# PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE \& THE PRESS JULY 2004 FOREIGN POLICY AND PARTY IMAGES SURVEY FINAL TOPLINE <br> July 8 -18, 2004 <br> Total N=2009 <br> 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]

July, 2004
June, 2004
May, 2004
Late April, 2004
Early April, 2004
Late March, 2004
Mid-March, 2004
February, 2004
Mid-January, 2004
Early January, 2004
2003
December, 2003
November, 2003
October, 2003
September, 2003
Mid-August, 2003
Early August, 2003
Mid-July, 2003
Early July, 2003
June, 2003
May, 2003
April 10-16, 2003
April 9, 2003
April 2-7, 2003
March 28-April 1, 2003
March 25-27, 2003
March 20-24, 2003
March 13-16, 2003
February, 2003
January, 2003
2002
December, 2002
Late October, 2002
Early October, 2002
Mid-September, 2002
Early September, 2002
Late August, 2002
August, 2002
Late July, 2002
July, 2002

Dis- Don't

| Approve | approve |  | know |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 46 | 46 |  | $8=100$ |
| 48 | 43 | $9=100$ |  |
| 44 | 48 | $8=100$ |  |
| 48 | 43 | $9=100$ |  |
| 43 | 47 |  | $10=100$ |
| 47 | 44 | $9=100$ |  |
| 46 | 47 |  | $7=100$ |
| 48 | 44 | $8=100$ |  |
| 56 | 34 |  | $10=100$ |
| 58 | 35 | $7=100$ |  |
|  |  |  |  |
| 57 | 34 | $9=100$ |  |
| 50 | 40 | $10=100$ |  |
| 50 | 42 | $8=100$ |  |
| 55 | 36 | $9=100$ |  |
| 56 | 32 | $12=100$ |  |
| 53 | 37 | $10=100$ |  |
| 58 | 32 | $10=100$ |  |

$60 \quad 29 \quad 11=100$
$62 \quad 27 \quad 11=100$
65 27 8=100
72 22 6=100
$74 \quad 20 \quad 6=100$
$69 \quad 25 \quad 6=100$
$71 \quad 23 \quad 6=100$
$70 \quad 24 \quad 6=100$
$67 \quad 26 \quad 7=100$
$55 \quad 34 \quad 11=100$
$54 \quad 36 \quad 10=100$
$58 \quad 32 \quad 10=100$

| 61 | 28 | $11=100$ |
| ---: | ---: | ---: |
| 59 | 29 | $12=100$ |
| 61 | 30 | $9=100$ |
| 67 | 22 | $11=100$ |
| 63 | 26 | $11=100$ |
| 60 | 27 | $13=100$ |
| 67 | 21 | $12=100$ |
| 65 | 25 | $10=100$ |
| 67 | 21 | $12=100$ |

Dis- Don’t

June, 2002
April, 2002
Early April, 2002
February, 2002
January, 2002
2001
Mid-November, 2001
Early October, 2001
Late September, 2001
Mid-September, 2001
Early September, 2001
August, 2001
July, 2001
June, 2001
May, 2001
April, 2001
March, 2001
February, 2001
$\frac{\text { Approve approve }}{70} \frac{\text { know }}{20} \quad 10=100$
$69 \quad 18 \quad 13=100$
$74 \quad 16 \quad 10=100$
$78 \quad 13 \quad 9=100$
$80 \quad 11 \quad 9=100$

| 84 | 9 | $7=100$ |
| :--- | ---: | ---: |
| 84 | 8 | $8=100$ |
| 86 | 7 | $7=100$ |
| 80 | 9 | $11=100$ |
| 51 | 34 | $15=100$ |
| 50 | 32 | $18=100$ |
| 51 | 32 | $17=100$ |
| 50 | 33 | $17=100$ |
| 53 | 32 | $15=100$ |
| 56 | 27 | $17=100$ |
| 55 | 25 | $20=100$ |
| 53 | 21 | $26=100$ |

## ASK FORM 2 ONLY:

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

|  | Satisfied | Dissatisfied | No <br> Opinion |  | Sat- <br> isfied | Dissatisfied | No Opinion |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| July, 2004 | 38 | 55 | $7=100$ |  |  |  |  |
| May, 2004 | 33 | 61 | $6=100$ | May, 1993 | 22 | 71 | $7=100$ |
| Late February, 2004 | 39 | 55 | $6=100$ | January, 1993 | 39 | 50 | $11=100$ |
| Early January, 2004 | 45 | 48 | $7=100$ | January, 1992 | 28 | 68 | $4=100$ |
| December, 2003 | 44 | 47 | $9=100$ | November, 1991 | 34 | 61 | 5=100 |
| October, 2003 | 38 | 56 | $6=100$ | Late Feb, 1991 (Gallup) | ) 66 | 31 | $3=100$ |
| August, 2003 | 40 | 53 | $7=100$ | August, 1990 | 47 | 48 | 5=100 |
| April, 2003 ${ }^{1}$ | 50 | 41 | $9=100$ | May, 1990 | 41 | 54 | $5=100$ |
| January, 2003 | 44 | 50 | $6=100$ | January, 1989 | 45 | 50 | $5=100$ |
| September, 2002 ${ }^{2}$ | 41 | 55 | $4=100$ | September, 1988 (RVs) | 50 | 45 | 5=100 |
| Late August, 2002 | 47 | 44 | $9=100$ | May, 1988 | 41 | 54 | $5=100$ |
| May, 2002 | 44 | 44 | $12=100$ | January, 1988 | 39 | 55 | $6=100$ |
| 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 | $4=100$ |  |  |  |  |

[^0]
## ASK ALL:

