## Health Care Views Similar to '93, But Fewer Favor Rebuilding System OBAMA'S RATINGS REMAIN HIGH DESPITE SOME POLICY CONCERNS

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## Health Care Views Similar to '93, But Fewer Favor Rebuilding System OBAMA'S RATINGS REMAIN HIGH DESPITE SOME POLICY CONCERNS

A solid majority of Americans (61\%) continue to approve of Barack Obama's job performance, although they express mixed views of several of his policies. An important positive sign for Obama is the public's continued optimism that his policies will improve the economy - fully 65\% express this view. A smaller majority (55\%) is optimistic Obama will reduce the budget deficit over the long-term. Nonetheless, Obama's job approval on the economy has declined from $60 \%$ in April to 52\% currently.

The slippage in the president's economic ratings appears unrelated to the public's assessments of his administration's impact on current economic conditions most (53\%) say his policies have "not had an effect so far" or that it is too early to tell. Instead, it may have more to do with his relatively poor ratings for handling the

| Job Approval Still Strong, Economic Ratings Slip |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Feb | April | June |
| Obama job | \% | \% | \% |
| Approve | 64 | 63 | 61 |
| Disapprove | 17 | 26 | 30 |
| Don't know | 19 | 11 | $\underline{9}$ |
|  | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Obama's handling of.. |  |  |  |
| Foreign policy |  |  |  |
| Approve | 52 | 61 | 57 |
| Disapprove | 17 | 22 | 31 |
| Economy |  |  |  |
| Approve | 56 | 60 | 52 |
| Disapprove | 24 | 33 | 40 |
| Financial inst. |  |  |  |
| Approve | -- | -- | 50 |
| Disapprove | -- | -- | 40 |
| US automakers |  |  |  |
| Approve | -- | -- | 47 |
| Disapprove | -- | -- | 44 | problems of troubled automakers General Motors and Chrysler.

Nearly as many disapprove (44\%) as approve (47\%) of Obama's performance in handling the automakers' problems. There is even less support for government efforts to keep G.M. and Chrysler in business: 58\% disapprove of the government spending billions to keep the troubled automakers in business, while just 36\% approve.

| Continued Optimism |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| About Obama's Economic Policies |  |  |
|  |  |  |
| Obama's policies will... | April |  |
| Improve economic conditions | $\frac{0}{\%}$ | $\%$ |
| Optimistic | 66 | 65 |
| Pessimistic | 26 | 28 |
| Don't know | 8 | 7 |
| Reduce deficit over long term |  |  |
| Optimistic | 54 | 55 |
| Pessimistic | 36 | 36 |
| Don't know | 10 | 9 |
| But Little Impact So Far |  |  |
| So far, econ. policies have... |  |  |
| Made things better | 26 | 26 |
| Made things worse | 17 | 16 |
| Had no effect/Too soon | 53 | 53 |
| Don't know | 4 | 4 |
|  |  |  |

On other economic policies, 55\% approve of the $\$ 800$ billion economic stimulus passed in February and an even larger majority (73\%) approves of substantially increasing spending on roads, bridges and other public works projects. But only about half (49\%) approves of spending billions to keep financial markets secure and Obama draws mixed ratings for his handling of this issue ( $50 \%$ approve, $40 \%$ disapprove). Overall opinions about Obama's economic policies have changed little since March.

The latest national survey by the Pew Research Center for the People \& the Press, conducted among 1,502 adults June $10-14$, shortly after Obama's major

| Views of Obama's Economic Policies |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | App- | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Dis- } \\ & \text { approve } \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ |
| Opinion of... | \% | \% |
| economic stimulus | 55 | 39 |
| Gov't spending billions to... |  |  |
| Increase spending on roads/public works | 73 | 23 |
| Keep financial inst. \& markets secure | 49 | 45 |
| Keep G.M., Chrysler in business | 36 | 58 |
| Figures read across. |  |  | overseas trip, finds the public rendering largely positive judgments about his approach to foreign policy. Currently, $57 \%$ approve of Obama's handling of foreign policy, which is largely unchanged from April (61\%).

About half of Americans (51\%) believe that Obama is about right in his approach to foreign policy and national security issues, while $38 \%$ say he is not tough enough. This represents a modest decline from last September, during the presidential campaign, when $45 \%$ of registered voters said he would not be tough enough on foreign policy.

Moreover, only about one-in-five Americans (21\%) say that the United States is less safe from terrorism under the Obama administration than it was under the Bush administration. More than four-in-ten (44\%) say Obama's policies have not made a difference, while $28 \%$ believe they have made the nation safer from terrorism.

And in the aftermath of his trip, Obama's approaches to U.S. allies and the Middle East are viewed

| Positive Views of Obama's Foreign Policy |  |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | June |
| Obama's approach on... | $\underline{2009}$ |
| Foreign policy | \% |
| Too tough | 2 |
| Not tough enough | 38 |
| About right | 51 |
| Terrorism policies |  |
| compared w/ Bush... |  |
| US is safer | 28 |
| US is less safe | 21 |
| No difference | 44 |
| Dealing w/ allies |  |
| Pushes US interests too hard | 8 |
| Takes allies' interests into account too much | 20 |
| Strikes right balance | 57 |
| Middle East |  |
| Favors Israel too much | 6 |
| Favors Palest. too much | 17 |
| Strikes right balance | 62 | positively. Nearly three times as many say Obama is striking the right balance in dealing with U.S. allies than say he is taking the allies' interests into account too much ( $57 \%$ vs. $20 \%$ ). And while $62 \%$ say he strikes the right balance in dealing with the Middle East, just 17\% say he favors the Palestinians too much.

However, while Obama receives solid approval ratings on North Korea (51\% approve) which a larger share of Americans see as a major threat to the United States - there is increasing disapproval of his decision to close the U.S. military prison in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. In midApril, the public approved of his decision by $51 \%$ to $38 \%$ : now, opinion is evenly divided ( $45 \%$ approve, 46\% disapprove).

The survey finds that as Congress opens a major debate over reforming the nation's health care system, public opinion about the issue has changed somewhat since President Clinton launched his unsuccessful effort to pass an overhaul of health care in 1993.

There continues to be widespread support for changing the health care system so that all Americans have insurance that covers all medically necessary care: $75 \%$ favor this currently, while $21 \%$ are opposed. However, the percentage favoring this proposal is down from 83\% in April 1993. Similarly, while a large majority (61\%) believes it is very important to limit annual increases in health care costs, fewer say that now than did so 16 years ago (69\%).

| Public Opinion about Health Care: 1993 and 2009 |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Change system | April | June |
| so all are covered | 1993 | $\underline{2009}$ |
| for necessary care | \% | \% |
| Favor | 83 | 75 |
| Oppose | 13 | 21 |
| Change system to limit annual cost increases |  |  |
| Very important | 69 | 61 |
| Fairly important | 24 | 27 |
| Not too important | 5 | 10 |
| More important goal... |  |  |
| Guarantee access for all to necessary care | 74 | 56 |
| Limit annual cost increases | 20 | 36 |
| Health care system needs... |  |  |
| To be completely rebuilt | 55 | 41 |
| Fundamental changes | 26 | 30 |
| Only minor changes | 15 | 24 |

When asked which is more important - to control annual cost increases or guarantee all Americans access to needed care - a majority (56\%) says that it is more important to provide access to necessary medical care for all Americans while $36 \%$ say it is more important to control health care costs. In 1993, the public also opted for guaranteed access to care for all, but by a greater margin ( $74 \%$ to 20\%).

Perhaps the most important change since 1993 is in the public's assessment of how much change the current health care system needs. In April 1993, a majority (55\%) said the system needed to be completely rebuilt, $26 \%$ said it needed fundamental changes, while $15 \%$ said it needed only minor changes. Today, fewer than half (41\%) say the system needs to be completely rebuilt, while $30 \%$ say it requires fundamental change and $24 \%$ say the system works pretty well and needs only minor changes.

## Sotmayor's Confirmation Favored

Half of Americans (50\%) favor the confirmation of Judge Sotomayor to the Supreme Court while a quarter oppose her confirmation and another quarter offer no opinion. Sotomayor's current support is comparable to support for Chief Justice John Roberts just prior to his confirmation hearings in 2005.

Shortly before Samuel Alito's hearings in 2006, a third (33\%) said the Senate should confirm Alito while 19\% were opposed; but nearly twice as many expressed no opinion than do so about Sotomayor's confirmation (48\% vs. 25\%).

| Sotomayor's Support Comparable to Roberts' |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Roberts* | Alito* | Sotomayor |
| Should Senate | Sep 2005 | Jan 2006 | Jun 2009 |
| confirm to Court? | \% | \% | \% |
| Should | 46 | 33 | 50 |
| Should not | 21 | 19 | 25 |
| Don't know | 33 | 48 | 25 |
| * Survey conducted closest to Senate hearings. |  |  |  |

When asked about Sotomayor's ideology, about as many people say she is moderate (34\%) as say she is liberal (31\%). There is a similar division of opinion about whether Obama is listening more to liberals in his party than to moderates: 39\% believe that Obama listens more to liberal members of his party while $35 \%$ say that he listens more to moderate Democrats.

There has been little change in these opinions since April, when $40 \%$ said Obama

| Obama is | Jan | March | April | June |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| listening more to... | \% | \% | \% | \% |
| Liberals in his party | 34 | 44 | 40 | 39 |
| Moderates in his party | 44 | 30 | 33 | 35 |
| Don't know | 22 | 26 | 27 | 26 | listened more to liberals in his party and $33 \%$ said he listened more to moderates in the Democratic Party. However, somewhat more liberal Democrats now believe that Obama is listening more to them than did so in April; $41 \%$ of liberal Democrats say Obama listens more to liberals in his party, up from 28\% in April.

The survey finds that Obama continues to draw higher personal ratings than job approval ratings. And if anything, Michelle Obama is even more popular than her husband. More than seven-inten Americans (72\%) say they have a favorable impression of Barack Obama, while $25 \%$ have an unfavorable opinion, virtually unchanged from April.

Michelle Obama's personal image also changed little: 76\% have a favorable view of the first lady, while $14 \%$ have an unfavorable impression. As

| Both Obamas Remain <br> Overwhelmingly Popular |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: |
| Opinion of... <br> Barack Obama | $\frac{\text { Fav }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { Unfav }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { Can't rate }}{\%}$ |
| June 2009 | 72 | 25 | $3=100$ |
| April 2009 | 73 | 24 | $3=100$ |
| January 2009 | 79 | 15 | $6=100$ |
| October 2008 | 66 | 28 | $6=100$ |
| Michelle Obama <br> June 2009 | 76 | 14 | $10=100$ |
| April 2009 | 76 | 13 | $11=100$ |
| January 2009 | 68 | 15 | $17=100$ |
| September 2008 | 56 | 25 | $19=100$ |

Both Obamas Remain Overwhelmingly Popular
was the case in April, a majority of Republicans (59\%) say they have a favorable opinion of Michelle Obama as do even larger shares of independents (73\%) and Democrats (92\%).

## SECTION 1: OBAMA AND THE ECONOMY

While the public's overall approval of the president has shifted little over the last few months, assessments of Barack Obama's handling of the economy are now less positive than they were in midApril. A slim majority (52\%) continues to give Obama high marks for his handling of the economy (compared with $60 \%$ in April); four-in-ten (40\%) now say they disapprove of the job he is doing on the economy.

Substantial party differences remain in views of Obama's handling of the economy, although

| Fewer Approve of Obama's Handling of the Economy |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Mid-April |  | June |  | Apr-Jun change in approval | June <br> N |
|  | App- | Disapp | Approve | Disapp |  |  |
|  | \% | \% | \% | \% |  |  |
| Total | 60 | 33 | 52 | 40 | -8 | 743 |
| Men | 56 | 37 | 49 | 43 | -7 | 367 |
| Women | 65 | 29 | 55 | 37 | -10 | 376 |
| 18-29 | 68 | 23 | 59 | 33 | -9 | 100 |
| 30-49 | 63 | 33 | 55 | 39 | -8 | 234 |
| 50-64 | 53 | 42 | 45 | 46 | -8 | 225 |
| 65+ | 56 | 31 | 50 | 41 | -6 | 171 |
| College grad+ | 58 | 38 | 55 | 39 | -3 | 264 |
| Some college | 61 | 32 | 53 | 41 | -8 | 194 |
| HS or less | 61 | 31 | 50 | 40 | -11 | 281 |
| \$75,000 or more | 54 | 42 | 48 | 47 | -6 | 197 |
| \$30k-74,999 | 56 | 40 | 53 | 39 | -3 | 255 |
| Less than \$30,000 | 77 | 20 | 53 | 41 | -24 | 194 |
| Republican | 30 | 61 | 20 | 74 | -10 | 209 |
| Democrat | 86 | 11 | 80 | 16 | -6 | 243 |
| Independent | 56 | 37 | 50 | 38 | -6 | 244 |
| Figures read across. |  |  |  |  |  |  | the decline in approval is seen across the board. Fully 80\% of Democrats approve of Obama's handling of the economy, compared with $50 \%$ of independents and just $20 \%$ of Republicans.

