PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS JULY 2004 FOREIGN POLICY AND PARTY IMAGES SURVEY FINAL TOPLINE July 8 - 18, 2004 Total N=2009 Form 1=1003 Form 2=1006

ASK FORM 1 ONLY:

Q.1F1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling his job as president? [IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF DEPENDS PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling his job as president? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]

| | | Dis- | Don't | | | Dis- | Don't |
|------------------------|-----------|--------|--------|-----------------------|-----------|---------|----------|
| | Approve a | pprove | know | | Approve a | approve | |
| July, 2004 | 46 | 46 | 8=100 | June, 2002 | 70 | 20 | 10=100 |
| June, 2004 | 48 | 43 | 9=100 | April, 2002 | 69 | 18 | 13=100 |
| May, 2004 | 44 | 48 | 8=100 | Early April, 2002 | 74 | 16 | 10 = 100 |
| Late April, 2004 | 48 | 43 | 9=100 | February, 2002 | 78 | 13 | 9=100 |
| Early April, 2004 | 43 | 47 | 10=100 | January, 2002 | 80 | 11 | 9=100 |
| Late March, 2004 | 47 | 44 | 9=100 | 2001 | | | |
| Mid-March, 2004 | 46 | 47 | 7=100 | Mid-November, 2001 | 84 | 9 | 7=100 |
| February, 2004 | 48 | 44 | 8=100 | Early October, 2001 | 84 | 8 | 8=100 |
| Mid-January, 2004 | 56 | 34 | 10=100 | Late September, 2001 | 86 | 7 | 7=100 |
| Early January, 2004 | 58 | 35 | 7=100 | Mid-September, 2001 | 80 | 9 | 11=100 |
| 2003 | | | | Early September, 2001 | 51 | 34 | 15=100 |
| December, 2003 | 57 | 34 | 9=100 | August, 2001 | 50 | 32 | 18 = 100 |
| November, 2003 | 50 | 40 | 10=100 | July, 2001 | 51 | 32 | 17=100 |
| October, 2003 | 50 | 42 | 8=100 | June, 2001 | 50 | 33 | 17 = 100 |
| September, 2003 | 55 | 36 | 9=100 | May, 2001 | 53 | 32 | 15=100 |
| Mid-August, 2003 | 56 | 32 | 12=100 | April, 2001 | 56 | 27 | 17 = 100 |
| Early August, 2003 | 53 | 37 | 10=100 | March, 2001 | 55 | 25 | 20=100 |
| Mid-July, 2003 | 58 | 32 | 10=100 | February, 2001 | 53 | 21 | 26=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 | | | | |
| Late July, 2002 | 65 | 25 | 10=100 | | | | |
| July, 2002 | 67 | 21 | 12=100 | | | | |

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

| | Sat- | Dis- | No |
|------------------------------|--------|-----------|---------|
| | isfied | satisfied | Opinion |
| July, 2004 | 38 | 55 | 7=100 |
| May, 2004 | 33 | 61 | 6=100 |
| Late February, 2004 | 39 | 55 | 6=100 |
| Early January, 2004 | 45 | 48 | 7=100 |
| December, 2003 | 44 | 47 | 9=100 |
| October, 2003 | 38 | 56 | 6=100 |
| August, 2003 | 40 | 53 | 7=100 |
| April, 2003 ¹ | 50 | 41 | 9=100 |
| January, 2003 | 44 | 50 | 6=100 |
| September, 2002 ² | 41 | 55 | 4=100 |
| Late August, 2002 | 47 | 44 | 9=100 |
| May, 2002 | 44 | 44 | 12=100 |
| March, 2002 | 50 | 40 | 10=100 |
| Late September, 2001 | 57 | 34 | 9=100 |
| Early September, 2001 | 41 | 53 | 6=100 |
| June, 2001 | 43 | 52 | 5=100 |
| March, 2001 | 47 | 45 | 8=100 |
| February, 2001 | 46 | 43 | 11=100 |
| January, 2001 | 55 | 41 | 4=100 |
| September, 2000 | 51 | 41 | 8=100 |
| June, 2000 | 47 | 45 | 8=100 |
| April, 2000 | 48 | 43 | 9=100 |
| August, 1999 | 56 | 39 | 5=100 |
| January, 1999 | 53 | 41 | 6=100 |
| November, 1998 | 46 | 44 | 10=100 |
| Early September, 1998 | 54 | 42 | 4=100 |
| Late August, 1998 | 55 | 41 | 4=100 |
| Early August, 1998 | 50 | 44 | 6=100 |
| February, 1998 | 59 | 37 | 4=100 |
| January, 1998 | 46 | 50 | 4=100 |
| September, 1997 | 45 | 49 | 6=100 |
| August, 1997 | 49 | 46 | 5=100 |
| January, 1997 | 38 | 58 | 4=100 |
| July, 1996 | 29 | 67 | 4=100 |
| March, 1996 | 28 | 70 | 2 = 100 |
| October, 1995 | 23 | 73 | 4=100 |
| June, 1995 | 25 | 73 | 2=100 |
| April, 1995 | 23 | 74 | 3=100 |
| July, 1994 | 24 | 73 | 3=100 |
| March, 1994 | 24 | 71 | 5=100 |
| October, 1993 | 22 | 73 | 5=100 |
| September, 1993 | 20 | 75 | 4=100 |

| | Sat- | Dis- | No |
|------------------------|--------|-----------|---------|
| | isfied | satisfied | Opinion |
| | | | |
| May, 1993 | 22 | 71 | 7=100 |
| January, 1993 | 39 | 50 | 11=100 |
| January, 1992 | 28 | 68 | 4=100 |
| November, 1991 | 34 | 61 | 5=100 |
| Late Feb, 1991 (Gallup |) 66 | 31 | 3=100 |
| August, 1990 | 47 | 48 | 5=100 |
| May, 1990 | 41 | 54 | 5=100 |
| January, 1989 | 45 | 50 | 5=100 |
| September, 1988 (RVs) | 50 | 45 | 5=100 |
| May, 1988 | 41 | 54 | 5=100 |
| January, 1988 | 39 | 55 | 6=100 |
| | | | |

Asked April 8, 2003 only; N=395.

1

² The September 2002 trend is from a Pew Global Attitudes Project survey, fielded August 19 to September 8, 2002 and released December 4, 2002.

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

| | | Very | Fairly | Not too | Not at al | 1 |
|----|--|-----------|----------------------|-----------|-----------|------------------------|
| | | Closely | | Closely | | DK/Ref |
| a. | News about candidates for the 2004 presidential election | <u>29</u> | <u>210301y</u> 37 | <u>18</u> | <u>15</u> | $\frac{DR/Re1}{1=100}$ |
| a. | June, 2004 | 29 | 34 | 19 | 13 | 1 = 100 1 = 100 |
| | April, 2004 | 28 31 | 33 | 19 | 16 | 1 = 100 1 = 100 |
| | Mid-March, 2004 | 35 | 33 34 | 19 | 13 | *=100 |
| | Late February, 2004 | 24 | 34 40 | 23 | 13 | 1 = 100 |
| | Early February, 2004 ³ | 24 29 | 40 37 | 23 20 | 12 | 1 = 100 1 = 100 |
| | Mid-January, 2004 | 16 | 30 | 20 27 | 26 | 1 = 100 1 = 100 |
| | Early January, 2004 | 10 | 30 | 30 | 20 | 1 = 100 1 = 100 |
| | December, 2003 | 14 | 32 26 | 30 27 | 23 30 | 1 = 100 1 = 100 |
| | November, 2003 | 10 | 26 26 | 34 | 30 28 | 1 = 100 1 = 100 |
| | | 11 | 20 27 | 28 | 28 32 | |
| | October, 2003 Santambar, 2002 | 12 | 27 | | 32 27 | 1 = 100 1 = 100 |
| | September, 2003 | 17 | | 30 | | 1 = 100 |
| | Mid-August, 2003 | | 27 | 27 | 33 | 1=100 |
| | May, 2003 | 8 | 19 | 31 | 41 | 1 = 100 |
| | January, 2003 | 14 | 28 | 29 | 28 | 1=100 |
| | July, 2000 | 21 | 38 | 20 | 20 | 1=100 |
| | June, 2000 | 23 | 32 | 23 | 21 | 1=100 |
| | April, 2000 | 18 | 39 | 22 | 20 | 1=100 |
| | March, 2000 | 26 | 41 | 19 | 13 | 1=100 |
| | February, 2000 | 26 | 36 | 21 | 17 | *=100 |
| | January, 2000 | 19 | 34 | 28 | 18 | 1=100 |
| | July, 1996 | 22 | 40 | 23 | 14 | 1=100 |
| | April, 1996 | 23 | 35 | 25 | 17 | *=100 |
| | March, 1996 | 26 | 41 | 20 | 13 | *=100 |
| | January, 1996 | 10 | 34 | 31 | 24 | 1=100 |
| | July, 1992 | 20 | 45 | 26 | 9 | *=100 |
| | May, 1992 | 20 32 | 43 44 | 20 16 | 8 | =100 *=100 |
| | May, 1992 March, 1992 | 32 | 44 | 16 | 9 | *=100 *=100 |
| | January, 1992 | 11 | 40 25 | 36 | 27 | 1 = 100 |
| | - | | | | | |
| | May, 1988 | 22 | 46 | 23 | 6 | 3=100 |
| b. | News about the current situation in Iraq | 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 |
| | ······································ | | | - | • | 100 |

³

From May 2003 to Early February 2004 and in March 1992, the story was listed as "The race for the Democratic nomination." In January 2003, the story was listed as "Recent announcements by prominent Democrats about plans to run for president in 2004." In 2000, the story was listed as "News about candidates for the 2000 presidential election." In January, March and April 1996, the story was listed as "News about the Republican presidential candidates." In January 1992 and 1987, the story was listed as "News about the Democratic candidates for the Presidential nomination." In 1988, the story was introduced as being from "this past year" and was listed as "News about the presidential campaign in 1988."

| Q.3 C0 | ONTINUED | Very | Fairly | Not too | Not at all | l |
|--------|---|----------------|--------|---------|------------|--------------------|
| - | | Closely | | Closely | | DK/Ref |
| | 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 ⁴ | 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 ⁵ | 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 F | ORM 1 ONLY: | | | | | |
| c.F1 | John Edwards, the Democratic vice presidential candidate | 24 | 30 | 21 | 23 | 2=100 |
| | I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I | | | | | |
| d.F1 | Ethnic violence in Sudan | 14 | 22 | 27 | 35 | 2=100 |
| | | | | | | |
| e.F1 | Saddam Hussein's recent court appearance in Iraq | 26 | 32 | 21 | 20 | 1=100 |
| | | | | | | |
| f.F1 | The release of Michael Moore's movie "Fahrenheit 9/11" | 20 | 25 | 16 | 36 | 3=100 |
| | | | | | | |
| ASK F | ORM 2 ONLY: | | | | | |
| g.F2 | The transfer of power to a newly established Iraqi government | nt 29 | 37 | 19 | 14 | 1=100 |
| 0 | 1.0 | | | - | | |
| h.F2 | The publication of Bill Clinton's book about his life | 8 | 14 | 21 | 55 | 2=100 |
| | Early July, 2003 ⁶ | 8 | 14 | 25 | 52 | 1=100 |
| | 2007, 2002 | Ũ | | | 02 | 1 100 |
| i.F2 | The high price of gasoline these days | 56 | 25 | 11 | 7 | 1=100 |
| 1.1 2 | 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 1 = 100 |
| | Mid-March, 2004 | 47 | 23 | 10 | 10 | 2=100 |
| | September, 2003 | 45 | 27 | 14 | 10 | 1 = 100 |
| | March, 2003 | 5 2 | 27 | 13 | 9 | 1 = 100 1 = 100 |
| | 11111011, 2005 | 54 | 21 | 11 | , | 1-100 |

⁴ From March 20 to April 16, 2003 the story was listed as "News about the war in Iraq."

⁵ 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."

