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*1150 18th Street, N.W., Suite 975
Washington, D.C. 20036
Tel (202) 293-3126
Fax (202) 293-2569*

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FOR RELEASE: THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 2002, 4:00 P.M.

Congressional Horse Race: Continued Deadlock
BUSH ENGAGES AND PERSUADES PUBLIC ON IRAQ

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FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:

Andrew Kohut, Director
Scott Keeter, Associate Director
Carroll Doherty, Editor
Michael Dimock, Research Director
Elizabeth Mueller Gross, Special Projects Director
Nilanthi Samaranayake, Peyton Craighill and Nicole Speulda, Project Director
Pew Research Center for The People & The Press
202/293-3126
<http://www.people-press.org>

Congressional Horse Race: Continued Deadlock
BUSH ENGAGES AND PERSUADES PUBLIC ON IRAQ

With his speech to the United Nations, President Bush took an important step in making the public case for military action against Iraq. A 52% majority now says Bush has explained clearly what's at stake for the United States in Iraq. Less than a month ago, just 37% felt the president had laid out a case for military action. At the same time, he has steadily raised his own approval rating over the past month. Nonetheless, his party remains locked in a dead heat in the battle for Congress, a stalemate that has persisted irrespective of the ups and downs in the president's approval rating.

Fully 67% now approve of Bush's job performance, up from 60% in late August and 63% in early September. Not surprisingly, the president won high marks for his speeches to the nation on the 9/11 anniversary; 69% rated them excellent or good. Bush's more controversial U.N. speech was still viewed favorably by 59% majority.

This comes at a time when more Americans are seriously considering the prospect of war in Iraq – 55% say they have thought a “great deal” about that, up from 46% last month. More than six-in-ten (64%) favor military action against Iraq and nearly half (48%) say they would favor such action even if it means significant U.S. casualties. At the same time, there is somewhat greater willingness to take unilateral action against Iraq if the allies do not agree with such action.

	Late <u>Aug</u> %	Mid <u>Sept</u> %
<i>Has Bush explained clearly</i>		
Yes	37	52
No	52	37
Don't know	<u>11</u>	<u>11</u>
	100	100
<i>Thought about force in Iraq</i>		
A great deal	46	55
Some	35	27
Only a little	11	9
Not at all	6	6
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100

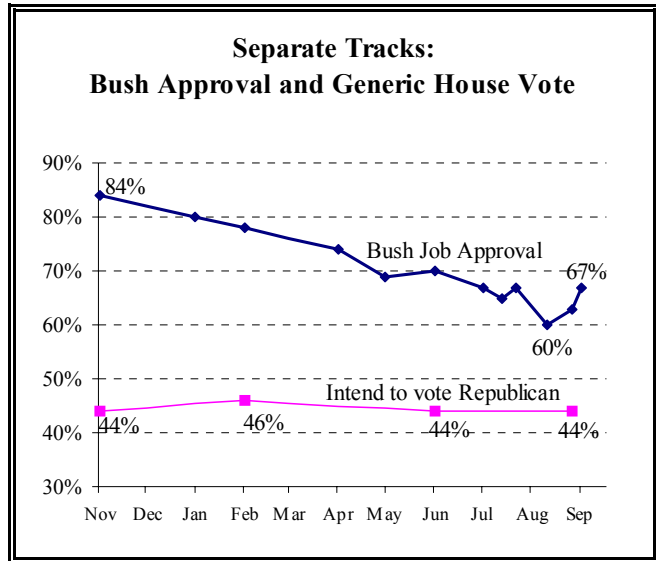
While the midterm elections have been overshadowed by Iraq and the continuing threat of terrorism, public attention to the campaign is on par with previous elections: 46% currently are following election news, compared with 49% four years ago. This despite the fact that the election is receiving far less press coverage than at the same stage in the 1998 campaign, which unfolded as the House engaged in impeachment proceedings against President Clinton.¹

The latest Pew Research Center survey of 1,919 adults conducted Sept. 5-10 (with an additional poll of 1,150 conducted Sept. 12-16) shows there has been virtually no movement in the congressional ballot all year. The generic House ballot stands at the same statistical dead heat as in June, with Democrats holding a thin 46%-44% edge among registered voters. When the sample is narrowed to likely voters, the Republicans lead 47%-46%. While the congressional poll did not cover the period of Bush's speeches on Sept. 11 and at the U.N., neither his soaring job approval

¹ A Lexis-Nexis search shows 222 stories on the congressional elections were aired or published between Aug. 1 and Sept. 10, 2002. During the same period in 1998, there were 355 stories on the elections.

marks early this year nor his declining ratings in late summer have significantly affected the congressional race. In fact, presidential approval has no greater impact on the generic ballot than it did four years ago.

At the same time, there is no evidence that Democrats have been able to capitalize on a summer’s worth of corporate scandals or a sagging economy. Republicans hold a slight 36%-31% lead as the party better able to deal with corporate corruption. Republicans have lost the lead they held early this year as the party better able to handle the economy; the two parties run even on this issue, mirroring the parity in the congressional ballot.



Otherwise, Democrats continue to rate more highly on their traditional domestic strengths – prescription drug benefits and the environment – while Republicans maintain a clear edge on terrorism and foreign policy. On Social Security, traditionally an important issue in midterm races, Democrats hold a modest 38%-30% lead, largely unchanged since May.

