

National Public Radio National Survey

May 27-29, 2003

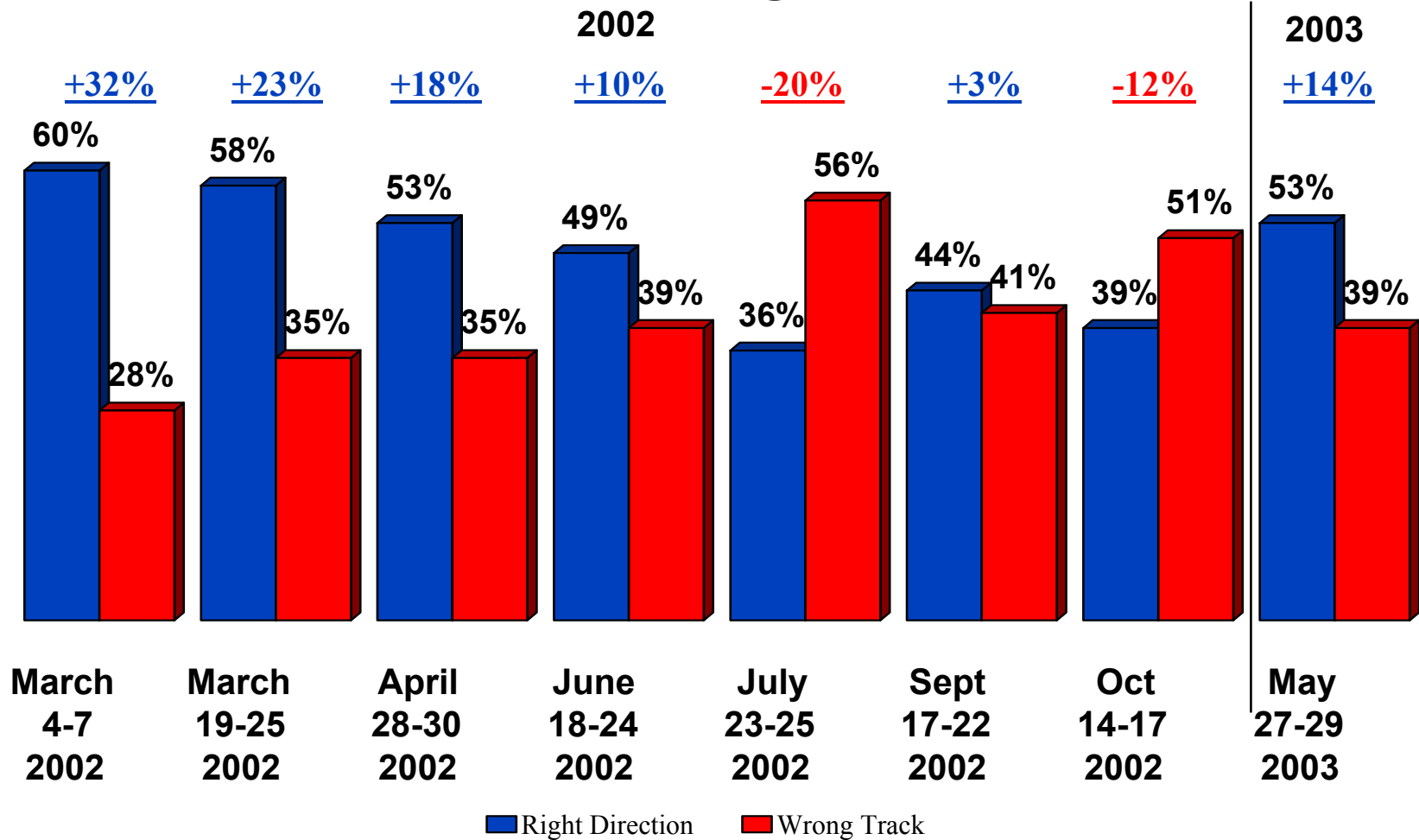


Methodology

The reported results on public attitudes come from a national survey conducted by Public Opinion Strategies and Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research for National Public Radio (NPR) May 27-29, 2003. The firms, together with NPR, developed questions to inform a news segment for Morning Edition. This is our seventh survey in the NPR series. The dates of the earlier surveys were March 4-7, March 19-25, April 28-30 June 18-24, September 17-22, and October 14-17, 2002.

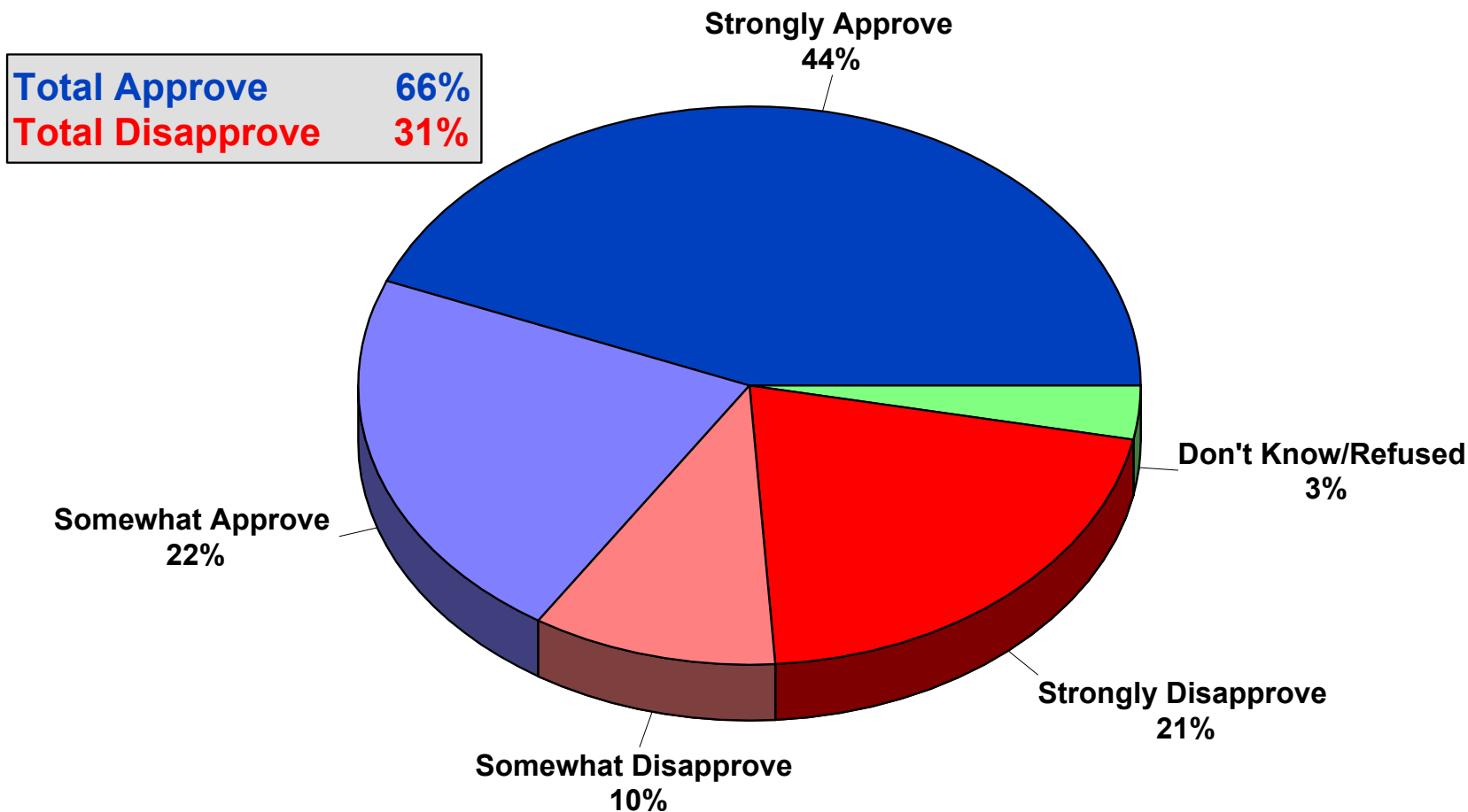
With a view to the upcoming elections, the surveys were conducted with likely voters. All participants were registered voters, voted or were ineligible to vote in the 2000 presidential election or voted in the 2002 Congressional elections and indicated they were “almost certain” or “certain” to vote in 2004. The sample of potential respondents was generated by random digit dial methodology. The sample size for this survey was 723 registered likely voters with a margin of error of $\pm 3.64\%$.