⁶ In Early July 2003 the item was listed as "The publication of Hillary Clinton's book about her life."

| Q.3 CONTINUED | Very | Fairly | Not too | Not at all | l |
|-------------------------|---------|---------|---------|------------|---------|
| | Closely | Closely | Closely | Closely | DK/Ref |
| 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 ⁷ | 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 |

Q.4 How much thought have you given to the coming presidential election . . . Quite a lot or only a little?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1568]:

| | Quite | (VOL.) | Only a | (VOL.) | DK/ |
|-------------------------|-------|--------|--------|--------|---------|
| | A lot | Some | Little | None | Ref. |
| July, 2004 | 67 | 2 | 28 | 2 | 1=100 |
| June, 2004 | 58 | 3 | 36 | 2 | 1=100 |
| May, 2004 | 59 | 6 | 30 | 4 | 1=100 |
| Late March, 2004 | 60 | 4 | 31 | 4 | 1=100 |
| Mid-March, 2004 | 65 | 2 | 31 | 2 | *=100 |
| Early November, 2000 | 72 | 6 | 19 | 2 | 1=100 |
| Late October, 2000 | 66 | 6 | 24 | 4 | *=100 |
| Mid-October, 2000 | 67 | 9 | 19 | 4 | 1=100 |
| Early October, 2000 | 60 | 8 | 27 | 4 | 1=100 |
| September, 2000 | 59 | 8 | 29 | 3 | 1=100 |
| July, 2000 | 46 | 6 | 45 | 3 | *=100 |
| June, 2000 | 46 | 6 | 43 | 5 | *=100 |
| May, 2000 | 48 | 4 | 42 | 5 | 1=100 |
| April, 2000 | 45 | 7 | 41 | 7 | *=100 |
| November, 1996 | 67 | 8 | 22 | 3 | *=100 |
| October, 1996 | 65 | 7 | 26 | 1 | 1=100 |
| Late September, 1996 | 61 | 7 | 29 | 2 | 1=100 |
| Early September, 1996 | 56 | 3 | 36 | 4 | 1 = 100 |
| July, 1996 | 55 | 3 | 41 | 1 | *=100 |
| June, 1996 | 50 | 5 | 41 | 3 | 1=100 |
| October, 1992 | 77 | 5 | 16 | 1 | 1 = 100 |
| September, 1992 | 69 | 3 | 26 | 1 | 1=100 |
| August, 1992 | 72 | 4 | 23 | 1 | *=100 |
| June, 1992 | 63 | 6 | 29 | 1 | 1=100 |
| Gallup: November, 1988 | 73 | 8 | 17 | 2 | 0=100 |
| Gallup: October, 1988 | 69 | 9 | 20 | 2 | 0=100 |
| Gallup: August, 1988 | 61 | 10 | 27 | 2 | 0=100 |
| Gallup: September, 1988 | 57 | 18 | 23 | 2 | 0=100 |

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

NO QUESTION 5

Q.6 If the presidential election were being held TODAY, would you vote **[INSERT, ROTATE REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC TICKETS WITH NADER TICKET LAST** – for the Republican ticket of George W. Bush and Dick Cheney, for the Democratic ticket of John Kerry and John Edwards, or for the ticket of Ralph Nader and Peter Camejo?]

IF OTHER OR DK (Q.6 =4,9), ASK:

Q.6a As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to [READ, ROTATE IN SAME ORDER AS Q.6]?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1568]:

| | Bush-Cheney/ | Kerry-Edwards/ | Nader-Camejo/ | Other/ |
|-------------------------|------------------|--------------------|-------------------|------------|
| | Lean Bush-Cheney | Lean Kerry-Edwards | Lean Nader-Camejo | Don t Know |
| July, 2004 | 44 | 46 | 3 | 7=100 |
| June, 2004 ⁸ | 46 | 42 | 6 | 6=100 |
| May, 2004 | 43 | 46 | 6 | 5=100 |
| Late March, 2004 | 44 | 43 | 6 | 7=100 |
| Mid-March, 2004 | 42 | 49 | 4 | 5=100 |
| Selected Trends: | | | | |
| July, 2000 | 42 Bush | 41 Gore | 6 Nader | 11=100 |
| July, 1996 | 34 Dole | 44 Clinton | 16 Perot | 6=100 |
| June, 1992 | 31 Bush, S | Sr. 28 Clinton | 36 Perot | 5=100 |

NO QUESTION 7

In June 2004 and earlier, the question did not specify vice presidential candidates. In July 2000, the question also asked about the candidacy of "Pat Buchanan, of the Reform Party."

IF RESPONDENT DID NOT CHOOSE KERRY IN Q.6/6a (Q.6=1 OR Q.6a=1,3,4,9) ASK:

Q.8 Do you think there is a chance that you might vote for John Kerry in November, or have you definitely decided not to vote for him?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1568]:

| | С | hance might | Decided not to | Don't know/ |
|-----------------|---------------------|---------------|----------------|-------------|
| | V | ote for Kerry | vote for Kerry | Refused |
| | July, 2004 | 13 | 36 | 5=54% |
| | June, 2004 | 10 | 41 | 3=54% |
| | May, 2004 | 11 | 35 | 4=50% |
| | Late March, 2004 | 13 | 37 | 3=53% |
| | Mid-March, 2004 | 13 | 32 | 3=48% |
| | Late February, 200 | 4 13 | 36 | 3=52% |
| | Early February, 200 | 04 15 | 33 | 5=53% |
| Gore: | November, 2000 | 8 | 41 | 6=55% |
| Gore: | Late October, 2000 | 9 | 44 | 4=57% |
| Gore: | Mid-October, 2000 | 10 | 40 | 5=55% |
| Gore: | Early October, 200 | 0 11 | 38 | 7=56% |
| Gore: | September, 2000 | 13 | 35 | 5=53% |
| Gore: | June, 2000 | 14 | 34 | 6=54% |
| Clinton: | July, 1996 | 8 | 36 | 4=48% |
| Clinton: | May, 1992 | 11 | 38 | 6=55% |

IF RESPONDENT DID <u>NOT</u> CHOOSE BUSH IN Q.6/6a (Q.6=2 OR Q.6a=2,3,4,9) ASK:

Q.9 Do you think there is a chance that you might vote for George W. Bush in November, or have you definitely decided not to vote for him?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1568]:

| | | Chance might | Decided not to | Don't know/ |
|-----------|----------------------|---------------|----------------|-------------|
| | | vote for Bush | vote for Bush | Refused |
| | July, 2004 | 10 | 41 | 5=56% |
| | June, 2004 | 9 | 41 | 2=52% |
| | May, 2004 | 9 | 42 | 4=55% |
| | Late March, 2004 | 11 | 40 | 3=54% |
| | Mid-March, 2004 | 11 | 44 | 2=57% |
| | Late February, 2004 | 10 | 43 | 3=56% |
| | Early February, 2004 | 10 | 41 | 2=53% |
| Bush: | November, 2000 | 8 | 44 | 7=59% |
| Bush: | Late October, 2000 | 10 | 41 | 4=55% |
| Bush: | Mid-October, 2000 | 12 | 40 | 5=57% |
| Bush: | Early October, 2000 | 11 | 39 | 7=57% |
| Bush: | September, 2000 | 15 | 38 | 6=59% |
| Bush: | June, 2000 | 15 | 33 | 6=54% |
| Dole: | July, 1996 | 15 | 40 | 3=58% |
| Bush, Sr: | May, 1992 | 8 | 40 | 5=53% |
| | | | | |

Q.10F2 Regardless of who you might support, who do you think is most likely to win the coming presidential election? **[READ]**

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=796]:

| | | | | "A Democratic Candidate" | | | George H.W. Busl | h | |
|-----------|--------------------|-----------|------|--------------------------|-----------|-----------|------------------|-----------------------|--|
| | | June | May | Early Feb | Mid-Jan | Sept | June | March Feb Oct | |
| | | 2004 | 2004 | 2004 | 2004 | 2003 | 2003 | <u>1992 1992 1991</u> | |
| 42 | George W. Bush, or | 51 | 52 | 56 | 61 | 47 | 66 | 72 66 78 | |
| 38 | John Kerry | 35 | 31 | 32 | 21 | 34 | 22 | 20 25 11 | |
| <u>20</u> | Don't know/Refused | <u>14</u> | 17 | 12 | <u>18</u> | <u>19</u> | <u>12</u> | <u>8 9 11</u> | |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 100 100 | |

ASK FORM 1 ONLY:

Q.11F1 As you may have heard John Kerry has named John Edwards as his running mate. How would you rate John Edwards? Do you think he is an excellent, good, only fair or poor choice?

| | | Al Gore |
|-----------|--------------------|-----------|
| | | July 1992 |
| 16 | Excellent | 15 |
| 33 | Good | 25 |
| 22 | Only Fair | 22 |
| 9 | Poor | 5 |
| <u>20</u> | Don't know/Refused | <u>33</u> |
| 100 | | 100 |

Q.12F2 What do you think is the most important problem facing the country today? [RECORD VERBATIM RESPONSE. PROBE FOR CLARITY – DO NOT PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL MENTIONS. IF MORE THAN ONE MENTION, RECORD ALL IN ORDER OF MENTION]

| | | Mid- | | F .1 | Maria | м | | T 1 | т 1 |
|----------|---|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------|-----------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| | | Jan 2004 | Apr 2003 | Feb 2003 | Mar 2002 | May 2001 | Feb 2001 | July <u>1996</u> | July <u>1992</u> |
| 25 | War/War in Iraq | <u>2004</u> 16 | <u>2005</u> 14 | <u>2005</u> 34 | <u>2002</u> 10▲ | <u>2001</u> | <u>2001</u> | <u>1990</u> | <u>1992</u> |
| 23 14 | Economy (general) | 20 | 28 | 21 | 8 | - 7 | 7 | 4 | 27 |
| 8 | Terrorism | 20 14 | 28 9 | 16 | 24 | 1 | * | | 21 |
| 8 | Unemployment/Lack of jobs | 13 | 10 | 6 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 25 |
| 8 7 | Dissatisfaction with govt/politics | 5 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 2 | 5 | 8 | 23 |
| 5 | Health care/costs | 5 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 6 | 7 | 4 | 3 |
| 4 | Morality/Ethics/Family values | 3 | 4 | 5 | 8 | 6 | 12 | 13 | 3 |
| 4 | Education | 3 | 4 | 1 | 4 | 8 | 11 | 6 | 4 |
| 4 | U.S. foreign policy/Intl affairs | 2 | | | | 2 | 2 | * | |
| Ŧ | Defense issues/Military spending/ | 2 | | | | 2 | 2 | | |
| 3 | National & homeland security | 3 | 2 | 2 | 5 | 1 | 1 | | |
| 2 | Energy crisis/Rising gas/heating prices | | | 1 | 1 | 22 | 4 | | |
| 2 | Poverty/Hunger/Starvation | 3 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 4 |
| 2 | Trade/Jobs moving overseas | 1 | | | | | | | |
| 1 | Issues related to elderly | 2 | 1 | | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | |
| 1 | Inflation/Difference | - | 1 | | | - | - | - | |
| 1 | between wages/costs | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 2 | |
| 1 | Immigration | 3 | 1 | | 1 | 1 | 2 | | |
| 1 | Crime/Gangs/Justice system | 1 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 4 | 8 | 19 | 4 |
| 1 | Peace in the world/Peace | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | |
| 1 | Homelessness | 1 | 1 | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 7 |
| 1 | Uneven distribution of wealth | | | | | 1 | 1 | | |
| 1 | Deficit/National debt/Balanced budget | 2 | 2 | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 7 | 7 |
| 1 | Taxes | 1 | 1 | | 1 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 2 |
| 1 | Drugs/Alcohol | 1 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 6 | 8 | 4 |
| 1 | Social Security | | 1 | | | 3 | 1 | | |
| 1 | Abortion | | | | | 1 | 1 | | |
| 9 | Other | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | None | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | * | 2 | * | |
| 6 | Don't know/No answer | 4 | 9 | 4 | 8 | 8 | 7 | 6 | 3 |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| | (NET) DEFENSE/TERRORISM/ | | | | | | | | |
| 41 | INTERNATIONAL | 37 | 29 | 54 | 39 | 3 | 5 | 1 | |
| 26 | (NET) ECONOMIC | 35 | 41 | 29 | 16 | 40 | 26 | 18 | 63 |
| | | | | | | | | | |

▲ War in Afghanistan in March 2002

NO QUESTION 13

On another subject...

Q.14 Are you interested in following what happens at the upcoming Democratic National Convention in Boston, or aren't you that interested in the convention?

