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For The People & The Press

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Modest Election Optimism, Positive Views of Iraqi Troop Training
PUBLIC UNMOVED BY WASHINGTON'S RHETORIC ON IRAQ

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Modest Election Optimism, Positive Views of Iraqi Troop Training
PUBLIC UNMOVED BY WASHINGTON’S RHETORIC ON IRAQ

The political debate over the Iraq war has grown more pointed in recent weeks, as President Bush has embarked upon a series of high-profile speeches defending the war and Democratic Rep. John Murtha has made headlines with his calls for a withdrawal of U.S. forces. But fundamental public attitudes toward the war have not been changed – in either direction – by the clashing points of view. Pew’s latest national survey shows that the public continues to be evenly divided about whether to withdraw U.S. forces as soon as possible or keep them in Iraq until the country is stabilized, as well as over the decision to take military action in Iraq.

Americans also have a mixed view of conditions on the ground in Iraq. Fully 61% of the public believes that progress is being made in training Iraqi forces, while nearly as many (58%) say the same about establishing a democracy in Iraq.

| What’s Working in Iraq – and What Isn’t | | | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|----------------|
| | <u>Making</u> <u>progress</u> % | <u>Losing</u> <u>ground</u> % | <u>(Vol.)</u> <u>No change</u> % | <u>DK</u> % |
| Training Iraqi forces | 61 | 27 | 1 | 11=100 |
| Establishing a democracy | 58 | 32 | 2 | 8=100 |
| Preventing terrorist base for attacks | 48 | 41 | 2 | 9=100 |
| Defeating the insurgents | 44 | 41 | 3 | 12=100 |
| Preventing a civil war | 36 | 49 | 3 | 12=100 |
| Reducing civilian casualties | 35 | 53 | 3 | 9=100 |

However, a 53% majority believes the U.S. is losing ground in reducing the number of civilian casualties in Iraq. Similarly, the public by 49%-36% believes that the U.S. is not succeeding in preventing a civil war between Iraq’s ethnic and religious groups. There also is a close division of opinion about whether the U.S. is gaining or losing ground in defeating the insurgents militarily (44% making progress/41% losing ground).

The latest nationwide poll by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, conducted among 1,502 adults from Dec. 7-11, finds the public is modestly optimistic that the Dec. 15 parliamentary elections will lead to greater stability in Iraq. About one-in-five (22%) say they have heard a lot about the elections, while 57% have heard a little. That is slightly greater than attention to Iraq’s constitutional referendum in October (21% a lot/50% a little), but well below the widespread attention to Iraq’s historic elections last January (46% a lot/40% a little).

Yet somewhat more Americans now say that the elections could lead to a more stable situation in the country than did so prior to previous rounds of balloting in October and January. Roughly

four-in-ten Americans (37%) say the parliamentary elections will lead to a more stable situation in the country. That is significantly greater than the percentages predicting that previous votes in Iraq – in October and last January – would lead to a more stable situation in the country (29% each). However, a 47% plurality believes that the situation in Iraq will not change much as a result of the election.

| More Optimism in Advance of Dec. 15 Elections | | | | | |
|--|--------------------------|--------------|---------------------------|--------------|---------------------------|
| | <i>January elections</i> | | <i>October referendum</i> | | <i>December elections</i> |
| | <u>Before</u> | <u>After</u> | <u>Before</u> | <u>After</u> | <u>Now</u> |
| <i>Effect in Iraq</i> | % | % | % | % | % |
| More stable | 29 | 47 | 29 | 30 | 37 |
| Less stable | 14 | 7 | 10 | 6 | 9 |
| No change | 49 | 40 | 51 | 56 | 47 |
| Don't know | <u>8</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>10</u> | <u>8</u> | <u>7</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

As in recent surveys, however, most Americans (56%) favor setting a timetable for removing U.S. troops. Yet the public is wary about the consequences of a quick withdrawal. A solid majority (58%) believes that terrorist organizations in Iraq will become stronger if the United States withdraws its forces soon; 22% say terrorists would not be affected; just 13% feel a U.S. withdrawal would weaken terrorist organizations.

By contrast, the public is divided over what effect the continued presence of U.S. forces would have on the strength of terrorist organizations in Iraq. More than a third (36%) say keeping troops in Iraq will weaken terrorist groups there, while 30% say it will strengthen the terrorists, and 29% believe it will have no impact.

| Will a U.S. Withdrawal Strengthen Iraqi Terrorists? | | |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| | If the U.S. withdraws | If the U.S. continues |
| <i>The terrorists will become...</i> | <u>soon</u> | <u>to stay</u> |
| | % | % |
| Stronger | 58 | 30 |
| Weaker | 13 | 36 |
| Not affected | 22 | 29 |
| Don't know | <u>7</u> | <u>5</u> |
| | 100 | 100 |

The new survey shows that President Bush's job approval ratings have not improved, despite a brighter national economic picture and his renewed efforts to build public confidence in the war; 38% approve of his job performance, which is little changed from November (36%).

The upcoming launch of the new Medicare prescription drug benefit is drawing a mixed response. Two years ago, the public approved of the new Medicare law by roughly two-to-one (55%-27%); today, 48% approve of the changes in prescription drug coverage while 30% are

opposed. And far more people express negative reactions than positive ones to the new program, with many Americans critical of the plan's complexity and expense.

The survey shows that Democrats are highly optimistic about their party's prospects in next year's congressional midterm elections. Fully two-thirds of Democrats (66%) say they think their party will do better in 2006 than it has in recent elections – just 1% see the Democratic Party doing worse than usual next year. By comparison, only 17% of Republicans predict that the GOP's position will improve in the coming election – 20% think their party will do worse than it has recently, and 55% believe things will stay about the same.

| Party's Electoral Outlook for 2006 | |
|---|----------|
| <i>Democrats</i> | % |
| Better | 66 |
| Worse | 1 |
| About the same | 26 |
| Don't know | <u>7</u> |
| | 100 |
| <i>Republicans</i> | |
| Better | 17 |
| Worse | 19 |
| About the same | 56 |
| Don't know | <u>8</u> |
| | 100 |
| People who identify as Democrats or Republicans asked to evaluate their own party's chances in 2006 compared to recent elections. | |

What Should the U.S. Do Now?

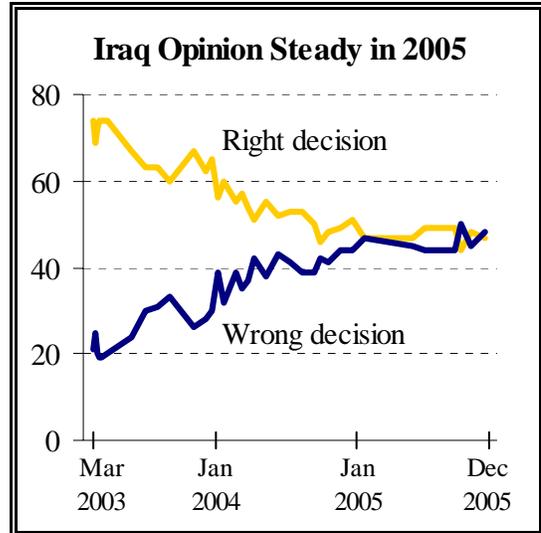
The roughly even division in the public over whether to keep troops in Iraq obscures a more complicated set of opinions about what to do next. Most of those who want to bring troops home “as soon as possible” apparently do not mean “now,” and not everyone who wants the U.S. to stay in Iraq is opposed to setting a timetable for withdrawal.

Of those who support bringing the troops home, most favor a gradual withdrawal over the next one to two years rather than an abrupt departure. Even among liberal Democrats, 66% of whom favor disengagement, most believe this withdrawal should be gradual (40% favor gradual withdrawal, 24% think it should occur immediately). Within every partisan group across the spectrum, support for bringing troops home is more likely to mean gradual rather than immediate withdrawal.

| Stay or Go? More Shades of Gray Than Black-and-White | | | | |
|---|--------------|------------------|------------|------------|
| | <u>Total</u> | --- Party ID --- | | |
| | | <u>Rep</u> | <u>Dem</u> | <u>Ind</u> |
| | % | % | % | % |
| Bring troops home | 46 | 25 | 61 | 50 |
| <i>Remove all troops immediately</i> | 17 | 6 | 25 | 18 |
| <i>Gradually over next 1-2 years</i> | 28 | 19 | 35 | 31 |
| Keep troops in Iraq | 49 | 72 | 33 | 45 |
| <i>No timetable</i> | 30 | 51 | 15 | 27 |
| <i>Should set timetable</i> | 17 | 18 | 16 | 17 |
| Don't know | <u>5</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>5</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Many of those who favor keeping troops in Iraq until a stable situation is created nonetheless favor the establishment of a timetable for withdrawal. Among the public overall, 49% favor keeping

troops in Iraq but just 30% take this position and reject a timetable for withdrawal. Democrats who believe the U.S. should remain in Iraq are divided evenly between those who favor and those who oppose a timetable. Even among Republicans, just half (51%) take the position of the administration – that the U.S. should keep troops in Iraq, with no timetable, until a stable situation is established.



Most Iraq Views Stable

For the most part, public sentiment about the decision to invade Iraq has changed little over the course of 2005. About half (47%) say the decision to use military force was right, while about as many feel it was wrong (48%).

Most of those who believe it was the wrong decision say they feel that way because the U.S. should not have gone to war in the first place. Relatively few say their judgment is based on events since the invasion occurred.

As in previous surveys, a majority of Americans (57%) feel the United States will either definitely (16%) or probably (41%) succeed in establishing a stable democratic government in Iraq. There are substantial political and demographic differences in opinions about prospects for success in Iraq.

However, even among groups that are largely opposed to the decision to go to war, sizable minorities say the U.S. will still succeed in Iraq. Fully 40% of Democrats and nearly half of African Americans (48%) say the U.S. will definitely or probably succeed in establishing a stable democracy in Iraq.

| | Succeed* | Fail** | DK |
|----------------------|----------|--------|-------|
| | % | % | % |
| All | 57 | 37 | 6=100 |
| Men | 62 | 34 | 4=100 |
| Women | 53 | 39 | 8=100 |
| Whites | 59 | 35 | 6=100 |
| Blacks | 48 | 43 | 9=100 |
| <i>Males age 50+</i> | | | |
| Military veteran | 52 | 41 | 7=100 |
| Not a veteran | 61 | 34 | 5=100 |
| Under age 50 | 61 | 35 | 4=100 |
| 50 and older | 51 | 40 | 9=100 |
| Republican | 83 | 13 | 4=100 |
| Democrat | 40 | 53 | 7=100 |
| Independent | 52 | 42 | 6=100 |
| College grad | 50 | 47 | 3=100 |
| Some college | 61 | 35 | 4=100 |
| HS grad | 61 | 33 | 6=100 |

* "Definitely" or "probably" succeed.
 ** "Definitely" or "probably" fail.