The poll indicates that turnout is likely to be on par with the 1998 midterm congressional election, but that, unlike 1998, Democrats express as much interest in voting as Republicans at this stage of the campaign. While Republicans are far more likely than Democrats to view their vote as a ballot “for” the president, Democrats are finding motivation in their party’s battle to capture Congress – 55% of Democratic voters say party control is a factor in their vote, up from 46% in 1998.

While the public is expressing intense interest in Iraq, as many people followed news on the spate of child kidnappings (79%) as paid attention to reports on the debate over taking military action against Baghdad. Those stories, in turn, drew slightly more interest than the stories on the commemoration of the anniversary of Sept. 11 (74%). On the whole, most Americans did not feel inundated with the media’s coverage of the anniversary; a 55% majority found the amount of coverage to be appropriate, compared with 38% who say it was excessive. And after the 11th, 48% said the news coverage had helped them to come to terms with the tragedy.

Interest, Turnout Measures Stable

Public interest in campaign news is at the same level as it was at this stage in the 1998 election, and only somewhat lower than in 1994 and 1990. These early September surveys coincide with the conclusion of many local primary races.

In addition to comparable public interest in the campaign, other indicators of voter turnout on Nov. 5 are also at roughly the same level as in previous midterm elections. Overall, just as many adults characterize themselves as regular voters, and intentions to vote this year are as high as they were at this time in 1998.

In 1998, however, Republicans were more likely than Democrats to express interest in voting and the campaign; there are no signs of a partisan turnout gap this year. Democrats are just as likely as Republicans to describe themselves as regular voters, and to say they plan to vote this year. Democrats also are slightly more likely to say they are following campaign news very closely.

When these indicators are combined with voter registration to create an index measuring the likelihood of voting, the increased interest in voting among Democrats becomes even more evident. In both 1998 and 2002, 47% of Republicans were registered to vote and showed a high likelihood of turning out. Among Democrats, this proportion rose from 39% in 1998 to 48% today.

Campaign Interest Consistent with Previous Years				
<i>How closely follow news about candidates and elections</i>				
	Oct 1990	Sept 1994	Sept 1998	Sept 2002
	%	%	%	%
Very	18	19	17	17
Fairly	32	34	32	29
Not too	28	29	28	29
Not at all	22	18	23	24
Don't know	*	*	*	1
	100	100	100	100

No Turnout Gap				
<i>Likely turnout indicators ...</i>	Sept 1998		Sept 2002	
	Rep %	Dem %	Rep %	Dem %
Always vote	51	46	54	55
Certain will vote	66	59	61	61
Following closely	20	17	17	21
Registered, and 2 or more of the above ...	47	39	47	48

Bush Motivates Republicans...

President Bush’s popularity has not given Republicans the advantage in the congressional horse race, but he is a bigger political influence – particularly for members of his own party – than President Clinton was four years ago.

Overall, 29% of registered voters say they think of their ballot as a vote “for” Bush compared with 18% who said that in September 1998, when Clinton was mired in the impeachment scandal. Clearly, Bush is motivating his partisans more than Clinton was able to four years ago. Fully half (51%) of those who currently intend to vote for the Republican candidate in November say their vote is a vote for President Bush. By comparison, just 34% of those voting Democratic in 1998 characterized their vote as a vote for Clinton.

Bush a Factor to Republican Voters (Based on Registered Voters)			
<i>Think of vote as a vote ...</i>	<u>Total</u>	<i>Congressional preference</i>	
		<u>GOP</u>	<u>Dem</u>
1998	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
For Clinton	18	5	31
Against Clinton	16	30	3
Not a factor	63	63	61
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100
2002			
For Bush	29	51	9
Against Bush	15	2	30
Not a factor	51	44	57
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100	100

But Has Limited Coattails

The current political environment is vastly different from 1998, yet Bush’s coattails at this stage appear quite similar to Clinton’s. Those who approve of Bush’s job performance intend to vote Republican by 62%-28%; in 1998, Clinton supporters backed the Democratic candidate by a comparable margin (67%-24%).

The situation is similar for those who disapprove of the president: currently, 84% of those who disapprove of Bush intend to vote Democratic; four years ago, 80% of those who disapproved of Clinton said they would vote Republican.

Comparing Coattails (Based on Registered Voters)		
	<i>Bill Clinton</i>	
	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapp</u>
<i>1998 Cong'l Preference</i>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Rep/Lean Rep	24	80
Dem/Lean Dem	67	14
Don't know	<u>9</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100
	<i>George Bush</i>	
	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapp</u>
<i>2002 Cong'l Preference</i>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Rep/Lean Rep	62	10
Dem/Lean Dem	28	84
Don't know	<u>10</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100

Democrats More Focused on Control

Democrats are not energized to vote “against” Bush in especially large numbers, but they are somewhat more influenced by the partisan implications of this year’s congressional races than those intending to vote Republican. Currently, 55% of Democratic voters say the issue of which party controls Congress is a factor in their choice, compared with 49% of Republican voters. This represents a modest gain among Democrats from 1998, when 46% were considering the partisan implications of the race.

But overall, there is no strong evidence that this is a more partisan election than in 1998. Most voters (51%) say the issue of which party controls Congress is not a factor in their choice, down only slightly from 1998 (56%). As in most years, those who identify themselves as Democrats plan to vote for Democratic candidates in congressional races (94%), and the same for Republicans (92%).

Little Change in Party Image

The Democratic party continues to hold an advantage on important domestic issues including Social Security and providing prescription drug coverage. Despite Democratic efforts to make corporate scandals a campaign issue, however, the public gives Republicans a slight edge in dealing with corporate corruption (36%-31%).