Views of Obama's handling of the economy differ little by education or income. However, Americans with annual family incomes of less than $\$ 30,000$ now hold considerably less favorable opinions of Obama’s handling of the economy than they did in April. Today, a slim majority (53\%) of those in this group approve of the president's handling of the economy, down from 77\% approval a few months ago.

## Most Expect Obama to Improve Economy

Americans' optimism about Barack Obama's economic policies remains high, despite the decline in his ratings on the economy. As was the case in April, about two-thirds (65\%) say they are optimistic that Obama's policies will improve economic conditions in the country; a slimmer majority (55\%) say they think his policies will reduce the budget deficit over the long term.

Partisan differences persist in these views, as Democrats are nearly twice as likely as Republicans to say they are optimistic Obama's policies will improve economic conditions (85\% vs. $43 \%$ ), while $63 \%$ of independents hold this view. Similarly, while 78\% of Democrats expect Obama's policies will ultimately reduce the budget deficit, only 31\% of Republicans and 52\% of independents say the same.

| Most Are Optimistic Obama's Policies Will Work |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Obama's policies will... |  |  |  |  |
| Improve economic conditions | $\frac{\text { Total }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\mathrm{Rep}}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { Dem }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { Ind }}{\%}$ |
| Optimistic | 65 | 43 | 85 | 63 |
| Pessimistic | 28 | 51 | 11 | 29 |
| Reduce budget deficit over the long term |  |  |  |  |
| Optimistic | 55 | 31 | 78 | 52 |
| Pessimistic | 36 | 61 | 15 | 38 |
| Figures read down. |  |  |  |  |

Older Americans are less optimistic on
both of these measures than are younger people: While $68 \%$ of those younger than 65 are optimistic about the impact of Obama's policies on the economy, only 54\% of older Americans are similarly optimistic. A similar gap (58\% to 43\%) exists on the question of the budget deficit.

While public optimism about Obama's policies remains high, there has been little shift in the perceived impact of Obama's economic policies to date. As was the case in April, about a quarter (26\%) say these policies have made economic conditions better, while $16 \%$ say they have made conditions worse. However, a majority of the public (53\%) say these policies have not yet had an effect or that it is too soon to tell.

## Top Concern: Too Much Spending

When asked if they had specific concerns about Obama's economic policies, the cost of these policies is mentioned most frequently. Nearly a quarter (24\%) of the public cites concerns about spending, the debt or the deficit; $13 \%$ mention a policy of Obama's, with $5 \%$ specifically citing economic bailouts.

Republicans are more than twice as likely as Democrats ( $36 \%$ vs. $14 \%$ ) to

| Concerns over Obama's Economic Policies |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Concerns about Obama's economic policies... | $\frac{\text { Total }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\operatorname{Rep}}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { Dem }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { Ind }}{\%}$ |
| Spending/Cost/Debt (NET) | 24 | 36 | 14 | 26 |
| Spending | 14 | 23 | 7 | 14 |
| Debt/Deficit | 9 | 11 | 6 | 9 |
| Policies (NET) | 13 | 19 | 12 | 13 |
| Bailout (general) | 5 | 8 | 3 | 4 |
| Jobs/unemployment | 8 | 7 | 6 | 8 |
| Scope of government | 4 | 10 | 1 | 4 |
| None | 20 | 8 | 32 | 19 |
| Other | 27 | 25 | 30 | 24 |

Multiple responses accepted; figures add to more than $100 \%$.
express concerns about the cost of Obama's policies or their impact on the debt or deficit. About a quarter of independents ( $26 \%$ ) raise concerns about spending or debt.

Concern that Obama's policies will expand the scope of government or lead to socialism is cited by just $4 \%$ overall. Among Republicans, $10 \%$ cite concerns relating to the scope of government, which is less than a third of the proportion of Republicans citing excessive spending or debt (36\%).

When asked about what, if anything, makes them hopeful about Obama's economic policies, $21 \%$ mention aspects of the process or Obama's efforts, while $16 \%$ point to specific policies or plans. A majority of Republicans (53\%) say nothing about Obama's plans makes them hopeful, compared with 30\% of independents and just 14\% of Democrats.

## Obama's Job on Banks, Automakers

While slightly more approve than disapprove of his handling of the problems of major banks and financial institutions ( $50 \%$ vs. $40 \%$ ), the public is nearly evenly divided on the administration’s handling of General Motors and Chrysler (47\% approve, 44\% disapprove).
While about a third of Republicans (34\%) approve of the way Obama had handled problems with banks and financial institutions, an even smaller percentage (26\%) approves of his handling of automakers' problems. Large majorities of Democrats approve of Obama's handling of both issues (67\% banks, 65\% automakers), while fewer than half of independents approve of Obama's job performance on problems with banks (49\%) and automakers

Public Split on Obama's Handling of Auto and Finance Industries

Obama's handling of..
Problems of major U.S. banks Total
and financial institutions? $\frac{\text { Rep }}{\%} \quad \frac{\text { Dem }}{\%} \quad \frac{\text { Ind }}{\%}$

| Pand inancial institutions? | 0 | 34 | 67 | 49 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Approve | 50 | 34 | 67 | 49 |

$\begin{array}{lllll}\text { Disapprove } & 40 & 61 & 23 & 41\end{array}$
Obama's handling of...
Problems of U.S. automakers like GM and Chrysler

| Approve | 47 | 26 | 65 | 45 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Disapprove | 44 | 65 | 25 | 48 |

Figures read down. (45\%).

## Divisions over Stimulus and Spending

A majority (55\%) of Americans approve of Obama’s $\$ 800$ billion stimulus package, which was enacted in February.

Substantial majorities of both liberal (86\%) and conservative and moderate (75\%) Democrats approve of the stimulus package, while four-in-ten (40\%) moderate and liberal Republicans and just 20\% of conservative Republicans do so. As with other economic policies, independents are divided; a slim majority (52\%) approves of the stimulus package.

| Partisan and Ideological Divisions over Economic Plans |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Total | Cons | Mod/Lib | Ind | Cons/Mod | Lib |
| Approve of... | \% | $\frac{\text { Rep }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { Rep }}{\%}$ | $\frac{1 \mathrm{nd}}{\%}$ | Dem | \% |
| Obama's \$800 billion stimulus | 55 | 20 | 40 | 52 | 75 | 86 |
| Gov't spending billions to... <br> Increase spending on roads, <br> $\begin{array}{llllllll}\text { other public works projects } & 73 & 58 & 70 & 72 & 85 & 87\end{array}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Keep financial institutions \& markets secure | 49 | 28 | 50 | 48 | 61 | 68 |
| Keep GM and Chrysler in business | 36 | 17 | 34 | 35 | 47 | 47 |
| $\mathrm{N}=$ | 1502 | 280 | 114 | 502 | 324 | 166 |

There is broad support across the political spectrum for the government to provide billions to substantially increase spending on roads, bridges and other public works projects. But other major programs - efforts to keep financial institutions secure and Chrysler and G.M afloat - are far more contentious.

Sizable majorities of liberal Democrats (68\%) and moderate and conservative Democrats (61\%) approve of the government spending billions to keep banks and financial institutions secure. About half of independents (48\%) and moderate and liberal Republicans (50\%) agree. Only about a quarter of conservative Republicans (28\%) approve of spending billions to prop up financial institutions.

Just $36 \%$ of Americans approve of spending billions to keep U.S. automakers in business. Only about half of liberal and conservative and moderate Democrats (47\%) - and far fewer independents (35\%) and Republicans (22\%) - favor spending billions to keep the automakers in business.

Those without college experience and those with yearly incomes of less than $\$ 30,000$ are somewhat more supportive of this policy than those with greater education and higher annual incomes. Regional differences are also evident, with slightly higher support among those in the Northeast than among those in the South and West.

## SECTION 2: OPINIONS ABOUT HEALTH CARE

As health care reform legislation moves forward in Washington, the political environment is somewhat different than the last time a major overhaul of the health care system was attempted sixteen years ago. In early 1993 the sense of a health care crisis was far more widespread than it is today - a $55 \%$ majority in 1993 said they felt the health care system needed to be "completely rebuilt" compared with $41 \%$ today. Health care costs were also a broader problem in 1993 - 63\% of Americans said paying for the cost of a major illness was a "major problem" for them, compared with $48 \%$ currently.

The issue of limiting overall health care spending is also more prominent in 2009 than it was in 1993. Somewhat fewer today say the country spends "too little" on health care, and a larger share believe that limiting the overall growth in health care costs is a higher priority than expanding coverage. But overall, public support for guaranteed access to medical care for all Americans remains widespread.

## Health Care Spending

Relatively few Americans believe the country as a whole is spending the right amount on health care at this point, but there is no consensus on what the problem is. Just as many Americans say we are spending too much on health care (38\%) as too little (40\%).

This represents a sharp turnaround in the balance of opinion from three years ago. In early

| How Much We Spend on Health Care |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Apr | Jun | Mar | Jun |
|  | $\frac{1993}{\%}$ | $\frac{1994}{\%}$ | $\frac{2006}{\%}$ | $\frac{2009}{\%}$ |
|  | 36 | 38 | 26 | 38 |
| Too much | 49 | 40 | 57 | 40 |
| Too little | 8 | 13 | 9 | 14 |
| Right amount | 7 | 9 | 8 | 7 |
| Don't know | 7 |  |  |  |

Question: Thinking about the country as a whole, do you think we spend too much, too little or the right amount on health care? Figures read down. 2006, a $57 \%$ majority said that the country as a whole was spending too little on health care, while about half as many (26\%) said we were spending too much. And this shift in opinion crosses party lines - more Democrats, Republicans and independents today say the country spends too much on health care than said this in 2006.

In April 1993 - as Bill Clinton was initiating his health care reform effort - 49\% of Americans felt the country was spending

| Republicans say "Too Much," Democrats "Too Little" |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Too much | Too little | Right amount | N |
|  | \% | \% | \% |  |
| Total | 38 | 40 | 14 | 1502 |
| Republican | 43 | 30 | 19 | 401 |
| Democrat | 34 | 51 | 10 | 508 |
| Independent | 38 | 40 | 15 | 502 |
| College grad+ | 50 | 30 | 13 | 526 |
| Some college | 37 | 41 | 14 | 390 |
| HS or less | 32 | 46 | 15 | 580 |
| Household income |  |  |  |  |
| \$75,000 or more | 42 | 37 | 17 | 417 |
| \$30k-74,999 | 39 | 44 | 11 | 507 |
| Less than \$30,000 | 35 | 44 | 15 | 388 |
| Figures read across. |  |  |  |  |

too little on health care, while $36 \%$ said the country was spending too much. Just a year later - in June of 1994 - the public was divided, much as it is today, with $38 \%$ saying too much and $40 \%$ saying too little.

Most Democrats (51\%) believe we are spending too little on health care in this country, while about a third (34\%) say too much. By comparison, a plurality of Republicans (43\%) say we are currently spending too much on health care, with $30 \%$ saying too little. Overall, the share of Americans saying we spend too much on health care rose from $26 \%$ to $38 \%$ since 2006, and this rise occurred among

| More Say We Spend Too Much <br> on Health Care |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\frac{2006}{\%}$ | $\frac{2009}{\%}$ | Change |
| Total | 26 | 38 | +12 |
| Republican | 35 | 43 | +8 |
| Democrat <br> Independent | 20 | 34 | +14 |
|  | 27 | 38 | +11 | Republicans (up eight points), Democrats (up 14 points) and independents (up 11 points) alike.

While a minority viewpoint, Republicans are roughly twice as likely as Democrats (19\% vs. $10 \%$ ) to say the country is spending the right amount on health care. This viewpoint is particularly prevalent among conservative Republicans, 23\% of whom express satisfaction about current levels of health care spending.

By a $50 \%$ to $30 \%$ margin college graduates are more likely to say the country spends too much, not too little, on health care. By contrast, adults with no more than a high school diploma tend to think we spend too little (46\%) not too much (32\%) on health care in this country. There is a similar, though less prominent, pattern when it comes to income levels.

## Most Back Overhaul; Fewer Than in 1993 See Crisis

Most Americans believe that the nation's health care system is in need of substantial changes. Four-in-ten (41\%) say the health care system needs to be completely rebuilt, while $30 \%$ think it needs fundamental changes. About one-in-four (24\%) believe that the health care system works pretty well and needs only minor changes.

