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IRAQ AND BUSH'S LEADERSHIP: JUNE 2004  
by G. Donald Ferree, Jr.

Except in April and May of 2003, in the immediate aftermath of the initial military victory over Saddam Hussein's army, Iraq has never stood out as an area of especially positive ratings for Bush's performance, though it has tended to roughly parallel "foreign policy" and lag clearly behind "dealing with terrorism". At the same time, Iraq has also tended to be an area where Bush is perceived to be doing better than he is with domestic issues in general, or the economy in particular.

The present readings find just under four in ten rating him as either excellent or good on Iraq, contrasted with six in ten willing to go no higher than fair (22%) or poor (38%).

There has often been a partisan cast to perceptions of Bush, and the current survey is no exception. Only one in ten among self-described Democrats say Bush is doing a good or better job, on Iraq, while fully seven in ten assign him the very lowest rating of "poor". Among Republicans by contrast, two thirds rate his handling of Iraq as at least good, with one in ten calls it poor.

People do tend to distinguish among areas in the ratings they assign the President. Thus, the proportion who rate him identically overall and for each of the five more specific areas ranges from 53% to 58%. Except for dealing with terrorism, where those differing in their ratings are twice as likely to rate this area more highly than his overall performance, the other specific areas show a reverse pattern (that is, more give him higher ratings overall than on the specific areas). In the case of Iraq, those seeing this as weaker than overall outnumber those seeing this as a stronger area by about five to two.

Although it is dwarfed by the distinction among partisans, there is a modest "gender gap", with women as a group about eight points less likely to rate Bush good or excellent overall than are men. This pattern is echoed as well among all the five specific areas, with the difference ranging from eight to fourteen points, with men being more "pro-Bush" in each instance.

In absolute terms, the public's rating of Bush's Iraq performance has never been lower, although it has been close. January's results were similar to those now found in terms of those choosing good or better versus fair or worse, but the proportion rating him poor (38%) has not been higher. (One should be careful to note, however, that poll to poll movement tends to be small.)

Overall Presidential Rating  
Polls from March 2002 to April 2004

	<-----2004----->				<-----2003----->								<---2002--->		
	JUN	APR	MAR	JAN	DEC	OCT	AUG	MAY	APR	MAR	FEB	JAN	SPT	JUN	MAR
Overall															
Exc	14%	15%	16%	11%	17%	15%	14%	27%	31%	18%	19%	16%	19%	25%	28%
Good	33	35	30	37	35	35	38	35	38	35	39	38	45	44	40
Fair	27	35	24	28	26	27	28	24	21	30	25	29	23	22	22
Poor	25	23	30	22	19	21	19	13	10	16	16	14	12	8	7

Job Ratings on Specific Areas

	<-----2004----->				<-----2003----->								2002	
	JUN	APR	MAR	JAN	DEC	OCT	AUG	MAY	APR	MAR	FEB	JAN	SEP	
Foreign policy														
EXCELLENT	9%	9%	12%	12%	16%	12%	12%			13%		12%	20%	
GOOD	30	29	28	26	29	29	29			33		32	41	
FAIR	30	31	28	27	35	28	34			30		34	23	
POOR	30	29	31	33	19	30	24			23		20	15	
Problems here at home														
EXCELLENT	6%	6%	6%	6%	10%	5%	4%			6%		6%	12%	
GOOD	28	29	25	26	31	24	31			33		30	40	
FAIR	34	33	32	31	35	33	36			35		39	29	
POOR	31	32	36	37	23	36	28			25		24	18	
Dealing with the economy														
EXCELLENT	7%	5%	6%	6%	12%	5%	3%	4%	7%	5%	4%	4%	6%	
GOOD	26	24	23	23	28	23	23	34	32	22	26	23	30	
FAIR	31	35	32	31	34	34	38	30	32	39	38	38	36	
POOR	34	34	38	39	25	38	35	30	28	32	31	31	25	
Dealing with terrorism														
EXCELLENT	17%	22%	23%	18%	22%	19%	17%	29%	34%	20%	20%	18%	32%	
GOOD	37	37	32	35	37	36	42	41	44	46	43	42	40	
FAIR	24	25	23	27	24	25	23	23	14	25	23	26	17	
POOR	21	14	20	19	15	18	16	8	7	9	13	12	11	
Dealing with Iraq														
EXCELLENT	12%	16%	22%	12%	18%	14%	15%	30%	40%	18%	19%	11%	22%	
GOOD	27	30	24	27	30	31	32	32	35	31	30	31	30	
FAIR	22	21	24	27	24	24	24	22	13	26	25	28	23	
POOR	38	32	28	33	27	30	27	13	10	23	24	26	20	

Note: Don't Know and Refused omitted for space

A number of questions (many repeated from earlier Badger Polls™) examined the situation in Iraq from a number of perspectives. Many echoed the job performance items, showing a modest slipping, but there remains a perhaps surprising stability. Thus, when respondents were asked whether the United

States "originally did the right thing in threatening war if Saddam Hussein refused to give up any weapons of mass destruction he might have", just shy of six in ten (58%) say he did; one in three (35%) did not. Republicans were almost three times as likely to endorse this original justification for war as were Democrats, and there is a (much more limited) gender gap. There are also clear patterns for desire to see Bush re-elected and for the choice between Bush and Kerry. In both cases about nine in ten of those favorable to Bush endorsed this rationale, while only about three in ten in the corresponding unfavorable camps did.