A majority of Americans once again say the country is headed "in the right direction."



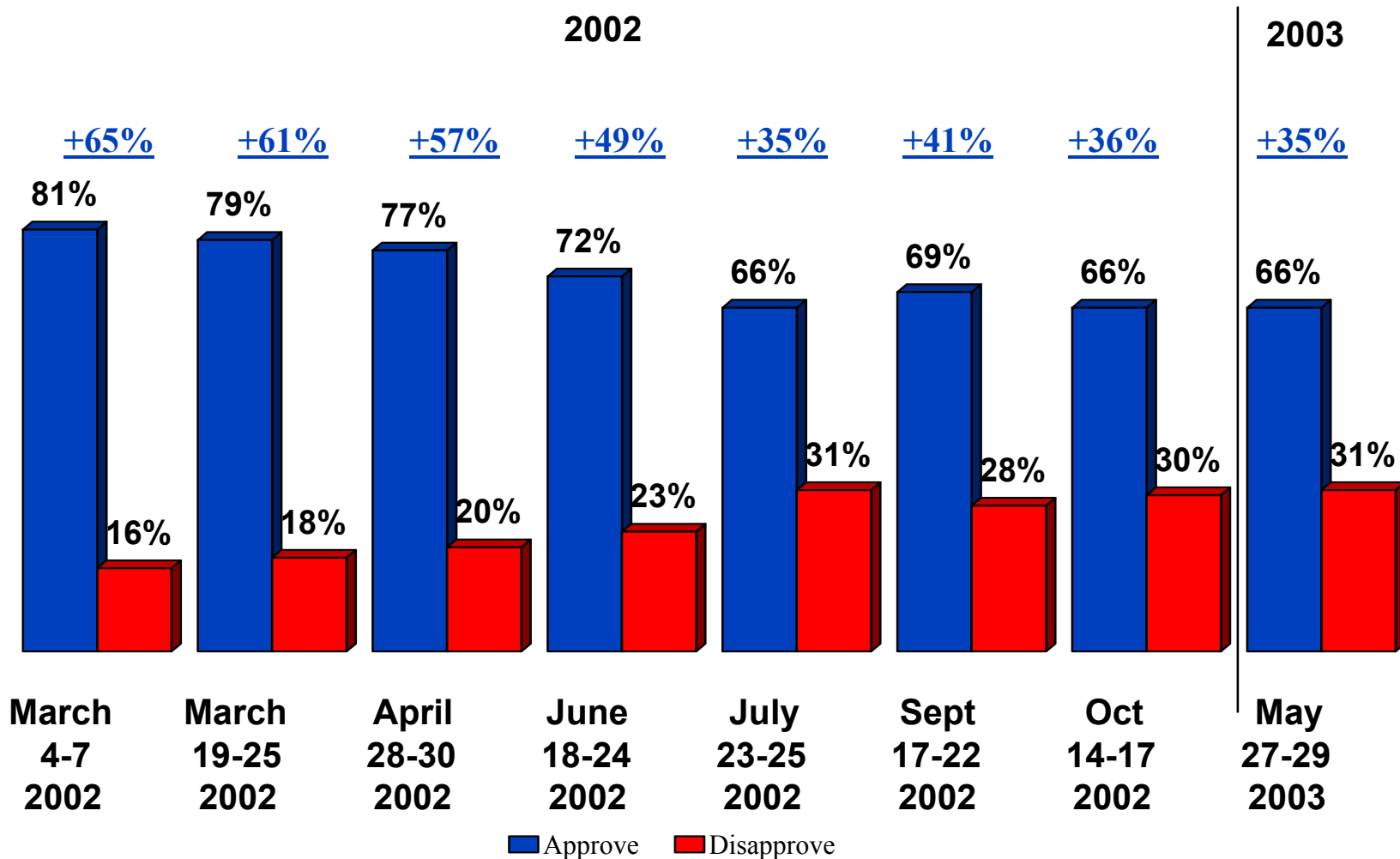
Generally speaking, would you say that things in the country are going in the right direction, or have they seriously gotten off on the wrong track?

President Bush retains a strong job approval rating of over 60% approve.



Do you approve or disapprove of the job George W. Bush is doing as President? And would you say you strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

President Bush retains a strong job approval rating of over 60% approve.



And, do you approve or disapprove of the job George W. Bush is doing as President?

The economy is clearly the number one issue driving the issue agenda.

Combined Choice	3/02	10/02	5/03*
The economy and jobs	34%	43%	46%
Terrorism and national security	15%	19%	26%
Social Security and Medicare	20%	19%	22%
Education	29%	25%	21%
Affordable health care	25%	16%	21%
Moral values	16%	15%	17%
Taxes	16%	12%	10%
Federal spending	10%	6%	10%
The environment	6%	4%	6%
Crime and Illegal Drugs	6%	5%	4%

** NOTE: Before the present survey, the question was asked for Congressional vote. Also, "Terrorism and National Security" was "Anti-terrorism Efforts."*

And, which of the following issue areas would be MOST important to you in deciding how to vote for a candidate for President? Is it....

Most Important Issue By Age Group

Combined Choice	18-49	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
Economy and Jobs (46%)	50%	47%	51%	46%	34%
Terrorism and National Security (26%)	19%	33%	27%	30%	19%
Social Security and Medicare (22%)	13%	9%	16%	31%	41%
Education (21%)	32%	37%	21%	9%	10%
Affordable health care (21%)	17%	17%	19%	23%	26%
Moral values (17%)	14%	17%	22%	16%	16%
Taxes (10%)	13%	10%	9%	8%	12%
Federal spending (10%)	11%	4%	15%	12%	7%
Environment (6%)	13%	6%	5%	3%	3%
Crime/Drugs (4%)	3%	5%	3%	3%	6%

Most Important Issue by Party

Total GOP

Combined Choice	%
Economy and Jobs	42%
Terrorism/Nat. Security	33%
Moral Values	30%
Taxes	13%

Total DEM

Combined Choice	%
Economy and Jobs	51%
Social Security/Medicare	34%
Education	26%
Terrorism/Nat. Security	16%

Independent

Combined Choice	%
Economy and Jobs	47%
Terrorism/Nat. Security	27%
Education	22%
Social Security/Medicare	15%

And, which of the following issue areas would be MOST important to you in deciding how to vote for a candidate for President? Is it....

Most Important Issue by Income

Under \$20K

Combined Choice	%
Economy and Jobs	41%
Social Security/Medicare	41%
Affordable Health Care	27%

\$20K-\$40K

Combined Choice	%
Economy and Jobs	46%
Social Security/Medicare	31%
Affordable Health Care	23%

\$40K-\$60K

Combined Choice	%
Economy and Jobs	48%
Terrorism/Nat. Security	26%
Education	20%

\$60K-\$80K

Combined Choice	%
Economy and Jobs	44%
Terrorism/Nat. Security	26%
Moral Values	25%

More than \$80K

Combined Choice	%
Economy and Jobs	52%
Education	25%
Terrorism/Nat. Security	25%

And, which of the following issue areas would be MOST important to you in deciding how to vote for a candidate for President? Is it...

