

**NEWS** Release

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# Congressional Race Unchanged After Foley's Resignation IRAQ LOOMS LARGE IN NATIONALIZED ELECTION

#### Also Inside...

- Positive views of Iraq effort plummet
- More say war hurts in fight against terrorism
- Decline in gas prices does not ease economic concern
- Both parties still split over immigration

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# Congressional Race Unchanged After Foley's Resignation IRAQ LOOMS LARGE IN NATIONALIZED ELECTION

Iraq has become the central issue of the midterm elections. There is more dismay about how the U.S. military effort in Iraq is going than at any point since the war began more than three years ago. And the war is the dominant concern among the majority of voters who say they will be thinking about national issues, rather than local issues, when they cast their ballot for Congress this fall.

Pew's latest nationwide survey finds 58% of the public saying that the U.S. military effort in Iraq is not going well, and a 47% plurality believes the war in Iraq is hurting, not helping, the war on terrorism. The poll finds extensive public awareness of a leaked intelligence estimate suggesting that the war is spawning more terrorism. More than third of Americans (35%) say they have heard a lot about the intelligence report, and these people are much more likely than others to say the war in Iraq is hurting the war on terror.

The survey, conducted Sept. 21-Oct. 4 among 1,804 Americans, was in the field when news broke that former Rep. Mark Foley sent sexually explicit emails to House pages. The Foley story has not significantly affected the midterm race: In interviewing conducted before news of the scandal surfaced, Democrats led by 51%-38% among registered voters; in the days after Foley resigned, the Democratic advantage was unchanged (50%-37%). Similarly, the scandal's impact on opinions of GOP

Foley Scandal Has No Immediate Impact							
		Fole	ey				
		resigna	tion**				
If the election were	<u>Total</u>	<b>Before</b>	<u>After</u>				
today, would you*	%	%	%				
Vote Democratic	51	51	50				
Vote Republican	38	38	37				
Other/Don't know	<u>11</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>13</u>				
	100	100	100				
	(N=1,503)	(N=777)	(N=726)				
Job approval of							
Republican leaders							
Approve	33	33	34				
Disapprove	56	57	54				
Don't know	<u>11</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>12</u>				
	100	100	100				
Governs in a more							
honest, ethical way							
Republican Party	27	29	26				
Democratic Party	41	40	42				
Both/Neither/DK	<u>32</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>32</u>				
	100	100	100				
	(N=1,804)	(N=928)	(N=876)				
Based on registered voters.     ** Congressman Mark Foley resigned his position on Friday, Sept. 29.							

congressional leaders – and the Republican Party's image for honest and ethical governance – has been fairly limited.

The survey finds that a majority of voters (51%) say national issues will matter more than local concerns in their vote for Congress. Just 23% say local matters will be more important to their vote. And among those who see national issues as paramount, the situation in Iraq is by far the most important concern; fully 51% cite Iraq as being most important (or second most important) factor in their vote, compared with 37% who mention terrorism, and 35% who cite the economy.

Iraq is by far the most important issue for Democratic voters, but 50% of independents who see national issues as trumping local concerns also say the situation in Iraq will be important to their vote. Terrorism is by far the leading issue for Republican voters; 57% of GOP voters who think national issues matter more than local issues say terrorism will be most important in their vote.

Positive perceptions of the situation in Iraq have eroded considerably just in the past few weeks. Nearly six-in-ten (58%) say the U.S. military effort there is not going well – up from 48% in last month. But public attitudes about the war and what to do about the troops remain fairly stable. As was the case in early September, the public is evenly divided over whether U.S. troops should stay in Iraq until the situation there is stabilized (47%), or should be brought home as soon as possible (47%).

The survey shows that an overwhelming majority of Americans (81%) are aware of the recent fall in gas prices. Yet voters who know that gas prices are declining are just as likely as those who do not to cite the economy as an important issue in their vote this fall.

There also is a great deal of bipartisan voter cynicism about the causes of soaring energy costs in the past few years. More than half of voters (55%) cite "oil companies manipulating the prices" as the main reason for high gas prices, more than the combined number who point to recent wars in the Middle East (20%) and increased demand (16%). Notably, about as many Republicans as Democrats and independents say price manipulation by oil companies is the main factor behind high gas prices.

#### Iraq a Key Election Issue...

Among national
issue voters\*

Total Rep Dem

Top national	<u>Total</u>	Rep	<u>Dem</u>	Ind
issues**	%	%	%	%
Situation in Iraq	51	36	68	50
Terrorism	37	57	21	33
Economy	35	37	39	29
Health care	31	22	39	29
Immigration	24	32	12	27
Energy policy	15	9	16	22

#### ...Amid Growing Gloom about the War

General Public				Early
Iraq's effect on	Mar	<u>June</u>	<u>Sept</u>	<u>Oct</u>
war on terror	%	%	%	%
Helped	38	44	41	38
Hurt	44	40	45	47
No effect (VOL.)	8	6	5	5
Don't know	<u>10</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>
	100	100	100	100
How things are				
going in Iraq				
Very/fairly well	43	53	47	37
Not too/at all well	51	43	48	<b>58</b>
Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100	100

<sup>\*</sup>Based on voters who say national issues will be more important than local issues to their congressional vote (51% of all registered voters).

#### Recent Drop in Gas Prices Does Not Ease Focus on Economy

	Economy a top					
This month,	voting issue*					
gas prices have	%		Yes	<u>No</u>		
Gone down	81	$\Longrightarrow$	41	59=100		
Gone up	13	$\Rightarrow$	41	59=100		
Same/DK	<u>6</u>	$\Longrightarrow$	44	56=100		
	100					

<sup>\*</sup> Percent rating the economy as the most or second most important issue affecting their vote. Based on registered voters.

<sup>\*\*</sup>Selected as the two most important issues for congressional vote.

The congressional horserace has remained stable in recent weeks, in spite of the major political stories roiling Washington. The congressional test ballot for the entire polling period shows no significant change in the race since early September; 51% of registered voters say they would vote for the Democratic candidate in their district, compared with 38% who favor the GOP candidate. The Democrats' advantage has moved in a fairly

Democrats' Advantage Holds Steady								
If the election were today, would you Vote Democratic Vote Republican Other/Don't know	Feb % 50 41 9 100	<u>Apr</u> % 51 41 <u>8</u> 100	June % 51 39 10 100	Aug % 50 41 <u>9</u> 100		Early Oct % 51 38 11 100		
Based on registered voters.								

narrow range – between nine and 13 points – since the beginning of this year.

President Bush's job approval rating stands at 37%, which is unchanged since early September and August. Public dissatisfaction with national conditions remains high: 63% say they are dissatisfied with the way things are going in the country, which also is little changed from the summer (65% in July).

The survey contains further evidence that the president's renewed focus on terrorism is raising the profile of the issue, particularly among Republican voters. A solid majority of Republican voters (57%) who say national issues, rather than local concerns, will matter more in their vote cite terrorism as the top individual issue. A third of independent voters who say national issues will matter most in their vote also point to terrorism as the most important (or second most important) issue in their vote.

However, the attitudes of independent voters on key aspects of terrorism policy are, if anything, closer to the opinions of Democratic than Republican voters. About half of independent voters (49%) say it is generally right for the government to conduct surveillance on suspected terrorists' communications without court permission. That is far below the number of Republican voters who support this policy (81%); by comparison, 36% of Democratic voters say warrantless surveillance of suspected terrorists is generally right. Similarly, on the question of whether torture of suspected terrorists to gain important information can be justified, independent voters are

Voters and Terrorism Policy							
Govt. surveillance of suspected terrorists w/out court permission: Generally right	Total % 54 41	Rep % 81 15	<u>Dem</u> % 36 59	<u>Ind</u> % 49 46			
Generally wrong Don't know  Torture of suspected	5 100	13 4 100	<u>4</u> 100	5 100			
terrorists is justified Often/sometimes Rarely/never	46 51	63 34	33 64	44 52			
Don't know  Based on registered voters.	<u>3</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100			

a bit closer to Democratic than to Republican voters.

