

PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS
SEPTEMBER 2003 NEWS INTEREST INDEX
FINAL TOPLINE
September 17 - 22, 2003
N=1,500

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

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
September, 2003	55	36	9=100
Mid-August, 2003	56	32	12=100
Early August, 2003	53	37	10=100
Mid-July, 2003	58	32	10=100
Early July, 2003	60	29	11=100
June, 2003	62	27	11=100
May, 2003	65	27	8=100
April 10-16, 2003	72	22	6=100
April 9, 2003	74	20	6=100
April 2-7, 2003	69	25	6=100
March 28-April 1, 2003	71	23	6=100
March 25-27, 2003	70	24	6=100
March 20-24, 2003	67	26	7=100
March 13-16, 2003	55	34	11=100
February, 2003	54	36	10=100
January, 2003	58	32	10=100
December, 2002	61	28	11=100
Late October, 2002	59	29	12=100
Early October, 2002	61	30	9=100
Mid-September, 2002	67	22	11=100
Early September, 2002	63	26	11=100
Late August, 2002	60	27	13=100
August, 2002	67	21	12=100
Late July, 2002	65	25	10=100
July, 2002	67	21	12=100
June, 2002	70	20	10=100
April, 2002	69	18	13=100
Early April, 2002	74	16	10=100
February, 2002	78	13	9=100
January, 2002	80	11	9=100
Mid-November, 2001	84	9	7=100
Early October, 2001	84	8	8=100
Late September, 2001	86	7	7=100
Mid-September, 2001	80	9	11=100
Early September, 2001	51	34	15=100
August, 2001	50	32	18=100
July, 2001	51	32	17=100
June, 2001	50	33	17=100
May, 2001	53	32	15=100
April, 2001	56	27	17=100
March, 2001	55	25	20=100
February, 2001	53	21	26=100

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

Q.2 Do you (approve/disapprove) very strongly, or not so strongly?

		<u>June 2002</u>	<u>April 2001</u>
55	Approve	70	56
35	Very strongly	46	34
18	Not so strongly	21	20
2	Don't know	3	2
36	Disapprove	20	27
27	Very strongly	8	18
9	Not so strongly	12	9
*	Don't know	0	*
<u>9</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>10</u>	<u>17</u>
100		100	100

Q.3 Now I will read a list of some stories covered by news organizations this past month. As I read each item, tell me if you happened to follow this news story very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely. **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE. OBSERVE FORM SPLITS]**

		<u>Very Closely</u>	<u>Fairly Closely</u>	<u>Not too Closely</u>	<u>Not at all Closely</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
a.	The removal of a monument of the Ten Commandments from an Alabama courthouse	32	29	19	19	1=100
b.	The race for the Democratic presidential nomination	17	25	30	27	1=100
	Mid-August, 2003	12	27	27	33	1=100
	May, 2003	8	19	31	41	1=100
	January, 2003 ¹	14	28	29	28	1=100
	December, 1999	16	36	24	23	1=100
	October, 1999	17	32	28	22	1=100
	September, 1999	15	31	33	20	1=100
	July, 1999	15	38	24	22	1=100
	June, 1999	11	25	29	34	1=100
	September, 1995	12	36	30	22	*=100
	August, 1995	13	34	28	25	*=100
	June, 1995	11	31	31	26	1=100
	December, 1991	10	28	32	30	*=100
	October, 1991	12	26	31	29	2=100
	November, 1987	15	28	35	21	1=100
	September, 1987	14	34	37	14	1=100

FORM 1 ONLY [N=757]:

c.F1	The California recall election	19	28	28	24	1=100
	Mid-August, 2003	15	25	24	35	1=100

¹ In January 2003, the story was listed as "Recent announcements by prominent Democrats about plans to run for president in 2004." In 1999, the story was listed as "News about candidates for the 2000 presidential election." In 1995, the story was listed as "News about the Republican presidential candidates." In September 1987, the story was listed as "Coverage of the Democratic and Republican candidates for the presidential nomination."

Q.3 CONTINUED...

		Very Closely	Fairly Closely	Not too Closely	Not at all Closely	DK/Ref
d.F1	The high price of gasoline these days	45	27	15	11	1=100
	March, 2003	52	27	11	9	1=100
	February, 2003	53	25	12	9	1=100
	June, 2001	56	31	7	5	1=100
	May, 2001	61	26	6	6	1=100
	Early October, 2000	56	25	12	6	1=100
	June, 2000 ²	61	25	9	5	*=100
	March, 2000	58	28	10	4	*=100
	October, 1990	62	26	8	4	*=100
	September, 1990	56	28	11	5	*=100
	August, 1990	57	27	10	5	1=100
e.F1	North Korea's nuclear weapons program	19	32	27	21	1=100
	May, 2003	27	40	22	11	*=100
	March, 2003	34	34	19	12	1=100
	February, 2003	33	34	18	13	2=100
	January, 2003	33	34	18	14	1=100
	Late October, 2002 ³	25	31	23	20	1=100
	June, 1994	27	33	26	14	*=100
f.F1	Continued violence in the Middle East between the Palestinians and the Israelis	31	36	20	13	*=100
	Early July, 2003	26	40	20	13	1=100
	December, 2002	29	36	22	12	1=100
	Early October, 2002	32	39	20	8	1=100
	June, 2002	38	33	18	10	1=100
	April, 2002	38	37	14	10	1=100
	Early April, 2002	44	33	13	9	1=100
	December, 2001	31	40	19	9	1=100
	Early September, 2001	21	33	25	20	1=100
	April, 2001 ⁴	22	34	24	19	1=100
	Mid-October, 2000	30	38	18	13	1=100
	Early October, 2000	21	30	27	21	1=100
	January, 1997	12	23	29	35	1=100
	October, 1996	17	34	26	23	*=100
	May, 1988	18	37	34	9	2=100

² In August 1990 through June 2000 the question was worded "Recent increases in the price of gasoline."