IF '1' INTERESTED IN Q.14, ASK:

Q.15 Would you say you are very interested or fairly interested?

| | | | Republican Convention | |
|-----|------------------------------|----------|--------------------------|-------------|
| | | July | July | July |
| | | 2000 | <u>1996</u> | <u>1992</u> |
| 36 | Interested | 34 | 44 | 53 |
| 19 | Very Interested | 14 | 21 | 26 |
| 17 | Fairly Interested/Don't know | 20 | 23 | 27 |
| 63 | Not interested | 64 | 55 | 45 |
| 1 | Don't know | <u>2</u> | <u>1</u> | 2 |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 |

ASK ALL FORM 1 ONLY:

Q.16F1 How much of the television coverage of the convention do you plan to watch... do you think you'll watch all or most of the coverage, some of it, just a little, or none of it?

| | | July 2000 |
|-----|-----------------------------|-----------|
| 16 | All or most of the coverage | 13 |
| 29 | Some of it | 28 |
| 29 | Just a little | 30 |
| 25 | None of it | 28 |
| 1 | Don't know/Refused | <u>1</u> |
| 100 | | 100 |

ASK FORM 1 ONLY:

Q.17F1 As I read some things that will happen at the Democratic Convention, tell me how interested you are in each event. First, are you very interested, fairly interested, not too interested or not at all interested in **(INSERT ITEM; ROTATE)**?

| | | Very Interested | Fairly | Not too | Not at all | DK/ |
|------|---|--------------------|------------|------------|------------|--------------------|
| | | | Interested | Interested | Interested | |
| a.F1 | Watching John Kerry's acceptance speech | 25 | 26 | 14 | 34 | 1 = 100 |
| | July, 2000 (Bush) | 23 | 30 | 12 | 34 | 1=100 |
| | July, 1992 (Clinton) | 25 | 32 | 20 | 22 | 1=100 |
| b.F1 | Watching the roll call of the states as they cast | | | | | |
| | their ballots | 22 | 24 | 19 | 34 | 1=100 |
| | July, 2000 (Republican Convention) | 17 | 23 | 15 | 44 | 1=100 |
| | July, 1992 (Democratic Convention) | 22 | 29 | 25 | 23 | 1=100 |
| c.F1 | Learning about the Democratic Party's platform July, 2000 (<i>Republican Party's platform</i>) | 31 23 | 31 35 | 15 14 | 22 27 | 1 = 100 1 = 100 |
| | July, 1992 (Democratic Party's platform) | 38 | 34 | 16 | 11 | 1=100 |

Q.18F1 Do you think the Democratic party will unite solidly behind John Kerry or do you think that differences and disagreements within the party will keep many Democrats from supporting the ticket?

| | | Dole/Republicans | Clinton/Democrats |
|-----------|---------------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| | | July | July |
| | | 1996 | <u>1992</u> |
| 50 | Solidly united | 36 | 36 |
| 26 | Keep many from supporting | 47 | 44 |
| <u>24</u> | Don't know | <u>17</u> | <u>20</u> |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 |

ASK FORM 1 ONLY:

Q.19F1 Now, I'm going to read you some phrases. Please tell me if you think each one better describes the REPUBLICAN Party and its leaders or the DEMOCRATIC Party and its leaders (First,) which party do you think is better described by the phrase.. (INSERT ITEM; ROTATE)?

| | | | | (VOL.) | | |
|------|---|------------|--------------|---------|---------|--------|
| | | Republican | Democratic | Both | (VOL.) | Don't |
| | | Party | <u>Party</u> | Equally | Neither | Know |
| a.F1 | Able to manage the federal | | | | | |
| | government well | 37 | 40 | 4 | 9 | 10=100 |
| | Early September, 1998 | 37 | 32 | 8 | 12 | 11=100 |
| | August, 1997 | 39 | 33 | 4 | 16 | 8=100 |
| | July, 1996 | 45 | 32 | 4 | 12 | 7=100 |
| | April, 1995 | 49 | 30 | 3 | 13 | 5=100 |
| | July, 1994 | 43 | 31 | 4 | 17 | 5=100 |
| | May, 1993 | 36 | 32 | 2 | 17 | 13=100 |
| | July, 1992 | 30 | 36 | 1 | 23 | 10=100 |
| | May, 1990 | 28 | 20 | 12 | 31 | 9=100 |
| | May, 1988 | 33 | 30 | 10 | 17 | 10=100 |
| | January, 1988 | 30 | 28 | 12 | 20 | 10=100 |
| | May, 1987 | 24 | 25 | 13 | 28 | 10=100 |
| b.F1 | Governs in an honest and ethical way | 34 | 37 | 5 | 15 | 9=100 |
| | Early September, 1998 | 31 | 28 | 6 | 23 | 12=100 |
| | March, 1998 | 28 | 32 | 7 | 24 | 9=100 |
| | August, 1997 | 28 | 33 | 5 | 26 | 8=100 |
| | July, 1996 | 38 | 37 | 2 | 18 | 5=100 |
| | April, 1995 | 35 | 36 | 4 | 19 | 6=100 |
| | July, 1994 | 32 | 35 | 6 | 21 | 6=100 |
| c.F1 | Can bring about the kind of changes the | | | | | |
| | country needs | 35 | 46 | 3 | 7 | 9=100 |
| | Early September, 1998 | 34 | 40 | 7 | 8 | 11=100 |
| | March, 1998 | 32 | 45 | 7 | 8 | 8=100 |
| | August, 1997 | 38 | 40 | 4 | 11 | 7=100 |
| | July, 1996 | 39 | 46 | 2 | 7 | 6=100 |
| | April, 1995 | 51 | 34 | 4 | 7 | 4=100 |
| | July, 1994 | 39 | 42 | 4 | 10 | 5=100 |
| | May, 1993 | 30 | 49 | 2 | 10 | 9=100 |
| | July, 1992 | 24 | 47 | 2 | 16 | 11=100 |
| | May, 1990 | 27 | 31 | 13 | 18 | 11=100 |
| | May, 1988 | 27 | 43 | 9 | 11 | 10=100 |

| Q.19F1 | l CONTINUED January, 1988 May, 1987 | Republican Party 28 26 | Democratic Party 37 36 | (VOL.) Both <u>Equally</u> 14 14 | (VOL.) <u>Neither</u> 11 14 | Don't <u>Know</u> 10=100 10=100 |
|--------|--|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---|---|--|
| d.F1 | Is concerned with the needs of | | | | | |
| | people like me | 30 | 50 | 5 | 8 | 7=100 |
| | Early September, 1998 | 31 | 46 | 5 | 9 | 9=100 |
| | March, 1998 | 30 | 51 | 4 | 8 | 7=100 |
| | August, 1997 | 31 | 49 | 3 | 10 | 7=100 |
| | July, 1996 | 35 | 50 | 2 | 7 | 6=100 |
| | April, 1995 | 39 | 49 | 2 | 7 | 3=100 |
| | July, 1994 | 35 | 49 | 4 | 8 | 4=100 |
| | May, 1990 | 21 | 42 | 12 | 18 | 7=100 |
| | May, 1988 | 23 | 51 | 8 | 11 | 7=100 |
| | January, 1988 | 22 | 47 | 11 | 13 | 7=100 |
| e.F1 | Is concerned with the needs and | | | | | |
| | interests of the disadvantaged | 23 | 57 | 5 | 6 | 9=100 |
| | Early September, 1998 | 20 | 57 | 5 | 5 | 13=100 |
| | March, 1998 | 16 | 64 | 6 | 6 | 8=100 |
| | July, 1996 | 23 | 63 | 3 | 5 | 6=100 |
| | July, 1994 | 21 | 65 | 4 | 5 | 5=100 |
| | May, 1990 | 14 | 56 | 12 | 10 | 8=100 |
| | May, 1987 | 11 | 61 | 14 | 7 | 7=100 |
| f.F1 | Is concerned with the needs and interests | | | | | |
| | of business and other powerful groups | 61 | 22 | 6 | 3 | 8=100 |
| | Early September, 1998 | 57 | 23 | 8 | 2 | 10=100 |
| | March, 1998 | 63 | 20 | 7 | 2 | 8=100 |
| | July, 1996 | 65 | 19 | 8 | 2 | 6=100 |
| | July, 1994 | 66 | 23 | 5 | 1 | 5=100 |
| | May, 1990 | 57 | 15 | 15 | 5 | 8=100 |
| | May, 1987 | 58 | 15 | 16 | 3 | 8=100 |

Q.20F2 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; RANDOMIZE ITEMS a. THRU i. WITH ITEM j. ALWAYS LAST AND USING DIFFERENT INTRO]

| | | | | (VOL.) | | |
|------|---------------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------------|----------------|----------|
| | | Republican | Democratic | Both | (VOL.) | Don't |
| | | Party Party | Party Party | Equally [Variable] | <u>Neither</u> | Know |
| a.F2 | Dealing with the economy | 34 | 46 | 5 | 5 | 10=100 |
| | Late October, 2002 (RVs) | 37 | 40 | 5 | 6 | 12=100 |
| | Early October, 2002 (RVs) | 37 | 41 | 4 | 5 | 13=100 |
| | Early September, 2002 | 36 | 36 | 9 | 6 | 13=100 |
| | January, 2002 | 43 | 34 | | 5 | 18 = 100 |
| | May, 2001 ⁹ | 33 | 44 | 8 | 5 | 10=100 |

⁹

In May 2001 and earlier, the item was worded: ".. keeping the country prosperous?"

