situation in Iraq % of how to deal with Social Sec. % proposal to deal with Social Sec. % Recent election in Iraq % % % % % 38 32 31 27 41 33 36 29 36 32 26 26 38 32 31 27 39 34 33 26 37 38 34 15 50 24 35 28 41 33 36 28 35 30 26 27 29 14 14 18 39 26 30 25 46 45 38 35 39 50 48 33 40 37 36 35 35 28 27 24 38 31 28 25 43 36 35 23 39 34 | Current situation in Iraq 1/96 Social Sec. 96 proposal to deal with Social Sec. 96 Recent election in Meapon Program 96 nuclear weapon 96 38 32 31 27 22 41 33 36 29 28 36 32 26 26 17 38 32 31 27 21 39 34 33 26 26 37 38 34 15 22 50 24 35 28 14 41 33 36 28 27 35 30 26 27 16 29 14 14 18 13 39 26 30 25 20 46 45 38 35 26 39 50 48 33 32 40 37 36 35 26 35 28 27 24 23 |

^{*} The designation Hispanic is unrelated to the white-black categorization.

Question: 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?

PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS FEBRUARY 2005 NII/SOCIAL SECURITY SURVEY FINAL TOPLINE

February 16-21, 2005 N=1,502

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]

| | | Dis- | Don't | | | Dis- | Don't |
|------------------------|------------|---------|-------------|-----------------------|---------|---------|----------|
| | Approve a | approve | <u>know</u> | | Approve | approve | know |
| February, 2005 | 46 | 47 | 7=100 | Early September, 2002 | 63 | 26 | 11=100 |
| January, 2005 | 50 | 43 | 7=100 | Late August, 2002 | 60 | 27 | 13=100 |
| 2004 | | | | August, 2002 | 67 | 21 | 12=100 |
| December, 2004 | 48 | 44 | 8=100 | Late July, 2002 | 65 | 25 | 10=100 |
| Mid-October, 2004 | 44 | 48 | 8=100 | July, 2002 | 67 | 21 | 12=100 |
| August, 2004 | 46 | 45 | 9=100 | June, 2002 | 70 | 20 | 10=100 |
| July, 2004 | 46 | 46 | 8=100 | April, 2002 | 69 | 18 | 13=100 |
| June, 2004 | 48 | 43 | 9=100 | Early April, 2002 | 74 | 16 | 10=100 |
| May, 2004 | 44 | 48 | 8=100 | February, 2002 | 78 | 13 | 9=100 |
| Late April, 2004 | 48 | 43 | 9=100 | January, 2002 | 80 | 11 | 9=100 |
| Early April, 2004 | 43 | 47 | 10=100 | 2001 | | | |
| Late March, 2004 | 47 | 44 | 9=100 | Mid-November, 2001 | 84 | 9 | 7=100 |
| Mid-March, 2004 | 46 | 47 | 7=100 | Early October, 2001 | 84 | 8 | 8=100 |
| February, 2004 | 48 | 44 | 8=100 | Late September, 2001 | 86 | 7 | 7=100 |
| Mid-January, 2004 | 56 | 34 | 10 = 100 | Mid-September, 2001 | 80 | 9 | 11=100 |
| Early January, 2004 | 58 | 35 | 7 = 100 | Early September, 2001 | 51 | 34 | 15=100 |
| 2003 | | | | August, 2001 | 50 | 32 | 18=100 |
| December, 2003 | 57 | 34 | 9=100 | July, 2001 | 51 | 32 | 17=100 |
| November, 2003 | 50 | 40 | 10 = 100 | June, 2001 | 50 | 33 | 17=100 |
| October, 2003 | 50 | 42 | 8=100 | May, 2001 | 53 | 32 | 15=100 |
| September, 2003 | 55 | 36 | 9=100 | April, 2001 | 56 | 27 | 17=100 |
| Mid-August, 2003 | 56 | 32 | 12 = 100 | March, 2001 | 55 | 25 | 20 = 100 |
| Early August, 2003 | 53 | 37 | 10 = 100 | February, 2001 | 53 | 21 | 26=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 | | | | |
| 2002 | ~ 1 | 20 | 11 100 | | | | |
| 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 | | | | |

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

April, 1995

March, 1994

October, 1993

January, 1993

January, 1992

August, 1990

January, 1989

January, 1988

May, 1990

May, 1988

November, 1991

Late Feb, 1991 (Gallup)