³ In Late October 2002 the story was listed as "North Korea's admission that it has been secretly developing nuclear weapons." In June 1994 the story was listed as "Reports about North Korea's building of nuclear weapons and refusal to allow UN inspections."

⁴ In April 2001 the story was listed as "Continued violence in the Middle East." In Mid-October 2000 the story was listed as "Continued violence in the Middle East between the Palestinians and the Israelis." In Early October 2000 the story was listed as "Renewed violence in the Middle East between the Palestinians and the Israelis." In January 1997 the story was listed as "Renewed tensions between Israelis and Palestinians over Hebron." In October 1996 the story was listed as "Renewed violence between Israelis & Palestinians on the West Bank and in Jerusalem." In May 1988 the story was listed as "The conflict in the Middle East between the Palestinians and the Israelis in the occupied territories."

Q.3 CONTINUED...

FORM 2 ONLY [N=743]:

		Very Closely	Fairly Closely	Not too Closely	Not at all Closely	DK/Ref
g.F2	News about the current situation in Iraq	50	33	10	6	1=100
	Mid-August, 2003	45	39	10	5	1=100
	Early July, 2003	37	41	13	8	1=100
	June, 2003	46	35	13	6	*=100
	May, 2003	63	29	6	2	*=100
	April 11-16, 2003 ⁵	47	40	10	2	1=100
	April 2-7, 2003	54	34	9	2	1=100
	March 20-24, 2003	57	33	7	2	1=100
	March 13-16, 2003 ⁶	62	27	6	4	1=100
	February, 2003	62	25	8	4	1=100
	January, 2003	55	29	10	4	2=100
	December, 2002	51	32	10	6	1=100
	Late October, 2002	53	33	8	5	1=100
	Early October, 2002	60	28	6	5	1=100
	Early September, 2002	48	29	15	6	2=100
h.F2	Hurricane Isabel	47	28	15	10	*=100
i.F2	Reports about the condition of the U.S. economy	39	30	18	12	1=100
	March, 2003	40	35	16	8	1=100
	February, 2003	42	33	15	10	*=100
	January, 2003	40	35	13	11	1=100
	December, 2002	38	34	17	10	1=100
	February, 2002	35	40	15	9	1=100
	January, 2002	30	44	16	9	1=100
	December, 2001	37	40	13	8	2=100
	Mid-November, 2001	41	36	15	7	1=100
	June, 2001	24	41	18	16	1=100
	May, 2001	34	36	15	15	0=100
	April, 2001	36	34	16	13	1=100
	February, 2001	30	39	18	12	1=100
	January, 2001	32	38	17	11	2=100
	June, 1995	26	41	22	11	*=100
	March, 1995	27	45	19	9	*=100
	February, 1995	23	41	22	13	1=100
	December, 1994	28	43	20	9	*=100
	October, 1994	27	40	20	12	1=100
	June, 1994	25	42	23	10	*=100
	May, 1994	33	40	16	10	1=100
	January, 1994	34	39	16	10	1=100
	Early January, 1994	36	44	13	7	*=100
	December, 1993	35	41	15	8	1=100
	October, 1993	33	38	20	9	*=100
	September, 1993	37	40	14	8	1=100
	Early September, 1993	39	39	14	9	*=100
	August, 1993	41	36	14	9	*=100
	May, 1993	37	38	18	6	1=100

⁵ From March 20 to April 16, 2003 the story was listed as "News about the war in Iraq."

⁶ From October 2002 to March 13-16, 2003 the story was listed as "Debate over the possibility that the U.S. will take military action in Iraq." In Early September 2002 the story was listed as "Debate over the possibility that the U.S. will invade Iraq."

Q.3 CONTINUED...

	Very <u>Closely</u>	Fairly <u>Closely</u>	Not too <u>Closely</u>	Not at all <u>Closely</u>	DK/Ref
February, 1993	49	36	10	5	*=100
January, 1993	42	39	12	7	*=100
September, 1992	43	37	13	6	*=100
May, 1992	39	39	15	6	1=100
March, 1992	47	38	11	4	*=100
February, 1992	47	37	10	6	*=100
January, 1992	44	40	11	5	*=100
October, 1991	36	38	16	9	1=100
Early January, 1991	36	40	16	7	1=100
j.F2 The electricity blackout that affected much of the Northeast	33	35	21	10	1=100

ASK ALL:

Now thinking about President Bush...

Q.4 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling [INSERT ITEM, RANDOMIZE]

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>DK/Ref.</u>
a. The economy	43	48	9=100
February, 2003	43	48	9=100
January, 2003	47	45	8=100
Early October, 2002	49	40	11=100
June, 2002	53	36	11=100
January, 2002	60	28	12=100
Early September, 2001	47	44	9=100
February, 2001	50	22	28=100
Clinton: Early September, 1998	71	23	6=100
Clinton: September, 1997	60	34	6=100
Clinton: January, 1996	50	42	8=100
Clinton: June, 1995	46	46	8=100
Clinton: October, 1994	45	46	9=100
Clinton: July, 1994	38	56	6=100
Bush, Sr.: August, 1990	40	52	8=100
Bush, Sr.: May, 1990	42	47	11=100

Q.4 CONTINUED...

