## NEWS Release

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## Increasing Optimism About Irag OBAMA HAS THE LEAD, BUT POTENTIAL PROBLEMS TOO

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## Increasing Optimism About Iraq

## OBAMA HAS THE LEAD, BUT POTENTIAL PROBLEMS TOO

Barack Obama is riding high as the March 4 primaries approach. Obama has moved out to a broad-based advantage over Hillary Clinton in the national Democratic primary contest and holds a $50 \%-43 \%$ lead over John McCain in a
general election matchup.

However, the survey results point to several potential hazards for Obama. A solid majority of voters (56\%) says Obama has not provided enough information about his plans and policies; in contrast, most voters say Clinton and McCain have disclosed enough information about their plans. Moreover, a plurality of voters (43\%) says that Obama would not be "tough enough" in dealing with foreign policy and national security issues.

The latest survey by the Pew Research Center for the People \& the Press, conducted Feb.

Obama \& Clinton Both Lead McCain...

|  | Oba- | Mc- | Clin- | Mc- |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\frac{\text { ma }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { Cain }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { ton }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { Cain }}{\%}$ |
| All voters | 50 | 43 | 50 | 45 |
| But in Different Ways |  |  |  |  |
| Republican | 8 | 87 | 5 | 91 |
| Independent | 49 | 43 | 44 | 50 |
| Democrat | 81 | 14 | 89 | 8 |

* Most likely to win Democratic nomination.
** Based on Dem/ Dem-leaning registered voters. 20-24 among 1,508 adults, also finds signs of trouble for the GOP's frontrunner. Even as there are indications McCain is consolidating his support within the Republican base, nearly half of conservative Republicans (46\%) say his positions on the issues are not conservative enough. McCain's image among independent voters has slipped since early February, and currently Obama edges McCain by $49 \%$ to $43 \%$ among independents in a general election matchup.

However, public attitudes about the war in Iraq have turned more positive, which is a favorable development for McCain. A steadily growing number of Americans say progress is being made in Iraq. Moreover, $47 \%$ now favor keeping U.S. troops in Iraq until the situation there has stabilized, the highest percentage expressing this view in well more than a year.

| Candidate Vulnerabilities |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Provided enough | Obama | Clinton | McCain |
| information ... | \% | \% | \% |
| Has | 36 | 67 | 51 |
| Has not | 56 | 28 | 37 |
| On foreign policy ... |  |  |  |
| Too tough | 3 | 9 | 25 |
| Not tough enough | 43 | 37 | 16 |
| About right | 39 | 44 | 47 |
| Very likeable | 50 | 26 | 21 |
| Somewhat likeable | 35 | 37 | 55 |
| Not likeable | 10 | 33 | 18 |
| Too old to be prez. |  |  |  |
| McCain at age 71 | -- | -- | 32 |
| Bob Dole at age 73 | -- | -- | 34* |
| Based on registered voters. <br> * Source: LA Times Poll, April 1996. |  |  |  |

Perceptions of how things are going in Iraq are strongly correlated with support for McCain, among Republicans, Democrats and independents. For example, in a matchup against Barack Obama, McCain does 31 points better among independents who believe the war is going well than among those who think it is not going well.

| Presidential Vote and Views of the War in Iraq |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| War in Iraq going... |  |  |  |
| \%for McCain | Well | Not well | Diff |
| against Obama | \% | \% |  |
| All RVs | 64 | 21 | +43 |
| Republicans | 90 | 72 | +18 |
| Democrats | 23 | 10 | +13 |
| Independents | 58 | 27 | +31 |

Hillary Clinton's support levels have slipped across the board among Democrats. Clinton leads Obama only among white women voters, those ages 65 and older, and voters with household incomes of less than $\$ 30,000$ a year. In addition, overcoming voters' perceptions of Obama's momentum is a major challenge for Clinton. Fully 70\% of Democratic voters including $52 \%$ of those who support Clinton - say that Obama is most likely to win the Democratic presidential nomination.

Nonetheless, Clinton fares nearly as well as Obama in a head-to-head matchup with McCain, however. The New York senator runs better than Obama among self-described Democrats in the general election test, although Obama fares better than Clinton among independents.

## Democratic Base Fissures

Although attention has been focused on McCain's problems with the GOP base, there are indications that some Democrats might defect if Obama is the party's nominee. Overall, $20 \%$ of white Democratic voters say they would vote for McCain if Obama is the Democratic nominee. That is twice the percentage of white Democrats who say they would support McCain in a Clinton-McCain matchup. Older Democrats (ages 65 and older), lower-income and less educated Democrats also would support McCain at higher levels if Obama rather than Clinton is the party's nominee.

The three leading presidential candidates have divergent images, which are reflected in the words that voters use to describe Obama, Clinton and McCain. In general, the single words used to describe Obama are very positive, but the word "inexperienced" is used most frequently to describe the Illinois senator.

"Experienced" is the word used most often to describe Clinton, with the words "strong" and untrustworthy" also mentioned frequently. For McCain, the word "old" is used most often as a descriptor, far outnumbering mentions of "honest," "experienced" and "patriot."

Nearly a third of all voters (32\%) believe that, at 71 years old, McCain is too old to be president, while $66 \%$ say that being 71 does not make him too old. Opinions about whether McCain is too old to be president are comparable with views about Bob Dole during the 1996 campaign. In March 1996, 34\% said Dole, who would have been 73 upon inauguration, was too old, while $63 \%$ said he was not.

Despite McCain having nearly secured the Republican nomination, freeing him to focus on the general election, most Democrats say the extended contest between Obama and Clinton has been good for the party. Nearly six-in-ten Democratic voters (57\%) say the fact that the primary contest is not yet decided is a good thing for the Democratic Party.

There also is broad agreement among Democrats that if neither Obama nor Clinton wins enough support to gain the nomination, the party's super delegates should support the candidate who has won the most support, rather than the one they personally think is best.

| Democrats Happy with Contest, Want Super Delegates to Conform |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | All | -Support--Ob- Clin- |  |
| The contest not | Dems* | ama |  |
| yet decided is... | \% | \% |  |
| Good for the party | 57 | 60 | 52 |
| Bad for the party | 27 | 26 | 32 |
| Don't know | $\underline{16}$ | $\underline{14}$ |  |
|  | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Super delegates should vote for candidate... |  |  |  |
| With most support | 63 | 78 | 46 |
| They think is best | 32 | 21 | 48 |
| Don't know |  |  |  |
|  | 100 |  |  |
| * Based on Democratic and Democratic-leaning registered voters. |  |  |  |

By roughly two-to-one ( $63 \%$ to $32 \%$ ), more Democratic voters say the super delegates primarily current and former elected officials and members of the Democratic National Committee - should vote for the candidate who was won the most support in caucuses and primaries. Far more Obama supporters than Clinton supporters say that super delegates should back the candidate who has won the most support during the primaries ( $78 \%$ vs. $46 \%$ ).

## Improvement in Iraq

The survey finds a marked improvement in perceptions of the situation in Iraq over the past year. As was the case in November, as many people say the military effort there is going well as say it is not going well ( $48 \%$ each). A year ago, negative perceptions of the situation in Iraq outnumbered positive assessments by greater than two-to-one ( $67 \%$ to $30 \%$ ).

Opinions about progress toward specific objectives, such as defeating the insurgents and reducing civilian casualties, also have become much more positive. In addition, the proportion saying the United States is making progress in preventing a civil war in Iraq has approximately doubled in the past year (from $18 \%$ to $35 \%$ ), though a greater percentage (49\%) still says the United States is losing ground in preventing civil war.

Despite the more positive outlook, the balance of opinion about the decision to take military action in Iraq is about the same now as it was a year ago. A

| More See Iraq Progress, |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| But Most Say War Was Wrong Decision |  |  |
|  |  |  |
| U.S. military effort | $\frac{2007}{\%}$ | $\frac{2008}{\%}$ |
| is going.... | 30 | 48 |
| Very/ fairly well | 67 | 48 |
| Not too/ at all well |  |  |
| Making progress in... | 30 | 49 |
| Defeating insurgents | 20 | 46 |
| Reducing civilian casualties | 18 | 35 |
| Preventing civil war |  |  |
| Iraq war was... | 40 | 38 |
| Right decision | 54 | 54 | majority (54\%) says the war was the wrong decision, while $38 \%$ say it was the right decision. The balance of opinion on whether the war was right is nearly identical to what it was in February 2007 (54\% wrong vs. 40\% right).

Democrats hold a significant advantage as the party better able to handle Iraq, and have even larger leads on nearly every other issue. By $47 \%-37 \%$, more people say the Democratic Party rather than the Republican Party is better able to make wise decisions about Iraq. Notably, a majority (53\%) also says the Democrats are better able to handle the economy, which has become the leading issue in the presidential campaign. Terrorism is the only issue on which the Republican Party holds even a modest lead ( $45 \%$ to $38 \%$ ); however, its advantage on dealing with the terrorist threat was approximately twice as great during the 2004 campaign.

In this regard, the poll finds a majority of the public giving the Bush administration credit for preventing another terrorist attack on the U.S. in recent years. More than six-in-ten Americans say the policies and actions Bush has pursued have had a great deal (28\%) or fair amount (34\%) to do with keeping America safe.

## Section 1: General Election Patterns of Support

Obama and Clinton both hold modest leads over McCain in a general election matchup; Obama has a $50 \%$ to $43 \%$ lead and Clinton holds a $50 \%$ to $45 \%$ edge. But Clinton draws more universal support among Democrats (89\%) than does Obama (81\%). Conversely, Obama leads McCain slightly among independents (49\% to 43\%), while McCain edges Clinton among this group by the same margin. There is no evidence that either Obama or Clinton attracts much support from Republicans.

Obama and Clinton both show strength among younger voters and women. But there are demographic differences evident in their respective matchups with McCain. Obama leads McCain among 30-49 year-olds by 13 points, while these voters are divided almost evenly if the race is between Clinton and McCain. Both Democrats run about even with McCain among voters ages 50 and over.

While women favor either possible Democratic nominee over McCain in a general election matchup, Obama fares somewhat better

| Obama \& Clinton Both Lead McCain |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Mc- } \\ \text { Cain } \\ \hline \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Oba- } \\ & \frac{\text { ma }}{\%} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Mc- } \\ & \text { Cain } \\ & \hline \% \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Clin- } \\ & \frac{\text { ton }}{\%} \end{aligned}$ |
| All voters | 43 | 50 | 45 | 50 |
| Republican | 87 | 8 | 91 | 5 |
| Democrat | 14 | 81 | 8 | 89 |
| Independent | 43 | 49 | 50 | 44 |
| Men | 46 | 47 | 51 | 43 |
| Women | 40 | 53 | 39 | 56 |
| White | 50 | 42 | 51 | 44 |
| Black | 4 | 93 | 10 | 86 |
| 18-29 | 30 | 65 | 28 | 68 |
| 30-49 | 41 | 54 | 47 | 48 |
| 50-64 | 49 | 45 | 47 | 49 |
| 65+ | 46 | 41 | 46 | 45 |
| Conservative | 70 | 24 | 73 | 22 |
| Moderate | 35 | 57 | 38 | 58 |
| Liberal | 14 | 82 | 12 | 84 |
| College grad+ | 41 | 54 | 46 | 50 |
| Some college | 44 | 51 | 45 | 49 |
| HS or less | 44 | 47 | 43 | 51 |
| * Based on all registered voters. Figures read horizontally. |  |  |  |  | than Clinton among men. Obama runs even with McCain among all male voters (47\% Obama to 46\% McCain), but McCain holds a 51\% to 43\% advantage over Clinton among men.

## Obama's Appeal to Independents

Obama has much greater personal appeal to independent voters than does either McCain or Clinton. Fully 63\% of independents rate Obama favorably, nearly twice the percentage expressing an unfavorable view of him (32\%). The balance of opinion toward McCain also is favorable, but by a much slimmer $51 \%$ to $38 \%$ margin. The share of independents with an unfavorable view of Clinton is substantially higher (50\%), while just 45\% view her favorably.

Roughly half of independent voters (51\%) say they personally find Obama very likeable, which is far

| Independent Voters Like Obama |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Oba- } \\ & \frac{\text { ma }}{\%} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Mc- } \\ & \text { Cain } \\ & \hline \% \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Clin- } \\ & \frac{\text { ton }}{\%} \end{aligned}$ |
| Favorable | 63 | 51 | 45 |
| Unfavorable | 32 | 38 | 50 |
| Don't know | $\frac{5}{0}$ | $\frac{11}{100}$ | $\stackrel{5}{100}$ |
| Very likeable | 51 | 13 | 18 |
| Somewhat likeable | 39 | 61 | 41 |
| Not likeable | 8 | 19 | 37 |
| Don't know | $\underline{2}$ | 7 | 4 |
|  | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Based on independent registered voters. |  |  |  | greater than the percentages saying they find either Clinton (18\%) or McCain (13\%) very likeable. A substantial minority of independents says that Clinton is not likeable; 37\% express this view about Clinton, compared with $19 \%$ for McCain and just $8 \%$ for Obama.

In a general election test against McCain, Obama runs slightly better than Clinton among most subgroups of independent voters. But he shows particular strength among younger and well-educated independents. Obama leads McCain by 21 points among independents under age 50 (58\% to 37\%); these same younger independents split their vote almost evenly in a race between Clinton and McCain (49\% vs. 46\%).

In addition, Obama holds a slight $49 \%$ to $44 \%$ edge among independent college graduates by five points. Clinton trails McCain among this group by 13 points ( $41 \%$ to $54 \%$ ).

Obama also holds a 20 point

| Obama Wins Key Independent Groups |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Independent | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Mc- } \\ & \text { Cain } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Oba- } \\ & \frac{\text { ma }}{\%} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Mc- } \\ & \text { Cain } \end{aligned}$ |  | ObamaClinton | N |
| voters | 43 | 49 | 50 | 44 | +5 | 388 |
| Independent Subgroups |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Male | 47 | 44 | 52 | 39 | +5 | 221 |
| Female | 37 | 57 | 47 | 50 | +7 | 167 |
| 18-49 | 37 | 58 | 46 | 49 | +9 | 161 |
| 50+ | 50 | 39 | 54 | 39 | 0 | 220 |
| College grad | 44 | 49 | 54 | 41 | +8 | 174 |
| Some college | 36 | 58 | 46 | 50 | +8 | 106 |
| H.S. or less | 46 | 44 | 50 | 42 | +2 | 106 |
| \$50,000 and over | 43 | 49 | 52 | 42 | +7 | 200 |
| Under \$50,000 | 43 | 52 | 46 | 51 | +1 | 133 |
| Conservative | 62 | 30 | 68 | 26 | +4 | 122 |
| Moderate/ Liberal | 33 | 60 | 42 | 53 | +7 | 253 |
| Lean Democratic | 17 | 80 | 21 | 77 | +3 | 164 |
| Lean Republican | 84 | 13 | 92 | 7 | +6 | 129 |
| No leaning | 36 | 39 | 51 | 30 | +9 | 95 |
| Iraq policy |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Keep troops in | 58 | 33 | 64 | 31 | +2 | 212 |
| Bring troops home | 24 | 70 | 32 | 62 | +8 | 155 |
| Based on independent registered voters. Figures read horizontally. |  |  |  |  |  |  | lead over McCain among female

independent voters (57\% to 37\%). Clinton's edge over McCain among independent women is just three points (50\% to 47\%).

## Clinton Draws More Support Among Democrats

The vast majority of Democratic voters say they would support either Obama or Clinton over McCain. But in an Obama-McCain matchup, $14 \%$ of Democratic voters say they would support McCain, compared with $8 \%$ who would do so if Clinton is the nominee.

One-in-five white Democrats (20\%) say that they will vote for McCain over Obama, double the percentage who say they would switch sides in a ClintonMcCain matchup (10\%). Roughly the same number of Democrats age 65 and older say they will vote for McCain if Obama is the party's choice (22\%). Obama also suffers more defections among lower income and less educated Democratic voters than does Clinton.

In addition, female Democrats look at the race differently depending on the matchup. While $93 \%$ of women in the party say they would vote for Clinton over McCain, just 79\% say they would support Obama over McCain.

A quarter of Democrats (25\%) who back Clinton for the nomination say

| Democratic Defections Rise In Obama-McCain Matchup |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { MC- } \\ & \text { Cain } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Oba- } \\ & \frac{\text { ma }}{\%} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Mc- } \\ & \text { Cain } \\ & \hline \% \end{aligned}$ |  | Obama- <br> Clinton | N |
| All Democrats | 14 | 81 | 8 | 89 | -8 | 456 |
| Democratic Subgroups |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| White | 20 | 75 | 10 | 87 | -12 | 315 |
| Black | 1 | 96 | 1 | 93 | +3 | 103 |
| Male | 14 | 84 | 12 | 84 | 0 | 188 |
| Female | 15 | 79 | 5 | 93 | -14 | 268 |
| 18-49 | 12 | 86 | 7 | 90 | -4 | 179 |
| 50-64 | 14 | 83 | 6 | 92 | -9 | 153 |
| 65+ | 22 | 68 | 12 | 84 | -16 | 121 |
| College grad | 9 | 89 | 8 | 91 | -2 | 185 |
| Some college | 14 | 84 | 6 | 88 | -4 | 118 |
| H.S. or less | 19 | 73 | 9 | 89 | -16 | 153 |
| \$75,000 + | 11 | 85 | 8 | 90 | -5 | 129 |
| \$30-\$74,999 | 12 | 87 | 8 | 89 | -2 | 164 |
| Under \$30,000 | 17 | 73 | 7 | 90 | -17 | 111 |
| Primary Preference |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Favor Obama | 3 | 97 | 10 | 86 | +11 | 214 |
| Favor Clinton | 25 | 65 | 1 | 98 | -33 | 185 |
| Based on Democratic registered voters. Figures read horizontally. |  |  |  |  |  |  | they would favor McCain in a general election test against Obama. The "defection" rate among Obama's supporters if Clinton wins the nomination is far lower; just $10 \%$ say they would vote for McCain in November, while 86\% say they would back Clinton.