More men (62%) than women (53%) expect success, and Americans under age 50 (61%) are more optimistic than those 50 and older (51% think the U.S. will

succeed). Fewer college educated respondents than those with less education expect the U.S. to succeed in Iraq.

A Partisan Lens on the War

Republicans and Democrats also have very different perspectives on how the war is going. Republicans are more than twice as likely as Democrats to believe that the U.S. military effort in Iraq is going at least “fairly well” (78% for Republicans, 32% for Democrats). Independents (47%) are closer to Democrats than to Republicans in their assessment of how the war is going.

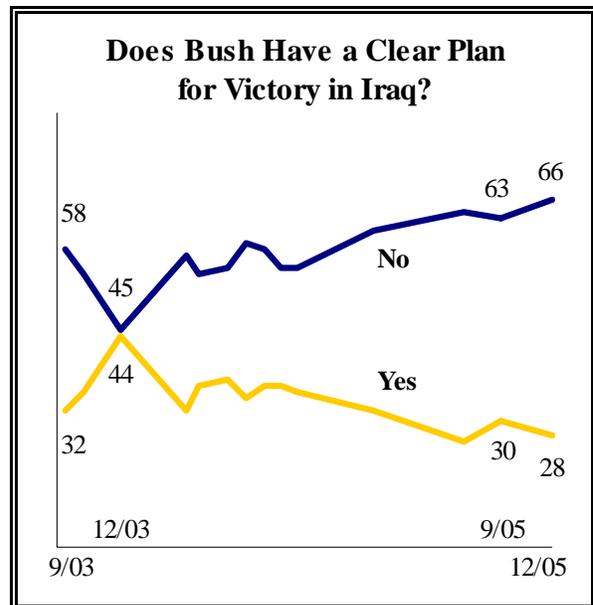
There are similar gaps between Democrats and Republicans on the six specific areas of progress asked about in the survey. Majorities of Republicans believe that the U.S. is making progress, rather than losing ground, in each of the six areas. By contrast, in only one of the areas do as many as half of Democrats agree (52% of Democrats say the U.S. is making progress in training Iraqi forces). The views of independents are much more similar to the Democrats than to the Republicans in the poll.

| <i>Percent saying we're making progress in...</i> | <u>Rep</u> % | <u>Dem</u> % | <u>Ind</u> % | <i>R-D gap</i> |
|---|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|
| Training Iraqi forces | 82 | 52 | 55 | +30 |
| Establishing a democracy | 83 | 43 | 52 | +40 |
| Preventing terrorist base for attacks | 74 | 31 | 43 | +43 |
| Defeating the insurgents | 70 | 27 | 41 | +43 |
| Preventing a civil war | 56 | 23 | 34 | +33 |
| Reducing civilian casualties | 57 | 21 | 28 | +36 |

The President and Iraq

President Bush delivered the first two of four major speeches outlining a “plan for victory” in Iraq prior to this survey, but the addresses failed to turn around the general perception that the president lacks a clear plan for bringing the situation to a successful conclusion. Fewer than three-in-ten (28%) say Bush has a clear plan, while two-thirds say he does not.

Another part of the president’s argument to the nation – that the media portrays an overly negative picture of events in Iraq – does find support from a significant proportion of the public



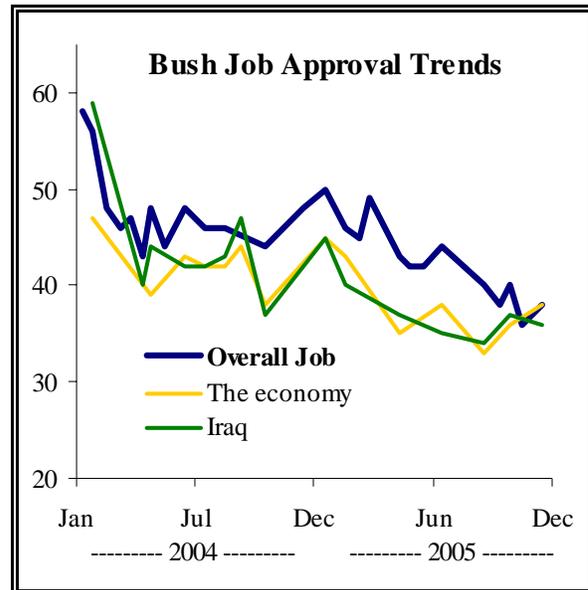
(39%). However, the same number say that the press makes the U.S. economy seem worse than it really is. Perceptions of press coverage in both areas are quite partisan.

Skepticism about the press is greatest – and growing – among Republicans. Today, two-thirds of Republicans (67%) say the press makes the situation in Iraq seem worse than it really is, up from 57% in September. By contrast, pluralities of Democrats (48%) and independents (37%) say news reports about Iraq show the situation about the way it really is. There is a sizable, though somewhat smaller, partisan gap in perceptions of coverage of the economy.

| News reports make the situation seem... | Total | --- Party ID --- | | |
|---|-------|------------------|-----|-----|
| | | Rep | Dem | Ind |
| Iraq | % | % | % | % |
| Worse than it really is | 39 | 67 | 20 | 30 |
| Better than it really is | 19 | 10 | 24 | 23 |
| About right | 35 | 20 | 48 | 37 |
| Don't know | 7 | 3 | 8 | 10 |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| The economy | | | | |
| Worse than it really is | 39 | 58 | 25 | 33 |
| Better than it really is | 18 | 11 | 20 | 24 |
| About right | 36 | 29 | 46 | 34 |
| Don't know | 7 | 2 | 9 | 9 |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Bush Job Approval

While Bush's overall job rating has held steady in recent months, it is down by 12 percentage points since the beginning of the year. The president also continues to receive generally negative ratings for his handling of both the situation in Iraq (36% approve, 58% disapprove) and the nation's economy (38% approve, 55% disapprove). And while roughly half (49%) continue to approve of how Bush has handled terrorist threats, 44% disapprove, the highest measured in any previous Pew survey.



Evaluations of Bush's overall job performance are roughly equal to his ratings on the economy and Iraq, suggesting that favorable personal evaluations and the issue of terrorism are not counterbalancing these more problematic areas in the public's broader assessment of his performance. Throughout the past year, the president's overall job approval rating has been significantly higher – by anywhere from three to nine points – than his rating on the economy and Iraq specifically. Today the president's overall rating is identical to his rating on the economy and

just two points above evaluations of his handling of Iraq. While significantly more approve of Bush's performance when it comes to terrorist threats, this apparently no longer lifts his overall approval rating as it did earlier in the year.

And while legislation now before Congress would extend Bush's tax cuts into the future, about half of Americans (51%) disapprove of how the president has handled tax policy. This is a striking turnaround from Bush's first term in office. Shortly after his first inauguration, a Fox News survey found 54% of registered voters approving of the president's handling of taxes; this fell to 45% by June of 2002, and stands at just 36% today.

| Little Support for Bush on Taxes | | | | |
|---|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| <i>Handling of tax policy</i> | Mar 2001* | June 2002 | Feb 2003 | Dec 2005 |
| | % | % | % | % |
| Approve | 54 | 45 | 42 | 36 |
| Disapprove | 31 | 39 | 44 | 51 |
| Don't know | <u>15</u> | <u>16</u> | <u>14</u> | <u>13</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

* March 2001 Fox News survey of registered voters.

Medicare Drug Plan Favored

By a 48%-30% margin, more approve than disapprove of the new Medicare prescription drug plan, which is set to go into effect in January 2006. But positive opinion of the program has slipped slightly since passage of the law two years ago, when 55% approved in December 2003.

Pluralities in all age groups favor the plan, with the strongest support coming from younger people. Among senior citizens, 45% approve and a third (34%) disapprove of the Medicare drug program, views which are largely unchanged from two years ago. By comparison, people age 18-29 continue to approve of the plan by more than two-to-one (60%-24%).

| | Approve | Dis-approve | DK |
|-------------------------------|---------|-------------|--------|
| | % | % | % |
| Dec 2005 | 48 | 30 | 22=100 |
| Dec 2003* | 55 | 27 | 18=100 |
| <i>Age</i> | | | |
| 18-29 | 60 | 24 | 16=100 |
| 30-49 | 47 | 29 | 24=100 |
| 50-64 | 43 | 34 | 23=100 |
| 65+ | 45 | 34 | 21=100 |
| <i>Eligible for coverage?</i> | | | |
| Yes (22%) | 49 | 37 | 14=100 |
| Close relative (45%) | 50 | 30 | 20=100 |
| Neither (27%) | 46 | 28 | 26=100 |

* December 2003 survey conducted just after Congress passed the prescription drug law.

The decline in support since 2003 has been most notable among people ages 30-64. When the bill was first passed, people in this age range were much more supportive than were those ages 65

and older. But today, there is no significant difference between those ages 30-64 and senior citizens. The sharp political divide over the Medicare prescription drug plan in 2003 has dissipated somewhat. Republicans continue to be the most supportive of the Medicare prescription drug plan (55% approve), although their approval level is down 14 points from two years ago. Support among independents is also down from 57% in 2003 to 47% today, while the views of Democrats are relatively unchanged.

| | Dec 2003 | Dec 2005 | Change |
|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------|
| | % | % | |
| 18-29 | 64 | 60 | -4 |
| 30-49 | 58 | 47 | -11 |
| 50-64 | 53 | 43 | -10 |
| 65+ | 44 | 45 | +1 |
| Republican | 69 | 55 | -14 |
| Democrat | 47 | 44 | -3 |
| Independent | 57 | 47 | -10 |

Roughly one-in-five Americans (22%) say they are eligible for the new Medicare program. Those who are experiencing the program firsthand are more likely to express disapproval of the drug plan (37%). Still, about half of eligible Americans approve of the changes to Medicare, which is no lower than in the public overall.

Personal Reactions to the Medicare Change

While more approve than disapprove of the new Medicare drug program, people volunteer criticism more frequently than praise when asked to describe their first impression of the program in their own words. The two problems cited most frequently are that the new program is complicated (mentioned by 14% of Americans) and that it will be costly for both seniors and the government (9%). Overall, by roughly two-to-one (44% vs. 20%) people are more likely cite negative than positive aspects of the program when describing it in their own words.

| | % Saying... | |
|-------------------------------|-------------|-----|
| | Total | 65+ |
| Complicated/Confusing | 14 | 23 |
| Costly/Expensive | 9 | 14 |
| Will be helpful seniors | 6 | 4 |
| Scam/Drug company boondoggle | 3 | 4 |
| Unfair/Inequitable | 3 | 2 |
| Not enough | 2 | 2 |
| Timely/necessary | 2 | 2 |
| Big government/Socialism | 2 | 2 |
| Limits on drug choices | 2 | 1 |
| <i>Tone of Evaluations...</i> | | |
| Negative/Criticism | 44 | 59 |
| Positive/Praise | 20 | 17 |
| Neutral/Descriptive | 10 | 7 |

These negative reactions are even more prevalent among seniors, fully 59% of whom offer criticism when describing their first impression of the program. Nearly a quarter of seniors (23%) describe the new system as complicated and confusing, and 14% express concerns about the cost of the program.