September, 1988 (RVs)

September, 1993

July, 1994

May, 1993

Sat-

isfied

23

24

24

22

20

22

39

28

34

66

47

41

45

50

41

39

Dis-

satisfied

74

73

71

73

75

71

50

68

61

31

48

54

50

45

54

55

No

Opinion

3=100

3=100

5=100

5=100

4 = 100

7=100

11=100

4=100

5=100

3=100

5=100

5=100

5=100

5=100

5=100

6=100

| | Sat- | Dis- | No |
|------------------------------|--------|-----------|----------|
| | isfied | satisfied | Opinion |
| February, 2005 | 38 | 56 | 6=100 |
| January, 2005 | 40 | 54 | 6=100 |
| December, 2004 | 39 | 54 | 7=100 |
| Mid-October, 2004 | 36 | 58 | 6=100 |
| July, 2004 | 38 | 55 | 7=100 |
| May, 2004 | 33 | 61 | 6=100 |
| Late February, 2004 | 39 | 55 | 6=100 |
| Early January, 2004 | 45 | 48 | 7=100 |
| December, 2003 | 44 | 47 | 9=100 |
| October, 2003 | 38 | 56 | 6=100 |
| August, 2003 | 40 | 53 | 7=100 |
| April, 2003 ¹ | 50 | 41 | 9=100 |
| January, 2003 | 44 | 50 | 6=100 |
| November, 2002 | 41 | 48 | 11=100 |
| September, 2002 ² | 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 |
| October, 2000 (<i>RVs</i>) | 54 | 39 | 7 = 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 |
| | | | |

Asked April 8, 2003 only; N=395.

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

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=761]:

Q.3F1 Please tell me what one word best describes your impression of George W. Bush. Tell me just the ONE best word that describes him. (OPEN-END. PROBE ONCE IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS "DON'T KNOW". ACCEPT UP TO TWO RESPONSES, BUT DO NOT PROBE FOR SECOND RESPONSE).

| | TELEST OF US | _)• | | | | | / D | | 4 J 17 - 4) |
|------|---------------------|-------------|----------------|-----|--------------------------|-----|-------------------|-----|-----------------------------|
| Fahr | uary 200 <u>5</u> * | May | y 2004 | Far | ly Feb 2004 ³ | Ma | y 2003 | | tered Voters) 1-Oct 2000 |
| 38 | Honest | 30 | Honest | 27 | Honest | 29 | Honest | | Honest |
| 20 | Good | 29 | Good | 24 | Fair | 21 | Good | 28 | Good |
| 15 | Integrity | 26 | Incompetent | 24 | Leader | 20 | Arrogant | 19 | OK/Okay |
| 15 | Arrogant | 26 | Leader | 21 | Liar | 16 | Leader | 17 | Sincere |
| 14 | Incompetent | 24 | Arrogant | 17 | Arrogant | 13 | Great | 13 | Arrogant |
| 13 | Leader | 16 | Strong | 14 | Strong | 12 | Confident | 13 | Fair |
| 11 | Fair | 15 | Integrity | 13 | Excellent | 12 | Courageous | 13 | Alright |
| 11 | Idiot | 13 | Idiot | 13 | Good | 11 | Aggressive | 12 | Dislike |
| 9 | Strong | 11 | Christian | 12 | Christian | 11 | Christian | 12 | Leader |
| 9 | Liar | 10 | Determined | 12 | Integrity | 11 | Determined | 12 | Untrustworthy |
| 8 | Excellent | 10 | Stupid | 9 | Stupid | 11 | Integrity | 11 | Trustworthy |
| 8 | Trustworthy | 9 | Liar | 9 | Incompetent | 10 | Patriot/Patriotic | 11 | President |
| 8 | Dishonest | 8 | Trustworthy | 8 | Dishonest | 9 | Cowboy | 11 | Inexperienced |
| 8 | Poor | 7 | Aggressive | 7 | Confident | 8 | Competent | 10 | Conservative |
| 7 | Conservative | 7 | Committed | 7 | Determined | 8 | Decisive | 9 | Refer to Father |
| 7 | Great | 7 | Dishonest | 7 | Idiot | 8 | Idiot | 9 | Republican |
| 7 | Sucks | 7 | Okay | 7 | Patriotic | 8 | President | 9 | Liar |
| 7 | Christian | 6 | Dedicated | 7 | Ass | 8 | Strong | 9 | Boring |
| 7 | Honorable | 6 | Fair | 6 | Character | 7 | Adequate | 8 | I like him |
| 6 | Dedicated | 6 | President | 6 | Poor | 7 | Excellent | 8 | Good man/guy |
| 6 | Determined | 6 | War/warrior | 6 | Selfish | 7 | Fair | 8 | Stupid |
| 6 | President | 5 | Brave | (N= | =748) | (N= | =602) | (N= | = 997) |
| 6 | Selfish | 5 | Confident | | | | | | |
| 5 | Trying | 5 | Courageous | | | | | | |
| 5 | Warmonger | 5 | Decisive | | | | | | |
| 5 | Ignorant | 5 | Dumb | | | | | | |
| 5 | Terrible | 5 | Excellent | | | | | | |
| 4 | Diligent | 5 | Great | | | | | | |
| 4 | Consistent | 5 | Honorable | _ | | | | | |
| 4 | Sincere | 5 | Straight-forwa | ırd | | | | | |
| 4 | Ineffective | (N= | =897) | | | | | | |
| 4 | Inept | | | | | | | | |