## Obama's Foreign Policy Challenge

Obama suffers a significant number of defections from Democrats with more conservative foreign policy views, particularly on the issue of Iraq. A large majority of Democrats - 70\% - say they want U.S. troops in Iraq to return home as soon as possible; these Democrats overwhelmingly favor either Obama or Clinton over McCain. But roughly a quarter of Democrats believes the troops should remain in Iraq until the situation has stabilized. These voters would support Clinton over McCain by greater than five-to-one ( $83 \%$ vs. 14\%). Democrats who support maintaining U. S. forces in Iraq would support Obama over McCain by a smaller margin (66\% to 31\%).

| Democratic Defectors Conservative on Foreign Policy |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Mc- | Ob- |  | Clin- | Obama- |  |
| Among Democrats | Cain | ama | Cain | ton | Clinton | N |
| U.S. troops in Iraq | \% | \% |  | \% |  |  |
| Bring them home (70\%) | 9 | 86 | 6 | 91 | -5 | 314 |
| Keep them there ( $26 \%$ ) | 31 | 66 | 14 | 83 | -17 | 119 |
| Obama's approach on foreign policy |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| About right (59\%) | 5 | 94 | 6 | 91 | +3 | 268 |
| Not tough enough (25\%) | 32 | 58 | 13 | 86 | -28 | 117 |
| Based on Democratic registered voters. Figures read horizontally. Numbers in parentheses show the share of Democratic voters expressing each view. |  |  |  |  |  |  |

Similarly, concerns about Obama's foreign policy among a minority of Democrats also cut into Obama's standing. A quarter of Democratic voters believe that Obama would not be tough enough in his approach to foreign policy issues; about a third (32\%) of these Democrats say they will vote for McCain if Obama wins the nomination. Just $13 \%$ of these same Democrats would switch sides if Clinton wins the nomination.

## Wary Republicans Rally to McCain

There is little evidence that a significant number of Republican voters find either Obama or Clinton to be acceptable alternatives to John McCain - fully $87 \%$ back him in a contest against Barack Obama, and $91 \%$ back him if Clinton wins the Democratic nomination.

Yet many Republicans are skeptical about McCain's commitment to conservative positions. Overall, $38 \%$ of Republicans, including $46 \%$ of conservative Republicans, believe that McCain's positions on issues are not conservative enough. But that perception does not appear to have hurt McCain's image, or support, among GOP voters.

Only a minority of Republicans (31\%) believe that differences and disagreements within the party will keep many Republicans from

| McCain and the GOP Base |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | All |  | Mod/ |
| McCain is... | Reps | Cons | Lib |
| Not conservative enough | 38 | 46 | 16 |
| Too conservative | 8 | 7 | 15 |
| About right | 47 | 42 | 59 |
| Don't know | 7 | $\underline{5}$ | 10 |
|  | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| The GOP will ... |  |  |  |
| Unite solidly behind him | 59 | 61 | 60 |
| Be divided | 31 | 32 | 27 |
| Don't know | 10 | $\underline{7}$ | 13 |
|  | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Based on Republican registered voters. |  |  |  |

supporting McCain. Instead, roughly six-in-ten (59\%) say that the Republican Party will unite solidly behind McCain as their candidate. Notably, the belief that the party can unite behind McCain is equally widespread among both conservative (61\%) and moderate and liberal (60\%) Republicans.

In fact, John McCain's overall favorability rating among Republican voters has risen sharply, from $65 \%$ on the eve of the Iowa caucuses to $80 \%$ today. This increase has come across the ideological spectrum. Since late December, McCain's favorability among conservative Republicans has increased from $66 \%$ to $81 \%$, and it is up from $64 \%$ to 81\% among moderates and liberals in the party.

In fact, conservative Republican voters now rate McCain about as favorably as they do George W. Bush; $81 \%$ have a favorable opinion of McCain while 85\% have a favorable opinion of Bush. McCain is

| McCain's Favorability Ratings Among Republicans |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Dec |  | J an 30- | Feb |
|  | 19-30 | 9-13 | Feb 2 | 20-24 |
|  | $\underline{2007}$ | $\underline{2008}$ | 2008 | $\underline{2008}$ |
| Conservative | \% | \% | \% | \% |
| Favorable | 66 | 70 | 72 | 81 |
| Unfavorable | 24 | 22 | 21 | 14 |
| Don't know | 10 | 8 | 7 | $\underline{5}$ |
|  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Moderate/Liberal |  |  |  |  |
| Favorable | 64 | 72 | 77 | 81 |
| Unfavorable | 12 | 22 | 11 | 13 |
| Don't know | $\underline{24}$ | $\underline{6}$ | 12 | $\underline{6}$ |
|  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Based on Republican registered voters. |  |  |  |  | held in substantially higher regard than the president among moderate and liberal Republicans (81\% favorable vs. $63 \%$ for Bush).

## McCain Seen as Less Divisive Than Dole in 1996

The proportion of Republican voters who believe that their party will unite solidly behind John McCain (59\%) exceeds the share of Republicans voters who thought that about Bob Dole in 1996 (47\%). Just 31\% now say that differences and disagreements in the party will keep many Republicans from supporting McCain, compared with $37 \%$ who said that about Dole in 1996.

In 1992, Democrats were divided about prospects the party would unite behind Bill Clinton. Four years ago, an overwhelming proportion of Democrats expected the party to unite behind John Kerry.

| Relatively Few Republicans See McCain Splitting Party |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Republicans saying | $\begin{gathered} \text { Dole } \\ \text { in } 1996 \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { McCain } \\ & \text { in } 2008 \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ |
| Rep Party will... | \% | \% |
| Unite solidly behind | 47 | 59 |
| Be divided | 37 | 31 |
| Don't know | 16 | 10 |
|  | 100 | 100 |
|  | Clinton <br> in 1992 | Kerry in 2004 |
| Democrats saying | $\text { in } 1992$ | in 2004 |
| Dem Party will... | \% | \% |
| Unite solidly behind | 43 | 74 |
| Be divided | 37 | 11 |
| Don't know | $\underline{20}$ | 15 |
|  | 100 | 100 |
| Based on registered voters except 1992 based on general public. |  |  |

## Section 2: Candidate Images

While McCain's image has improved among Republicans, it has slipped decidedly among both Democrats and independents in recent weeks. As a result, the share of registered voters who say they have an unfavorable view of the likely Republican nominee is at a new high of $38 \%$, up from $31 \%$ on the eve of Super Tuesday.

Historically, John McCain has not been a polarizing political figure. As recently as two years ago, he received comparably favorable marks from Republicans (61\%), Democrats (56\%) and
 independents (57\%). But as he has moved closer to winning the GOP nomination, Democratic views of McCain are becoming increasingly critical. Currently, about twice as many Democrats have an unfavorable opinion of McCain as have a favorable view ( $57 \%$ vs. $29 \%$, respectively). Just three weeks ago, Democratic views of McCain were divided (44\% unfavorable vs. $42 \%$ favorable).

More independent voters also express unfavorable opinions of McCain in the current survey. A narrow majority of independents (51\%) now expresses a positive view of McCain, but $38 \%$ say they have an unfavorable impression, up 13 points in less than a month.

| More Offer Unfavorable View of McCain |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Jlan 30- Feb |  |  |
|  | Feb 2 | 20-24 |
| voters | \% | \% |
| Favorable | 56 | 50 |
| Unfavorable | 30 | 38 |
| Don't know | 14 | 12 |
|  |  | 100 |
| Republicans |  |  |
| Favorable | 74 | 80 |
| Unfavorable | 18 | 14 |
| Independents |  |  |
| Favorable | 57 | 51 |
| Unfavorable | 25 | 38 |
| Democrats |  |  |
| Favorable | 42 | 29 |
| Unfavorable | 44 | 57 |
| Based on registered voters. |  |  |

## McCain's Age an Issue

The vast majority of registered voters (72\%) say they do not think John McCain is too old to be president. But about a quarter (26\%) say they think he is too old, and this proportion rises to nearly a third (32\%) when voters are informed that McCain is currently 71 years old. Concerns about McCain's age are nearly identical to how voters felt about Bob Dole's age at a comparable point in the 1996 campaign, according to polls by Gallup and the Los Angeles Times.

In general, McCain's age is of greater concern to older voters than it is to younger voters. Just $24 \%$ of voters under age 35 themselves believe that, at 71, McCain is too old to serve. But among voters who themselves are of retirement age, $40 \%$ say that McCain is too old.

| McCain's Age Factor |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Is $\qquad$ too old to be president? | Dole | McCain |
|  | in 199 | in 2008* |
|  | \% | \% |
| Yes | 25 | 26 |
| No | 72 | 72 |
| Don't know | 3 | $\underline{2}$ |
|  | 100 | 100 |
| At age (73/71) |  |  |
| is __-_ too old |  |  |
| Yes | 34 | 32 |
| No | 63 | 66 |
| Don't know | 3 | $\underline{2}$ |
|  | 100 | 100 |
| * McCain's age was provided to half of all respondents, and not to the other half. |  |  |
| **A March 1996 Gallup poll asked about Dole |  |  |
| LA Times poll asked the same question providing his age (73) at inauguration. |  |  |

Democrats are more than twice as likely as Republicans (33\% vs. 14\%) to say that McCain is too old to be president, even when his age is not mentioned. Democrats react even more negatively when informed that McCain is 71 years old. About half of Democrats (52\%) say that, at 71, McCain is too old, compared with just $16 \%$ of Republicans. For independents, roughly a quarter expresses concern about McCain's age, regardless of whether his current age of 71 is mentioned or not.

| Percent Saying McCain is "Too Old to Be President" |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Age no mention |  | Diff |
| All RVs |  | \% 32 | +6 |
| Republicans | 14 | 16 | +2 |
| Democrats | 33 | 52 | +19 |
| Independents | - 27 | 26 | -1 |
| 18-34 | 18 | 24 | +6 |
| 35-50 | 25 | 36 | +11 |
| 50-64 | 30 | 31 | +1 |
| 65+ | 30 | 40 | +10 |
| Male | 24 | 28 | +4 |
| Female | 28 | 37 | +9 |
| McCain's age was provided to half of all respondents, and not to the other half. |  |  |  |

## Views of the Candidates: Disclosing Plans, Policies

A majority of voters (56\%) say that Obama has not provided enough information about his policies and plans for the country. By comparison, just $28 \%$ say that Clinton has said too little about her plans and policies, while $37 \%$ say that about McCain.

Perceptions that Obama has not provided enough information about his positions are especially apparent among Republicans (71\%), but a solid majority of independents (60\%) and a considerable minority of Democratic voters (43\%) share this concern.

Among Democratic voters, a solid majority of Obama supporters (70\%) believes that he has provided sufficient information about his policy plans, but just $28 \%$ of Clinton supporters agree. By contrast, 72\% of Obama supporters and

| Provided Enough Information About Policies and Plans? |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Oba- } \\ & \frac{\text { ma }}{\%} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Clin- } \\ & \frac{\text { ton }}{\%} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Mc- } \\ & \frac{\text { Cain }}{\%} \end{aligned}$ |
| Has | 36 | 67 | 51 |
| Has not | 56 | 28 | 37 |
| Don't know | $\frac{8}{100}$ | $\frac{5}{100}$ | $\frac{12}{100}$ |
| Among... Democrats |  |  |  |
| Has | 50 | 78 | 49 |
| Has not | 43 | 18 | 35 |
| Independents |  |  |  |
| Has | 33 | 60 | 49 |
| Has not | 60 | 34 | 39 |
| Republicans |  |  |  |
| Has | 20 | 65 | 58 |
| Has not | 71 | 31 | 36 |
| Based on registered voters. |  |  |  | 87\% of Clinton supporters believe that Clinton has provided enough information about her plans and policies.

## Foreign Policy Ratings

A sizable minority of voters also expresses concern that Obama's approach to foreign policy and national security would not be tough enough; $43 \%$ say this, compared with $39 \%$ who say it would be about right. In contrast, $47 \%$ say McCain's approach would be about right and $44 \%$ say Clinton's would be.

Concern that Obama's approach to foreign policy and national security would not be tough enough is more widespread among Republican and independent voters ( $70 \%$ and $45 \%$, respectively), but as many as a quarter of voters in Obama's own party also say he would not be tough enough.

McCain, in turn, is seen by some voters as too tough in dealing with foreign policy and national security. Fully 37\% of Democratic voters and 28\% of independent voters worry that McCain would be too tough.

| Approach to Foreign Policy and National Security |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Oba- } \\ & \frac{\text { ma }}{\%} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Clin- } \\ & \frac{\text { ton }}{\%} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Mc- } \\ & \text { Cain } \\ & \hline \% \end{aligned}$ |
| Too tough | 3 | 9 | 25 |
| Not tough enough | 43 | 37 | 16 |
| About right | 39 | 44 | 47 |
| Don't know | 15 | 10 | 12 |
|  | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Among... |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |
| Too tough | 6 | 10 | 37 |
| Not tough enough | 25 | 19 | 19 |
| About right | 59 | 65 | 28 |
| Independents |  |  |  |
| Too tough | 1 | 10 | 28 |
| Not tough enough | 45 | 35 | 14 |
| About right | 37 | 42 | 48 |
| Republicans |  |  |  |
| Too tough | 2 | 6 | 8 |
| Not tough enough | 70 | 66 | 14 |
| About right | 14 | 16 | 72 |
| Based on registered voters. |  |  |  |

## Candidate Likeability

Voters have a more positive opinion of Barack Obama personally than they do of Hillary Clinton and John McCain. Fully 85\% say Obama is likeable, compared with $76 \%$ and $63 \%$ who say the same about McCain and Clinton, respectively. And while solid majorities see all three candidates as at least somewhat likeable, fully half say Obama is very likeable. By comparison, just $26 \%$ of voters say Clinton is very likeable and even fewer (21\%) say the same about McCain.

On balance, Obama and McCain are viewed as personally likeable by voters in their respective parties as well as by members of the opposing party. Nearly eight-in-ten Republican voters (79\%) say Obama is at least somewhat likeable and 68\% of Democratic voters view McCain as likeable. Conversely, Clinton has little crossover appeal to voters, personally. Fully six-in-ten Republicans say the New York senator is not likeable.

| Obama Seen as Very Likeable By Half of Voters |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Oba- } \\ & \frac{\text { ma }}{\%} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Clin- } \\ & \frac{\text { ton }}{\%} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Mc- } \\ & \text { Cain } \end{aligned}$ |
| Very likeable | 50 | 26 | 21 |
| Somewhat likeable | 35 | 37 | 55 |
| Not too/ Not at all | 10 | 33 | 18 |
| Don't know | $\frac{5}{100}$ | $\frac{4}{100}$ | $\frac{6}{100}$ |
| Among... Democrats |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |
| Very likeable | 59 | 44 | 19 |
| Somewhat likeable | 28 | 42 | 49 |
| Not too/ Not at all | 8 | 11 | 26 |
| Independents |  |  |  |
| Very likeable | 51 | 18 | 13 |
| Somewhat likeable | 39 | 41 | 61 |
| Not too/ Not at all | 8 | 37 | 19 |
| Republicans |  |  |  |
| Very likeable | 37 | 10 | 32 |
| Somewhat likeable | 42 | 26 | 58 |
| Not too/ Not at all | 13 | 60 | 8 |
| Based on registered voters. |  |  |  |

Not surprisingly, those in Obama's own party are especially likely to offer a strong positive assessment of the Illinois senator - nearly six-in-ten Democrats (59\%) say he is very likeable. But Obama is also seen as very likeable by a majority of independent voters (51\%) and by a substantial minority of Republicans (37\%).

Hillary Clinton and John McCain, on the other hand, are seen as very likeable by considerably fewer independent voters (18\% and 13\%, respectively). Among Democrats, 44\% say Clinton is very likeable, and just about a third (32\%) of Republicans express that opinion about their own party's frontrunner.

## Candidate One-Worders

"Inexperience" is the word that most often comes to the minds of voters when asked for the single word that best describes Barack Obama. On balance, however, more voters use positive words than negative ones to describe Obama. His charisma and intelligence are the second and third most commonly mentioned qualities, and such words as "change," "inspirational," "young," and "new" also are mentioned frequently.

| Presidential Candidates in a Word <br> What one word best describes...? |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Hillary Clinton |  |  | rack Obama |  | ohn McCain |
| 34 | Experienced | 45 | Inexperience | 55 | Old |
| 16 | Strong | 32 | Charismatic | 32 | Honest |
| 16 | Untrustworthy | 25 | Intelligent | 29 | Experienced |
| 15 | Intelligent | 23 | Change | 21 | Patriot |
| 14 | Smart | 14 | Inspirational | 14 | Conservative |
| 12 | Determined | 13 | Young | 13 | Hero |
| 11 | "Rhymes with rich" | 11 | New | 12 | Liberal |
| 11 | Knowledgeable | 10 | Enthusiastic | 10 | Good |
| 10 | Capable | 10 | Hope | 7 | Integrity |
| 10 | Competent | 9 | Arrogant | 7 | Leader |
| 10 | Female/ woman | 9 | Energetic | 7 | War |
| 8 | Good | 9 | Leader | 6 | Bush |
| 8 | Liberal | 9 | Speaker | 6 | Honorable |
| 8 | Politician | 8 | Different | 6 | Knowledgeable |
| 8 | Socialist | 7 | Honest | 6 | Moderate |
| 7 | Ambitious |  |  | 6 | Republican |
| 7 | Qualified |  |  | 6 | Steady |

Based on registered voters. Figure shows number of respondents who offered each response; these numbers are not percentages.

In contrast with Obama, the one word most commonly volunteered to describe Hillary Clinton is "experienced." She also is seen as "intelligent," "smart," "knowledgeable," and "strong," which has been a top descriptor of Clinton since the mid- to late-1990’s. Yet negative words also are used to describe Clinton, with "untrustworthy" the most common.

McCain is most often described as "old," but voters also frequently use the words "honest," "experienced," and "patriot" to describe him. McCain's ideology also is on the minds of voters, as several called him "conservative."