Neither party has an advantage when it comes to handling the economy. This represents a decline in the Republican Party’s image on this issue since January (when the GOP was preferred by a margin of 43% to 34%). The shift has been especially notable among independents; in January, independents favored the GOP on the economy by 45%-30%. Now, they are divided (34% Democrats, 32% Republicans).

The Republicans are favored on three issues related to military and foreign affairs including dealing with the terrorist threat at home (by 44% to 22%), dealing with problems in the Middle East (by 43% to 26%), and “making wise decisions about foreign policy” (by 40% to 30%). On terrorism and the Middle East, attitudes have been fairly stable this year. But there is a bigger partisan split than at the beginning of the year. Democrats were divided on the terrorism question in January (32% favored Republicans vs. 28% who said Democrats). Now, Democrats back their own party on handling domestic terrorism, 42%-25%.

The Republicans also hold the edge on reducing crime, with 35% of people saying they are best able to handle this problem compared with 26% for the Democrats. The Democrats had neutralized the Republican advantage on this issue through much of the 1990s.

	Repub Party %	Dem Party %	Both/ Neither %	DK/ Ref %
Terrorist threat	44	22	20	14=100
January, 2002	48	18	6	28=100
Middle East	43	26	16	15=100
May, 2002	44	24	10	22=100
Foreign policy	40	30	16	14=100
May, 2001	39	34	14	13=100
Crime	35	26	24	15=100
June, 1999	35	35	18	12=100
Corporate corruption	36	31	18	15=100
Economy	36	36	15	13=100
January, 2002	43	34	5	18=100
Social Security	30	38	18	14=100
May, 2002	32	38	9	21=100
Prescription drugs	27	44	14	15=100
May, 2002	21	39	9	31=100
Environment	25	46	15	14=100
May, 2001	25	51	11	13=100

Democrats maintain the advantage on two other domestic issues, Social Security and prescription drugs. The Democrats hold an eight-point lead on the issue of “taking steps to make the Social Security system financially sound” (38% to 30%). That is largely unchanged since May. Similarly, Republican efforts to craft a prescription drug program for seniors have not changed opinion on this issue (44% prefer the Democrats, 27% the Republicans).

Bush Speeches Impress

The president’s addresses to the nation on the Sept. 11 anniversary were well received, with roughly seven-in-ten (69%) saying he had done an excellent or good job. Even among Democrats, a solid majority (60%) say that the president did at least a “good” job, and 64% of independents agree.

Public reaction to Bush’s U.N. speech also was favorable. Overall, 59% give that speech a positive evaluation, but fewer than half of Democrats (46%) rate it as excellent or good. Men are more likely than women to rate the speech as excellent (28%-19%).

Reaction to the speech is closely related to views about whether and how the U.S. should use force against Iraq. Eight-in-ten (79%) of those who favor military action against Iraq even in the absence of allied support give the speech a positive rating; among those who believe the U.S. should use force only if our allies go along, 63% agree. But among those opposed to the use of force in Iraq, just 37% rate the speech favorably, while 43% give it only a fair or poor rating.

Highest Marks from Supporters of Military Action			
<i>Use of Force in Iraq</i>			
-----Favor-----			
	Uni-	Only w/	
<i>Bush's UN Speech</i>	<u>lateral</u>	<u>allies</u>	<u>Oppose</u>
	%	%	%
Excellent	47	19	8
Good	32	44	29
Fair/Poor	9	19	43
Don't know	<u>12</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>20</u>
	100	100	100

Interest in Iraq Rises

The president is making headway in convincing the nation that the U.S. may need to use force to remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq. More Americans are thinking about the issue and more think the president is making a clear case for action. A majority of the public (55%) now say they have thought “a great deal” about whether the U.S. should use military force, an increase of nine percentage points since late August. As in August, men are more likely than women to have thought about the issue (60% vs. 49%).

The biggest increase in attention to the issue has occurred among college-educated respondents, 58% of whom say they have given it a great deal of thought. In August, just 42% of this group gave serious consideration to the idea of taking action against Iraq. By contrast, interest is up only slightly (from 50% to 53%) among those with a high school education or less.

Most Say Bush Making Case

Similarly, a 52% majority now says Bush has explained clearly the stakes in Iraq, up from 37% in late August. As many now say Bush is making the case for military action as said that about his father, President George H.W. Bush, in August 1990 after he had dispatched U.S. forces to the Persian Gulf prior to Operation Desert Storm.

Public support for the use of force in Iraq appears to be growing somewhat more solid. While the number favoring military action is unchanged from late August (at 64%), support is now less dependent upon allied agreement than it was a few weeks ago. Last month, supporters split evenly (30%-30%) when asked if they would still support military action if our allies refused to go along; now, those who would favor a unilateral approach outnumber those who would change their mind in the absence of allied support (33%-25%).

Much of the growth in acceptance of possible unilateral action has come among independents (from 25% in August to 38% now). At the same time, Democrats have become even less supportive, falling from 23% to 13% in favor of attacking Iraq without allied support. Support among Republicans is unchanged (43% now, 41% in August).