| $\begin{array}{c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c $ | Q.20F2 CONT | INUED | | | (VOL.) | | |
|---|-------------|---------------------------------------|----|----|--------|----------------|--------|
| $ \begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$ | | | - | | | | |
| $\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$ | | | | | | <u>Neither</u> | |
| $\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$ | | | | | | | |
| $\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$ | | | | | | | |
| $ \begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$ | | | | | | | |
| $\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$ | | | | | | | |
| October, 1990 Gallup 37 35 28=100 b.F2 Making wise decisions about what to do in Iraq 38 40 4 6 12=100 Late October, 2002 (RVs) 42 33 6 6 13=100 c.F2 Dealing with the terrorist threat at home 45 30 6 6 13=100 Late October, 2002 (RVs) 44 27 11 6 12=100 Early October, 2002 (RVs) 44 28 7 5 16=100 Early September, 2002 44 22 14 6 14=100 January, 2002 48 18 6 28=100 d.F2 Reflecting your views about gun control 34 36 3 6 11=100 Late October, 2002 (RVs) 36 38 5 16=100 April, 2000 30 36 4 7 23=100 June, 1999 34 42 4 8 12=100 December, 1993 32 | | | | | | 7 | |
| b.F2 Making wise decisions about what to do in Iraq 38 40 4 6 12=100 Late October, 2002 (RVs) 42 33 6 6 6 13=100 Early October, 2002 (RVs) 46 30 7 4 13=100 c.F2 Dealing with the terrorist threat at home 45 30 6 6 13=100 Late October, 2002 (RVs) 44 27 11 6 12=100 Early October, 2002 (RVs) 44 28 7 5 16=100 Early September, 2002 44 22 14 6 14=100 January, 2002 48 18 6 28=100 d.F2 Reflecting your views about gun control 34 36 3 6 21=100 Late October, 2002 (RVs) 36 38 5 5 16=100 April, 2000 30 36 4 7 23=100 June, 1999 34 42 4 8 12=100 December, 1993 32 42 8 18=100 e.F2 Reforming the U.S. health care system 23 50 4 10 13=100 Early July, 2003 31 38 6 10 15=100 January, 2001 30 47 7 16=100 January, 2002 25 46 7 22=100 January, 2001 30 47 7 16=100 January, 2001 30 47 7 16=100 January, 2001 30 47 7 12=100 March, 1998 25 33 6 8 8=100 October, 1994 34 41 5 10 10=10 | | | | | 10 | | |
| $ \begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$ | | October, 1990 Gallup | 37 | 35 | | | 28=100 |
| Late October, 2002 (RVs) 42 33 6 6 6 13=100 Early October, 2002 (RVs) 46 30 7 4 13=100 c.F2 Dealing with the terrorist threat at home 45 30 6 6 13=100 Late October, 2002 (RVs) 44 27 11 6 12=100 Early October, 2002 (RVs) 44 28 7 5 16=100 Early September, 2002 44 22 14 6 14=100 January, 2002 48 18 6 28=100 d.F2 Reflecting your views about gun control 34 36 3 6 21=100 Late October, 2002 (RVs) 36 38 5 5 16=100 April, 2000 30 36 4 7 23=100 June, 1999 34 42 4 8 12=100 December, 1993 32 42 8 18=100 e.F2 Reforming the U.S. health care system 23 50 4 10 13=100 Early July, 2003 31 38 6 10 15=100 January, 2002 30 36 47 7 16=100 January, 2002 30 36 47 7 16=100 January, 2002 30 30 477 7 16=100 January, 2001 30 477 7 16=100 January, 1999 25 46 7 22=100 March, 1998 31 43 7 7 12=100 March, 1998 35 53 6 8 8=100 October, 1994 34 41 5 10 10=100 July, 1994 34 48 2 8 8=100 | b.F2 | | | | | | |
| Early October, 2002 (RVs)46307413=100c.F2Dealing with the terrorist threat at home45306613=100Late October, 2002 (RVs)442711612=100Early October, 2002 (RVs)44287516=100Early September, 2002442214614=100January, 20024818628=100d.F2Reflecting your views about gun control34363621=100Late October, 2002 (RVs)36385516=100April, 200030364723=100June, 199934424812=100December, 19933242818=100e.F2Reforming the U.S. health care system235041013=100Early July, 2003313861015=100January, 20013047716=100January, 20013047712=100March, 19982553688=100October, 19943448288=100 | | | | | | | |
| c.F2 Dealing with the terrorist threat at home 45 30 6 6 13=100 Late October, 2002 (<i>RVs</i>) 44 27 11 6 12=100 Early October, 2002 (<i>RVs</i>) 44 28 7 5 16=100 Late October, 2002 44 22 14 6 14=100 January, 2002 48 18 6 28=100 d.F2 Reflecting your views about gun control 34 36 3 6 21=100 Late October, 2002 (<i>RVs</i>) 36 38 5 5 16=100 April, 2000 30 36 4 7 23=100 June, 1999 34 42 4 8 12=100 December, 1993 32 42 8 18=100 e.F2 Reforming the U.S. health care system 23 50 4 10 13=100 Early July, 2003 31 38 6 10 15=100 January, 2001 30 47 7 16=100 January, 2001 30 47 7 16=100 January, 1999 25 46 7 22=100 March, 1998 31 43 7 7 12=100 March, 1998 25 53 6 8 8=100 | | | | | | | |
| at home45306613=100Late October, 2002 (RVs)442711612=100Early October, 2002 (RVs)44287516=100Early September, 2002442214614=100January, 20024818628=100d.F2Reflecting your views about $$ 628=100gun control34363621=100Late October, 2002 (RVs)36385516=100April, 200030364723=100June, 199934424812=100December, 19933242818=100e.F2Reforming the U.S. health care system235041013=100Early July, 2003313861015=100January, 20013047716=100January, 20013047712=100March, 19982553688=100October, 1994344151010=100July, 19943448288=100 | | Early October, 2002 (RVs) | 46 | 30 | 7 | 4 | 13=100 |
| Late October, 2002 (RVs)442711612=100Early October, 2002 (RVs)44287516=100Early September, 2002442214614=100January, 20024818628=100d.F2Reflecting your views about gun control34363621=100Late October, 2002 (RVs)36385516=100April, 200030364723=100June, 199934424812=100December, 19933242818=100e.F2Reforming the U.S. health care system235041013=100Early July, 2003313861015=100January, 2001 ¹⁰ 2045629=100January, 20013047716=100January, 19992546722=100Early September, 199831437712=100March, 19982553688=100October, 1994344151010=100July, 19943448288=100 | c.F2 | Dealing with the terrorist threat | | | | | |
| Early October, 2002 (RVs)44287516=100Early September, 2002442214614=100January, 20024818628=100d.F2Reflecting your views about gun control34363621=100Late October, 2002 (RVs)36385516=100April, 200030364723=100June, 199934424812=100December, 19933242818=100e.F2Reforming the U.S. health care system235041013=100Early July, 2003313861015=100January, 2002 ¹⁰ 2045629=100January, 20013047716=100January, 19992546722=100Early September, 199831437712=100March, 19982553688=100October, 19943444288=100 | | | 45 | | | 6 | |
| Early September, 2002442214614=100January, 20024818628=100d.F2Reflecting your views about gun control34363621=100Late October, 2002 (RVs)36385516=100April, 200030364723=100June, 199934424812=100December, 19933242818=100e.F2Reforming the U.S. health care system235041013=100January, 2002 ¹⁰ 2045629=100January, 2002 ¹⁰ 2045629=100January, 19992546722=100Early September, 199831437712=100March, 19982553688=100October, 19943448288=100 | | | 44 | | | | |
| January, 20024818628=100d.F2Reflecting your views about gun control34363621=100Late October, 2002 (RVs)36385516=100April, 200030364723=100June, 199934424812=100December, 19933242818=100e.F2Reforming the U.S. health care system235041013=100Early July, 2003313861015=100January, 2002 ¹⁰ 2045629=100January, 20013047716=100January, 19992546722=100Early September, 199831437712=100March, 19982553688=100October, 19943448288=100 | | Early October, 2002 (RVs) | 44 | | 7 | 5 | |
| d.F2 Reflecting your views about gun control 34 36 3 6 21=100 Late October, 2002 (<i>RVs</i>) 36 38 5 5 16=100 April, 2000 30 36 4 7 23=100 June, 1999 34 42 4 8 12=100 December, 1993 32 42 8 18=100 e.F2 Reforming the U.S. health care system 23 50 4 10 13=100 Early July, 2003 31 38 6 10 15=100 January, 2002 ¹⁰ 20 45 6 29=100 January, 2001 30 47 7 16=100 January, 1999 25 46 7 22=100 Early September, 1998 31 43 7 7 12=100 March, 1998 25 53 6 8 8=100 October, 1994 34 41 5 10 10=100 July, 1994 34 48 2 8 8=100 | | Early September, 2002 | | | 14 | 6 | |
| gun control343636 $21=100$ Late October, 2002 (RVs)363855 $16=100$ April, 2000303647 $23=100$ June, 1999344248 $12=100$ December, 199332428 $18=100$ e.F2Reforming the U.S. health care system2350410 $13=100$ Early July, 20033138610 $15=100$ January, 2002 ¹⁰ 20456 $29=100$ January, 200130477 $16=100$ January, 199925467 $22=100$ Early September, 1998314377 $12=100$ March, 1998255368 $8=100$ October, 19943441510 $10=100$ July, 1994344828 $8=100$ | | January, 2002 | 48 | 18 | | 6 | 28=100 |
| Late October, 2002 (RVs)36385516=100April, 200030364723=100June, 199934424812=100December, 19933242818=100e.F2Reforming the U.S. health care system235041013=100Early July, 2003313861015=100January, 2002 ¹⁰ 2045629=100January, 20013047716=100January, 19992546722=100Early September, 199831437712=100March, 19982553688=100October, 1994344151010=100July, 19943448288=100 | d.F2 | Reflecting your views about | | | | | |
| April, 200030364723=100June, 199934424812=100December, 19933242818=100e.F2Reforming the U.S. health care system235041013=100Early July, 2003313861015=100January, 2002 ¹⁰ 2045629=100January, 20013047716=100January, 19992546722=100Early September, 199831437712=100March, 19982553688=100October, 1994344151010=100July, 19943448288=100 | | gun control | 34 | 36 | | | 21=100 |
| June, 1999 34 42 4 8 $12=100$ December, 1993 32 42 $$ 8 $18=100$ e.F2Reforming the U.S. health care system 23 50 4 10 $13=100$ Early July, 2003 31 38 6 10 $15=100$ January, 2002^{10} 20 45 $$ 6 $29=100$ January, 2001 30 47 $$ 7 $16=100$ January, 1999 25 46 $$ 7 $22=100$ Early September, 1998 31 43 7 7 $12=100$ March, 1998 25 53 6 8 $8=100$ October, 1994 34 41 5 10 $10=100$ July, 1994 34 48 2 8 $8=100$ | | Late October, 2002 (RVs) | 36 | 38 | 5 | 5 | 16=100 |
| December, 1993 32 42 $$ 8 $18=100$ e.F2Reforming the U.S. health care system 23 50 4 10 $13=100$ Early July, 2003 31 38 6 10 $15=100$ January, 2002^{10} 20 45 $$ 6 $29=100$ January, 2001 30 47 $$ 7 $16=100$ January, 1999 25 46 $$ 7 $22=100$ Early September, 1998 31 43 7 7 $12=100$ March, 1998 25 53 6 8 $8=100$ October, 1994 34 41 5 10 $10=100$ July, 1994 34 48 2 8 $8=100$ | | April, 2000 | 30 | 36 | 4 | 7 | 23=100 |
| $ \begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$ | | June, 1999 | 34 | 42 | 4 | 8 | 12=100 |
| Early July, 2003 31 38 6 10 $15=100$ January, 2002^{10} 20 45 $$ 6 $29=100$ January, 2001 30 47 $$ 7 $16=100$ January, 1999 25 46 $$ 7 $22=100$ Early September, 1998 31 43 7 7 $12=100$ March, 1998 25 53 6 8 $8=100$ October, 1994 34 41 5 10 $10=100$ July, 1994 34 48 2 8 $8=100$ | | December, 1993 | 32 | 42 | | 8 | 18=100 |
| $\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$ | e.F2 | Reforming the U.S. health care system | 23 | 50 | 4 | 10 | 13=100 |
| January, 20013047716=100January, 19992546722=100Early September, 199831437712=100March, 19982553688=100October, 1994344151010=100July, 19943448288=100 | | Early July, 2003 | 31 | 38 | 6 | 10 | 15=100 |
| January, 19992546722=100Early September, 199831437712=100March, 19982553688=100October, 1994344151010=100July, 19943448288=100 | | January, 2002^{10} | 20 | 45 | | 6 | 29=100 |
| Early September, 199831437712=100March, 19982553688=100October, 1994344151010=100July, 19943448288=100 | | January, 2001 | 30 | 47 | | 7 | 16=100 |
| March, 19982553688=100October, 1994344151010=100July, 19943448288=100 | | January, 1999 | 25 | 46 | | 7 | 22=100 |
| October, 1994344151010=100July, 19943448288=100 | | Early September, 1998 | 31 | 43 | 7 | 7 | 12=100 |
| July, 1994 34 48 2 8 8=100 | | March, 1998 | 25 | 53 | 6 | 8 | 8=100 |
| | | October, 1994 | 34 | 41 | 5 | 10 | 10=100 |
| December 1002 05 47 10 10 100 | | July, 1994 | 34 | 48 | 2 | 8 | 8=100 |
| December, 1993 25 47 10 $18=100$ | | December, 1993 | 25 | 47 | | 10 | 18=100 |
| January, 1992 21 56 8 15=100 | | January, 1992 | 21 | 56 | | 8 | 15=100 |
| May, 1990 20 50 16 14=100 | | May, 1990 | 20 | 50 | | 16 | 14=100 |
| f.F2 Making wise decisions about | f.F2 | Making wise decisions about | | | | | |
| foreign policy 38 40 4 4 14=100 | | 6 | 38 | 40 | 4 | 4 | 14=100 |
| Early September, 2002 40 30 10 6 14=100 | | | | | 10 | | |
| May, 2001 39 34 11 3 13=100 | | | | | | | |
| June, 1999 37 36 7 6 14=100 | | | | | | | |

From 1999to 2002, the item was listed as "...regulating health maintenance organizations (HMOs) and managed health care plans" and the question was worded: "Please tell me which party you think has the best ideas... the Republican Party or the Democratic Party?" In December 1993 question was worded "Reforming health care." In January 1992 and May 1990 the question was worded "improving health care in the U.S."

| Q.20F2 CONT | INUED | | | (VOL.) | | |
|-------------|--------------------------------------|------------|------------|---------|---------|----------|
| C C | | Republican | Democratic | Both | (VOL.) | Don't |
| | | Party | Party | Equally | Neither | Know |
| | 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 ¹¹ | 51 | 31 | 4 | 6 | 8=100 |
| | December, 1993 | 49 | 23 | | 10 | 18=100 |
| | May, 1990 | 39 | 28 | | 17 | 16=100 |
| g.F2 | Protecting the environment | 24 | 51 | 5 | 6 | 14=100 |
| | Early September, 2002 | 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 |
| h.F2 | Improving the educational system | 29 | 45 | 7 | 7 | 12=100 |
| | January, 2002 | 37 | 34 | | 6 | 23=100 |
| | May, 2001 | 36 | 38 | 11 | 6 | 9=100 |
| | January, 2001 | 40 | 41 | | 7 | 12 = 100 |
| | June, 1999 | 29 | 52 | 7 | 5 | 7=100 |
| | March, 1999 | 33 | 46 | 6 | 5 | 10=100 |
| | January, 1999 | 26 | 46 | | 7 | 21=100 |
| | Early September, 1998 | 34 | 42 | 10 | 4 | 10=100 |
| | March, 1998 | 29 | 49 | 10 | 5 | 7=100 |
| | July, 1994 | 37 | 46 | 4 | 5 | 8=100 |
| | January, 1992 | 28 | 48 | | 10 | 14 = 100 |
| | May, 1990 | 30 | 42 | | 14 | 14=100 |
| i.F2 | Improving morality in this country | 37 | 35 | 5 | 10 | 13=100 |
| | January, 2002 | 38 | 27 | | 8 | 27=100 |
| | January, 2001 | 49 | 26 | | 11 | 14=100 |
| | January, 1999 | 37 | 29 | | 17 | 17=100 |
| | June, 1999 ¹² | 40 | 33 | 7 | 11 | 9=100 |
| | Early September, 1998 | 45 | 27 | 8 | 9 | 11 = 100 |
| | March 1998 | 43 | 29 | 9 | 11 | 8=100 |
| | October, 1994 | 40 | 35 | 6 | 8 | 11 = 100 |
| | July, 1994 | 46 | 34 | 4 | 8 | 8=100 |
| j.F2 | And finally, which party comes close | | | | | |
| | to your views on homosexuality | 34 | 32 | 2 | 8 | 24=100 |
| | Early September, 1998 | 35 | 34 | 2 | 6 | 23=100 |

11

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

In June 1999 and earlier the item was worded "...promoting morality and personal responsibility."