## Section 3: The Primary Contests

Barack Obama has taken a nine-point lead over Hillary Clinton among Democratic voters nationwide. Currently, 49\% of Democratic and Democratic-leaning registered voters say he would be their first choice for the nomination, while $40 \%$ name Clinton as their first choice. This is a reversal of the eight-point lead Clinton held just three weeks ago.

Far more overwhelming, however, is the impression that Barack Obama is going to win. Seven-inten Democrats (70\%) say Obama is most likely to win the party's nomination, while just $17 \%$ see Clinton as the likely victor. Even a majority (52\%) of Clinton's backers say they think Obama is likely to emerge as the winner. Barely a third (34\%) of Clinton backers predict that she will win the nomination.

| Obama Takes Decisive Lead, As 70\%Think He Will Win |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | J an | J an 30- | Feb |
| Who is your | 9-13 | Feb 2 | 20-24 |
| first choice | \% | \% | \% |
| Barack Obama | 31 | 38 | 49 |
| Hillary Clinton | 46 | 46 | 40 |
| J ohn Edwards | 13 | -- | -- |
| Other | 4 | 1 | 0 |
| None/ DK/ Ref | $\underline{6}$ | 15 | 11 |
|  | 100 | 100 | 100 |
|  |  | --Sup | port-- |
| Who is most | All | Ob- | Clin- |
| likely to win | Dems | ama | ton |
| nomination? | \% | \% | \% |
| Barack Obama | 70 | 89 | 52 |
| Hillary Clinton | 17 | 6 | 34 |
| Don't know | 13 | 5 | 14 |
|  | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Based on Democratic and Democraticleaning registered voters. |  |  |  |

Since early February, Obama has made substantial gains among conservative Democratic voters, African Americans, and those with a high school education or less. He has now pulled even with Clinton among non-college voters, gaining 20 points among this group since early February.

Obama also has gained 11 points among a core Clinton constituency, Democratic women - including 13 points among white Democratic women. He leads Clinton among voters younger than 65, and middle- and upper-income Democratic voters. He now matches Clinton's support among white Democrats, and holds a commanding $73 \%$ to $20 \%$ lead among black voters.

| The Democratic Nomination Race |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\frac{\text { Lan 30-Feb } 2}{}$ |  | Feb 20-24 |  |  |
| All Democratic | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Clin- } \\ & \frac{\text { ton }}{\%} \end{aligned}$ | Oba$\frac{\mathrm{ma}}{\%}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Clin- } \\ & \frac{\text { ton }}{0} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Oba- } \\ & \frac{\text { ma }}{\%} \end{aligned}$ | Obama gain |
| voters* | 46 | 38 | 40 | 49 | +11 |
| Democrats | 49 | 37 | 42 | 47 | +10 |
| Independents | 36 | 46 | 35 | 53 | +7 |
| Men | 42 | 45 | 30 | 56 | +11 |
| Women | 49 | 33 | 46 | 44 | +11 |
| White | 48 | 36 | 44 | 44 | +8 |
| Black | 36 | 47 | 20 | 73 | +26 |
| White men | 42 | 45 | 36 | 49 | +4 |
| White women | 54 | 28 | 49 | 41 | +13 |
| 18-49 | 47 | 42 | 34 | 57 | +15 |
| 50-64 | 40 | 41 | 38 | 51 | +10 |
| 65+ | 55 | 21 | 56 | 24 | +3 |
| Conservative | 56 | 28 | 33 | 56 | +28 |
| Moderate | 44 | 40 | 43 | 46 | +6 |
| Liberal | 42 | 44 | 37 | 51 | +7 |
| College grad+ | 32 | 54 | 34 | 54 | 0 |
| Some college | 39 | 45 | 37 | 51 | +6 |
| HS or less | 60 | 24 | 46 | 44 | +20 |
| Household incom |  |  |  |  |  |
| \$75,000 or more | 40 | 46 | 38 | 53 | +7 |
| \$40-\$74,999 | 43 | 38 | 33 | 53 | +15 |
| Under \$40,000 | 55 | 35 | 47 | 45 | +10 |
| * Candidate preference based on Democratic and Democraticleaning registered voters (percentages read horizontally). |  |  |  |  |  |

## GOP Primaries: McCain's Broad Gains

John McCain's support now spans all major segments of the Republican Party, including conservatives and white evangelical Protestants. He is the first choice nominee of $61 \%$ of Republican voters nationwide, up from $42 \%$ three weeks ago before the "Super Tuesday" primaries and Mitt Romney's departure from the race. His support among Conservatives is up 19 points from $37 \%$ to $56 \%$, and up 18 -points among moderate and liberal Republicans as well. While McCain and Huckabee split the white evangelical Protestant vote three weeks ago, McCain now holds a 10-point lead, though still just shy of a majority (47\% McCain, 37\% Huckabee).

| McCain Solidifies GOP Primary Backing |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | 30-Feb |  | Feb | 0-24 |
|  | McCain | Huck- <br> abee | Romney | McCain | Huckabee |
|  | \% | \% | \% | \% | \% |
| All Republicans | 42 | 20 | 22 | 61 | 23 |
| Conservative | 37 | 21 | 26 | 56 | 27 |
| Moderate/ Liberal | 52 | 15 | 13 | 70 | 13 |
| White evangel Prot | 35 | 34 | 17 | 47 | 37 |
|  | 48 | 15 | 20 | 71 | 11 |
| White Catholic | 51 | 7 | 28 | 64 | 15 |
| * Candidate preference based on Republican and Republicanleaning registered voters (percentages read horizontally). |  |  |  |  |  |

## Section 4: Opinions of the Parties and Congress

The Democratic Party holds a double-digit advantage over the GOP on nine of 12 issues tested, including dealing with the economy, making wise decisions about the war in Iraq, and improving morality in this country.

Majorities say the Democrats can better deal with the economy ( $53 \%$ vs. $34 \%$ ) and with the nation's energy problems (57\% vs. 23\%). The Democratic Party has also opened even larger leads on traditional Democratic strengths like education ( $55 \%$ vs. 26\%), health care ( $56 \%$ vs. 26\%), the environment ( $65 \%$ vs. 21\%), and government reform ( $50 \%$ vs. $25 \%$ ).

On the environment, even many Republicans believe the Democratic

| Democrats Lead on Most Issues |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Which party | Dem | Rep | (vol) | (vol) |  | Dem |
| can do a | Party |  |  |  |  |  |
| better job on... | $\%$ | $\frac{\text { Party }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { Both }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { Neither }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { DK }}{\%}$ | lead |
| Environment | 65 | 21 | 3 | 5 | $6=100$ | +44 |
| Energy problems | 57 | 23 | 5 | 5 | $10=100$ | +34 |
| Health care | 56 | 26 | 3 | 8 | $7=100$ | +30 |
| Education | 55 | 26 | 6 | 6 | $7=100$ | +29 |
| Reforming govt | 50 | 25 | 4 | 11 | $10=100$ | +25 |
| Economy | 53 | 34 | 2 | 5 | $6=100$ | +19 |
| Taxes | 49 | 37 | 2 | 5 | $7=100$ | +12 |
| Morality | 44 | 34 | 4 | 9 | $9=100$ | +10 |
| Iraq | 47 | 37 | 3 | 5 | $8=100$ | +10 |
| Foreign policy | 45 | 40 | 4 | 4 | $7=100$ | +5 |
| Immigration | 43 | 38 | 4 | 6 | $9=100$ | +5 |
| Terrorist threats | 38 | 45 | 6 | 4 | $7=100$ | -7 |
| Based on general public. |  |  |  |  |  |  | Party, rather than their own party, can better handle the issue. More than four-in-ten Republicans ( $44 \%$ ) say the Democratic Party could do a better job of protecting the environment, with about the same percentage of Republicans saying the GOP could do better (43\%).

The public also gives the Democrats the edge on issues on which the Republican Party has often held the advantage. Fully $44 \%$ favor the Democratic Party when it comes to improving morality in this country, compared with about a third (34\%) who favors the GOP. And on making wise decisions about foreign policy, slightly more now say the Democrats can do a better job than the Republicans (45\% vs. 40\%).

On only one of the 12 issues tested, dealing with terrorist threats at home, is the Republican Party trusted to do a better job: 45\% favor the GOP and $38 \%$ favor the Democrats. But the GOP advantage has narrowed considerably over the last six years. In January 2002, the Republican Party led the Democratic Party by 30 percentage points on dealing with terrorist threats. The Republican lead had been cut in half by summer of 2004, and it stands at just seven percentage points in the current poll.

## Early Look at Anti-Incumbent Sentiment

Overall, American voters' opinions about whether most members of Congress should be reelected have hardly budged since November 2006, just prior to the midterm election in which Democrats gained the majority in both chambers. About half of voters (49\%) say they do not want most members returned to Washington, while $36 \%$ say most representatives should keep their jobs.

However, attitudes have shifted dramatically among Republicans and Democrats, reflecting the shift in partisan control of Congress. In November 2006, six-inten Republicans said they wanted most members of Congress to be reelected. That percentage has fallen by about half - to $31 \%$ in the current survey. Before the 2006 midterms, only about a quarter of Democrats (26\%) wanted most representatives to keep

| Dems, Reps Swap Attitudes about Congress |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Want most members of Congress reelected: |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Nove | mber | 2006 |  | uary | 2008 |
|  | $\frac{\mathrm{Yes}}{\%}$ | $\frac{\mathrm{No}}{\%}$ | $\frac{\mathrm{DK}}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { Yes }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\mathrm{N}}{\%}$ | $\frac{\mathrm{DK}}{\%}$ |
| Total | 37 | 46 | 17=100 | 36 | 49 | 15=100 |
| Rep | 60 | 26 | 14=100 | 31 | 55 | 14=100 |
| Dem | 26 | 59 | 15=100 | 48 | 37 | 15=100 |
|  | 27 | 55 | 18=100 | 28 | 60 | 12=100 |
| Based on registered voters. |  |  |  |  |  |  | their seats; currently, nearly half of Democrats (48\%) say they want most Congress members to stay in place. During both surveys, solid majorities of independents expressed the view that most congressional representatives should not be reelected.

As is typically the case, far more voters say they want to see their own member of Congress reelected than say that most members should be reelected. Currently, $60 \%$ say they would like to see their own representative reelected, up slightly from the end of the 2006 campaign (55\%).

When it comes to whether their own Congress member should be reelected, Democrats have become notably more positive. Currently, $66 \%$ favor their own representative's reelection, up from 52\% in November 2006. More independents also say they would like their representative to be reelected (53\% now, $45 \%$ in November 2006). There has been no significant change in attitude among Republicans; at both points, more than six-in-ten Republicans wanted their own Congress member retained.

## Section 5: Iraq, Afghanistan and Terrorism

Public perceptions of the situation in Iraq have become significantly more positive over the past several months, even as opinions about the initial decision to use military force remain mostly negative and unchanged.

The number of Americans who say the military effort is going very or fairly well is much higher now than a year ago ( $48 \%$ vs. $30 \%$ in February 2007). There has been a smaller positive change in the number who believe that the U.S. will ultimately succeed in achieving its goals (now 53\%, up from 47\% in February 2007).

Opinion on the critical question of whether the U.S. should keep troops in Iraq is now about evenly divided, the first time this has happened since late 2006. About half of those surveyed (49\%) say they favor bringing troops home as soon as possible, but most of these (33\%) favor gradual withdrawal over the next year or two, rather than immediate withdrawal. Similarly, just under half (47\%) say that the U.S. should keep troops in Iraq until the situation has stabilized, with most of these (30\%) saying that no timetable should be set.

| A More Positive View of Iraq |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Sep | Nov | Feb | Feb-Feb |
| Military effort |  | $\underline{07}$ | $\underline{07}$ | 08 | Change |
| is going... | \% | \% | \% | \% |  |
| Very/ fairly well | 30 | 41 | 48 | 48 | +18 |
| Not too/ At all well | 67 | 54 | 48 | 48 |  |
| Don't know | 3 | $\underline{5}$ | 4 | 4 |  |
|  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |  |
| The US should... |  |  |  |  |  |
| Keep troops in |  | 39 | 41 | 47 | +5 |
| Bring troops home | 53 | 54 | 54 | 49 |  |
| Don't know | 5 | 7 | 5 | 4 |  |
|  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |  |
| US effort in Iraq... |  |  |  |  |  |
| Will succeed | 47 | 42 | 48 | 53 | +6 |
| Will fail | 46 | 47 | 46 | 39 |  |
| Don't know |  | 11 | $\underline{6}$ | $\underline{7}$ |  |
|  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |  |
| The war was the... |  |  |  |  |  |
| Right decision | 40 | 42 | 39* | 38 | -2 |
| Wrong decision | 54 | 50 | 54 | 54 |  |
| Don't know |  | $\frac{8}{100}$ | $\frac{7}{100}$ | $\frac{8}{100}$ |  |
| * Figures from October, 2007. |  |  |  |  |  |


| Few Support Immediate Withdrawal |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Mar | Feb |
|  | $\frac{07}{9}$ | $\frac{08}{\%}$ |
|  | $\mathbf{5 2}$ | $\mathbf{4 9}$ |
| Bring troops home | 18 | 14 |
| Remove all troops immediately | 33 | 33 |
| Gradually over next year or two | $\mathbf{4 3}$ | $\mathbf{4 7}$ |
| Keep troops in Iraq | 14 | 16 |
| Should set a timetable | 27 | 30 |
| Should not set a timetable | $\underline{5}$ | $\underline{4}$ |
| Don't know | 100 | 100 |

## Perceptions of Progress

Public perceptions about U.S. progress in Iraq continue to improve. In fact, in a number of areas those with positive evaluations outnumber those with negative views.

For the first time since Pew began tracking the question in December 2005, more respondents say that the United States is making progress in reducing civilian casualties (46\%) than say it is losing ground (40\%). Similarly, $49 \%$ now say the United States is making progress in defeating the insurgents, while just $35 \%$ say it is losing ground. A majority (57\%) now says the U.S. is making progress in training Iraqi military forces ( $29 \%$ say the U.S. is losing ground).

Even on the key political objective of establishing democracy in Iraq, a plurality (49\%) says the U.S. is making progress (vs. $40 \%$ who say the U.S. is losing ground). This is the first time since the fall of 2006 that a plurality sees progress on this measure. On another key objective, however, the plurality view remains negative. While more now say the U.S. is making progress in preventing a civil war between various religious and ethnic groups (35\% now vs. 18\% a year ago), just under half says the United States is losing ground on this objective (49\% vs. 68\% a year ago).


Despite the positive views about progress in many areas, the public remains divided on the question of whether the U.S. presence is helpful or harmful to the Iraqi government. Currently, $44 \%$ say that the U.S. military presence does more to weaken the Iraqi government by making them too dependent on us; $43 \%$ say that the U.S. presence strengthens the Iraqi government by giving it needed support.

Views of the war continue to differ greatly by partisan affiliation. Republicans have consistently been more likely than independents and Democrats to say the use of military force was the right decision, that the war is going well, and that troops should remain in Iraq until the situation has stabilized. This is still true, but all partisan groups have become more positive about the war.

For example, far more Republicans now than in February 2007 see progress in defeating the insurgency ( $49 \%$ now vs. $30 \%$ then). This also is the case for Democrats and independents. A similar pattern is seen on reducing civilian casualties, preventing civil war, and others.

In addition, somewhat more Democrats now than a year ago believe that U.S. troops should remain in Iraq. Currently, $81 \%$ of Republicans favor keeping troops in Iraq, the highest percentage recorded since the beginning of 2004. Nearly half of independents (49\%) agree, the highest percentage in more than a year. And while only $27 \%$ of Democrats hold this view, this is also higher than it has been since January 2007.

| More Dems and Reps See Progress, But Big Party Gap Persists |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| US is making | Feb | Sept | Nov | Feb | 07-08 |
| progress... | 07 | $\underline{07}$ | $\underline{07}$ | $\underline{08}$ | change |
| Defeating the | \% | \% | \% | \% |  |
| insurgents | 30 | 37 | 43 | 49 | +19 |
| Republican | 53 | 67 | 66 | 80 | +27 |
| Democrat | 18 | 16 | 29 | 36 | +18 |
| Independent | 29 | 31 | 39 | 44 | +15 |
| R-D Gap | +35 | +51 | +37 | +44 |  |
| Reducing civilian casualties | 20 | 37 | 43 | 46 | +26 |
| Republican | 32 | 59 | 60 | 65 | +33 |
| Democrat | 13 | 28 | 28 | 33 | +20 |
| Independent | 16 | 33 | 42 | 52 | +36 |
| R-D Gap | +19 | +31 | +32 | +32 |  |
| Preventing civil war | 18 | 26 | 32 | 35 | +17 |
| Republican | 34 | 49 | 52 | 53 | +19 |
| Democrat | 10 | 14 | 20 | 26 | +16 |
| Independent | 18 | 20 | 27 | 33 | +15 |
| R-D Gap | +24 | +35 | +32 | +27 |  |



## Opinions about Afghanistan

Compared with Iraq, many more Americans say that the U.S. made the right decision in using military force in Afghanistan (65\%, vs. 38\% for Iraq). And while opinion on keeping troops in Iraq is divided, a solid majority (61\%) favors keeping U.S. and NATO troops in Afghanistan until the situation has stabilized. The percentage saying the troops should remain in Afghanistan has increased since last May (50\% then, 61\% today).

However, perceptions of the military situation in Afghanistan are no more favorable than views of Iraq. In each case, $48 \%$ say things in the country are going very or fairly well.

As in Iraq, more Republicans than Democrats say the military effort in Afghanistan is going well ( $71 \%$ vs. $38 \%$ for Democrats and $46 \%$ of independents). More Republicans also say that the U.S. made the right decision

| Comparing Afghanistan and Iraq |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Afghan- |  |  |
| Military effort | $\frac{\text { istan }}{\%}$ | Iraq |
| is going... | \% | \% |
| Very/fairly well | 48 | 48 |
| Not too/ at all well | 41 | 48 |
| Don't know | 11 | 4 |
|  | 100 | 100 |
| The US should... |  |  |
| Keep troops in | 61 | 47 |
| Bring troops home | 32 | 49 |
| Don't know | 7 | 4 |
|  | 100 | 100 |
| Military force was the... |  |  |
| Right decision | 65 | 38 |
| Wrong decision | 24 | 54 |
| Don't know | 11 | 8 |
|  | 100 | 100 | in using military force there (85\%), although majorities of Democrats (53\%) and independents (67\%) agree. This difference between Republicans and Democrats (32 points) is smaller than for Iraq, where the partisan gap is 59 points.