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>DK/Ref.</u>
b. The situation in Iraq	52	40	8=100
April 10-16, 2003 ⁷	77	17	6=100
April 8-9, 2003	71	23	6=100
--April 9, 2003	76	18	6=100
--April 8, 2003	65	28	7=100
April 2-7, 2003	73	21	6=100
March 28-April 1, 2003	69	26	5=100
March 25-27, 2003	73	23	4=100
March 23-24, 2003	72	22	6=100
March 20-22, 2003	70	23	7=100
February, 2003	56	37	7=100
January, 2003	56	36	8=100
Early October, 2002	56	34	10=100
Gallup: Late January, 1991	84	11	5=100
c. Terrorist threats	64	28	8=100
February, 2003	67	25	8=100
January, 2003	69	23	8=100
Early October, 2002	71	22	7=100
June, 2002	74	18	8=100
Mid-September, 2001 ⁸	85	6	9=100
Clinton: Early September, 1998	72	20	8=100
d. Health care policy	33	46	21=100
June, 2002	37	46	17=100
Clinton: July, 1994	39	54	7=100

Q.5 Right now, which is more important for President Bush to focus on ... the economy or the war on terrorism?

	<u>August</u>	<u>April</u>	<u>Jan</u>	<u>Early</u>	<u>Late</u>
	<u>2003</u>	<u>2003⁹</u>	<u>2003</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2002</u>
50 The economy	57	36	38	36	39
32 The war on terrorism	27	42	43	45	34
* Neither (VOL)	*	1	*	*	2
15 Both (VOL)	13	19	17	17	22
<u>3</u> Don't know/Refused (VOL)	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
100	100	100	100	100	100

NO Q.6 THRU Q.9

⁷ From March to April 2003 the item was worded: "... dealing with the war in Iraq?" The 1991 Gallup trend was worded "...George Bush is handling the situation in the Persian Gulf region."

⁸ In Mid-September, 2001 the question was worded: "...dealing with the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon in Washington." In Early September 1998 the question was worded: "Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling current threats from international terrorist groups?"

⁹ In April 2003, the question was worded: "... the economy or the situation in Iraq?"

Q.10 Looking ahead, would you like to see George W. Bush re-elected president in 2004 or would you prefer that a Democratic candidate win the election? [INTERVIEWER: IF R SAYS "OTHER" OR "SOMEONE ELSE," PROBE ONCE: "If you had to choose, would you like to see George W. Bush re-elected or would you prefer that a Democratic candidate win the election?"]

	----- Total -----			----- Registered Voters -----			(N=1174)
	Bush Re-elected	Prefer Democrat	Other/ DK	Bush Re-elected	Prefer Democrat	Other/ DK	
September, 2003	44	43	13=100	45	43	12=100	
August, 2003	40	39	21=100	43	38	19=100	
Mid-July, 2003	45	37	18=100	47	37	16=100	
April, 2003	46	35	19=100	48	34	18=100	
Late March, 2003 ¹⁰ (Gallup)	51	36	13=100	51	36	13=100	
Mid-March, 2003 (Gallup)	45	42	13=100	45	42	13=100	
February, 1992	40	48	12=100	39	49	12=100	
January, 1992	42	42	16=100	41	45	14=100	
November, 1991	41	43	16=100	41	44	15=100	

IF "BUSH" (1 IN Q.10) ASK:

Q.11 Have you pretty much made up your mind that you are going to support George W. Bush or is there a chance you might you support a Democratic candidate?

	----- Total -----			----- Registered Voters -----		
	Made up mind to support Bush	Might support a Democrat candidate	Can't Say	Made up mind to support Bush	Might support a Democrat candidate	Can't Say
September, 2003	31	9	4=44	33	9	3=45

IF "DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE" (2 IN Q.10) ASK:

Q.12 Have you pretty much made up your mind that you are going to support a Democratic candidate or is there a chance you might you support George W. Bush?

	----- Total -----			----- Registered Voters -----		
	Made up mind to support a Democratic candidate	Might support Bush	Can't Say	Made up mind to support a Democratic candidate	Might support Bush	Can't Say
September, 2003	29	8	6=43	30	8	5=43

FORM 1 ONLY:

Q.13F1 Regardless of who you might support, who do you think is most likely to win the coming presidential election? [READ]

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=592]:

	June 2003	March 1992	Feb 1992	Oct 1991	
47	George W. Bush, or	66	72	66	78
34	A Democratic candidate	22	20	25	11
19	Don't know/Refused	12	8	9	11
100		100	100	100	100

¹⁰ The March 2003 trends are from Gallup and were worded: "If George W. Bush runs for re-election in 2004, in general are you more likely to vote for Bush or for the Democratic Party's candidate for president?"

ASK ALL:

Q.14 Overall, what's your impression of the candidates running for the Democratic presidential nomination? AS A GROUP, would you say they are excellent candidates, good candidates, fair candidates or poor candidates?

		<i>Republican</i>		<i>Democratic</i>		<i>Republican</i>
		Oct	Feb	Oct	Jan	Jan
		<u>1995</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1991</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1988</u>
3	Excellent	3	3	2	3	3
27	Good	29	31	18	27	34
39	Fair	46	51	38	44	42
15	Poor	18	9	15	17	11
<u>16</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100

Q.15 Can you tell me the names of any candidates planning to run for the Democratic nomination for President in 2004? ... Can you think of any others? **[PROBE FOR MULTIPLE RESPONSES, INCLUDING MULTIPLE "OTHERS" IN ADDITION TO PRECODES: IF RESPONDENT MENTIONS A NAME BUT VOLUNTEERS THAT THE PERSON IS NOT PLANNING TO RUN, DO NOT CODE NAME; IF RESPONDENT MAKES DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN CANDIDATES THEY LIKE OR DISLIKE, OR SAYS "I don't like/won't vote for any of them" PROBE WITH "This question is only which candidates you've HEARD OF, not which candidates you like."]**