NO QUESTIONS 21 THRU 24

ASK ALL:

On another subject...

Q.25 Do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally?

| | | | Early | | | Mid- | | |
|-----|------------------------|----------|-------|------|-------------------|----------|-------|-------------|
| | | March | Feb | Nov | Oct ¹³ | July | March | June |
| | | 2004 | 2004 | 2003 | 2003 | 2003 | 2001 | <u>1996</u> |
| 10 | Strongly favor | 10 | 9 | 10 | 9 | 10 | 8 | 6 |
| 22 | Favor | 22 | 21 | 20 | 21 | 28 | 27 | 21 |
| 23 | Oppose | 24 | 21 | 21 | 25 | 23 | 23 | 24 |
| 33 | Strongly oppose | 35 | 42 | 41 | 33 | 30 | 34 | 41 |
| 12 | Don't know/Ref. (VOL.) | <u>9</u> | 7 | 8 | 12 | <u>9</u> | 8 | 8 |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Q.26 Do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gay and lesbian couples to enter into legal agreements with each other that would give them many of the same rights as married couples?

| | | March | Oct |
|-----|---------------------------|----------|----------|
| | | 2004 | 2003 |
| 18 | Strongly favor | 16 | 14 |
| 31 | Favor | 33 | 31 |
| 18 | Oppose | 18 | 20 |
| 25 | Strongly oppose | 26 | 27 |
| 8 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | <u>7</u> | <u>8</u> |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 |

IF OPPOSE GAY MARRIAGE (3,4 IN Q.25), ASK:

Q.27 There has been a proposal to change the U.S. Constitution to ban gay marriage. Do you think amending the Constitution to ban gay marriage is a good idea, or a bad idea?

| | | March 2004 |
|-----------|--|---------------|
| 32 | Favor | 32 |
| 56 | Oppose | 59 |
| 31 | Good idea / favor Constitutional amendment | 36 |
| 22 | Bad idea / oppose Constitutional amendment | 21 |
| 3 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 2 |
| <u>12</u> | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | <u>9</u> |
| 100 | | 100 |

The October 2003 trend questions about gay marriage and civil unions are based on Form 1 respondents only (N=735). In an experiment, Form 2 respondents were asked the questions in the reverse order. The experiment found that the order of the questions has a significant impact on responses to the civil unions question.

- Q.28F1 As you may know, a commission known as the 9-11 Commission has been investigating the events that led up to the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the job this commission has been doing?
 - 61 Approve
 - 24 Disapprove
 - 15 Don't know/Refused
 - 100

NO QUESTION 29

ASK FORM 2 ONLY:

Thinking now about the president...

Q.30F2 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]? [IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF "DEPENDS" PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling [ITEM]? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]

| | Approve | Disapprove | DK/Ref. |
|---------------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| a.F2 The economy | 42 | 52 | 6=100 |
| June, 2004 | 43 | 50 | 7=100 |
| Late April, 2004 | 42 | 51 | 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 |
| Clinton: Early September, 19 | 98 71 | 23 | 6=100 |
| Clinton: September, 1997 | 60 | 34 | 6=100 |
| Clinton: January, 1996 | 50 | 42 | 8=100 |
| Clinton: June, 1995 | 46 | 46 | 8=100 |
| Clinton: October, 1994 | 45 | 46 | 9=100 |
| Clinton: July, 1994 | 38 | 56 | 6=100 |
| Bush, Sr.: August, 1990 | 40 | 52 | 8=100 |
| Bush, Sr.: May, 1990 | 42 | 47 | 11=100 |
| b.F2 The situation in Iraq | 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 | 4 0 59 | 37 | 4=100 |
| September, 2003 | 52 | 40 | 4 = 100 8 = 100 |
| April 10-16, 2003 ¹⁴ | 52 77 | 17 | 6=100 |
| April 8-9, 2003 | 71 | 23 | 6 = 100 6 = 100 |
| April 9, 2003 | 76 | 23 18 | 6=100 |
| <i>april 7</i> , 2005 | 70 | 10 | 0-100 |

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.30F2 CONTINUED...

| | Approve | Disapprove | DK/Ref. |
|-----------------------------------|---------|-------------------|---------|
| 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 |
| Bush Sr. Gallup: January, 199 | 91 84 | 11 | 5=100 |
| c.F2 Terrorist threats | 54 | 40 | 6=100 |
| June, 2004 | 56 | 35 | 9=100 |
| Late April, 2004 | 55 | 36 | 9=100 |
| Early April, 2004 | 53 | 38 | 9=100 |
| Gallup/CNN/USA Today:12/0 |)3 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 ¹⁵ | 85 | 6 | 9=100 |
| Clinton: Early September, 19 | 98 72 | 20 | 8=100 |
| d.F2 The nation's foreign policy | 40 | 48 | 12=100 |
| Mid-January, 2004 | 53 | 36 | 11=100 |
| March, 2003 | 53 | 36 | 11=100 |
| Early April, 2002 | 69 | 20 | 11=100 |
| Gallup: October, 2001 | 81 | 14 | 5=100 |
| Early September, 2001 | 46 | 34 | 20=100 |
| August, 2001 ¹⁶ | 45 | 32 | 23=100 |
| e.F2 International trade issues | 33 | 45 | 22=100 |
| Early September, 2001 | 38 | 34 | 28=100 |
| Clinton: September, 1997 | 44 | 38 | 18=100 |
| Clinton: September, 1993 | 38 | 39 | 23=100 |
| Clinton: August, 1993 | 49 | 25 | 26=100 |

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

¹⁶

In August 2001 roughly half of the U.S. sample was asked about Bush's handling of international policy, while the other half was asked about the handling of the nation's foreign policy. Results did not differ between question wordings.

Thinking about what's going on in the world more generally...

Q.31 All in all, would you say that you are satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in the WORLD these days?

| | | Early | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|---|---|--|---|
| | Sept | Sept | Sept | Oct | Sept |
| | 2002 | 2001 | <u>1997</u> | <u>1993</u> | <u>1993</u> |
| Satisfied | 17 | 27 | 29 | 12 | 28 |
| Dissatisfied | 79 | 64 | 65 | 81 | 66 |
| Neither satisfied/dissatisfied (VOL) | | 6 | 4 | 4 | * |
| Don't know/Refused (VOL) | <u>4</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>6</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| | Dissatisfied Neither satisfied/dissatisfied (VOL) | Satisfied2002Satisfied17Dissatisfied79Neither satisfied/dissatisfied (VOL)Don't know/Refused (VOL)4 | SatisfiedSept 2002Sept 2001Satisfied1727Dissatisfied7964Neither satisfied/dissatisfied (VOL)6Don't know/Refused (VOL)43 | $\begin{array}{c cccc} & Sept & Sept \\ \hline 2002 & 2001 & 1997 \\ \hline 2002 & 17 & 27 & 29 \\ \hline Dissatisfied & 79 & 64 & 65 \\ \hline Neither satisfied/dissatisfied (VOL) & & 6 & 4 \\ \hline Don't know/Refused (VOL) & \underline{4} & \underline{3} & \underline{2} \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$ |

Q.32 What kind of leadership role should the United States play in the world? Should it be the single world leader, or should it play a shared leadership role, or shouldn't it play any leadership role?

IF "SHARED LEADERSHIP ROLE" (2 IN Q.32), ASK:

Q.33 Should the United States be the most active of the leading nations, or should it be about as active as other leading nations?

| | | | Mid- | Early | | | | |
|-----|---|----------|-------------|----------|-------------|--------------------------|-------------|-------------|
| | | June | Oct | Sept | Sept | June | Oct | Sept |
| | | 2003 | <u>2001</u> | 2001 | <u>1997</u> | <u>1995¹⁷</u> | <u>1993</u> | <u>1993</u> |
| 11 | Be the single world leader, or | 13 | 12 | 13 | 12 | 13 | 9 | 10 |
| 74 | Should it play a shared leadership role | 76 | 79 | 75 | 73 | 74 | 78 | 81 |
| 27 | Most active | 30 | 33 | 25 | 22 | 25 | 23 | 27 |
| 44 | About as active | 44 | 45 | 49 | 50 | 47 | 53 | 52 |
| 3 | Don't know/Refused (VOL) | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| 9 | Shouldn't it play any leadership role | 7 | 3 | 8 | 11 | 9 | 9 | 7 |
| 6 | Don't know (VOL) | <u>4</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>4</u> | 4 | <u>2</u> |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

ASK FORM 1 ONLY:

Q.34F1 All in all, how should the U.S. determine its foreign policy? Should it be based mostly on the national interests of the U.S., or should it strongly take into account the interests of its allies?

| | | Early Sept |
|-----|--------------------------------|---------------|
| | | <u>2001</u> |
| 37 | National interests of the U.S. | 38 |
| 49 | Interests of its allies | 48 |
| 7 | Both (VOL) | 7 |
| 1 | Neither (VOL) | 1 |
| 6 | Don't Know (VOL) | <u>6</u> |
| 100 | | 100 |

In 1995 and earlier, the answer categories were "...most active, or should it be no more or less active than other leading nations?"