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]

| a. | News about candidates for the 2004 presidential election | Very Closely | Fairly Closely | Not too Closely | Not at al Closely | DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | 29 | 37 | 18 | 15 | 1=100 |
|  | June, 2004 | 28 | 34 | 19 | 18 | $1=100$ |
|  | April, 2004 | 31 | 33 | 19 | 16 | $1=100$ |
|  | Mid-March, 2004 | 35 | 34 | 18 | 13 | *=100 |
|  | Late February, 2004 | 24 | 40 | 23 | 12 | $1=100$ |
|  | Early February, $2004{ }^{3}$ | 29 | 37 | 20 | 13 | $1=100$ |
|  | Mid-January, 2004 | 16 | 30 | 27 | 26 | $1=100$ |
|  | Early January, 2004 | 14 | 32 | 30 | 23 | $1=100$ |
|  | December, 2003 | 16 | 26 | 27 | 30 | $1=100$ |
|  | November, 2003 | 11 | 26 | 34 | 28 | $1=100$ |
|  | October, 2003 | 12 | 27 | 28 | 32 | $1=100$ |
|  | September, 2003 | 17 | 25 | 30 | 27 | $1=100$ |
|  | Mid-August, 2003 | 12 | 27 | 27 | 33 | $1=100$ |
|  | May, 2003 | 8 | 19 | 31 | 41 | $1=100$ |
|  | January, 2003 | 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 | 32 | 44 | 16 | 8 | *=100 |
|  | March, 1992 | 35 | 40 | 16 | 9 | *=100 |
|  | January, 1992 | 11 | 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 |

[^1]
## Q. 3 CONTINUED...

December, 2003
November, 2003
October, 2003
September, 2003
Mid-August, 2003
Early July, 2003
June, 2003
May, 2003
April 11-16, $2003^{4}$
April 2-7, 2003
March 20-24, 2003
March 13-16, $2003^{5}$
February, 2003
January, 2003
December, 2002
Late October, 2002
Early October, 2002
Early September, 2002

| Very | Fairly | Not too | Not at all |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Closely | Closely | Closely | Closely | DK/Ref |
| 44 | 38 | 11 | 6 | 1=100 |
| 52 | 33 | 9 | 5 | $1=100$ |
| 38 | 40 | 14 | 7 | $1=100$ |
| 50 | 33 | 10 | 6 | $1=100$ |
| 45 | 39 | 10 | 5 | $1=100$ |
| 37 | 41 | 13 | 8 | $1=100$ |
| 46 | 35 | 13 | 6 | * $=100$ |
| 63 | 29 | 6 | 2 | *=100 |
| 47 | 40 | 10 | 2 | 1=100 |
| 54 | 34 | 9 | 2 | $1=100$ |
| 57 | 33 | 7 | 2 | $1=100$ |
| 62 | 27 | 6 | 4 | $1=100$ |
| 62 | 25 | 8 | 4 | $1=100$ |
| 55 | 29 | 10 | 4 | $2=100$ |
| 51 | 32 | 10 | 6 | 1=100 |
| 53 | 33 | 8 | 5 | 1=100 |
| 60 | 28 | 6 | 5 | 1=100 |
| 48 | 29 | 15 | 6 | $2=100$ |

## ASK FORM 1 ONLY:

| c.F1 | John Edwards, the Democratic vice presidential candidate | 24 | 30 | 21 | 23 | $2=100$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 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 FORM 2 ONLY: |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| g.F2 | The transfer of power to a newly established Iraqi government | 29 | 37 | 19 | 14 | $1=100$ |
| 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 | $1=100$ |
| i.F2 | The high price of gasoline these days | 56 | 25 | 11 | 7 | $1=100$ |
|  | June, 2004 | 58 | 26 | 9 | 6 | $1=100$ |
|  | April, 2004 | 46 | 30 | 15 | 8 | 1=100 |
|  | Early April, 2004 | 58 | 23 | 10 | 8 | $1=100$ |
|  | Mid-March, 2004 | 47 | 27 | 14 | 10 | $2=100$ |
|  | September, 2003 | 45 | 27 | 15 | 11 | $1=100$ |
|  | March, 2003 | 52 | 27 | 11 | 9 | $1=100$ |

[^2]
## Q. 3 CONTINUED...

February, 2003
June, 2001
May, 2001
Early October, 2000
June, 20007
March, 2000
October, 1990
September, 1990
August, 1990

| Very | Fairly | Not too | Not at all |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Closely | Closely | Closely | Closely | DK/Ref |
| 53 | 25 | 12 | 9 | 1=100 |
| 56 | 31 | 7 | 5 | $1=100$ |
| 61 | 26 | 6 | 6 | $1=100$ |
| 56 | 25 | 12 | 6 | $1=100$ |
| 61 | 25 | 9 | 5 | *=100 |
| 58 | 28 | 10 | 4 | *=100 |
| 62 | 26 | 8 | 4 | *=100 |
| 56 | 28 | 11 | 5 | *=100 |
| 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]:

July, 2004
June, 2004
May, 2004
Late March, 2004
Mid-March, 2004
Early November, 2000
Late October, 2000
Mid-October, 2000
Early October, 2000
September, 2000
July, 2000
June, 2000
May, 2000
April, 2000
November, 1996
October, 1996
Late September, 1996
Early September, 1996
July, 1996
June, 1996
October, 1992
September, 1992
August, 1992
June, 1992
Gallup: November, 1988
Gallup: October, 1988
Gallup: August, 1988
Gallup: September, 1988