## Verdict on 109th Congress: Little Accomplished

With lawmakers on an extended recess to campaign for reelection, the voters' verdict on this congressional session is highly negative. Roughly four-in-ten (41%) say this Congress has accomplished less than its recent predecessors – and a solid majority of those who say this (62%) blame Republican leaders for the lack of achievement. In historical terms, the percentage saying this Congress has accomplished less than its predecessors slightly exceeds the percentage expressing this view in October 1994 (38%).

Most Democratic voters (57%) say Congress has accomplished less than usual. Among independent voters, the same number

Continuing Discontent With Congress									
	Oct	Oct	Nov		-2006-				
Congress has	1994*	1998	2002	Apr	<u>June</u>	Oct			
accomplished	%	%	%	%	%	%			
Less than usual	38	23	27	41	45	41			
About the same	50	49	54	47	42	47			
More than usual	9	24	11	7	7	6			
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	8	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>			
	100	100	100	100	100	100			
If "less," who is most to blame?									
Republican leade	rs			56	56	62			
Democratic leade	rs			14	17	10			
Both/Other (Vol)				26	24	24			
Don't know				<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>			
				100	100	100			
Based on registered v	oters.								
* Survey conducted b	y Gallup								

says this Congress' accomplishments are less than its predecessors as say it has accomplished about the same (44%). The prevailing view among Republicans is that this Congress has been about as productive as those in the recent past (64%), though 20% say it has accomplished less than previous sessions.

More than eight-in-ten Democratic voters (86%) who view this session's accomplishments as less productive than recent sessions blame Republican leaders for the lack of production; a plurality

of independent voters (49%) agree. Republican voters who say this Congress has accomplished less than its predecessors mostly blame Democratic leaders (41%), but nearly as many fault the leaders of both parties (35%).

While Democratic leaders get less criticism for Congress's lack of output this year, their own job approval ratings remain lackluster. Just 35% of the public approves of the job Democratic leaders in Congress are doing, while 53% disapprove. That is

Liberals Give So-So Ratings to Democratic Leaders in Congress							
Job Approval Rating							
Republican Democratic							
	leaders leaders						
	%	%					
Total	33	35					
Conservative Rep	78	23					
Mod/Liberal Rep	53	22					
Independent	28	27					
Mod/Conserv Den	em 15 54						
Liberal Democrat	5	55					

only slightly higher than the ratings for GOP congressional leaders (33% approve, 56% disapprove).

However, GOP leaders continue to get very favorable ratings from conservative Republicans (78% job approval). This stands in contrast to the middling ratings that Democratic leaders in Congress receive from liberal members of their party (55%). Independents give roughly the same low marks to the congressional leaders of both parties (28% Republican leaders, 27% Democratic leaders).

#### Party Images: GOP Loses Ground

The Democratic Party holds sizable, and in some cases growing, advantages in specific traits related to empathy, ethics, and managerial competence. By roughly two-to-one (55%-27%), more people say the phrase "is more concerned with the needs of people like me" better describes the Democratic Party and its leaders rather than the Republican Party and its leaders. This belief is little changed from April (52% Democrats vs. 28% Republicans).

The Democrats have gained some ground since April in views of which party "governs in a more honest and ethical way." Currently, 41% say that phrase better describes the Democratic Party, while 27% say it better characterizes the GOP. In April, the Democrats' lead in this area was 36%-28%. By a wide margin, the Democratic Party continues to be viewed as being able to "bring about the kind of changes the country needs" (by 48%-28%).

More people see the Republican Party and its leaders, rather than the Democratic Party and its leaders, as "more influenced by lobbyists and special interests" (by 41%-27%). And a smaller margin of people believe that the Democratic Party rather than the Republican Party can better

Democratic Party Advantages on Empathy, Honesty							
	Dem Party	Rep Party	Both (Vol)	Neithe (Vol)		Dem advantage	
Which party do you think Is more concerned with people like me	% 55	% 27	%	% 8	% 7=100	+28	
Can bring needed changes to the country	48	28	4	10	10=100	+20	
Is more influenced by special interests	27	41	16	2	14=100	+14	
Governs in an honest and ethical way	41	27	4	18	10=100	+14	
Can better manage the federal governmen	t 44	34	3	9	10=100	+10	

manage the federal government (44%-34%). While this represents a modest change from spring, it presents a striking contrast with the way the two parties were viewed in July 1994. At that time, the Republican Party held a substantial advantage as the party better able to manage the federal government when compared with the Democrats, who then controlled the White House and Congress.

#### Still a Tough Environment for Incumbents

Anti-incumbent sentiment remains widespread, though it has subsided a bit since the summer. Currently, 27% of voters say they do not want to see *their own* representative win reelection in the fall, compared with 32% in June. However, the percentage saying they do not want to see their own lawmaker reelected is comparable to levels seen in October 1994 (29%).

There also has been a decline since June in the percentage of voters who say they do not want to see *most* members of Congress reelected (from 57% to 48%). By this measure, anti-incumbent feeling is less prevalent than in October 1994, when 56% said they did not

want most members in Congress reelected.

Comparing the two elections, Republican voters are now displaying more loyalty to incumbents than Democrats did a dozen years ago. Currently, just 17% of Republican voters say they do not want their own member reelected; that compares with 27% of Democratic voters who expressed this sentiment in October 1994.

In a similar vein, only about a quarter of Republican voters (27%) say they do not want to see most members of Congress win reelection (down from 35% in early

Party Images: '94 Vs. '06							
Which party do							
you think	July	April	Oct				
Can better	<u>1994</u>	2006	2006				
manage fed. govt.	%	%	%				
Rep Party	43	35	34				
Dem Party	31	39	44				
Both (Vol)	4	3	3				
Neither (Vol)	17	15	9				
Don't know	<u>5</u>	8	<u>10</u>				
	100	100	100				
Can bring about							
needed change							
Rep Party	39	32	28				
Dem Party	42	47	48				
Both (Vol)	4	2	4				
Neither (Vol)	10	12	10				
Don't know	5	7	10				
	$1\overline{0}0$	$1\overline{00}$	100				
Governs in more							
ethical way							
Rep Party	32	28	27				
Dem Party	35	36	41				
Both (Vol)	6	4	4				
Neither (Vol)	21	23	18				
Don't know	<u>6</u>	9	<u>10</u>				
	100	100	100				

Anti-Incumbency Sentiment Still Widespread							
% do <u>not</u> want <b>their</b> US representative re-elected Total				June 2006 % 32			
Republican Democrat Independent % do not want most members in Congress reelected	34 27 29	20 19 25		36	28	17 33 30	
Total	56	39	38	57	49	48	
Republican Democrat Independent	62 41 65	27 46 45	34 40 41	40 66 63	35 60 53	27 63 53	
Based on registered voters	S.						

September). In October 1994, fully 41% of Democratic voters said they did not want to see most members from the Democratically controlled Congress to win reelection.

#### Party Control of Congress Matters More

As Pew surveys have shown all year, an unusually high percentage of voters say they view their ballot as a vote "against" the president (39%), rather than a vote "for" Bush (18%); four-in-ten voters say Bush is not much of a factor in their vote. In September 2002, by contrast, twice as many voters said they thought of their vote as being for Bush rather than against him (by 29%-15%).