Q.35F2 In formulating U.S. foreign policy, is the Bush administration taking into account the interests and views of our allies... Too much, too little, or about the right amount?

| | | Mid-Jan | Early Sept |
|-----------|--------------------|----------|------------|
| | | 2004 | 2001 |
| 15 | Too much | 18 | 19 |
| 37 | Too little | 30 | 22 |
| 38 | Right amount | 46 | 42 |
| <u>10</u> | Don't Know/Refused | <u>6</u> | <u>17</u> |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 |

ASK FORM 2 ONLY:

Q.36F2 Do you think the partnership between the US and Western Europe should remain as close as it has been or do you think that the U.S. should take a more independent approach to security and diplomatic affairs than it has in the past?

| | | Late Feb | May | Feb |
|-----------|--------------------|----------|----------|----------|
| | | 2004 | 2003 | 2003 |
| 56 | Remain as close | 55 | 53 | 62 |
| 33 | More independent | 36 | 39 | 29 |
| <u>11</u> | Don't know/Refused | <u>9</u> | <u>8</u> | <u>9</u> |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 |

ASK FORM 1 ONLY:

Q.37F1 Do you think that using military force against countries that may seriously threaten our country, but have not attacked us, can often be justified, sometimes be justified, rarely be justified, or never be justified?

| | | Aug | May |
|-----|---------------------------|----------|------|
| | | 2003 | 2003 |
| 20 | Often justified | 20 | 22 |
| 40 | Sometimes justified | 43 | 45 |
| 22 | Rarely justified | 19 | 17 |
| 14 | Never justified | 13 | 13 |
| 4 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | <u>5</u> | 3 |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 |

ASK FORM 2 ONLY:

Q.38F2 In its dealings with foreign countries and its handling of international problems, do you think the Bush administration tries hard enough to reach diplomatic solutions, or is it too quick to get American military forces involved?

| | | CBS | S/NY Times | Poll |
|-----|-------------------------------------|----------|------------|-----------|
| | | April | Jan | Oct |
| | | 2003 | 2003 | 2002 |
| 33 | Tries to reach diplomatic solutions | 58 | 41 | 40 |
| 59 | Too quick to get military involved | 36 | 56 | 50 |
| 8 | Don't know/Refused | <u>6</u> | 3 | <u>10</u> |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Q.39 As I read a list of possible LONG-RANGE foreign policy goals which the United States might have, tell me how much priority you think each should be given. First, **[READ AND ROTATE; OBSERVE FORM SPLITS; ITEM a FULL FORM],** do you think this should have top priority, some priority, or no priority at all:

| | | Top | Some | No | |
|-----|--|----------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| | | Priority | Priority | Priority | DK/Ref |
| a. | Taking measures to protect the U.S. from terrorist attacks | 88 | 10 | 1 | 1=100 |
| | Mid-October, 2001 | 93 | 6 | * | 1 = 100 |
| | Early September, 2001 | 80 | 16 | 3 | 1=100 |
| | | | | | |
| | M 1 ONLY: | | | | • • • • • |
| b.) | | 71 | 23 | 4 | 2=100 |
| | Mid-October, 2001 | 81 | 14 | 2 | 3=100 |
| | Early September, 2001 | 78 | 16 | 5 | 1=100 |
| | September, 1997 | 70 | 23 | 6 | 1=100 |
| | June, 1995 | 68 | 21 | 9 | 2=100 |
| | September, 1993 | 69 | 24 | 5 | 1=100 |
| c.] | F1 Insuring adequate energy supplies for the U.S. | 70 | 25 | 2 | 3=100 |
| | Mid-October, 2001 | 69 | 29 | 1 | 1=100 |
| | Early September, 2001 | 74 | 23 | 2 | 1=100 |
| | September, 1997 | 58 | 36 | 3 | 3=100 |
| | June, 1995 | 59 | 34 | 3 | 4=100 |
| | September, 1993 | 60 | 34 | 4 | 2=100 |
| d.) | 71 Dramating damageneric athen notions | 24 | 57 | 15 | 4 100 |
| d., | 8 | 24 | 57 | 15 | 4=100 |
| | Mid-October, 2001 | 24 | 61 52 | 12 | 3 = 100 |
| | Early September, 2001 | 29 | 52 | 16 | 3=100 |
| | September, 1997 | 22 | 57 | 18 | 3=100 |
| | June, 1995 | 16 | 57 | 24 | 3=100 |
| | September, 1993 | 22 | 52 | 24 | 2=100 |
| e.l | F1 Finding a solution to the conflict between Israel | | | | |
| | and the Palestinians | 28 | 46 | 22 | 4=100 |
| | January, 2003 ¹⁸ | 38 | 40 | 19 | 3=100 |
| | March, 1999 | 35 | 42 | 19 | 4=100 |
| | September, 1993 | 34 | 45 | 19 | 2=100 |
| f.I | F1 Promoting U.S. business and economic interests abroad | 35 | 51 | 10 | 4=100 |
| 1.1 | Mid-October, 2001 | 33 30 | 63 | 4 | 4=100 3=100 |
| | Early September, 2001 | 30 37 | 53 | 4 8 | 3=100 2=100 |
| | September, 1997 ¹⁹ | 57 16 | 55 62 | 8 20 | 2=100 2=100 |
| | - | 26 | 62 50 | 20 20 | |
| | June, 1995 Sontombor, 1993 | 26 27 | 50 51 | 20 19 | 4 = 100 3 = 100 |
| | September, 1993 | 21 | 51 | 19 | 3=100 |

In January 2003 and earlier the question was worded "Bringing about a permanent settlement between Israel and the Arabs."

¹⁸

In September 1993, June 1995 and September 1997 the item was worded "Aiding the interests of US businesses abroad."

| Q.39 CONT | INUED | Top <u>Priority</u> | Some <u>Priority</u> | No Driority | DV/Dof |
|-----------|--|------------------------|-------------------------|----------------|------------------------|
| g.F | Strengthening the United Nations | 48 | <u>38</u> | 11 | $\frac{DK/Ref}{3=100}$ |
| g.1 | Mid-October, 2001 | 46 | 46 | 7 | 1 = 100 |
| | Early September, 2001 | 40 | 43 | 13 | 2=100 |
| | September, 1997 | 30 | 53 | 13 | 2=100 3=100 |
| | June, 1995 | 36 | 45 | 17 | 2=100 |
| | September, 1993 | 41 | 46 | 11 | 2=100 2=100 |
| h.F | Reducing the spread of AIDS and other infectious diseases | 72 | 25 | 2 | 1=100 |
| | Mid-October, 2001 | 59 | 38 | 2 | 1=100 |
| | Early September, 2001 | 73 | 23 | 3 | 1=100 |
| i.F1 | Protecting groups or nations that are threatened with genocide | 47 | 40 | 5 | 8=100 |
| | Mid-October, 2001 | 48 | 43 | 3 | 6=100 |
| | Early September, 2001 | 49 | 41 | 5 | 5=100 |
| j.F1 | Reducing U.S. military commitments overseas | 35 | 51 | 10 | 4=100 |
| | Early September, 2001 | 26 | 58 | 14 | 2=100 |
| ASK FORM | I 2 ONLY: | | | | |
| k.F. | 2 Improving relationships with our allies | 54 | 40 | 4 | 2=100 |
| 1.F2 | | 23 | 63 | 12 | 2=100 |
| | Mid-October, 2001 | 20 | 67 | 12 | 1 = 100 |
| | Early September, 2001 | 25 | 61 | 12 | 2 = 100 |
| | September, 1997 | 23 | 63 | 13 | 1 = 100 |
| | June, 1995 | 16 | 59 | 22 | 3=100 |
| | September, 1993 | 19 | 60 | 20 | 1=100 |
| m.F | 0, | 84 | 13 | 2 | 1=100 |
| | Mid-October, 2001 | 74 | 24 | 1 | 1 = 100 |
| | Early September, 2001 | 77 | 19 | 3 | 1=100 |
| | September, 1997 | 77 | 20 | 2 | 1=100 |
| | June, 1995 | 80 | 17 | 2 | 1=100 |
| | September, 1993 | 85 | 13 | 2 | *=100 |
| n.F. | 2 Promoting and defending human rights in other countries | 33 | 53 | 12 | 2=100 |
| | Mid-October, 2001 | 27 | 61 | 10 | 2 = 100 |
| | Early September, 2001 | 29 | 54 | 14 | 3=100 |
| | September, 1997 | 27 | 56 | 15 | 2=100 |
| | June, 1995 | 21 | 56 | 20 | 3=100 |
| | September, 1993 | 22 | 54 | 22 | 2=100 |
| o.F2 | 2 Combating international drug trafficking | 63 | 29 | 7 | 1=100 |
| | Mid-October, 2001 | 55 | 38 | 5 | 2 = 100 |
| | Early September, 2001 | 64 | 26 | 9 | 1=100 |
| | September, 1997 | 67 | 24 | 7 | 2=100 |
| p.F. | 2 Getting other countries to assume more of the costs | | | | |
| | of maintaining world order | 58 | 34 | 5 | 3=100 |
| | | | | | |
| | Mid-October, 2001 Early September, 2001 | 54 56 | 41 35 | 3 | 2=100 3=100 |

| Q.39 CONTIN | UED | Тор | Some | No | | |
|-------------|---|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------|--|
| | | <u>Priority</u> | <u>Priority</u> | Priority | DK/Ref | |
| q.F2 | Dealing with the problem of world hunger | 50 | 43 | 6 | 1=100 | |
| | Mid-October, 2001 | 34 | 59 | 6 | 1=100 | |
| | Early September, 2001 | 47 | 44 | 7 | 2=100 | |
| r.F2 | Dealing with global warming | 36 | 46 | 12 | 6=100 | |
| | Mid-October, 2001 | 31 | 51 | 13 | 5=100 | |
| | Early September, 2001 | 44 | 39 | 12 | 5=100 | |
| | September, 1997 ²⁰ | 50 | 42 | 6 | 2=100 | |
| | June, 1995 | 56 | 36 | 6 | 2=100 | |
| | September, 1993 | 56 | 37 | 6 | 1=100 | |
| s.F2 | Reducing our dependence on imported oil sources | 63 | 30 | 4 | 3=100 | |

Q.40F1 Do you think the United States plays a more important and powerful role as a world leader today compared to ten years ago, a less important role, or about as important a role as a world leader as it did ten years ago?

| | | Early | | | | | Ch | icago | Counci | il on Fa | oreign | Relations |
|-----|--------------------|----------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|----|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| | | Sept | Sept | Dec | Oct | Sept | | Nov | Nov | Nov | Nov | Dec |
| | | 2001 | <u>1997</u> | <u>1994</u> | <u>1993</u> | <u>1993</u> | | <u>1990</u> | <u>1986</u> | <u>1982</u> | <u>1978</u> | <u>1974</u> |
| 45 | More important | 33 | 35 | 40 | 37 | 37 | | 37 | 41 | 27 | 29 | 28 |
| 20 | Less important | 26 | 23 | 27 | 26 | 30 | | 35 | 26 | 25 | 41 | 39 |
| 31 | As important | 38 | 40 | 29 | 33 | 31 | | 24 | 29 | 44 | 24 | 27 |
| 4 | Don't know/Refused | <u>3</u> | 2 | <u>4</u> | 4 | 2 | | 4 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 6 |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

ASK FORM 2 ONLY:

Q.41F2 Do you think the United States plays a more important and powerful role as a world leader these days, a less important role, or about as important a role as a world leader as it did in the past?

- 18 Less important
- 35 As important
- <u>6</u> Don't know/Refused [VOL.]

²⁰

In September 1993, June 1995 and September 1997 the item was worded "Improving the global environment."

Q.42 As I read a phrase, tell me how much priority it should have in the way we conduct our foreign policy. First, **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE; OBSERVE FORM SPLITS]**, do you think this should be a top priority, some priority, or no priority at all in the way we conduct our foreign policy? [How about **[NEXT ITEM]**?]

| | | | Top | Some | No | |
|-------|-------|--------------------------------|----------|-----------------|----------|--------|
| | | | Priority | <u>Priority</u> | Priority | DK/Ref |
| ASK F | ORM 1 | ONLY: | | | | |
| | a.F1 | Being compassionate | 54 | 39 | 4 | 3=100 |
| | b.F1 | Being practical | 58 | 37 | 2 | 3=100 |
| | c.F1 | Being decisive | 62 | 30 | 3 | 5=100 |
| | d.F1 | Being cautious | 66 | 31 | 2 | 1=100 |
| | e.F1 | Following moral principles | 72 | 23 | 3 | 2=100 |
| ASK F | ORM 2 | ONL V. | | | | |
| | f.F2 | Being idealistic | 25 | 56 | 13 | 6=100 |
| | g.F2 | Being flexible | 40 | 52 | 4 | 4=100 |
| | h.F2 | Being forceful | 23 | 59 | 14 | 4=100 |
| | i.F2 | Following religious principles | 33 | 42 | 21 | 4=100 |

ASK FORM 1 ONLY:

Q.43F1 Compared with the past, would you say the U.S. is MORE respected by other countries these days, LESS respected by other countries, or AS respected as it has been in the past?

ASK IF LESS RESPECTED (2 IN Q.43):

Q.43a Do you think less respect for America is a major problem a minor problem or not a problem at all?

| | | | Newsweek |
|-----|-----------------------------|------------------------|----------|
| | | May 1987 ²¹ | Jan 1984 |
| 10 | More respected | 19 | 27 |
| 67 | Less respected | 55 | 36 |
| 43 | Major problem | | |
| 19 | Minor problem | | |
| 4 | Not a problem | | |
| 1 | Don't know/Refused | | |
| 20 | As respected as in the past | 23 | 29 |
| 3 | Don't know/Refused | <u>3</u> | <u>8</u> |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 |

In May 1987 the question was worded "Compared to five years ago, would you say the U.S. is more respected by other countries, less respected by other countries, or as respected as it was five years ago by other countries?" In January 1984 the question was worded "Compared to four years ago..."

Q.44F2 Compared with the past, would you say the U.S. is liked MORE by other countries these days, liked LESS by other countries, or is the U.S. viewed about the same as it has been in the past?