	Late August	Now
	%	%
<i>Favor or oppose military action in Iraq</i>		
Favor	64	64
Even if allies won't join	30	33
Only if allies agree	30	25
Don't know	4	6
Oppose	21	23
Don't know	15	13
	100	100
<i>Favor or oppose even if U.S. suffered thousands of casualties</i>		
Favor	42	48
Even if allies won't join	18	24
Only if allies agree	21	19
Don't know	3	5
Oppose	41	36
Don't know	17	16
	100	100

The public also has grown slightly more willing to accept significant casualties in Iraq. The number supporting military action in Iraq even with the prospect of thousands of U.S. casualties rose from 42% to 48%. Much of this growth occurred among Republicans (from 58% supportive in August to 66% now), and to a lesser extent among independents (42% in August, 47% now). Both women and men have become more supportive, but the gender gap is as large now as it was last month (currently 57% of men favor military action, even with the prospect of casualties, while 40% of women agree).

Little Evidence of "9/11 Fatigue"

Despite widespread concerns that saturation coverage of the Sept. 11 anniversary might bring about "9/11 fatigue," Americans generally found the amount of coverage to be appropriate. After all was said and done, fewer than four-in-ten (38%) say news organizations paid too much attention to the events surrounding the first anniversary of the terrorist attacks. This is up only slightly from the week before Sept. 11 (35%).

<i>Amount of coverage ...</i>	Sep 5-10	Sept 12-16
	%	%
Too much	35	38
Right amount	56	55
Too little	3	2
Don't know	6	5
	100	100

People living in the East are somewhat more likely than those in other regions to rate the amount of coverage as appropriate. More than six-in-ten Easterners (64%) say news organizations provided the right amount of coverage, compared with 54% of those in the West and South, and 49% of those in the Midwest.

Did Coverage Help?

Americans are divided over whether the media’s anniversary coverage helped them come to terms with the tragedy. Nearly half (48%) say it helped, while nearly the same number (46%) say it did not help at all.

Those who paid close attention to the coverage are more likely to view it as appropriate and to say that it helped them come to terms with the attacks. Just 21% of those who followed reports dealing with the 9/11 anniversary very closely say the press overdid it, compared to 44% of those who paid little or no attention. And fully 56% of those who followed the news very closely say it helped them to come to terms with the tragedy. By comparison, 59% of those who did not follow the news say the coverage didn’t help them at all.

Kidnappings, Iraq Top Stories

This summer’s child kidnappings and the recent debate over a possible U.S. invasion of Iraq are the month’s top news stories, drawing more public interest than the commemoration of the 9/11 anniversary. Nearly eight-in-ten Americans say they closely followed news of child abductions (79%) and the Iraq debate (77%) – with nearly half following these stories *very* closely – placing these among the year’s biggest news stories. There was slightly less interest this month in the 9/11 anniversary story. About three-quarters of the public paid some attention to news of the anniversary, with 39% following it very closely.

	<u>Very Closely</u> %	<u>Fairly Closely</u> %	<u>Followed Story</u> %
1. War in Afghanistan* (Jan)	51	35	= 86
2. Terrorism defenses* (Jul)	51	33	= 84
3. Court ruling on Pledge (Jul)	52	27	= 79
4. Kidnapped children (Sept)	49	30	= 79
5. Possible Iraq invasion (Sept)	48	29	= 77
6. Violence in Mid-East* (Apr)	44	33	= 77
7. U.S. Economy* (Feb)	35	40	= 75
8. 9/11 Anniversary (Sept)	39	35	= 74
9. Catholic priest scandals* (Jun)	38	36	= 74
10. West Nile virus (Sept)	34	36	= 70

* Interest in these stories was tracked over many months – highest reported interest shown here.

The child abduction stories have attracted more interest than the Catholic priest scandal, stock market fluctuations, corporate accounting scandals and other major domestic stories. Among this year's non-terrorism stories, only the controversial federal court ruling on the Pledge of Allegiance drew as much interest. The child kidnappings clearly have struck a chord with women; 57% of women have paid very close attention to this story, compared with 41% of men. Minorities followed this story at higher rates than whites.

The debate over possible U.S. military action against Iraq also drew considerable attention this month. Interest in this story is only slightly less than for the war in Afghanistan at its peak in January and news about U.S. efforts to defend against terrorist attacks, which peaked in July following a flurry of coverage about potential "dirty bomb" attacks. Interest in news about Iraq is higher among men, 55% of whom are following the story very closely, compared with 41% of women.

Nearly three quarters of Americans (74%) followed coverage of the 9/11 anniversary, with 39% paying very close attention. Black and Hispanic respondents paid significantly more attention than whites. The anniversary was also much bigger news to residents of the Northeast than in other parts of the country. Overall, women were slightly more engaged by anniversary coverage than men. A related story – the government's warnings of increased risk of terrorism during the 9/11 anniversary – drew somewhat less interest (39% very closely, 29% fairly closely).

News on the spread of the West Nile virus drew attention from seven-in-ten Americans, and there is a strong regional divide in interest to this story. Roughly four-in-ten of those in the South and Midwest (42% and 38%, respectively) followed this story very closely, compared with 31% in the East and just 19% in the West.

Other stories received less attention this month. About six-in-ten (61%) say they tracked stories on corporate scandals, and somewhat fewer (57%) followed news of stock market fluctuations. Less than half of Americans (46%) are following news about candidates and elections in their state and district, which is comparable to news interest at this point in the 1998, 1994 and 1990 midterm election cycles.