But there is less support for completely rebuilding the health care system than there was during the early stage of the Clinton administration’s unsuccessful effort to revamp health care. In April 1993, a majority of Americans (55\%) said the health care system needed to be completely rebuilt. As discussion of Clinton's proposals progressed, support for completely rebuilding the health care system

Health Care: How Much Change Is Needed?

|  | Apr | Jun | Mar | Jun |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Health care system | 1993 | 1994 | $\underline{2009}$ | 2009 |
| needs to be... | \% | \% | \% | \% |
| Completely rebuilt | 55 | 37 | 40 | 41 |
| Fundamental changes | 26 | 32 | 36 | 30 |
| Only minor changes | 15 | 28 | 21 | 24 |
| Don't know | 4 | 3 | 3 | 4 |

Question: Do you think the health care system in this country works pretty well and requires only minor changes, do you think it needs fundamental changes, or do you think it needs to be completely rebuilt? Figures read down. declined. By June 1994, just 37\% said the health care system needed to be completely rebuilt.

Support for a complete rebuilding of the health care system is lower than in early 1993 among all partisan groups. Today, 53\% of Democrats, $38 \%$ of independents and $28 \%$ of Republicans support completely rebuilding the health care system. In April of 1993, 70\% of Democrats, $55 \%$ of independents, and $41 \%$ of Republicans supported completely rebuilding the system.

People with no more than a high school education (47\%) or some college (42\%) are far more likely than are college graduates (31\%) to favor a complete rebuilding of the health care system. The education gap was even wider in 1993, when $63 \%$ of those with no-college and $56 \%$ of those with some college education said the system needed to be completely rebuilt, compared with $36 \%$ of college graduates. Income is also a factor, with those living in low income households backing the most dramatic overhaul of the health care system.

| Health Care System Needs to be Completely Rebuilt |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Apr | Jun | 93-09 |
|  | 1993 | $\underline{2009}$ | $\underline{\text { diff }}$ |
|  | \% | \% |  |
| Total | 55 | 41 | -14 |
| Republican | 41 | 28 | -13 |
| Democrat | 70 | 53 | -17 |
| Independent | 55 | 38 | -17 |
| College grad+ | 36 | 31 | -5 |
| Some college | 56 | 42 | -14 |
| HS or less | 63 | 47 | -16 |
| Household income* |  |  |  |
| \$75,000 or more | 41 | 32 | -9 |
| \$30k-74,999 | 58 | 44 | -14 |
| Less than \$30,000 | 63 | 50 | -13 |
| * To adjust for inflation, comparable income groups in 1993 are: $\$ 50,000$ or more, $\$ 20-\$ 49,999$, less than $\$ 20,000$. |  |  |  |

## Health Reform Priorities

Most Americans favor ensuring health coverage to all Americans, and most also say it is very important to limit the overall annual increase in health care costs. Neither of these objectives, however, receives as overwhelming support as they did in early 1993. When Americans are asked to prioritize between these two goals, most continue to say that expanding health insurance to all is the more important goal. But the share who rate costs as the more important concern is nearly double what it was in 1993.

The public's overall support for expanding health insurance to cover all Americans remains widespread, though more sharply partisan than in 1993. In the spring of that year, $83 \%$ of Americans favored changing the health care system so that all Americans would have health insurance that covers all medically necessary care. Today, $75 \%$ support such a reform.

The difference is that support for universal health insurance was more bipartisan

## Changing the health care system so that all Americans have health insurance that covers all medically necessary care?

|  | April 1993 |  | June 2009 |  | Diff in favor |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Favo | ppose | Favo | ppo |  |
|  | \% | \% | \% | \% |  |
| Total | 83 | 13 | 75 | 21 | -8 |
| Republican | 67 | 27 | 52 | 42 | -15 |
| Democrat | 92 | 6 | 92 | 7 | 0 |
| Independent | 89 | 9 | 74 | 21 | -15 |

## How important is it to change the health care system to limit the overall annual increase in health care costs?

|  | April 1993 |  | June 2009 |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Very | Less | Very | Less | Diff in |
|  | $\frac{\text { impt }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { impt }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { impt }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { impt }}{\%}$ | $\underline{\text { very }}$ |
|  | 69 | 29 | 61 | 37 | -8 |
| Total | 57 | 41 | 47 | 50 | -10 |
| Republican | 57 |  |  |  |  |
| Democrat | 78 | 19 | 72 | 27 | -6 |
| Independent | 69 | 30 | 60 | 38 | -9 |

Which is more important...

|  | April 1993 |  | June 2009 |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Limit | Expand | Limit | Expand | Diff in 'limit' |
|  | $\frac{0}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { care }}{\%}$ | $\frac{0}{\%}$ | $\frac{(a r e}{\%}$ |  |
| Total | 20 | 74 | 36 | 56 | +16 |
| Republican | 37 | 55 | 54 | 37 | +17 |
| Democrat | 10 | 84 | 22 | 74 | +12 |
| Independent | 17 | 79 | 39 | 54 | +22 | in early 1993 than it is today. While there has always been a partisan gap, two-thirds (67\%) of Republicans said they favored health coverage for all Americans in 1993, compared with barely half (52\%) today. By contrast, the share of Democrats backing this kind of change remained a solid 92\% in both years.

There has also been a 15-point drop in the share of independents backing universal health insurance - from 89\% in 1993 to $74 \%$ today.

The share of Americans who say it is very important to change the health care system in this country in order to limit the overall annual increase in the nation's health care costs is also slightly lower today (61\%) than in 1993 (69\%). Today fewer than half of Republicans (47\%) rate this as very important, compared with $72 \%$ of Democrats and $60 \%$ of independents.

When asked whether reining in health care costs or expanding health care coverage is the more important goal for the nation, $56 \%$ prioritize guaranteeing access to all while $36 \%$ side with limiting growing health care costs. Opinion was more one-sided in early 1993, when $74 \%$ prioritized expanded health care coverage and just $20 \%$ saw reining in costs as the bigger concern.

The balance of opinion among Republicans is the reverse of what it was in 1993. Then, $55 \%$ prioritized expanded care while $37 \%$ emphasized reining in costs. Today, $37 \%$ prioritize expanded care while $54 \%$ emphasize reining in costs. While most Democrats and independents continue to see expanding access to health care coverage as the higher priority, it is by slimmer margins than was the case sixteen years ago.

## Fewer See Cost of Care as Major Problem

In the current survey, far fewer say health care expenses are a major problem for themselves and their families than was the case in 1993. Just under half of Americans (48\%) say that paying for the cost of a major illness is a major problem, substantially lower than the $63 \%$ who said this in early 1993.

| Trends in Health Care Concerns |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $\frac{1993}{\%}$ | $\frac{1994}{\%}$ | $\frac{2006}{\%}$ | $\frac{2009}{\%}$ |
| Percent saying each is | 63 | 51 | 54 | 48 |  |
| a "major problem" for their family | 40 | 32 | 38 | 34 |  |
| Paying for the cost of a major illness | -- | -- | -- | 43 |  |
| Paying for the cost of routine medical care | -- | -- | -- | 35 |  |
| Paying for the cost of health insurance | -- | -- | 44 | 34 |  |
| Employer making you pay larger share* | 23 | 13 | -- | 24 |  |
| Paying for the costs of prescription drugs | 20 | -- | 25 | 21 |  |
| Quality of medical care in your community | 23 |  |  |  |  |
| Availability of medical care in your community | 20 |  |  |  |  |
| * of health insurance costs. |  |  |  |  |  | Similarly, about a third of Americans (34\%) say paying for the cost of routine medical care is a major problem for them. In 1993, $40 \%$ said this was the case.

But for the most part, it is those who are relatively well off who are feeling more at ease. Just $27 \%$ of high income Americans say the cost of a major illness is a major problem for them today, down from 48\% in 1993. By comparison, 67\% of low income Americans say this is a major problem, little changed from $73 \%$ sixteen years ago.

Similarly, the share of high income Americans who say paying for routine medical care is a major problem fell from 25\% in 1993 to 13\% today. Meanwhile, just over half

| Major problem paying for the cost of a major illness |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Apr } \\ 1993 \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{r} \text { Jun } \\ 2009 \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 93-09 \\ \underline{\text { diff }} \end{gathered}$ |
|  | \% | \% |  |
| Total | 63 | 48 | -15 |
| \$75,000 or more | 48 | 27 | -21 |
| \$30k-74,999 | 62 | 47 | -15 |
| Less than \$30,000 | 73 | 67 | -6 |

Major problem paying for the cost of routine medical care

|  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Apr } \\ 1993 \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Jun } \\ \underline{2009} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 93-09 \\ \underline{\text { diff }} \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | \% | \% |  |
| Total | 40 | 34 | -6 |
| \$75,000 or more | 25 | 13 | -12 |
| \$30k-74,999 | 35 | 32 | -3 |
| Less than \$30,000 | 52 | 54 | +2 |
| * To adjust for inflation, comparable income groups in 1993 are: $\$ 50,000$ or more, $\$ 20-$ $\$ 49,999$, Less than $\$ 20,000$. |  |  |  |

of low income Americans - at both points in time - say this is a major problem for them.

There is far less concern about the quality and availability of medical care in people's communities. Just $24 \%$ say the quality of medical care in their community is a major problem for them and their families, and $21 \%$ say the availability of medical care is a major problem. These figures are virtually unchanged from 1993. Income is an overwhelming factor in these assessments, as lower income people are far more likely than higher income people to say health care quality and availability are major problems for them.

Nationwide, $43 \%$ of Americans say paying for the cost of health insurance poses a major problem for them and their family. Fully 59\% of Americans with family incomes under $\$ 30,000$ say health insurance is a major problem for them. Not surprisingly among the low income who currently have no health insurance $73 \%$ rate insurance costs as a major problem.

The share of Americans who say paying for the cost of prescription drugs is a major problem dropped from $44 \%$ in 2006 to $34 \%$ today. This decline has occurred across both age and income categories at about equal rates.

| Cost of Health Insurance, Prescription Drugs Hits Poor, Minorities Hardest |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Health | escriptio |  |
| "Major problem" In | Insurance | drugs | N |
| for your family | \% | \% |  |
| Total | 43 | 34 | 1502 |
| White | 41 | 30 | 1205 |
| Black | 50 | 48 | 146 |
| Hispanic | 61 | 60 | 135 |
| 18-29 | 39 | 30 | 187 |
| 30-49 | 46 | 37 | 473 |
| 50-64 | 48 | 34 | 476 |
| 65+ | 34 | 32 | 339 |
| Household income |  |  |  |
| \$75,000 or more | 24 | 16 | 417 |
| \$30k-74,999 | 44 | 33 | 507 |
| Less than \$30,000 | 59 | 50 | 388 |
| Among < \$30,000 |  |  |  |
| Have health insurance | ce 50 | 41 | 272 |
| No health insurance | 73 | 63 | 115 |

## SECTION 3: FOREIGN POLICY AND NATIONAL SECURITY

In the aftermath of North Korea’s nuclear test in late May, an increasing proportion of Americans view North Korea's nuclear program as a "major threat." Currently, 72\% say North Korea’s nuclear program is a major threat to the well-being of the United States, up from just 53\% in January.

Somewhat more Americans (78\%) view Islamic groups like al Qaeda as a major threat to the United States than say that about North Korea. However, concern over North Korea's nuclear program is now on par with concern over Iran’s nuclear program (69\% view this as a major threat). The current survey was largely completed

| Growing Number Sees North Korean Nukes as "Major Threat" |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | May | Sept | Jan | June |
| \% saying each is | $\underline{2008}$ | $\underline{2008}$ | $\underline{2009}$ | $\underline{2009}$ |
| a "major threat" to US... | \% | \% | \% | \% |
| Islamic extremist groups | 72 | 72 | 77 | 78 |
| N. Korea's nuclear program | 55 | 55 | 53 | 72 |
| Iran's nuclear program | 62 | 60 | 65 | 69 |
| Drug violence in Mexico | -- | -- | -- | 59 |
| China's emerging power | 50 | 48 | 46 | 52 |
| Political instability in Pakistan | 41 | 43 | 47 | 50 |
| Israeli-Palestinian conflict | -- | -- | 45 | 49 | before the outbreak of widespread public protests in Iran over the country's June 12 presidential election.

As in the past, there are sizable gaps in how Republicans and Democrats view possible international threats to the United States. Republicans are more likely than Democrats to see most issues as major threats, with the biggest gaps over Iran’s nuclear program (15 points), the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (14 points) and Islamic extremist

| Partisan Gaps in Security Concerns |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  | $R-D$ |
| \% saying each is | Rep | Dem | Ind | $\underline{\text { diff }}$ |
| a "major threat" to US... | \% | \% | \% |  |
| Iran's nuclear program | 82 | 67 | 66 | +15 |
| Israeli-Palestinian conflict | 57 | 43 | 50 | +14 |
| Islamic extremist groups | 89 | 76 | 73 | +13 |
| China's emerging power | 63 | 51 | 45 | +12 |
| Political instability in Pakistan | 56 | 47 | 49 | +9 |
| N. Korea's nuclear program | 79 | 73 | 69 | +6 |
| Drug violence in Mexico | 63 | 60 | 52 | +3 | groups (13 points).