^{*} The numbers listed represent the number of respondents who offered each response; the numbers <u>are not</u> percentages.

In Early February 2004, these "one word" questions were not asked toward the beginning of the questionnaire. For George W. Bush, trends from March 1999, September 1999 and March 2000 are also available.

ASK ALL:
More specifically...
Q.4 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE; OBSERVE FORM SPLITS]?

| OBSE | RVE FORM SPLITS]? | | 5 . | DILD C |
|------------|--------------------------------|-----------|-------------------|---------|
| | | Approve | <u>Disapprove</u> | DK/Ref. |
| a. | HELD FOR FUTURE RELEA | ASE | | |
| b. | The situation in Iraq | 40 | 53 | 7=100 |
| | January, 2005 | 45 | 50 | 5=100 |
| | Mid-October, 2004 | 37 | 56 | 7=100 |
| | Early September, 2004 | 47 | 45 | 8=100 |
| | August, 2004 | 43 | 52 | 5=100 |
| | July, 2004 | 42 | 53 | 5=100 |
| | June, 2004 | 42 | 51 | 7=100 |
| | Late April, 2004 | 44 | 48 | 8=100 |
| | Early April, 2004 | 40 | 53 | 7=100 |
| | Mid-January, 2004 | 59 | 37 | 4=100 |
| | September, 2003 | 52 | 40 | 8=100 |
| | April 10-16, 2003 ⁴ | 77 | 17 | 6=100 |
| | April 8-9, 2003 | 71 | 23 | 6=100 |
| | April 9, 2003 | 76 | 18 | 6=100 |
| | April 8, 2003 | 65 | 28 | 7=100 |
| | April 2-7, 2003 | 73 | 21 | 6=100 |
| | March 28-April 1, 2003 | 69 | 26 | 5=100 |
| | March 25-27, 2003 | 73 | 23 | 4=100 |
| | March 23-24, 2003 | 72 | 22 | 6=100 |
| | March 20-22, 2003 | 70 | 23 | 7=100 |
| | February, 2003 | 56 | 37 | 7=100 |
| | January, 2003 | 56 | 36 | 8=100 |
| | Early October, 2002 | 56 | 34 | 10=100 |
| c. | HELD FOR FUTURE RELEA | ASE | | |
| A CIZ EODA | A A ANY MANAGAMBANA | | | |
| | 1 2 ONLY [N=741]: | 50 | 2.4 | 7 100 |
| d.F2 | Terrorist threats | 59 | 34 | 7=100 |
| | January, 2005 | 62 | 33 | 5=100 |
| | Mid-October, 2004 | 49 | 40 | 11=100 |
| | Early September, 2004 | 62 50 | 32 | 6=100 |
| | August, 2004 | 58 | 37 | 5=100 |
| | July, 2004 | 54 | 40 | 6=100 |
| | June, 2004 | 56 5.5 | 35 | 9=100 |
| | Late April, 2004 | 55 53 | 36 | 9=100 |
| | Early April, 2004 | 53 | 38 | 9=100 |
| | Gallup: December, 2003 | 65 | 33 | 2=100 |
| | September, 2003 | 64 | 28 | 8=100 |
| | February, 2003 | 67 | 25 | 8=100 |
| | January, 2003 | 69 | 23 | 8=100 |
| | Early October, 2002 | 71 | 22 | 7=100 |
| | June, 2002 | 74 | 18 | 8=100 |