| Quite | (VOL.) | Only a | (VOL.) | DK/ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| A lot | Some | Little | None | Ref. |
| 67 | 2 | 28 | 2 | 1=100 |
| 58 | 3 | 36 | 2 | $1=100$ |
| 59 | 6 | 30 | 4 | $1=100$ |
| 60 | 4 | 31 | 4 | $1=100$ |
| 65 | 2 | 31 | 2 | * $=100$ |
| 72 | 6 | 19 | 2 | $1=100$ |
| 66 | 6 | 24 | 4 | * $=100$ |
| 67 | 9 | 19 | 4 | $1=100$ |
| 60 | 8 | 27 | 4 | $1=100$ |
| 59 | 8 | 29 | 3 | $1=100$ |
| 46 | 6 | 45 | 3 | * $=100$ |
| 46 | 6 | 43 | 5 | * $=100$ |
| 48 | 4 | 42 | 5 | $1=100$ |
| 45 | 7 | 41 | 7 | * $=100$ |
| 67 | 8 | 22 | 3 | *=100 |
| 65 | 7 | 26 | 1 | $1=100$ |
| 61 | 7 | 29 | 2 | $1=100$ |
| 56 | 3 | 36 | 4 | $1=100$ |
| 55 | 3 | 41 | 1 | * $=100$ |
| 50 | 5 | 41 | 3 | $1=100$ |
| 77 | 5 | 16 | 1 | $1=100$ |
| 69 | 3 | 26 | 1 | $1=100$ |
| 72 | 4 | 23 | 1 | * $=100$ |
| 63 | 6 | 29 | 1 | $1=100$ |
| 73 | 8 | 17 | 2 | $0=100$ |
| 69 | 9 | 20 | 2 | $0=100$ |
| 61 | 10 | 27 | 2 | $0=100$ |
| 57 | 18 | 23 | 2 | $0=100$ |

## 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]:

July, 2004
June, $2004^{8}$
May, 2004
Late March, 2004
Mid-March, 2004

| Bush-Cheney/ <br> Lean Bush-Cheney | Kerry-Edwards/ Lean Kerry-Edwards | Nader-Camejo/ Lean Nader-Camejo | Other/ <br> Don't Know |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Lean Bush-Cheney | Lean Kerry-Edwards | Lean Nader-Camejo | Don’t Know |
| 44 | 46 | 3 | 7=100 |
| 46 | 42 | 6 | $6=100$ |
| 43 | 46 | 6 | $5=100$ |
| 44 | 43 | 6 | $7=100$ |
| 42 | 49 | 4 | $5=100$ |
| 42 Bush | 41 Gore | 6 Nader | $11=100$ |
| 34 Dole | 44 Clinton | 16 Perot | $6=100$ |
| 31 Bush, Sr. | 28 Clinton | 36 Perot | $5=100$ |

NO QUESTION 7 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]:

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

## IF RESPONDENT DID NOT 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 <br> vote for Bush | Decided not to <br> vote for Bush | Don't know/ <br> 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 | $3=56 \%$ |
| Bush: | Early February, 2004 | 10 | 41 | $2=53 \%$ |
| Bush: | Late October, 2000 | 8 | 44 | $7=59 \%$ |
| Bush: | Mid-October, 2000 | 10 | 41 | $4=55 \%$ |
| Bush: | Early October, 2000 | 12 | 40 | $5=57 \%$ |
| Bush: | September, 2000 | 11 | 39 | $7=57 \%$ |
| Bush: | June, 2000 | 15 | 38 | $6=59 \%$ |
| Dole: | July, 1996 | 15 | 33 | $6=54 \%$ |
| Bush, Sr: May, 1992 | 15 | 40 | $3=58 \%$ |  |
|  |  | 8 | 40 | $5=53 \%$ |

## ASK FORM 2 ONLY:

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"

| June | May | Early Feb Mid-Jan | Sept | June |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2003}$ | $\underline{2003}$ |
| 51 | 52 | 56 | 61 | 47 | 66 |
| 35 | 31 | 32 | 21 | 34 | 22 |
| $\underline{14}$ | $\underline{17}$ | $\underline{12}$ | $\underline{18}$ | $\underline{19}$ | $\underline{12}$ |
| 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

George H.W. Bush
March Feb Oct $\frac{1992}{72} \frac{1992}{66} \frac{1991}{78}$
$72 \quad 66 \quad 78$
$20 \quad 25 \quad 11$
$\underline{8} \quad \underline{9} \quad \underline{11}$
$100 \quad 100 \quad 100$

## 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 <br> July 1992 |
| ---: | :--- | :---: |
| 16 | Excellent | 15 |
| 33 | Good | 25 |
| 22 | Only Fair | 22 |
| 9 | Poor | 5 |
| $\frac{20}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused | $\underline{33}$ |
|  |  | $\underline{100}$ |

ASK FORM 2 ONLY:
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]

|  |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Mid- } \\ \text { Jan } \\ 2004 \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Apr } \\ \underline{2003} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Feb } \\ \underline{2003} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Mar } \\ \underline{2002} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { May } \\ & 2001 \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Feb } \\ \underline{2001} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { July } \\ 1996 \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { July } \\ 1992 \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 25 | War/War in Iraq | 16 | 14 | 34 | $10^{\mathbf{4}}$ | - | -- | -- | -- |
| 14 | Economy (general) | 20 | 28 | 21 | 8 | 7 | 7 | 4 | 27 |
| 8 | Terrorism | 14 | 9 | 16 | 24 | 1 | * | -- | -- |
| 8 | Unemployment/Lack of jobs | 13 | 10 | 6 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 25 |
| 7 | Dissatisfaction with govt/politics | 5 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 2 | 5 | 8 | 2 |
| 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 | * | -- |
| 3 | Defense issues/Military spending/ 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 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 |
| 41 | (NET) DEFENSE/TERRORISM/ INTERNATIONAL | 37 | 29 | 54 | 39 | 3 | 5 | 1 | -- |
| 26 | (NET) ECONOMIC | 35 | 41 | 29 | 16 | 40 | 26 | 18 | 63 |

## NO QUESTION 13

## ASK ALL:

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 <br> Convention <br> July | Republican <br> Convention | Democratic <br> Convention |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 36 | Interested | $\underline{2000}$ | $\underline{1996}$ | $\underline{44}$ |
| 19 | Very Interested | 14 | $\frac{1992}{53}$ |  |
| 17 | Fairly Interested/Don't know | 20 | 21 | 26 |
| 63 | Not interested | 64 | 23 | 27 |
| $\frac{1}{100}$ | Don't know | $\underline{2}$ | 55 | 45 |
|  | 100 | $\underline{1}$ | $\underline{2}$ |  |
| 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 |
| $\frac{1}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused | $\underline{1}$ |