The question of which party controls Congress also is a much bigger factor in this election than in the previous two midterm campaigns. Nearly six-inten voters (57%) say the issue of partisan control of

Congress will be a factor in their vote. This opinion, like many attitudes about the midterm campaign, has been stable for months.

Far more Democrats and Republicans say party control matters in their votes than did so four years ago. And about twice as many independent voters say party control is a factor in their vote than did so at a comparable point in 2002 (45% vs. 23%).

#### Views of Iraq Turn More Negative

Perceptions of the war in Iraq have grown more negative over the last month. In early September, Americans were split between those who felt U.S. military efforts were going well (47%) and those who believed they were not going well (48%). Now, just 37% think the war is going well, while six-in-ten (58%) say military efforts are going not too well or not at all well.

Party Control A Factor								
Is party control of Congress a factor in your vote? Yes No Don't know	Oct 1998 % 47 49 <u>4</u> 100	Oct <u>2002</u> % 42 55 <u>3</u> 100	June <u>2006</u> % 58 39 <u>3</u> 100	Oct 2006 % 57 40 3 100				
More of a factor for Republicans Democrats Independents Based on registered voters.	57 57 29	44 54 23	54 72 48	58 69 45				

Changing Perceptions of Iraq War				
% saying effort going very/fairly well Total	Early Sept % 47	Early Oct %	<u>Change</u> -10	
Men	49	40	-9	
Women	45	34	-11	
Cons Repub	80	67	-13	
Mod/Lib Repub	56	55	-1	
Independent	42	33	-9	
Cons/Mod Dem	39	26	-13	
Liberal Dem	15	10	-5	
'06 vote choice* Republican Democrat	73	62	-11	
	27	19	-8	
Northeast	48	24	-24	
Midwest	51	40	-11	
South	47	41	-6	
West	43	38	-5	
*Based on registered voters.				

Evaluations of the war have significantly more negative among women; just 34% of women believe it is going well, compared with 45% earlier in the month. Conservative and moderate Democrats also are more downbeat in their assessments – only 26% now think military efforts are going well, compared to 39% in early September. And while most conservative Republicans still think things in Iraq are headed in a positive direction, they are less likely to do so now than they were a few weeks ago (67% positive, down from 80% in early September). The largest change in perceptions of the war has occurred in the Northeast, where the percentage of people who think the war is going well has dropped dramatically, from 48% to 24%.

Iraq War's Impact on War on Terrorism					
			No		
	<u>Helped</u>		effect		
m . 1	%	%	%	%	
Total	39	46	5	10=100	
Men	44	42	6	8=100	
Women	34	50	4	12=100	
Cons Repub	73	14	3	10=100	
Mod/Lib Repub	54	32	7	7=100	
Independent	36	47	6	11=100	
Cons/Mod Dem	25	62	6	7=100	
Liberal Dem	9	81	5	5=100	
'06 vote choice*					
Republican	67	19	4	10=100	
Democrat	19	67	6	8=100	
Heard about Iraq intelligence repor					
A lot	33	57	4	6=100	
Little/nothing	43	41	5	11=100	
* Based on registered	voters.				

### Iraq Hurting War on Terror

Nearly half of the American public (46%) now believes the war in Iraq has hurt the war on terrorism, which approaches the highest percentage since Pew began asking this question in 2002 (47% in July 2005). By comparison, just 39% say it has helped the war on terrorism.

There is some evidence that opinions on this issue have been influenced by the recent leak of a National Intelligence Estimate (NIE) suggesting that the war in Iraq has increased the terrorist threat to the U.S. Roughly three-quarters of Americans (73%) say they have heard either a lot (35%) or a little (38%) about this report. Among those who have heard a lot, 57% believe the Iraq war is hurting efforts to combat terrorism. Those who have heard a little or have not heard of the report at all are much less likely to believe the war is damaging the campaign against terrorism (41%).

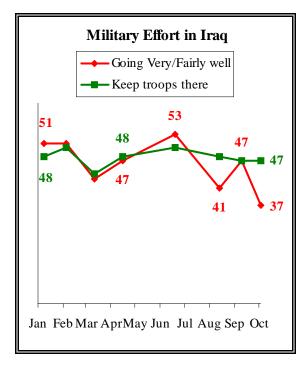
There is a significant gender gap on this question, with women (50%) more likely than men (42%) to believe Iraq is hurting the war on terrorism. As is the case with support for the war itself, there are deep political and ideological divisions in views about the Iraq war's impact on the struggle against terrorism. Fully 73% of conservative Republicans – and a much smaller majority of moderate and liberal Republicans – say the war in Iraq has helped the war on terrorism. Just a quarter of conservative and moderate Democrats, and even fewer liberals (9%), agree. And a plurality of independents (47%) think Iraq is harming the war against terrorism.

Two-thirds (67%) of those who plan to vote for a Republican for Congress in the November elections think the war in Iraq is having a positive effect on the war on terrorism, while the same percentage of those who plan to vote for a Democrat say Iraq is harming the war on terror (67%).

#### **Divided Over Troop Pullout**

While public views of the situation in Iraq have grown more negative, there has been no change in opinions about whether U.S. forces should be withdrawn from the country. The public remains evenly divided between those who favor keeping "military troops in Iraq until the situation has stabilized" (47%), and those who think "the U.S. should bring its troops home as soon as possible" (47%).

Over the last several months, attitudes on this question have remained quite steady, despite the fact that perceptions of the war's progress have fluctuated considerably. Since June, the share of the public saying we should keep troops in Iraq has hovered between 47% and 50%, while during the same time period the percentage who believe the



war is going well first dropped from 53% to 41%, then rose to 47%, and has now declined once more to 37%.

Other opinions about the war also have been fairly stable. Currently, 53% say the U.S. should set a timetable for when troops will be withdrawn from Iraq. That is somewhat higher than in early September (47%), but about the same as in the summer. The public also is divided over whether the decision to go to war was right (45%) or wrong (47%). The number saying the war was the wrong decision has ticked up since early September (43%), but is

Views About Timetal	ble Ste	eady (	)ver T	Time
				Early
Set timetable	<u>June</u>	Aug	Sept	Oct
for withdrawing troops?	%	%	%	%
Set a timetable	52	52	47	53
Do not set a timetable	42	41	45	39
Should get out now (vol)	2	1	1	2
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	7	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100	100

roughly the same as in August (46%).

#### Military Force and Terrorism

When asked about the future direction of the struggle against terrorism, half of Americans say their bigger concern is that we will rely too much on military force to deal with terrorism while 38% say the opposite – that we will be too reluctant to use military force.

A solid majority of conservative Republicans (63%) say their bigger concern is that we will rely too little on the use of military force in years to come; half of moderate and liberal Republicans agree. By contrast, most independents and Democrats – including 74% of liberal Democrats – say their greater concern is that we will rely too much on military force in fighting terrorism.

#### **Immigration Divisions Persist**

The public continues to favor a comprehensive approach to immigration policy: 55% support increasing border protection, while also creating a way for some illegal immigrants in the U.S. to become citizens; 41% favor focusing mostly on strong border protection and stiffer penalties on people entering this country illegally.

Both parties are divided over the issue: Conservative Republicans are evenly split, as are moderate and liberal Republicans. Most liberal Democrats support a comprehensive approach to immigration, but a much narrower majority of conservative and moderate members (54%) of the party agree.