Even many who approve of the new Medicare law offer negative descriptions when asked what

first comes to mind. In many cases, these criticisms from supporters are of a practical nature – for example, that the system is confusing. Other supporters suggest that it does not do enough for people yet. But most people who approve of the program give favorable descriptions, such as that it will help seniors afford prescription drug costs, and that is a needed step for the government to take.

Who Is Helped and Hurt

On balance, most Americans say the prescription drug plan will be good for seniors on Medicare; 53% feel it will be good, while 30% say it will be bad.

However, even more Americans (58%) feel drug companies will benefit from the new program.

The public is much less optimistic about the new plan’s impact on the federal budget deficit. About four-in-ten (42%) think that the prescription drug plan will be bad for the deficit, while only about a quarter (27%) think it will be good.

Opinions are more divided over the drug plan’s impact on Medicare’s financial stability, with about four-in-ten (41%) thinking it will be good compared with 35% saying it will be bad.

| | Is the New Prescription Drug Plan Good or Bad for... | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|------------|------------------|-----------|
| | (Vol.) | | | |
| | <u>Good</u> | <u>Bad</u> | <u>No effect</u> | <u>DK</u> |
| | % | % | % | % |
| Drug companies | 58 | 20 | 3 | 19=100 |
| Seniors on Medicare | 53 | 30 | 1 | 16=100 |
| The financial stability of Medicare | 41 | 35 | 2 | 22=100 |
| The federal budget deficit | 27 | 42 | 6 | 25=100 |

In evaluating the costs of the new program, seniors express more concern about the plan’s broader impact on the budget deficit and the long term stability of Medicare than they do about its effect on seniors directly. Just 27% of Americans 65 and older say they new system will be bad for seniors on Medicare, but 53% say it will be bad for the deficit and 41% say it will hurt Medicare’s finances. Young people, by comparison, worry far less about these economic issues. Just 37% of people age 18-29 see the new plan as bad for the deficit, and 28% see it hurting Medicare’s finances.

Alito Overshadowed

With the Senate gearing up for confirmation hearings next month for Samuel Alito, President Bush’s choice for the Supreme Court, public attention to the nomination has faded. Only about a third of Americans (34%) are following Alito’s nomination closely, with just 14% following it very closely. In early November, 49% were paying at least some attention, with 21% following the issue very closely.

Fewer Americans also are offering an opinion about the nomination. Currently, 32% favor Alito’s confirmation while 19% are opposed, with 49% expressing no opinion. In November, 40% favored Alito’s nomination and 23% were opposed, with 37% expressing no opinion.

The public is evenly divided over whether they believe that if Alito is confirmed he would vote to overturn the *Roe v. Wade* decision establishing a woman’s right to an abortion. Democrats, by 37%-22%, feel Alito would vote to overturn *Roe*; Republicans, by a comparable margin (32%-17%), disagree.

| Pre-Hearing Lull for Alito | | | |
|---|-----------------|--------------|------------|
| <i>Should nominee be confirmed?</i> | <i>Roberts</i> | <i>Alito</i> | |
| | <u>Mid-Sept</u> | <u>Nov</u> | <u>Dec</u> |
| | % | % | % |
| Yes | 46 | 40 | 32 |
| No | 21 | 23 | 19 |
| Don’t know | <u>33</u> | <u>37</u> | <u>49</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| <i>Worry that nominee will make court...</i> | | | |
| | <u>Oct</u> | <u>Nov</u> | <u>Dec</u> |
| Too conservative | 20 | 25 | 21 |
| Not cons. enough | 9 | 6 | 6 |
| Don’t worry about this | 60 | 56 | 53 |
| Don’t know | <u>11</u> | <u>13</u> | <u>20</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| <i>Think Alito would vote to overturn Roe v. Wade</i> | | | |
| | | <u>Dec</u> | |
| Yes | | | 27 |
| No | | | 26 |
| Don’t know/Other | | | <u>47</u> |
| | | | 100 |

Gas Prices Still Top News Story

The price of gas is well below its level of a few months ago, but the public remains highly attentive to gas prices. About six-in-ten (61%) say they are paying very close attention to news about the high price of gas, unchanged from last month. Public interest in high gas prices reached an all-time high in early September (71% very closely), as prices spiraled in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina.

More than four-in-ten Americans (45%) are tracking overall developments in Iraq very closely, the highest level of interest since January. By contrast, public interest in Hurricane Katrina has declined markedly since the storm hit the Gulf Coast at the end of August. Currently, 39% say they are paying very

| December’s Top News Stories | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| | <u>Percent following very closely</u> |
| High price of gasoline | 61 |
| Situation in Iraq | 45 |
| Post-Katrina rebuilding | 39 |
| Condition of the economy | 35 |
| Medicare drug coverage | 25 |
| GM job cuts | 22 |
| Alito nomination | 14 |

close attention to news reports on rebuilding in areas affected by Katrina. That compares with 70% who tracked news of the hurricane very closely in early September, and 73% who paid very close attention to the impact of Hurricanes Rita and Katrina in early October.

African Americans continue to display much more interest in Katrina and its aftermath than do whites. Fully 60% of blacks are paying very close attention to stories on rebuilding efforts in areas affected by Katrina; that compares with just 35% of whites. The racial gap in news interest in Katrina-related stories has widened considerably since early September; at that time, 80% of blacks and 68% of whites were paying very close attention to news of the storm and its impact.

The public's attention to post-Katrina rebuilding, while substantially below interest in the hurricane's immediate aftermath, still exceeds attention to other major news stories – the state of the economy (35% very closely); the new Medicare prescription drug benefit (25%); massive job cuts at General Motors (22%); and Alito's nomination to the high court (14%).

ABOUT THIS SURVEY

Results for this survey are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International among a nationwide sample of 1,502 adults, 18 years of age or older, from December 7-11, 2005. For results based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling is plus or minus 3 percentage points. For results based on form 1 (N=761) and form 2 (N=741) the sampling error is plus or minus 4 percentage points.

In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

ABOUT THE CENTER

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 six 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:

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MAKING PROGRESS OR LOSING GROUND IN IRAQ

| | <i>Training Iraqi forces so they can replace U.S. troops</i> | | <i>Establishing democracy in Iraq</i> | | <i>Preventing terrorists from using Iraq as a base for attacks</i> | | (N) |
|------------------------|--|--------------------------|---|--------------------------|--|--------------------------|--------|
| | <u>Making Progress</u> | <u>Losing Ground</u> | <u>Making Progress</u> | <u>Losing Ground</u> | <u>Making Progress</u> | <u>Losing Ground</u> | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | |
| Total | 61 | 27 | 58 | 32 | 48 | 41 | (1502) |
| Sex | | | | | | | |
| Male | 69 | 24 | 63 | 30 | 53 | 39 | (724) |
| Female | 54 | 28 | 54 | 33 | 44 | 43 | (778) |
| Race | | | | | | | |
| White | 65 | 23 | 62 | 28 | 50 | 40 | (1216) |
| Non-white | 46 | 40 | 43 | 46 | 43 | 47 | (258) |
| Black | 42 | 47 | 40 | 50 | 38 | 51 | (137) |
| Hispanic* | 61 | 27 | 53 | 34 | 53 | 40 | (102) |
| Race and Sex | | | | | | | |
| White Men | 74 | 21 | 68 | 26 | 56 | 38 | (581) |
| White Women | 58 | 25 | 58 | 29 | 45 | 41 | (635) |
| Age | | | | | | | |
| Under 30 | 60 | 29 | 63 | 33 | 51 | 41 | (204) |
| 30-49 | 61 | 26 | 63 | 28 | 52 | 40 | (494) |
| 50-64 | 67 | 23 | 54 | 35 | 46 | 46 | (448) |
| 65+ | 57 | 30 | 50 | 33 | 41 | 38 | (329) |
| Sex and Age | | | | | | | |
| Men under 50 | 68 | 25 | 67 | 29 | 55 | 39 | (358) |
| Women under 50 | 53 | 29 | 58 | 31 | 48 | 42 | (340) |
| Men 50+ | 70 | 23 | 56 | 33 | 51 | 40 | (353) |
| Women 50+ | 57 | 28 | 48 | 36 | 38 | 45 | (424) |
| Education | | | | | | | |
| College Grad. | 70 | 23 | 62 | 30 | 50 | 42 | (528) |
| Some College | 62 | 26 | 62 | 30 | 52 | 37 | (366) |
| H.S. Grad | 60 | 26 | 59 | 31 | 46 | 43 | (469) |
| Less than H.S. | 50 | 35 | 44 | 40 | 48 | 40 | (126) |
| Family Income** | | | | | | | |
| \$75,000+ | 72 | 21 | 64 | 31 | 52 | 40 | (352) |
| \$50,000-\$74,999 | 65 | 25 | 66 | 25 | 53 | 43 | (247) |
| \$30,000-\$49,999 | 60 | 28 | 60 | 32 | 48 | 43 | (282) |
| \$20,000-\$29,999 | 58 | 31 | 54 | 34 | 48 | 39 | (203) |
| <\$20,000 | 52 | 32 | 46 | 39 | 42 | 46 | (242) |

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

Question: Do you think we are making progress or losing ground in this area...?
 Training Iraqi security forces so they can replace U.S. troops.
 Establishing democracy in Iraq.
 Preventing terrorists from using Iraq as a base for attacks against the U.S. and its allies.