## 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)?

| 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 platformJuly, 2000 (Republican Party's platform)July, 1992 (Democratic Party's platform) | 31 | 31 | 15 | 22 | $1=100$ |
|  |  | 23 | 35 | 14 | 27 | $1=100$ |
|  |  | 38 | 34 | 16 | 11 | $1=100$ |

## ASK FORM 1 ONLY:

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 |
|  |  | $\underline{1996}$ | $\underline{1992}$ |
| 50 | Solidly united | 47 | 36 |
| 26 | Keep many from supporting | $\underline{17}$ | 44 |
| $\frac{24}{100}$ | Don't know | $\underline{100}$ | 100 |

## ASK FORM 1 ONLY:

| Q.19F1 | Now, I'm going to read you some phras REPUBLICAN Party and its leaders or you think is better described by the phras | ase tell me if MOCRATIC SERT ITEM | you think eac Party and its ; ROTATE | one better aders (First, | scribes which p | ty do |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  | (VOL.) |  |  |
|  |  | Republican Party | Democratic Party | Both Equally | (VOL.) <br> Neither | Don't 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 CONTINUED...

January, 1988
May, 1987
d.F1 Is concerned with the needs of people like me people like me
Early September, 1998
March, 1998

August, 1997
July, 1996
April, 1995
July, 1994
May, 1990
May, 1988
January, 1988
e.F1 Is concerned with the needs and
e.F1 $\quad$ Is concerned with the needs an
interests of the disadvantaged

Early September, 1998
March, 1998
July, 1996
July, 1994
May, 1990
May, 1987
Is concerned with the needs and interests of business and other powerful groups

Early September, 1998
March, 1998
July, 1996
July, 1994
May, 1990
May, 1987
,

| Republican | (VOL.) |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Democratic | Both | (VOL.) | Don't |
| Party | Party | Equally | Neither | Know |
| 28 | 37 | 14 | 11 | $10=100$ |
| 26 | 36 | 14 | 14 | $10=100$ |

30
31

| 50 | 5 | 8 | $7=100$ |
| ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| 46 | 5 | 9 | $9=100$ |
| 51 | 4 | 8 | $7=100$ |
| 49 | 3 | 10 | $7=100$ |
| 50 | 2 | 7 | $6=100$ |
| 49 | 2 | 7 | $3=100$ |
| 49 | 4 | 8 | $4=100$ |
| 42 | 12 | 18 | $7=100$ |
| 51 | 8 | 11 | $7=100$ |
| 47 | 11 | 13 | $7=100$ |

(VOL.)

| Q.20F2 CONTINUED ... |  | (VOL.) |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Republican | Democratic | Both | (VOL.) | Don't |
|  |  | Party | Party | Equally | Neither | Know |
|  | 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 Gallup (RVs) | 36 | 45 | 10 | -- | $9=100$ |
|  | 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 | $13=100$ |
|  | 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 ${ }^{10}$ | 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 | 25 | 47 | -- | 10 | $18=100$ |
|  | January, 1992 | 21 | 56 | -- | 8 | $15=100$ |
|  | May, 1990 | 20 | 50 | -- | 16 | $14=100$ |
| f.F2 | Making wise decisions about foreign policy | 38 | 40 | 4 | 4 | $14=100$ |
|  | Early September, 2002 | 40 | 30 | 10 | 6 | $14=100$ |
|  | May, 2001 | 39 | 34 | 11 | 3 | $13=100$ |
|  | June, 1999 | 37 | 36 | 7 | 6 | $14=100$ |


| Q.20F2 CONTINUED ... |  | (VOL.) |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | 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 clo to your views on homosexuality | 34 | 32 | 2 | 8 | 24=100 |
|  | Early September, 1998 | 35 | 34 | 2 | 6 | 23=100 |

12 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 |
| 10 | Strongly favor | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2003}$ | $\underline{2003}$ | $\underline{2003}$ | $\frac{2001}{8}$ | $\frac{1996}{6}$ |
| 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 |
| $\frac{12}{100}$ | Don't know/Ref. (VOL.) | $\underline{9}$ | $\underline{7}$ | $\underline{8}$ | $\underline{12}$ | $\underline{9}$ | $\underline{8}$ | $\underline{8}$ |
| 10 | 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 |
| ---: | :--- | :---: | :---: |
| 18 | Strongly favor | $\frac{2004}{16}$ | $\underline{2003}$ |
| 31 | Favor | 33 | 31 |
| 18 | Oppose | 18 | 20 |
| 25 | Strongly oppose | 26 | 27 |
| $\frac{8}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | $\underline{7}$ | $\underline{8}$ |
| 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 |
| :---: | :--- | :---: |
| 32 | Favor | $\frac{2004}{32}$ |
| 56 | Oppose | 59 |
| 31 | Good idea / favor Constitutional amendment | 36 |
| 22 | Bad idea / oppose Constitutional amendment | 21 |
| 3 | Don’t know/Refused (VOL.) | 2 |
| $\frac{12}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | $\underline{9}$ |
|  |  | 100 |

[^3]
## ASK FORM 1 ONLY:

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]


## Q.30F2 CONTINUED...

--April 8, 2003
April 2-7, 2003
March 28-April 1, 2003
$\frac{\text { Approve }}{65} \quad \frac{\text { Disapprove }}{28} \quad \frac{\text { DK/Ref. }}{7=100}$

March 25-27, 2003
March 23-24, 2003
March 20-22, 2003
February, 2003
January, 2003
73
21 6=100

56
Bush Sr. Gallup: January, 199184

| 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:12/03 | 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, 1998 | 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 | $26=100$ |

[^4]
## ASK ALL:

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 |
| 21 | Satisfied | $\frac{2002}{17}$ | $\frac{2001}{27}$ | $\frac{1997}{29}$ | $\frac{1993}{12}$ | $\frac{1993}{28}$ |
| 74 | Dissatisfied | 79 | 64 | 65 | 81 | 66 |
| 2 | Neither satisfied/dissatisfied (VOL) | -- | 6 | 4 | 4 | $*$ |
| $\frac{3}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused (VOL) | $\underline{4}$ | $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{2}$ | $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{6}$ |
|  |  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

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 |
|  |  | $\underline{2003}$ | 2001 | 2001 | 1997 | $1995{ }^{17}$ | 1993 | 1993 |
| 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) | 4 | $\underline{6}$ | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | $\underline{2}$ |
| 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 <br> Sept <br> 2001 |  |
| ---: | :--- | :---: |
| 37 | National interests of the U.S. | 38 |
| 49 | Interests of its allies | 48 |
| 7 | Both (VOL) | 7 |
| 1 | Neither (VOL) | 1 |
| $\frac{6}{100}$ | Don't Know (VOL) | $\underline{6}$ |
|  |  | 100 | nations?"

## ASK FORM 2 ONLY:

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 <br> $\frac{2004}{}$ | Early Sept |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: |
| 15 | Too much | 18 | 19 |
| 37 | Too little | 30 | 22 |
| 38 | Right amount | 46 | 42 |
| $\frac{10}{100}$ | Don't Know/Refused | $\underline{6}$ | $\underline{17}$ |
| 100 | $\underline{100}$ |  |  |

## 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 |  |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 56 | Remain as close | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2003}$ | $\underline{50}$ |
| 33 | More independent | 36 | 39 | 62 |
| $\frac{11}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused | $\underline{9}$ | $\underline{8}$ | 29 |
|  |  | 100 | 100 | $\underline{9}$ |

## 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 |
| :---: | :--- | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $\underline{2003}$ | $\underline{2003}$ |
| 20 | Often justified | 20 | 43 |
| 40 | Sometimes justified | 19 | 45 |
| 22 | Rarely justified | 13 | 17 |
| 14 | Never justified | $\underline{5}$ | 13 |
| $\frac{4}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | $\underline{3}$ |  |
| 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/NY Times Poll --- |  |  |
| ---: | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | April | Jan | Oct |
| 33 | Tries to reach diplomatic solutions | $\underline{2003}$ | $\underline{2003}$ | $\underline{2002}$ |
| 59 | Too quick to get military involved | 36 | 56 | 40 |
| $\frac{8}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused | $\underline{6}$ | $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{10}$ |
|  |  | 100 | 100 | $\underline{100}$ |

## ASK ALL:

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:
a. Taking measures to protect the U.S. from terrorist attacks Mid-October, 2001
Early September, 2001

| Top <br> Priority | Some <br> Priority | No <br> Priority |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 10 | 1 |  |
| DK/Ref |  |  |  |
| 93 | 6 | $*$ | $1=100$ |
| 80 | 16 | 3 | $1=100$ |
|  |  |  |  |

## ASK FORM 1 ONLY:

b.F1 Preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction

Mid-October, 2001
Early September, 2001
September, 1997
June, 1995
September, 1993
c.F1 Insuring adequate energy supplies for the U.S.

Mid-October, 2001
Early September, 2001
September, 1997
June, 1995
September, 1993

| 71 | 23 | 4 | $2=100$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 81 | 14 | 2 | $3=100$ |
| 78 | 16 | 5 | $1=100$ |
| 70 | 23 | 6 | $1=100$ |
| 68 | 21 | 9 | $2=100$ |
| 69 | 24 | 5 | $1=100$ |
|  |  |  |  |
| 70 | 25 | 2 | $3=100$ |
| 69 | 29 | 1 | $1=100$ |
| 74 | 23 | 2 | $1=100$ |
| 58 | 36 | 3 | $3=100$ |
| 59 | 34 | 3 | $4=100$ |
| 60 | 34 | 4 | $2=100$ |
|  |  |  |  |
| 24 | 57 | 15 | $4=100$ |
| 24 | 61 | 12 | $3=100$ |
| 29 | 52 | 16 | $3=100$ |
| 22 | 57 | 18 | $3=100$ |
| 16 | 57 | 24 | $3=100$ |
| 22 | 52 | 24 | $2=100$ |

e.F1 Finding a solution to the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians

| 28 | 46 | 22 | $4=100$ |
| ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| 38 | 40 | 19 | $3=100$ |
| 35 | 42 | 19 | $4=100$ |
| 34 | 45 | 19 | $2=100$ |
|  |  |  |  |
| 35 | 51 | 10 | $4=100$ |
| 30 | 63 | 4 | $3=100$ |
| 37 | 53 | 8 | $2=100$ |
| 16 | 62 | 20 | $2=100$ |
| 26 | 50 | 20 | $4=100$ |
| 27 | 51 | 19 | $3=100$ |

[^5]
## Q. 39 CONTINUED...

g.F1 Strengthening the United Nations

| Top <br> Priority | Some <br> Priority | Priority | DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 48 | 38 | 11 | $3=100$ |
| 46 | 46 | 7 | $1=100$ |
| 42 | 43 | 13 | $2=100$ |
| 30 | 53 | 14 | $3=100$ |
| 36 | 45 | 17 | $2=100$ |
| 41 | 46 | 11 | $2=100$ |
|  |  |  |  |
| 72 | 25 | 2 | $1=100$ |
| 59 | 38 | 2 | $1=100$ |
| 73 | 23 | 3 | $1=100$ |
|  |  |  |  |
| 47 | 40 | 5 | $8=100$ |
| 48 | 43 | 3 | $6=100$ |
| 49 | 41 | 5 | $5=100$ |
| 35 | 51 | 10 | $4=100$ |
| 26 | 58 | 14 | $2=100$ |