Immigration is not among the top issues in the election – just 24% of voters who say national issues matter most in their vote rate it as very important.

#### Half Worry We Will Rely Too Much on Force in Terror Fight

	More concerned			
We	e will re	ely on f	orce	
	Too	Not		
	much	enough	<u> DK</u>	
	%	%	%	
Total	50	38	12=100	
3.6	40	40	10 100	
Men	48	42	10 = 100	
Women	53	34	13=100	
18-29	64	31	5=100	
30-49	49	41	10=100	
50-64	48	42	10=100	
65+	39	34	27=100	
Cons Repub	27	63	10 = 100	
Mod/Lib Repub	43	50	7 = 100	
Independent	52	37	11=100	
Cons/Mod Dem	62	26	12=100	
Liberal Dem	74	17	9=100	

## **Opinion on Immigration Policy\***

	Focus	Border	
	mostly	security	
	on border	& path to	
	security	citizenship	<u>DK</u>
	%	%	%
Total	41	55	4=100
Conservative R	ep 49	49	2=100
Mod/Lib Rep	49	47	4 = 100
Independent	38	56	6=100
Cons/Mod Dem	1 43	54	3=100
Liberal Dem	27	72	1=100
2006 House vot	e e		
Republican	50	47	3=100
Democrat	36	60	4=100

- \*Which proposal do you favor? (ROTATED)
- Focusing MOSTLY on strong border protection and stiffer penalties on people who enter the U.S. illegally OR
- Increasing border protection and ALSO creating a way for some illegal immigrants already here to become citizens if they meet certain requirements

However, roughly three-in-ten Republicans (32%) and independents (27%) who say national issues matter more than local concerns cite immigration as the most important – or second most important – issue in their vote. That compares with just 12% of Democratic voters who say national issues matter more than local concerns.

Notably, there is a sizable gap in the salience of this issue between voters who favor a tough approach to immigration and those who support a comprehensive approach. Fully 33% of those who back strong border protection and stiffer penalties say immigration is important to their vote; that compares with just 11% of those who support a comprehensive approach to immigration policy.

#### ABOUT THIS 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 1,804 adults, 18 years of age or older, from September 21 to October 4, 2006. 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 registered voters (N=1503), the sampling error is plus or minus 3 percentage points. For results based on Form 1 (N=890) and Form 2 (N=914) the sampling error 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.

#### ABOUT THE CENTER

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# PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS AND THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

# EARLY OCTOBER 2006 TURNOUT SURVEY

#### FINAL TOPLINE

September 21 - October 4, 2006 N=1,804

#### ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=890]:

Q.1F1 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]

	App-	Dis-	Don't		App-	Dis-	Don't
	rove	approve	know		rove	approve	<u>know</u>
Early October, 2006	37	53	10=100	Mid-August, 2003	56	32	12=100
Early September, 2006	37	53	10=100	Early August, 2003	53	37	10 = 100
August, 2006	37	54	9=100	Mid-July, 2003	58	32	10 = 100
July, 2006	36	57	7=100	Early July, 2003	60	29	11=100
June, 2006	36	54	10=100	June, 2003	62	27	11=100
April, 2006	33	56	11=100	May, 2003	65	27	8=100
Early April, 2006	35	55	10=100	April 10-16, 2003	72	22	6=100
March, 2006	33	57	10=100	April 9, 2003	74	20	6=100
February, 2006	40	52	8=100	April 2-7, 2003	69	25	6=100
January, 2006	38	54	8=100	March 28-April 1, 2003	71	23	6=100
December, 2005	38	54	8=100	March 25-27, 2003	70	24	6=100
Early November, 2005	36	55	9=100	March 20-24, 2003	67	26	7=100
Late October, 2005	40	52	8=100	March 13-16, 2003	55	34	11=100
Early October, 2005	38	56	6=100	February, 2003	54	36	10=100
September 8-11, 2005	40	52	8=100	January, 2003	58	32	10=100
September 6-7, 2005	40	52	8=100	December, 2002	61	28	11=100
July, 2005	44	48	8=100	Late October, 2002	59	29	12=100
June, 2005	42	49	9=100	Early October, 2002	61	30	9=100
Late May, 2005	42	48	10=100	Mid-September, 2002	67	22	11=100
Mid-May, 2005	43	50	7=100	Early September, 2002	63	26	11=100
Late March, 2005	49	46	5=100	Late August, 2002	60	27	13=100
Mid-March, 2005	45	46	9=100	August, 2002	67	21	12=100
February, 2005	46	47	7=100	Late July, 2002	65	25	10=100
January, 2005	50	43	7=100	July, 2002	67	21	12=100
December, 2004	48	44	8=100	June, 2002	70	20	10=100
Mid-October, 2004	44	48	8=100	April, 2002	69	18	13=100
August, 2004	46	45	9=100	Early April, 2002	74	16	10=100
July, 2004	46	46	8=100	February, 2002	78	13	9=100
June, 2004	48	43	9=100	January, 2002	80	11	9=100
May, 2004	44	48	8=100	Mid-November, 2001	84	9	7=100
Late April, 2004	48	43	9=100	Early October, 2001	84	8	8=100
Early April, 2004	43	47	10=100	Late September, 2001	86	7	7=100
Late March, 2004	47	44	9=100	Mid-September, 2001	80	9	11=100
Mid-March, 2004	46	47	7=100	Early September, 2001	51	34	15=100
February, 2004	48	44	8=100	August, 2001	50	32	18=100
Mid-January, 2004	56	34	10=100	July, 2001	51	32	17=100
Early January, 2004	58	35	7=100	June, 2001	50	33	17=100
December, 2003	57	34	9=100	May, 2001	53	32	15=100
November, 2003	50	40	10=100	April, 2001	56	27	17=100
October, 2003	50	42	8=100	March, 2001	55	25	20=100
September, 2003	55	36	9=100	February, 2001	53	21	26=100

#### IF APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE (1,2 IN Q.1F1) ASK:

Q.1F1a Do you (approve/disapprove) very strongly, or not so strongly?

#### BASED ON FORM 1 ONLY [N=890]:

	April	Dec	March	Dec	Nov	Sept	June	April
	2006	2005	2005	2004	2003	2003	<u>2002</u>	2001
37 Approve	35	38	49	48	50	55	70	56
23 Very strongly	23	26	32	34	34	35	46	34
13 Not so strongly	11	11	16	12	14	18	21	20
1 Don't know ( <b>VOL</b> )	1	1	1	2	2	2	3	2
53 Disapprove	55	54	46	44	40	36	20	27
43 Very strongly	45	42	36	35	30	27	8	18
9 Not so strongly	10	11	10	8	9	9	12	9
1 Don't know ( <b>VOL</b> )	*	1	*	1	1	*	0	*
10 Don't know/Refused (VOL)	<u>10</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>17</u>
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

#### ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=914]:

Q.2F2 All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in this country today?

			No
	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	<b>Opinion</b>
Early October, 2006	30	63	7=100
July, 2006	30	65	5=100
May, $2006^1$	29	65	6=100
March, 2006	32	63	5=100
January, 2006	34	61	5=100
Late November, 2005	34	59	7=100
Early October, 2005	29	65	6=100
July, 2005	35	58	7=100
Late May, 2005	39	57	4=100
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 <sup>2</sup>	50	41	9=100
January, 2003	44	50	6=100
November, 2002	41	48	11=100
September, 2002	41	55	4=100
Late August, 2002	47	44	9=100
Late May, 2005 February, 2005 January, 2005 December, 2004 Mid-October, 2004 July, 2004 May, 2004 Late February, 2004 Early January, 2004 December, 2003 October, 2003 August, 2003 April, 2003² January, 2003 November, 2002 September, 2002	38 40 39 36 38 33 39 45 44 38 40 50 44 41 41	56 54 54 58 55 61 55 48 47 56 53 41 50 48 55	6=100 6=100 7=100 6=100 7=100 6=100 7=100 9=100 6=100 7=100 9=100 6=100 11=100 4=100

The September 2002 and May 2006 trends are from a Pew Global Attitudes Project survey.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Asked April 8, 2003 only; N=395.