| | <i>Training Iraqi forces so they can replace U.S. troops</i> | | <i>Establishing democracy in Iraq</i> | | <i>Preventing terrorists from using Iraq as a base for attacks</i> | | (N) |
|------------------------------|--|---------------|---|---------------|--|---------------|--------|
| | <u>Making</u> | <u>Losing</u> | <u>Making</u> | <u>Losing</u> | <u>Making</u> | <u>Losing</u> | |
| | <u>Progress</u> | <u>Ground</u> | <u>Progress</u> | <u>Ground</u> | <u>Progress</u> | <u>Ground</u> | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | |
| Total | 61 | 27 | 58 | 32 | 48 | 41 | (1502) |
| Region | | | | | | | |
| Northeast | 59 | 29 | 55 | 35 | 45 | 44 | (282) |
| Midwest | 63 | 26 | 61 | 30 | 49 | 39 | (346) |
| South | 59 | 28 | 58 | 30 | 50 | 41 | (543) |
| West | 65 | 23 | 57 | 32 | 48 | 42 | (331) |
| Religious Affiliation | | | | | | | |
| Total White Protestant | 67 | 21 | 66 | 24 | 56 | 34 | (668) |
| - Evangelical | 71 | 15 | 74 | 18 | 62 | 30 | (322) |
| - Non-Evangelical | 63 | 26 | 58 | 30 | 51 | 37 | (346) |
| White Catholic | 68 | 23 | 65 | 27 | 46 | 42 | (279) |
| Seculars | 59 | 29 | 44 | 46 | 34 | 56 | (175) |
| Party ID | | | | | | | |
| Republican | 82 | 10 | 83 | 13 | 74 | 19 | (480) |
| Democrat | 52 | 37 | 43 | 45 | 32 | 58 | (495) |
| Independent | 55 | 31 | 52 | 37 | 43 | 45 | (428) |
| Party and Ideology | | | | | | | |
| Conservative Republican | 86 | 8 | 87 | 9 | 74 | 17 | (310) |
| Moderate/Liberal Rep. | 78 | 11 | 79 | 16 | 75 | 22 | (168) |
| Conservative/Mod. Dem. | 56 | 32 | 49 | 41 | 38 | 53 | (303) |
| Liberal Democrat | 48 | 44 | 33 | 53 | 22 | 67 | (175) |
| Bush Approval | | | | | | | |
| Approve | 82 | 11 | 84 | 11 | 76 | 16 | (608) |
| Disapprove | 49 | 39 | 42 | 48 | 30 | 61 | (783) |
| Marital Status | | | | | | | |
| Married | 65 | 24 | 61 | 29 | 51 | 39 | (883) |
| Unmarried | 58 | 30 | 54 | 36 | 45 | 44 | (602) |
| Labor Union | | | | | | | |
| Union Household | 53 | 34 | 50 | 39 | 47 | 43 | (192) |
| Non-Union Household | 63 | 25 | 59 | 31 | 49 | 41 | (1278) |
| Use of Force in Iraq | | | | | | | |
| Right Decision | 75 | 15 | 78 | 15 | 71 | 22 | (711) |
| Wrong Decision | 49 | 39 | 40 | 50 | 27 | 62 | (710) |
| Troop deployment | | | | | | | |
| Keep troops in Iraq | 80 | 13 | 77 | 16 | 65 | 27 | (789) |
| Bring troops home | 44 | 41 | 41 | 48 | 33 | 55 | (635) |

MAKING PROGRESS OR LOSING GROUND IN IRAQ

| | <i>Defeating the insurgents militarily</i> | | <i>Preventing a civil war between religious and ethnic groups</i> | | <i>Reducing the number of civilian casualties</i> | | (N) |
|------------------------|--|--------------------------|---|--------------------------|---|--------------------------|--------|
| | <u>Making Progress</u> | <u>Losing Ground</u> | <u>Making Progress</u> | <u>Losing Ground</u> | <u>Making Progress</u> | <u>Losing Ground</u> | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | |
| Total | 44 | 41 | 36 | 49 | 35 | 53 | (1502) |
| Sex | | | | | | | |
| Male | 49 | 41 | 40 | 48 | 38 | 52 | (724) |
| Female | 40 | 41 | 33 | 50 | 32 | 54 | (778) |
| Race | | | | | | | |
| White | 47 | 40 | 38 | 47 | 36 | 52 | (1216) |
| Non-white | 37 | 46 | 31 | 59 | 30 | 60 | (258) |
| Black | 30 | 49 | 27 | 60 | 23 | 63 | (137) |
| Hispanic* | 41 | 44 | 31 | 55 | 33 | 60 | (102) |
| Race and Sex | | | | | | | |
| White Men | 52 | 40 | 43 | 45 | 39 | 51 | (581) |
| White Women | 42 | 40 | 33 | 49 | 33 | 53 | (635) |
| Age | | | | | | | |
| Under 30 | 50 | 38 | 35 | 55 | 36 | 56 | (204) |
| 30-49 | 48 | 39 | 39 | 48 | 38 | 51 | (494) |
| 50-64 | 43 | 45 | 38 | 49 | 34 | 54 | (448) |
| 65+ | 33 | 44 | 30 | 47 | 27 | 56 | (329) |
| Sex and Age | | | | | | | |
| Men under 50 | 51 | 40 | 40 | 51 | 41 | 53 | (358) |
| Women under 50 | 46 | 37 | 35 | 51 | 34 | 53 | (340) |
| Men 50+ | 45 | 42 | 39 | 45 | 33 | 52 | (353) |
| Women 50+ | 34 | 46 | 31 | 51 | 30 | 57 | (424) |
| Education | | | | | | | |
| College Grad. | 45 | 46 | 39 | 50 | 33 | 56 | (528) |
| Some College | 49 | 38 | 34 | 52 | 34 | 54 | (366) |
| H.S. Grad | 45 | 39 | 37 | 46 | 36 | 54 | (469) |
| Less than H.S. | 34 | 43 | 34 | 53 | 36 | 49 | (126) |
| Family Income** | | | | | | | |
| \$75,000+ | 48 | 45 | 40 | 52 | 36 | 57 | (352) |
| \$50,000-\$74,999 | 51 | 39 | 44 | 44 | 37 | 52 | (247) |
| \$30,000-\$49,999 | 48 | 39 | 36 | 48 | 36 | 52 | (282) |
| \$20,000-\$29,999 | 40 | 43 | 30 | 53 | 33 | 58 | (203) |
| <\$20,000 | 33 | 44 | 33 | 54 | 32 | 53 | (242) |

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

Question: Do you think we are making progress or losing ground in this area...?
 Defeating the insurgents militarily.
 Preventing a civil war between various religious and ethnic groups.
 Reducing the number of civilian casualties there.

| | <i>Defeating the insurgents militarily</i> | | <i>Preventing a civil war between religious and ethnic groups</i> | | <i>Reducing the number of civilian casualties</i> | | (N) |
|------------------------------|--|--------------------------|---|--------------------------|---|--------------------------|--------|
| | <u>Making Progress</u> | <u>Losing Ground</u> | <u>Making Progress</u> | <u>Losing Ground</u> | <u>Making Progress</u> | <u>Losing Ground</u> | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | |
| Total | 44 | 41 | 36 | 49 | 35 | 53 | (1502) |
| Region | | | | | | | |
| Northeast | 39 | 46 | 37 | 50 | 28 | 58 | (282) |
| Midwest | 48 | 38 | 37 | 46 | 38 | 52 | (346) |
| South | 46 | 38 | 36 | 51 | 38 | 51 | (543) |
| West | 42 | 46 | 36 | 49 | 32 | 55 | (331) |
| Religious Affiliation | | | | | | | |
| Total White Protestant | 53 | 33 | 41 | 44 | 40 | 49 | (668) |
| - Evangelical | 59 | 26 | 48 | 38 | 47 | 42 | (322) |
| - Non-Evangelical | 47 | 39 | 35 | 51 | 34 | 56 | (346) |
| White Catholic | 51 | 39 | 40 | 43 | 37 | 50 | (279) |
| Seculars | 30 | 56 | 24 | 59 | 22 | 63 | (175) |
| Party ID | | | | | | | |
| Republican | 70 | 18 | 56 | 29 | 57 | 32 | (480) |
| Democrat | 27 | 58 | 23 | 65 | 21 | 69 | (495) |
| Independent | 41 | 45 | 34 | 53 | 28 | 58 | (428) |
| Party and Ideology | | | | | | | |
| Conservative Republican | 75 | 13 | 54 | 28 | 60 | 27 | (310) |
| Moderate/Liberal Rep. | 64 | 26 | 59 | 30 | 52 | 40 | (168) |
| Conservative/Mod. Dem. | 30 | 55 | 26 | 63 | 22 | 67 | (303) |
| Liberal Democrat | 23 | 64 | 18 | 70 | 20 | 72 | (175) |
| Bush Approval | | | | | | | |
| Approve | 76 | 14 | 58 | 28 | 57 | 30 | (608) |
| Disapprove | 24 | 61 | 23 | 66 | 20 | 72 | (783) |
| Marital Status | | | | | | | |
| Married | 49 | 38 | 39 | 46 | 37 | 50 | (883) |
| Unmarried | 39 | 45 | 33 | 54 | 32 | 58 | (602) |
| Labor Union | | | | | | | |
| Union Household | 44 | 42 | 34 | 55 | 30 | 60 | (192) |
| Non-Union Household | 44 | 41 | 37 | 49 | 35 | 53 | (1278) |
| Use of Force in Iraq | | | | | | | |
| Right Decision | 69 | 20 | 54 | 34 | 52 | 37 | (711) |
| Wrong Decision | 22 | 63 | 21 | 67 | 19 | 71 | (710) |
| Troop deployment | | | | | | | |
| Keep troops in Iraq | 62 | 28 | 52 | 35 | 50 | 40 | (789) |
| Bring troops home | 28 | 54 | 23 | 64 | 22 | 68 | (635) |

PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS
 DECEMBER 2005 NEWS INTEREST INDEX
 FINAL TOPLINE
 December 7-11, 2005
 N=1,502

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]

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

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

Q. 1a Do you (approve/di sapprove) very strongly, or not so strongly?

| | March 2005 | Dec 2004 | Nov 2003 | Sept 2003 | June 2002 | April 2001 |
|----------------------|---------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|
| 38 Approve | 49 | 48 | 50 | 55 | 70 | 56 |
| 26 Very strongly | 32 | 34 | 34 | 35 | 46 | 34 |
| 11 Not so strongly | 16 | 12 | 14 | 18 | 21 | 20 |
| 1 Don't know (VOL) | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 |
| 54 Di sapprove | 46 | 44 | 40 | 36 | 20 | 27 |
| 42 Very strongly | 36 | 35 | 30 | 27 | 8 | 18 |
| 11 Not so strongly | 10 | 8 | 9 | 9 | 12 | 9 |
| 1 Don't know (VOL) | * | 1 | 1 | * | 0 | * |
| 8 Don't know/Refused | 5 | 8 | 10 | 9 | 10 | 17 |
| 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=761]:

More specific ally...