#### Abstract

Overall support for keeping troops in Afghanistan is higher now than it was about a year ago ( $61 \%$ now, $50 \%$ in May 2007). Support for keeping troops in Afghanistan has increased more among Democrats and independents than among Republicans during this time period.


## Bush Gets Credit on Terrorism

The president's overall job approval rating remains low, at 33\%, but the public gives his administration considerable credit for preventing terrorist attacks in the United States since 9/11.

More than six-in-ten Americans (62\%) say the Bush administration's policies have had a great deal (28\%) or a fair amount (34\%) to do with the fact that there have been no terrorist attacks in the United States since 2001. Only about a third (35\%) says Bush policies have had not too much or nothing at all to do with the absence of attacks.

| Bush Administration Widely Credited for Preventing Terror Attacks after 9/11 |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Bush policies' role in | Total | Rep | Dem | Ind |
| preventing attacks? | \% | \% | \% | \% |
| Great deal | 28 | 49 | 14 | 33 |
| Fair amount | 34 | 41 | 33 | 29 |
| Not too much | 22 | 6 | 30 | 24 |
| Not at all | 13 | 2 | 20 | 14 |
| Don't know | 3 | $\underline{2}$ | 3 | * |
|  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Opinions about the administration's role in preventing terrorism, like other views about Bush and his policies, are deeply divided politically. Nearly half of Republicans (49\%) say the administration's policies and actions have had a great deal to do with the fact that there have been no attacks in more than six years; just $14 \%$ of Democrats agree.

Nonetheless, nearly half of Democrats (47\%) say those policies have had at least a fair amount to do with the absence of attacks since 2001. A solid majority of conservative and moderate Democrats (56\%) credits the administration's policies with preventing attacks, compared with just 37\% of liberal Democrats.

## Most See Terrorists' Capabilities as Undiminished

A solid majority of Americans (66\%) say the government has done very well or fairly well in reducing the threat of terrorism. In January 2007, somewhat fewer people (54\%) gave the government good ratings in reducing the terrorist threat. The current measure is in line with positive ratings from 2004 to 2006.

Yet most people say that the ability of terrorists to launch a major attack remains greater or the same as it was at the time of the Sept. 11, 2001 attacks. Overall, $16 \%$ believe terrorists' ability to strike is greater than it was then; $41 \%$ say their ability is the same. This compares with $39 \%$ who say that the ability of terrorists to attack the United States is less now than on 9/11.

There have been some fluctuations in opinions about terrorists' capabilities since 2002, but majorities have consistently said that terrorists are at least as capable of launching a major attack on the United States as they were at the time

| Views of Terrorists' Capabilities |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Compared w/ 9/ 11 | Aug | July | July | Jan | Dec | Feb |
| terrorists' ability | $\frac{2002}{\%}$ | $\frac{2004}{\%}$ | $\frac{2005}{\%}$ | $\frac{2006}{\%}$ | $\frac{2006}{\%}$ | $\frac{2008}{\%}$ |
| to strike US is... | 22 | 24 | 28 | 17 | 23 | 16 |
| Greater | 39 | 39 | 40 | 39 | 41 | 41 |
| Same | 34 | 34 | 29 | 39 | 31 | 39 |
| Less | $\frac{5}{0}$ | $\frac{3}{10}$ | $\frac{3}{10}$ | $\frac{5}{10}$ | $\frac{5}{10}$ | $\frac{4}{10}$ |
| Don't know | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |  | 1 | of 9/11. Most Republicans ( $55 \%$ ) say

terrorists are now less able to strike the United States, but only about a third of independents (35\%) and Democrats (34\%) agree.

## Evaluating Anti-Terrorism Policies

As in previous surveys, more people say their bigger concern about U.S. anti-terrorism policies is that they have not gone far enough to adequately protect the country than say the policies have gone too far in restricting civil liberties.

About half (47\%) say anti-terrorism policies have not gone far enough in protecting the country while $36 \%$ say their greater concern is that they have infringed upon the civil liberties of average Americans. In August 2006, more than twice as many said their greater concern was that the policies inadequately protected the country than cited restrictions on civil liberties ( $55 \%$ vs. 26\%).

The balance of opinion among Democrats about anti-terrorism policies has changed considerably since August 2006. At that time, half of Democrats said their greater concern was that government policies had not gone far enough in protecting the country while just a third said they were more worried that the policies went too far in restricting civil liberties. Currently, by a $47 \%-39 \%$ margin, more Democrats say their greater concern

| Civil Liberties Concerns Increase, Especially Among Democrats |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Greater concern w/ anti-terror policies... |  |  | Dem |  |
| February 2008 | \% | \% | \% | \% |
| Have not gone far enough |  |  |  |  |
| in protecting U.S. | 47 | 56 | 39 | 51 |
| Have gone too far in |  |  |  |  |
| restricting civil liberties | 36 | 23 | 47 | 32 |
| Other/ DK | 17 | $\underline{21}$ | 14 | 17 |
|  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| August 2006 |  |  |  |  |
| Have not gone far enough |  |  |  |  |
| in protecting U.S. | 55 | 62 | 50 | 53 |
| Have gone too far in |  |  |  |  |
| restricting civil liberties | 26 | 15 | 33 | 31 |
| Other/ DK | 19 | 23 | 17 | 16 |
|  | 100 | 100 | 100 |  |
| Change in "gone too far" | +10 | +8 | +14 | +1 | is that anti-terrorism policies have restricted civil liberties. Most Republicans and independents continue to express more concern that anti-terror policies have done too little to protect the United States.

Public attitudes regarding specific Bush administration anti-terrorism policies remain divided and highly politicized. A narrow majority ( $52 \%$ ) continues to say it is right for the
government to monitor the communications of suspected terrorists, without first getting court permission; $44 \%$ say this practice is generally wrong. Opinions on this issue have been stable for the past two years.

Views on whether the use of torture against suspected terrorists can be justified to gain important information also have changed little in recent years. Currently, $17 \%$ say the use of torture in such circumstances is often justified, $31 \%$ say it can be sometimes justified, while half say it either can be rarely (20\%) or never justified (30\%).

There is somewhat greater agreement that the government's policies toward the detainees the United States is holding at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba are fair rather than unfair. More than half of the public (52\%) views these policies as fair

| Partisan Divide Over <br> Major Anti-Terrorism Policies |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Govt. surveillance |  |  |  |  |
| Of suspected terrorists | Total | Rep | Dem | $\frac{\text { Ind }}{0}$ |
| without court permission | \% | \% | \% | \% |
| Generally right | 52 | 74 | 39 | 52 |
| Generally wrong | 44 | 21 | 57 | 45 |
| Don't know | 4 | 5 | 4 | 3 |
|  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Torture of suspected terrorists is justified... |  |  |  |  |
| Often | 17 | 31 | 12 | 13 |
| Sometimes | 31 | 35 | 26 | 34 |
| Rarely | 20 | 17 | 22 | 21 |
| Never | 30 | 14 | 38 | 30 |
| Don't know | $\underline{100}$ | $\frac{3}{100}$ | $\frac{2}{100}$ | $\underline{10}$ |
| Policies toward detainees at Guantanamo are... |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Fair | 52 | 73 | 39 | 54 |
| Unfair | 33 | 13 | 47 | 34 |
| Don't know | $\underline{15}$ | 14 | 14 | $\underline{12}$ |
|  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Nearly twice as many Republicans as
Democrats believe it is right for the government to conduct surveillance of suspected terrorists without court permission ( $74 \%$ vs. $39 \%$ ). The partisan differences in views of the treatment of Guantanamo detainees are nearly identical; 73\% of Republicans say the government's policies toward detainees are fair, compared with $39 \%$ of Democrats.

In addition, $31 \%$ of Republicans, but just $12 \%$ of Democrats, say that the torture of suspected terrorists to gain important information is often justified. By $38 \%$ to $14 \%$, more Democrats than Republicans say the use of torture in such circumstances is never justified.

## Obama vs. Clinton Supporters on Terrorism

Democratic supporters of Obama and Clinton also differ on several anti-terrorism policies. By greater than two-to-one ( $65 \%$ to $31 \%$ ), Democratic voters who support Obama believe that government surveillance of suspected terrorists, without court permission, is generally wrong. Clinton supporters are much more closely divided $51 \%$ say such monitoring is wrong, while $47 \%$ say it is generally right.

There are significant, though smaller, differences over other issues. A solid majority of Obama supporters (56\%) say that government policies toward Guantanamo detainees are unfair, compared with $47 \%$ of Clinton supporters. And somewhat more Obama voters than Clinton voters say their greater concern over anti-terrorism policies is that they go too far in restricting civil liberties ( $47 \%$ vs. $37 \%$ of Clinton supporters).

## ABOUT THE SURVEY

Results for this survey are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International among a nationwide sample of 1,508 adults, 18 years of age or older, from February 20-24, 2008. The following table shows the error attributable to sampling that would be expected at the $95 \%$ level of confidence for different groups in the survey:

| Group | Sample Size | Plus or minus... |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Total sample | 1,508 | 3.0 percentage points |
| Registered voter sample | 1,240 | 3.5 percentage points |
| Form 1 sample | 769 | 4.0 percentage points |
| Form 2 sample | 739 | 4.0 percentage points |
| Form 1 registered voter sample | 629 | 4.5 percentage points |
| Form 2 registered voter sample | 611 | 4.5 percentage points |
| Republican registered voter sample | 339 | 6.0 percentage points |
| Democratic registered voter sample | 456 | 5.5 percentage points |
| Independent registered voter sample | 388 | 5.5 percentage points |
| Republican- \& Republican-leaning RV sample | 482 | 5.0 percentage points |
| Democratic- \& Democratic-leaning RV sample | 633 | 4.5 percentage points |

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

## ABOUT THE CENTER

The Pew Research Center for the People \& the Press is an independent opinion research group that studies attitudes toward the press, politics and public policy issues. We are sponsored by The Pew Charitable Trusts and are one of eight projects that make up the Pew Research Center, a nonpartisan "fact tank" that provides information on the issues, attitudes and trends shaping America and the world.

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All of the Center's research and reports are collaborative products based on the input and analysis of the entire Center staff consisting of:

Andrew Kohut, Director<br>Scott Keeter, Director of Survey Research<br>Carroll Doherty and Michael Dimock, Associate Directors<br>Kim Parker, Senior Researcher<br>Juliana Menasce Horowitz, Robert Suls, Shawn Neidorf, Leah Christian and Jocelyn Kiley, Research<br>Associates<br>Kathleen Holzwart, Research Analyst<br>James Albrittain and Alec Tyson, Research Assistants

# PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE \& THE PRESS LATE FEBRUARY POLITICAL SURVEY <br> FINAL TOPLINE <br> February 20 - February 24, 2008 <br> $\mathrm{N}=1,508$ 

## ASK ALL:

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

Late February, 2008
Early February, 2008
January, 2008
Late December, 2007
November, 2007
October, 2007
September, 2007
August, 2007
July, 2007
June, 2007
April, 2007
March, 2007
February, 2007
Mid-January, 2007
Early January, 2007
December, 2006
Mid-November, 2006
Early October, 2006
September, 2006
August, 2006
July, 2006
June, 2006
April, 2006
Early April, 2006
March, 2006
February, 2006
January, 2006
December, 2005
Early November, 2005
Late October, 2005
Early October, 2005
September 8-11, 2005
September 6-7, 2005
July, 2005
June, 2005
Late May, 2005
Mid-May, 2005
Late March, 2005
Mid-March, 2005
February, 2005

| App- <br> rove | Disapprove | Don't know |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 33 | 59 | $8=100$ |
| 31 | 62 | $7=100$ |
| 31 | 59 | 10=100 |
| 31 | 60 | $9=100$ |
| 30 | 59 | 11=100 |
| 30 | 63 | $7=100$ |
| 31 | 59 | $10=100$ |
| 31 | 59 | $10=100$ |
| 29 | 61 | $10=100$ |
| 29 | 61 | $10=100$ |
| 35 | 57 | $8=100$ |
| 33 | 58 | $9=100$ |
| 33 | 56 | 11=100 |
| 33 | 59 | $8=100$ |
| 33 | 57 | $10=100$ |
| 32 | 57 | $11=100$ |
| 32 | 58 | $10=100$ |
| 37 | 53 | $10=100$ |
| 37 | 53 | 10=100 |
| 37 | 54 | $9=100$ |
| 36 | 57 | $7=100$ |
| 36 | 54 | $10=100$ |
| 33 | 56 | $11=100$ |
| 35 | 55 | $10=100$ |
| 33 | 57 | $10=100$ |
| 40 | 52 | $8=100$ |
| 38 | 54 | $8=100$ |
| 38 | 54 | $8=100$ |
| 36 | 55 | $9=100$ |
| 40 | 52 | $8=100$ |
| 38 | 56 | $6=100$ |
| 40 | 52 | $8=100$ |
| 40 | 52 | $8=100$ |
| 44 | 48 | $8=100$ |
| 42 | 49 | $9=100$ |
| 42 | 48 | $10=100$ |
| 43 | 50 | $7=100$ |
| 49 | 46 | $5=100$ |
| 45 | 46 | $9=100$ |
| 46 | 47 | $7=100$ |

January, 2005
December, 2004
Mid-October, 2004
August, 2004
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
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
December, 2002
Late October, 2002
Early October, 2002
Mid-September, 2002
Early September, 2002
Late August, 2002
August, 2002

| Approve | Disapprove | Don't know |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 50 | 43 | $7=100$ |
| 48 | 44 | $8=100$ |
| 44 | 48 | $8=100$ |
| 46 | 45 | $9=100$ |
| 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 | 29 | $11=100$ |
| 62 | 27 | $11=100$ |
| 65 | 27 | $8=100$ |
| 72 | 22 | $6=100$ |
| 74 | 20 | $6=100$ |
| 69 | 25 | $6=100$ |
| 71 | 23 | $6=100$ |
| 70 | 24 | $6=100$ |
| 67 | 26 | $7=100$ |
| 55 | 34 | $11=100$ |
| 54 | 36 | $10=100$ |
| 58 | 32 | $10=100$ |
| 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 | $12=100$ |


| Q.1 CONTINUED... | App- <br> rove | Dis- <br> approve | Don't <br> know |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | ---: |
| Late July, 2002 | 65 | 25 | $10=100$ <br> July, 2002 |
| June, 2002 | 67 | 21 | $12=100$ |
| April, 2002 | 70 | 20 | $10=100$ |
| Early April, 2002 | 74 | 18 | $13=100$ |
| February, 2002 | 78 | 16 | $10=100$ |
| January, 2002 | 80 | 11 | $9=100$ |
| Mid-November, 2001 | 84 | 9 | $7=100$ |
| Early October, 2001 | 84 | 8 | $8=100$ |
| Late September, 2001 | 86 | 7 | $7=100$ |
| Mid-September, 2001 | 80 | 9 | $11=100$ |
| Early September, 2001 | 51 | 34 | $15=100$ |
| August, 2001 | 50 | 32 | $18=100$ |
| July, 2001 | 51 | 32 | $17=100$ |
| June, 2001 | 50 | 33 | $17=100$ |
| May, 2001 | 53 | 32 | $15=100$ |
| April, 2001 | 56 | 27 | $17=100$ |
| March, 2001 | 55 | 25 | $20=100$ |
| February, 2001 | 53 | 21 | $26=100$ |

ASK ALL:
THOUGHT How much thought have you given to the coming presidential election ... quite a lot, or only a little?

## BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1,240]:

|  |  | Quite | (VOL.) | Only a | (VOL.) | DK/ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | A lot | Some | Little | None | Ref. |
|  | Late February, 2008 | 74 | 3 | 19 | 2 | $2=100$ |
| 2004 | November, 2004 | 82 | 3 | 12 | 2 | 1=100 |
|  | Mid-October, 2004 | 76 | 5 | 15 | 3 | $1=100$ |
|  | Early October, 2004 | 74 | 4 | 19 | 2 | $1=100$ |
|  | September 22-26, 2004 | 68 | 4 | 23 | 4 | $1=100$ |
|  | September 17-21, 2004 | 66 | 4 | 25 | 4 | $1=100$ |
|  | Early September, 2004 | 71 | 3 | 22 | 3 | $1=100$ |
|  | September 11-14 | 69 | 3 | 23 | 4 | $1=100$ |
|  | September 8-10 | 73 | 3 | 21 | 2 | $1=100$ |
|  | August, 2004 | 69 | 2 | 26 | 2 | $1=100$ |
|  | 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 | * $=100$ |
| 2000 | 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 | * $=100$ |


| THOUGHT CONTINUED ... |  | Quite | (VOL.) | Only a | (VOL.) | DK/ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | A lot | Some | $\underline{\text { Little }}$ | None | Ref. |
| 1996 | 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 | $1=100$ |
| 1992 | Early 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 | $1=100$ |
| 1988 | 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 | $0=100$ |

## NO QUESTIONS 2-8.

ASK ALL:
Q. 9 Now I'd like your views on some people. As I read some names, please tell me if you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of each person. (First, INSERT NAME) would you say your overall opinion of... [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE] is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? How about (NEXT NAME)? [IF NECESSARY: would you say your overall opinion of [NAME] is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable?
[INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN’T RATE."]


| Q. 9 CONTINUED... |  | Favorable----- |  |  | -----Unfavorable----- |  |  | (VOL) Never | (VOL) <br> Can't |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Total | Very | Mostly | Total | Very | Mostly | Heard of | rate/Ref |
|  | January, 2001 | 60 | 24 | 36 | 33 | 12 | 21 | 0 | $7=100$ |
|  | May, 2000 | 58 | 18 | 40 | 31 | 12 | 19 | 1 | $10=100$ |
|  | March, 1999 ${ }^{1}$ | 61 | 21 | 40 | 21 | 7 | 14 | 4 | $14=100$ |
|  | November, 1997 | 54 | 13 | 41 | 18 | 6 | 12 | 9 | $19=100$ |
| b. | John McCain | 48 | 12 | 36 | 38 | 14 | 24 | 1 | $13=100$ |
|  | Early February, 2008 | 53 | 12 | 41 | 31 | 10 | 21 | 3 | $13=100$ |
|  | January, 2008 | 55 | 14 | 41 | 31 | 9 | 22 | 3 | $11=100$ |
|  | Late December, 2007 | 46 | 8 | 38 | 34 | 10 | 24 | 7 | $13=100$ |
|  | August, 2007 | 47 | 8 | 39 | 29 | 8 | 21 | 12 | $12=100$ |
|  | December, 2006 | 51 | 13 | 38 | 26 | 6 | 20 | 10 | $13=100$ |
|  | April, 2006 | 54 | 14 | 40 | 26 | 7 | 19 | 8 | $12=100$ |
|  | Late October, 2005 | 56 | 15 | 41 | 19 | 5 | 14 | 10 | $15=100$ |
|  | Late March, 2005 | 59 | 15 | 44 | 17 | 4 | 13 | 8 | $16=100$ |
|  | July, 2001 | 51 | 14 | 37 | 22 | 5 | 17 | 13 | $14=100$ |
|  | January, 2001 | 59 | 18 | 41 | 15 | 3 | 12 | 9 | $17=100$ |
|  | May, 2000 | 54 | 14 | 40 | 20 | 5 | 15 | 11 | $15=100$ |
| C. | Hillary Clinton | 51 | 19 | 32 | 44 | 23 | 21 | 0 | $5=100$ |
|  | Early February, 2008 | 52 | 20 | 32 | 42 | 24 | 18 | * | $6=100$ |
|  | January, 2008 | 52 | 20 | 32 | 44 | 25 | 19 | * | $4=100$ |
|  | Late December, 2007 | 50 | 21 | 29 | 44 | 26 | 18 | * | $6=100$ |
|  | August, 2007 | 55 | 21 | 34 | 39 | 21 | 18 | 2 | $4=100$ |
|  | December, 2006 | 56 | 22 | 34 | 39 | 21 | 18 | * | $5=100$ |
|  | April, 2006 | 54 | 20 | 34 | 42 | 21 | 21 | 1 | $3=100$ |
|  | Late October, 2005 | 56 | 20 | 36 | 38 | 19 | 19 | 1 | $5=100$ |
|  | Late March, 2005 | 57 | 22 | 35 | 36 | 17 | 19 | * | $7=100$ |
|  | December 2002 | 47 | 15 | 32 | 44 | 23 | 21 | 1 | $8=100$ |
|  | July, 2001 | 53 | 20 | 33 | 42 | 23 | 19 | 1 | $4=100$ |
|  | January, 2001 | 60 | 25 | 35 | 35 | 16 | 19 | * | $5=100$ |
|  | May, 2000 | 49 | 15 | 34 | 42 | 22 | 20 | 1 | $8=100$ |
|  | Early December, 1998 | 66 | 32 | 34 | 31 | 15 | 16 | * | $3=100$ |
|  | Early October, 1998 (RVs) | 58 | 24 | 34 | 36 | 18 | 18 | * | $6=100$ |
|  | Early September, 1998 | 64 | 24 | 40 | 31 | 13 | 18 | 0 | $5=100$ |
|  | Late August, 1998 | 63 | 25 | 38 | 34 | 13 | 21 | * | $3=100$ |
|  | March, 1998 | 65 | 26 | 39 | 31 | 14 | 17 | * | $4=100$ |
|  | January, 1997 | 57 | 17 | 40 | 40 | 17 | 23 | * | $3=100$ |
|  | June, 1996 | 53 | 13 | 40 | 43 | 17 | 26 | * | $4=100$ |
|  | April, 1996 | 49 | 12 | 37 | 46 | 19 | 27 | 0 | 5=100 |
|  | February, 1996 | 42 | 14 | 28 | 54 | 27 | 27 | 0 | $4=100$ |
|  | January, 1996 | 42 | 10 | 32 | 54 | 26 | 28 | 0 | $4=100$ |
|  | October, 1995 | 58 | 14 | 44 | 38 | 14 | 24 | -- | $4=100$ |
|  | August, 1995 | 49 | 16 | 33 | 47 | 22 | 25 | * | $4=100$ |
|  | December, 1994 | 50 | 17 | 33 | 45 | 20 | 25 | 1 | $4=100$ |
|  | July, 1994 | 57 | 19 | 38 | 40 | 18 | 22 | 1 | $2=100$ |
|  | May, 1993 | 60 | 19 | 41 | 29 | 11 | 18 | 1 | $10=100$ |

[^0]Q. 9 CONTINUED...
d. Barack Obama

Early February, 2008
January, 2008
Late December, 2007
August, 2007

| Favorable |  |  | -----Unfavorable----- |  |  | (VOL) <br> Never | (VOL) Can't |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Total | Very | Mostly | Total | Very | Mostly | $\underline{\text { Heard of }}$ | rate/Ref |
| 57 | 24 | 33 | 34 | 16 | 18 | 1 | $8=100$ |
| 58 | 19 | 39 | 30 | 13 | 17 | 2 | $10=100$ |
| 56 | 20 | 36 | 33 | 13 | 20 | 3 | $8=100$ |
| 54 | 16 | 38 | 30 | 12 | 18 | 5 | $11=100$ |
| 48 | 14 | 34 | 26 | 10 | 16 | 13 | $13=100$ |

ASK ALL:
REGIST These days, many people are so busy they can't find time to register to vote, or move around so often they don't get a chance to re-register. Are you NOW registered to vote in your precinct or election district or haven't you been able to register so far?
IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' YES IN REGIST ASK:
REGICERT Are you absolutely certain that you are registered to vote, or is there a chance that your registration has lapsed because you moved or for some other reason?

81 Yes, Registered
76 Absolutely certain
4 Chance registration has lapsed
1 Don't know/Refused
18 No, Not registered/Don't know
1 Don't know/Refused
100
PARTY In politics TODAY, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or Independent? ${ }^{2}$ 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?

|  | Republican | Democrat | Independent | (VOL.) <br> No <br> Preference | (VOL.) Other Party | DK/ <br> Ref | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Lean } \\ & \text { Rep } \end{aligned}$ | Lean <br> Dem |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Late February, 2008 | 24 | 38 | 32 | 3 | * | $3=100$ | 10 | 17 |
| Early February, 2008 | 26 | 35 | 31 | 5 | * | $3=100$ | 11 | 14 |
| January, 2008 | 24 | 33 | 37 | 4 | * | $2=100$ | 12 | 18 |
| Late December, 2007 | 25 | 32 | 36 | 4 | * | $3=100$ | 12 | 18 |
| November, 2007 | 28 | 33 | 32 | 4 | 1 | $2=100$ | 9 | 16 |
| October, 2007 | 25 | 37 | 33 | 3 | * | $2=100$ | 11 | 17 |
| September, 2007 | 27 | 32 | 32 | 6 | * | $3=100$ | 8 | 16 |
| August, 2007 | 26 | 32 | 32 | 5 | 1 | $4=100$ | 10 | 16 |
| July, 2007 | 27 | 32 | 34 | 4 | * | $3=100$ | 11 | 17 |
| June, 2007 | 25 | 34 | 32 | 6 | * | $3=100$ | 10 | 17 |
| April, 2007 | 25 | 28 | 40 | 5 | * | $2=100$ | 13 | 17 |
| March, 2007 | 25 | 36 | 33 | 3 | * | $3=100$ | 12 | 16 |
| February, 2007 | 25 | 34 | 34 | 4 | * | $3=100$ | 10 | 18 |
| Mid-January, 2007 | 24 | 35 | 34 | 3 | * | $4=100$ | 12 | 18 |
| Early-January, 2007 | 23 | 31 | 39 | 4 | * | $3=100$ | 12 | 18 |

[^1]| PARTY/PARTYLN CONTINUED... |  |  |  | (VOL.) |  | (VOL.) |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  | No | Other | DK/ | Lean | Lean |
| Yearly Totals | Republican | Democrat | Independent | Preference | Party | Ref | Rep | Dem |
| 2007 | 25.4 | 32.9 | 33.7 | 4.6 | . 4 | $3.1=100$ | 10.7 | 16.7 |
| 2006 | 27.6 | 32.8 | 30.3 | 5.0 | . 4 | $3.9=100$ | 10.2 | 14.5 |
| 2005 | 29.2 | 32.8 | 30.3 | 4.5 | . 3 | $2.8=100$ | 10.2 | 14.9 |
| 2004 | 29.5 | 33.1 | 30.0 | 4.0 | . 4 | $3.0=100$ | 11.8 | 13.6 |
| 2003 | 29.8 | 31.4 | 31.2 | 4.7 | . 5 | $2.5=100$ | 12.1 | 13.0 |
| 2002 | 30.3 | 31.2 | 30.1 | 5.1 | . 7 | $2.7=100$ | 12.6 | 11.6 |
| 2001 | 29.2 | 33.6 | 28.9 | 5.1 | . 5 | $2.7=100$ | 11.7 | 11.4 |
| 2001 Post-Sept 11 | 30.9 | 31.8 | 27.9 | 5.2 | . 6 | $3.6=100$ | 11.7 | 9.4 |
| 2001 Pre-Sept 11 | 28.2 | 34.6 | 29.5 | 5.0 | . 5 | $2.1=100$ | 11.7 | 12.5 |
| 2000 | 27.5 | 32.5 | 29.5 | 5.9 | . 5 | $4.0=100$ | 11.6 | 11.6 |
| 1999 | 26.6 | 33.5 | 33.7 | 3.9 | . 5 | $1.9=100$ | 13.0 | 14.5 |
| 1998 | 27.5 | 33.2 | 31.9 | 4.6 | . 4 | $2.4=100$ | 11.8 | 13.5 |
| 1997 | 28.2 | 33.3 | 31.9 | 4.0 | . 4 | $2.3=100$ | 12.3 | 13.8 |
| 1996 | 29.2 | 32.7 | 33.0 | $5.2=100$ |  |  | 12.7 | 15.6 |
| 1995 | 31.4 | 29.7 | 33.4 | $5.4=100$ |  |  | 14.4 | 12.9 |
| 1994 | 29.8 | 31.8 | 33.8 | $4.6=100$ |  |  | 14.3 | 12.6 |
| 1993 | 27.4 | 33.8 | 34.0 | $4.8=100$ |  |  | 11.8 | 14.7 |
| 1992 | 27.7 | 32.7 | 35.7 | $3.9=100$ |  |  | 13.8 | 15.8 |
| 1991 | 30.9 | 31.4 | 33.2 | $4.5=100$ |  |  | 14.6 | 10.8 |
| 1990 | 31.0 | 33.1 | 29.1 | $6.8=100$ |  |  | 12.4 | 11.3 |
| 1989 | 33 | 33 | $34=100$ |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1987 | 26 | 35 | $39=100$ |  |  |  |  |  |

NO QUESTIONS 10-11

## ASK OF DEMOCRATS AND DEMOCRATIC LEANING RVs [(PARTY=2 OR PARTYLN=2) AND REGICERT=1] ONLY [N=633]:

Q. 12 Which of the following Democratic candidates would be your first choice for president? (READ AND ROTATE) [IF "Don't know" PROBE ONCE WITH: "Just as of today, would you say you LEAN toward...(READ). IF STILL DK, ENTER.]

| Late |  | Early |  |  |  | WITHOUT GORE |  |  |  |  | WITH GORE |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Feb |  | Feb | Jan | Dec | Nov | Oct | Sept | July | Apr | Mar | July | April | Mar |
| 2008 |  | $\underline{2008}$ | $\underline{2008}$ | 2007 | $\underline{2007}$ | $\underline{2007}$ | $\underline{2007}$ | 2007^ | 2007^ | $\underline{2007 \wedge}$ | $\underline{2007}$ | $\underline{2007}$ | $\underline{2007}$ |
| 49 | Barack Obama | 38 | 31 | 26 | 23 | 24 | 25 | 24 | 27 | 28 | 21 | 24 | 26 |
| 40 | Hillary Clinton | 46 | 46 | 46 | 45 | 45 | 42 | 44 | 39 | 39 | 40 | 34 | 35 |
| n/a | John Edwards | n/a | 13 | 14 | 12 | 12 | 14 | 13 | 21 | 19 | 18 | 16 | * |
| n/a | Dennis Kucinich | n/a | 4 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 1 | * | 2 | 1 | * |
| n/a | Bill Richardson | n/a | n/a | 3 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| n/a | Joe Biden | n/a | n/a | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| n/a | Chris Dodd | n/a | n/a | * | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | * | * | 1 | * | * |
| n/a | Mike Gravel | n/a | n/a | 0 | * | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| n/a | Al Gore^ | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | -- | -- | -- | 12 | 14 | 12 |
| 0 | Other (VOL.) | 1 | * | * | 2 | * | 1 | 1 | * | * | 1 | * | 0 |
| 2 | None of them (VOL.) | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 2 | 5 | 3 |
| 8 | Don't know (VOL.) | 12 | 4 | 3 | 9 | 7 | 8 | 6 | 3 | 5 | 6 | 2 | 5 |
| 1 | Refused (VOL.) | $\underline{2}$ | 1 | 1 | * | - | $\stackrel{*}{*}$ | $\underline{0}$ | 1 | 1 | $\underline{0}$ | * | 1 |
| 100 |  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

$\wedge$ March-July trends recalculated by substituting in Al Gore supporters’ second choice.

## ASK OF DEMOCRATS AND DEMOCRATIC LEANING RVs [(PARTY=2 OR PARTYLN=2) AND REGICERT=1] ONLY [N=633]:

Q. 13 Regardless of who you might support, who do you think is most likely to win the Democratic presidential nomination [READ AND ROTATE]

17 Hillary Clinton [or]
70 Barack Obama
13 Other/Can't say/Don't know/Refused (VOL. DO NOT READ) 100

## ASK OF DEMOCRATS AND DEMOCRATIC LEANING RVs [(PARTY=2 OR PARTYLN=2) $\underline{\text { AND }}$ REGICERT=1] ONLY [N=633]:

Q. 14 Do you think the fact that the contest between Clinton and Obama has not yet been decided is a good thing or a bad thing for the Democratic Party?

| 57 | Good thing |
| :--- | :--- |
| 27 | Bad thing |
| $\frac{16}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) |

## ASK OF DEMOCRATS AND DEMOCRATIC LEANING RVs [(PARTY=2 OR PARTYLN=2) AND REGICERT=1] ONLY [ $\mathrm{N}=633$ ]:

Q. 15 If it turns out that neither Hillary Clinton nor Barack Obama wins enough support in the primaries and caucuses to get the nomination, the decision could be made by a group of party leaders called "super delegates." If this happens, what do you think these party leaders should do? [READ AND ROTATE]

63 Should they vote for the candidate who won the most support in the primaries and caucuses [OR] 32 Should they vote for the candidate they personally think is best
$\underline{5} \quad$ Don't know/Refused (VOL. DO NOT READ) 100

## NO QUESTION 16

## ASK OF REPUBLICAN AND REPUBLICAN LEANING RVs [(PARTY=1 OR PARTYLN=1) AND REGICERT=1] ONLY:

Q. 17 Which of the following Republican candidates would be your first choice for president? (READ AND

RANDOMIZE) [IF "Don't know" PROBE ONCE WITH: "Just as of today, would you say you LEAN toward ...(READ). IF STILL DK, ENTER.]

## BASED ON REPUBLICAN AND REPUBLICAN-LEANING REGISTERED VOTERS [N=482]:

| Late |  | Early | WITHOUT GINGRICH |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | WITH GINGRICH |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Feb |  | Feb | Jan | Dec | Nov | Oct | Sept | July | Apr | Mar | Sept | July | Apr | Mar |
| $\underline{2008}$ |  | $\underline{2008}$ | 2008 | 2007 | 2007 | 2007 | $\underline{2007 \wedge}$ | $\underline{2007 \wedge}$ | $2007 \wedge$ | $\underline{2007 \wedge}$ | $\underline{2007}$ | 2007 | 2007 | $\underline{2007}$ |
| 61 | John McCain | 42 | 29 | 22 | 19 | 18 | 16 | 16 | 25 | 24 | 15 | 16 | 23 | 22 |
| 23 | Mike Huckabee | 20 | 20 | 17 | 10 | 8 | 4 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 3 | 2 |
| 7 | Ron Paul | 5 | 6 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 3 | n/a | n/a | 1 | 2 | n/a | n/a |
| n/a | Mitt Romney | 22 | 17 | 12 | 13 | 9 | 10 | 12 | 10 | 9 | 9 | 10 | 8 | 8 |
| n/a | Rudy Giuliani | n/a | 13 | 20 | 26 | 31 | 33 | 29 | 33 | 35 | 32 | 27 | 32 | 33 |
| n/a | Fred Thompson | n/a | 9 | 9 | 12 | 17 | 22 | 20 | 12 | n/a | 21 | 18 | 10 | n/a |
| n/a | Duncan Hunter | n/a | n/a | 1 | 1 | n/a | n/a | n/a | 1 | 1 | n/a | n/a | 1 | 1 |
| n/a | Tom Tancredo | n/a | n/a | n/a | * | 1 | 1 | 1 | n/a | n/a | 1 | 1 | n/a | n/a |
| n/a | Sam Brownback | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | 3 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | , | * | 2 |
| n/a | Newt Gingrich | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | -- | -- | -- | -- | 6 | 8 | 9 | 7 |
| n/a | Tommy Thompson | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | 1 | 2 | 3 | n/a | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| n/a | Jim Gilmore | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | * | 3 | n/a | n/a | * | 3 |
| 1 | Other (VOL.) | * | * | 1 | * | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| 5 | None of them (VOL.) | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 6 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 5 |
| 2 | Don't know (VOL.) | 7 | 5 | 10 | 12 | 8 | 7 | 11 | 9 | 12 | 6 | 11 | 8 | 12 |
| 1 | Refused | 1 | * | $\underline{2}$ | $\stackrel{*}{*}$ | $\underline{0}$ | * | $\stackrel{*}{*}$ | * | * | * |  | * | * |
| 100 |  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

^March-September trends recalculated by substituting in Gingrich’s supporters’ second choice.