ASK IF LIKED LESS (2 IN Q.44):

- Q.44a Do you think this is a major problem a minor problem or not a problem at all?
 - 8 Liked more
 - 59 Liked less
 - 42 Major problem
 - 13 Minor problem
 - Not a problem 4
 - * Don't know/Refused
 - 29 About the same as in the past
 - $\frac{4}{100}$ Don't know/Refused

ASK FORM 1 ONLY:

Q.45F1 Do you think that we should increase our spending on national defense, keep it about the same, or cut it back?

| | | Mid- | Early | (RVs) | | | | | | | Oct- | Oct- | Oct- | | |
|-----|-----------|------|-------|-------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| | | Oct | Sept | Sept | Aug | June | Sept | Feb | Oct | Sept | Nov | Nov | Nov | Nov | Dec |
| | | 2001 | 2001 | 2000 | <u>1999</u> | <u>1999</u> | <u>1997</u> | <u>1995²²</u> | <u>94</u> + | <u>1993</u> | <u>90</u> + | <u>86</u> + | <u>82</u> + | <u>78</u> + | <u>74</u> + |
| 25 | Increase | 50 | 32 | 34 | 27 | 31 | 17 | 19 | 18 | 10 | 12 | 21 | 22 | 32 | 13 |
| 53 | Keep same | 41 | 44 | 48 | 54 | 47 | 57 | 56 | 53 | 52 | 53 | 55 | 52 | 45 | 47 |
| 18 | Cut back | 7 | 20 | 14 | 16 | 19 | 24 | 24 | 26 | 36 | 32 | 23 | 24 | 16 | 33 |
| 4 | DK/Ref. | 2 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 1 | <u>3</u> | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 7 | 8 |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

+ Chicago Council on Foreign Relations

ASK FORM 2 ONLY:

- Q.46F2 Do you think the U.S. should increase the size of the military, keep it about the same, or reduce the size of the military?
 - 34 Increase
 - 54 Keep same
 - 8 Cut back
 - 4 Don't know/Refused [VOL.]
 - 100

In 1995 and previous years, the question was worded: "Do you think that we should expand our spending on national defense, keep it about the same or cut it back?"

Q.47 In the dispute between Israel and the Palestinians, which side do you sympathize with more, Israel or the Palestinians?

| | | | Both | Neither | Don't know |
|-----------------------|--------|--------------|-----------------|---------------|------------|
| | Israel | Palestinians | <u>s</u> (VOL.) | <u>(VOL.)</u> | Refused |
| July, 2004 | 40 | 13 | 7 | 18 | 22=100 |
| Late February, 2004 | 46 | 12 | 8 | 15 | 19=100 |
| Mid-July, 2003 | 41 | 13 | 8 | 18 | 20=100 |
| April, 2002 | 41 | 13 | 6 | 21 | 19=100 |
| Mid-October, 2001 | 47 | 10 | 8 | 18 | 17=100 |
| Early September, 2001 | 40 | 17 | 6 | 23 | 14=100 |
| September 1997 | 48 | 13 | 5 | 16 | 18=100 |
| September 1993 | 45 | 21 | 3 | 18 | 12=100 |
| Chicago CFR 1990 | 34 | 13 | 7 | 26 | 20=100 |
| Chicago CFR 1978 | 38 | 12 | 8 | 15 | 13=100 |

ASK FORM 1 ONLY:

Q.48F1 What's your opinion of US policies in the Middle East – would you say they are fair or do they favor Israel too much or do they favor the Palestinians too much?

| | | <u>May 2003</u> |
|-----------|--------------------|-----------------|
| 35 | Fair | 47 |
| 32 | Favor Israel | 27 |
| 5 | Favor Palestinians | 8 |
| <u>28</u> | Don't know/Refused | <u>18</u> |
| 100 | | 100 |

ASK FORM 2 ONLY:

Q.49F2 Do you think the US is doing as much as it can to bring about a peace settlement between the Israelis and the Palestinians, or don't you think so?

| | | Early |
|-----------|--------------------|------------|
| | | April 2002 |
| 46 | Yes | 53 |
| 42 | No | 34 |
| <u>12</u> | Don't know/Refused | <u>13</u> |
| 100 | | 100 |

NO QUESTIONS 50 OR 51

ASK FORM 2 ONLY:

Thinking about China for a moment...

Q.52F2 All things considered, which of these descriptions comes closest to your view of China today. . . Do you think China is (**READ**):

| | | | Early | | | | | |
|-----------|---|-----------|-------|------|-----------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| | | Feb | Sept | May | March | June | March | Sept |
| | | 2002 | 2001 | 2001 | 2000 | <u>1999</u> | <u>1999</u> | <u>1997</u> |
| 14 | An adversary | 17 | 23 | 19 | 17 | 18 | 20 | 14 |
| 40 | A serious problem, but not an adversary | 39 | 48 | 51 | 44 | 53 | 48 | 46 |
| 36 | OR, Not much of a problem | 33 | 23 | 22 | 26 | 22 | 25 | 32 |
| <u>10</u> | Don't know/Refused (DO NOT READ) | <u>11</u> | 6 | 8 | <u>13</u> | 7 | 7 | 8 |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| | | | | | | | | |

Q.53F2 What is your impression... These days are relations between the U.S. and China improving, getting worse, or staying about the same?

| | | Feb May March | | | | June March Aug | | | |
|-----------|------------------------|---------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|----------------|-------------|--|--|
| | | <u>2002</u> | <u>2001</u> | <u>2000</u> | <u>1999</u> | <u>1999</u> | <u>1995</u> | | |
| 18 | Improving | 16 | 6 | 13 | 7 | 13 | 16 | | |
| 13 | Getting worse | 14 | 40 | 19 | 35 | 19 | 22 | | |
| 58 | Staying about the same | 61 | 48 | 55 | 50 | 60 | 53 | | |
| <u>11</u> | Don't know/Refused | <u>9</u> | 6 | <u>13</u> | 8 | 8 | 9 | | |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | |

ASK FORM 1 ONLY:

Thinking about trade for a moment...

Q.54F1 In general, do you think that free trade agreements like NAFTA, and the World Trade Organization, have been a good thing or a bad thing for the United States? [INTERVIEWER: IF RESPONDENT ASKS WHAT NAFTA IS, "The North American Free Trade Agreement"]

| | | Early | | | | | | | |
|-----------|---------------------------|-----------|-------------------|-----------|-------------|-----------|--|--|--|
| | | March | Dec ²³ | Sept | Nov | Sept | | | |
| | | 2004 | 2003 | 2001 | <u>1997</u> | 1997 | | | |
| 47 | Good thing | 44 | 34 | 49 | 45 | 47 | | | |
| 34 | Bad thing | 37 | 33 | 29 | 34 | 30 | | | |
| <u>19</u> | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | <u>19</u> | <u>33</u> | <u>22</u> | <u>21</u> | <u>23</u> | | | |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | |

ASK FORM 1 ONLY:

Q.55F1 Thinking about the financial situation of you and your family... Do you think these free trade agreements (like NAFTA and the WTO) have definitely helped, probably helped, probably hurt, or definitely hurt the financial situation of you and your family? [INTERVIEWER: READ OUT FULL NAMES ONLY IF RESPONDENT IS UNCERTAIN]

| | | Dec |
|-----------|---------------------------|------|
| | | 2003 |
| 3 | Definitely helped | 2 |
| 31 | Probably helped | 25 |
| 25 | Probably hurt | 24 |
| 16 | Definitely hurt | 14 |
| 12 | Neither (VOL.) | 15 |
| <u>13</u> | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 20 |
| 100 | | 100 |

NO QUESTIONS 56 THROUGH 59

In December 2003 the question's wording and interviewer instructions were: "...free trade agreements like NAFTA, (the North American Free Trade Agreement) and the WTO (World Trade Organization)... [INTERVIEWER: READ OUT FULL NAMES ONLY IF RESPONDENT IS UNCERTAIN]. In Early September 2001 and earlier the question was worded: "So far, do you think that NAFTA, the North American Free Trade Agreement, has been a good thing or a bad thing from a U.S. point of view?"

Now thinking about Iraq...

Q.60 Do you think the U.S. made the right decision or the wrong decision in using military force against Iraq?

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

Q.61 How well is the U.S. military effort in Iraq going? [READ IN ORDER]

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

Q.62 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?

| | | | | Late | Early | Early | | |
|-----|---------------------|-------------|----------|-------|----------|----------|----------|------|
| | | June | May | April | April | Jan | Oct | Sept |
| | | 2004^{24} | 2004 | 2004 | 2004 | 2004 | 2003 | 2003 |
| 53 | Keep troops in Iraq | 51 | 53 | 53 | 50 | 63 | 58 | 64 |
| 43 | Bring troops home | 44 | 42 | 40 | 44 | 32 | 39 | 32 |
| 4 | Don't know/Refused | <u>5</u> | <u>5</u> | 7 | <u>6</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>3</u> | 4 |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Q.63 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?

| | | | Late | Early | | | |
|-----|---------------------------|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| | | June | April | April | Dec | Oct | Sept |
| | | 2004 | 2004 | 2004 | 2003 | 2003 | 2003 |
| 34 | Has a clear plan | 37 | 36 | 32 | 44 | 35 | 32 |
| 59 | Doesn't have a clear plan | 55 | 54 | 57 | 45 | 54 | 58 |
| 7 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | <u>8</u> | <u>10</u> | <u>11</u> | <u>11</u> | <u>11</u> | <u>10</u> |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Q.64 Do you think the war in Iraq has helped the war on terrorism, or has it hurt the war on terrorism?

| | | June 2004 | Mid- March 2004 | Late Feb 2004 | Early Feb 2004 | Dec 2003 | Sept 2003 | May 2003 | April 2003 ²⁵ | Early Oct <u>2002</u> |
|-----|--------------------|--------------|-----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 43 | Helped | 43 | 50 | 62 | 55 | 59 | 54 | 65 | 63 | 52 |
| 45 | Hurt | 44 | 37 | 28 | 32 | 26 | 31 | 22 | 22 | 34 |
| 5 | No effect (VOL) | 4 | 5 | 3 | 7 | 6 | 7 | 6 | | |
| _7 | Don't know/Refused | <u>9</u> | <u>8</u> | 7 | 6 | 9 | 8 | 7 | <u>15</u> | <u>14</u> |
| 100 |) | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

²⁴

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?"

²⁵ In April 2003, the question was worded: "Do you think the war in Iraq will help the war on terrorism, or will it hurt the war on terrorism?" In Early October 2002 the question was worded: "If the U.S. uses military force in Iraq, do you think this will help the war on terrorism, or will it hurt the war on terrorism?"

Q.65F1 In rebuilding Iraq, how good a job are the U.S. and its allies doing in taking into account the needs and interests of the Iraqi people? Is the coalition doing an excellent job, a good job, only a fair job or a poor job in taking into consideration the interests and needs of the Iraqi people?

| | | Late | | | |
|-----|---------------------------|-----------|-----------|----------|----------|
| | | Feb | Dec | Sept | May |
| | | 2004 | 2003 | 2003 | 2003 |
| 11 | Excellent | 13 | 11 | 9 | 18 |
| 33 | Good | 37 | 35 | 36 | 41 |
| 35 | Only fair | 31 | 27 | 35 | 26 |
| 13 | Poor | 9 | 16 | 11 | 6 |
| 8 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | <u>10</u> | <u>11</u> | <u>9</u> | <u>9</u> |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

ASK FORM 2 ONLY:

- Q.66F2 From what you've seen and read, how good a job is the new Iraqi government doing running the country? Is it doing an excellent job, a good job, only a fair job, or a poor job?
 - 4 Excellent
 - 19 Good
 - 41 Only fair
 - 14 Poor
 - <u>22</u> 100 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

ASK FORM 2 ONLY:

Q.67F2 How much longer do you think United States troops will have to remain in Iraq - for less than a year, one to two years, two to five years, or will the U.S. troops have to stay in Iraq for longer than five years?

| | | | CBS/New York Times | | | | |
|-----|---------------------------|----------|--------------------|----------|----------|----------|--|
| | | June | April | March | Dec | July | |
| | | 2004 | 2004 | 2004 | 2003 | 2003 | |
| 17 | Less than a year | 17 | 8 | 8 | 15 | 13 | |
| 31 | One to two years | 33 | 27 | 22 | 34 | 31 | |
| 27 | Two to five years | 26 | 33 | 35 | 31 | 31 | |
| 17 | Longer than five years | 16 | 25 | 26 | 12 | 18 | |
| 8 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | <u>8</u> | 7 | <u>9</u> | <u>8</u> | <u>7</u> | |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | |

NO QUESTIONS 68 OR 69

Thinking about the issue of terrorism for a moment...