At the same time, the proportion backing this rationale is lower now (by about five percentage points) than on any single previous survey. It had been hovering in the low to mid sixty percent range since about last October. That level was down from about eight in ten during April and May of last year.

On a related question, when respondents were reminded of both the UN resolutions demanding Iraqi disarmament and the fact that there was no such resolution explicitly calling for war, the public now supports "the decision of the US and other countries to use force anyway" by about a five to three margin. This too is modestly down (by a lesser amount) compared to earlier surveys. This item also displays a strong partisan cast and a much weaker gender-based pattern.

The degree to which Iraq posed a threat to the US (or is now perceived to have posed such a threat) is another matter. When respondents were asked how likely it is, if the US had NOT gone to war, that it would ultimately have been attacked by Iraqi WMD, just under three in ten (28%) say it is very likely, while one in three (33%) say it is somewhat likely. True, this leaves almost four in ten feeling this would be not very likely (20%) or not likely at all (18%), but it does suggest that the war is seen by many as dealing with a threat which might have become real. (While Democrats are more likely to discount this threat than Republicans, women are as a group at least as concerned as men as a group are. Answers to this question have also been quite stable over the last several polls.

Iraq Questions from Eleven Surveys

	<-----2004----->				<-----2003----->						
	JUN	APR	MAR	JAN	DEC	OCT	AUG	MAY	APR	MAR	FEB
Original threat of war											
YES, DID RIGHT THING	58%	63%	65%	64%	65%	65%	70%	78%	80%	65%	65%
NO, DID NOT	35	30	30	28	26	30	26	18	16	26	26
ONLY WITH OTHERS (VOL)	--	2	1	1	*	1	*	1	*	1	1
Support US action alone w/o UN											
YES	54%	57%	59%	57%	62%	62%	61%	71%	75%	61%	58%
NO	40	35	35	35	31	32	34	25	19	31	32

Note: wording changes, primarily tense, to deal with outbreak of war between 3/03 and 4/03 surveys. Don't know and Refused omitted.

If the focus is on the long run impact of the decision to go to war on "the risk of terrorism in the world" rather than an eventual risk of WMD from Iraq, the picture shifts. One in four (26%) feel it will not make much difference,

## Trend from March 2003

	<-----2004----->				<-----2003----->					
	JUN	APR	MAR	JAN	DEC	OCT	AUG	MAY	APR	MAR
Use of WMD against US w/o war										
VERY LIKELY	28%	24%	29%	18%	30%	32%	31%	40%	42%	34%
SOMEWHAT LIKELY	33	35	26	34	31	33	31	32	32	33
NOT VERY LIKELY	20	24	27	26	23	22	24	19	17	23
NOT LIKELY AT ALL	18	15	16	20	13	13	12	8	8	8
Long-term impact of war										
INCREASED TERROR RISK	38%	29%	29%	25%	27%	25%	33%	24%	25%	42%
DECREASED TERROR RISK	33	41	39	40	37	39	35	44	46	27
NOT MUCH DIFFERENCE	26	27	28	32	32	32	29	31	27	28

Note: wording changes, primarily tense, to deal with outbreak of war between 3/03 and 4/03 surveys. Don't know and Refused omitted.

while among those who DO see an impact, those who think the risk of terrorism has increased narrowly outnumber those who think it has decreased by a margin of 38%-33%. This is the first time since the outbreak of the war, when the margin was clearer, that there have been more pessimists than optimists. Women now voice (modestly) more concern than men. Democrats are three times as likely as Republicans to see the long-run risk of terror as having been increased.

When respondents were asked to characterize the degree of success of the war, the most common perception is that it was "only partly a success", a position held by 44%. Roughly equal numbers took a more positive stance (1% a complete success, 25% mostly a success) or a more negative one (21% mostly a failure, 6% a complete failure). This is scarcely a strong endorsement. Views follow partisan lines, with more than half of all Democrats saying the war is either completely or mostly a failure, and half of Republicans saying it was completely or mostly a success (pluralities or near pluralities in each group opted for "only partly a success"). The present reading shows as much pessimism (or as little optimism) as we have found any time we have asked this question, but differences are modest. Still this means this question fits into the broader pattern that views in June 2004 tend to be more critical than they have been while falling far short of a repudiation of Administration policy.