		<i>Dem</i>	<i>Dem</i>	<i>Dem</i>	<i>Rep</i>	<i>Rep</i>	<i>Dem</i>	<i>Dem</i>
		April	Jan	Sept	Sept	Aug	Oct	May
		<u>2003</u>	<u>2003</u>	<u>1999</u>	<u>1999</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1991</u>	<u>1991</u>
59	Could not name any candidates	68	65	48	37	44	73	76
41	Could name a candidate	32	35	52	63	56	27	24
19	John Kerry	11	10					
19	Howard Dean	3	1					
15	Wesley Clark	0	0					
14	Joe Lieberman	8	14					
10	Dick Gephardt	5	12					
7	John Edwards	4	10					
7	Al Sharpton	4	3					
4	Carol Moseley Braun	*	0					
2	Bob Graham	2	1					
2	Dennis Kucinich	*	0					
2	Hillary Clinton	3	3					
2	Al Gore	5	3					
2	Other	5	8					

Q.16 Next, I'm going to read you a list of some people who have been in the news lately. Not everyone will have heard of them. For each one that I name, please tell me whether or not you have heard of this person. First, **(INSERT NAME; RANDOMIZE; IF NAME CHECKED IN Q.15 READ: "You mentioned (NAME) already ...")**, have you heard of this person or not?

(IF HAVE HEARD OF NAME CHECKED IN Q.15, ASK)

How much of a chance is there that you would vote for **(INSERT NAME)** if (he/she) is a candidate for president in 2004 — is there a good chance, some chance, or no chance?

TEXT FOR REST OF LIST:

IF NAME NOT CHECKED IN Q.15: Have you heard of **(NEXT NAME)** or not?

IF NAME CHECKED IN Q.15: You mentioned **(NEXT NAME)** already...

FOR GEORGE W. BUSH: We've discussed George W. Bush already...

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1174]:

Based on Those Who Have Heard

		Have Heard	Have not Heard	DK/ Ref.	Good Chance	Some Chance	No Chance	DK/ Ref.	(N)
a.	George W. Bush	99	0	1=100	44	20	35	1=100	(1169)
	August, 2003	99	*	1=100	43	17	38	2=100	
	Early July, 2003	99	*	1=100	44	19	35	2=100	
	August, 1999	98	2	*=100	40	30	27	3=100	
	June, 1999	96	4	*=100	34	35	27	4=100	
	May, 1999	95	4	1=100	34	34	28	4=100	
	February, 1999	95	5	*=100	32	36	27	5=100	
b.	John Kerry	63	35	2=100	16	33	44	7=100	(800)
	August, 2003	62	37	1=100	13	34	43	10=100	
	Early July, 2003	58	42	*=100	13	29	46	12=100	
	May, 1999 ¹¹	52	46	2=100	8	37	44	11=100	
	February, 1999	38	61	1=100	8	37	48	7=100	
c.	Dick Gephardt	74	25	1=100	13	34	48	5=100	(936)
	August, 2003	77	22	1=100	12	33	46	9=100	
	Early July, 2003	75	25	*=100	9	36	46	9=100	
d.	Howard Dean	56	43	1=100	17	29	46	8=100	(719)
	August, 2003	46	54	*=100	13	28	46	13=100	
	Early July, 2003	37	63	*=100	9	23	57	11=100	
e.	John Edwards	46	53	1=100	10	33	49	8=100	(579)
	August, 2003	45	54	1=100	8	33	47	12=100	
	Early July, 2003	39	60	1=100	7	29	53	11=100	
f.	Carol Moseley Braun	44	55	1=100	10	21	60	9=100	(546)
	August, 2003	41	59	*=100	9	24	57	10=100	
	Early July, 2003	36	64	*=100	10	19	63	8=100	
g.	Dennis Kucinich	21	78	1=100	6	22	61	11=100	(288)
	August, 2003	23	77	*=100	8	20	57	15=100	
	Early July, 2003	18	82	*=100	7	20	60	13=100	
h.	Bob Graham	55	44	1=100	9	26	57	8=100	(689)
	August, 2003	60	39	1=100	9	29	51	11=100	
	Early July, 2003	56	43	1=100	8	25	57	10=100	

¹¹ In May 1999 he was identified as "Senator John Kerry of Massachusetts."

Q.16 CONTINUED...

					<i>Based on Those Who Have Heard</i>				
		Have	Have not	DK/	Good	Some	No	DK/	(N)
		<u>Heard</u>	<u>Heard</u>	<u>Ref.</u>	<u>Chance</u>	<u>Chance</u>	<u>Chance</u>	<u>Ref.</u>	
i.	Joe Lieberman	85	14	1=100	17	33	44	6=100	(1031)
	August, 2003	86	13	1=100	13	37	43	7=100	
	Early July, 2003	83	16	1=100	13	32	47	8=100	
j.	Al Sharpton	71	28	1=100	5	16	73	6=100	(869)
	August, 2003	68	32	*=100	5	14	75	6=100	
	Early July, 2003	66	34	*=100	5	12	77	6=100	
k.	Wesley Clark	47	51	2=100	19	34	37	10=100	(613)

NO Q.17

ASK ALL:

Thinking about the upcoming presidential campaigns...