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS [REGICERT=1]:
ROTATE IN BLOCKS; Q.18-Q. 20 WITH Q.21-Q. 23
Q. 18 Now, suppose the 2008 presidential election were being held TODAY. If you had to choose between [READ AND ROTATE], who would you vote for?
IF OTHER OR DK (Q. $18=3,9$ ):
Q.18a As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to [READ, ROTATE IN SAME ORDER AS Q. 18]?

IF RESPONDENT CHOSE JOHN MCCAIN (1 IN Q. 18 OR 1 IN Q.18a):
Q. 19 Would you say that your choice is more a vote FOR John McCain or more a vote AGAINST Hillary Clinton?
IF RESPONDENT CHOSE HILLARY CLINTON (2 IN Q. 18 OR 2 IN Q.18a):
Q. 20 Would you say that your choice is more a vote FOR Hillary Clinton or more a vote AGAINST John McCain?

## BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [ $\mathbf{N}=1,240$ ]:


Q. 21 Now, suppose the 2008 presidential election were being held TODAY. If you had to choose between [READ AND ROTATE] who would you vote for?
IF OTHER OR DK (Q. $21=3,9$ ):
Q.21a As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to [READ, ROTATE IN SAME ORDER AS Q.21]?

IF RESPONDENT CHOSE JOHN MCCAIN (1 IN Q. 21 OR 1 IN Q.21a):
Q. 22 Would you say that your choice is more a vote FOR John McCain or more a vote AGAINST Barack Obama?
IF RESPONDENT CHOSE BARACK OBAMA (2 IN Q. 18 OR 2 IN Q.18a):
Q. 23 Would you say that your choice is more a vote FOR Barack Obama or more a vote AGAINST John McCain?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1,240]:


## TREND FOR COMPARISON



| 1996 | Total | ProClinton | Antiother | DK | Total | ProDole | Antiother | DK | Total | Pro- <br> Perot | AntiOther | DK | Other/ <br> /DK |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Nov | 51 | 33 | 15 | 3 | 32 | 15 | 15 | 2 | 9 | 4 | 5 | * | 8=100 |
| Oct | 51 | 33 | 16 | 2 | 34 | 15 | 18 | 1 | 8 | 4 | 4 | * | $7=100$ |
| Sept | 52 | 35 | 15 | 2 | 34 | 16 | 17 | 1 | 8 | 3 | 5 | 0 | 6=100 |
| Mar | 53 | 30 | 20 | 3 | 41 | 15 | 25 | 1 | -- | -- | -- | -- | $6=100$ |


| 1992 | ---------- CLINTON ---------- |  |  |  | ------------- BUSH, Sr. ------------- |  |  |  |  | -------------PEROT--------- |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Total | Pro- <br> Clinton | Antiother | DK | Total | Pro- <br> Bush | Antiother | DK | Total | Pro- <br> Perot | AntiOther | DK | Other DK |
| Late Oct | 44 | 25 | 17 | 2 | 34 | 19 | 13 | 2 | 19 | 10 | 7 | 2 | 3=100 |
| Early Oct | 48 | 23 | 22 | 3 | 35 | 19 | 13 | 3 | 8 | 3 | 5 | * | $9=100$ |
| Sept | 53 | 21 | 29 | 3 | 38 | 20 | 16 | 2 | -- | -- | -- | -- | 9=100 |
| Aug | 57 | 27 | 28 | 2 | 37 | 20 | 16 | 1 | -- | -- | -- | -- | $6=100$ |
| Mar | 44 | 13 | 29 | 2 | 49 | 32 | 15 | 2 | -- | -- | -- | -- | 7=100 |


| 1988 | Total | Pro- <br> Dukakis | AntiBush | DK |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Oct | 42 | 23 | 15 | 4 |
| Sept | 44 | 21 | 19 | 4 |
| May | 53 | 23 | 26 | 4 |



Now a different kind of question...
ASK FORM 1 REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY [N=629]:
ROTATE Q.24F1 AND Q.25F1
Q.24F1 What ONE WORD best describes your impression of Hillary Clinton. Just the one word that best describes her. (OPEN-END. PROBE ONCE IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS "DON'T KNOW". ACCEPT UP TO TWO RESPONSES, BUT DO NOT PROBE FOR SECOND RESPONSE). *

| 34 | Experienced |
| :--- | :--- |
| 16 | Strong |
| 16 | Untrustworthy |
| 15 | Intelligent |
| 14 | Smart |
| 12 | Determined |
| 11 | "Rhymes with rich" |
| 11 | Knowledgeable |
| 10 | Capable |
| 10 | Competent |
| 10 | Female/woman |
| 8 | Good |
| 8 | Liberal |
| 8 | Politician/political |
| 8 | Socialist |
| 7 | Ambitious |
| 7 | Qualified |
| 6 | Bill Clinton |
| 6 | Crooked |
| 6 | Dislike her |
| 6 | Power hungry |
| 6 | Selfish/self-centered |
| 6 | Unfavorable |
| 5 | Dynamic |
| 5 | Fair |
| 5 | Liar |
| 5 | Manipulative |
| 5 | Same |
| 5 | Scary |
| 4 | Arrogant |
| 4 | Cold |
| 4 | Confident |
| 4 | Dishonest |
| 4 | Driven |
| 4 | Fake |
| 4 | Old |
| 4 | Overbearing |
| 4 | Tough |
| 4 | Untruthful |
|  |  |

[^2]
## TREND FOR COMPARISON

| August 1998* |  | July 1996* |  | March 1996* |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 66 | Strong | 25 | Strong | 34 | Intelligent |
| 17 | Intelligent | 24 | Dishonest | 26 | Smart |
| 11 | Brave | 23 | Intelligent | 22 | "Rhymes with rich" |
| 10 | Good | 23 | Smart | 21 | Good |
| 9 | Loyal | 22 | "Rhymes with rich" | 21 | Bossy |
| 9 | Smart | 19 | Good | 20 | Aggressive |
| 8 | Dominating | 15 | Bossy | 18 | Domineering |
| 8 | Courageous | 14 | Aggressive | 17 | Okay |
| 7 | Powerful | 10 | Outspoken | 16 | Strong |
| 6 | Naive | 10 | Okay | 13 | Nice |
| 6 | Tough | 9 | Crook | 13 | Liar |
| 5 | Controlling | 8 | Dominating | 11 | Powerful |
| 5 | Aggressive | 8 | Fake | 10 | Distrustful |
| 5 | Admirable | 8 | Nice | 9 | Dishonest |
| 5 | Nice | 8 | Pushy | 9 | Pushy |
| 5 | Excellent | 7 | Arrogant | 8 | Snob |
| 5 | Faithful | 7 | Outgoing | 7 | Ambitious |
| 5 | Fine | 7 | Sneaky | 7 | Fair |
| 5 | Steadfast | 7 | Independent | 7 | Great |
| 5 | "Rhymes with rich" | 7 | Liar | 6 | Independent |
| ( $\mathrm{N}=498$ ) |  | ( $\mathrm{N}=606$ ) |  | ( $\mathrm{N}=750$ ) |  |

[^3]
## ASK FORM 1 REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY [N=629]:

## ROTATE Q.24F1 AND Q.25F1

Q.25F1 What ONE WORD best describes your impression of Barack Obama. Just the one word that best describes him. (OPEN-END. PROBE ONCE IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS "DON'T KNOW". ACCEPT UP TO TWO RESPONSES, BUT DO NOT PROBE FOR SECOND RESPONSE). *

| 45 | Inexperienced |
| :---: | :--- |
| 32 | Charismatic |
| 25 | Intelligent |
| 23 | Change |
| 14 | Inspirational |
| 13 | Young |
| 11 | New |
| 10 | Enthusiastic |
| 10 | Hope |
| 9 | Arrogant |
| 9 | Energetic |
| 9 | Leader |
| 9 | Speaker |
| 8 | Different |
| 7 | Honest |
| 6 | Articulate |
| 6 | Good |
| 6 | Integrity |
| 6 | Unqualified |
| 5 | Visionary |
| 5 | Impressive |
| 5 | Liberal |
| 5 | Okay |
| 5 | Smart |
| 4 | Dynamic |
| 4 | Fair |
| 4 | Fresh |
| 4 | Great |
| 4 | Muslim |
| 4 | Refreshing |
| 4 | Smooth |
| 4 | Unfavorable |

[^4]
## ASK FORM 2 REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY [N=611]:

Q.26F2 What ONE WORD best describes your impression of John McCain. Just the one word that best describes him. (OPEN-END. PROBE ONCE IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS "DON'T KNOW". ACCEPT UP TO TWO RESPONSES, BUT DO NOT PROBE FOR SECOND RESPONSE). *

| 55 | Old |
| :--- | :--- |
| 32 | Honest |
| 29 | Experienced |
| 21 | Patriot |
| 14 | Conservative |
| 13 | Hero |
| 12 | Liberal |
| 10 | Good |
| 7 | Integrity |
| 7 | Leader |
| 7 | War |
| 6 | Bush |
| 6 | Honorable |
| 6 | Knowledgeable |
| 6 | Moderate |
| 6 | Republican |
| 6 | Steady |
| 5 | Fair |
| 5 | Okay |
| 4 | Military |
| 4 | Trustworthy |
| 4 | Untrustworthy |

* The numbers listed represent the number of respondents who offered each response; the numbers are not percentages


## NO QUESTION 27

RANDOMIZE BLOCKS 28-30, 31-33 AND 34-36. KEEP QUESTIONS 28, 31 AND 34 AT THE START OF THEIR RESPECTIVE BLOCKS.
ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1) [N=1,240] :
Q. 28 Do you think John McCain's positions on the issues are [READ IN ORDER]:

26 Too conservative
22 Not conservative enough, or
37 About right
15 Don’t know/Refused (VOL. - DO NOT READ) 100

ASK FORM 1 REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1) ONLY [N=629]:
Q.29F1 Do you think Hillary Clinton's positions on the issues are [READ IN ORDER]:

37 Too liberal
9 Not liberal enough, or
46 About right
8 Don't know/Refused (VOL. - DO NOT READ)
100
ASK FORM 2 REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1) ONLY [N=611]:
Q.30F2 Do you think Barack Obama's positions on the issues are [READ IN ORDER]:

33 Too liberal
7 Not liberal enough, or
48 About right
12 Don't know/Refused (VOL. - DO NOT READ)
100
ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1) [N=1,240]:
Q. 31 What do you think about Hillary Clinton, personally. Is she [READ IN ORDER]:

26 Very likeable
37 Somewhat likeable
15 Not too likeable
18 Not at all likeable
4 Don't know/Refused (VOL. - DO NOT READ) 100

ASK FORM 1 REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1) ONLY [N=629]:
Q.32F1 What do you think about Barack Obama, personally. Is he [READ IN ORDER]:

| 50 | Very likeable |
| :--- | :--- |
| 35 | Somewhat likeable |
| 4 | Not too likeable |
| 6 | Not at all likeable |
| $\underline{5}$ | Don't know/Refused (VOL. - DO NOT READ) |
| $\mathbf{1 0 0}$ |  |

ASK FORM 2 REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1) ONLY [N=611]:
Q.33F2 What do you think about John McCain, personally. Is he [READ IN ORDER]:

21 Very likeable
55 Somewhat likeable
12 Not too likeable
6 Not at all likeable
6 Don't know/Refused (VOL. - DO NOT READ)
100

## ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1) [N=1,240]:

Q. 34 Do you think Barack Obama has or has not provided enough information about his policies and plans for the country?

36 Has provided enough information about his policies and plans for the country
56 Has not provided enough information about his policies and plans for the country
8 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100

## ASK FORM 1 REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1) ONLY [N=629]:

Q.35F1 Do you think John McCain has or has not provided enough information about his policies and plans for the country?

51 Has provided enough information about his policies and plans for the country
37 Has not provided enough information about his policies and plans for the country
12 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100

## ASK FORM 2 REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1) ONLY [N=611]:

Q.36F2 Do you think Hillary Clinton has or has not provided enough information about her policies and plans for the country?

| 67 | Has provided enough information about her policies and plans for the country |
| :--- | :--- |
| 28 | Has not provided enough information about her policies and plans for the country |
| $\underline{5}$ | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) |

## ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1) [N=1,240]:

Q. 37 Thinking about foreign policy and national security...Do you think [INSERT NAME; RANDOMIZE] would be too tough, not tough enough, or about right in (his/her) approach to foreign policy and national security issues?

|  | Too <br> tough | Not tough <br> enough | About <br> right | Don't know/ <br> refused |  |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| a. | John McCain | 25 | 16 | 47 | $12=100$ |
| b. | Barack Obama | 3 | 43 | 39 | $15=100$ |
| c. | Hillary Clinton | 9 | 37 | 44 | $10=100$ |

## ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1) [N=1,240]:

Q. 38 Do you think the Republican Party will unite solidly behind John McCain or do you think that differences and disagreements within the party will keep many Republicans from supporting McCain?

|  |  | -----------Based on registered voters------------ |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Democratic Party/ John Kerry | Republican Party/ Bob Dole | Democratic Party/ Bill Clinton |
|  |  | July | July | July |
|  |  | $\underline{2004}$ | 1996 | 1992 |
| 48 | Solidly united | 53 | 39 | 38 |
| 38 | Keep many from supporting | 25 | 45 | 44 |
| $\underline{14}$ | Don't know (VOL.) | $\underline{22}$ | 16 | 18 |
| 100 |  | 100 | 100 | 100 |

## ASK FORM 1 REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1) ONLY [N=629]:

Q.39F1 Do you feel John McCain is too old to be president, or not?

Bob Dole
Based on general population
CNN/USA Today/Gallup Poll

| March | February |
| :---: | :---: |
| $\frac{1996}{25}$ | $\frac{1996}{27}$ |
| 72 | 67 |
| $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{6}$ |
| 100 | 100 |

ASK FORM 2 REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1) ONLY [N=611]:
Q.40F2 As you may know, John McCain is 71 years old. Do you feel John McCain is too old to be president, or not?

|  | Bob Dole |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | L.A. Times Poll ${ }^{3}$ |  |
|  |  | Based on registered voters |  |
|  |  | August | April |
|  |  | $\frac{1996}{42}$ | $\underline{1996}$ |
| 32 | Yes, too old | 56 | 63 |
| 66 | No, not too old | $\underline{2}$ | $\underline{3}$ |
| $\underline{2}$ | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 100 | 100 | was worded: "As you may know, Bob Dole will be 73 years old at his inauguration if he is elected president. Do you think that Bob Dole is too old to be president or not too old to be president?"

## ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1) [N=1,240]:

Thinking about another topic...
Q. 41 Would you like to see your representative in Congress be re-elected in the upcoming congressional election, or not?
(VOL.)
Congressperson
Late February, 2008

| Yes | $\frac{\text { No }}{22}$ | Congressperson <br> not running | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: |
| 60 | 25 | 1 | $17=100$ |
| 55 | 25 | 1 | $19=100$ |
| 55 | 26 | 1 | $18=100$ |
| 50 | 27 | 1 | $19=100$ |
| 53 | 27 | $*$ | $19=100$ |
| 51 | 30 | 1 | $16=100$ |
| 51 | 32 | 1 | $14=100$ |
| 57 | 28 | 1 | $12=100$ |
| 59 | 28 | 1 | $17=100$ |
| 57 | 25 | 2 | $21=100$ |
| 58 | 19 | 2 | $23=100$ |
| 59 | 16 | 1 | $22=100$ |
| 60 | 17 | 1 | $11=100$ |
| 66 | 23 | 1 | $16=100$ |
| 64 | 19 | 1 | $20=100$ |
| 58 | 20 | 2 | $16=100$ |
| 63 | 20 | 0 | $15=100$ |
| 63 | 21 | 0 | $11=100$ |
| 66 | 23 | 2 | $12=100$ |
| 66 | 22 | 2 | $21=100$ |
| 60 | 16 | 2 | $17=100$ |
| 62 | 19 | 2 | $26=100$ |
| 55 | 17 | 2 | $17=100$ |
| 62 | 19 | 2 | $16=100$ |
| 58 | 25 | 1 | $13=100$ |
| 55 | 30 | 2 | $20=100$ |
| 49 | 29 | 2 | $14=100$ |
| 62 | 22 | 2 |  |

## ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1) [N=1,240]:

Q. 42 Regardless of how you feel about your own representative, would you like to see most members of Congress re-elected in the upcoming congressional election, or not?