## ASK FORM 2 ONLY:

| k.F2 | Improving relationships with our allies | 54 | 40 | 4 | $2=100$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1.F2 | Helping improve the living standards in developing nations | 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.F2 | Protecting the jobs of American workers | 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.F2 | 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 | 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.F2 | Getting other countries to assume more of the costs of maintaining world order | 58 | 34 | 5 | $3=100$ |
|  | Mid-October, 2001 | 54 | 41 | 3 | $2=100$ |
|  | Early September, 2001 | 56 | 35 | 6 | $3=100$ |

## Q. 39 CONTINUED...

q.F2 Dealing with the problem of world hunger

| Top | Some | No |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Priority | Priority | Priority | DK/Ref |
| 50 | 43 | 6 | 1=100 |
| 34 | 59 | 6 | 1=100 |
| 47 | 44 | 7 | $2=100$ |
| 36 | 46 | 12 | $6=100$ |
| 31 | 51 | 13 | $5=100$ |
| 44 | 39 | 12 | 5=100 |
| 50 | 42 | 6 | $2=100$ |
| 56 | 36 | 6 | $2=100$ |
| 56 | 37 | 6 | 1=100 |
| 63 | 30 | 4 | $3=100$ |

## ASK FORM 1 ONLY:

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 Sept $\underline{2001}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Sept } \\ 1997 \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Dec } \\ 1994 \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{r} \text { Oct } \\ 1993 \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Sept } \\ 1993 \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | Chicago Council on Foreign Relations |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Nov |  |  |  |  | Nov | Nov | Nov | Dec |
|  |  | 1990 |  |  |  |  | 1986 | 1982 | 1978 | 1974 |
| 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 | $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{2}$ | 4 | 4 | $\underline{2}$ | 4 | 4 | 5 | $\underline{6}$ | $\underline{6}$ |
| 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?

| 41 | More important |
| :--- | :--- |
| 18 | Less important |
| 35 | As important |
| $\frac{6}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused [VOL.] |

## ASK ALL:

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 <br> Priority | Pome <br> Priority | Priority | DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 54 | 39 | 4 | $3=100$ |
| 58 | 37 | 2 | $3=100$ |
| 62 | 30 | 3 | $5=100$ |
| 66 | 31 | 2 | $1=100$ |
| 72 | 23 | 3 | $2=100$ |
| 25 | 56 | 13 | $6=100$ |
| 40 | 52 | 4 | $4=100$ |
| 23 | 59 | 14 | $4=100$ |
| 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?

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

## ASK FORM 2 ONLY:

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
13
Major problem
Minor problem
Not a problem
4 Not a problem

* Don’t know/Refused

29 About the same as in the past
4 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 |
|  |  | $\underline{2001}$ | 2001 | $\underline{2000}$ | 1999 | 1999 | 1997 | $1995{ }^{22}$ | 94+ | 1993 | 90+ | 86+ | 82+ | 78+ | 74+ |
| 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. | $\underline{2}$ | 4 | 4 | $\underline{3}$ | 3 | $\underline{2}$ | 1 | $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{2}$ | $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{3}$ | 7 | $\underline{8}$ |
| 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 |
| $\frac{4}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused [VOL.] |

[^6]
## ASK ALL:

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

July, 2004
Late February, 2004
Mid-July, 2003
April, 2002
Mid-October, 2001
Early September, 2001
September 1997
September 1993
Chicago CFR 1990
Chicago CFR 1978

| Israel | $\frac{\text { Palestinians }}{40}$ | Both <br> (VOL.) | Neither <br> (VOL.) | Don't know <br> Refused |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 46 | 12 | 7 | 18 | $22=100$ <br> 41 |
| 13 | 8 | 15 | $19=100$ |  |
| 41 | 13 | 6 | 18 | $20=100$ |
| 47 | 10 | 8 | 21 | $19=100$ |
| 40 | 17 | 6 | 18 | $17=100$ |
| 48 | 13 | 5 | 23 | $14=100$ |
| 45 | 21 | 3 | 16 | $18=100$ |
| 34 | 13 | 7 | 18 | $12=100$ |
| 38 | 12 | 8 | 26 | $20=100$ |
|  |  | 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?

|  |  | May 2003 |
| ---: | :--- | :---: |
| 35 | Fair | 47 |
| 32 | Favor Israel | 27 |
| 5 | Favor Palestinians | 8 |
| $\frac{\mathbf{2 8}}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused | $\underline{18}$ |

## 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 <br> April 2002 |
| :--- | :--- | :---: |
| 46 | Yes | 53 |
| 42 | No | 34 |
| $\frac{12}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused | $\underline{13}$ |

## 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 |
|  |  | $\underline{2002}$ | $\underline{2001}$ | $\underline{2001}$ | $\underline{2000}$ | 1999 | 1999 | 1997 |
| 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 |
| 10 | Don't know/Refused (DO NOT READ) | 11 | 6 | 8 | 13 | 7 | 7 | 8 |
| 100 |  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

## ASK FORM 2 ONLY:

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 |  |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $\frac{2002}{}$ | $\frac{2001}{6}$ | $\frac{2000}{13}$ | $\frac{1999}{7}$ | $\frac{1999}{13}$ | $\frac{1995}{16}$ |
| 18 | Improving | 14 | 40 | 19 | 35 | 19 | 22 |
| 13 | Getting worse | 61 | 48 | 55 | 50 | 60 | 53 |
| 58 | Staying about the same | $\underline{9}$ | $\underline{6}$ | $\underline{13}$ | $\underline{8}$ | $\underline{8}$ | $\underline{9}$ |
| $\frac{11}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | $\underline{100}$ | $\underline{100}$ |

## 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 <br> March |  |  |  | Dec $^{23}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | | Sept | Nov |
| :---: | :---: | Sept