Education Gap in News

Gender, race and geographic region are all major factors influencing news interest, but education is particularly important. Americans with a high school education or less were far more interested than college graduates in news on child abductions, the West Nile virus, the Sept. 11 anniversary and the Code Orange alert. College graduates, by contrast, paid far more attention to the Iraq debate, stock market fluctuations, business scandals and election news.

<i>Percent following very closely ...</i>	<u>Coll grads</u> %	<u>Some college</u> %	<u>H.S. or less</u> %
Child Abductions	36	48	56
West Nile virus	27	31	39
9/11 anniversary	31	38	44
Code Orange alert	31	34	46
Iraq debate	54	49	44
Stock market	36	29	21
Business scandals	32	25	27
Election news	21	15	15

More than half of those with a high school education (56%) paid very close attention to the child abductions story, compared with 36% of college graduates. When education *and* gender are factored together, the differences become even more pronounced. Fully 68% women with a high school education or less tracked the child abduction story very closely.

ABOUT THIS SURVEY

Results for the *Mid-September Omnibus* survey are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates among a nationwide sample of 1,150 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period September 12-16, 2002. Based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 3.5 percentage points. For results based on either Form 1 (N=595) or Form 2 (N=555), the sampling error is plus or minus 4.5 percentage points.

Results for the *Early September News Interest Index Omnibus* survey are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates among a nationwide sample of 1,919 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period September 5-10, 2002. Based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 2.5 percentage points. For results based on either Form 1 (N=935) or Form 2 (N=984), the sampling error is plus or minus 3.5 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.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
MID-SEPTEMBER OMNIBUS -- IRAQ
FINAL TOPLINE
September 12-16, 2002
N=1,150

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>
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

Over the past weeks...

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=595]:

Q.2F1 Do you think news organizations gave too much coverage to the September 11th anniversary, too little coverage to the September 11th anniversary, or the right amount of coverage?

	<u>Early Sept 2002²</u>	<u>Early Oct 2001³</u>
38	35	32
2	3	2
55	56	63
5	6	3
100	100	100

² In Early September 2002 the question was worded "...news organizations are giving too much coverage to..."

³ In Early October 2001 the question was worded "... the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, too little coverage to the attacks, or the right amount of coverage?"

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=555]:

Q.3F2 Did the news coverage of the one-year anniversary of September 11th help you to come to terms with the tragedy, or not? **[IF “YES, HELPED” ASK:]** Would you say it helped a lot, or just a little bit?

		<u>Early Sept 2002⁴</u>
48	Helped	44
24	Helped a lot	21
24	Helped a little bit	23
46	Has not helped	51
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>5</u>
100		100

ASK ALL:

Q.4 How good a job did George W. Bush do on the anniversary of September 11th speaking to the nation about the terrorist attacks... excellent, good, only fair, or poor?

		<u>Mid-Sept 2001⁵</u>
32	Excellent	45
37	Good	38
13	Only fair	10
5	Poor	4
<u>13</u>	Don't Know/Refused	<u>3</u>
100		100

On another subject...

Q.5 How much have you yourself thought about whether the US should use military force to remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq? **[READ]**

		<u>Late Aug 2002</u>	<u>Jan 1991⁶</u>
55	A great deal	46	66
27	Some	35	24
9	Only a little – OR –	11	6
6	Not at all	6	2
<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
100		100	100

4 In Early September 2002 the question was worded “Has recent news coverage of the one-year anniversary of September 11th helped you to come to terms with the tragedy, or not? **[IF “YES, HELPED” ASK:]** Would you say it has helped a lot, or just a little bit?”

5 In Mid-September 2001 the question was worded “How good a job has George W. Bush done in SPEAKING TO THE NATION about the terrorist attacks... excellent, good, only fair, or poor?”

6 In January 1991 the question was worded “How much thought have you given to the question of whether the U.S. should use military force against Iraq if it does not withdraw its forces from Kuwait?”

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=595]:

Q.6F1/8 Would you favor or oppose taking military action in Iraq to end Saddam Hussein's rule? **[IF FAVOR, ASK: Should we attack Iraq only if our major allies agree to join us, or attack Iraq even if allies do not want to join us?]**

			----- Gallup ⁷ -----				
		Late Aug	June	Nov	Feb	June	March
		<u>2002</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2001</u>	<u>2001</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1992</u>
64	Favor	64	59	74	52	70	55
33	Even if allies won't join	30	--	--	--	--	--
25	Only if allies agree	30	--	--	--	--	--
6	Don't know/Refused	4	--	--	--	--	--
23	Oppose	21	34	20	42	27	40
<u>13</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>15</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=555]:

Q.7F2/8 Would you favor or oppose taking military action in Iraq to end Saddam Hussein's rule, even if it meant that U.S. forces might suffer thousands of casualties? **[IF FAVOR, ASK: Should we attack Iraq only if our major allies agree to join us, or attack Iraq even if allies do not want to join us?]**

		Late Aug
		<u>2002</u>
48	Favor	42
24	Even if allies won't join	18
19	Only if allies agree	21
5	Don't know/Refused	3
36	Oppose	41
<u>16</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>17</u>
100		100

ASK ALL:

Q.9 Do you think George W. Bush has explained clearly what's at stake as to why the US might use military force to end the rule of Saddam Hussein, or do you think he has not explained the reasons clearly enough?

		Late Aug	<i>New York Times</i>
		<u>2002</u>	<u>Aug 1990⁸</u>
52	Explained clearly	37	50
37	Not clearly	52	41
<u>11</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>11</u>	<u>9</u>
100		100	100

Q.10 From what you've heard or read, how good a job did George W. Bush do in his speech to the United Nations about the need to remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq... excellent, good, only fair, or poor?