Late February, 2008

| $\frac{\text { Yes }}{36}$ | $\frac{\text { No }}{49}$ | $\frac{c}{\text { (VOL) }}$DK/Ref |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 37 | 46 |  | $17=100$ |
| 34 | 49 |  | $17=100$ |
| 32 | 48 | $20=100$ |  |
| 35 | 49 | $16=100$ |  |
| 36 | 49 | $15=100$ |  |
| 29 | 57 | $14=100$ |  |
| 34 | 53 | $13=100$ |  |
| 36 | 49 | $15=100$ |  |
| 36 | 48 | $16=100$ |  |
| 39 | 38 | $23=100$ |  |
| 45 | 37 | $18=100$ |  |

Q. 42 CONTINUED...

October, 2000
July, 1999
Late October, 1998
Early October, 1998
Early September, 1998
March, 1998
January, 1998
August, 1997
Early September, 1996
November, 1994
Late October, 1994
Early October, 1994

| Yes | $\frac{\text { No }}{34}$ | (VOL) <br> DK/Ref |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 40 | $36=100$ |  |  |
| 41 | 47 |  | $12=100$ |
| 41 | 37 | $22=100$ |  |
| 39 | 39 | $22=100$ |  |
| 46 | 37 | $17=100$ |  |
| 45 | 41 | $14=100$ |  |
| 44 | 43 | $13=100$ |  |
| 45 | 42 | $13=100$ |  |
| 43 | 43 | $14=100$ |  |
| 31 | 51 | $18=100$ |  |
| 31 | 56 | $13=100$ |  |
| 28 | 56 | $16=100$ |  |

## ASK ALL:

Q. 43 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 - OBSERVE FORM SPLITS] ${ }^{4}$

## ASK FORM 1 ONLY [ $\mathbf{N = 7 6 9 ] : ~}$ <br> a.F1 Dealing with the economy

October, 2006
September, 2006
February, 2006
Mid-September, 2005
July, 2004
Late October, 2002 (RVs)
Early October, 2002 (RVs)
Early September, 2002
January, 2002
May, $2001{ }^{5}$
June, 1999
March, 1999
Early September, 1998
March, 1998
October, 1994
Gallup: October, 1992 (RVs)
Gallup: October, 1990
b.F1 Improving the educational system

October, 2006
September, 2006
February, 2006
Mid-September, 2005
July, 2004

| Republican <br> Party <br> 34 | Democratic <br> 32 |
| :---: | :---: |
| $\frac{\text { Party }}{}$ |  |
| 33 | 45 |
| 36 | 46 |
| 38 | 46 |
| 34 | 44 |
| 37 | 46 |
| 37 | 40 |
| 36 | 41 |
| 43 | 36 |
| 33 | 34 |
| 37 | 44 |
| 39 | 43 |
| 40 | 44 |
| 40 | 38 |
| 45 | 40 |
| 36 | 33 |
| 37 | 45 |
|  | 35 |
| 26 | 55 |
| 27 | 45 |
| 28 | 46 |
| 33 | 44 |
| 35 | 44 |
| 29 | 45 |

(VOL.)
Both (VOL.) Don't
$\frac{\text { Equally }}{2} \quad \frac{\text { Neither }}{5} \quad \frac{\text { Know }}{6=100}$
$14=100$
$12=100$
$8=100$
$6=100$
$10=100$
$12=100$
$13=100$
$13=100$
$18=100$
$10=100$
$9=100$
$9=100$
$10=100$
$5=100$
$10=100$
$\begin{array}{rrr}5 & 7 & 10=100 \\ 10 & -- & 9=100 \\ -- & -- & 28=100\end{array}$
-- -- $28=100$
27
28
33
29

In January 1999, January 2001, January 2002, and May 2002, the question was worded: "Please tell me which party you think has the best ideas... the Republican Party or the Democratic Party?"

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

## Q. 43 CONTINUED ...

|  |  |  |  | (VOL.) |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Republican | Democratic | Both | (VOL.) | Don't |
|  |  | Party | Party | Equally | Neither | Know |
|  | 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 | $14=100$ |
| c.F1 | Dealing with the terrorist threat at home | e 45 | 38 | 6 | 4 | $7=100$ |
|  | October, 2006 | 39 | 33 | 7 | 6 | $15=100$ |
|  | September, 2006 | 41 | 32 | 7 | 6 | 14=100 |
|  | February, 2006 | 46 | 30 | 8 | 7 | $9=100$ |
|  | Mid-September, 2005 | 45 | 34 | 7 | 6 | $8=100$ |
|  | July, 2004 | 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.F1 | Improving morality in this country | 34 | 44 | 4 | 9 | $9=100$ |
|  | October, 2006 | 30 | 37 | 6 | 12 | 15=100 |
|  | September, 2006 | 34 | 36 | 5 | 10 | $15=100$ |
|  | July, 2004 | 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 ${ }^{6}$ | 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 | $8=100$ |
| e.F1 | Dealing with taxes | 37 | 49 | 2 | 5 | $7=100$ |
|  | October, 2006 | 32 | 40 | 5 | 7 | $16=100$ |
|  | September, 2006 | 30 | 45 | 4 | 9 | $12=100$ |
|  | February, 2006 | 35 | 46 | 5 | 6 | $8=100$ |
|  | May, 2001 | 37 | 40 | 8 | 6 | $9=100$ |
|  | June, 1999 | 38 | 38 | 5 | 7 | $12=100$ |
|  | September, 1998 | 41 | 37 | 7 | 5 | $10=100$ |
|  | March, 1998 | 39 | 40 | 6 | 7 | $8=100$ |
|  | October, 1994 | 43 | 34 | 5 | 9 | $9=100$ |

## Q. 43 CONTINUED ...

|  |  | (VOL.) |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Republican | Democratic | Both | (VOL.) | Don't |
|  |  | Party | Party | Equally | Neither | Know |
| f.F1 | Protecting the environment | 21 | 65 | 3 | 5 | 6=100 |
|  | September, 2006 | 19 | 57 | 5 | 6 | $13=100$ |
|  | February, 2006 | 24 | 56 | 6 | 5 | $9=100$ |
|  | Mid-September, 2005 | 28 | 51 | 5 | 7 | $9=100$ |
|  | July, 2004 | 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 | $17=100$ |

## ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=739]:

g.F2 Making wise decisions about what to do in Iraq 37

October, 2006
September, 2006
31

February, 2006
Mid-September, 2005
July, 2004
Late October, 2002 (RVs)
Early October, 2002 (RVs)
h.F2 Reforming the U.S. health care system

October, 2006
September, 2006
February, 2006
Mid-September, 2005
July, 2004
Early July, 2003
January, 2002 ${ }^{7}$
January, 2001
January, 1999
Early September, 1998
March, 1998
October, 1994
July, 1994
December, 1993
January, 1992
May, 1990

| 47 | 3 | 5 | $8=100$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | ---: |
| 39 | 5 | 8 | $17=100$ |
| 40 | 5 | 8 | $14=100$ |
| 41 | 3 | 8 | $10=100$ |
| 43 | 5 | 6 | $8=100$ |
| 40 | 4 | 6 | $12=100$ |
| 33 | 6 | 6 | $13=100$ |
| 30 | 7 | 4 | $13=100$ |
|  |  |  |  |
| 56 | 3 | 8 | $7=100$ |
| 46 | 4 | 8 | $17=100$ |
| 48 | 5 | 10 | $13=100$ |
| 49 | 6 | 9 | $9=100$ |
| 51 | 4 | 10 | $7=100$ |
| 50 | 4 | 10 | $13=100$ |
| 38 | 6 | 10 | $15=100$ |
| 45 | -- | 6 | $29=100$ |
| 47 | -- | 7 | $16=100$ |
| 46 | -- | 7 | $22=100$ |
| 43 | 7 | 7 | $12=100$ |
| 53 | 6 | 8 | $8=100$ |
| 41 | 5 | 10 | $10=100$ |
| 48 | 2 | 8 | $8=100$ |
| 47 | -- | 10 | $18=100$ |
| 56 | -- | 8 | $15=100$ |
| 50 | -- | 16 | $14=100$ |

7 From 1999 to 2002, the item was listed as "...regulating health maintenance organizations (HMOs) and managed health care plans." 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. 43 CONTINUED...

| i.F2 |  | Republican Party | Democratic Party | (VOL.) <br> Both <br> Equally | (VOL.) <br> Neither | Don't Know |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Dealing with the nation's energy problems | 23 | 57 | 5 | 5 | $10=100$ |
|  | October, 2006 | 28 | 44 | 5 | 6 | $17=100$ |
|  | September, 2006 | 27 | 47 | 4 | 7 | $15=100$ |
|  | February, 2006 | 32 | 45 | 6 | 7 | $10=100$ |
|  | Mid-September, 2005 | 31 | 44 | 6 | 8 | $11=100$ |
|  | May, 2001 | 36 | 34 | 10 | 7 | $13=100$ |
| j.F2 | Making wise decisions about foreign policy | 40 | 45 | 4 | 4 | $7=100$ |
|  | July, 2004 | 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 | $14=100$ |
|  | 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 ${ }^{8}$ | 51 | 31 | 4 | 6 | $8=100$ |
|  | December, 1993 | 49 | 23 | -- | 10 | $18=100$ |
|  | May, 1990 | 39 | 28 | -- | 17 | $16=100$ |
| k.F2 | Reforming government in Washington | 25 | 50 | 4 | 11 | $10=100$ |
|  | October, 2006 | 24 | 41 | 5 | 12 | $18=100$ |
|  | September, 2006 | 25 | 41 | 4 | 16 | $14=100$ |
|  | April, 2006 | 28 | 44 | 5 | 15 | $8=100$ |
|  | February, 2006 | 29 | 42 | 7 | 12 | $10=100$ |
|  | March, $1998{ }^{9}$ | 37 | 35 | 8 | 10 | $10=100$ |
|  | July, 1994 | 39 | 40 | 3 | 11 | $7=100$ |
| 1.F2 | Dealing with immigration | 38 | 43 | 4 | 6 | $9=100$ |
|  | October, 2006 | 35 | 33 | 6 | 8 | $18=100$ |
|  | September, 2006 | 32 | 37 | 5 | 10 | $16=100$ |
|  | April, 2006 | 27 | 43 | 6 | 11 | $13=100$ |
|  | February, 2006 | 34 | 38 | 8 | 9 | $11=100$ |

## NO QUESTIONS 44-54

[^5]
## ASK ALL:

Now a few questions about Iraq...
Q. 55 Do you think the U.S. made the right decision or the wrong decision in using military force against Iraq?

|  | $\begin{array}{c}\text { Right } \\ \text { decision }\end{array}$ | Wrong decision | DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Late February, 2008 | 38 | 54 | 8=100 |
| Late December, 2007 | 36 | 56 | $8=100$ |
| October, 2007 | 39 | 54 | $7=100$ |
| September, 2007 | 42 | 50 | $8=100$ |
| July, 2007 | 41 | 53 | $6=100$ |
| June, 2007 | 40 | 51 | $9=100$ |
| April, 2007 | 45 | 47 | $8=100$ |
| March, 2007 | 43 | 49 | $8=100$ |
| February, 2007 | 40 | 54 | $6=100$ |
| Mid-January, 2007 | 40 | 51 | $9=100$ |
| Early January, 2007 | 40 | 53 | $7=100$ |
| December, 2006 | 42 | 51 | $7=100$ |
| Mid-November, 2006 | 41 | 51 | $8=100$ |
| Late October, 2006 | 43 | 47 | $10=100$ |
| Early October, 2006 | 45 | 47 | $8=100$ |
| Early September, 2006 | 49 | 43 | $8=100$ |
| August, 2006 | 45 | 46 | $9=100$ |
| July, 2006 | 44 | 50 | $6=100$ |
| June, 2006 | 49 | 44 | $7=100$ |
| April, 2006 | 47 | 46 | $7=100$ |
| March, 2006 | 45 | 49 | 6=100 |
| February, 2006 | 51 | 44 | $5=100$ |
| January, 2006 | 45 | 47 | $8=100$ |
| December, 2005 | 47 | 48 | $5=100$ |
| Late October, 2005 | 48 | 45 | $7=100$ |
| Early October, 2005 | 44 | 50 | $6=100$ |
| Mid-September, 2005 | 49 | 44 | $7=100$ |
| July, 2005 | 49 | 44 | $7=100$ |
| June, 2005 | 47 | 45 | $8=100$ |
| February, 2005 | 47 | 47 | $6=100$ |
| January, 2005 | 51 | 44 | $5=100$ |
| December, 2004 | 49 | 44 | $7=100$ |
| November, 2004 (RVs) | 48 | 41 | 11=100 |
| Mid-October, 2004 | 46 | 42 | $12=100$ |
| Early October, 2004 | 50 | 39 | 11=100 |
| Early September, 2004 | 53 | 39 | $8=100$ |
| August, 2004 | 53 | 41 | $6=100$ |
| July, 2004 | 52 | 43 | $5=100$ |
| June, 2004 | 55 | 38 | $7=100$ |
| May, 2004 | 51 | 42 | $7=100$ |
| Late April, 2004 | 54 | 37 | $9=100$ |
| Early April, 2004 | 57 | 35 | $8=100$ |
| Mid-March, 2004 | 55 | 39 | $6=100$ |
| Late February, 2004 | 60 | 32 | $8=100$ |
| Early February, 2004 | 56 | 39 | $5=100$ |
| Mid-January, 2004 | 65 | 30 | $5=100$ |
| Early January, 2004 | 62 | 28 | $10=100$ |
| December, 2003 | 67 | 26 | $7=100$ |

## Q. 55 CONTINUED...

|  | Right <br> decision | Wrong <br> decision | DK/Ref |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| October, 2003 | 60 |  | 33 |
| September, 2003 | 63 |  | 31 |
| August, 2003 | 63 | 30 | $6=100$ |
| Early July, 2003 | 67 | 24 | $7=100$ |
| May, 2003 | 74 | 20 | $9=100$ |
| 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 | $8=100$ |

## ASK ALL:

Q. 56 How well is the U.S. military effort in Iraq going? [READ IN ORDER]

|  | Very <br> well | Fairly <br> well | Not too <br> well | Not at all <br> well | Refused |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Late February, 2008 | 12 | 36 | 25 | 23 | $4=100$ |
| Late December, 2007 | 11 | 30 | 31 | 23 | $5=100$ |
| November, 2007 | 11 | 37 | 29 | 19 | $4=100$ |
| October, 2007 | 10 | 34 | 29 | 22 | $5=100$ |
| September, 2007 | 9 | 32 | 30 | 24 | $5=100$ |
| July, 2007 | 8 | 28 | 34 | 25 | $5=100$ |
| June, 2007 | 7 | 27 | 33 | 28 | $5=100$ |
| April, 2007 | 7 | 31 | 34 | 25 | $3=100$ |
| March, 2007 | 10 | 30 | 32 | 24 | $4=100$ |
| February, 2007 | 5 | 25 | 38 | 29 | $3=100$ |
| Mid-January, 2007 | 7 | 28 | 32 | 30 | $3=100$ |
| December, 2006 | 4 | 28 | 37 | 27 | $4=100$ |
| Mid-November, 2006 | 6 | 26 | 34 | 30 | $4=100$ |
| Late October, 2006 | 5 | 30 | 34 | 25 | $6=100$ |
| Early October, 2006 | 8 | 29 | 33 | 25 | $5=100$ |
| Early September, 2006 | 8 | 39 | 28 | 20 | $5=100$ |
| August, 2006 | 8 | 33 | 32 | 23 | $4=100$ |
| June, 2006 | 16 | 37 | 25 | 18 | $4=100$ |
| April, 2006 | 13 | 34 | 29 | 21 | $3=100$ |
| March, 2006 | 9 | 34 | 30 | 21 | $6=100$ |
| February, 2006 | 13 | 38 | 29 | 17 | $3=100$ |
| January, 2006 | 12 | 39 | 27 | 17 | $5=100$ |
| December, 2005 | 14 | 37 | 29 | 17 | $3=100$ |
| Early October, 2005 | 9 | 35 | 31 | 22 | $3=100$ |
| Mid-September, 2005 | 12 | 41 | 26 | 18 | $3=100$ |
| July, 2005 | 14 | 38 | 27 | 17 | $4=100$ |
| June, 2005 | 9 | 41 | 27 | 19 | $4=100$ |
| February, 2005 | 14 | 40 | 25 | 17 | $4=100$ |
| January, 2005 | 9 | 39 | 29 | 20 | $3=100$ |
| December, 2004 | 10 | 40 | 28 | 18 | $4=100$ |
| Mid-October, 2004 | 13 | 38 | 26 | 17 | $6=100$ |
| Early September, 2004 | 12 | 40 | 26 | 18 | $4=100$ |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |

## Q. 56 CONTINUED...

|  | Very | Fairly <br> well <br> well | Not too <br> well | Not at all <br> well | Refused |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| August, 2004 | 12 | 41 | 28 | 16 | $3=100$ |
| July, 2004 | 13 | 42 | 26 | 16 | $3=100$ |
| June, 2004 | 16 | 41 | 25 | 14 | $4=100$ |
| May, 2004 | 10 | 36 | 32 | 19 | $3=100$ |
| Late April, 2004 | 12 | 43 | 26 | 15 | $4=100$ |
| Early April, 2004 | 14 | 43 | 26 | 13 | $4=100$ |
| Mid-March, 2004 | 16 | 45 | 26 | 11 | $2=100$ |
| Early February, 2004 | 17 | 46 | 23 | 11 | $3=100$ |
| Mid-January, 2004 | 22 | 51 | 18 | 6 | $3=100$ |
| Early January, 2004 | 23 | 47 | 18 | 7 | $5=100$ |
| December, 2003 | 28 | 47 | 16 | 6 | $3=100$ |
| October, 2003 | 16 | 44 | 25 | 11 | $4=100$ |
| September, 2003 | 15 | 47 | 26 | 9 | $3=100$ |
| August, 2003 | 19 | 43 | 24 | 11 | $3=100$ |
| Early July, 2003 | 23 | 52 | 16 | 5 | $4=100$ |
| April 10-16, 200 | 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 | $7=100$ |

## ASK ALL:

Q. 57 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 February, 2008
Late December, 2007
November, 2007
October, 2007

| Keep troops <br> in Iraq | Bring troops <br> home | DK/Ref <br> 47 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 40 | 54 | $6=100$ |
| 41 | 54 | $5=100$ |
| 42 | 54 | $4=100$ |
| 39 | 54 | $7=100$ |
| 39 | 54 | $7=100$ |
| 39 | 56 | $5=100$ |
| 41 | 53 | $6=100$ |
| 43 | 52 | $5=100$ |
| 42 | 53 | $5=100$ |
| 46 | 48 | $6=100$ |
| 41 | 53 | $6=100$ |
| 44 | 50 | $6=100$ |
| 46 | 48 | $6=100$ |
| 46 | 47 | $7=100$ |
| 47 | 47 | $6=100$ |
| 47 | 47 | $6=100$ |
| 48 | 46 | $6=100$ |
| 50 | 45 | $5=100$ |
| 48 | 48 | $4=100$ |
| 44 | 50 | $6=100$ |
| 50 | 46 | $4=100$ |
| 48 | 48 | $4=100$ |

## Q. 57 CONTINUED...

December, 2005
Early October, 2005
Mid-September, 2005
July, 2005
June, 2005
February, 2005
January, 2005
December, 2004
Mid-October, 2004
Early September, 2004

| Keep troops <br> in Iraq | Bring troops <br> home | $\frac{\text { DK/Ref }}{56}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |

## IF "KEEP TROOPS IN IRAQ" (1 IN Q.57) ASK:

Q. 58 Do you think the U.S. should or should not set a timetable for when troops will be withdrawn from Iraq?

|  | Should set a timetable | Should not set timetable | DK/ <br> Refused |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Late February, 2008 | 16 | 30 | 1=47\% |
| Late December, 2007 | 13 | 26 | 1=40\% |
| November, 2007 | 11 | 29 | 1=41\% |
| October, 2007 | 15 | 26 | 1=42\% |
| September, 2007 | 13 | 25 | 1=39\% |
| June, 2007^ | 13 | 25 | 1=39\% |
| April, 2007 | 11 | 28 | 2=41\% |
| March, 2007 | 14 | 27 | 2=43\% |
| Mid-January, 2007 | 19 | 26 | 1=46\% |
| December, 2006 | 17 | 25 | 2=44\% |
| Mid-November, 2006 | 17 | 27 | 2=46\% |
| Late October, 2006 | 15 | 29 | 2=46\% |
| Early October, 2006 | 15 | 30 | 2=47\% |
| Early September, 2006 | 13 | 32 | 2=47\% |
| August, 2006 | 16 | 30 | 2=48\% |
| June, 2006 | 16 | 32 | $1=50 \%$ |
| April, 2006 | 14 | 32 | 1=48\% |
| March, 2006 | 14 | 29 | 1=44\% |
| January, 2006 | 16 | 30 | 2=48\% |
| December, 2005 | 17 | 30 | 2=49\% |
| Early October, 2005 | 15 | 31 | 1=47\% |

## Q. 58 CONTINUED...

Mid-September, 2005
July, 2005

| Should <br> set a <br> timetable | Should <br> not set | timetable <br> 19 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | | DK/ |
| :---: |
| 16 |

^ Trend note: In June 2007 and earlier the question was asked of all respondents. Results shown here are limited to those who said we should "keep troops in Iraq until the situation has stabilized" in order to be consistent with the way the question is currently asked. The small number who volunteered that the U.S. should "get out now" in previous surveys have been grouped with supporters of a timetable.