Notably, the partisan differences are not as wide in views of North Korea's nuclear program: $79 \%$ of Republicans, $73 \%$ of Democrats and $69 \%$ of independents say this poses a major threat to the United States. In January, 60\% of Republicans and about half of Democrats (51\%) and independents (53\%) viewed North Korea's nuclear program as a major threat.

## Obama and Foreign Policy

A majority of the public approves of the way Obama is handling the nation's foreign policy (57\%); however, the percent who disapprove has grown from 22\% in April to $31 \%$ in the current poll. There continue to be wide partisan differences in these assessments: 78\% of Democrats approve of Obama's handling of foreign policy compared with only $37 \%$ of Republicans. More than half (53\%) of independents approve, but this is down 10 points since April.

| Obama Gets Solid Ratings on Foreign Policy, N. Korea |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Total | Rep | Dem |  |
| Foreign policy | \% | \% | \% | \% |
| Approve | 57 | 37 | 78 | 53 |
| Disapprove | 31 | 53 | 12 | 34 |
| Don't know | 12 | 10 | 10 | 13 |
| North Korea |  |  |  |  |
| Approve | 51 | 36 | 64 | 50 |
| Disapprove | 23 | 38 | 13 | 25 |
| Don't know | 26 | 27 | 22 | 25 |

The public also generally approves of Obama's handling of the situation with North Korea; $51 \%$ approve and $23 \%$ disapprove, while a relatively large share (26\%) offers no opinion. Notably, about as many Republicans approve (36\%) as disapprove (38\%) of Obama's handling of the North Korean situation.

Obama's ratings are fairly similar to those George W. Bush received in January and February of 2003 and the public’s ratings of Bill Clinton in June of 1994. As with Obama’s overall rating on foreign policy, far fewer Republicans (36\%) approve of his handling of North Korea than do independents (50\%) and Democrats (64\%).

## Fewer Approve of Closing Guantanamo

The public is now evenly split over Obama's plan to close the military prison at Guantanamo Bay; 45\% approve of closing Guantanamo within a year, while 46\% disapprove. As recently as April, $51 \%$ approved and $38 \%$ disapproved of Obama's decision to close Guantanamo.

While most Democrats (64\%) approve of Obama's decision to close the prison, support has fallen by 12 points since April. A majority of independents (51\%) disapprove of Obama's plan to close Guantanamo while just $40 \%$ approve. There has been little change in views of Republicans; in the current poll $29 \%$ approve and $63 \%$ disapprove.

| Less Support <br> for Shutting Guantanamo |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Approve of <br> Obama's decision <br> to shut Gitmo... | $\frac{\text { April }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { June }}{\%}$ | Change |
| Total | 51 | 45 | -6 |
| Republican | 26 | 29 | +3 |
| Democrat | 76 | 64 | -12 |
| Independent | 46 | 40 | -6 |

Nonetheless, more than half (52\%) of the public approves of transferring some of the prisoners to "federal maximum-security prisons in the U.S." if the military prison at Guantanamo is closed, while $43 \%$ disapprove.

Other polls that asked whether prisoners should be transferred to prisons "in your community," "in your state," or to "prison facilities in the United States" - without explicitly mentioning that they would be placed in maximum security prisons - have found less support for this policy.

## Fewer See Obama as "Not Tough Enough"

Most Americans (51\%) say Obama is about right in his approach to foreign policy and national security issues, while $38 \%$ say he is not tough enough. Opinion has shifted somewhat since September 2008, when $44 \%$ of registered voters said he would be about right and $45 \%$ said he would not be tough enough. Throughout last year's presidential campaign, voters were divided over whether they believed Obama would be not tough enough or about right in his approach to foreign policy.

| Obama's Approach to Foreign Policy is... |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Not tough $\frac{\text { enough }}{\%}$ | About $\frac{\text { right }}{6}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Too } \\ & \text { tough } \end{aligned}$ |
| Total | 38 | 51 | 2 |
| Republican | 67 | 26 | 2 |
| Democrat | 19 | 75 | 2 |
| Independent | 39 | 49 | 2 |
| Figures read a | cross. |  |  |

As was the case last fall, the view that Obama is not tough enough on foreign policy is widely shared among Republicans. In fact, substantially more Republicans believe Obama is not tough enough in his approach to foreign policy and national security (67\%) than disapprove of his handling of foreign policy (53\%). By contrast, 39\% of independents and just 19\% of Democrats say Obama is not tough enough on foreign policy. As might be expected, an overwhelming majority (81\%) of those who disapprove of Obama's handling of foreign policy says he is not tough enough, while most of those who approve say he is about right (76\%).

## Obama's Handling of Terrorism, Allies

While Obama's terrorism policies have come under criticism from former vice president Dick Cheney and other leading Republicans, the public generally disagrees with Cheney's contention that the country is less safe from terrorism under Obama's administration than it was under the Bush administration.

Only about one-in-five (21\%) believe Obama's policies have made the country less safe from terrorism compared with the Bush administration; somewhat more (28\%) say the country is safer now, while $44 \%$ say there has been no difference.

A plurality of Republicans (45\%) say that Obama's terrorism policies have made the country less safe, although nearly as many (37\%) say there has been no change. More than four-in-ten Democrats (44\%) say his administration's policies have made the country safer

| Compared with Bush, Obama's Policies Have Made the US... |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Safer | Less safe | No difference |
|  | \% | \% | \% |
| Total | 28 | 21 | 44 |
| College grad+ | 33 | 24 | 38 |
| Some college | 24 | 22 | 51 |
| HS or less | 27 | 20 | 43 |
| Republican | 12 | 45 | 37 |
| Democrat | 44 | 6 | 45 |
| Independent | 24 | 21 | 47 |
| Figures read across. |  |  |  | when compared with Bush's, though $45 \%$ say they have made no difference. And nearly half of independents (47\%) say Obama's policies have not made a difference, with the remainder split between those who say they have made the country safer ( $24 \%$ ) and less safe ( $21 \%$ ) from terrorism.

Following Obama's first visit to Europe as president, a majority of Americans (57\%) believe he is "striking the right balance" when it comes to dealings with U.S. allies. Just one-infive (20\%) say he is taking the interests of U.S. allies into account too much while $8 \%$ say he is pushing America's interests too hard.

Republicans are evenly divided in opinions about Obama's handling of relations with allies: $38 \%$ say he takes allies’ interests into account too much and $37 \%$ say he is striking the right balance. Nearly eight-in-ten Democrats (77\%) and $56 \%$ of independents believe that Obama is striking the right balance when it comes to

| Most Say Obama Has Hit Right Balance <br> in Dealing with US Allies |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| In dealing w/ US allies, <br> Obama... | $\frac{\text { Total }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { Rep }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { Dem }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { Ind }}{\%}$ |
| Takes allies' interests <br> into account too much | 20 | 38 | 7 | 22 |
| Pushes US interests too hard | 8 | 7 | 7 | 10 |
| Is striking the right balance | 57 | 37 | 77 | 56 |
| Figures read down. |  |  |  |  |

In dealing w/ US allies,
Obama...
Takes allies' interests

Figures read down. dealings with U.S. allies.

## Obama and Israel

The public also positively views Obama's approach to the Middle East: 62\% say he is striking the right balance, while $17 \%$ say he favors the Palestinians too much and $6 \%$ believe he favors Israel too much.

While there are clear partisan differences in these opinions, Republicans are about as likely to say Obama is striking the right balance in the Middle East (43\%) as say he favors the Palestinians too much (36\%). Majorities of Democrats (78\%) and independents (64\%) say Obama is striking the right balance when it comes to the Middle East.

More white non-Hispanic evangelical Protestants (37\%) than members of other religious groups say that Obama favors the

| In Dealing with Middle East, Obama... |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Favors the Palestinians too much | Favors Israel too much | Strikes the right balance |
|  | \% | \% | \% |
| Total | 17 | 6 | 62 |
| Republican | 36 | 5 | 43 |
| Democrat | 4 | 5 | 78 |
| Independent | 19 | 8 | 64 |
| Protestant | 21 | 6 | 57 |
| White evangelical | 37 | 3 | 47 |
| White mainline | 16 | 8 | 56 |
| Catholic | 14 | 8 | 69 |
| White non-Hispanic | C 16 | 12 | 63 |
| Unaffiliated | 10 | 8 | 71 |
| Figures read across. |  |  |  | Palestinians too much. However, nearly half of white evangelical Protestants (47\%) believe that Obama strikes the right balance on the Middle East.

## SECTION 4: THE COURT AND THE CONGRESS

Half of the public (50\%) says that the Senate should confirm Sonia Sotomayor to replace retiring U.S. Supreme Court Justice David H. Souter. By contrast, only a quarter (25\%) says the Senate should not confirm the federal appeals court judge from New York, while another quarter (25\%) did not express an opinion.

Sotomayor has strong support among Democrats, especially liberals, as well as among non-Hispanic blacks, Hispanics and college graduates. Meanwhile, Republicans are internally divided over whether President Obama’s first Supreme Court pick should be confirmed.

The opinions of moderate and liberal Republicans are much like the nation as a whole ( $46 \%$ support confirmation, $28 \%$ are opposed). Conservative Republicans stand staunchly in opposition; by a greater than two-to-one margin ( $53 \%$ to $24 \%$ ), conservative Republicans say

| Broad Support for Sotomayor |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Should Senate | $\frac{\text { Yes }}{}$ | $\frac{\text { No }}{}$ | $\frac{\text { DK }}{\%}$ |
| confirm? | 50 | 25 | 25 |
| Total | 50 | 25 |  |
| Men | 47 | 28 | 25 |
| Women | 52 | 22 | 26 |
| White | 46 | 28 | 26 |
| Black | 66 | 14 | 20 |
| Hispanic | 67 | 12 | 21 |
| College grad+ | 61 | 22 | 17 |
| Some college | 44 | 29 | 27 |
| HS or less | 46 | 25 | 29 |
| Republican | 30 | 44 | 25 |
| $\quad$ Cons Rep | 24 | 53 | 23 |
| $\quad$ Mod/Lib Rep | 46 | 28 | 26 |
| Independent | 47 | 26 | 27 |
| Democrat | 69 | 11 | 20 |
| Mod/Cons Dem | 66 | 12 | 22 |
| Liberal Dem | 78 | 8 | 14 |
| Heard about |  |  |  |
| nomination... | 68 | 26 | 6 |
| Alot |  |  |  |
| Little/Nothing/DK | 38 | 24 | 38 |
| Figures read across. |  |  |  |

## Impressions of Sotomayor

About as many Americans say Sotomayor is a moderate (34\%) as describe her as a liberal (31\%). Fewer than one-in-ten (8\%) say she is conservative, while $26 \%$ offer no opinion.

While Republicans and Democrats differ in their impressions of Sotomayor's ideology, there also are divisions within both parties. A majority of conservative Republicans (54\%) say Sotomayor is liberal while $22 \%$ say she is moderate. Moderate and liberal Republicans are more evenly divided - 39\% say she is liberal and $34 \%$ moderate.

Democrats generally view Sotomayor as moderate - more than twice as many say she is

| Impressions of Sotomayor's <br> Political Leanings |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | Lib- | Mod- | Conserv- |
|  | $\frac{\text { eral }}{}$ | $\frac{\text { erate }}{}$ | $\frac{\text { ative }}{\%}$ |
|  | 31 | 34 | 8 |
| Total | 35 | 32 | 8 |
| Male | 27 | 36 | 8 |
| Female | 33 | 33 | 6 |
| White | 15 | 41 | 15 |
| Black | 21 | 36 | 15 |
| Hispanic | 49 | 25 | 6 |
| Republican | 54 | 22 | 4 |
| Cons Rep | 39 | 34 | 11 |
| Mod/Lib Rep | 32 | 34 | 7 |
| Independent | 19 | 45 | 12 |
| Democrat | 15 | 45 | 14 |
| Cons/Mod Dem | 30 | 49 | 7 |
| Liberal Dem | 30 |  |  |
| Figures read across. |  |  |  | moderate (45\%) than liberal (19\%). However, liberal Democrats are more likely than than conservative and moderate Democrats to describe Sotomayor as liberal ( $30 \%$ vs. $15 \%$ ). Like the public, independents are evenly divided, with $32 \%$ saying she is liberal and $34 \%$ saying she is moderate.

By greater than two-to-one ( $41 \%$ to 15\%), more African Americans say that Sotomayor is moderate rather than liberal. More Hispanics also view her as moderate (36\%) than liberal (21\%). Non-Hispanic whites are evenly divided (33\% liberal, 33\% moderate).

## Importance of Court Issues

Among the issues that may face the Supreme Court in coming years, comparable majorities say that election and voting issues (57\%), the rights of terrorist suspects (57\%) and abortion (55\%) are very important to them personally. Smaller percentages view affirmative action (40\%) and issues related to homosexuality (33\%) as very important.