ASK FORM 2 ONLY:

Q.70F2 In general, how well do you think the U.S. government is doing in reducing the threat of terrorism? [READ]

| | ·] | | | | | | |
|-----|--------------------------|----------|-------|------|-------|-------|----------|
| | | | (RVs) | | | | |
| | | | Early | | Early | Oct | Oct |
| | | Aug | Nov | June | Nov | 15-21 | 10-14 |
| | | 2003 | 2002 | 2002 | 2001 | 2001 | 2001 |
| 18 | Very well | 19 | 15 | 16 | 35 | 38 | 48 |
| 53 | Fairly well | 56 | 54 | 60 | 46 | 46 | 40 |
| 17 | Not too well, OR | 16 | 19 | 16 | 9 | 9 | 6 |
| 8 | Not at all well | 7 | 8 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 2 |
| 4 | Don't know/Refused (VOL) | <u>2</u> | 4 | 4 | 5 | 3 | <u>4</u> |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

ASK FORM 1 ONLY:

Q.71F1 Overall, do you think the ability of terrorists to launch another major attack on the U.S. is greater, the same, or less than it was at the time of the September 11th terrorist attacks?

| | | Late Aug |
|-----|---------------------------|----------|
| | | 2002 |
| 24 | Greater | 22 |
| 39 | The same | 39 |
| 34 | Less | 34 |
| 3 | Don't know/refused (VOL.) | <u>5</u> |
| 100 | | 100 |

ASK FORM 1 ONLY:

Q.72F1 Thinking back...Do you think there is anything that the U.S. did wrong in its dealings with other countries that might have motivated the 9/11 terrorist attacks, or not?

| | | Late Aug <u>2002</u> ²⁶ | Late <u>Sept 2001</u> |
|-----|---|---------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 38 | Yes, U.S. dealings may have motivated attacks | 38 | 33 |
| 51 | No | 49 | 55 |
| 11 | Don't know/Refused | <u>13</u> | 12 |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 |

²⁶

In 2002 and 2001 the item was worded: "Do you think there is anything that the U.S. did wrong in its dealings with other countries that might have motivated the terrorist attacks, or not?"

Q.73F2 Thinking back...Do you think there is any way that the U.S. was unfair in its dealings with other countries that might have motivated the 9/11 terrorist attacks, or not?

| | | Late Aug | Late Sept |
|-----|---|-------------|-----------|
| | | 2002^{27} | 2001 |
| 28 | Yes, unfair dealings may have motivated attacks | 23 | 21 |
| 58 | No | 64 | 70 |
| 14 | Don't know/Refused | <u>13</u> | 9 |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 |

ASK FORM 1 ONLY:

Q.74F1 In order to curb terrorism in this country, do you think it is necessary for the average person to give up some civil liberties, or not?

| | | | | | Mid- | | | |
|-----|--------------------------|-------------|------|------|-----------|-------------|-------------|-------------------|
| | | Aug | June | Jan | Sept | April | March | L.A. Times |
| | | 2003^{28} | 2002 | 2002 | 2001 | <u>1997</u> | <u>1996</u> | <u>April 1995</u> |
| 38 | Yes, it is necessary | 44 | 49 | 55 | 55 | 29 | 30 | 49 |
| 56 | No, it is not necessary | 50 | 45 | 39 | 35 | 62 | 65 | 43 |
| 6 | Don't know/Refused (VOL) | <u>6</u> | 6 | 6 | <u>10</u> | <u>9</u> | 5 | 8 |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

ASK FORM 2 ONLY:

Q.75F2 What concerns you more about the government's anti-terrorism policies? [READ AND ROTATE]

- 49 That they have not gone far enough to adequately protect the country --OR--
- 29 That they have gone too far in restricting the average person's civil liberties
- 11 Neither / Approve of policies (VOL.)
- 11 Don't know/Refused
- 100

TREND FOR COMPARISON:

What concerns you more right now? That the government will fail to enact strong, new anti-terrorism laws, or that the government will enact new anti-terrorism laws which excessively restrict the average person's civil liberties?

| | June | Jan | Mid-Sept | L.A. Times |
|--|-----------|------|-----------|-------------------|
| | 2002 | 2002 | 2001 | <u>April 1995</u> |
| Fail to enact strong laws | 35 | 40 | 39 | 40 |
| Enact laws that restrict civil liberties | 49 | 45 | 34 | 44 |
| Neither (VOL) | 3 | 3 | 10 | 4 |
| Don't know/Refused | <u>13</u> | 12 | <u>17</u> | <u>12</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

NO QUESTION 76

²⁷

In 2002 and 2001 the item was worded: "Do you think there is any way that the U.S. was unfair in its dealings with other countries that might have motivated the terrorist attacks, or not?"

²⁸ In 2003 and earlier the question was worded: "In order to curb terrorism in this country, do you think it will be necessary for the average person to give up some civil liberties, or not?

- Q.77F2 Do you think the use of torture against suspected terrorists in order to gain important information can often be justified, sometimes be justified, rarely be justified, or never be justified?
 - 15 Often justified
 - 28 Sometimes justified
 - 21 Rarely justified
 - 32 Never justified
 - _____ Don't know/Refused
 - 100

NO QUESTIONS 78 OR 79

ASK ALL:

Thinking about the Muslim religion for a moment... ASK FORM 1 ONLY:

Q.80F1 Would you say you have a generally favorable or unfavorable opinion of Islam?

| | | July | March | ABC/Beliefnet - | |
|-----------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------------|-----------|
| | | 2003 | 2002 | Jan 2002 | Oct 2001 |
| 39 | Favorable | 40 | 38 | 41 | 47 |
| 37 | Unfavorable | 34 | 33 | 24 | 39 |
| <u>24</u> | No Opinion | <u>26</u> | <u>29</u> | <u>35</u> | <u>13</u> |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

ASK FORM 1 ONLY:

Q.81F1 What's your impression – how many Muslims around the world are anti-American? [READ, IN ORDER]

| | | June | March |
|-----------|---------------------------|------|-----------|
| | | 2003 | 2002 |
| 8 | Almost all | 7 | 6 |
| 15 | Most | 17 | 12 |
| 19 | About half | 25 | 18 |
| 27 | Some | 24 | 24 |
| 17 | Just a few | 15 | 21 |
| <u>14</u> | Don't know/Refused [VOL.] | 12 | <u>19</u> |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 |

ASK FORM 2 ONLY:

Q.82F2 Which statement comes closer to your own views even if neither is exactly right. [READ, IN ORDER]

| | | July | March |
|-----------|--|------|-------|
| | | 2003 | 2002 |
| | The Islamic religion is more likely than others to | | |
| 46 | encourage violence among its believers | 44 | 25 |
| | The Islamic religion does not encourage | | |
| 37 | violence more than others | 41 | 51 |
| 2 | Neither (VOL.) | 3 | 3 |
| <u>15</u> | Don't know (VOL.) | 12 | 21 |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 |

NO QUESTIONS 83 THROUGH 86

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

IF ANSWERED 1,2 IN PARTY, ASK:

PARTYSTR Do you consider yourself a STRONG [Republican/Democrat] or NOT a strong [Republican/ Democrat]?

29 Republican

- 17 Strong Republican
- 12 Not strong Republican
- 33 Democrat
- 20 Strong Democrat
- 13 Not strong Democrat
- 32 Independent
- 3 No Preference
- * Other (VOL.)
- <u>3</u> Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
- 100

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

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

- 11 Republican
- 15 Democrat
- 12 Other/Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
- 38%

ASK REPUBLICANS AND REPUBLICAN LEANERS ONLY [N=835]:

Q.87 How good a job is the Republican Party doing these days in standing up for its traditional positions on such things as reducing the size of government, cutting taxes and promoting conservative social values — would you say the Party is doing an excellent job, a good job, only a fair job or a poor job?

| | | Rep/ | Rep/ | Rep/ | Rep/ |
|-----|--------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|---------------|
| | | Lean Rep | Lean Rep | Lean Rep L | ean Rep (RVs) |
| | | <u>Aug 2003</u> | <u>May 2002</u> | <u>May 2001</u> | Sept 2000 |
| 12 | Excellent | 6 | 6 | 10 | 6 |
| 49 | Good | 51 | 49 | 50 | 43 |
| 33 | Only fair | 37 | 38 | 32 | 44 |
| 4 | Poor | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| 2 | Don't know/Refused | <u>1</u> | 2 | 3 | 2 |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

ASK DEMOCRATS AND DEMOCRATIC LEANERS ONLY [N=969]:

How good a job is the Democratic Party doing these days in standing up for its traditional positions on such Q.88 things as protecting the interests of minorities, helping the poor and needy, and representing working people - would you say the Party is doing an excellent job, a good job, only a fair job or a poor job?

| | | Dem/ Lean Dem | Dem/ Lean Dem | Dem/ Lean DemL | Dem/ ean Dem (RVs) |
|-----|--------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| | | <u>Aug 2003</u> | <u>May 2002</u> | <u>May 2001</u> | Sept 2000 |
| 6 | Excellent | 5 | 5 | 8 | 11 |
| 43 | Good | 33 | 39 | 39 | 52 |
| 40 | Only fair | 51 | 43 | 40 | 32 |
| 8 | Poor | 9 | 10 | 7 | 4 |
| 3 | Don't know/Refused | <u>2</u> | 3 | 6 | <u>1</u> |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

ASK ALL:

How worried are you that there will soon be another terrorist attack in the United States? [READ] Q.89

| | Very worried | Somewhat worried | Not too worried | Not at all worried | Don't know/ <u>Refused</u> |
|----------------------|-----------------|---------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
| July, 2004 | 17 | 41 | 26 | 15 | 1 = 100 |
| June, 2004 | 25 | 42 | 20 | 12 | 1=100 |
| Mid-March, 2004 | 20 | 42 | 25 | 12 | 1=100 |
| Early February, 2004 | 13 | 42 | 28 | 16 | 1=100 |
| Mid-January, 2004 | 20 | 45 | 24 | 10 | 1=100 |
| August, 2003 | 13 | 45 | 29 | 12 | 1=100 |
| March, 2003 | 22 | 42 | 20 | 14 | 2=100 |
| February, 2003 | 34 | 41 | 17 | 7 | 1=100 |
| January, 2003 | 18 | 50 | 23 | 8 | 1=100 |
| December, 2002 | 31 | 42 | 18 | 8 | 1=100 |
| Early October, 2002 | 20 | 46 | 22 | 11 | 1=100 |
| Late August, 2002 | 16 | 46 | 25 | 12 | 1=100 |
| June, 2002 | 32 | 44 | 17 | 7 | *=100 |
| January, 2002 | 20 | 42 | 28 | 9 | 1=100 |
| December, 2001 | 13 | 39 | 27 | 19 | 2=100 |
| October 15-21, 2001 | 29 | 42 | 18 | 10 | 1=100 |
| October 10-14, 2001 | 27 | 40 | 19 | 12 | 2=100 |
| Early October, 2001 | 28 | 45 | 15 | 11 | 1=100 |

One final topic...

Q.90 Have you seen the movie "Fahrenheit 9/11", have you not yet seen it but plan to at some point, or don't you plan to see this movie?

42 Plan to see it

49 Don't plan to see it

- $\frac{3}{100}$ Don't know/Refused

QUESTIONS R1 AND R2 ASKED JULY 15 TO 18 ONLY [N=496]:

Q.R1 Would you happen to know the religious faith of John Kerry? [OPEN END – DO NOT PROBE]

Protestant (include Baptist, Lutheran, Methodist, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Pentecostal,

- 5 Jehovah's Witness, Church of Christ, etc.)
- 26 Roman Catholic or Catholic {*Correct*}
- * Other religion
- 2 No religion, not a believer, atheist, agnostic
- 67 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
- 100

Q.R2 Would you happen to know the religious faith of George W. Bush? [OPEN END – DO NOT PROBE]

Protestant (include Baptist, Lutheran, Methodist, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Pentecostal,

- 38 Jehovah's Witness, Church of Christ, etc.) {*Correct*}
- 4 Roman Catholic or Catholic
- * Other religion
- 1 No religion, not a believer, atheist, agnostic
- 57 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)