Most Important Issue by Presidential Ballot

George W. Bush

Combined Choice	%
Economy and Jobs	41%
Terrorism/Nat. Security	34%
Moral Values	30%
Affordable Health Care	18%

Democratic Nominee

Combined Choice	%
Economy and Jobs	56%
Social Security/Medicare	28%
Education	28%
Affordable Health Care	24%

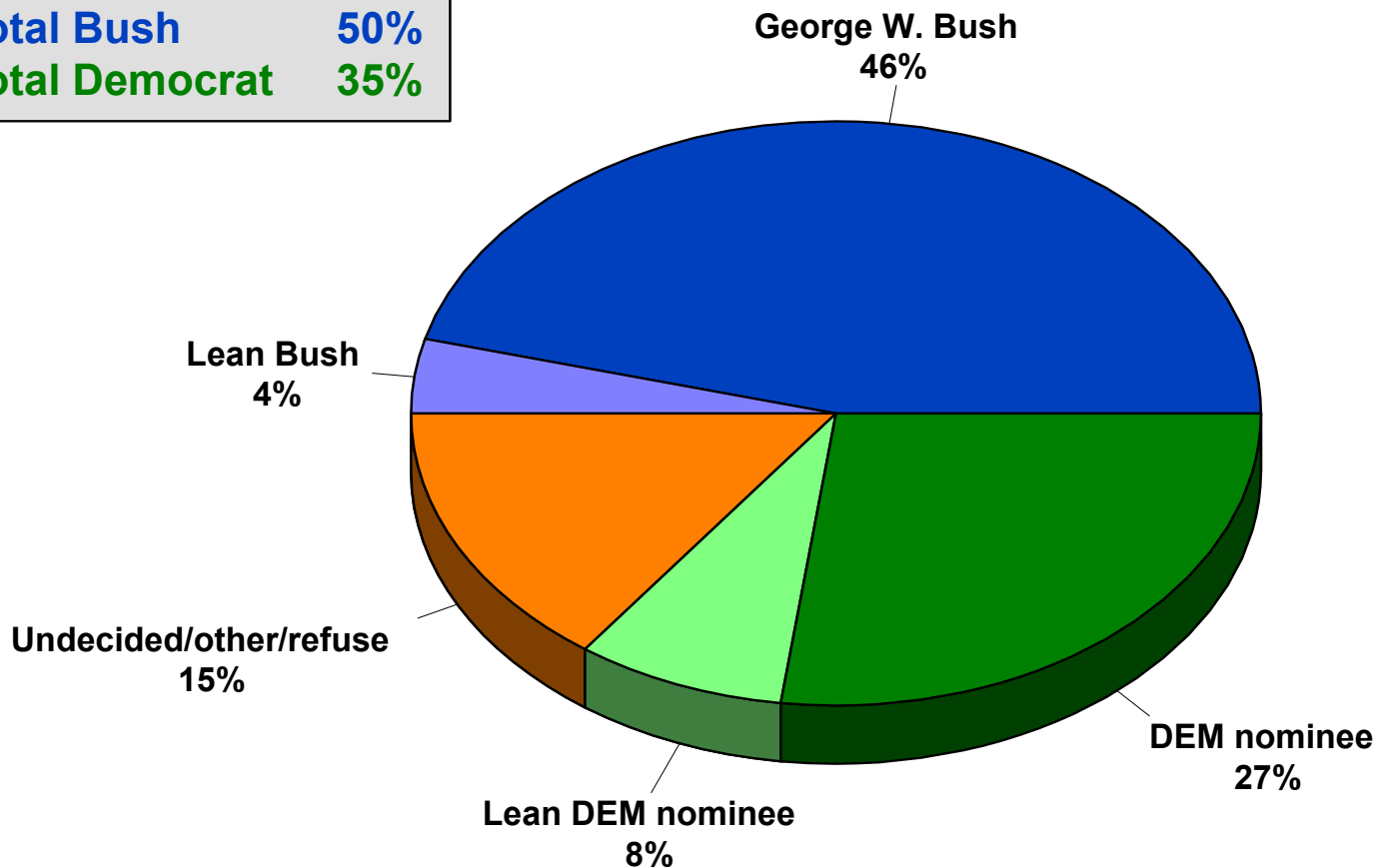
Undecided

Combined Choice	%
Economy and Jobs	42%
Social Sec./Medicare	30%
Terrorism/Nat. Security	24%
Affordable Health Care	24%

And, which of the following issue areas would be MOST important to you in deciding how to vote for a candidate for President? Is it....

Our first track of the presidential generic vote shows President Bush at 50%.

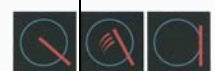
Total Bush	50%
Total Democrat	35%



I know it is a long way off, but thinking about the elections in 2004, if the election for president were held today and the candidates were Republican George W. Bush and the Democratic nominee for President — for whom would you vote, Republican George W. Bush or the Democratic nominee for President?

Top Subgroups by Presidential Ballot

George W. Bush		Democratic Nominee		Undecided	
Total	50%	Total	35%	Total	13%
Total Cons GOP	94%	Mod/Liberal DEM	80%	Ind Women	34%
GOP Women	94%	DEM Men	78%	Independent	30%
Total GOP	93%	Liberal	77%	Mod/Liberal Ind	29%
GOP Men	91%	Total DEM	76%	Ind Men	27%
Mod/Lib GOP	90%	DEM Women	75%	Cons Independent	25%
Total Conservative	72%	Black	74%	Farm Belt	19%
White South	64%	White DEM	73%	\$20K-\$40K	19%
Men 60+	60%	Conservative DEM	66%	Rural Men	19%
White Men	58%	Urban Women	55%	Moderate	18%
60+ Retired Men	59%	Women 18-34	53%	Weak/Lean DEM	17%
Rural	59%	Urban	50%	HS or less	17%
Suburban Men	59%	18-34	47%		
\$60K-\$80K	58%	Women College+	47%		
Homemakers	57%	60+ Retired Women	43%		
Men College+	57%	New England	43%		
Men 34-54	56%	Under \$20K	43%		
White	56%	Post Graduate	43%		
White West	56%	Urban Men	43%		
Outer South	56%	Union Household	43%		
Rural Men	56%	Working Women	41%		
Men	55%	Great Lakes	41%		
Men 55+	55%				
\$80K+	55%				