### Q.2F2 CONTINUED...

CONTINUED			
	G		No
N. 2002	Satisfied	<u>Dissatisfied</u>	Opinion 120
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 (RVs)	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
April, 1995	23	74	3=100
July, 1994	24	73	3=100
March, 1994	24	71	5=100
October, 1993	22	73	5=100
September, 1993	20	75	5=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
			2 200

#### IF ANSWER GIVEN (1,2 IN Q.2F2) ASK:

Q.2F2a Would you say you are very [satisfied/dissatisfied] or just somewhat [satisfied/dissatisfied]?

#### BASED ON FORM 2 ONLY [N=914]:

- 30 Satisfied
- 8 Very
- 22 Somewhat
- \* Don't know/Refused
- 63 Dissatisfied
- 36 Very
- 26 Somewhat
- 1 Don't know/Refused
- 7 No Opinion

100

#### QUESTIONS 3 THROUGH 9 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

#### ASK Q.10 THROUGH Q.17 OF REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY (REGICERT=1):

Thinking about this year's election...

Q.10 If the 2006 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 ANSWERED '3' OTHER OR '9' DON'T KNOW IN Q.10, ASK:

Q.10a As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to the Republican or the Democrat?

	Rep/	Dem/	Other/
<u>I</u>		Lean Dem	Undecided
Early October, 2006	38	51	11=100
Early September, 2006	39	50	11=100
August, 2006	41	50	9=100
June, 2006	39	51	10=100
April, 2006	41	51	8=100
February, 2006	41	50	9=100
Mid-September, 2005	40	52	8=100
2002 Election			
Early November, 2002	42	46	12=100
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
1998 Election			
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.10/10a CONTINUED...

	Rep/	Dem/	Other/
	Lean Rep	Lean Dem	Undecided
1994 Election			
November, 1994	45	43	12=100
Late 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 (REGICERT=1):

Q.11 What matters more to you as you think about your vote for Congress this fall? [READ AND ROTATE]

#### **BASED ON ALL REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1503]:**

		Early
		Sept
		$2006^{3}$
51	National issues OR	47
23	Local issues	36
24	Both equally (VOL.) [DO NOT READ]	17
2	Don't know/Refused (VOL.) [DO NOT READ]	*
100		100

Q.12 Of the following six issues, which ONE would you say is MOST important to your vote for Congress this year? [READ AND RANDOMIZE]

#### IF ANSWER GIVEN (1-7 IN Q.12) ASK:

Q.12a And which would you say is the SECOND most important to your vote? [READ IN SAME ORDER AS Q.12 EXCLUDING PRIOR SELECTION]

<u>First</u>	Second	<u>Combined</u>	
22	19	41	The economy
24	20	44	The situation in Iraq
15	17	32	Terrorism
11	10	21	Immigration
5	9	14	Energy policy
18	20	38	Health care
2	1	3	Other (VOL.) [DO NOT READ]
*	*	*	None of these (VOL.) [DO NOT READ]
<u>3</u>	$4^{4}$	3	Don't know/Refused (VOL.) [DO NOT READ]
100	100		

In Early September 2006, the question was worded: "What matters most to you..."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Includes Don't Know/Refused responses for first and second most important issue to a respondent's vote for Congress.

#### ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):

Q.13 Would you like to see your representative in Congress be re-elected in the next congressional election, or not?

#### BASED ON ALL REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1503]:

			(VOL)	(T10T)
	• •		Congressperson	(VOL)
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	not running	DK/Ref
Early October, 2006	50	27	1	22 = 100
Early September, 2006	53	27	1	19=100
August, 2006	51	30	*	19=100
June, 2006	51	32	1	16=100
April, 2006	57	28	1	14=100
February, 2006	59	28	1	12 = 100
Mid-September, 2005	57	25	1	17=100
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
Late October, 1994	55	30	2	13=100
Early October, 1994	49	29	2	20=100
Gallup: October, 1990	62	22	2	14=100

Q.14 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?

			(VOL)
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	DK/Ref
Early October, 2006	32	48	20=100
Early September, 2006	35	49	16=100
August, 2006	36	49	15=100
June, 2006	29	57	14=100
April, 2006	34	53	13=100
February, 2006	36	49	15=100
September, 2005	36	48	16=100
Early October, 2002	39	38	23=100
June, 2002	45	37	18=100
October, 2000	40	34	26=100
July, 1999	41	47	12=100

#### Q.14 CONTINUED...

31 ( I I I ( C I I I ) ( C I I I )			
			(VOL)
	Yes	No	DK/Ref
Late October, 1998	41	37	22=100
Early October, 1998	39	39	22=100
Early September, 1998	46	37	17=100
March, 1998	45	41	14=100
January, 1998	44	43	13=100
August, 1997	45	42	13=100
Early September, 1996	43	43	14=100
November, 1994	31	51	18=100
Late October, 1994	31	56	13=100
Early October, 1994	28	56	16=100

Q.15 Thinking about the congressional elections that will be held this November, compared to previous elections, are you more enthusiastic about voting than usual, or less enthusiastic?

#### BASED ON ALL REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1503]:

		Early				Gallup
		Sept	June	June	June	Oct
		<u>2006</u>	<u>2006</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u> 1998</u>	<u> 1994</u>
39	More	37	38	41	38	34
36	Less	40	40	33	45	44
21	Same (VOL)	20	18	23	15	20
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100

Q.16 Will the issue of which party controls Congress, the Republicans or the Democrats, be a factor in your vote for Congress this year, or not?

	Yes, will be	No,	(VOL)
	a factor	will not	DK/Ref
Early October, 2006	57	40	3=100
Early September, 2006	55	41	4=100
June, 2006	58	39	3=100
April, 2006	56	39	5=100
June, 2004	43	51	6=100
Early November, 2002	48	49	3=100
Early October, 2002	42	55	3=100
Early September, 2002	44	51	5=100
June, 2002	47	50	3=100
February, 2002	46	49	5=100
Early October, 2000	46	50	4=100
July, 2000	46	49	5=100
Late October, 1998	46	50	4=100
Early October, 1998	47	49	4=100
Early September, 1998	41	56	3=100
Early August, 1998	44	53	3=100
June, 1998	45	51	4=100

Q.17 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 ALL REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1503]:**

_	_		Not a	DK/
	<u>For</u>	<b>Against</b>	factor	<u>Ref</u>
Early October, 2006	18	39	40	3=100
Early September, 2006	20	36	40	4 = 100
August, 2006	17	35	43	5=100
June, 2006	15	38	44	3=100
April, 2006	17	34	46	3=100
February, 2006	18	31	47	4 = 100
Early November, 2002	29	16	49	6=100
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: Early September, 1996	24	18	51	7 = 100
Clinton: November, 1994	17	21	55	7 = 100
Clinton: Late October, 1994	17	21	57	5=100
Clinton: Early October, 1994	17	23	54	6 = 100
CBS/NYT <b>Bush</b> : 10/28-31, 1990	19	15	61	6=100
CBS/NYT <b>Reagan</b> : 10/24-28, 1986	26	12	55	7 = 100
CBS/NYT Reagan: 9/28-10/1, 1986	26	16	51	7 = 100
CBS/NYT Reagan: 10/23-28, 1982	23	21	51	5=100

#### **ASK ALL:**

On another subject...