## 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 |
| :--- | :--- | :---: |
| 3 | Definitely helped | $\underline{2003}$ |
| 31 | Probably helped | 25 |
| 25 | Probably hurt | 24 |
| 16 | Definitely hurt | 14 |
| 12 | Neither (VOL.) | 15 |
| $\frac{13}{100}$ | Don’t know/Refused (VOL.) | $\underline{20}$ |

## NO QUESTIONS 56 THROUGH 59

## ASK ALL:

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 <br> decision | Wrong <br> decision | Don't know/ <br> Refused |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| July, 2004 | 52 | 43 | $5=100$ |
| June, 2004 | 51 | 38 | $7=100$ |
| May, 2004 | 54 | 37 | $7=100$ |
| Late April, 2004 | 57 | 35 | $9=100$ |
| Early April, 2004 | 55 | 39 | $6=100$ |
| Mid-March, 2004 | 60 | 32 | $8=100$ |
| Late February, 2004 | 56 | 39 | $5=100$ |
| Early February, 2004 | 65 | 30 | $5=100$ |
| Mid-January, 2004 | 62 | 28 | $10=100$ |
| Early January, 2004 | 67 | 26 | $7=100$ |
| December, 2003 | 60 | 33 | $7=100$ |
| October, 2003 | 63 | 31 | $6=100$ |
| September, 2003 | 63 | 30 | $7=100$ |
| August, 2003 | 67 | 24 | $9=100$ |
| Early July, 2003 | 74 | 20 | $6=100$ |
| May, 2003 | 74 | 19 | $7=100$ |
| April 10-16, 2003 | 74 | 19 | $7=100$ |
| April 8-9,2003 | 72 | 20 | $8=100$ |
| April 2-7, 2003 | 69 | 25 | $6=100$ |
| March 28-April 1, 2003 | 74 | 21 | $5=100$ |
| March 25-27, 2003 | 74 | 21 | $5=100$ |
| March 23-24, 2003 | 71 | 22 | $7=100$ |
| March 20-22, 2003 | 77 | 15 | $9=100$ |

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

July, 2004
June, 2004
May, 2004
Late April, 2004
Early April, 2004
Mid-March, 2004
Early February, 2004
Mid-January, 2004
Early January,2004
December, 2003
October, 2003
September, 2003
August, 2003
Early July, 2003
April 10-16, 2003
April 8-9, 2003
April 2-7, 2003
March 25-April 1, 2003
March 23-24, 2003
March 20-22, 2003

| Very <br> well | Fairly <br> well | Not too <br> well | Not at all <br> well | Don’t know/ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 16 | 41 | 26 | 16 | $3=100$ |
| 10 | 36 | 32 | 14 | $4=100$ |
| 12 | 43 | 26 | 19 | $3=100$ |
| 14 | 43 | 26 | 13 | $4=100$ |
| 16 | 45 | 26 | 11 | $4=100$ |
| 17 | 46 | 23 | 11 | $2=100$ |
| 22 | 51 | 18 | 6 | $3=100$ |
| 23 | 47 | 18 | 7 | $5=100$ |
| 28 | 47 | 16 | 6 | $3=100$ |
| 16 | 44 | 25 | 11 | $4=100$ |
| 15 | 47 | 26 | 9 | $3=100$ |
| 19 | 43 | 24 | 11 | $3=100$ |
| 23 | 52 | 16 | 5 | $4=100$ |
| 61 | 32 | 3 | 1 | $3=100$ |
| 60 | 32 | 3 | 3 | $2=100$ |
| 55 | 37 | 3 | 2 | $3=100$ |
| 39 | 46 | 8 | 2 | $5=100$ |
| 45 | 41 | 6 | 2 | $6=100$ |
| 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?

|  |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { June } \\ \underline{2004^{24}} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { May } \\ & 2004 \end{aligned}$ | Late <br> April <br> 2004 | Early April 2004 | Early Jan | Oct | Sept |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | $\underline{2004}$ |  |  |  | $\underline{2003}$ | $\underline{2003}$ |  |
| 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 | $\underline{5}$ | $\underline{5}$ | 7 | $\underline{6}$ | $\underline{5}$ | $\underline{3}$ | 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 |
|  |  | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2003}$ | $\underline{2003}$ | $\underline{2003}$ |
| 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.) | 8 | 10 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 10 |
| 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 | Mid- <br> March | Late <br> Feb | Early Feb | Dec | Sept | May | April | Early Oct |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2004}$ | Feb <br> $\underline{2004}$ <br> 1 | $\begin{gathered} \text { FeD } \\ \underline{2004} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\underline{2003}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { sept } \\ & \underline{2003} \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { May } \\ & 2003 \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { April } \\ & \underline{2003}^{25} \end{aligned}$ | $\underline{2002}$ |
| 43 | Helped | 43 | 50 | 62 | 55 | 59 | 54 | 65 | 63 | 52 |
| 45 | Hurt | 44 | 37 | 28 | 32 | 26 | 31 | 22 | 22 | 34 |
|  | No effect (VOL) | 4 | 5 | 3 | 7 | 6 | 7 | 6 | -- | -- |
| 7 | Don't know/Refused | $\underline{9}$ | 8 | 7 | 6 | 9 | 8 | 7 | 15 | 14 |
| 100 |  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 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?"