From March to April 2003 the item was worded: "... dealing with the war in Iraq?" The 1991 Gallup trend was worded "...George Bush is handling the situation in the Persian Gulf region."

| Q.4 CONTINUED | | Approve | <u>Disapprove</u> | DK/Ref. |
|---------------|----------------------------------|---------|-------------------|---------|
| | Mid-September, 2001 ⁵ | 85 | 6 | 9=100 |
| | Clinton: Early September, 199 | 8 72 | 20 | 8=100 |
| e.F2 | The nation's foreign policy | 43 | 46 | 11=100 |
| | January, 2005 | 48 | 43 | 9=100 |
| | Mid-October, 2004 | 37 | 49 | 14=100 |
| | Early September, 2004 | 47 | 42 | 11=100 |
| | August, 2004 | 42 | 49 | 9=100 |
| | July, 2004 | 40 | 48 | 12=100 |
| | Mid-January, 2004 | 53 | 36 | 11=100 |
| | March, 2003 | 53 | 36 | 11=100 |
| | Early April, 2002 | 69 | 20 | 11=100 |
| | Gallup: October, 2001 | 81 | 14 | 5=100 |
| | Early September, 2001 | 46 | 34 | 20=100 |
| | August, 2001 ⁶ | 45 | 32 | 23=100 |
| | Clinton: September, 1997 | 54 | 34 | 12=100 |
| | Bush, Sr: May, 1990 | 58 | 30 | 12=100 |

ITEM f. THROUGH i. HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

Q.5 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. OBSERVE FORM SPLITS]

| | Very | Fairly | Not too | Not at all | [|
|---|---------|---------|---------|------------|--------|
| ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=761]: | Closely | Closely | Closely | Closely | DK/Ref |
| a.F1 News about the current situation in Iraq | 38 | 45 | 13 | 4 | *=100 |
| January, 2005 | 48 | 37 | 11 | 4 | *=100 |
| December, 2004 | 34 | 44 | 15 | 6 | 1=100 |
| Mid-October, 2004 | 42 | 38 | 11 | 8 | 1=100 |
| Early September, 2004 | 47 | 37 | 9 | 6 | 1=100 |
| August, 2004 | 39 | 42 | 12 | 6 | 1=100 |
| July, 2004 | 43 | 40 | 11 | 6 | *=100 |
| June, 2004 | 39 | 42 | 12 | 6 | 1=100 |
| April, 2004 | 54 | 33 | 8 | 5 | *=100 |
| Mid-March, 2004 | 47 | 36 | 12 | 4 | 1=100 |
| Early February, 2004 | 47 | 38 | 10 | 4 | 1=100 |
| Mid-January, 2004 | 48 | 39 | 9 | 4 | *=100 |
| December, 2003 | 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 |
| | | | | | |

In Mid-September, 2001 the question was worded: "...dealing with the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon in Washington." In Early September 1998 the question was worded: "Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling current threats from international terrorist groups?"

In August 2001 roughly half of the U.S. sample was asked about Bush's handling of international policy, while the other half was asked about the handling of the nation's foreign policy. Results did not differ between question wordings.