Top Subgroups by Presidential Ballot

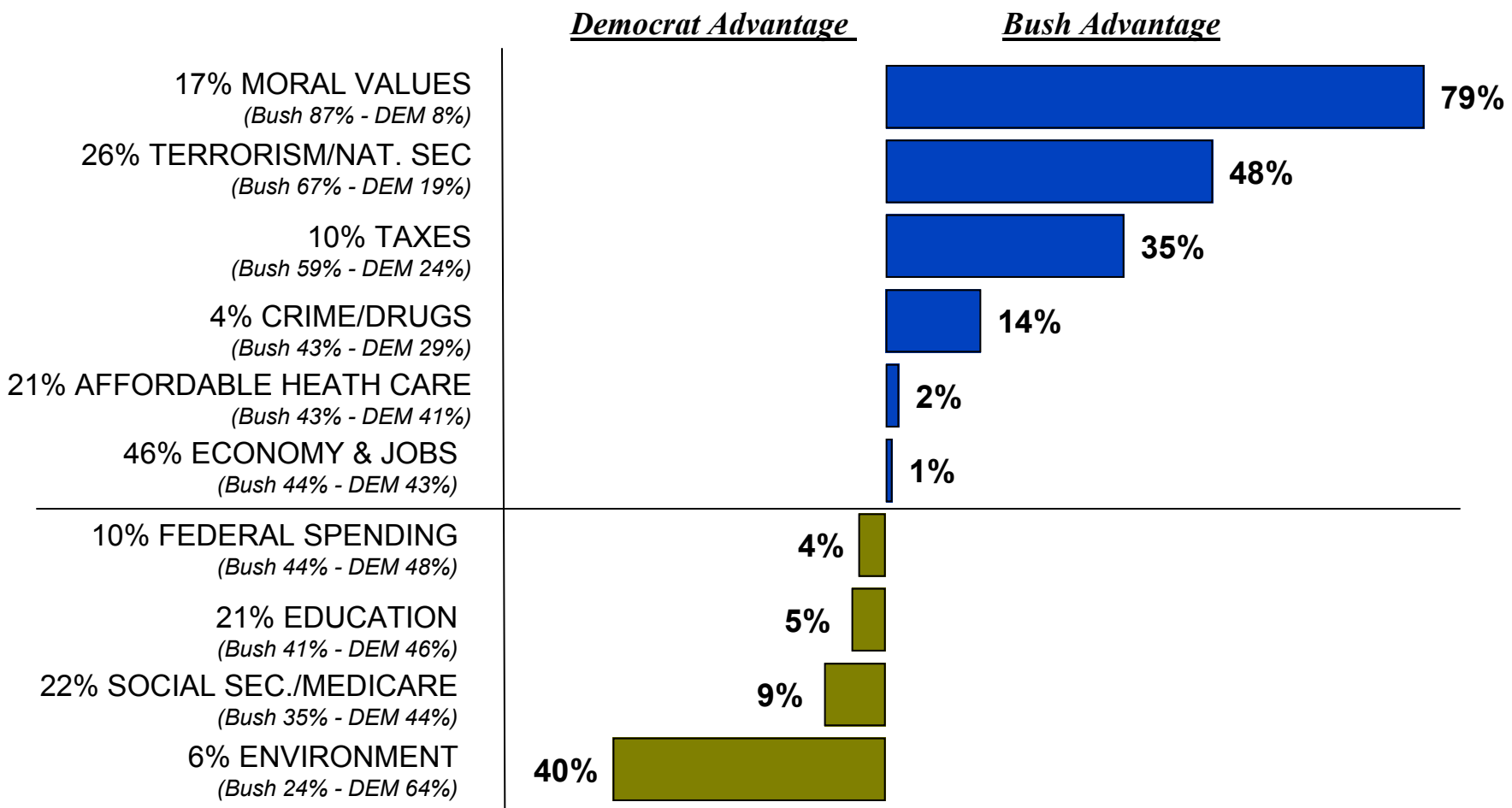
Total Lean/Undecided Voters (26%)

To better understand the “up for grab” voters, we have merged the leaners with the undecideds and have highlighted these subgroups to the right.

Moderate/Liberal Independent	52%
Independent Women	49%
Conservative DEM	48%
Independents	47%
Independent Men	46%
New England	39%
Women 18-34	36%
Conservative Independent	36%
White DEM	35%
DEM Women	33%
GI Generation (77 years old+)	32%
\$20K-\$40K	32%
Moderates	32%
Women 55+	31%
Women 65+	31%
Total DEM	31%
Suburban Women	31%
Union Household	31%

While Bush and the Democrat Presidential candidate split the vote among those most concerned about the “economy and jobs,” Bush enjoys a wide margin among voters concerned about moral values, terrorism and national security, and taxes. At the same time, the Democrats have a significant advantage among voters concerned with the environment, with a more narrow edge on voters concerned with Social Security/Medicare and education.

Presidential Ballot By Respondent's Top TWO Most Important Issues



Verbatim Summary

Respondents voting for Bush on the generic ballot:

The general sense is that Bush has done a good job so far. It is interesting to note that while some people did mention the war and aftermath of 9/11, the vast majority of comments were general in scope, not even mentioning terrorism or his stance on international affairs. A more common theme of morality, integrity, and personal character was present. Other reasons include the lack of a viable alternative/Democratic candidate. Interestingly, some mentioned disillusionment with the Clinton presidency.

(Verbatims are from respondents identifying themselves as Independents.)

- ✓ *“I think he has done a good job. He is a man of excellent character. In other words, I feel I can trust him.”*
- ✓ *“Moral reasons. He has a good head on his shoulders, I trust him.”*
- ✓ *“Lately I think the Democrats have been off line. And Bush has been doing a good job.”*
- ✓ *“First of all, the Democrats don't have anyone yet. And those that have indicated that they would run don't impress me.”*

Verbatim Summary

Respondents voting for Bush on the generic ballot: (cont.)

(Verbatims are from respondents identifying themselves as Independents.)

- ✓ *“Bush is a stand-up guy. He puts minorities and blacks up in a pretty good position.”*
- ✓ *“I think he is honest and he prays, and we have never really had a President who prays, and I like that.”*
- ✓ *“I feel that we should keep the continuity in the office. Certain goals have been set forth and should continue on the same course.”*
- ✓ *“Well, so far he has done a good job, and unless someone else better comes along, he gets my vote. He has so far said what he was going to do with the taxes and Iraq.”*

Verbatim Summary

Respondents voting for Democratic nominee on the generic ballot:

Most comments were anti-Bush in scope. Instead of why they would vote for the Democrat, the comments revolved around why they would NOT vote for Bush. Their reasons include the economy and tax cuts, poor international relations, the war in Iraq, the economic downturn and environmental issues.

(Verbatims are from respondents identifying themselves as Independents.)

- ✓ *“Because, I'm not satisfied with the way things are going. I don't have complete trust in decisions that have been made. So, I don't like the image of America that has come through by some of the decisions that have been made.”*
- ✓ *“I see George Bush as not having the pulse on America. He plays only to the rich, and has no empathy to the common man. There's not a word that comes out of his mouth that is believable.”*
- ✓ *“Number one, his focus has been outside of this country. He has not been focused on health care issues and what is going on in this country.”*
- ✓ *“Well, I just believe we've done better when a Democratic President was in office.”*

Verbatim Summary

Respondents voting for Democratic nominee on the generic ballot: (cont.)

- ✓ *“I just don't like the way Bush is running things. I wasn't in favor of the war in Iraq. I also did not approve of the tax cut.”*
- ✓ *“How he's been running the country. Lack of interest in the country and more interest in the war. How he is addressing the recession. Lack of attention.”*
- ✓ *“Because the Democrats are not war mongering isolationists and I think a global community is very important, and foreign relations.”*
- ✓ *“Because, I'm not satisfied with the way things are going. I don't have complete trust in decisions that have been made. So, I don't like the image of America that has come through by some of the decisions that have been made.”*
- ✓ *I strongly disagree with his economic and environmental policies. I think that his deeds are very shortsighted, and his foreign policy agenda is just very bad.*

Verbatim Summary

Respondents who are voting for the Democratic nominee and their thoughts on Bush's strengths/why he should be re-elected:

A majority of respondents said "none" or "nothing" or simply further expressed their dislike of Bush. However, there were respondents that were more willing to give Bush credit for the aftermath of 9/11 and his strong leadership against terrorism. Several mentioned his integrity/morals and his marriage with Laura, but most positive comments revolved around his presidency post 9/11.

(Verbatims are from respondents identifying themselves as Independents.)