These opinions have shown little change since November 2005, although fewer people now cite abortion as very

| Importance of Court Rulings on Key Issues |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Very | Fairly | Not too/ |
| Personal importance of | Impt | Impt | Not at all |
| possible Court issues... | \% | \% | \% |
| Election and voting rules |  |  |  |
| June 2009 | 57 | 25 | 14 |
| Rights of terror suspects |  |  |  |
| June 2009 | 57 | 25 | 15 |
| November 2005 | 57 | 23 | 16 |
| Abortion |  |  |  |
| June 2009 | 55 | 20 | 22 |
| November 2005 | 62 | 20 | 16 |
| Affirmative action |  |  |  |
| June 2009 | 40 | 32 | 21 |
| November2005 | 38 | 37 | 19 |
| Issues related to homosexuality |  |  |  |
| June 2009 | 33 | 18 | 45 |
| November 2005 | 36 | 20 | 41 |
| Figures read across. |  |  |  |

important (55\%) than did so four years ago (62\%). Since 2005, there has been an 11-point decline in the percentage of Democrats rating abortion as very important (from $68 \%$ to $57 \%$ ); fewer independents also view abortion as very important personally ( $58 \%$ in 2005, $50 \%$ currently). There has been no change in the views of Republicans; as in 2005, 62\% regard abortion as very important to them personally.

For the most part, there are only modest partisan differences in opinions about the personal importance of issues that may come before the Supreme Court. About six-in-ten Democrats (62\%) say that court decisions about election and voting rights are very important to them personally, compared with $55 \%$ each for Republicans and independents. However, this is a particularly important issue for African Americans - 78\% say it very important - compared with $53 \%$ of whites and $60 \%$ of Hispanics.

There are partisan differences over the importance of affirmative action. About half of Democrats (49\%) say court decisions on this are very important, compared with $39 \%$ of Republicans and $35 \%$ of independents. A majority (59\%) of African Americans say that affirmative action issues that come before the Supreme Court are very important to them personally, compared with $42 \%$ of Hispanics and $36 \%$ of whites.

## Ratings of Republican Leaders

The job approval of Republican leaders in Congress remains at near record lows. Currently, 29\% approve of the job Republican leaders in Congress are doing, while a majority (56\%) disapproves. Approval ratings are little changed from March when Republican leaders received their lowest approval marks (28\%) since Pew Research first began tracking the question in 1994.

| Republican Leaders' Job Approval |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Approve | Disapprove |
|  | \% | \% |
| Total | 29 | 56 |
| Republican | 47 | 41 |
| Democrat | 21 | 67 |
| Independent | 25 | 60 |
| Figures read ac |  |  |

In large part, low overall ratings for Republican leaders in Congress reflect ambivalence among those in their own party. Fewer than half of Republicans (47\%) approve of the work their congressional leaders are doing; however, about as many (41\%) disapprove. In addition, a majority of independents offer critical assessments of Republican leaders in Congress: 60\% disapprove of their performance, just $25 \%$ approve. Democrats are predictably critical of the performance of Republican leaders (67\% disapprove), but no more so than Republicans are of Democratic congressional leaders (75\% disapprove).

## Democratic Leaders' Approval Slips

Approval of Democratic congressional leaders has slipped somewhat since earlier in the year. In February, shortly after Barack Obama's inauguration, a $48 \%$ plurality approved of the job Democratic leaders were doing while less than four-in-ten (38\%) disapproved. These generally favorable ratings held through March.

| Democratic Leaders' Job Approval |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Feb | Mar | Jun | Mar-June |
|  | $\frac{2009}{\%}$ | $\frac{2009}{\%}$ | $\frac{2009}{\%}$ | $\underline{\text { Change }}$ |
| Approve | 48 | 47 | 42 | -5 |
| Disapprove | 38 | 35 | 45 | +10 |
| Figures read down. |  |  |  |  |

Since then, however, approval of Democratic leaders in Congress has slipped five points while disapproval has climbed 10 points. As a result, about as many now disapprove (45\%) as approve (42\%) of the job Democratic leaders in Congress are doing. The trend in opinion among political independents mirrors that of the general public: Currently, just 33\% of independents approve of how Democratic leaders are handling their job while $53 \%$ disapprove; this represents an eight-point drop in approval from March.

## Working Together?

Half of the public (50\%) says that Barack Obama and Republican leaders in Congress are not working together in dealing with important issues facing the country, while $39 \%$ say they are working together. Opinion was more divided in February over whether the White House and GOP congressional leaders were working together in developing a plan to stimulate the economy ( $45 \%$ not working together; 43\% working together).

When asked who is to blame for the two sides not working together, more than twice as many say Republican leaders than say Obama ( $26 \%$ vs. $12 \%$ ). However, the percent saying Obama is to blame is up from 7\% in February, and the share volunteering that both are to blame is also up from $5 \%$ to $9 \%$.

## A majority (59\%) of Republicans now say

 Obama and Republican congressional leaders are not| Are Barack Obama and Republican Leaders in Congress... |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Feb* | June |
|  | $\underline{2009}$ | $\underline{2009}$ |
|  | \% |  |
| Working together | 43 | 39 |
| Not working together | 45 | 50 |
| Who is most to blame? |  |  |
| Republican leaders | 27 | 26 |
| Barack Obama | 7 | 12 |
| Both (Vol.) | 5 | 9 |
| Neither/Other/Don't know | 6 | 4 |
| Don't know | 12 | 11 |
| *In February, the question asked about "developing a plan to stimulate the economy and create jobs." In June the question asks about "dealing with important issues facing the country." In both surveys, respondents who say they are not working together are asked who they think is "most to blame" for this. |  |  | working together: $28 \%$ blame Obama, $11 \%$ blame Republican leaders and $12 \%$ blame both. Democrats are more divided: $45 \%$ think they are working together and the same percentage says they are not. Many more Democrats say Republican leaders are to blame (38\%) than fault Obama (2\%). A majority (52\%) of independents say the two sides are not working together; more than a quarter (27\%) blame GOP leaders while 11\% blame Obama.

## Favorable Ratings: Pelosi and the Obamas

About a third of the public (35\%) holds a favorable opinion of Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi, while $41 \%$ express an unfavorable view of her. While the overall balance of opinion is mixed, far more hold a very unfavorable opinion (25\%) of Pelosi than say they have a very favorable opinion (8\%).

Two-thirds of Republicans (66\%) hold an unfavorable impression of Pelosi, while just $18 \%$ offer a favorable opinion of the speaker of the house. Among independents, a $45 \%$ plurality offers an unfavorable impression, 31\% offer a favorable one. More than half of Democrats (55\%) view the speaker of the house positively, while $20 \%$ offer a negative assessment.

Barack and Michelle Obama receive much more positive ratings from all partisan groups than does

| Party and Favorability Ratings |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Total | Rep | Dem | Ind |
| Barack Obama | \% | \% | \% | \% |
| Favorable | 72 | 46 | 94 | 70 |
| Unfavorable | 25 | 52 | 5 | 25 |
| Michelle Obama |  |  |  |  |
| Favorable | 76 | 59 | 92 | 73 |
| Unfavorable | 14 | 27 | 4 | 15 |
| Nancy Pelosi |  |  |  |  |
| Favorable | 35 | 18 | 55 | 31 |
| Unfavorable | 41 | 66 | 20 | 45 |

Figures read down. Pelosi. A majority of Republicans (59\%) rate Michelle Obama favorably. Her ratings are even higher among independents (73\% favorable), and more than nine-in-ten (92\%) Democrats express a favorable view of Michelle Obama.

Barack Obama continues to register relatively high favorability ratings. An overwhelming $94 \%$ of Democrats hold a favorable opinion of Obama, as do $70 \%$ of independents. Republican opinions are more mixed: 52\% view Barack Obama unfavorably, while $46 \%$ take a favorable view of the president.

There is a modest gender gap when it comes to evaluations of these three Democratic political figures; women are 10 points more likely than men to rate Michelle Obama favorably, six points more likely to rate Barack Obama favorably, and eight points more likely to rate Nancy Pelosi favorably.

To some extent, these gaps reflect the fact that women are substantially more likely to identify as Democrats overall $-40 \%$ of women say they are

| Gender and Favorability Ratings |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Barack | Michelle | Nancy |
| Percent favorable | $\frac{\text { Obama }}{}$ | Obama | $\frac{\text { Pelosi }}{}$ |  |
| among... | $\mathbf{7 5}$ | $\mathbf{8 1}$ | $\mathbf{3 9}$ |  |
| All women | $\mathbf{6 9}$ | $\mathbf{7 1}$ | $\mathbf{3 1}$ |  |
| All men | 51 | $\mathbf{6 7}$ | 18 |  |
| Republican women | 53 | $\mathbf{5 3}$ | 17 |  |
| Republican men | 43 |  | 93 | 56 |
| Democratic women | 94 | 93 | 54 |  |
| Democratic men | 94 | 91 | 54 |  |
| Independent women | 71 | 74 | $\mathbf{3 9}$ |  |
| Independent men | 70 | 71 | $\mathbf{2 5}$ |  | Democrats compared with $28 \%$ of men. But even when party is taken into account, gender is a factor in views of Michelle Obama and Nancy Pelosi. Two-thirds (67\%) of Republican women offer a favorable assessment of Michelle Obama, compared with 53\% of Republican men. And

Pelosi gets better ratings among women independents (39\%) than among men independents (25\%).

## ABOUT THE SURVEY

Results for this survey are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates among a nationwide sample of 1,502 adults, 18 years of age or older, from June 10-14, 2009 (1,126 respondents were interviewed on a landline telephone, and 376 were interviewed on a cell phone, including 153 who had no landline telephone). Both the landline and cell phone samples were provided by Survey Sampling International. Interviews were conducted in English and Spanish. For detailed information about our survey methodology, see http://people-press.org/methodology/.

The combined landline and cell phone sample are weighted using an iterative technique that matches gender, age, education, race/ethnicity, region, and population density to parameters from the March 2008 Census Bureau's Current Population Survey. The sample is also weighted to match current patterns of telephone status and relative usage of landline and cell phones (for those with both), based on extrapolations from the 2008 National Health Interview Survey. The weighting procedure also accounts for the fact that respondents with both landline and cell phones have a greater probability of being included in the sample.

The following table shows the error attributable to sampling that would be expected at the $95 \%$ level of confidence for different groups in the survey:

| Group | Sample Size | Plus or minus... |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Total sample | 1,502 | 3.0 percentage points |
| Form 1 | 759 | 4.0 percentage points |
| Form 2 | 743 | 4.0 percentage points |
| Republicans | 401 | 5.5 percentage points |
| Democrats | 508 | 5.0 percentage points |
| Independents | 502 | 5.0 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

The Pew Research Center for the People \& the Press is an independent opinion research group that studies attitudes toward the press, politics and public policy issues. We are sponsored by The Pew Charitable Trusts and are one of seven projects that make up the Pew Research Center, a nonpartisan "fact tank" that provides information on the issues, attitudes and trends shaping America and the world.

The Center's purpose is to serve as a forum for ideas on the media and public policy through public opinion research. In this role it serves as an important information resource for political leaders, journalists, scholars, and public interest organizations. All of our current survey results are made available free of charge.

All of the Center's research and reports are collaborative products based on the input and analysis of the entire Center staff consisting of:

Andrew Kohut, Director<br>Scott Keeter, Director of Survey Research<br>Carroll Doherty and Michael Dimock, Associate Directors<br>Michael Remez, Senior Writer<br>Juliana Menasce Horowitz, Robert Suls, Shawn Neidorf, Leah Christian and Jocelyn Kiley, Research Associates<br>Kathleen Holzwart and Alec Tyson, Research Analysts

## PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE \& THE PRESS <br> JUNE 2009 POLITICAL SURVEY <br> FINAL TOPLINE