Q.18 Compared to recent Congresses, would you say THIS Congress has accomplished more, accomplished less, or accomplished about the same amount?

		Early			Early				Early	Early	Early			Gallup
		Sept	June	April	Nov	June	July	Aug	Oct	Sept	Aug	Nov	April	Oct
		<u>2006</u>	<u>2006</u>	<u>2006</u>	2002	<u>2002</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u> 1999</u>	<u> 1998</u>	<u> 1998</u>	<u> 1998</u>	<u> 1997</u>	<u> 1997</u>	<u> 1994</u>
6	More	7	7	7	11	16	21	13	24	24	18	25	10	9
41	Less	38	45	41	27	22	16	23	23	17	15	13	24	38
47	Same	50	42	47	54	57	56	60	49	55	62	59	58	50
<u>6</u>	DK/Ref.	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

#### **ASK IF "LESS" (2 IN Q.18):**

Q.19 Who do you think is most to blame for this [**READ AND ROTATE**]?

#### BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS WHO SAID "LESS' IN Q.18 [N=646]:

		June	April
		<u>2006</u>	2006
62	Republican leaders in Congress	56	56
10	Democratic leaders in Congress	17	14
24	Both/Neither/Someone else (VOL.)	24	26
<u>4</u>	Don't Know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
100		100	100

# QUESTIONS 20 THROUGH 22 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE NO QUESTIONS 23 OR 24

#### ASK ALL: ROTATE Q.25 AND Q.26

Q.25 Do you approve or disapprove of the job the Republican leaders in Congress are doing? [IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF DEPENDS PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall do you approve or disapprove of the job the Republican leaders in Congress are doing? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]

		Dis-	Don't			Dis-	Don't
	<u>Approve</u>	<u>approve</u>	<u>know</u>		<u>Approve</u>	<u>approve</u>	<u>know</u>
Early October, 2006	33	56	11=100	May, 1999	38	44	18=100
June, 2006	30	53	17 = 100	March, 1999	38	47	15=100
March, 2006	32	50	18=100	February, 1999	37	51	12=100
January, 2006	33	52	15=100	January, 1999	38	50	12=100
Early November, 2005	33	50	17 = 100	Early December, 1998	38	49	13=100
Early October, 2005	32	52	16 = 100	November, 1998	41	48	11=100
Mid-September, 2005	36	49	15=100	Early September, 1998	44	37	19=100
Mid-May, 2005	35	50	15=100	Early August, 1998	43	37	20=100
Mid-March, 2005	39	44	17=100	June, 1998	42	38	20=100
Early February, 2004	41	42	17 = 100	May, 1998	40	41	19=100
January, 2003	48	37	15=100	April, 1998	41	40	19=100
June, 2002	50	34	16=100	March, 1998	43	39	18=100
May, 2002	49	34	17 = 100	January, 1998	43	41	16=100
February, 2002	56	24	20=100	November, 1997	41	43	16=100
Early September, 2001	43	39	18=100	August, 1997	42	44	14=100
June, 2001	40	40	20=100	June, 1997	33	50	17=100
May, 2001	45	36	19=100	May, 1997	40	44	16=100
April, 2001	45	30	25=100	April, 1997	40	44	16=100
January, 2001	43	36	21=100	February, 1997	44	42	14=100
July, 2000	36	46	18=100	January, 1997	38	47	15=100
May, 2000	40	42	18=100	November, 1996	40	43	17=100
March, 2000	38	43	19=100	July, 1996	38	48	14=100
February, 2000	40	43	17=100	June, 1996	36	50	14=100
January, 2000	39	41	20 = 100	April, 1996	39	46	15=100
December, 1999	38	42	20=100	March, 1996	35	51	14=100
October, 1999	34	50	16=100	February, 1996	33	53	14=100
Late September, 1999	34	46	20=100	January, 1996	36	54	10=100
August, 1999	40	44	16=100	October, 1995	36	51	13=100
July, 1999	36	45	19=100	September, 1995	36	50	14=100
June, 1999	37	46	17=100	August, 1995	38	45	17=100

#### Q.25 CONTINUED...

		DIS-	Don t
	<b>Approve</b>	approve	know
June, 1995	41	45	14=100
April, 1995	44	43	13=100
March, 1995	43	39	18=100
December, 1994	52	28	20=100

Q.26 Do you approve or disapprove of the job the Democratic leaders in Congress are doing? [IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF DEPENDS PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall do you approve or disapprove of the job the Democratic leaders in Congress are doing? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]

	<u>Approve</u>	<b>Disapprove</b>	Don't know
Early October, 2006	35	53	12=100
June, 2006	32	50	18=100
March, 2006	34	46	20 = 100
January, 2006	34	48	18=100
Early November, 2005	36	44	20=100
Early October, 2005	32	48	20=100
Mid-September, 2005	36	45	19=100
Mid-May, 2005	39	41	20=100
Mid-March, 2005	37	44	19=100
Early February, 2004	38	42	20=100
June, 2002	47	36	17=100
May, 2002	42	37	21=100
February, 2002	49	30	21 = 100
Early September, 2001	49	30	21 = 100
June, 2001	50	28	22 = 100

#### **NO QUESTIONS 27-28**

Thinking about the political parties for a moment...

Q.29 Please tell me if you think each phrase I read better describes the REPUBLICAN Party and its leaders or the DEMOCRATIC Party and its leaders (First,) which party do you think (INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE)?

			(VOL.)		(VOL.)
	Republican	Democratic	Both	(VOL.)	DK/
	<u>Party</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>equally</u>	Neither	<u>Ref</u>
a. Can better manage the federal government	34	44	3	9	10=100
April, 2006 <sup>5</sup>	35	39	3	15	8=100
January, 2006	34	40	4	12	10=100
Early October, 2005	35	41	3	13	8=100
July, 2004	37	40	4	9	10=100
Early September, 1998	37	32	8	12	11=100
August, 1997	39	33	4	16	8=100
July, 1996	45	32	4	12	7 = 100
April, 1995	49	30	3	13	5=100
July, 1994	43	31	4	17	5=100
May, 1993	36	32	2	17	13=100
July, 1992	30	36	1	23	10=100

In April 2006 and earlier, the question was worded: "Which party do you think is better described by the phrase.... Able to manage the federal government well".