- ✓ *"Not that I can think of."*
- ✓ *"That he stands for God, and that means a lot in my book. That's about all."*
- ✓ *"His wife, I think that's the only positive thing about him."*

Verbatim Summary

Hesitations about Bush:

Most hesitations were economic in nature. Medicare, Social Security and prescription drugs were also mentioned frequently but the slowdown of the economy and questions about the benefits (or lack thereof) of the tax cut were front and center.

(Verbatims are from respondents identifying themselves as Independents.)

- ✓ *“Economy. It has taken a downturn.”*
- ✓ *“He hasn't done anything for the American working class people.”*
- ✓ *“State of our economy. If his tax cuts are going to hurt us or help us in the future. I'm not sure what social programs would be cut. That's the biggest.”*
- ✓ *“Well, he's been a disappointment. We went to war when we probably should not have, and then I said the next thing is the economy. Certainly, something needs to be done about it.”*
- ✓ *“How he handled the war in Iraq and how he is handling terrorism.”*

Verbatim Summary

Hesitations about Democratic candidates:

The majority of Republican complaints were centered on the Democrats being too liberal, too big spending and too big government.

General hesitations from both sides is that the Democrats are not as strong on foreign policy and reluctant to take action on issues of national security.

Overall, many people noted it was hard to say since we don't yet know who will run but along those lines...many respondents don't care for any of the candidates running, there's confusion because there's no standout right now and, as one respondent said "I don't like to waste a vote, but I do not believe that any of the Democratic candidates are strong enough to beat George Bush."

(Verbatims are from respondents identifying themselves as Independents.)

- ✓ *"The biggest concern I have is none of them seem to have a very strong agenda. It's like you're voting for none of the above."*
- ✓ *"I think they got off track. I don't really believe they're for the general public any more. Lets see, after Clinton, I just don't trust them any more."*

Verbatim Summary

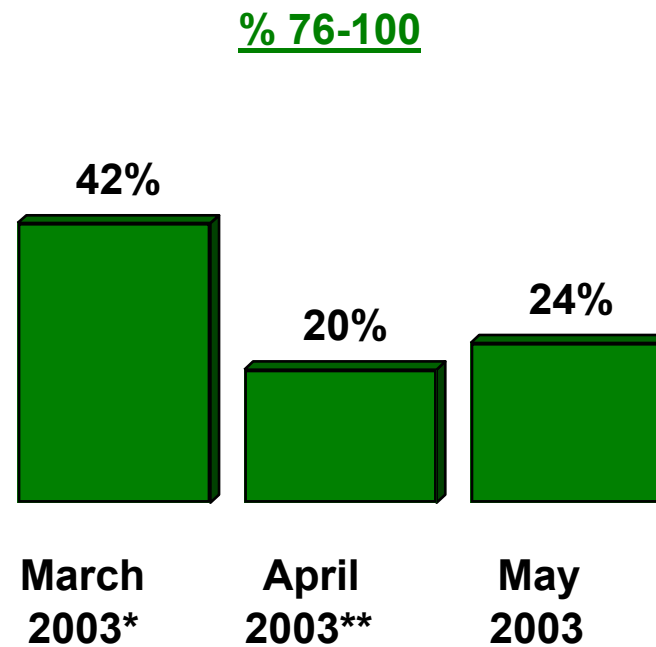
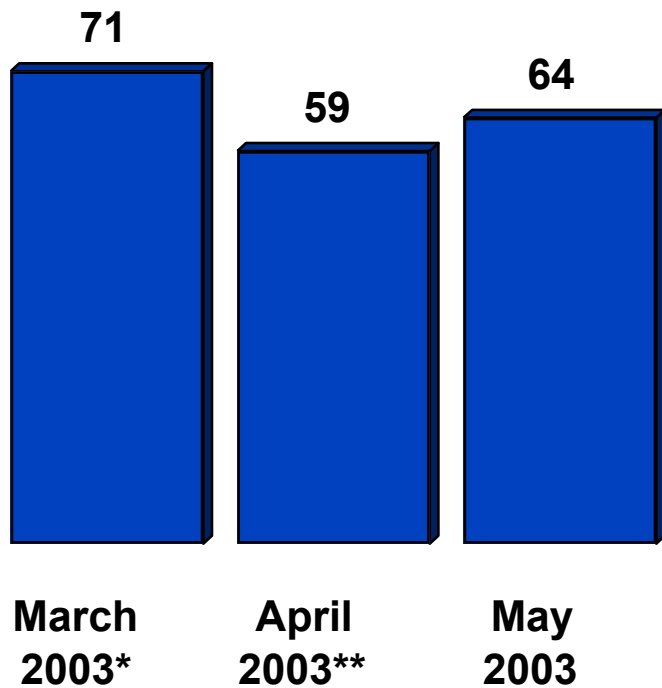
Hesitations about Democratic candidates: (cont.)

(Verbatims are from respondents identifying themselves as Independents.)

- ✓ *“They are too much in favor of welfare and Social Security, and they're letting too many people over the border. They want to take our guns away.”*
- ✓ *“I don't think the Democrats have the guts or fortitude for international issues. I don't think they have the backbone. I don't think that they will be able to stand up.”*
- ✓ *I have some reservations on how they deal with the economy. In truth, I don't like the way they handled backing the President during the Iraq conflict.*

Americans are feeling a bit safer after the resolution of the war in Iraq.