June 10-14, 2009
$\mathrm{N}=1,502$

## RANDOMIZE ORDER OF Q. 1 AND Q. 2 <br> ASK ALL:

Q. $1 \quad$ All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in this country today?

| June, 2009 | 30 | 64 | 5 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| May, 2009 | 34 | 58 | 8 |
| April, 2009 | 23 | 70 | 7 |
| January, 2009 | 20 | 73 | 7 |
| December, 2008 | 13 | 83 | 4 |
| Early October, 2008 | 11 | 86 | 3 |
| Mid-September, 2008 | 25 | 69 | 6 |
| August, 2008 | 21 | 74 | 5 |
| July, 2008 | 19 | 74 | 7 |
| June, 2008 | 19 | 76 | 5 |
| Late May, 2008 | 18 | 76 | 6 |
| March, 2008 | 22 | 72 | 6 |
| Early February, 2008 | 24 | 70 | 6 |
| Late December, 2007 | 27 | 66 | 7 |
| October, 2007 | 28 | 66 | 6 |
| February, 2007 | 30 | 61 | 9 |
| Mid-January, 2007 | 32 | 61 | 7 |
| Early January, 2007 | 30 | 63 | 7 |
| December, 2006 | 28 | 65 | 7 |
| Mid-November, 2006 | 28 | 64 | 8 |
| Early October, 2006 | 30 | 63 | 7 |
| July, 2006 | 30 | 65 | 5 |
| May, 2006 | 29 | 65 | 6 |
| March, 2006 | 32 | 63 | 5 |
| January, 2006 | 34 | 61 | 5 |
| Late November, 2005 | 34 | 59 | 7 |
| Early October, 2005 | 29 | 65 | 6 |
| July, 2005 | 35 | 58 | 7 |
| Late May, 2005 | 39 | 57 | 4 |
| February, 2005 | 38 | 56 | 6 |
| January, 2005 | 40 | 54 | 6 |
| December, 2004 | 39 | 54 | 7 |
| Mid-October, 2004 | 36 | 58 | 6 |
| July, 2004 | 38 | 55 | 7 |
| May, 2004 | 33 | 61 | 6 |
| Late February, 2004 | 39 | 55 | 6 |
| Early January, 2004 | 45 | 48 | 7 |
| December, 2003 | 44 | 47 | 9 |
| October, 2003 | 38 | 56 | 6 |
| August, 2003 | 40 | 53 | 7 |
| April 8, 2003 | 50 | 41 | 9 |
| January, 2003 | 44 | 50 | 6 |
| November, 2002 | 41 | 48 | 11 |
| September, 2002 | 41 | 55 | 4 |


| Late August, 2002 | 47 | 44 | 9 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| May, 2002 | 44 | 44 | 12 |
| March, 2002 | 50 | 40 | 10 |
| Late September, 2001 | 57 | 34 | 9 |
| Early September, 2001 | 41 | 53 | 6 |
| June, 2001 | 43 | 52 | 5 |
| March, 2001 | 47 | 45 | 8 |
| February, 2001 | 46 | 43 | 11 |
| January, 2001 | 55 | 41 | 4 |
| October, 2000 (RVs) | 54 | 39 | 7 |
| September, 2000 | 51 | 41 | 8 |
| June, 2000 | 47 | 45 | 8 |
| April, 2000 | 48 | 43 | 9 |
| August, 1999 | 56 | 39 | 5 |
| January, 1999 | 53 | 41 | 6 |
| November, 1998 | 46 | 44 | 10 |
| Early September, 1998 | 54 | 42 | 4 |
| Late August, 1998 | 55 | 41 | 4 |
| Early August, 1998 | 50 | 44 | 6 |
| February, 1998 | 59 | 37 | 4 |
| January, 1998 | 46 | 50 | 4 |
| September, 1997 | 45 | 49 | 6 |
| August, 1997 | 49 | 46 | 5 |
| January, 1997 | 38 | 58 | 4 |
| July, 1996 | 29 | 67 | 4 |
| March, 1996 | 28 | 70 | 2 |
| October, 1995 | 23 | 73 | 4 |
| June, 1995 | 25 | 73 | 2 |
| April, 1995 | 23 | 74 | 3 |
| July, 1994 | 24 | 73 | 3 |
| March, 1994 | 24 | 71 | 5 |
| October, 1993 | 22 | 73 | 5 |
| September, 1993 | 20 | 75 | 5 |
| May, 1993 | 22 | 71 | 7 |
| January, 1993 | 39 | 50 | 11 |
| January, 1992 | 28 | 68 | 4 |
| November, 1991 | 34 | 61 | 5 |
| Late February, 1991 (Gallup) | 66 | 31 | 3 |
| August, 1990 | 47 | 48 | 5 |
| May, 1990 | 41 | 54 | 5 |
| January, 1989 | 45 | 50 | 5 |
| September, 1988 (RVs) | 50 | 45 | 5 |
| May, 1988 | 41 | 54 | 5 |
| January, 1988 | 39 | 55 | 6 |

## RANDOMIZE ORDER OF Q. 1 AND Q. 2

ASK ALL:
Q. 2 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama 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 Barack Obama is handling his job as President? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]

|  | Approve | Dis- <br> approve | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| June, 2009 | 61 |  | 30 |  |
| Mid-April, 2009 | 63 |  | 26 |  |
| Early April, 2009 | 61 |  | 26 |  |
| March, 2009 | 59 |  | 26 |  |
| February, 2009 | 64 |  | 17 |  |
| F |  | 13 |  |  |

## RANDOMIZE ORDER OF Q. 3 AND Q.A3

ASK ALL:
Q. 3 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]

|  | Approve | Disapprove | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref |  | Approve | Disapprove | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| June, 2009 | 29 | 56 | 15 | July, 1999 | 36 | 45 | 19 |
| March, 2009 | 28 | 51 | 21 | June, 1999 | 37 | 46 | 17 |
| February, 2009 | 34 | 51 | 15 | May, 1999 | 38 | 44 | 18 |
| Early October, 2006 | 33 | 56 | 11 | March, 1999 | 38 | 47 | 15 |
| June, 2006 | 30 | 53 | 17 | February, 1999 | 37 | 51 | 12 |
| March, 2006 | 32 | 50 | 18 | January, 1999 | 38 | 50 | 12 |
| January, 2006 | 33 | 52 | 15 | Early December, 1998 | 38 | 49 | 13 |
| Early November, 2005 | 33 | 50 | 17 | November, 1998 | 41 | 48 | 11 |
| Early October, 2005 | 32 | 52 | 16 | Early September, 1998 | 44 | 37 | 19 |
| Mid-September, 2005 | 36 | 49 | 15 | Early August, 1998 | 43 | 37 | 20 |
| Mid-May, 2005 | 35 | 50 | 15 | June, 1998 | 42 | 38 | 20 |
| Mid-March, 2005 | 39 | 44 | 17 | May, 1998 | 40 | 41 | 19 |
| Early February, 2004 | 41 | 42 | 17 | April, 1998 | 41 | 40 | 19 |
| January, 2003 | 48 | 37 | 15 | March, 1998 | 43 | 39 | 18 |
| June, 2002 | 50 | 34 | 16 | January, 1998 | 43 | 41 | 16 |
| May, 2002 | 49 | 34 | 17 | November, 1997 | 41 | 43 | 16 |
| February, 2002 | 56 | 24 | 20 | August, 1997 | 42 | 44 | 14 |
| Early September, 2001 | 43 | 39 | 18 | June, 1997 | 33 | 50 | 17 |
| June, 2001 | 40 | 40 | 20 | May, 1997 | 40 | 44 | 16 |
| May, 2001 | 45 | 36 | 19 | April, 1997 | 40 | 44 | 16 |
| April, 2001 | 45 | 30 | 25 | February, 1997 | 44 | 42 | 14 |
| January, 2001 | 43 | 36 | 21 | January, 1997 | 38 | 47 | 15 |
| July, 2000 | 36 | 46 | 18 | November, 1996 | 40 | 43 | 17 |
| May, 2000 | 40 | 42 | 18 | July, 1996 | 38 | 48 | 14 |
| March, 2000 | 38 | 43 | 19 | June, 1996 | 36 | 50 | 14 |
| February, 2000 | 40 | 43 | 17 | April, 1996 | 39 | 46 | 15 |
| January, 2000 | 39 | 41 | 20 | March, 1996 | 35 | 51 | 14 |
| December, 1999 | 38 | 42 | 20 | February, 1996 | 33 | 53 | 14 |
| October, 1999 | 34 | 50 | 16 | January, 1996 | 36 | 54 | 10 |
| Late September, 1999 | 34 | 46 | 20 | October, 1995 | 36 | 51 | 13 |
| August, 1999 | 40 | 44 | 16 | September, 1995 | 36 | 50 | 14 |

## Q. 3 CONTINUED ..

|  |  | Dis- | (VOL.) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Approve | approve | DK/Ref |
| August, 1995 | 38 | 45 | 17 |
| June, 1995 | 41 | 45 | 14 |
| April, 1995 | 44 | 43 | 13 |
| March, 1995 | 43 | 39 | 18 |
| December, 1994 | 52 | 28 | 20 |

## RANDOMIZE ORDER OF Q. 3 AND Q.A3

ASK ALL:
Q.A3 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]

|  | Approve | Disapprove | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| June, 2009 | 42 | 45 | 13 |
| March, 2009 | 47 | 35 | 18 |
| February, 2009 | 48 | 38 | 14 |
| August, 2008 | 31 | 58 | 11 |
| January, 2008 | 31 | 53 | 16 |
| November, 2007 | 35 | 50 | 15 |
| October, 2007 | 31 | 54 | 15 |
| July, 2007 | 33 | 54 | 13 |
| June, 2007 | 34 | 49 | 17 |
| April, 2007 | 36 | 43 | 21 |
| March, $2007{ }^{1}$ | 37 | 42 | 21 |
| February, 2007 | 41 | 36 | 23 |
| Mid-January, 2007 | 39 | 34 | 27 |
| Early October, 2006 | 35 | 53 | 12 |
| June, 2006 | 32 | 50 | 18 |
| March, 2006 | 34 | 46 | 20 |
| January, 2006 | 34 | 48 | 18 |
| Early November, 2005 | 36 | 44 | 20 |
| Early October, 2005 | 32 | 48 | 20 |
| Mid-September, 2005 | 36 | 45 | 19 |
| Mid-May, 2005 | 39 | 41 | 20 |
| Mid-March, 2005 | 37 | 44 | 19 |
| Early February, 2004 | 38 | 42 | 20 |
| June, 2002 | 47 | 36 | 17 |
| May, 2002 | 42 | 37 | 21 |
| February, 2002 | 49 | 30 | 21 |
| Early September, 2001 | 49 | 30 | 21 |
| June, 2001 | 50 | 28 | 22 |

## ASK FORM 2 ONLY [ $\mathrm{N}=743$ ]:

Thinking about some issues...
Q. 4 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling [INSERT ITEM, RANDOMIZE] How about [NEXT ITEM]?

| a.F2 | The economy <br> Approve | Dis- <br> approve | (VOL.) | DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | June, 2009 |  |  |  |
|  | Mid-April, 2009 | 52 | 40 | 8 |
|  | February, 2009 | 60 | 33 | 7 |
|  |  | 56 | 24 | 20 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  | The nation's foreign policy |  |  |  |
|  | June, 2009 | 57 | 31 | 12 |
|  | Mid-April, 2009 | 61 | 22 | 17 |
|  | February 2009 | 52 | 17 | 31 |

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF Q.5F2 AND Q.6F2
ASK FORM 2 ONLY [ $\mathrm{N}=743$ ]:
Q.5F2 What, if anything, concerns you the most about Barack Obama's economic policies? [RECORD VERBATIM; PROBE FOR CLARITY; ACCEPT UP TO THREE RESPONSES; DO NOT PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL MENTIONS]

2 Auto industry/Auto bailout
2 Healthcare/Medical
2 Stimulus
2 Bank industry/Bank bailout
2 Policies/Plans/Views (general)
8 Jobs/Unemployment
4 Scope of government (NET)
3 Government ownership/Control of private industry
1 Socialism/Socialist
3 Not enough aid to middle class/Helping rich not poor
3 Obama's personal traits
2 Political obstacles/lack of support
1 Moving too fast/Doing too much at once
20 None
19 Other
9 Don't know/Refused

## RANDOMIZE ORDER OF Q.5F2 AND Q.6F2

## ASK FORM 2 ONLY [ $\mathrm{N}=743$ ]:

## Q.6F2 What, if anything, has made you most hopeful about Barack Obama's economic policies? [RECORD VERBATIM; PROBE FOR CLARITY; ACCEPT UP TO THREE RESPONSES; DO NOT PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL MENTIONS]

Obama's actions/the process (NET)
Trying his best/Doing something
Cares/Understands the middle class or poor/Makes the rich and powerful pay or be accountable
Brings fresh eyes/Change in approach/Hope
Smart/Common sense/Gets good advice
Openness of the process/Honesty about the situation
Decisions are made quickly
Policies/Plans (NET)
Jobs/Helping with jobs
Stimulus
Health care efforts
Immigration/Helping Immigrants
Tax cuts
Dealing with housing, foreclosures, mortgages
Bailout/Assistance for banks
Social Security/Helping seniors
Help for the auto industry
Green energy/focus on environment
Getting the economy going/Turnaround starting or hope for turnaround
Negative remarks
Everything
Nothing/None
Other
Don’t know/Refused

## RANDOMIZE ORDER OF Q.7F1 AND Q.8F1

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [ $N=759$ ]:
Q.7F1 Are you generally optimistic or pessimistic that Barack Obama's policies will improve economic conditions in the country?

|  |  | Early April <br>  <br> 65 |
| :---: | :--- | :---: |
| Optimistic | $\underline{2009}$ |  |
| 28 | Pessimistic | 26 |
| 7 | Don’t know/Refused (VOL.) | 8 |

## RANDOMIZE ORDER OF Q.7F1 AND Q.8F1

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [ $N=759$ ]:
Q.8F1 Are you generally optimistic or pessimistic that Barack Obama's policies will reduce the budget deficit over the long term?

|  | Early April |  |
| :---: | :--- | :---: |
| 55 | Optimistic | $\underline{2009}$ |
| 36 | Pessimistic | 34 |
| 9 | Don’t know/Refused (VOL.) | 10 |

## ASK FORM 2 ONLY [ $\mathrm{N}=743$ ]:

Q.9F2 Since taking office, have Barack Obama's economic policies made economic conditions better, worse, or not had an effect so far?

|  |  | Mid-April <br> 2009 | March <br> 26 |
| :---: | :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Better | 26 | 14 |  |
| 16 | Worse | 17 | 15 |
| 49 | No effect so far | 47 | 64 |
| 4 | Too soon/early to tell (VOL.) | 6 | 4 |
| 4 | Don’t know/Refused (VOL.) | 4 | 3 |

## ASK ALL:

Q. 10 When it comes to national policy, who do you think Barack Obama is listening to more... [READ, RANDOMIZE]

|  |  | Mid-April | March | Jan |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 39 | Liberal members of his party [OR] | $\underline{2009}$ | $\underline{2009}$ | $\underline{2009}$ |
| 35 | Moderate members of his party | 33 | 34 | 34 |
| 26 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 27 | 26 | 44 |

## RANDOMIZE ORDER OF Q.11F1 AND Q.12F1 ASK FORM 1 ONLY [ $\mathrm{N}=759$ ]:

Q.11F1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling the problems faced by U.S. automakers like General Motors and Chrysler?

| 47 | Approve |
| :---: | :--- |
| 44 | Disapprove |
| 9 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) |

## RANDOMIZE ORDER OF Q.11F1 AND Q.12F1

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [ $N=759$ ]:
Q.12F1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling the problems faced by major U.S. banks and financial institutions?