## ASK FORM 1 ONLY:

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 <br> Feb | Dec | Sept | May |
| :---: | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $\underline{2004}$ | $\frac{2003}{13}$ | $\frac{2003}{9}$ | $\frac{2003}{18}$ |
| 11 | Excellent | 37 | 35 | 36 | 41 |
| 33 | Good | 31 | 27 | 35 | 26 |
| 35 | Only fair | 9 | 16 | 11 | 6 |
| 13 | Poor | $\underline{10}$ | $\underline{11}$ | $\underline{9}$ | $\underline{9}$ |
| $\frac{8}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 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 |
| $\frac{22}{100}$ | 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?

|  |  | $----C B S /$ New York Times ----- |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | June | April | March | Dec | July |
| 17 | Less than a year | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2003}$ | $\underline{2003}$ |
| 31 | One to two years | 33 | 2 | 8 | 15 | 13 |
| 27 | Two to five years | 26 | 33 | 22 | 34 | 31 |
| 17 | Longer than five years | 16 | 25 | 26 | 31 | 31 |
| $\frac{8}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | $\underline{8}$ | $\underline{7}$ | $\underline{9}$ | $\underline{8}$ | 18 |
|  |  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 10 |

## NO QUESTIONS 68 OR 69

## ASK ALL:

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]

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $(R V s)$ <br> Early |  |  |  | Early | Oct | Oct

## 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 $11^{\text {th }}$ terrorist attacks?

|  |  | Late Aug <br> 2002 |
| :---: | :--- | :---: |
| 24 | Greater | $\frac{202}{22}$ |
| 39 | The same | 39 |
| 34 | Less | 34 |
| $\frac{3}{100}$ | Don't know/refused (VOL.) | $\underline{5}$ |

## 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 <br> $\mathbf{2 0 0 2}^{26}$ | Late <br> Sept 2001 |  |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: |
| 38 | Yes, U.S. dealings may have motivated attacks | 38 | 33 |
| 51 | No | 49 | 55 |
| $\frac{11}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused | $\underline{13}$ | $\underline{12}$ |
| 100 | 100 |  |  |

[^7]
## ASK FORM 2 ONLY:

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 |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: |
| 28 | Yes, unfair dealings may have motivated attacks | $\frac{2002^{27}}{23}$ | $\underline{2001}$ |
| 58 | No | 64 | 70 |
| $\frac{14}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused | $\underline{13}$ | $\underline{9}$ |
| 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?


## 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 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\underline{2002}$ | $\underline{2002}$ | $\underline{2001}$ | $\underline{\text { April 1995 }}$ |
| 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 | $\underline{13}$ | $\underline{12}$ | $\underline{17}$ | $\underline{12}$ |
|  | 100 | 100 | 100 | $\underline{100}$ |

## NO QUESTION 76

[^8]
## ASK FORM 2 ONLY:

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 |
| $\frac{4}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused |

## 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 -- |  |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $\underline{2003}$ | $\underline{2002}$ | $\underline{\text { Jan 2002 }}$ | $\underline{\text { Oct 2001 }}$ |
| $\mathbf{3 9}$ | Favorable | 40 | $\underline{38}$ | 41 | 47 |
| 37 | Unfavorable | 34 | 33 | 24 | 39 |
| $\underline{\mathbf{2 4}}$ | No Opinion | $\underline{26}$ | $\underline{29}$ | $\underline{35}$ | $\underline{13}$ |
| $\mathbf{1 0 0}$ |  | $\underline{100}$ | $\underline{100}$ | $\underline{100}$ | $\underline{100}$ |

## ASK FORM 1 ONLY:

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

|  |  | June | March |
| ---: | :--- | :---: | :---: |
| 8 | Almost all | $\underline{2003}$ | $\underline{2002}$ |
| 15 | Most | 17 | 12 |
| 19 | About half | 25 | 18 |
| 27 | Some | 24 | 24 |
| 17 | Just a few | 15 | 21 |
| $\frac{14}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused [VOL.] | $\underline{12}$ | $\underline{19}$ |
|  |  | 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]

|  |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { July } \\ 2003 \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | March $\underline{2002}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 46 | The Islamic religion is more likely than others to encourage violence among its believers | 44 | 25 |
| 37 | The Islamic religion does not encourage violence more than others | 41 | 51 |
| 2 | Neither (VOL.) | 3 | 3 |
| $\underline{15}$ | Don't know (VOL.) | $\underline{12}$ | $\underline{21}$ |
| 100 |  | 100 | 100 |

## NO QUESTIONS 83 THROUGH 86

## ASK ALL:

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]?

Republican Strong Republican Not strong Republican
Democrat
Strong Democrat
Not strong Democrat
Independent
No Preference
Other (VOL.)
Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

## 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 |
| $\frac{12}{38 \%}$ | Other/Don't know/Refused (VOL.) |

## 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/ Lean Rep | Rep/ Lean Rep | Rep/ Lean Rep | $\begin{gathered} \text { Rep/ } \\ \text { an } \operatorname{Rep}(R V s) \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Aug 2003 | May 2002 | May 2001 | 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 | 1 | $\underline{2}$ | $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{2}$ |
| 100 |  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

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

Q. 88 How good a job is the Democratic Party doing these days in standing up for its traditional positions on such 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/ <br> Lean Dem <br> Aug 2003 | Dem/ <br> Lean Dem | Dem/ <br> Lean Dem | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Dem/ } \\ & \text { an Dem (RVs) } \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | May 2002 | May 2001 | 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 | $\underline{2}$ | $\underline{3}$ | 6 | 1 |
| 100 |  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

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

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

| 6 | Seen it |
| ---: | :--- |
| 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, Jehovah's Witness, Church of Christ, etc.)
5
26 Jehovah's Witness, Church of Christ,
Roman Catholic or Catholic $\{$ Correct $\}$
Oher 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, Jehovah's Witness, Church of Christ, etc.) \{Correct\}
38
4 Roman Catholic or Catholic

* Other religion

1 No religion, not a believer, atheist, agnostic
57 Don't know/Refused (VOL.) 100


[^0]:    $1 \quad$ Asked April 8, 2003 only; N=395.
    The September 2002 trend is from a Pew Global Attitudes Project survey, fielded August 19 to September 8, 2002 and released December 4, 2002.

[^1]:    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."

[^2]:    4 From March 20 to April 16, 2003 the story was listed as "News about the war in Iraq."
    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."

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

[^3]:    13
    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.

[^4]:    15 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.

[^5]:    18 In January 2003 and earlier the question was worded "Bringing about a permanent settlement between Israel and the Arabs."

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

[^6]:    ${ }^{22}$
    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?"

[^7]:    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?"

[^8]:    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?