Q. 2 Do you approve or di sapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling [INSERT ITEM, RANDOMIZE]

| | <u>Approve</u> | <u>Di sapprove</u> | <u>DK/Ref.</u> |
|--------------------------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------|
| a. F1 The economy | 38 | 55 | 7=100 |
| Late October, 2005 | 36 | 56 | 8=100 |
| Early September, 2005 | 33 | 60 | 7=100 |
| July, 2005 | 38 | 53 | 9=100 |
| Mid-May, 2005 | 35 | 57 | 8=100 |
| February, 2005 | 43 | 50 | 7=100 |
| January, 2005 | 45 | 50 | 5=100 |
| Mid-October, 2004 | 38 | 55 | 7=100 |
| Early September, 2004 | 44 | 49 | 7=100 |
| August, 2004 | 42 | 52 | 6=100 |
| July, 2004 | 42 | 52 | 6=100 |
| June, 2004 | 43 | 50 | 7=100 |
| Early April, 2004 | 39 | 53 | 8=100 |
| Mid-January, 2004 | 47 | 47 | 6=100 |
| September, 2003 | 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 |
| b. F1 The situation in Iraq | 36 | 58 | 6=100 |
| Late October, 2005 | 37 | 57 | 6=100 |
| Early September, 2005 | 34 | 58 | 8=100 |
| July, 2005 | 35 | 57 | 8=100 |
| Mid-May, 2005 | 37 | 56 | 7=100 |
| February, 2005 | 40 | 53 | 7=100 |
| January, 2005 | 45 | 50 | 5=100 |
| Mid-October, 2004 | 37 | 56 | 7=100 |
| Early September, 2004 | 47 | 45 | 8=100 |
| August, 2004 | 43 | 52 | 5=100 |
| July, 2004 | 42 | 53 | 5=100 |
| June, 2004 | 42 | 51 | 7=100 |
| Late April, 2004 | 44 | 48 | 8=100 |
| Early April, 2004 | 40 | 53 | 7=100 |
| Mid-January, 2004 | 59 | 37 | 4=100 |
| September, 2003 | 52 | 40 | 8=100 |
| April 10-16, 2003 ¹ | 77 | 17 | 6=100 |
| April 8-9, 2003 | 71 | 23 | 6=100 |

¹ From March to April 2003 the item was worded: "... dealing with the war in Iraq?" The 1991 Gallup trend was worded "...George Bush is handling the situation in the Persian Gulf region."

Q. 2F1 CONTI NUED. . .

| | <u>Approve</u> | <u>Di sapprove</u> | <u>DK/Ref.</u> |
|--|----------------|--------------------|----------------|
| --April 9, 2003 | 76 | 18 | 6=100 |
| --April 8, 2003 | 65 | 28 | 7=100 |
| April 2-7, 2003 | 73 | 21 | 6=100 |
| March 28-April 1, 2003 | 69 | 26 | 5=100 |
| March 25-27, 2003 | 73 | 23 | 4=100 |
| March 23-24, 2003 | 72 | 22 | 6=100 |
| March 20-22, 2003 | 70 | 23 | 7=100 |
| February, 2003 | 56 | 37 | 7=100 |
| January, 2003 | 56 | 36 | 8=100 |
| Early October, 2002 | 56 | 34 | 10=100 |
| c. F1 Terrori st threats | 49 | 44 | 7=100 |
| Late October, 2005 | 52 | 40 | 8=100 |
| Early September, 2005 | 49 | 41 | 10=100 |
| July, 2005 | 49 | 40 | 11=100 |
| Mid-May, 2005 | 57 | 35 | 8=100 |
| February, 2005 | 59 | 34 | 7=100 |
| January, 2005 | 62 | 33 | 5=100 |
| Mid-October, 2004 | 49 | 40 | 11=100 |
| Early September, 2004 | 62 | 32 | 6=100 |
| August, 2004 | 58 | 37 | 5=100 |
| July, 2004 | 54 | 40 | 6=100 |
| June, 2004 | 56 | 35 | 9=100 |
| Late April, 2004 | 55 | 36 | 9=100 |
| Early April, 2004 | 53 | 38 | 9=100 |
| <i>Gallup</i> : December, 2003 | 65 | 33 | 2=100 |
| September, 2003 | 64 | 28 | 8=100 |
| February, 2003 | 67 | 25 | 8=100 |
| January, 2003 | 69 | 23 | 8=100 |
| Early October, 2002 | 71 | 22 | 7=100 |
| June, 2002 | 74 | 18 | 8=100 |
| Mid-September, 2001 ² | 85 | 6 | 9=100 |
| Clinton : Early September, 1998 | 72 | 20 | 8=100 |
| d. F1 Tax pol icy | 36 | 51 | 13=100 |
| February, 2003 | 42 | 44 | 14=100 |
| June, 2002 | 45 | 39 | 16=100 |
| <i>FOX News</i> : January, 2002 (<i>RVs</i>) | 58 | 28 | 14=100 |
| <i>FOX News</i> : June, 2001 (<i>RVs</i>) | 59 | 29 | 12=100 |
| <i>FOX News</i> : March, 2001 (<i>RVs</i>) | 54 | 31 | 15=100 |

NO QUESTIONS 3-6

² 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 di sapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling current threats from international terrorist groups?"

ASK ALL:

Q. 7 Now I will read a list of some stories covered by news organizations this past month. As I read each item, tell me if you happened to follow this news story very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely. [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE; OBSERVE FORM SPLITS]

| | Very Closely | Fairly Closely | Not too Closely | Not at all Closely | DK/ Ref |
|---|-----------------|-------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|------------|
| a. News about the current situation in Iraq | 45 | 38 | 11 | 5 | 1=100 |
| Early November, 2005 | 41 | 40 | 13 | 6 | *=100 |
| Early October, 2005 | 43 | 36 | 15 | 6 | *=100 |
| Early September, 2005 | 32 | 40 | 20 | 7 | 1=100 |
| July, 2005 | 43 | 37 | 13 | 6 | 1=100 |
| June, 2005 | 41 | 39 | 12 | 7 | 1=100 |
| Mid-May, 2005 | 42 | 42 | 11 | 5 | *=100 |
| Mid-March, 2005 | 40 | 39 | 14 | 5 | 2=100 |
| February, 2005 | 38 | 45 | 13 | 4 | *=100 |
| January, 2005 | 48 | 37 | 11 | 4 | *=100 |
| December, 2004 | 34 | 44 | 15 | 6 | 1=100 |
| Mid-October, 2004 | 42 | 38 | 11 | 8 | 1=100 |
| Early September, 2004 | 47 | 37 | 9 | 6 | 1=100 |
| August, 2004 | 39 | 42 | 12 | 6 | 1=100 |
| July, 2004 | 43 | 40 | 11 | 6 | *=100 |
| June, 2004 | 39 | 42 | 12 | 6 | 1=100 |
| April, 2004 | 54 | 33 | 8 | 5 | *=100 |
| Mid-March, 2004 | 47 | 36 | 12 | 4 | 1=100 |
| Early February, 2004 | 47 | 38 | 10 | 4 | 1=100 |
| Mid-January, 2004 | 48 | 39 | 9 | 4 | *=100 |
| December, 2003 | 44 | 38 | 11 | 6 | 1=100 |
| November, 2003 | 52 | 33 | 9 | 5 | 1=100 |
| October, 2003 | 38 | 40 | 14 | 7 | 1=100 |
| September, 2003 | 50 | 33 | 10 | 6 | 1=100 |
| Mid-August, 2003 | 45 | 39 | 10 | 5 | 1=100 |
| Early July, 2003 | 37 | 41 | 13 | 8 | 1=100 |
| June, 2003 | 46 | 35 | 13 | 6 | *=100 |
| May, 2003 | 63 | 29 | 6 | 2 | *=100 |
| April 11-16, 2003 ³ | 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 ⁴ | 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 |

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=761]:

| | | | | | |
|--|----|----|----|---|-------|
| b.F1 The high price of gasoline these days | 61 | 27 | 7 | 4 | 1=100 |
| Early November, 2005 | 61 | 27 | 9 | 2 | 1=100 |
| Late October, 2005 | 67 | 23 | 7 | 3 | *=100 |
| Early October, 2005 | 65 | 25 | 6 | 3 | 1=100 |
| Early September, 2005 | 71 | 19 | 7 | 3 | *=100 |
| Mid-May, 2005 | 58 | 27 | 9 | 5 | 1=100 |
| Mid-March, 2005 | 50 | 32 | 13 | 5 | *=100 |
| Mid-October, 2004 | 64 | 22 | 8 | 5 | 1=100 |
| August, 2004 | 52 | 29 | 10 | 8 | 1=100 |
| July, 2004 | 56 | 25 | 11 | 7 | 1=100 |
| June, 2004 | 58 | 26 | 9 | 6 | 1=100 |
| April, 2004 | 46 | 30 | 15 | 8 | 1=100 |
| Early April, 2004 | 58 | 23 | 10 | 8 | 1=100 |

³ From March 20 to April 16, 2003 the story was listed as "News about the war in Iraq."

⁴ 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. 7 CONTINUED. . .

| | Very Closely | Fairly Closely | Not too Closely | Not at all Closely | DK/ Ref |
|-------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|------------|
| Mid-March, 2004 | 47 | 27 | 14 | 10 | 2=100 |
| September, 2003 | 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 ⁵ | 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 |

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=741]:

c. F2 Reports about the condition of the

| | | | | | |
|-----------------------|----|----|----|----|-------|
| U.S. economy | 35 | 35 | 18 | 11 | 1=100 |
| Early November, 2005 | 35 | 39 | 17 | 9 | *=100 |
| Mid-May, 2005 | 30 | 39 | 19 | 11 | 1=100 |
| January, 2005 | 35 | 41 | 17 | 7 | *=100 |
| Mid-October, 2004 | 30 | 43 | 16 | 10 | 1=100 |
| Early September, 2004 | 39 | 34 | 15 | 11 | 1=100 |
| Mid-January, 2004 | 37 | 41 | 15 | 7 | *=100 |
| December, 2003 | 35 | 38 | 14 | 11 | 2=100 |
| November, 2003 | 40 | 34 | 15 | 10 | 1=100 |
| October, 2003 | 32 | 39 | 16 | 12 | 1=100 |
| September, 2003 | 39 | 30 | 18 | 12 | 1=100 |
| March, 2003 | 40 | 35 | 16 | 8 | 1=100 |
| February, 2003 | 42 | 33 | 15 | 10 | *=100 |
| January, 2003 | 40 | 35 | 13 | 11 | 1=100 |
| December, 2002 | 38 | 34 | 17 | 10 | 1=100 |
| February, 2002 | 35 | 40 | 15 | 9 | 1=100 |
| January, 2002 | 30 | 44 | 16 | 9 | 1=100 |
| December, 2001 | 37 | 40 | 13 | 8 | 2=100 |
| Mid-November, 2001 | 41 | 36 | 15 | 7 | 1=100 |
| June, 2001 | 24 | 41 | 18 | 16 | 1=100 |
| May, 2001 | 34 | 36 | 15 | 15 | 0=100 |
| April, 2001 | 36 | 34 | 16 | 13 | 1=100 |
| February, 2001 | 30 | 39 | 18 | 12 | 1=100 |
| January, 2001 | 32 | 38 | 17 | 11 | 2=100 |
| June, 1995 | 26 | 41 | 22 | 11 | *=100 |
| March, 1995 | 27 | 45 | 19 | 9 | *=100 |
| February, 1995 | 23 | 41 | 22 | 13 | 1=100 |
| 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 |
| February, 1993 | 49 | 36 | 10 | 5 | *=100 |
| January, 1993 | 42 | 39 | 12 | 7 | *=100 |
| September, 1992 | 43 | 37 | 13 | 6 | 1=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 |

⁵ In August 1990 through June 2000 the story was listed as "Recent increases in the price of gasoline."