| Q.5 CC | ONTINUED | Very | Fairly | Not too | Not at al | 1 |
|--------|---|---------|---------|---------|-----------|---------|
| | | Closely | Closely | Closely | Closely | DK/Ref |
| | May, 2003 | 63 | 29 | 6 | 2 | *=100 |
| | April 11-16, 2003 ⁷ | 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 ⁸ | 62 | 27 | 6 | 4 | 1=100 |
| | February, 2003 | 62 | 25 | 8 | 4 | 1=100 |
| | 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.F1 | George W. Bush's proposal to deal | | | | | |
| | with the Social Security system | 31 | 36 | 20 | 13 | *=100 |
| | Clinton: February, 1998 ⁹ | 24 | 38 | 26 | 12 | *=100 |
| | January, 1997 | 29 | 35 | 22 | 13 | 1=100 |
| c.F1 | The Michael Jackson trial | 8 | 17 | 30 | 44 | 1=100 |
| | November, 2003 ¹⁰ | 29 | 27 | 22 | 20 | 2 = 100 |
| | January, 1994 | 19 | 30 | 30 | 20 | 1=100 |
| | December, 1993 | 15 | 25 | 27 | 32 | 1=100 |
| ASK F | ORM 2 ONLY [N=741]: | | | | | |
| d.F2 | The recent election in Iraq | 27 | 39 | 18 | 16 | *=100 |
| e.F2 | Discussion of how to deal with the Social Security system | 32 | 38 | 16 | 14 | *=100 |
| | January, 1998 ¹¹ | 18 | 27 | 29 | 25 | 1 = 100 |
| | February, 1997 | 23 | 26 | 22 | 28 | 1=100 |
| f.F2 | North Korea's nuclear weapons program | 22 | 34 | 22 | 22 | *=100 |
| | September, 2003 | 19 | 32 | 27 | 21 | 1=100 |
| | May, 2003 | 27 | 40 | 22 | 11 | *=100 |
| | March, 2003 | 34 | 34 | 19 | 12 | 1=100 |
| | February, 2003 | 33 | 34 | 18 | 13 | 2 = 100 |
| | January, 2003 | 33 | 34 | 18 | 14 | 1=100 |

From March 20 to April 16, 2003 the story was listed: "News about the war in Iraq."

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."

In February 1998, the story was listed as "Clinton's proposal to deal with the problem with Social Security." In January 1997 the story was listed as "Proposals to reform the Social Security System."

In November 2003 the story was listed as "Recent charges of child molestation against Michael Jackson." In January 1994 and December 1993 the story was listed as "Michael Jackson's personal problems."

In January 1998 and February 1997 the story was listed as "The debate about how to reform the Social Security system."

Q.5 CONTINUED...

Late October, 2002¹² June, 1994

| Very | Fairly | Not too | Not at all | |
|---------|---------|---------|------------|--------|
| Closely | Closely | Closely | Closely | DK/Ref |
| 25 | 31 | 23 | 20 | 1=100 |
| 27 | 33 | 26 | 14 | *=100 |

Q.6 THROUGH Q.35 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

ASK ALL:

Turning to the subject of Iraq ...

Q.36 Do you think the U.S. made the right decision or the wrong decision in using military force against Iraq?

| | Right | Wrong | Don't know/ |
|---------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------------|
| Fohruary 2005 | decision 47 | decision 47 | <u>Refused</u> 6=100 |
| February, 2005 January, 2005 | 51 | 44 | 5=100 |
| December, 2004 | 49 | 44 | 7=100 |
| November, 2004 (RVs) | 48 | 41 | 11=100 |
| Mid-October, 2004 | 46 | 42 | 12=100 |
| Early October, 2004 | 50 | 39 | 11=100 |
| Early September, 2004 | 53 | 39 | 8=100 |
| August, 2004 | 53 | 41 | 6=100 6=100 |
| July, 2004 | 52 | 43 | 5=100 |
| June, 2004 | 55 | 38 | 7=100 |
| May, 2004 | 51 | 42 | 7=100 7=100 |
| Late April, 2004 | 54 | 37 | 9=100 |
| Early April, 2004 | 57 | 35 | 8=100 |
| Mid-March, 2004 | 55 | 39 | 6=100 |
| Late February, 2004 | 60 | 32 | 8=100 |
| Early February, 2004 | 56 | 39 | 5=100 |
| Mid-January, 2004 | 65 | 30 | 5=100 |
| Early January, 2004 | 62 | 28 | 10=100 |
| December, 2003 | 67 | 26 | 7=100 |
| October, 2003 | 60 | 33 | 7=100 |
| September, 2003 | 63 | 31 | 6=100 |
| August, 2003 | 63 | 30 | 7=100 |
| Early July, 2003 | 67 | 24 | 9=100 |
| May, 2003 | 74 | 20 | 6=100 |
| April 10-16, 2003 | 74 | 19 | 7=100 |
| April 8-9, 2003 | 74 | 19 | 7=100 |
| April 2-7, 2003 | 72 | 20 | 8=100 |
| March 28-April 1, 2003 | 69 | 25 | 6=100 |
| March 25-27, 2003 | 74 | 21 | 5=100 |
| March 23-24, 2003 | 74 | 21 | <i>5</i> = <i>100</i> |
| March 20-22, 2003 | 71 | 22 | 7=100 |
| Late January, 1991 | 77 | 15 | 9=100 |
| | | | |

In Late October 2002 the story was listed as "North Korea's admission that it has been secretly developing nuclear weapons." In June 1994 the story was listed as "Reports about North Korea's building of nuclear weapons and refusal to allow UN inspections."