50 Approve
40 Disapprove
10 Don’t know/Refused (VOL.)

## ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=743]:

Now, thinking about foreign policy and national security...
Q.13F2 Do you think Barack Obama is too tough, not tough enough or about right in his approach to foreign policy and national security issues?

```
2 Too tough
38 Not tough enough
51 About right
D Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
```


## TREND FOR COMPARISON

Thinking about foreign policy and national security... Do you think Barack Obama [ROTATED WITH
JOHN MCCAIN] would be too tough, not tough enough, or about right in his approach to foreign policy and national security issues?

## BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

|  | Mid-Sept | Late May | Late Feb |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\underline{2008}$ | $\underline{2008}$ | $\underline{2008}$ |
| Too tough | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| Not tough enough | 45 | 43 | 43 |
| About right | 44 | 43 | 39 |
| Don't know/Refused | 8 | 11 | 15 |

## RANDOMIZE Q.14F1 WITH Q.15F1/Q.16F1 BLOCK

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [ $\mathrm{N}=759$ ]:
Q.14F1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling the situation with North Korea?
-- G.W.Bush -- -- Bill Clinton--
Newsweek
Feb Jan Oct ${ }^{1}$ Newswe

51 Approve
$\frac{2003}{48} \quad \frac{2003}{53} \quad \frac{1994}{49} \quad \frac{1994}{31}$

23
26
Disapprove
Don’t know/Refused (VOL.)

| 34 | 27 | 31 | 42 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

RANDOMIZE Q.14F1 WITH Q.15F1/Q.16F1 BLOCK
ASK FORM 1 ONLY [ $\mathbf{N}=759$ ]:
Q.15F1 Do you approve or disapprove of Barack Obama's plan to close the U.S. military prison in Guantanamo Bay within a year?
Mid-April ${ }^{2} \quad$ Feb
$\underline{2009} \underline{2009}$
8 Don't know/Refused (VOL.) 11

[^0]
## ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=759]:

Q.16F1 If the U.S. closes the military prison in Guantanamo Bay, would you approve or disapprove of some of the prisoners being transferred to federal maximum-security prisons in the U.S.?

52 Approve
43 Disapprove
5 Don’t know/Refused (VOL.)

## NO QUESTIONS 17-20

## QUESTION 21 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

## ASK ALL:

Q. 22 Now I'd like your views on some people. As I read some names, please tell me if you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of each person. First, [INSERT FIRST NAME; RANDOMIZE] would you say your overall opinion of... [INSERT NAME] is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? How about [NEXT NAME]? [IF NECESSARY: would you say your overall opinion of [NAME] is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable?]
[INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN’T RATE."]
a. Barack Obama

June, 2009
Mid-April, 2009
January, 2009
Mid-October, 2008
Late September, 2008
Mid-September, 2008
Late May, 2008
April, 2008
March, 2008
Late February, 2008
Early February, 2008
January, 2008
Late December, 2007
August, 2007

## --------Favorable------

Total Very Mostly


Total Very Mostly
(VOL.) (VOL.)
Never Can't heard of rate/Ref

| 72 | 37 | 35 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 73 | 38 | 35 |
| 79 | 40 | 39 |
| 66 | 33 | 33 |
| 65 | 33 | 32 |
| 62 | 28 | 34 |
| 51 | 23 | 28 |
| 52 | 21 | 31 |
| 56 | 21 | 35 |
| 57 | 24 | 33 |
| 58 | 19 | 39 |
| 56 | 20 | 36 |
| 54 | 16 | 38 |
| 48 | 14 | 34 |

*     * 
* 

0
*
*
*

$$
\begin{array}{lll}
62 & 28 & 34 \\
51 & 23 & 28
\end{array}
$$

| 25 | 11 | 14 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 24 | 10 | 14 |
| 15 | 4 | 11 |
| 28 | 13 | 15 |
| 30 | 11 | 19 |
| 34 | 15 | 19 |
| 40 | 21 | 19 |
| 42 | 21 | 21 |
| 34 | 18 | 16 |
| 34 | 16 | 18 |
| 30 | 13 | 17 |
| 33 | 13 | 20 |
| 30 | 12 | 18 |
| 26 | 10 | 16 |

* 
* 

$$
\begin{aligned}
& 0 \\
& 4
\end{aligned}
$$

## *

$*$
1
-
b. Michelle Obama

| June, 2009 | 76 | 36 | 39 | 14 | 5 | 9 | 1 | 9 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mid-April, 2009 | 76 | 36 | 40 | 13 | 4 | 9 | 1 | 10 |
| January, 2009 | 68 | 28 | 40 | 15 | 4 | 11 | 2 | 15 |
| Mid-September, 2008 | 56 | 23 | 33 | 25 | 11 | 14 | 2 | 17 |
| Late May, 2008 | 43 | 14 | 29 | 21 | 8 | 13 | 4 | 32 |

## QUESTION 22c HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

d. Nancy Pelosi

| June, 2009 | 35 | 8 | 28 | 41 | 25 | 16 | 15 | 8 |
| :--- | :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: |
| December, 2007 | 25 | 6 | 19 | 38 | 19 | 19 | 20 | 17 |
| December, 2006 | 32 | 9 | 23 | 27 | 13 | 14 | 26 | 15 |

## QUESTIONS Q22e TO Q22h, 23 TO 27 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

## NO QUESTIONS 28-30

ASK ALL:
Q. 31 From what you've read and heard, do you approve or disapprove of Barack Obama's roughly 800 billion dollar economic stimulus plan passed by Congress in February?

| 55 | Approve |
| :---: | :--- |
| 39 | Disapprove |
| 6 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) |

## TREND FOR COMPARISON:

From what you've read and heard, do you think Barack Obama's roughly 800 billion dollar economic stimulus plan passed by Congress last month is a good idea or a bad idea?

| Mar <br> $\frac{2009}{5}$ <br> 56 <br> 35 |  |
| :---: | :--- |
| 9 | Good idea |
|  | Bad idea |
| Don't know/Refused (VOL.) |  |

ASK ALL:
Q. 32 As you may know, the federal government has taken several steps to address economic problems facing the nation. Do you approve or disapprove of the government spending billions of dollars [INSERT FIRST ITEM; RANDOMIZE]? How about the government spending billions of dollars [INSERT NEXT ITEM]?
(VOL.)
Approve Disapprove DK/Ref

73
23
3
b. In an effort to keep General Motors and Chrysler in business

June, 2009
36
58
6
c. In an effort to keep financial institutions and markets secure

June, 2009
49
45
6

## Q.32a.-b. TREND FOR COMPARISON:

As you may know, the government has taken or is considering other steps to address economic problems facing the nation. Do you think it is the right thing or the wrong thing for the government to spend billions of dollars [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]? ${ }^{3}$

|  | Right <br> thing | Wrong <br> thing | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| To substantially increase spending on roads, bridges, <br> and other public works projects | 77 | 19 | $4=100$ |
| March, 2009 <br> December, 2008 | 70 | 24 | $6=100$ |
| In loans to General Motors and Chrysler  <br> to keep them in business  <br> $\quad$ March, 2009  <br> $\quad$ December, $2008^{4}$ 30 | 63 | $7=100$ |  |

## Q.32c. TREND FOR COMPARISON:

In addition to the economic stimulus program Congress recently passed, the government is investing roughly 700 billion dollars to try to keep financial institutions and markets secure. Do you think this is the right thing or the wrong thing for the government to be doing?

|  | Right <br> thing | Wrong <br> thing | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| March, 2009 | 48 | 40 | 12 |
| December, 2008 | 47 | 43 | 10 |
| November 14-17, 2008 (NII) | 40 | 43 | 17 |
| Mid-October, 2008 | 47 | 37 | 16 |
| Late September, 2008 | 45 | 38 | 17 |
| September 19-22, 2008 (NII) | 57 | 30 | 13 |

3 In December 2008, question was worded "As you may know, the government is considering several other proposals to address economic problems facing the nation. Do you think it is the right thing or the wrong thing for the government to spend billions of dollars...?"

## ASK ALL:

Q. 33 In dealing with important issues facing the country, are [RANDOMIZE; Barack Obama and Republican leaders in Congress, Republican leaders in Congress and Barack Obama] working together or not working together?
ASK IF ‘NOT WORKING TOGETHER’ (Q.33=2) [N=837]:
Q. 34 Who do you think is most to blame for them not working together? [READ AND RANDOMIZE]

|  |  | $\frac{\text { Feb 2009 }}{}{ }^{6}$ |
| :---: | :--- | :---: |
| 39 | Working together | 43 |
| 50 | Not working together | 45 |
| 12 | Barack Obama to blame | 7 |
| 26 | Republican leaders in Congress to blame | 27 |
| 9 | Both to blame [VOL. DO NOT READ] | 5 |
| 1 | Neither to blame [VOL. DO NOT READ] | 1 |
| 0 | Democrats/Democratic leaders [VOL. DO NOT READ] | 2 |
| 1 | Other to blame [VOL. DO NOT READ] | 1 |
| 2 | Don't know who is to blame [VOL. DO NOT READ] | 2 |
| 11 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 12 |

## NO QUESTIONS 35 AND 36

## ASK ALL

On a different subject...
Q. 37 How much, if anything, have you heard about Barack Obama's choice of Sonia Sotomayor to be the next Supreme Court justice? [READ]

39 A lot
38 A little [OR]
21 Nothing at all
2 Don’t know/Refused [VOL. DO NOT READ]

## ASK ALL:

Q. 38 From what you've seen and heard so far, do you think the Senate should or should not confirm Sonia Sotomayor to the Supreme Court?

|  |  | Samuel Alito |  |  | Harriet Miers | John Roberts |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Jan | Early Dec | Nov | Early Oct | Mid-Sept | Early Sept |
|  |  | $\underline{2006}$ | $\underline{2005}$ | $\underline{2005}$ | $\underline{2005}$ | $\underline{2005}$ | $\underline{2005}$ |
| 50 | Should | 33 | 32 | 40 | 33 | 46 | 35 |
| 25 | Should not | 19 | 19 | 23 | 27 | 21 | 19 |
| 25 | Don't know/Refused | 48 | 49 | 37 | 40 | 33 | 46 |

ASK ALL:
Q. 39 What is your impression of Sonia Sotomayor, do you think she is [READ IN REVERSE ORDER FOR RANDOM HALF OF SAMPLE]?

| 31 | Liberal |
| :---: | :--- |
| 34 | Moderate [OR] |
| 8 | Conservative |
| 26 | Don't know/Refused [VOL. DO NOT READ] |

## ASK ALL:

Q. 40 As I read some issues the Supreme Court may rule on over the coming years, please tell me how important each issue is to you personally. First, are court decisions on [INSERT FIRST ITEM, RANDOMIZE] very important, fairly important, not too important, or not at all important to you? Next, how about court decisions on [INSERT NEXT ITEM]
a. Abortion

June, 2009
November, 2005
July, 2005

| Very <br> Important | Fairly <br> Important | Not too <br> Important | Not at all <br> Important | (VOL.) <br> $\underline{\text { DK/Ref }}$ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 20 |  | 11 |  |  |
| 62 | 20 | 8 | 11 | 3 |  |
| 63 | 21 | 8 | 8 | 2 |  |
|  |  |  |  | 7 | 1 |

b. Affirmative action

June, 2009
November, 2005
July, 2005
40
32
1
$14 \quad 7$
$7 \quad 8$
$37 \quad 12$
$12 \quad 7$
6
$35 \quad 12$
7
3
c. Issues related to homosexuality

June, 2009
November, 2005
33
36
d. The rights of people held in custody as terrorist suspects

June, 2009
November, 2005
July, 2005
57
57
62

Election and voting rules
June, 2009
57
18
20
20
25
21
4
.

## ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=743]:

Now, a few questions about foreign policy ...
Q. 47 I'd like your opinion about some possible international concerns for the U.S. Do you think that [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE] is a major threat, a minor threat or not a threat to the well being of the United States? What about [INSERT NEXT ITEM]
a.F2 China's emergence as a world power June, 2009
January, 2009
September, 2008
Late May, 2008
February, 2006
Late October, 2005
May, 2001
July, 1999

| Major | Minor | Not a | (VOL.) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Threat | $\underline{\text { Threat }}$ | $\underline{\text { Threat }}$ | $\underline{\text { DK/Ref }}$ |

b.F2 North Korea's nuclear program
June, 2009

January, 2009
September, 2008
Late May, 2008
February, 2006
Late October, 2005
c.F2 Iran's nuclear program

June, 2009
January, 2009
September, 2008
Late May, 2008
February, 2006
Late October, 2005
d.F2 Political instability in Pakistan

June, 2009
January, 2009
September, 2008
Late May, 2008
$7219 \quad 5$
$\begin{array}{llll}53 & 32 & 8 & 7\end{array}$

| 55 | 33 | 7 | 5 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |


| 55 | 32 | 7 | 6 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |


| 60 | 27 | 6 | 7 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |


| 66 | 24 | 4 | 6 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

xtremist groups like al Qaeda
June, 2009
78
$14 \quad 4 \quad 4$

January, 2009
September, 2008
77

| 69 | 20 | 5 | 5 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 65 | 23 | 6 | 6 |
| 60 | 29 | 6 | 5 |
| 62 | 25 | 8 | 5 |
| 65 | 24 | 5 | 6 |
| 61 | 27 | 5 | 7 |

Islamic Late May, 2008

72

| 15 | 4 | 4 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 21 | 3 | 4 |
| 18 | 4 | 6 |

f.F2 The conflict between Israelis and Palestinians

June, 2009
January, 2009
$\begin{array}{llll}49 & 35 & 9 & 6\end{array}$
$45 \quad 40 \quad 9 \quad 6$
g.F2 Drug-related violence in Mexico

June, 2009
59
307
4

## ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=759]:

Now, a few questions about foreign policy ...
Q.48F1 When it comes to Barack Obama's dealings with our allies, do you think he is [READ AND

RANDOMIZE WITH "IS HE STRIKING THE RIGHT BALANCE" LAST]?
8 Pushing America’s interests too hard
20 Taking into account the interests of our allies too much [OR]
57 Is he striking the right balance
15 Don't know/Refused [VOL. DO NOT READ]

## RANDOMIZE ORDER OF Q.49F1 AND Q.50F1

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [ $N=759$ ]:
Q.49F1 Compared with the Bush Administration, do you think the policies of the Obama Administration have made the United States [READ AND RANDOMIZE WITH "HAVEN'T THEY MADE A DIFFERENCE" LAST]?

28 Safer from terrorism
21 Less safe from terrorism [OR]
44 Haven't they made a difference
7 Don't know/Refused [VOL. DO NOT READ]

## RANDOMIZE ORDER OF Q.49F1 AND Q.50F1

## ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=759]:

Q.50F1 Thinking about the situation in the Middle East these days, do you think Barack Obama is [READ AND RANDOMIZE WITH "STRIKING ABOUT THE RIGHT BALANCE" LAST]?

6 Favoring Israel too much
17 Favoring the Palestinians too much [OR]
62 Striking about the right balance
14 Don't know/Refused [VOL. DO NOT READ]

## NO QUESTIONS 51 AND 52

## ASK ALL:

Thinking about health care...
Q. 53 Do you think the health care system in this country works pretty well and requires only minor changes, do you think it needs fundamental changes, or do you think it needs to be completely rebuilt?

|  |  | March | June | Jan | April |
| :---: | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 24 | Only minor changes | $\underline{2009}$ | $\frac{1994}{21}$ | $\frac{1994}{21}$ | $\frac{1993}{15}$ |
| 30 | Fundamental changes | 36 | 32 | 33 | 26 |
| 41 | Completely rebuilt | 40 | 37 | 42 | 55 |
| 4 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 3 | 3 | 4 | 4 |

## ASK ALL:

Q. 54 As I read from a list, please tell me whether each is a major problem for you and your family or not. First, is... [INSERT FIRST ITEM; RANDOMIZE] a major problem for you and your family or not a major problem? How about [INSERT NEXT ITEM]?
a. Paying for the cost of routine medical care June, 2009
March, 2006
June, 1994
April, 1993

| Major <br> Problem | Not a Major <br> Problem | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 34 | 65 | 1 |
| 38 | 61 | 1 |
| 32 | 67 | 1 |
| 40 | 60 | $*$ |

b. Paying for the cost of a major illness

June, 200948

| 48 | 50 | 2 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 54 | 44 | 2 |
| 51 | 47 | 2 |
| 63 | 36 | 1 |

c. Paying for the costs of prescription drugs June, 2009
$34 \quad 66$
55
*
March, 2006
44
1
d. Paying for the cost of health insurance

June, 200943
56
1
e. Your employer making you pay a larger share of your health insurance costs

June, 200935
61
f. The availability of medical care in your community

June, 2009
March, 2006
$21 \quad 78$
74
79
1
April, 1993
20
1
g. The quality of medical care in your community

June, 2009
73
2
June, 1994
24
2
April 1993
23
75
2

## ASK ALL:

Q. 55 Thinking about the country as a whole, do you think we spend too much, too little or the right amount on health care?

|  | March | June | April |  |
| :---: | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $\underline{2006}$ | $\underline{1994}$ | $\underline{1993}$ |
| 38 | Too much | 57 | 48 | 36 |
| 40 | Too little | 9 | 13 | 49 |
| 14 | Right amount | 8 | 9 | 8 |
| 7 | Don't know/Refused |  |  |  |

## RANDOMIZE Q. 56 AND Q. 57

ASK ALL:
Q. 56 Do you favor or oppose changing the health care system in this country so that all Americans have health insurance that covers all medically necessary care?

|  |  | June | April |
| :---: | :--- | :---: | :---: |
| 75 | Favor | $\frac{1994}{76}$ | $\underline{1993}$ |
| 21 | Oppose | 19 | 13 |
| 4 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 5 | 4 |

## RANDOMIZE Q. 56 AND Q. 57

## ASK ALL:

Q. 57 How important is it to you that we change the health care system in this country in order to limit the overall annual increase in the nation's health care costs. Is it [READ]?

|  |  | April |
| :---: | :--- | :---: |
|  |  | $\underline{1993}$ |
| 61 | Very important | 69 |
| 27 | Fairly important | 24 |
| 10 | Not too important | 5 |
| 2 | Don't know/Refused [VOL. DO NOT READ] | 2 |

ASK ALL:
Q. 58 What do you think is a more important goal for the nation [READ AND RANDOMIZE]?

|  |  | Apri <br> 1993 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 36 | To find a way to limit the overall annual |  |
|  | increase in health care costs [OR] | 20 |
|  | To change the system so that all Americans are |  |
| 56 | guaranteed access to all medically necessary care | 74 |
| 8 | Don't know/Refused [VOL. DO NOT READ] | 6 |

## ASK ALL:

Q. 59 Are you, yourself, now covered by any form of health insurance or health plan or do you not have health insurance at this time? [READ IF NECESSARY: A health plan would include any private insurance plan through your employer or a plan that you purchased yourself, as well as a government program like Medicare or Medicaid]

81 Covered by health insurance
18 Not covered by health insurance

* Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

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

|  | Republican | Democrat | Independent | (VOL.) <br> No <br> Preference | (VOL.) (VOL.) |  | Lean | Lean |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  |  | Other | DK/ |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | Party | Ref | Rep | Dem |
| June, 2009 | 25 | 34 | 34 | 3 | * | 3 | 11 | 16 |
| May, 2009 | 23 | 39 | 29 | 4 | * | 4 | 9 | 14 |
| April, 2009 | 22 | 33 | 39 | 3 | * | 3 | 13 | 18 |
| March, 2009 | 24 | 34 | 35 | 5 | * | 2 | 12 | 17 |
| February, 2009 | 24 | 36 | 34 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 13 | 17 |
| January, 2009 | 25 | 37 | 33 | 3 | * | 2 | 11 | 16 |
| December, 2008 | 26 | 39 | 30 | 2 | * | 3 | 8 | 15 |
| Late October, 2008 | 24 | 39 | 32 | 2 | * | 3 | 11 | 15 |
| Mid-October, 2008 | 27 | 35 | 31 | 4 | * | 3 | 9 | 16 |
| Early October, 2008 | 26 | 36 | 31 | 4 | * | 3 | 11 | 15 |
| Late September, 2008 | - 25 | 35 | 34 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 13 | 15 |
| Mid-September, 2008 | - 28 | 35 | 32 | 3 | * | 2 | 12 | 14 |
| August, 2008 | 26 | 34 | 34 | 4 | * | 2 | 12 | 17 |
| July, 2008 | 24 | 36 | 34 | 3 | * | 3 | 12 | 15 |
| June, 2008 | 26 | 37 | 32 | 3 | * | 2 | 11 | 16 |
| Late May, 2008 | 25 | 35 | 35 | 2 | * | 3 | 13 | 15 |
| April, 2008 | 24 | 37 | 31 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 11 | 15 |
| March, 2008 | 24 | 38 | 29 | 5 | * | 4 | 9 | 14 |
| Late February, 2008 | 24 | 38 | 32 | 3 | * | 3 | 10 | 17 |
| Early February, 2008 | 26 | 35 | 31 | 5 | * | 3 | 11 | 14 |
| January, 2008 | 24 | 33 | 37 | 4 | * | 2 | 12 | 18 |
| Yearly Totals |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2008 | 25.3 | 35.8 | 31.7 | 3.8 | . 3 | 3.1 | 10.5 | 15.4 |
| 2007 | 25.4 | 32.9 | 33.7 | 4.6 | . 4 | 3.1 | 10.7 | 16.7 |
| 2006 | 27.6 | 32.8 | 30.3 | 5.0 | . 4 | 3.9 | 10.2 | 14.5 |
| 2005 | 29.2 | 32.8 | 30.3 | 4.5 | . 3 | 2.8 | 10.2 | 14.9 |
| 2004 | 29.7 | 33.4 | 29.8 | 3.9 | . 4 | 2.9 | 11.7 | 13.4 |
| 2003 | 29.8 | 31.4 | 31.2 | 4.7 | . 5 | 2.5 | 12.1 | 13.0 |
| 2002 | 30.3 | 31.2 | 30.1 | 5.1 | . 7 | 2.7 | 12.6 | 11.6 |
| 2001 | 29.2 | 33.6 | 28.9 | 5.1 | . 5 | 2.7 | 11.7 | 11.4 |
| 2001 Post-Sept 11 | 30.9 | 31.8 | 27.9 | 5.2 | . 6 | 3.6 | 11.7 | 9.4 |
| 2001 Pre-Sept 11 | 28.2 | 34.6 | 29.5 | 5.0 | . 5 | 2.1 | 11.7 | 12.5 |
| 2000 | 27.5 | 32.5 | 29.5 | 5.9 | . 5 | 4.0 | 11.6 | 11.6 |
| 1999 | 26.6 | 33.5 | 33.7 | 3.9 | . 5 | 1.9 | 13.0 | 14.5 |
| 1998 | 27.5 | 33.2 | 31.9 | 4.6 | . 4 | 2.4 | 11.8 | 13.5 |
| 1997 | 28.2 | 33.3 | 31.9 | 4.0 | . 4 | 2.3 | 12.3 | 13.8 |
| 1996 | 29.2 | 32.7 | 33.0 | 5.2 | -- | -- | 12.7 | 15.6 |
| 1995 | 31.4 | 29.7 | 33.4 | 5.4 | -- | -- | 14.4 | 12.9 |
| 1994 | 29.8 | 31.8 | 33.8 | 4.6 | -- | -- | 14.3 | 12.6 |
| 1993 | 27.4 | 33.8 | 34.0 | 4.8 | -- | -- | 11.8 | 14.7 |
| 1992 | 27.7 | 32.7 | 35.7 | 3.9 | -- | -- | 13.8 | 15.8 |
| 1991 | 30.9 | 31.4 | 33.2 | 4.5 | -- | -- | 14.6 | 10.8 |
| 1990 | 31.0 | 33.1 | 29.1 | 6.8 | -- | -- | 12.4 | 11.3 |
| 1989 | 33 | 33 | 34 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| 1987 | 26 | 35 | 39 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |


[^0]:    1 In October 1994 the question was worded, "Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is dealing with North Korea?"

    2 Prior to June 2009, question asked about Barack Obama’s "decision" to close. ...