Q. 7 CONTINUED...

| | Very Closely | Fairly Closely | Not too Closely | Not at all Closely | DK/Ref |
|---|-----------------|-------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|--------|
| d.F2 The nomination of Samuel Alito to the Supreme Court | 14 | 20 | 31 | 32 | 3=100 |
| Early November, 2005 | 21 | 28 | 24 | 25 | 2=100 |
| Early October, 2005 <i>Harriet Miers</i> | 22 | 33 | 21 | 23 | 1=100 |
| Early September, 2005 <i>John Roberts</i> | 18 | 26 | 25 | 29 | 2=100 |
| August, 1993 <i>Ruth Bader Ginsburg</i> | 18 | 30 | 27 | 24 | 1=100 |
| October, 1991 <i>Clarence Thomas</i> | 28 | 35 | 18 | 18 | 1=100 |
| July, 1991 <i>Clarence Thomas</i> | 33 | 33 | 19 | 14 | 1=100 |
| August, 1990 <i>David Souter</i> | 16 | 27 | 27 | 29 | 1=100 |
| September, 1987 <i>Robert Bork</i> | 17 | 23 | 29 | 29 | 2=100 |

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=761]:

| | | | | | |
|--|----|----|----|----|-------|
| e.F1 The major job cuts announced by General Motors | 22 | 30 | 26 | 21 | 1=100 |
| January, 1992 | 35 | 38 | 18 | 9 | *=100 |

ASK ALL:

| | | | | | |
|--|----|----|----|----|-------|
| f. Changes to the prescription drug coverage provided by Medicare | 25 | 24 | 29 | 20 | 2=100 |
| December, 2003 <i>Medicare reform legislation</i> | 25 | 28 | 22 | 23 | 2=100 |
| g. Rebuilding efforts in areas affected by Hurricane Katrina | 39 | 40 | 15 | 5 | 1=100 |
| Early Oct, 2005 <i>Impact of Katrina and Rita</i> | 73 | 21 | 4 | 2 | *=100 |
| Early September, 2005 <i>Impact of Katrina</i> | 70 | 21 | 7 | 2 | *=100 |

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=761]:

ROTATE Q. 8F1 AND Q. 9F1

Q. 8F1 In general, do you think news reports are making the situation in Iraq seem WORSE than it really is or BETTER than it really is, or are reports showing the situation about the way it really is?

| | Mid- Sept 2005 | Oct 2003 |
|-------------------------------|----------------------|-------------|
| 39 Worse | 35 | 38 |
| 19 Better | 19 | 14 |
| 35 About the way it really is | 38 | 36 |
| 7 Don't know/Refused | 8 | 12 |
| 100 | 100 | 100 |

Q. 9F1 In general, do you think news reports are making the U.S. economy seem WORSE than it really is, or BETTER than it really is, or are reports showing the situation about the way it really is?

| |
|-------------------------------|
| 39 Worse |
| 18 Better |
| 36 About the way it really is |
| 7 Don't know/Refused |
| 100 |

NO QUESTIONS 10-13

QUESTIONS 14-15 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

NO QUESTIONS 16-19

On a different subject...

ROTATE Q. 20 AND Q. 21

Q. 20 Which comes closer to your view? Abortion should be generally available to those who want it; Abortion should be available but under stricter limits than it is now; Abortion should be against the law except in cases of rape, incest and to save the woman's life; Abortion should not be permitted at all.

| | | Late Nov ⁶ 2005 | July 2005 | June 1997 | June 1996 | CBS/NYT Feb 1996 |
|------------|--|----------------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------------|
| 35 | Generally available | 30 | 35 | 30 | 32 | 36 |
| 20 | Available, but under stricter limits | 19 | 23 | 21 | 24 | 22 |
| 31 | Against law except rape/incest/save life | 31 | 31 | 36 | 33 | 34 |
| 11 | Abortion should not be permitted at all | 16 | 9 | 12 | 9 | 7 |
| 3 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 4 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| <u>100</u> | | <u>100</u> | <u>100</u> | <u>100</u> | <u>100</u> | <u>100</u> |

Q. 21 Do you favor or oppose the death penalty for persons convicted of murder?

| | | Late Nov ⁷ 2005 | July 2005 ⁸ | Mid-July 2003 | March 2002 | March 2001 | Sept 1999 | June 1996 |
|------------|------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|---------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| 62 | Favor | 61 | 68 | 64 | 67 | 66 | 74 | 78 |
| 30 | Oppose | 27 | 24 | 30 | 26 | 27 | 22 | 18 |
| 8 | Don't know/Ref. (VOL.) | 12 | 8 | 6 | 7 | 7 | 4 | 4 |
| <u>100</u> | | <u>100</u> | <u>100</u> | <u>100</u> | <u>100</u> | <u>100</u> | <u>100</u> | <u>100</u> |

QUESTIONS 22-26 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

On a different subject...

Q. 27F2 From what you've seen and heard so far, do you think the Senate should or should not confirm Samuel Alito to the Supreme Court?

| | | Early Nov 2005 | Harriet Miers Early Oct 2005 | John Roberts Mid-Sept 2005 | Early Sept 2005 |
|------------|--------------------|----------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------|
| 32 | Should | 40 | 33 | 46 | 35 |
| 19 | Should not | 23 | 27 | 21 | 19 |
| 49 | Don't know/Refused | 37 | 40 | 33 | 46 |
| <u>100</u> | | <u>100</u> | <u>100</u> | <u>100</u> | <u>100</u> |

Q. 28F2 Do you worry that Samuel Alito would make the Supreme Court too conservative, not conservative enough, or don't you worry about this?

| | | Early Nov 2005 | Harriet Miers Early Oct 2005 | John Roberts Early Oct 2005 | Next Supreme Court Appt. July 2005 ⁹ |
|------------|-------------------------|----------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|---|
| 21 | Too conservative | 25 | 18 | 20 | 31 |
| 6 | Not conservative enough | 6 | 8 | 9 | 19 |
| 53 | Don't worry about this | 56 | 56 | 60 | 44 |
| 20 | Don't know/Refused | 13 | 18 | 11 | 6 |
| <u>100</u> | | <u>100</u> | <u>100</u> | <u>100</u> | <u>100</u> |

⁶ In Late November 2005 this question was asked in a unique context, following a long series of questions about euthanasia and end-of-life decisions. This context may have affected responses to this question.

⁷ In Late November 2005 this question was asked in a unique context, following a long series of questions about euthanasia and end-of-life decisions. This context may have affected responses to this question.

⁸ In July 2005 and earlier, the question was asked as part of a series of items. It was worded: "I'd like to get your views on some issues that are being discussed in this country today. All in all, do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose the death penalty for persons convicted of murder?"

⁹ In July 2005 the question was worded "Do you worry that the president's next Supreme Court appointment will make the court ..."

Q. 29F2 If Samuel Alito is confirmed to sit on the Supreme Court, do you think he would vote to OVERTURN the Roe versus Wade decision that established a woman's right to an abortion, or don't you think he would vote to overturn the Roe versus Wade decision?

27 Would vote to overturn Roe v. Wade
 26 Would NOT vote to overturn Roe v. Wade
 4 Not important / Doesn't matter (VOL.)
 43 Don't know/Refused
 100

ASK ALL:

Q. 30 There is now a new Medicare Law that includes some coverage of prescription drug costs. Overall, would you say you strongly approve, approve, DISapprove, or strongly disapprove of the way Medicare will now cover prescription drug costs?

| | | |
|------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| | | <u>Dec 2003</u> ¹⁰ |
| 13 | Strongly approve | 12 |
| 35 | Approve | 43 |
| 20 | Disapprove | 17 |
| 10 | Strongly disapprove | 10 |
| 22 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 18 |
| <u>100</u> | | <u>100</u> |

Q. 31 Please tell me what first comes to mind when you think about the new Medicare prescription drug program... just the first word or thought that comes to mind. (OPEN-END. PROBE ONCE IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS "DON'T KNOW". ACCEPT UP TO TWO RESPONSES, BUT DO NOT PROBE FOR SECOND RESPONSE).

44 NEGATIVE EVALUATIONS (NET)

14 Complicated/confusing
 9 Costly/Expensive (SUB-NET)
 3 - *Costly to seniors/high deductible/loss of prior coverage/can't afford it*
 2 - *Cost to government/inefficient/deficits/higher taxes*
 4 - *Cost generally*
 3 Scam/boondoggle/drug company/corporate scheme
 3 Unfair/inequitable
 3 Doesn't go far enough
 2 Big government/socialism/welfare/bureaucracy
 2 Not enough drug choices/limited options
 9 Other negatives

20 POSITIVE EVALUATIONS (NET)

6 Helpful/helps seniors
 2 Timely/necessary
 1 Affordability of drugs/cheaper drugs
 1 Helps low income/poor
 1 Saves money/efficient
 10 Other positives

10 NEUTRAL EVALUATIONS (NET)

4 Mentions parents/grandparents/older people
 2 Good step, but not enough
 1 Not eligible/doesn't affect me/don't want it
 1 Better than nothing/could be better
 3 Other Neutral
 7 All other mentions
 19 Nothing/Don't know

¹⁰ In December 2003 the question was worded "As you may know, Congress passed a new Medicare law that includes some coverage of prescription drug costs and changes the way Medicare covers other medical expenses for senior citizens. Overall, would you say you strongly approve, approve, DISapprove, or strongly disapprove of these recent changes?"