Q.37 How well is the U.S. military effort in Iraq going? [READ IN ORDER]

| | Very | Fairly | Not too | Not at all | Don't know/ |
|------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| | <u>well</u> | <u>well</u> | <u>well</u> | <u>well</u> | Refused |
| February, 2005 | 14 | 40 | 25 | 17 | 4=100 |
| January, 2005 | 9 | 39 | 29 | 20 | 3=100 |
| December, 2004 | 10 | 40 | 28 | 18 | 4=100 |
| Mid-October, 2004 | 13 | 38 | 26 | 17 | 6=100 |
| Early September, 2004 | 12 | 40 | 26 | 18 | 4=100 |
| August, 2004 | 12 | 41 | 28 | 16 | 3=100 |
| July, 2004 | 13 | 42 | 26 | 16 | 3=100 |
| June, 2004 | 16 | 41 | 25 | 14 | 4=100 |
| May, 2004 | 10 | 36 | 32 | 19 | 3=100 |
| Late April, 2004 | 12 | 43 | 26 | 15 | 4=100 |
| Early April, 2004 | 14 | 43 | 26 | 13 | 4=100 |
| Mid-March, 2004 | 16 | 45 | 26 | 11 | 2 = 100 |
| Early February, 2004 | 17 | 46 | 23 | 11 | 3=100 |
| Mid-January, 2004 | 22 | 51 | 18 | 6 | 3=100 |
| Early January, 2004 | 23 | 47 | 18 | 7 | 5=100 |
| December, 2003 | 28 | 47 | 16 | 6 | 3=100 |
| October, 2003 | 16 | 44 | 25 | 11 | 4=100 |
| September, 2003 | 15 | 47 | 26 | 9 | 3=100 |
| August, 2003 | 19 | 43 | 24 | 11 | 3=100 |
| Early July, 2003 | 23 | 52 | 16 | 5 | 4=100 |
| April 10-16, 2003 | 61 | 32 | 3 | 1 | 3=100 |
| April 8-9, 2003 | 60 | 32 | 3 | 3 | 2=100 |
| April 2-7, 2003 | 55 | 37 | 3 | 2 | 3=100 |
| March 25-April 1, 2003 | 39 | 46 | 8 | 2 | 5=100 |
| March 23-24, 2003 | 45 | 41 | 6 | 2 | 6=100 |
| March 20-22, 2003 | 65 | 25 | 2 | 1 | 7=100 |

Q.38 Do you think the U.S. should keep military troops in Iraq until the situation has stabilized, or do you think the U.S. should bring its troops home as soon as possible?

| | Keep troops | Bring troops | Don't know/ |
|--------------------------|----------------|--------------|-------------|
| | <u>in Iraq</u> | <u>home</u> | Refused |
| February, 2005 | 55 | 42 | 3=100 |
| January, 2005 | 54 | 41 | 5=100 |
| December, 2004 | 56 | 40 | 4=100 |
| Mid-October, 2004 | 57 | 36 | 7=100 |
| Early September, 20 | 04 54 | 40 | 6=100 |
| August, 2004 | 54 | 42 | 4=100 |
| July, 2004 | 53 | 43 | 4=100 |
| June, 2004 ¹³ | 51 | 44 | 5=100 |
| May, 2004 | 53 | 42 | 5=100 |
| Late April, 2004 | 53 | 40 | 7=100 |
| Early April, 2004 | 50 | 44 | 6=100 |
| Early January, 2004 | 63 | 32 | 5=100 |
| October, 2003 | 58 | 39 | 3=100 |
| September, 2003 | 64 | 32 | 4=100 |
| | | | |

In June 2004 and earlier, the question was worded: "Do you think the U.S. should keep military troops in Iraq until a stable government is established there, or do you think the U.S. should bring its troops home as soon as possible?"