Earlier, there had been much speculation about what the impact would be if no weapons of mass destruction were found. The answer appears to be that it is quite limited. Respondents were reminded that no evidence of such weapons has yet been found and were asked what they felt the explanation was. Over half (54%) said that the weapons remain hidden somewhere. The roughly four in ten who think the WMD (no longer) exist split two to one (26%-13%) between those who believe the United States was wrong about WMD and those who think the Iraqis secretly destroyed them.

Self-declared Democrats are much more likely to think the US was wrong about Iraqi WMD than are Republicans, but still just under half of them believe either that the Iraqis secretly destroyed them or that they are hidden somewhere. This distinction is even stronger if one considers either whether one wants Bush re-elected or whether one favors Bush or Kerry. But men and women as groups are quite similar to one another.

Whether, had this been known at the time, it would have been a good or bad idea to go to war with Iraq "for other reasons" tends to divide the public. In June 2004, a relatively narrow plurality (43%-32%) said it was a bad idea. Some one in four (24%) said they had an opinion. While this item has several times produced results at or close to an even split, this was the first time a plurality has been found on the other side larger than three points. Indeed, the only other time the margin has been larger than around five points in either direction was the first occasion we included this question, in May of 2003, when the Wisconsin public viewed war for reasons other than WMD a "good idea".

A clear majority of Republicans think -- even if WMD had not been an issue originally -- war was justified for other reasons. By an even larger margin Democrats see it as a bad idea. Men split evenly, women by almost two to one regard such a conflict as a bad idea.

This raises the question of what George W. Bush thought at the time, since the assertion that there were no WMD is a far cry from the notion that the government lied about it. So far, at least, that does not seem to be Wisconsin's view. In June, three residents in four (76%) say they think Bush believed at the time the assertion "that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction which would pose a real threat to the US". One in five think he did not believe it.

#### Looking Back at War

	<-----2004----->				<-----2003----->			
	JUN	APR	MAR	JAN	DEC	OCT	AUG	MAY
Assessment of war								
COMPLETE SUCCESS	1%	2%	5%	4%	2%	4%	3%	9%
MOSTLY A SUCCESS	25	29	34	33	35	32	35	52
ONLY PARTLY A SUCCESS	44	46	39	42	38	45	43	29
MOSTLY A FAILURE	21	14	14	14	15	14	13	6
A COMPLETE FAILURE	6	7	7	5	7	1	3	1
Why no WMD found								
US WAS WRONG	26%	24%	23%	29	18%	17%	17%	10%
IRAQIS DESTROYED	13	15	11	15	17	16	14	14
IRAQIS HID THEM	54	52	53	45	54	60	61	66
If US thought no WMD								
GOOD IDEA ANYWAY	32%	34%	40%	39%	36%	38%	35%	47%
BAD IDEA	43	37	36	39	35	33	37	26
DON'T HAVE OPINION	24	27	22	19	26	27	28	25
Did Bush believe WMD threat								
YES	76%	76%	73%					
NO	19	18	22					

Note: Answers such as Don't know and Refused omitted

While there is a greater tendency (approaching unanimity) for Republicans to believe Bush was sincere, this is an area where the parties may differ in the one-sidedness of their views, but come down on balance in the same camp. The same is two of those supporting or opposing Bush's re-election, or for those

backing different major party candidates. The two occasions (March and April) on which this question was previously put garnered almost exactly the same results, suggesting that allegations that Bush intentionally misled the US into war meet a dam of public scepticism. Something could shift this, of course, but until the public comes to disbelieve in the President's sincerity, it will be hard for this charge to have traction.

New to this survey was a short series about the prison abuse scandals. To begin with, the matter has not escaped public awareness. When asked how much attention they had been paying to "the reports of mistreatment of Iraqi prisoners by US military guards", roughly one in three (35%) said they had paid "a lot". Joining to this group the roughly half (48%) who said "some", accounts for over eight in ten. By contrast 14% were paying only a little attention and 3% none at all.

To put this in perspective, on the same survey a parallel question had asked how much attention respondents were paying to the candidates running for President in 2004." This produced 36% saying a lot, 43% some, 13% only a little and 7% none at all, no higher than the declared level of attention to the prison scandal. There are no sharp demographic or political distinctions.

Even if these reports have been occupying a fair amount of newspace and attention, there is some indication of a sense that too much emphasis has been placed on the issue. Specifically, when residents are asked if the US media has been paying too much, too little or the right amount of attention to the issue, more than half (54%) say too much. Next most common is the view (held by 39%) that the level of attention is appropriate. Fewer than one resident in twenty feels too little attention has been paid.