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=741]:

Q. 32 On balance, do you think the new Medicare prescription drug plan will be very good, good, bad, or very bad for **[READ AND RANDOMIZE]**?

| | Very Good | Good | Bad | Very bad | (VOL) Not much affected | DK/ ref. |
|---|-----------|------|-----|----------|----------------------------|-------------|
| a. F2 Seniors on Medicare | 11 | 42 | 21 | 9 | 1 | 16=100 |
| b. F2 Drug companies | 22 | 36 | 17 | 3 | 3 | 19=100 |
| c. F2 The financial stability of Medicare | 5 | 36 | 28 | 7 | 2 | 22=100 |
| d. F2 The federal budget deficit | 4 | 23 | 30 | 12 | 6 | 25=100 |

ASK ALL:

Q. 33 Are you yourself eligible for the new Medicare prescription drug program?

22 Yes, eligible for new Medicare program
 71 No, not eligible
 7 Don't know/Refused
 100

IF 'NO' OR 'DK' (2, 9 IN Q. 33) [N=1, 129] ASK:

Q. 34 Do you have a close family member who is eligible?

45 Yes, close family member is eligible
 27 No, not eligible
 6 Don't know/Refused
 78%

NO QUESTION 35

QUESTIONS 36-46 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

NO QUESTIONS 47-49

Turning to the subject of Iraq ...

Q. 50 Do you think the U.S. made the right decision or the wrong decision in using military force against Iraq?

| | Right decision | Wrong decision | Don't know/ Refused |
|-----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------------|
| December, 2005 | 47 | 48 | 5=100 |
| Late October, 2005 | 48 | 45 | 7=100 |
| Early October, 2005 | 44 | 50 | 6=100 |
| Mid-September, 2005 | 49 | 44 | 7=100 |
| July, 2005 | 49 | 44 | 7=100 |
| June, 2005 | 47 | 45 | 8=100 |
| February, 2005 | 47 | 47 | 6=100 |
| January, 2005 | 51 | 44 | 5=100 |
| December, 2004 | 49 | 44 | 7=100 |
| November, 2004 (RVs) | 48 | 41 | 11=100 |
| Mid-October, 2004 | 46 | 42 | 12=100 |
| Early October, 2004 | 50 | 39 | 11=100 |
| Early September, 2004 | 53 | 39 | 8=100 |
| August, 2004 | 53 | 41 | 6=100 |
| July, 2004 | 52 | 43 | 5=100 |
| June, 2004 | 55 | 38 | 7=100 |
| May, 2004 | 51 | 42 | 7=100 |
| Late April, 2004 | 54 | 37 | 9=100 |
| Early April, 2004 | 57 | 35 | 8=100 |
| Mid-March, 2004 | 55 | 39 | 6=100 |
| Late February, 2004 | 60 | 32 | 8=100 |
| Early February, 2004 | 56 | 39 | 5=100 |
| Mid-January, 2004 | 65 | 30 | 5=100 |
| Early January, 2004 | 62 | 28 | 10=100 |
| December, 2003 | 67 | 26 | 7=100 |

Q. 50 CONTINUED. . .

| | <u>Right decision</u> | <u>Wrong decision</u> | <u>Don't know/ Refused</u> |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------------|
| October, 2003 | 60 | 33 | 7=100 |
| September, 2003 | 63 | 31 | 6=100 |
| August, 2003 | 63 | 30 | 7=100 |
| Early July, 2003 | 67 | 24 | 9=100 |
| May, 2003 | 74 | 20 | 6=100 |
| <i>April 10-16, 2003</i> | <i>74</i> | <i>19</i> | <i>7=100</i> |
| <i>April 8-9, 2003</i> | <i>74</i> | <i>19</i> | <i>7=100</i> |
| <i>April 2-7, 2003</i> | <i>72</i> | <i>20</i> | <i>8=100</i> |
| <i>March 28-April 1, 2003</i> | <i>69</i> | <i>25</i> | <i>6=100</i> |
| <i>March 25-27, 2003</i> | <i>74</i> | <i>21</i> | <i>5=100</i> |
| <i>March 23-24, 2003</i> | <i>74</i> | <i>21</i> | <i>5=100</i> |
| <i>March 20-22, 2003</i> | <i>71</i> | <i>22</i> | <i>7=100</i> |
| Late January, 1991 | 77 | 15 | 9=100 |

IF 'WRONG DECISION' (2 IN Q. 50) [N=710]:

Q. 51 When you say it was the wrong decision, is that **[READ AND ROTATE]?**

- 74 Mostly because you don't think we should have gone there in the first place
 - OR
 - 19 Mostly because of the way things have turned out since we went there
 - 4 Both (VOL.) **[PROBE ONCE BEFORE ACCEPTING]**
 - 3 Neither (VOL.)
 - * Other (VOL.)
 - * Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
- 100

NO QUESTION 52 OR 53

ASK ALL:

Q. 54 How well is the U.S. military effort in Iraq going? **[READ IN ORDER]**

| | <u>Very well</u> | <u>Fairly well</u> | <u>Not too well</u> | <u>Not at all well</u> | <u>Don't know/ Refused</u> |
|-------------------------------|----------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| December, 2005 | 14 | 37 | 29 | 17 | 3=100 |
| Early October, 2005 | 9 | 35 | 31 | 22 | 3=100 |
| Mid-September, 2005 | 12 | 41 | 26 | 18 | 3=100 |
| July, 2005 | 14 | 38 | 27 | 17 | 4=100 |
| June, 2005 | 9 | 41 | 27 | 19 | 4=100 |
| February, 2005 | 14 | 40 | 25 | 17 | 4=100 |
| January, 2005 | 9 | 39 | 29 | 20 | 3=100 |
| December, 2004 | 10 | 40 | 28 | 18 | 4=100 |
| Mid-October, 2004 | 13 | 38 | 26 | 17 | 6=100 |
| Early September, 2004 | 12 | 40 | 26 | 18 | 4=100 |
| August, 2004 | 12 | 41 | 28 | 16 | 3=100 |
| July, 2004 | 13 | 42 | 26 | 16 | 3=100 |
| June, 2004 | 16 | 41 | 25 | 14 | 4=100 |
| May, 2004 | 10 | 36 | 32 | 19 | 3=100 |
| Late April, 2004 | 12 | 43 | 26 | 15 | 4=100 |
| Early April, 2004 | 14 | 43 | 26 | 13 | 4=100 |
| Mid-March, 2004 | 16 | 45 | 26 | 11 | 2=100 |
| Early February, 2004 | 17 | 46 | 23 | 11 | 3=100 |
| Mid-January, 2004 | 22 | 51 | 18 | 6 | 3=100 |
| Early January, 2004 | 23 | 47 | 18 | 7 | 5=100 |
| December, 2003 | 28 | 47 | 16 | 6 | 3=100 |
| October, 2003 | 16 | 44 | 25 | 11 | 4=100 |
| September, 2003 | 15 | 47 | 26 | 9 | 3=100 |
| August, 2003 | 19 | 43 | 24 | 11 | 3=100 |
| Early July, 2003 | 23 | 52 | 16 | 5 | 4=100 |
| <i>April 10-16, 2003</i> | <i>61</i> | <i>32</i> | <i>3</i> | <i>1</i> | <i>3=100</i> |
| <i>April 8-9, 2003</i> | <i>60</i> | <i>32</i> | <i>3</i> | <i>3</i> | <i>2=100</i> |
| <i>April 2-7, 2003</i> | <i>55</i> | <i>37</i> | <i>3</i> | <i>2</i> | <i>3=100</i> |
| <i>March 25-April 1, 2003</i> | <i>39</i> | <i>46</i> | <i>8</i> | <i>2</i> | <i>5=100</i> |
| <i>March 23-24, 2003</i> | <i>45</i> | <i>41</i> | <i>6</i> | <i>2</i> | <i>6=100</i> |
| <i>March 20-22, 2003</i> | <i>65</i> | <i>25</i> | <i>2</i> | <i>1</i> | <i>7=100</i> |

Q. 55 Do you think the U.S. should keep military troops in Iraq until the situation has stabilized, or do you think the U.S. should bring its troops home as soon as possible?

| | Keep troops in Iraq | Bring troops home | Don't know/ Refused |
|--------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|------------------------|
| December, 2005 | 49 | 46 | 5=100 |
| Early October, 2005 | 47 | 48 | 5=100 |
| Mid-September, 2005 | 51 | 45 | 4=100 |
| July, 2005 | 52 | 43 | 5=100 |
| June, 2005 | 50 | 46 | 4=100 |
| February, 2005 | 55 | 42 | 3=100 |
| January, 2005 | 54 | 41 | 5=100 |
| December, 2004 | 56 | 40 | 4=100 |
| Mid-October, 2004 | 57 | 36 | 7=100 |
| Early September, 2004 | 54 | 40 | 6=100 |
| August, 2004 | 54 | 42 | 4=100 |
| July, 2004 | 53 | 43 | 4=100 |
| June, 2004 ¹¹ | 51 | 44 | 5=100 |
| May, 2004 | 53 | 42 | 5=100 |
| Late April, 2004 | 53 | 40 | 7=100 |
| Early April, 2004 | 50 | 44 | 6=100 |
| Early January, 2004 | 63 | 32 | 5=100 |
| October, 2003 | 58 | 39 | 3=100 |
| September, 2003 | 64 | 32 | 4=100 |

IF "BRING TROOPS HOME" (2 IN Q. 55) [N=635] ASK:

Q. 56 Should the U.S. remove all troops from Iraq immediately, or should the withdrawal of troops be gradual over the next year or two?

| | |
|-----|--|
| 17 | Remove all troops immediately |
| 28 | Gradual withdrawal over the next year or two |
| 1 | Don't know/Refused |
| 46% | |

NO QUESTION 57 OR 58

ASK ALL:

Q. 59 Do you think George W. Bush has a clear plan for bringing the situation in Iraq to a successful conclusion, or don't you think so?

| | Has a clear plan | Doesn't have a clear plan | Don't know/ Refused |
|-----------------------|---------------------|------------------------------|------------------------|
| December, 2005 | 28 | 66 | 6=100 |
| Mid-September, 2005 | 30 | 63 | 7=100 |
| July, 2005 | 27 | 64 | 9=100 |
| February, 2005 | 32 | 61 | 7=100 |
| Early October, 2004 | 35 | 55 | 10=100 |
| Early September, 2004 | 36 | 55 | 9=100 |
| August, 2004 | 36 | 58 | 6=100 |
| July, 2004 | 34 | 59 | 7=100 |
| June, 2004 | 37 | 55 | 8=100 |
| Late April, 2004 | 36 | 54 | 10=100 |
| Early April, 2004 | 32 | 57 | 11=100 |
| December, 2003 | 44 | 45 | 11=100 |
| October, 2003 | 35 | 54 | 11=100 |
| September, 2003 | 32 | 58 | 10=100 |

¹¹ In June 2004 and earlier, the question was worded: "Do you think the U.S. should keep military troops in Iraq until a stable government is established there, or do you think the U.S. should bring its troops home as soon as possible?"