Mean Score

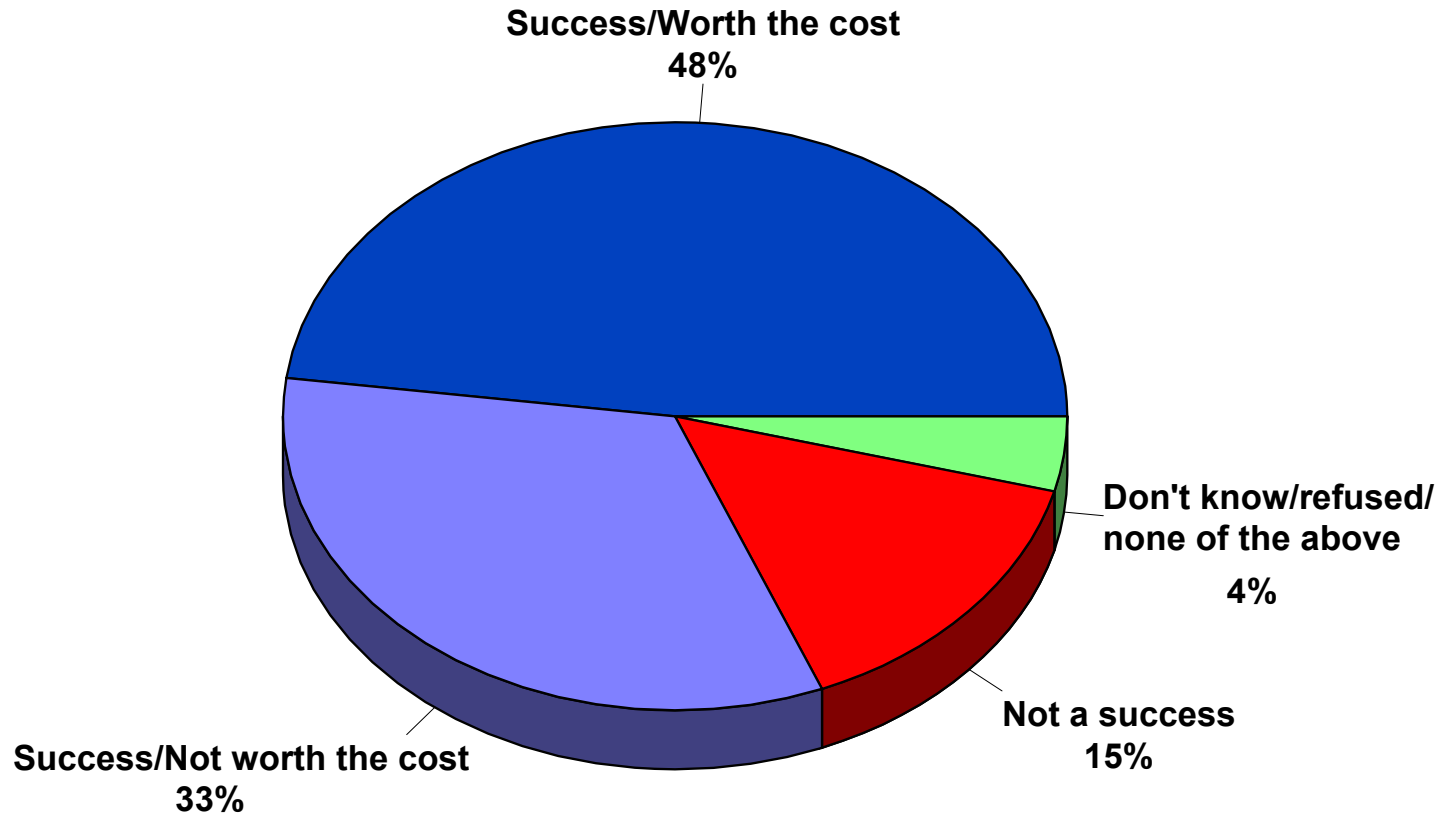


* Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research / Public Opinion Strategies Survey, March 3-8, 2003, 1005 Registered Voters

** Public Opinion Strategies survey, April 15-17, 2003, 800 Registered Voters

Now, thinking about the situation today, I want you to rate on a scale of 0 to 100 whether the world is becoming MORE SAFE for America and its people or MORE DANGEROUS for America and its people, or whether it staying about the same -- 0 means the world is becoming MUCH MORE SAFE for America and its people, 100 means the world is becoming MUCH MORE DANGEROUS for America and its people, and 50 is the midpoint and means it is neither becoming more safe or more dangerous for America and its people. You can choose any number from 0 to 100.

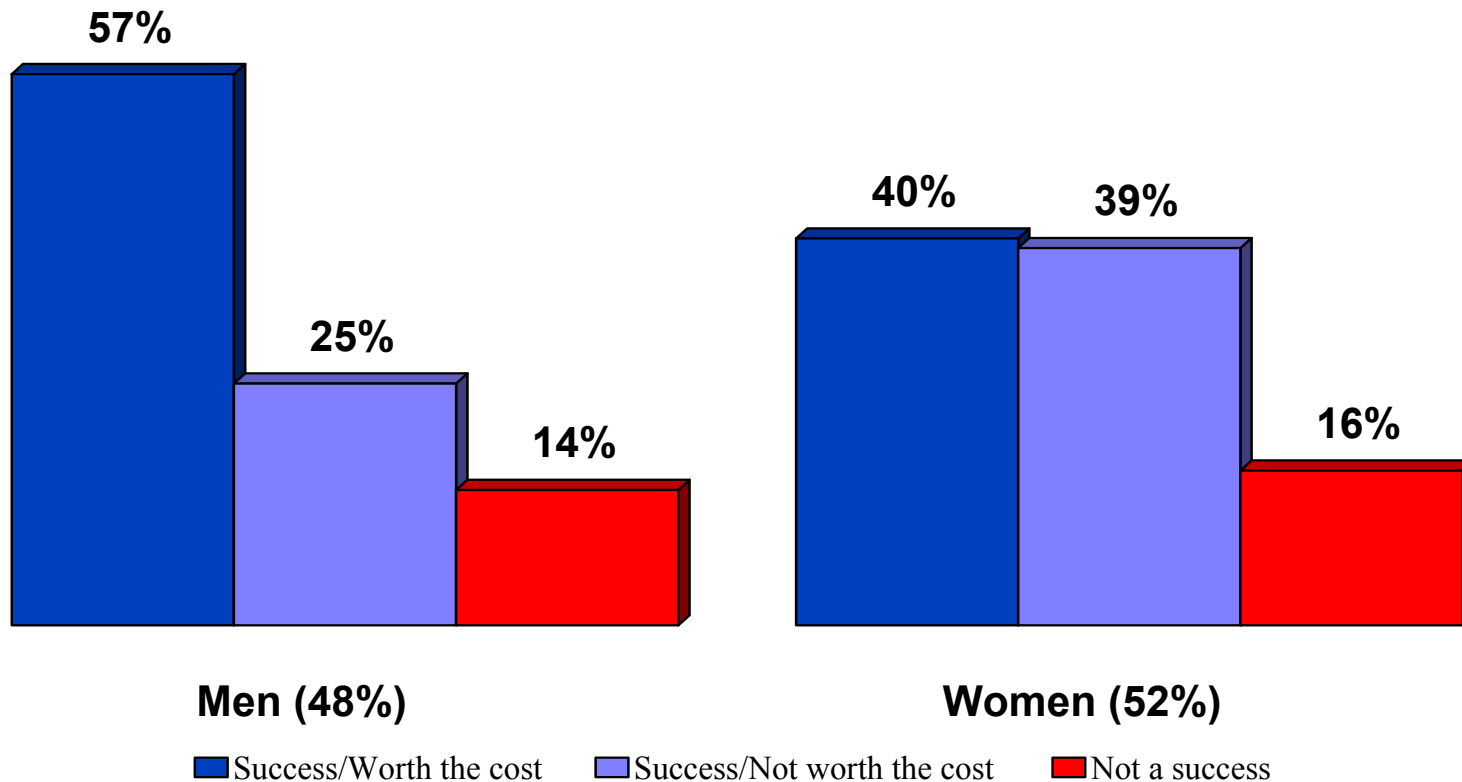
One out of three voters say “the war in Iraq was a success but was NOT worth the cost in U.S. lives and dollars.”



*I would like to read you a few statements about the war in Iraq.
Please tell me which comes closest to your opinion.*