Q.18 What one ISSUE would you most like to hear presidential candidates talk about? [OPEN ENDED; MAY ACCEPT UP TO THREE MENTIONS]

		June	July	Sep	Oct	Oct
		<u>2000</u>	<u>1999</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1991</u>
45	Economy	11	4	13	14	43
18	Health care reform/Health care in general	11	18	14	20	8
15	Terrorism / Protecting the nation	-	-	-	-	-
11	Iraq / The war	-	-	-	-	-
5	Education/Education reform	12	9	11	6	11
4	The job situation/Unemployment	2	2	8	6	15
2	Social Security	10	14	-	-	4
2	Foreign Policy	6	6	4	5	-
2	Taxes	7	9	16	8	6
1	Federal budget/Budget deficit/National debt	2	8	10	14	8
1	Moral issues/Ethics	3	6	5	8	-
1	Medicare/Senior citizens/Elderly	3	11	-	-	-
1	Poverty/Homelessness	2	-	-	-	8
1	Abortion	3	1	4	-	10
7	Other issues					
8	Don't know/Refused	16	13	8	9	13

FORM 1 ONLY [N=757]:

Q.19F1 Which of the following types of experience do you think better prepares someone to be president? (**READ**)

		Dec <u>1999</u>	Sept <u>1987</u>
30	Serving as a state's governor and gaining experience as the head of an administration, OR	20	22
52	Serving as a U.S. Senator or member of congress and gaining experience in Washington and in foreign policy?	56	66
8	Both equal (VOL - DO NOT READ)	17	6
<u>10</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL - DO NOT READ)	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>
100		100	100

FORM 2 ONLY [N=743]:

Q.20F2 Which of the following types of experience do you think BEST prepares someone to be president? Serving as...[**READ AND RANDOMIZE; ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER**]

35	A governor
27	A member of congress
10	A general or admiral [or serving as a...]
15	A business executive
2	Other (VOL. - DO NOT READ)
2	None (VOL. - DO NOT READ)
<u>9</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL. - DO NOT READ)
100	

NO Q.21 THRU Q.22

Now a few questions about the office of the presidency...

Q.23 Next, I'm going to read you a list of personal characteristics or qualities. If "5" represents an ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL quality in a president and "1" a quality that is NOT TOO IMPORTANT, where on this scale of 5 to 1 would you rate... (**INSERT ITEM: RANDOMIZE ITEMS a THRU k WITH 1 LAST; OBSERVE FORM SPLITS**)

		<i>Absolutely Essential</i>	<i>Not Too Important</i>		
FORM 1 ONLY [N=757]:		<u>(5)</u>	<u>(4)</u>	<u>(1-3)</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
a.F1	Sound judgment in crisis	76	10	11	3=100
	August, 1999	78	12	9	1=100
	October, 1995	76	12	10	2=100
b.F1	High ethical standards	67	15	14	4=100
	August, 1999	63	19	17	1=100
	October, 1995	67	18	13	2=100
c.F1	Compassion for the average citizen	63	21	14	2=100
	August, 1999	63	20	16	1=100
	October, 1995	64	19	16	1=100
d.F1	Willingness to compromise	38	29	31	2=100
	August, 1999	33	29	36	2=100
	October, 1995	34	29	35	2=100
e.F1	Experience in public office	37	28	33	2=100
	August, 1999	38	27	34	1=100
	October, 1995	30	23	46	1=100

Q.23 CONTINUED ...

		<i>Absolutely Essential</i>		<i>Not Too Important</i>	
		<u>(5)</u>	<u>(4)</u>	<u>(1-3)</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
f.F1	Saying what one believes, even if unpopular	56	18	22	4=100
	August, 1999	57	21	20	2=100
	October, 1995	59	21	18	2=100

FORM 2 ONLY [N=743]:

g.F2	Experience in Washington	32	24	41	3=100
	August, 1999	27	23	49	1=100
	October, 1995	21	23	54	2=100
h.F2	Forcefulness and decisiveness	49	28	20	3=100
	August, 1999	46	31	21	2=100
	October, 1995	50	30	18	2=100
i.F2	Political savvy and know-how	36	31	30	3=100
	October, 1995	31	26	41	2=100
j.F2	Having consistent positions on issues	52	25	20	3=100
	August, 1999	50	28	20	2=100
	October, 1995	51	28	19	2=100
k.F2	Loyalty to one's party	30	16	52	2=100
	August, 1999	33	14	52	1=100
	October, 1995	25	15	58	2=100
l.F2	Military experience	16	20	62	2=100

Thinking about your own personal finances...

Q.24 How would you rate your own personal financial situation? Would you say you are in excellent shape, good shape, only fair shape or poor shape?

	<u>Excellent</u>	<u>Good</u>	<u>Only Fair</u>	<u>Poor</u>	<u>Don't Know/Refused</u>
September, 2003	10	38	36	15	1=100
Late March, 2003	10	43	31	12	4=100
January, 2003	7	38	39	15	1=100
Early October, 2002	7	39	37	16	1=100
June, 2002	5	40	37	16	2=100
Late September, 2001	7	40	37	14	2=100
June, 2001	6	38	39	16	1=100
June, 2000	9	43	35	11	2=100
August, 1999	6	43	41	9	1=100
May, 1997	7	43	38	11	1=100
September, 1996 (RVs)	8	47	34	10	1=100
February, 1995	8	39	38	14	1=100
March, 1994	5	41	40	13	1=100
December, 1993	5	34	45	15	1=100
January, 1993*	4	33	46	16	1=100
October, 1992*	6	34	40	19	1=100
August, 1992*	5	30	47	17	1=100
May, 1992*	4	35	45	15	1=100
January, 1992*	4	32	45	18	1=100

* U.S. News & World Report

Q.25 Over the course of the next year, do you think the financial situation of you and your family will improve a lot, improve some, get a little worse or get a lot worse?