23	Excellent
36	Good
16	Only fair
6	Poor
<u>19</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

⁷ Gallup trend was worded "Would you favor or oppose sending American troops back to the Persian Gulf in order to remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq?"

⁸ 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 ..."

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
EARLY SEPTEMBER NEWS INTEREST INDEX OMNIBUS
FINAL TOPLINE
September 5-10, 2002
N=1,919**

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>
Early September, 2002	63	26	11=100

Q.2 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; ROTATE. 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.	News about candidates and election campaigns in your state and district	17	29	29	24	1=100
	Early September, 1998	17	32	28	23	*=100
	Early August, 1998	13	30	28	28	1=100
	June, 1998	9	27	33	30	1=100
	April, 1998 ⁹	16	33	24	27	*=100
	November, 1994	18	42	25	15	*=100
	October, 1994	14	38	31	16	1=100
	Early October, 1994	23	34	23	19	1=100
	September, 1994	19	34	29	18	*=100
	November, 1990 ¹⁰	38	34	17	11	*=100
	October, 1990	18	32	28	22	*=100
b.	Debate over the possibility that the U.S. will invade Iraq	48	29	15	6	2=100
c.	Coverage of the upcoming anniversary of the September 11 th terrorist attacks	39	35	18	7	1=100

⁹ In April 1998, September 1994 and October 1990, story was listed as "Candidates and election campaigns in your state."

¹⁰ In November 1990, story was listed as "Candidates and elections in your state."

Q.2 CONTINUED ...

		<u>Very Closely</u>	<u>Fairly Closely</u>	<u>Not too Closely</u>	<u>Not at all Closely</u>	<u>DK/ Ref</u>
ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=935]:						
d.F1	Recent major ups and downs in the U.S. stock market	27	30	20	22	1=100
	Late July, 2002	33	33	15	18	1=100
	March, 2001	27	27	18	27	1=100
	Mid-October, 2000	20	26	23	31	1=100
	April, 2000	18	28	23	31	*=100
	Early April, 2000	19	29	20	32	*=100
	March, 2000	23	29	21	26	1=100
	March, 1999	18	29	22	31	*=100
	January, 1999	24	28	19	28	1=100
	Early September, 1998	32	31	20	17	*=100
	Mid-August, 1998	17	23	21	39	*=100
	January, 1998	21	25	23	31	*=100
	November, 1997 ¹¹	25	36	18	20	1=100
	September, 1997	14	22	23	40	1=100
	April, 1997	17	21	22	40	*=100
	February, 1996	12	20	25	42	1=100
e.F1	News about business scandals and corporate corruption	28	33	22	16	1=100
	Late July, 2002 ¹²	29	34	19	17	1=100
	July, 2002	31	33	18	17	1=100
	February, 2002 ¹³	28	33	19	19	1=100
	January, 2002	19	24	20	35	2=100
	December, 2001 ¹⁴	11	23	28	36	2=100
ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=984]:						
f.F2	Cases of West Nile virus spread by mosquitoes	34	36	21	8	1=100
g.F2	News stories about kidnapped children	49	30	14	6	1=100
ASKED SEPT. 10 ONLY [N=236]:						
h.	The Homeland Security office issuing a "code orange" alert about the increased risk of a terrorist attack	39	29	16	15	1=100

¹¹ In November 1997, April 1997 and February 1996, the story was listed as "Recent major ups and downs in the stock market."

¹² In Late July 2002 and July 2002 the story was listed as "Recent business scandals involving WorldCom and other major U.S. corporations."

¹³ In February 2002 and January 2002 the story was listed as "The ongoing investigation into the bankruptcy of the Enron corporation."

¹⁴ In December 2001 the question was worded "The bankruptcy of the Enron Corporation and its impact on the retirement investments of Enron employees."

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=935]:

Q.3F1 Do you think news organizations are giving too much coverage to the September 11th anniversary, too little coverage to the September 11th anniversary, or the right amount of coverage?

35	Too much coverage
3	Too little coverage
56	Right amount of coverage
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=984]:

Q.4F2 Has recent news coverage of the one-year anniversary of September 11th helped you to come to terms with the tragedy, or not? **[IF "YES, HELPED" ASK:]** Would you say it has helped a lot, or just a little bit?

44	Helped
21	Helped a lot
23	Helped a little bit
51	Has not helped
<u>5</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

ASK ALL:

Now a few questions about politics...

Q.5 If the elections for U.S. Congress were being held TODAY, would you vote for the Republican Party's candidate or the Democratic Party's candidate for Congress in your district?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED 3 OR 9 IN Q.5, ASK:

Q.5a As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to the Republican or the Democrat?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1,478]:

	<u>Republican/ Lean Rep.</u>	<u>Democrat/ Lean Dem.</u>	<u>Other/ Undecided</u>
Early September, 2002	44	46	10=100
June, 2002	44	46	10=100
February, 2002	46	45	9=100
Early November, 2001	44	44	12=100
2000 Election			
Early November, 2000	42	48	10=100
Early October, 2000	43	47	10=100
July, 2000	43	47	10=100
February, 2000	44	47	9=100
October, 1999	43	49	8=100
June, 1999	40	50	10=100
1998 Election			
November, 1998	42	48	10=100
Late October, 1998	40	47	13=100
Early October, 1998	43	44	13=100
Early September, 1998	45	46	9=100
Late August, 1998	44	45	11=100
Early August, 1998	42	49	9=100
June, 1998	44	46	10=100
March, 1998	40	52	8=100
February, 1998	41	50	9=100
January, 1998	41	51	8=100
August, 1997	45	48	7=100
1996 Election			
November, 1996 ¹⁵	44	48	8=100
October, 1996	42	49	9=100
Late September, 1996	43	49	8=100
Early September, 1996	43	51	6=100
July, 1996	46	47	7=100
June, 1996	44	50	6=100
March, 1996	44	49	7=100
January, 1996	46	47	7=100
October, 1995	48	48	4=100
August, 1995	50	43	7=100
1994 Election			
November, 1994	45	43	12=100
October, 1994	47	44	9=100
Early October, 1994	52	40	8=100
September, 1994	48	46	6=100
July, 1994	45	47	8=100

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November 1996 trend based on likely voters.

Q.6 Thinking about your vote for Congress this fall, will the issue of which party controls Congress, the Republicans or the Democrats, be a factor in your vote, or not?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1,478]:

		June 2002	Feb 2002	Early Oct 2000	July 2000	Late Oct 1998	Early Oct 1998	Early Sept 1998	Early Aug 1998	June 1998
44	Yes, will be a factor	47	46	46	46	46	47	41	44	45
51	No, will not	50	49	50	49	50	49	56	53	51
5	Don't know/Refused	3	5	4	5	4	4	3	3	4
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.7 Do you think of your vote for Congress this fall as a vote for George W. Bush, as a vote against George W. Bush, or isn't George W. Bush much of a factor in your vote?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1,478]:

	For	Against	Not a Factor	DK/ Ref.
Early September, 2002	29	15	51	5=100
February, 2002	34	9	50	7=100
Clinton: Late October, 1998	20	17	58	5=100
Clinton: Early October, 1998	19	23	52	6=100
Clinton: Early September, 1998	18	16	63	3=100
Clinton: Late August, 1998	20	17	61	2=100
Clinton: Early August, 1998	21	18	57	4=100
Clinton: June, 1998	20	18	57	5=100
Clinton: March, 1998	21	15	59	5=100
Clinton: September, 1996	24	18	51	7=100
Clinton: November, 1994	17	21	55	7=100
Clinton: October, 1994	17	21	57	5=100
Clinton: Early October, 1994	17	23	54	6=100
CBS/NYT (BUSH): 10/28-31, 1990	19	15	61	6=100
CBS/NYT (REAGAN): 10/24-28, 1986	26	12	55	7=100
CBS/NYT (REAGAN): 9/28-10/1, 1986	26	16	51	7=100
CBS/NYT (REAGAN): 10/23-28, 1982	23	21	51	5=100

Q.8 How often would you say you vote... always, nearly always, part of the time, or seldom?

	Always	Nearly Always	Part of The time	Seldom	(VOL.) Never Vote	(VOL.) Other	DK/Ref.
Early September, 2002	47	23	14	10	6	*	*=100
August, 2002	42	29	12	12	4	1	*=100
June, 2000	46	24	11	11	7	1	*=100
Late September, 1999	28	41	15	9	5	1	1=100
August, 1999	41	27	14	10	7	1	*=100
Early September, 1998	43	29	13	11	-	3	1=100
Late August, 1998	38	30	16	14	6	*	*=100
June, 1998	40	29	15	12	-	4	*=100
November, 1997	33	38	15	9	5	*	*=100
September, 1997	51	23	11	10	5	*	*=100
June, 1996	41	30	12	12	4	1	*=100
February, 1996	32	34	15	11	6	1	1=100
October, 1995	41	32	12	11	3	*	1=100
April, 1995	42	29	12	11	6	*	*=100
November, 1994	43	24	11	13	8	1	*=100
October, 1994	43	28	13	10	5	1	*=100
July, 1994	40	30	14	11	5	*	*=100
June, 1992	47	26	10	11	5	1	*=100
May, 1992	41	32	13	11	3	*	*=100

Q.8 CONTINUED ...

	<u>Always</u>	<u>Nearly Always</u>	<u>Part of The time</u>	<u>Seldom</u>	<u>Never Vote</u>	<u>(VOL.) Other</u>	<u>DK/Ref.</u>
November, 1991	38	37	13	9	3	0	*=100
May, 1990	33	35	12	10	8	1	1=100
February, 1989	45	30	10	8	6	1	*=100
January, 1988	39	33	12	8	6	1	1=100
May, 1987	34	37	11	6	9	2	1=100

Q.9 How much thought have you given to the coming November election, quite a lot, or only a little?