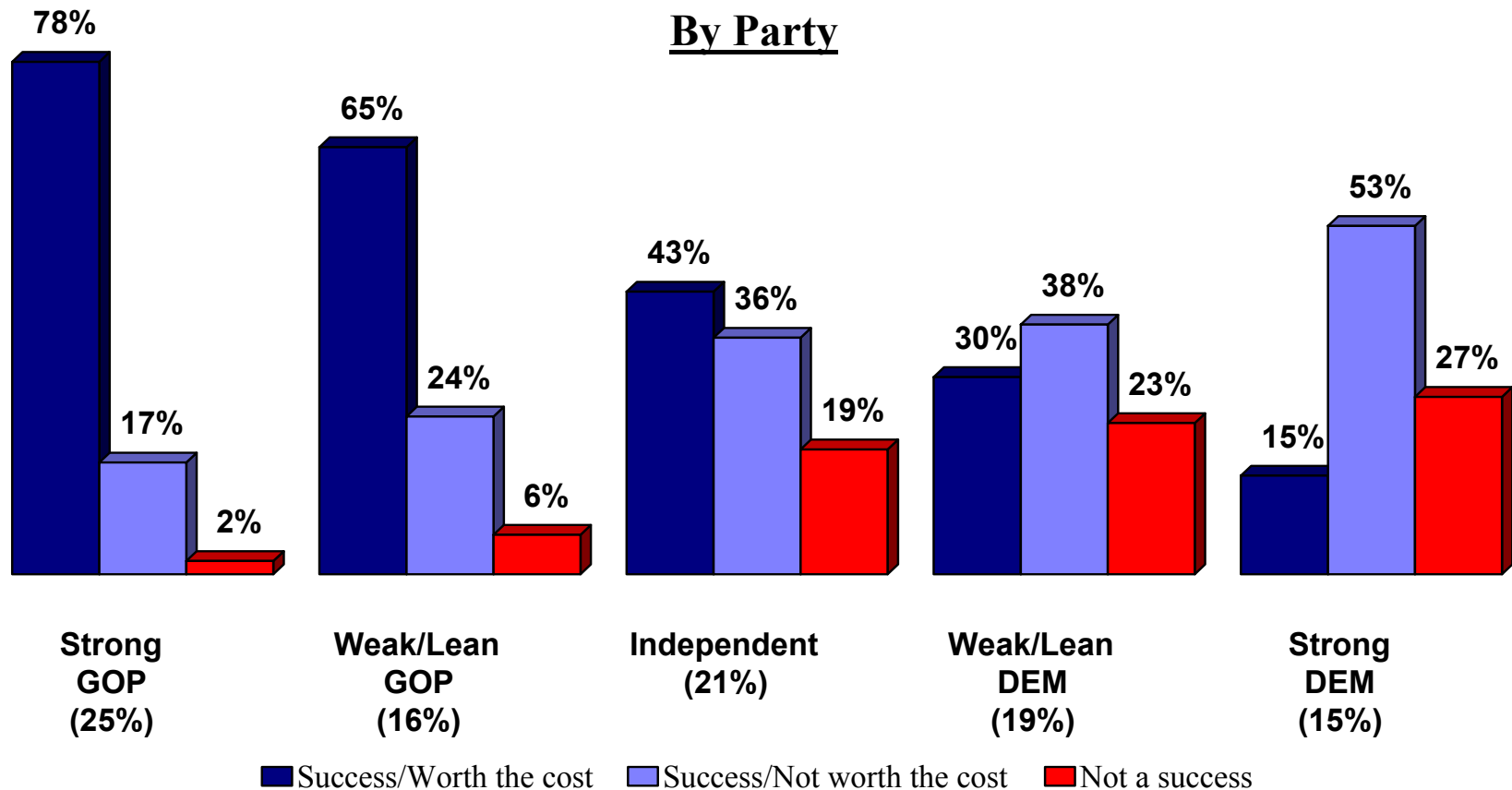
Once again, as in all of the previous research on attitudes regarding military action in Iraq, there is a substantial difference by gender.

By Gender



*I would like to read you a few statements about the war in Iraq.
Please tell me which comes closest to your opinion.*

Not surprisingly there are sharp differences in attitudes by party as well.



*I would like to read you a few statements about the war in Iraq.
Please tell me which comes closest to your opinion.*

Top Subgroups by Statement

The war in Iraq was a success and WAS worth the cost in U.S. lives and dollars:

Total	48%
GOP Men	77%
Total Cons. GOP	75%
Total GOP	73%
GOP Women	68%
Rural Men	64%
Total Conservative	62%
Men 65+	61%
White Men	61%
Age 35-44	61%
Men Less than Coll	60%
White South	59%
Rural	59%
Suburban Men	58%
Men 18-34	58%
Men	57%
60+Retired Men	57%
Farm Belt	54%
Deep South	54%
Rural Women	54%

The war in Iraq was a success and was NOT worth the cost in U.S. lives and dollars:

Total	33%
Women 18-34	52%
Cons DEM:	51%
DEM Women	51%
Urban Women	47%
Total DEM	45%
Suburban Women	42%
Working Women	41%
Ethnicity-Other	41%
White DEM	41%
Liberal	41%
Age 18-34	40%
Women 65+	40%
Mid-Atlantic	40%
Women	39%
Women College+	39%
Urban	39%
Women Less than Coll	38%
60+ Working Women	38%
Women 55+	38%
Northeast	38%

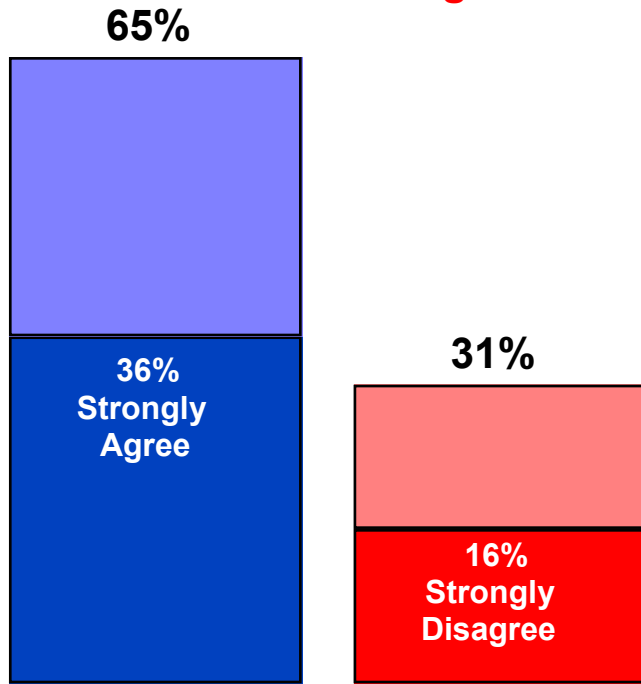
The war in Iraq was NOT a success:

Total	15%
Liberals	34%
DEM Men	28%
GI Generation	
(77 years old +)	26%
Total DEM	25%
Under \$20K	25%
Opinion Elites	25%
White DEM	24%
DEM Women	23%
Mountain	22%
Urban Women	22%
Post Graduate	21%
Urban	21%
Midwest	20%
Great Lakes	20%
Independent Women	20%
Urban Men	21%

Fewer voters now agree with a statement that both parties support the war on terrorism and therefore terrorism is not a political issue in the upcoming congressional elections.