	Improve <u>A lot</u>	Improve <u>Some</u>	Get a <u>Little Worse</u>	Get a lot <u>Worse</u>	Stay the Same <u>(VOL.)</u>	Don't Know/ <u>Refused</u>
September, 2003	11	53	15	4	14	3=100
Late March, 2003	12	51	15	4	11	7=100
January, 2003	9	51	18	5	13	4=100
Early October, 2002	10	54	13	5	12	6=100
June, 2002	11	55	15	4	11	4=100
January, 2002	12	53	15	5	11	4=100
Late September, 2001	9	46	16	4	17	8=100
June, 2001	11	52	15	4	14	4=100
January, 2001	11	46	18	9	12	4=100
January, 1999	17	55	7	3	14	4=100
May, 1997	12	56	10	2	17	3=100
February, 1995	11	53	13	3	17	3=100
March, 1994	10	57	11	3	16	3=100
October, 1992*	9	51	14	3	15	8=100
August, 1992*	6	50	20	5	14	5=100
May, 1992*	8	49	22	4	13	4=100
January, 1992*	9	46	19	5	16	5=100

* *U.S. News & World Report*

Q.26 A year from now, do you expect that economic conditions in the country as a whole will be better than they are at present, or worse, or just about the same as now?

	<u>Better</u>	<u>Worse</u>	<u>Same</u>	Don't Know/ <u>Refused</u>
September, 2003	37	17	43	3=100
May, 2003	43	19	35	3=100
Late March, 2003	33	23	37	7=100
January, 2003	30	20	44	6=100
Early October, 2002	34	18	42	6=100
June, 2002	30	20	46	4=100
January, 2002	44	17	36	3=100
January, 2001*	18	33	44	5=100
June, 2000	15	24	55	6=100
Early October, 1998 (RVs)	16	22	57	5=100
Early September, 1998	18	17	61	4=100
May, 1990	18	31	45	6=100
February, 1989	25	22	49	4=100
September, 1988 (RVs)	24	16	51	9=100
May, 1988	24	20	46	10=100
January, 1988	22	26	45	7=100
January, 1984* (RVs)	35	13	49	3=100

* *Newsweek*

ROTATE Q.27 AND Q.28

Q.27 In your opinion, is President Bush doing as much as he can to improve economic conditions or do you think he could be doing more?

		Early		Late		-- Bush, Sr. --				
		July	May	March	Jan	Early Oct	June	Jan	March	Jan
		<u>2003</u>	<u>2003</u>	<u>2003</u>	<u>2003</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>
26	Doing as much as he can	33	42	41	33	31	33	48	21	21
70	Could be doing more	62	53	52	61	63	62	46	76	76
<u>4</u>	Can't say	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.28 In your opinion, is President Bush doing as much as he can to protect the U.S. from terrorism or do you think he could be doing more?

66	Doing as much as he can
30	Could be doing more
<u>4</u>	Can't Say/Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100	

FORM 1 ONLY [N=757]:

Q.29F1 As I read some pairs of opposite phrases, tell me which one best reflects your impression of George W. Bush so far. (First,) does George W. Bush impress you as... [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]

		Feb	Oct
		<u>2001</u>	<u>1999</u>
a.F1	62	Trustworthy, or	60
	32	NOT trustworthy	28
	2	Neither particularly (VOL)	4
	<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100
b.F1	70	Warm and friendly, or	67
	23	Cold and aloof	21
	3	Neither particularly (VOL)	6
	<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100
c.F1	68	Able to get things done, or	60
	26	NOT able to get things done	18
	3	Neither particularly (VOL)	7
	<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>15</u>
	100	100	100
d.F1	59	Well informed, or	62
	36	NOT well informed	27
	*	Neither particularly (VOL)	4
	<u>5</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>7</u>
	100	100	100

Q.29F1 CONTINUED...

			<u>April</u>	<u>Feb</u>
			<u>2001</u>	<u>2001</u>
e.F1	9	Liberal,	8	7
	33	Middle of the road or	37	39
	51	Conservative	46	44
	1	Neither particularly (VOL)	3	2
	<u>5</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>6</u>	<u>8</u>
	100		100	100

			<u>Oct 1999</u>
f.F1	56	Cares about people like me, or	54
	38	DOESN'T care about people like me	37
	2	Neither particularly (VOLUNTEERED)	2
	<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>7</u>
	100		100

g.F1	68	A strong leader, or	68
	29	NOT a strong leader	24
	1	Neither particularly (VOLUNTEERED)	3
	<u>2</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>5</u>
	100		100

ASK ALL:

On a completely different subject...

- X.1 I'm going to read you a list of things that sometimes make people angry or upset and ask you about each. First **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE ITEMS a. THRU e FIRST, FOLLOWED BY RANDOMIZED ITEMS f. AND g.]**... does this make you angry or upset, or not? **[INTERVIEWER: If probe is necessary use full wording: "...does this make you angry or upset, or not?"]**

		Yes, makes me	Don't know/	
		<u>Angry or upset</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Refused</u>
a.	Federal tax cuts for the wealthy	61	36	3=100
b.	Multi-million dollar salaries for professional athletes	58	40	2=100
c.	The growing number of Sport Utility Vehicles on the roads	23	76	1=100
d.	Movie stars giving their opinions about foreign policy	35	63	2=100
e.	Blacks and whites dating each other	15	83	2=100
f.	The idea of legalizing gay marriage	48	49	3=100
g.	The growing number of homosexual characters and themes on TV	48	50	2=100

Now thinking about Iraq...

Q.30 Do you think the U.S. made the right decision or the wrong decision in using military force against Iraq?

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

Q.31 How well is the U.S. military effort in Iraq going? **[READ IN ORDER]**

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

Q.32 Do you think the U.S. should keep military troops in Iraq until a stable government is established there, or do you think the U.S. should bring its troops home as soon as possible?

IF "KEEP TROOPS IN IRAQ" (1 IN Q.32) ASK:

Q.33 Do you think more coalition troops are needed in Iraq right now, or do you think there are already enough troops there to do the job?