Q. 60 Based on what you've seen and read, do most people IN IRAQ support or oppose America's current policies in Iraq?

| | | July 2005 | Early April 2004 | Dec 2003 | Sept 2003 |
|-----|--------------------|--------------|------------------------|-------------|--------------|
| 38 | Support | 38 | 37 | 47 | 39 |
| 48 | Oppose | 44 | 48 | 34 | 47 |
| 14 | Don't know/Refused | 18 | 15 | 19 | 14 |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Q. 61 Do you think the U.S. should or should not set a timetable for when troops will be withdrawn from Iraq?

| | | Early Oct 2005 | Mid-Sep 2005 | July 2005 |
|-----|----------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------|
| 56 | Should set a timetable | 52 | 57 | 49 |
| 38 | Should not set a timetable | 43 | 37 | 45 |
| 1 | Should get out now (VOL.) | 1 | 1 | * |
| 5 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Q. 62 Regardless of your feelings about the original decision to use military force, do you now believe that the U.S. will definitely succeed, probably succeed, probably fail, or definitely fail in establishing a stable democratic government in Iraq?

| | | Late Oct 2005 | July 2005 |
|-----|---------------------------|------------------|--------------|
| 16 | Definitely succeed | 12 | 17 |
| 41 | Probably succeed | 44 | 43 |
| 28 | Probably fail | 29 | 25 |
| 9 | Definitely fail | 8 | 8 |
| 6 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 7 | 7 |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 |

Q. 63 As I read a few specific things about Iraq, tell me if you think we are making progress or losing ground in each area. First, [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]?

| | | Making progress | Losing ground | (VOL) No change | Don't know/ Refused |
|----|---|--------------------|------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| a. | Training Iraqi security forces so they can replace U.S. troops | 61 | 27 | 1 | 11=100 |
| b. | Reducing the number of civilian casualties there | 35 | 53 | 3 | 9=100 |
| c. | Preventing terrorists from using Iraq as a base for attacks against the U.S. and its allies | 48 | 41 | 2 | 9=100 |
| d. | Defeating the insurgents militarily | 44 | 41 | 3 | 12=100 |
| e. | Establishing democracy in Iraq | 58 | 32 | 2 | 8=100 |
| f. | Preventing a civil war between various religious and ethnic groups | 36 | 49 | 3 | 12=100 |

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=761]:

Q. 64F1 If the U.S. were to withdraw its troops from Iraq soon, do you think terrorist organizations there will become stronger, will become weaker, or would they not be affected as a result of the withdrawal? [READ]

| | |
|-----|-----------------------|
| 58 | Stronger |
| 13 | Weaker |
| 22 | Would not be affected |
| 7 | Don't know/Refused |
| 100 | |

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=741]:

Q. 65F2 If the U.S. continues to keep troops in Iraq, do you think terrorist organizations there will become stronger, will become weaker, or would they not be affected as a result of America's continued presence there? **[READ]**

30 Stronger
 36 Weaker
 29 Would not be affected
 5 Don't know/Refused
100

Q. 66F2 On December 15th, Iraq is scheduled to have its first nationwide election to choose officials in the new government. How much have you heard about this... A lot, a little, or nothing at all?

| | <u>A lot</u> | <u>A little</u> | <u>Nothing at all</u> | <u>Don't know/Refused</u> |
|---|--------------|-----------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| December, 2005 | 22 | 57 | 20 | 1=100 |
| Nationwide Oct 15th Vote on Constitution¹² | | | | |
| Early November, 2005 (<i>After vote</i>) | 22 | 52 | 25 | 1=100 |
| Early October, 2005 (<i>Before vote</i>) | 21 | 50 | 28 | 1=100 |
| Nationwide Jan 30th Elections | | | | |
| February, 2005 (<i>After elections</i>) | 52 | 41 | 7 | *=100 |
| January, 2005 (<i>Before elections</i>) | 46 | 40 | 13 | 1=100 |
| Handover of Civilian Authority to Iraqi Leaders | | | | |
| June, 2004 (<i>Before handover</i>) | 42 | 40 | 17 | 1=100 |

Q. 67F2 Do you think the upcoming election will lead to a MORE stable situation, a LESS stable situation, or will the situation in Iraq not change much?

| | <u>More Stable</u> | <u>Less Stable</u> | <u>Situation will not change much</u> | <u>DK/Ref.</u> |
|---|--------------------|--------------------|---------------------------------------|----------------|
| December, 2005 | 37 | 9 | 47 | 7=100 |
| Nationwide Oct 15th Vote on Constitution¹³ | | | | |
| Early November, 2005 (<i>After Vote</i>) | 30 | 6 | 56 | 8=100 |
| Early October, 2005 (<i>Before Vote</i>) | 29 | 10 | 51 | 10=100 |
| Nationwide Jan 30th Elections | | | | |
| February, 2005 (<i>After elections</i>) | 47 | 7 | 40 | 6=100 |
| January, 2005 (<i>Before elections</i>) | 29 | 14 | 49 | 8=100 |

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=761]:

Q. 68F1 From what you've read and heard, how would you describe the current violence in Iraq, is it... **[READ AND ROTATE]**

30 Mostly a civil war between competing factions in Iraq
 OR
 58 Mostly an insurgency aimed against the U.S. and its allies
 12 Don't know/Refused
100

NO QUESTION 69

¹² In Early November 2005 the question was worded: "A few weeks ago, Iraq held a nationwide vote on the country's constitution..." In Early October 2005 the question was worded: "On October 15th, Iraq is scheduled to have a nationwide vote on the country's proposed constitution..." In February 2005 the question was worded: "Iraq recently held its first nationwide elections..." In January 2005 question was worded "On January 30th, Iraq is scheduled to have its first nationwide elections..." In June 2004 the question was worded: "On June 30th, the U.S. is planning to hand over civilian authority to Iraqi leaders..."

¹³ In Early November 2005 the question was worded: "In this election, the Iraqi people voted "yes" on the new constitution. Do you think this will lead to..." In Early October 2005 the question was worded: "If the proposed constitution is approved..." In January and February 2005 the question was worded "All in all, do you think the January elections in Iraq will lead to a MORE stable situation, a LESS stable situation, or will the situation in Iraq not change much?"

ASK ALL:

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

| <i>Trend</i> | <u>Republican</u> | <u>Democrat</u> | <u>Independent</u> | (VOL) | (VOL) | Don't know |
|----------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------------|---------------|-------------|------------|
| | | | | No Preference | Other Party | |
| December, 2005 | 29 | 34 | 31 | 4 | * | 2=100 |
| Late November, 2005 | 27 | 34 | 29 | 5 | 1 | 4=100 |
| Early November, 2005 | 28 | 34 | 31 | 5 | * | 2=100 |
| Late October, 2005 | 29 | 33 | 31 | 5 | * | 2=100 |
| Early October, 2005 | 26 | 34 | 34 | 4 | * | 2=100 |
| September 8-11, 2005 | 31 | 32 | 33 | 3 | * | 1=100 |
| September 6-7, 2005 | 27 | 33 | 33 | 4 | * | 3=100 |
| July, 2005 | 31 | 34 | 29 | 4 | * | 2=100 |
| June, 2005 | 30 | 32 | 32 | 4 | * | 2=100 |
| Mid-May, 2005 | 30 | 34 | 29 | 4 | * | 3=100 |
| Late March, 2005 | 29 | 32 | 36 | 2 | * | 1=100 |
| Mid-March, 2005 | 30 | 34 | 29 | 4 | * | 3=100 |
| February, 2005 | 31 | 32 | 30 | 4 | 1 | 2=100 |
| January, 2005 | 32 | 33 | 30 | 4 | * | 1=100 |
| December, 2004 | 31 | 34 | 30 | 3 | * | 2=100 |

| <i>Yearly Totals</i> | <u>Republican</u> | <u>Democrat</u> | <u>Independent</u> | (VOL) | (VOL) | Don't know |
|----------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------------|---------------|-------------|------------|
| | | | | No Preference | Other Party | |
| 2004 | 30 | 33 | 30 | 4 | * | 3=100 |
| 2003 | 30 | 31 | 31 | 5 | * | 3=100 |
| 2002 | 30 | 31 | 30 | 5 | 1 | 3=100 |
| 2001 | 29 | 34 | 29 | 5 | * | 3=100 |
| 2001 Post-Sept 11 | 31 | 32 | 28 | 5 | 1 | 3=100 |
| 2001 Pre-Sept 11 | 28 | 35 | 30 | 5 | * | 2=100 |
| 2000 | 28 | 33 | 29 | 6 | * | 4=100 |
| 1999 | 27 | 33 | 34 | 4 | * | 2=100 |
| 1998 | 28 | 33 | 32 | 5 | * | 2=100 |
| 1997 | 28 | 33 | 32 | 4 | 1 | 2=100 |

| | <u>Republican</u> | <u>Democrat</u> | <u>Independent</u> | No Preference/ |
|------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| | | | | <u>Other/DK</u> |
| 1996 | 29 | 33 | 33 | 5=100 |
| 1995 | 32 | 30 | 34 | 4=100 |
| 1994 | 30 | 32 | 34 | 4=100 |
| 1993 | 27 | 34 | 34 | 5=100 |
| 1992 | 28 | 33 | 35 | 4=100 |
| 1991 | 31 | 32 | 33 | 4=100 |
| 1990 | 31 | 33 | 30 | 6=100 |

| | <u>Rep</u> | <u>Dem</u> | <u>Independent/</u> |
|------|------------|------------|-----------------------|
| | | | <u>No Pref/Oth/DK</u> |
| 1989 | 33 | 33 | 34=100 |
| 1987 | 26 | 35 | 39=100 |

IF ANSWERED 3, 4, 5 OR 9 IN PARTY, [N=527] ASK:

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

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

ASK IF REPUBLICAN OR LEAN REPUBLICAN (1 IN PARTY OR 1 IN PARTYLN) [N=639]:

Q. 70 Thinking about next year's congressional elections, do you think the Republican Party will do better, worse, or about the same as it has in recent elections?

| | |
|------------|--------------------|
| 17 | Better |
| 20 | Worse |
| 55 | About the same |
| 8 | Don't know/Refused |
| <u>100</u> | |

ASK IF DEMOCRAT OR LEAN DEMOCRAT (2 IN PARTY OR 2 IN PARTYLN) [N=704]:

Q. 71 Thinking about next year's congressional elections, do you think the Democratic Party will do better, worse, or about the same as it has in recent elections?

| | |
|------------|--------------------|
| 62 | Better |
| 1 | Worse |
| 31 | About the same |
| 6 | Don't know/Refused |
| <u>100</u> | |