0.29	CONTINUED			(VOL.)		(VOL.)
<b>V</b> >	001(111(012)	Republican	Democrati		(VOL.)	DK/
		Party	Party	equally	Neither	Ref
	May, 1990	28	20	12	31	9=100
	May, 1988	33	30	10	17	10=100
	January, 1988	30	28	12	20	10=100
	May, 1987	24	25	13	28	10=100
b.	Governs in a more honest and ethical way	27	41	4	18	10=100
	April, 2006 <sup>6</sup>	28	36	4	23	9=100
	January, 2006	30	37	4	19	10=100
	Early October, 2005	30	40	6	18	6=100
	July, 2004	34	37	5	15	9=100
	Early September, 1998	31	28	6	23	12 = 100
	March, 1998	28	32	7	24	9=100
	August, 1997	28	33	5	26	8=100
	July, 1996	38	37	2	18	5=100
	April, 1995	35	36	4	19	6=100
	July, 1994	32	35	6	21	6=100
c.	Can bring about the kind of changes the					
	country needs	28	48	4	10	10=100
	April, 2006	32	47	2	12	7 = 100
	Early October, 2005	32	48	4	9	7 = 100
	July, 2004	35	46	3	7	9=100
	Early September, 1998	34	40	7	8	11=100
	March, 1998	32	45	7	8	8=100
	August, 1997	38	40	4	11	7 = 100
	July, 1996	39	46	2	7	6=100
	April, 1995	51	34	4	7	4 = 100
	July, 1994	39	42	4	10	5=100
	May, 1993	30	49	2	10	9=100
	July, 1992	24	47	2	16	11=100
	May, 1990	27	31	13	18	11=100
	May, 1988	27	43	9	11	10=100
	January, 1988	28	37	14	11	10=100
	May, 1987	26	36	14	14	10=100
d.	Is more concerned with the needs of					
	people like me <sup>7</sup>	27	55	3	8	7=100
	April, 2006	28	52	3	10	7=100
	Early October, 2005	30	52	5	7	6=100
	July, 2004	30	50	5	8	7=100
	Early September, 1998	31	46	5	9	9=100
	March, 1998	30	51	4	8	7=100
	August, 1997	31	49	3	10	7=100
	July, 1996	35	50	2	7	6=100
	April, 1995	39	49	2	7	3=100

In April 2006 and earlier, the question was worded: "Which party do you think is better described by the phrase... Governs in an honest and ethical way."

In April 2006 and earlier, the question was worded: "Is concerned with the needs of people like me."

Q.29 CONTINU	ED			(VOL.)		(VOL.)
		Republican	Democrati	c Both	(VOL.)	DK/
		<u>Party</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>equally</u>	Neither	<u>Ref</u>
July, 19	94	35	49	4	8	4 = 100
May, 19	90	21	42	12	18	7 = 100
May, 19	88	23	51	8	11	7 = 100
January	, 1988	22	47	11	13	7=100
e. Is more in	fluenced by lobbyists					
and specia	l interests	41	27	16	2	14=100
April, 2	006	45	28	14	2	11=100

#### **QUESTIONS 30 THROUGH 46 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE**

Thinking now about a few issues in the news...

Congress is currently debating immigration policy. Which of these proposals do you favor? (READ AND Q.47 ROTATE; READ RESPONSE NUMBER TO CLARIFY OPTIONS)

		June
		<u>2006</u>
	Focusing MOSTLY on strong border protection and	
41	stiffer penalties on people who enter the U.S. illegally	40
	OR	
	Increasing border protection and ALSO creating a way	
	for some illegal immigrants already here to become	
55	citizens if they meet certain requirements	56
4	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>4</u>
100		100

- Q.48 Of the three things I mention, which do you think is the MAIN reason gas prices have been high in recent years? [READ AND RANDOMIZE, READ RESPONSE NUMBER]
  - 54 Oil companies manipulating the prices
  - 15 Increased demand for oil
  - 21 Recent wars in the Middle East
  - 8 Other/Mixed (VOL.)
  - <u>2</u> 100 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

- Q.49 Which concerns you more about the government's approach to fighting terrorism in the years to come? (READ AND ROTATE; READ RESPONSE NUMBER TO CLARIFY OPTIONS)
  - 50 That we will rely TOO MUCH on military force to deal with terrorism
  - 38 That we will be TOO RELUCTANT to use military force to deal with terrorism
  - Don't know/Refused (VOL.) 12

100

Q.50 Do you think it is generally right or generally wrong for the government to monitor telephone and e-mail communications of Americans suspected of having terrorist ties without first obtaining permission from the courts?

		Early		
		Sept	Feb	Jan
		<u>2006</u>	<u>2006</u>	<u>2006</u>
53	Generally right	54	54	48
42	Generally wrong	41	43	47
<u>5</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>
100		100	100	100

Q.51 Do you think the use of torture against suspected terrorists in order to gain important information can often be justified, sometimes be justified, rarely be justified, or never be justified?

		Late	Late	
		Oct	March	July
		<u>2005</u>	<u>2005</u>	<u>2004</u>
18	Often justified	15	15	15
28	Sometimes justified	31	30	28
19	Rarely justified	17	24	21
32	Never justified	32	27	32
<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>
100		100	100	100

Q.52 Which comes closer to your view about the tax cuts passed under President Bush over the past few years? [READ IN ORDER]

				Early
		April	Dec	Sept
		<u>2006</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2004</u>
26	All of the tax cuts should be made permanent	25	28	27
36	Tax cuts for the wealthy should be repealed, while others stay in place, OR	36	35	31
26	All of the tax cuts should be repealed	28	25	28
<u>12</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL. DO NOT READ)	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>14</u>
100		100	100	100

Q.53 Over the past month, has the price of gas gone up a lot, gone up a little, stayed about the same, gone down a little, or gone down a lot?

- 10 Gone up a lot
- 3 Gone up a little
- 4 Stayed about the same
- 38 Gone down a little
- 43 Gone down a lot
- <u>2</u> Don't know/Refused (**VOL.**)

100

Turning to the subject of Iraq ...
Q.54 Do you think the U.S. made the right decision or the wrong decision in using military force against Iraq?

	D: -1-4	W	(VOI.)
	Right	Wrong	(VOL)
Faula Octaban 2006	decision	decision 47	DK/ Ref
Early October, 2006	45 49	47	8=100
Early September, 2006		43	8=100
August, 2006	45 44	46 50	9=100 6=100
July, 2006	44 49	50	6=100 7-100
June, 2006	49 47	44 46	7=100 7=100
April, 2006 March, 2006	45	49	7=100 6=100
	51		
February, 2006	45	44 47	5=100 8=100
January, 2006	43 47	48	8=100 5=100
December, 2005	48	45	5=100 7=100
Late October, 2005	46 44		7=100
Early October, 2005	44 49	50	6=100 7=100
Mid-September, 2005		44	7=100
July, 2005	49 47	44	7=100 8=100
June, 2005	47	45	8=100
February, 2005	47	47	6=100
January, 2005	51	44	5=100
December, 2004	49	44	7=100
November, 2004 ( <i>RVs</i> )	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
July, 2004	52	43	5=100
June, 2004	55 51	38	7=100
May, 2004	51	42	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	5=100
March 20-22, 2003	71	22	7=100
Late January, 1991	77	15	8=100

Q.55 How well is the U.S. military effort in Iraq going? [READ IN ORDER]

	Very	Fairly	Not too	Not at all	(VOL)
Early October, 2006	<u>well</u> 8	<u>well</u> 29	<u>well</u> 33	<u>well</u> 25	DK/ Ref 5=100
Early September, 2006	8	39	28	20	5=100 5=100
August, 2006	8	33	32	23	4=100
June, 2006	16	37	25	18	4=100 4=100
April, 2006	13	34	29	21	3=100
March, 2006	9	34	30	21	6=100
February, 2006	13	38	29	17	3=100
January, 2006	12	39	27	17	5=100 5=100
December, 2005	14	37	29	17	3=100
Early October, 2005	9	35	31	22	3=100
Mid-September, 2005	12	41	26	18	3=100
July, 2005	14	38	27	17	4=100
June, 2005	9	41	27	19	4=100
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.56 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	(VOL)
	<u>in Iraq</u>	<u>home</u>	DK/ Ref
Early October, 2006	47	47	6=100
Early September, 2006	47	47	6=100
August, 2006	48	46	6=100
June, 2006	50	45	5=100
April, 2006	48	48	4=100
March, 2006	44	50	6=100
February, 2006	50	46	4=100
January, 2006	48	48	4=100
December, 2005	49	46	5=100
Early October, 2005	47	48	5=100
Mid-September, 2005	51	45	4=100
July, 2005	52	43	5=100
June, 2005	50	46	4=100
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, 2004	54	40	6=100
August, 2004	54	42	4=100
July, 2004	53	43	4=100
June, 2004 <sup>8</sup>	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

Q.57 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/
	Helped	<u>Hurt</u>	No effect	Refused
Early October, 2006	38	47	5	10=100
Early September, 2006	41	45	5	9=100
June, 2006	44	40	6	10=100
March, 2006	38	44	8	10=100
January, 2006	44	38	8	10=100
Late October, 2005	44	44	6	6=100
Mid-September, 2005	43	43	6	8=100
July, 2005	39	47	7	7=100
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

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.57 CONTINUED			(VOL)	Don't know/
	Helped	<u>Hurt</u>	No effect	Refused
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 <sup>9</sup>	63	22		15=100
Early October, 2002	52	34		14=100

Q.58 Do you think the U.S. should or should not set a timetable for when troops will be withdrawn from Iraq?