## IF "BRING TROOPS HOME" (2 IN Q.57) ASK:

Q. 59 Should the U.S. remove all troops from Iraq immediately, or should the withdrawal of troops be gradual over the next year or two?

|  | Remove <br> all troops <br> immediately | Gradual <br> withdrawal | DK/ <br> Late February, 2008 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Refused |  |  |  |
| Late December, 2007 | 14 | 33 | $2=49 \%$ <br> November, 2007 18 |
| 34 | $2=54 \%$ |  |  |
| October, 2007 | 16 | 36 | $2=54 \%$ |
| September, 2007 | 18 | 35 | $1=54 \%$ |
| July, 2007 | 18 | 34 | $2=54 \%$ |
| June, 2007 | 21 | 31 | $2=54 \%$ |
| April, 2007 | 20 | 35 | $1=56 \%$ |
| March, 2007 | 17 | 34 | $2=53 \%$ |
| February, 2007 | 18 | 33 | $1=52 \%$ |
| Mid-January, 2007 | 16 | 35 | $2=53 \%$ |
| December, 2006 | 16 | 30 | $2=48 \%$ |
| Mid-November, 2006 | 18 | 32 | $*=50 \%$ |
| August, 2006 | 16 | 31 | $1=48 \%$ |
| April, 2006 | 15 | 30 | $1=46 \%$ |
| January, 2006 | 18 | 29 | $1=48 \%$ |
| December, 2005 | 14 | 32 | $2=48 \%$ |
|  | 17 | 28 | $1=46 \%$ |

## ASK ALL:

Q. 60 Regardless of what you think about the original decision to use military force in Iraq, do you now believe that the United States will definitely succeed, probably succeed, probably fail, or definitely fail in achieving its goals in Iraq?


## ASK ALL:

Q. 61 Do you think the presence of American forces in Iraq does more to [READ AND ROTATE]?

|  |  | Jan |
| :---: | :--- | :---: |
| 43 | Strengthen the Iraqi government by giving them needed support | $\frac{2007}{43}$ |
|  | OR |  |
| 44 | Weaken the Iraqi government by making them too dependent on us | 43 |
| 2 | Both (VOL.) | 3 |
| $\frac{11}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | $\underline{11}$ |

## ASK ALL:

Q. 62 As I read a few specific things about Iraq, tell me if you think we are making progress or losing ground in each area. First, are we making progress or losing ground in [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE; OBSERVE FORM SPLITS]? How about [NEXT ITEM]? [IF NECESSARY: Do you think we are making progress or losing ground in this area?]

ASK ITEMS a THRU d OF FORM 1 ONLY [N=769]:
a.F1 Training Iraqi security forces so they can replace U.S. troops

November, 2007
September, 2007
June, 2007
February, 2007
November, 2006
August, 2006
June, 2006
April, 2006
March, 2006
January, 2006
December, 2005
b.F1 Reducing the number of civilian casualties there

November, 2007
September, 2007
June, 2007
February, 2007
November, 2006
August, 2006
June, 2006
April, 2006
March, 2006
January, 2006
December, 2005
c.F1 Preventing terrorists from using Iraq as a base for attacks against the U.S. and its allies

November, 2007
September, 2007
June, 2007
February, 2007

|  | (VOL) |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Making Losing | No | DK/ |
| progress ground |  |  |
| change | Ref |  |


| 57 | 29 | 1 | $13=100$ |
| ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| 50 | 36 | 3 | $11=100$ |
| 50 | 38 | 2 | $10=100$ |
| 42 | 36 | 2 | $20=100$ |
| 51 | 34 | 2 | $13=100$ |
| 48 | 37 | 1 | $14=100$ |
| 58 | 26 | 2 | $14=100$ |
| 61 | 28 | 2 | $9=100$ |
| 55 | 30 | 1 | $14=100$ |
| 56 | 30 | 1 | $13=100$ |
| 65 | 22 | 1 | $12=100$ |
| 61 | 27 | 1 | $11=100$ |
|  |  |  |  |
| 46 | 40 | 3 | $11=100$ |
| 43 | 46 | 3 | $8=100$ |
| 37 | 48 | 2 | $13=100$ |
| 21 | 65 | 2 | $12=100$ |
| 20 | 66 | 2 | $12=100$ |
| 20 | 67 | 2 | $11=100$ |
| 25 | 58 | 3 | $14=100$ |
| 29 | 56 | 3 | $12=100$ |
| 28 | 56 | 3 | $13=100$ |
| 27 | 56 | 3 | $14=100$ |
| 32 | 54 | 3 | $11=100$ |
| 35 | 53 | 3 | $9=100$ |

November, 2006
August, 2006
June, 2006
April, 2006
March, 2006
January, 2006
December, 2005
d.F1 Establishing democracy in Iraq

November, 2007
September, 2007
June, 2007
February, 2007
November, 2006
August, 2006
June, 2006
April, 2006
March, 2006
January, 2006
December, 2005
ASK ITEMS e THRU h OF FORM 2 ONLY [N=739]:
e.F2 Defeating the insurgents militarily

November, 2007
September, 2007
June, 2007
February, 2007
November, 2006
August, 2006
June, 2006
April, 2006
March, 2006
January, 2006
December, 2005
f.F2 Preventing a civil war between various religious and ethnic groups

November, 2007
September, 2007
June, 2007
February, 2007
November, 2006
August, 2006
June, 2006
April, 2006
March, 2006
January, 2006
December, 2005

| Making progress | (VOL.) |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Losing | No | DK/ |
|  | ground | change | Ref |
| 39 | 49 | 2 | $10=100$ |
| 45 | 40 | 2 | $13=100$ |
| 49 | 39 | 2 | $10=100$ |
| 44 | 43 | 3 | $10=100$ |
| 42 | 44 | 2 | $12=100$ |
| 52 | 33 | 2 | $13=100$ |
| 48 | 41 | 2 | $9=100$ |
| 49 | 40 | 2 | $9=100$ |
| 43 | 46 | 3 | $8=100$ |
| 39 | 49 | 4 | $8=100$ |
| 39 | 47 | 3 | $11=100$ |
| 40 | 47 | 3 | $10=100$ |
| 43 | 42 | 2 | $13=100$ |
| 47 | 39 | 3 | $11=100$ |
| 55 | 35 | 2 | $8=100$ |
| 51 | 38 | 3 | $8=100$ |
| 50 | 38 | 2 | $10=100$ |
| 62 | 26 | 2 | $10=100$ |
| 58 | 32 | 2 | $8=100$ |

Q. 62 CONTINUED...
(VOL)

|  | Rebuiding toads, power plats and | Making progress | Losing ground | $\begin{gathered} \text { No } \\ \text { change } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{DK} / \\ & \text { Ref } \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| g.F2 | Rebuilding roads, power plants and other services in Iraq | 47 | 29 | 1 | 23=100 |
|  | November, 2007 | 46 | 30 | 1 | 23=100 |
|  | September, 2007 | 39 | 34 | 2 | 25=100 |
|  | June, 2007 | 36 | 39 | 1 | 24=100 |
|  | February, 2007 | 40 | 36 | 2 | $22=100$ |
|  | November, 2006 | 43 | 36 | 1 | $20=100$ |
|  | August, 2006 | 46 | 34 | 1 | $19=10$ |
|  | June, 2006 | 52 | 23 | 1 | 24=100 |
|  | April, 2006 | 55 | 26 | 1 | $18=100$ |
|  | March, 2006 | 53 | 29 | 1 | $17=100$ |
|  | January, 2006 | 59 | 22 | 1 | $18=100$ |
| h.F2 | Getting Iraqi political leaders to work together | 47 | 39 | 3 | $11=100$ |
|  | November, 2007 | 41 | 47 | 3 | $9=100$ |
|  | September, 2007 | 35 | 49 | 3 | $13=100$ |

QUESTIONS 63-66 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

## NO QUESTION 67

Thinking about the issue of terrorism for a moment...
ASK FORM 1 ONLY [ $\mathrm{N}=769$ ]:
Q.68F1 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?

|  |  | Dec | Aug | Jan | July | July | Late Aug |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $\underline{2006}$ | $\frac{2006}{23}$ | $\underline{2006}$ | $\underline{2005}$ | $\frac{2004}{28}$ | $\frac{2002}{22}$ |
| 16 | Greater | 41 | 37 | 39 | 40 | 39 | 39 |
| 41 | The same | 31 | 33 | 39 | 29 | 34 | 34 |
| 39 | Less | $\underline{5}$ | $\underline{5}$ | $\underline{5}$ | $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{5}$ |
| $\underline{4}$ | Don't know/Refused | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

## ASK FORM 1 ONLY [ $\mathrm{N}=769$ ]:

Q.69F1 In your view, how much have the policies and actions of the Bush Administration had to do with the fact that there has not been another terrorist attack in the U.S. since 2001? [READ]

28 A great deal
34 A fair amount
22 Not too much
13 Not at all
3 Don't know/Refused (VOL. DO NOT READ)
100

## ASK FORM 2 ONLY [ $\mathbf{N = 7 3 9 ] : ~}$

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 |
|  |  | Jan | Dec | Aug | Feb | Jan | July | July | Aug | Nov | June | Nov | 15-21 | 10-14 |
|  |  | $\underline{2007}$ | 2006 | 2006 | $\underline{2006}$ | $\underline{2006}$ | 2005 | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2003}$ | $\underline{2002}$ | $\underline{2002}$ | $\underline{2001}$ | $\underline{2001}$ | $\underline{2001}$ |
| 21 | Very well | 17 | 17 | 22 | 16 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 15 | 16 | 35 | 38 | 48 |
| 45 | Fairly well | 37 | 48 | 52 | 52 | 50 | 53 | 53 | 56 | 54 | 60 | 46 | 46 | 40 |
| 19 | Not too well, [OR] | 27 | 21 | 16 | 20 | 20 | 19 | 17 | 16 | 19 | 16 | 9 | 9 | 6 |
| 12 | Not at all well | 17 | 11 | 8 | 10 | 9 | 8 | 8 | 7 | 8 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 2 |
| $\underline{3}$ | Don't know/Refused | $\underline{2}$ | $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{2}$ | $\underline{2}$ | $\underline{5}$ | $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{4}$ | $\underline{2}$ | $\underline{4}$ | $\underline{4}$ | $\underline{5}$ | $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{4}$ |
| 100 |  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

## ASK FORM 2 ONLY [ $\mathrm{N}=739$ ]:

Q.71F2 What concerns you more about the government's anti-terrorism policies? [READ AND ROTATE]

|  |  | Late |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Aug | Feb | Jan | Oct | July | July |
|  |  | $\underline{2006}$ | $\underline{2006}$ | $\underline{2006}$ | $\underline{2005}$ | $\underline{2005}$ | $\underline{2004}$ |
| 36 | That they have gone too far in restricting the average person's civil liberties [OR] | 26 | 33 | 33 | 34 | 31 | 29 |
| 47 | That they have not gone far enough to adequately protect the country | 55 | 50 | 46 | 48 | 52 | 49 |
| 9 | Both/Neither/Approve of policies (VOL) | 11 | 10 | 12 | 10 | 10 | 11 |
| 8 | Don't know/Refused | 8 | 7 | $\underline{9}$ | 8 | 7 | 11 |
| 100 |  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

## ASK ALL:

Q. 72 Do you think it is generally right or generally wrong for the government to monitor telephone and e-mail communications of Americans suspected of having terrorist ties without first obtaining permission from the courts?

|  |  | Early | Early |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Nov | Oct | Sept | Feb | Jan |
|  |  | $\underline{2007}$ | $\underline{2006}$ | $\underline{2006}$ | $\underline{2006}$ | $\underline{2006}$ |
| 52 | Generally right | 52 | 53 | 54 | 54 | 48 |
| 44 | Generally wrong | 44 | 42 | 41 | 43 | 47 |
| $\underline{4}$ | Don’t know/Refused (VOL.) | $\underline{4}$ | $\underline{5}$ | $\underline{5}$ | $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{5}$ |
| 100 |  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

## ASK FORM 1 ONLY [ $\mathrm{N}=769$ ]:

Q.73F1 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?

|  |  |  | Early | Late | Late |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Nov | Jan | Oct | Oct | March | July |
|  |  | $\frac{2007}{18}$ | $\frac{2007}{12}$ | $\frac{2006}{18}$ | $\underline{2005}$ | $\frac{2005}{15}$ | $\frac{2004}{15}$ |
| 17 | Often justified | 30 | 31 | 28 | 31 | 30 | 28 |
| 31 | Sometimes justified | 30 | 21 | 19 | 17 | 24 | 21 |
| 20 | Rarely justified | 21 | 25 | 19 | 32 | 27 | 32 |
| 30 | Never justified | 27 | 29 | 32 | 32 |  |  |
| $\underline{2}$ | Don't know/Refused | $\underline{4}$ | $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{5}$ | $\underline{4}$ | $\underline{4}$ |
| 100 |  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

## ASK FORM 2 ONLY [ $\mathbf{N}=739$ ]:

Q.74F2 As you may know, the U.S. government is holding a number of detainees at a military base in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. In your opinion, are the government's policies toward these prisoners fair or unfair?

| 52 | Fair |
| :--- | :--- |
| 33 | Unfair |
| $\frac{15}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) |

## NO QUESTIONS 75-78

## ASK ALL:

Now I have a few questions about Afghanistan...
Q. 79 Do you think the U.S. made the right decision or the wrong decision in using military force in Afghanistan?

|  |  | Dec <br>  <br>  <br> 65 | Jan |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: |
| 24 | Right decision | $\frac{2006}{61}$ | $\frac{2006}{69}$ |
| $\frac{11}{100}$ | Drong decision | 29 | 20 |
|  |  | $\underline{10}$ | $\underline{11}$ |

ASK ALL:
Q. 80 From what you have read or heard, how well is the U.S. military effort in Afghanistan going? [READ IN ORDER]

| 10 | Very well |
| :--- | :--- |
| 38 | Fairly well |
| 31 | Not too well |
| 10 | Not at all well |
| $\frac{11}{100}$ | (VOL. DO NOT READ) Don't know/Refused |

ASK ALL:
Q. 81 Do you think the U.S. and NATO should keep military troops in Afghanistan until the situation has stabilized, or do you think the U.S. and NATO should remove their troops as soon as possible?

|  | Spring^ <br>  <br> 61 | Keep troops in Afghanistan |
| :--- | :--- | :---: |
| 32 | Remove their troops | 50 |
| $\underline{7}$ | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | $\underline{42}$ |
| 100 |  | $\underline{99}$ |

^Trend reflects U.S. sample from Spring 2007 Pew Global Attitudes survey, April 23-May 6, 2007.

## NO QUESTIONS 82-84

QUESTIONS 85-88 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

ASK ALL:
Now, just a few questions for statistical purposes only.
VETERAN Are you yourself [IF RESPONDENT IS MARRIED - MARITAL=1 - ADD: or is your husband/wife] a veteran of the armed services? [IF YES, PROBE FOR WHOM]

26
15
10
1
74 Non-Military Household

* Don't know/Refused [VOL.]

100
SERVED Do you have a family member you are close to who has served in the current military efforts in Iraq or Afghanistan?

Yes
No
Don't know/Refused
Military Household
Respondent
Spouse
Both

29
71
$\overline{100}$


[^0]:    1 In March 1999 and November 1997 the category was listed: "Texas Governor George W. Bush."

[^1]:    2 Registered voters (REGICERT=1) were asked PARTY and PARTYLN at this point in the survey. Non-registered voters were asked PARTY and PARTYLN toward the end of the survey with the demographic questions.

[^2]:    * The numbers listed represent the number of respondents who offered each response; the numbers are not percentages

[^3]:    * The numbers listed represent the number of respondents who offered each response; the numbers are not percentages

[^4]:    * The numbers listed represent the number of respondents who offered each response; the numbers are not percentages

[^5]:    8 In July 1994 and May 1990, question was worded "Making wise decisions about the country's defense policies."
    9 In March 1998 and July 1994 the item was worded "reforming government."