	<u>Quite A lot</u>	<u>(VOL.) Some</u>	<u>Only A Little</u>	<u>None/DK/Refused</u>
Early September, 2002	30	4	58	8=100
Late October, 1998 (RVs)	49	11	35	5=100
Early October, 1998 (RVs)	42	8	43	7=100
November, 1994	44	6	39	11=100
October, 1994	37	5	52	6=100
Early October, 1994	36	1	58	5=100
Gallup: October, 1990	43	7	46	4=100
Gallup: October, 1982	29	22	37	12=100
Gallup: October, 1978	23	22	39	17=100
Gallup: September, 1978	21	18	44	18=100

Q.10 Next, please tell me if you think the REPUBLICAN Party or the DEMOCRATIC Party could do a better job in each of the following areas... (First,) which party could do a better job of...[INSERT ITEM; ROTATE]

	<u>Republican Party</u>	<u>Democratic Party</u>	<u>(VOL.) Both Equally</u>	<u>(VOL.) Neither</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
a. Dealing with the economy	36	36	9	6	13=100
January, 2002	43	34	--	5	18=100
May, 2001 ¹⁶	33	44	8	5	10=100
June, 1999	37	43	8	3	9=100
March, 1999	39	44	5	3	9=100
Early September, 1998	40	38	8	4	10=100
March, 1998	40	40	12	3	5=100
October, 1994	45	33	5	7	10=100
October, 1992 ¹⁷	36	45	10	0	9=100
October, 1990 ¹⁸	37	35	0	0	28=100
b. Dealing with the terrorist threat at home	44	22	14	6	14=100
January, 2002	48	18	--	6	28=100
c. Dealing with problems in the Middle East	43	26	10	6	15=100
May, 2002	44	24	--	10	22=100

¹⁶ Trend was worded: "... keeping the country prosperous?"

¹⁷ Gallup poll conducted Oct. 23-25, 1992 based on registered voters.

¹⁸ Gallup poll Oct 25-28, 1990.

Q.10 CONTINUED ...

	Republican <u>Party</u>	Democratic <u>Party</u>	(VOL.) <u>Both Equally</u>	(VOL.) <u>Neither</u>	Don't <u>Know</u>	
d.	Taking steps to make the Social Security system financially sound					
	30	38	8	10	14=100	
	May, 2002	38	--	9	21=100	
	January, 2002	28	40	--	6	26=100
	May, 2001 ¹⁹	35	43	6	5	11=100
	January, 2001	36	44	--	7	13=100
	June, 1999	33	41	4	9	13=100
	January, 1999	27	46	--	7	20=100
	Early September, 1998	37	42	7	5	9=100
	May, 1990	28	41	--	16	15=100
e.	Making wise decisions about foreign policy					
	40	30	10	6	14=100	
	May, 2001	39	34	11	3	13=100
	June, 1999	37	36	7	6	14=100
	March, 1999	42	37	6	4	11=100
	Early September, 1998	40	31	11	5	13=100
	March, 1998	41	33	12	4	10=100
	October, 1994	47	30	7	5	11=100
	July, 1994 ²⁰	51	31	4	6	8=100
	December, 1993	49	23	--	10	18=100
	May, 1990	39	28	--	17	16=100
f.	Protecting the environment					
	25	46	9	6	14=100	
	May, 2001	25	51	7	4	13=100
	June, 1999	27	45	7	5	16=100
	Early September, 1998	25	51	8	4	12=100
	March, 1998	22	56	8	5	9=100
	July, 1994	28	56	4	4	8=100
	December, 1993	22	46	--	12	20=100
	May, 1990	24	40	--	19	17=100
g.	Reducing crime					
	35	26	14	10	15=100	
	June, 1999	35	35	12	6	12=100
	Early September, 1998	39	32	10	7	12=100
	March, 1998	35	34	11	10	10=100
	October, 1994	38	34	7	10	11=100
	December, 1993	29	35	--	17	19=100
	January, 1992	32	32	--	18	18=100
h.	Providing prescription drug benefits to senior citizens on Medicare					
	27	44	7	7	15=100	
	May, 2002	21	39	--	9	31=100
	January, 2002	18	46	--	5	31=100
	January, 2001	30	49	--	5	16=100
i.	Dealing with corporate corruption					
	36	31	8	10	15=100	

¹⁹ For May 2001, June 1999, Early September 1998 and May 1990, the question was worded, "Please tell me if you think the Republican Party or the Democratic Party could do a better job in each of the following areas ... keeping Social Security financially sound?"

²⁰ In July 1994 and May 1990, question was worded "Making wise decisions about the country's defense policies."

Q.11 These days, many people are so busy they can't find time to register to vote, or move around so often they don't get a chance to re-register... Are you NOW registered to vote in your precinct or election district, or haven't you been able to register so far?

IF 1 'YES, REGISTERED' IN Q.11 ASK:

Q.11a Are you absolutely certain you are registered to vote, or is there a chance your registration has lapsed because you moved or for some other reason?

79	Yes, registered
	75 Absolutely certain
	4 Chance registration has lapsed
	* Don't know/Refused
20	No, not registered
<u>1</u>	<u>Don't know/Refused</u>
100	

ASK ALL:

Q.12 Some people who plan to vote can't always get around to it on election day. With your own personal daily schedule in mind, rate the chances that you will vote in the U.S. House of Representatives election this November. Are you absolutely certain to vote, will you probably vote, are the chances about 50-50, less than 50-50, or don't you think you will vote in the House of Representatives election this November?

		Early Sept <u>1998</u>	June <u>1998</u>	-- ABC/Wash. Post -- <u>July 1990</u> ²¹
54	Absolutely certain to vote	57	52	53
20	Will probably vote	19	20	21
13	Chances 50-50	12	17	15
4	Less than 50-50	4	5	4
8	Don't think will vote	7	6	6
<u>1</u>	<u>Don't know/Refused</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>1</u>
100		100	100	100

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The ABC/Washington Post trend was worded "Some people have busier schedules than others. Because of this, some people who plan to vote can't always get around to it on election day. With your own personal daily schedule in mind, I'd like to rate the chances that you will vote in the U.S. House of Representatives election in November in the Congressional district where you live: are you absolutely certain to vote ..."