		Early							Early	Mid-	
		Sept	Aug	June	April	March	Jan	Dec	Oct	Sept	July
		<u>2006</u>	<u>2006</u>	<u>2006</u>	<u>2006</u>	<u>2006</u>	<u>2006</u>	<u>2005</u>	<u>2005</u>	2005	<u>2005</u>
53	Should set a timetable	47	52	52	53	55	50	56	52	57	49
39	Should not set a timetable	45	41	42	40	39	42	38	43	37	45
2	Should get out now (VOL.)	1	1	2	2	1	2	1	1	1	*
6	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

#### ASK SEPTEMBER 27-OCTOBER 4 ONLY [N=1169]:

NIE How much, if anything, have you heard or read about a recent government intelligence study that found that the war in Iraq is increasing the threat of terrorism? [READ, IN ORDER]

- 35 A lot
- 38 A little, OR
- 24 Nothing at all
- <u>3</u> 100 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

#### QUESTIONS 59 THROUGH 62 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

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?"

PARTY In politics TODAY, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or Independent?

				(VOL.)	(VOL.)	
				No	Other	DK/
	Republican	<b>Democrat</b>	Independent	<u>Preference</u>	<b>Party</b>	<u>Ref</u>
Early October, 2006	27	34	33	3	*	3=100
Early September, 2006	30	34	30	3	*	3=100
August, 2006	30	33	30	4	*	3=100
July, 2006	29	33	31	4	1	2 = 100
June, 2006	29	34	31	4	*	2=100
April, 2006	29	32	33	3	*	3=100
March, 2006	28	34	30	4	*	4=100
February, 2006	30	33	31	3	*	3=100
January, 2006	28	32	32	5	*	3=100
December, 2005	29	34	31	4	*	2 = 100
Late November, 2005	27	34	29	5	1	4=100
Early November, 2005	28	34	31	5	*	2 = 100
Late October, 2005	29	33	31	5	*	2 = 100
Early October, 2005	26	34	34	4	*	2=100
September 8-11, 2005	31	32	33	3	*	1=100
September 6-7, 2005	27	33	33	4	*	3=100
July, 2005	31	34	29	4	*	2 = 100
June, 2005	30	32	32	4	*	2 = 100
Yearly Totals						
2005	30	33	31	4	*	2 = 100
2004	30	33	30	4	*	3=100
2003	30	31	31	5	*	3=100
2002	30	31	30	5	1	3=100
2001	29	34	29	5	*	3=100
2001 Post-Sept 11	31	32	28	5	1	3=100
2001 Pre-Sept 11	28	35	30	5	*	2=100
2000	28	33	29	6	*	4=100
1999	27	33	34	4	*	2 = 100
1998	28	33	32	5	*	2=100
1997	28	33	32	4	1	2 = 100
				No Preference	/	
	Republican	<b>Democrat</b>	Independent	Other/DK		
1996	29	33	33	5=100		
1995	32	30	34	4=100		
1994	30	32	34	4=100		
1993	27	34	34	5=100		
1992	28	33	35	4=100		
1991	31	32	33	4=100		
1990	31	33	30	6=100		
1989	33	33	34=100			
1987	26	35	39=100			

#### IF ANSWERED 1 IN PARTY, ASK:

PARTYSTR Do you consider yourself a STRONG Republican or NOT a strong Republican?

	Early	7					Late												
	Sep	Dec	Dec	Jul	Aug	Sep	Sep	Aug	Nov	Oct	Apr	Oct	Jul	Jun	May	Feb	May	Jan	May
	<u>06</u>	<u>05</u>	<u>04</u>	04	<u>03</u>	00	<u>99</u>	<u>99</u>	<u>97</u>	<u>95</u>	<u>95</u>	<u>94</u>	<u>94</u>	<u>92</u>	<u>90</u>	<u>89</u>	88	88	<u>87</u>
15 Strong	17	16	18	17	14	14	10	11	11	11	15	16	13	11	13	15	13	12	11
12 Not Strong/DK	<u>13</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>14</u>	14	<u>14</u>	<u> 19</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>15</u>	<u> 16</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>14</u>
27%	30	29	31	29	27	27	24	25	25	30	30	31	29	28	28	31	28	27	25

#### IF ANSWERED 2 IN PARTY, ASK:

PARTYSTR Do you consider yourself a STRONG Democrat or NOT a strong Democrat?

	Early	7					Late												
	Sep	Dec	Dec	Jul	Aug	Sep	Sep	Aug	Nov	Oct	Apr	Oct	Jul	Jun	May	Feb	May	Jan	May
	<u>06</u>	<u>05</u>	<u>04</u>	04	03	00	99	99	<u>97</u>	<u>95</u>	95	<u>94</u>	<u>94</u>	<u>92</u>	90	<u>89</u>	88	<u>88</u>	87
19 Strong	18	20	19	20	15	19	15	15	14	14	14	18	15	14	16	17	19	19	18
15 Not strong/DK	<u>16</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>13</u>	<u> 16</u>	<u>15</u>	<u> 16</u>	<u>18</u>	18	<u>16</u>	<u>15</u>	14	18	<u>18</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>21</u>	<u> 19</u>	<u>20</u>	<u> 19</u>
34%	34	34	34	33	31	34	31	33	32	30	29	32	33	32	33	38	38	39	37

#### IF ANSWERED 3, 4, 5 OR 9 IN PARTY, ASK:

PARTYLN As of today do you lean more to the Republican Party or more to the Democratic Party?

			Refused
	Republican	Democrat	to lean
Early October, 2006	12	15	12=39%
Early September, 2006	10	15	11=36%
August, 2006	12	14	11=37%
July, 2006	11	14	13=38%
June, 2006	10	16	11=37%
April, 2006	12	17	10=39%
March, 2006	11	14	13=38%
February, 2006	11	16	10=37%
January, 2006	10	16	14=40%
December, 2005	10	16	11=37%
Late November, 2005	9	13	17=39%
Early November, 2005	11	14	13=38%
Late October, 2005	11	15	12=38%
Early October, 2005	11	18	11=40%
September 8-11, 2005	10	18	9=37%
September 6-7, 2005	10	15	15=40%
July, 2005	9	15	11=35%
June, 2005	10	16	12=38%
Mid-May, 2005	9	13	14=36%
Late March, 2005	13	17	9=39%
December, 2004	14	12	9=35%
August, 2003	12	16	14=42%
August, 2002	12	13	13=38%
September, 2000	11	13	15=39%
Late September, 1999	14	15	16=45%
August, 1999	15	15	12=42%