64	Keep troops in Iraq
34	More troops needed
25	Have enough there to do the job
*	Reduce number of troops (VOL.)
5	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
32	Bring troops home
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

FORM 1 ONLY [N=757]:

Q.34F1 Do you favor or oppose the United Nations playing a significant role in establishing a stable government in Iraq?

IF FAVOR UN ROLE (“1” IN Q.34F1) ASK:

Q.35F1 Who should have the most say in establishing a stable government in Iraq... the United States and its military allies or the United Nations?

		April 8-16 <u>2003</u> ¹²	April 8-9 <u>2003</u>
70	Favor	64	62
22	United States and its allies	19	18
44	United Nations	39	38
2	Both (VOL.)	3	2
1	Neither (VOL.)	2	2
1	Don't know/Refused	1	2
22	Oppose	31	31
<u>8</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>
100		100	100

FORM 2 ONLY [N=743]:

Q.36F2 In order to get other countries to provide more troops, should the U.S. give up some control of military decisions in Iraq to the United Nations, ...OR should the U.S. and its current allies retain full control of military decisions in Iraq, even if it means fewer countries provide troops?

51	Give up some control
42	Maintain full control
<u>7</u>	Don't know
100	

Q.37F1 As you may know, George W. Bush has requested an additional 87 billion dollars from Congress for military and rebuilding costs in Iraq and Afghanistan. Do you favor or oppose this additional spending?

Q.38F2 As you may know, George W. Bush has requested a large amount from Congress for military and rebuilding costs in Iraq and Afghanistan. Do you favor or oppose this additional spending?

Combined		Q37F1 “\$87 billion <u>dollars</u> ”	Q38F2 “A large <u>amount</u> ”
<u>Net</u>			
37	Favor	36	39
57	Oppose	59	55
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>
100		100	100

¹²

In April 2003 the question was worded: “Would you favor or oppose the United Nations playing a significant role in establishing a stable government in Iraq after the war?”

ASK ALL:

Q.39 **[FORM 2 LEAD WITH:** The president’s request was for 87 billion dollars.] Which one of the following do you think is the BEST way to pay for the cost of the war and reconstruction? **[READ AND RANDOMIZE]**

		Aug 2003 ¹³	Late March 2003	Feb 2003	Feb 2002
19	Add to the budget deficit	15	20	23	24
18	Reduce spending on domestic programs [OR]	23	16	21	22
41	Postpone or reduce last year’s tax cuts	41	40	40	42
7	None (VOL)	4	5	1	2
1	Two of them, or all three (VOL)	1	1	1	*
3	Other (VOL)	4	5	2	1
<u>11</u>	Don’t know/Refused	<u>12</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>9</u>
100		100	100	100	100

IF NOT ‘3’ IN Q.39 ASK:

Q.40a Would you be willing to see the government postpone or reduce last year’s tax cuts to help pay for the cost of the war and reconstruction, or would you be opposed to this?

BASED ON TOTAL [N=1500]:

(41)	BEST way to pay (3 in Q.39)
16	Willing to see
38	Opposed to
<u>5</u>	Don’t know/Refused
100	

IF NOT ‘1’ IN Q.39 ASK:

Q.40b Would you be willing to see the government add to the budget deficit to help pay for the cost of the war and reconstruction, or would you be opposed to this?

BASED ON TOTAL [N=1500]:

(19)	BEST way to pay (1 in Q.39)
20	Willing to see
55	Opposed to
<u>6</u>	Don’t know/Refused
100	

IF NOT ‘2’ IN Q.39 ASK:

Q.40c Would you be willing to see the government reduce spending on domestic programs to help pay for the cost of the war and reconstruction, or would you be opposed to this?

BASED ON TOTAL [N=1500]:

(18)	BEST way to pay (2 in Q.39)
13	Willing to see
64	Opposed to
<u>5</u>	Don’t know/Refused
100	

¹³ In August 2003 the question was worded: “Over the past year, the budget for military defense and homeland security has been increasing. Which one of the following do you think is the BEST way to pay for these increases?” In Late March 2003 the question was worded: “Which one of the following do you think is the BEST way to pay for the cost of the war in Iraq?” In February 2003 and 2002 the question was worded: “As you may know, President Bush has proposed large increases in the budget for military defense and homeland security. Which one of the following do you think is the BEST way to pay for these increases, if they are to happen?”

FORM 1 ONLY [N=757]:

Q.41F1 Do you think George W. Bush has a clear plan for bringing the situation in Iraq to a successful conclusion, or don't you think so?

32	Has a clear plan
58	Doesn't have a clear plan
<u>10</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100	

FORM 2 ONLY [N=743]:

Q.42F2 Do you think George W. Bush has explained clearly his plans for bringing the situation in Iraq to a successful conclusion, or do you think he has not explained his plans clearly enough?

		March <u>2003</u> ¹⁴	Feb <u>2003</u>	Jan <u>2003</u>	Dec <u>2002</u>	Late Oct <u>2002</u>	Mid- Sept <u>2002</u>	Late Aug <u>2002</u>	<i>NY Times</i> Aug <u>1990</u> ¹⁵
30	Explained clearly	49	53	42	48	48	52	37	50
63	Not clearly	47	40	53	45	45	37	52	41
<u>7</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>4</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>9</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

ASK ALL:

Q.43 Do you think President Bush should have waited to get more of our major allies to join us before taking military action in Iraq, or do you think he was right to use military force when he did?

		April <u>2003</u>
42	Should have waited	28
53	Right to use force when he did	65
1	Should not have done it at all (VOL.)	2
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>5</u>
100		100

Q.44 Do you think the war in Iraq has helped the war on terrorism, or has it hurt the war on terrorism?