April 2002

Total Agree 65%
Total Disagree 31%

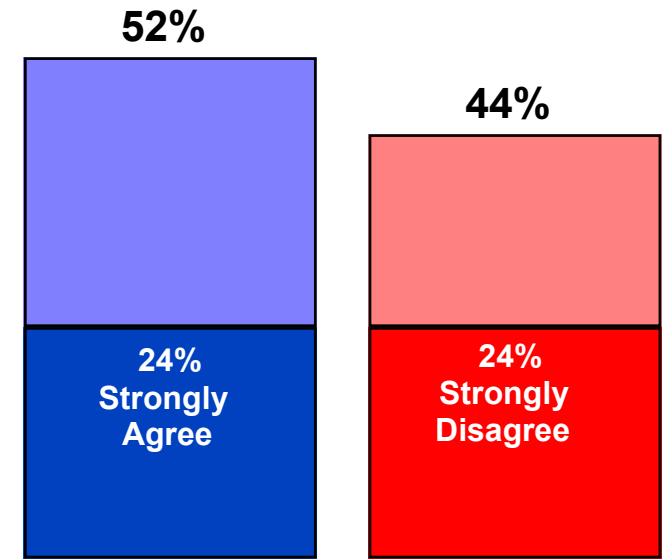


Agree

Disagree

May 2003

Total Agree 52%
Total Disagree 44%

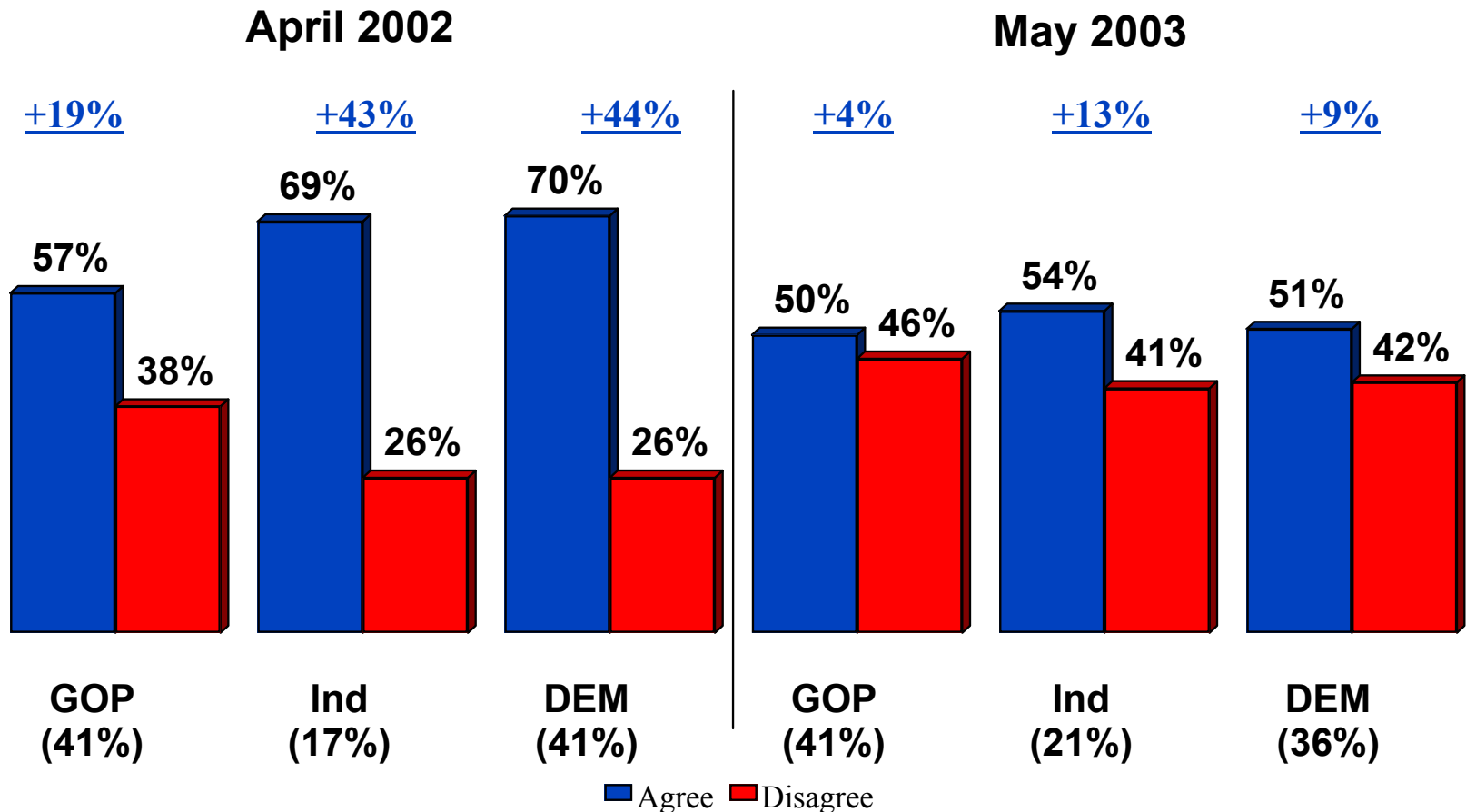


Agree

Disagree

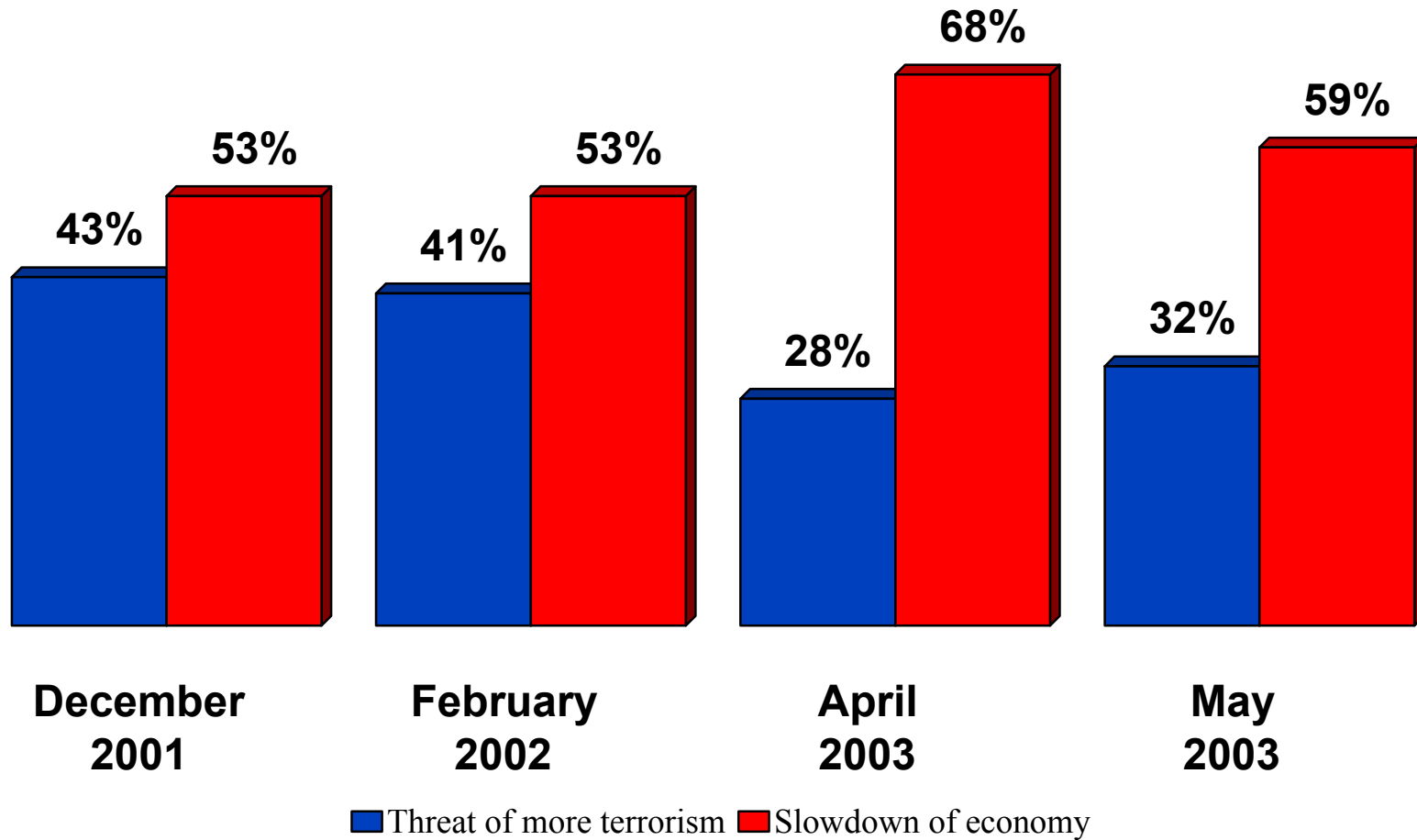
Now, I would like to read you a short statement. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the statement. Democrats and Republicans both support the President on the war on terrorism, so that is not a political issue for the elections for Congress in November (2002/2004.) And would that be strongly or only somewhat?

The drop in agreement with this statement is far larger among Independents and Democrats.



Now, I would like to read you a short statement. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the statement. Democrats and Republicans both support the President on the war on terrorism, so that is not a political issue for the elections for Congress in November (2002/2004.) And would that be strongly or only somewhat?

The sense of feeling safer moves more people to say they are now more concerned about “the slowdown of the U.S. economy” right now.



Now, generally speaking, which are you the MOST concerned about right now...