Q.39 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?

| Has a clear | Doesn't have | Don't know/ |
|-------------|--|---|
| <u>plan</u> | a clear plan | Refused |
| 32 | 61 | 7=100 |
| 35 | 55 | 10=100 |
| 36 | 55 | 9=100 |
| 36 | 58 | 6=100 |
| 34 | 59 | 7=100 |
| 37 | 55 | 8=100 |
| 36 | 54 | 10=100 |
| 32 | 57 | 11=100 |
| 44 | 45 | 11=100 |
| 35 | 54 | 11=100 |
| 32 | 58 | 10=100 |
| | plan 32 35 36 36 34 37 36 32 44 35 | plan a clear plan 32 61 35 55 36 55 36 58 34 59 37 55 36 54 32 57 44 45 35 54 |

Q.40 Do you think the war in Iraq has helped the war on terrorism, or has it hurt the war on terrorism?

| | | | (VOL) | Don't know/ |
|---------------------------|---------------|-------------|-----------|-------------|
| | <u>Helped</u> | <u>Hurt</u> | No effect | Refused |
| February, 2005 | 44 | 41 | 7 | 8=100 |
| Mid-October, 2004 | 45 | 40 | 6 | 9=100 |
| Early September, 2004 | 46 | 40 | 6 | 8=100 |
| August, 2004 | 45 | 44 | 4 | 7=100 |
| July, 2004 | 43 | 45 | 5 | 7=100 |
| June, 2004 | 43 | 44 | 4 | 9=100 |
| Mid-March, 2004 | 50 | 37 | 5 | 8=100 |
| Late February, 2004 | 62 | 28 | 3 | 7=100 |
| Early February, 2004 | 55 | 32 | 7 | 6=100 |
| December, 2003 | 59 | 26 | 6 | 9=100 |
| September, 2003 | 54 | 31 | 7 | 8=100 |
| May, 2003 | 65 | 22 | 6 | 7=100 |
| April, 2003 ¹⁴ | 63 | 22 | | 15=100 |
| Early October, 2002 | 52 | 34 | | 14=100 |
| | | | | |

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.41 Iraq recently held its first nationwide elections. How much have you heard about this... a lot, a little, or nothing at all?

| | | Before Jan 30 Elections | th |
|-----|---------------------------|----------------------------|----------|
| | | Jan | June |
| | | 2005^{15} | 2004 |
| 52 | A lot | 46 | 42 |
| 41 | A little | 40 | 40 |
| 7 | Nothing at all | 13 | 17 |
| * | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | <u>1</u> | <u>1</u> |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 |

Q.42 All in all, do you think the recent elections in Iraq will lead to a MORE stable situation, a LESS stable situation, or will the situation in Iraq not change much?

| | | Before Jan 30 th Elections |
|-----|--------------------------------|--|
| | | Jan |
| | | <u>2005</u> |
| 47 | More stable | 29 |
| 7 | Less stable | 14 |
| 40 | Situation will not change much | 49 |
| 6 | Don't know/Refused | 8 |
| 100 | | 100 |

Q.43 How much longer do you think United States troops will have to remain in Iraq – for less than a year, one to two years, two to five years, or will the U.S. troops have to stay in Iraq for longer than five years?

| | | | | CBS/New York Times | | | |
|-----|---------------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------------|----------|-------------|-------------|
| | | July | June | April | March | Dec | July |
| | | <u>2004</u> | <u>2004</u> | <u>2004</u> | 2004 | <u>2003</u> | <u>2003</u> |
| 11 | Less than a year | 17 | 17 | 8 | 8 | 15 | 13 |
| 27 | One to two years | 31 | 33 | 27 | 22 | 34 | 31 |
| 32 | Two to five years | 27 | 26 | 33 | 35 | 31 | 31 |
| 22 | Longer than five years | 17 | 16 | 25 | 26 | 12 | 18 |
| 8 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | <u>8</u> | <u>8</u> | <u>7</u> | <u>9</u> | <u>8</u> | <u>7</u> |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=761]:

Q.44F1 Do you think democracy can succeed if the Iraqi people elect Islamic religious leaders to positions of power, or not?

- 37 Yes, can succeed
- 40 No
- 23 Don't know/Refused

100

In January 2005 the question was worded "On January 30th, Iraq is scheduled to have its first nationwide elections. How much have you heard about this..." In June 2004 the question was worded: "On June 30th, the U.S. is planning to hand over civilian authority to Iraqi leaders. How much have you heard about this... a lot, a little, or nothing at all?"

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=741]:

Q.45F2 Now that Iraq has held its first democratic election, do you think other countries in the Middle East region are more likely to become more democratic, or not?

- 36 Yes, more likely become more democratic
- 52
- 12 100 Don't know/Refused