		May <u>2003</u>	April <u>2003</u> ¹⁶	Early Oct <u>2002</u>
54	Helped	65	63	52
31	Hurt	22	22	34
7	No effect (VOL.)	6	--	--
<u>8</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>7</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>14</u>
100		100	100	100

¹⁴ From 2002 through March 2003, the question was worded: "Do you think George W. Bush has explained clearly what's at stake as to why the U.S. might use military force to end the rule of Saddam Hussein, or do you think he has not explained the reasons clearly enough?"

¹⁵ New York Times trend was worded "Do you think George Bush has explained clearly what's at stake and why the U.S. is sending troops to Saudi Arabia, or do you think ..."

¹⁶ In April 2003, the question was worded: "Do you think the war in Iraq will help the war on terrorism, or will it hurt the war on terrorism?" In Early October 2002 the question was worded: "If the U.S. uses military force in Iraq, do you think this will help the war on terrorism, or will it hurt the war on terrorism?"

FORM 1 ONLY [N=757]:

Q.45F1 Based on what you've seen and read, are MOST of the Iraqi people happy Saddam Hussein has been removed from power, or do MOST wish he were still in power?

79	Most are happy Saddam has been removed
10	Most wish he were still in power
<u>11</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

FORM 2 ONLY [N=743]:

Q.46F2 Based on what you've seen and read, do MOST people in Iraq support or do most oppose America's current policies in Iraq?

39	Support
47	Oppose
<u>14</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

ASK ALL:

Q.47 So far, has the U.S. suffered more casualties in Iraq than you expected before the war began, or fewer casualties than you expected?

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

FOR COMPARISON ONLY:

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

Early Oct	
<u>2002</u>	
40	A large number of U.S. casualties
50	Relatively few American casualties
<u>10</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

Q.48 In re-building Iraq, how good a job are the U.S. and its allies doing in taking into account the needs and interests of the Iraqi people? Is the coalition doing an excellent job, a good job, only a fair job or a poor job in taking into consideration the interests and needs of the Iraqi people?

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

FORM 2 ONLY [N=743]:

Q.49F2 How worried are you that [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE] – a great deal, a fair amount, or not much? ... How worried are you that [INSERT NEXT ITEM, REPEAT RESPONSE CATEGORIES FOR EACH ITEM]?

		A Great Deal	A Fair Amount	Not Much	DK/Ref.
a.F2	U.S. forces might sustain a lot more casualties	43	36	19	2=100
	March 28-April 1, 2003 ¹⁷	47	36	15	2=100
	March 25-27, 2003	44	39	16	1=100
	March 23-24, 2003	43	36	20	1=100
	March 20-22, 2003	35	35	28	2=100
	February, 2003	55	25	18	2=100
	Late October, 2002	52	28	18	2=100
	Late January, 1991	57	30	12	1=100
b.F2	U.S. troops will be involved in the Mideast for years to come	42	36	20	2=100
	March 28-April 1, 2003	42	37	19	2=100
	March 25-27, 2003	37	37	24	2=100
	March 23-24, 2003	37	34	27	2=100
	March 20-22, 2003	33	34	29	4=100
	Late January, 1991	38	30	29	3=100
c.F2	The presence of U.S. forces in Iraq increases the risk of another terrorist attack in the U.S.	28	29	41	2=100
	March 28-April 1, 2003 ¹⁸	39	43	17	1=100
	March 25-27, 2003	40	37	23	*=100
	March 23-24, 2003	34	42	23	1=100
	March 20-22, 2003	35	38	25	2=100
	February, 2003	57	25	16	2=100
	Late October, 2002	51	26	20	3=100
	Late January, 1991	33	38	28	1=100
d.F2	The war will cause a long-term rift between the U.S. and its allies	24	33	40	3=100
	April 8-9, 2003 ¹⁹	15	29	52	4=100
e.F2	The cost of the war in Iraq is difficult for us to afford	43	34	22	1=100
	April 10-16, 2003	33	38	27	2=100
	April 8-9, 2003 ²⁰	34	32	32	2=100

¹⁷ In April 2003 and earlier, the question was worded: "U.S. forces might sustain a lot of casualties."

¹⁸ In April and March 2003 and 1991 the question was worded: "Terrorists might strike within the U.S." In February 2003 and Late October 2002 the item was worded: "This might increase the chances of a terrorist attack within the U.S."

¹⁹ In April 2003 the question was worded: "The war will cause a major rift between the U.S. and its allies."

²⁰ In April 2003 the question was worded: "... will be difficult..."

FORM 1 ONLY [N=757]:

And beyond Iraq...

Q.50F1 How well is the military effort to destroy the terrorist groups in Afghanistan going? **[READ IN ORDER]**

		Late ²¹		Early	Oct	Oct
		Aug	Jan	Nov	15-21	10-14
		<u>2002</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2001</u>	<u>2001</u>	<u>2001</u>
11	Very well	22	38	30	38	45
51	Fairly well	43	51	45	45	35
23	Not too well	18	6	12	9	6
7	Not at all well	4	3	4	2	4
<u>8</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>13</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>10</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100

FORM 2 ONLY [N=743]:

And beyond Iraq...

Q.51F2 How much of a danger is the current government in North Korea to stability in Asia and world peace? A great danger, moderate danger, small danger or no danger at all?

		May	Nov
		<u>2003</u>	<u>2002</u>
35	Great danger	38	21
41	Moderate danger	39	44
13	Small danger	11	15
5	No danger at all	5	4
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>7</u>	<u>16</u>
100		100	100

²¹

In 2002 and 2001 the question wording did not include "in Afghanistan."