Among no group examined does a large number feel the issue has been underemphasized, but groups do differ in the balance between thinking there has been too much coverage or the appropriate amount. Among Democrats, those under thirty, and those opposed to George W. Bush's re-election, or those choosing Kerry over the President, a plurality finds the level of attention to be what it should be. Other groups, especially Republicans and those wanting Bush returned or backing him against Kerry, are more likely than typical to think coverage has been overblown.

On balance, though scarcely without exception, the public seems to endorse the Administration's characterization of the occurrence as a few bad apples. Six in ten (60%) overall said that what happened was mostly individual soldiers acting on their own. Just over one in four (28%) saw it as "deliberate US policy". Adding in those (6%) who volunteered that it was some of each means that roughly one resident in three is prepared to see a link between US policy and what happened.

Belief in the "individual soldier" argument is similar in men and women as a group. Starting out at just over four in ten among Democrats, this sentiment reaches eight in ten among Republicans. Those in Bush's camp (by either measure) tend to buy this explanation onesidedly; those in Kerry's camp split. Once one gets to forty-five, acceptance of the view that the primary responsibility lies with individuals tends to fall off some, but it never gets much below fifty/fifty.

The sense that the primary fault belongs to individuals rather than policy does not totally exonerate "high civilian officials in the Pentagon and White House", however. When asked if such people should be held responsible for what happened or it is wasn't really their fault, the public splits 42%-46%.

Depending on how one interprets the group (around 4%) who said some of each position was correct, there is either an almost even split or a small plurality against blaming the civilian officials.

Support for blaming the officials is less than half as prevalent among Republicans as Democrats (and Bush backers compared to Kerry backers). It is marginally higher among women than men. In any event, arguing against this issue being (yet) a major problem for Bush is both the reticence to extend blame beyond the immediate perpetrators and some sense, on balance, that the issue may be receiving too much attention.

Overall, then, while there are signs that developments in Iraq prior to the formal handover of sovereignty had been accompanied by some softening of support and increased criticism, the public is a long way from repudiating Bush's policy and performance. Indeed, there remains a lot of backing for the original and revised war aims, and belief in Bush's sincerity about WMD, coupled with a substantial body of opinion that the case is not yet closed on this issue, along with some reluctance to spread blame for the prison scandals into the higher reaches of the government all help to explain why this area is not so far a bigger problem for Bush.

Statewide Marginals and Percentages for Key Groups

What follows is the exact question wording for each of the items referred to in the release. All results shown are for the basic sample of state residents. The first column is the percentage of the entire sample giving each response. The second and third reports the percentages for men and women separately. The fourth, fifth, and sixth columns show self-described Democrats, Independents, and Republicans. Columns seven through ten group respondents by age. The final columns group respondents by whether or not they wanted George W. Bush re-elected or not, and by whether they favored Bush or Kerry when pushed to make a choice between the two.

Q01. INTERVIEWER: (DO NOT ASK) Enter respondent's gender

	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS				RE-ELEC		TWOWAY		
	TOT	M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+	YES	NO	GWB	JK
MALE	49%	100%	--%	42%	52%	59%	51%	46%	49%	52%	56%	45%	55%	45%
FEMALE	51	--	100	58	48	41	49	54	51	48	44	55	45	55

Q02. How would you rate the job George W. Bush is doing as President?  
Excellent, good, fair or poor?

	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS				RE-ELEC		TWOWAY		
	TOT	M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+	YES	NO	GWB	JK
EXCELLENT	14%	17%	11%	3%	7%	34%	11%	9%	17%	18%	30%	1%	27%	2%
GOOD	33	34	32	11	32	47	30	43	32	22	55	13	55	9
FAIR	27	25	29	35	34	16	27	30	27	27	14	37	18	36
POOR	25	24	26	50	26	3	31	17	24	31	*	48	1	53
TOO SOON TO TELL (VOL.)	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
DON'T KNOW	1	--	2	1	--	--	2	1	--	1	--	1	--	*
REFUSED	*	--	*	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	*	--	*	--

VOTE01. Up to now, how much attention have you paid to the candidates running for President in 2004? A lot, some, only a little, or none at all?

	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS				RE-ELEC		TWOWAY		
	TOT	M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+	YES	NO	GWB	JK
A LOT	36%	39%	34%	36%	37%	43%	24%	28%	44%	46%	40%	34%	41%	33%
SOME	43	41	46	46	45	36	48	47	44	34	41	46	40	48
ONLY A LITTLE	13	13	13	10	13	15	14	15	12	11	14	11	14	12
NONE AT ALL	7	7	7	8	5	6	13	10	1	8	4	9	6	8
DON'T KNOW	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
REFUSED	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

VOTE24. This November, the ballot for President will probably be George W. Bush as a Republican, John Kerry as a Democrat, and Ralph Nader as an Independent. As of now, which one, if any, do you plan to vote for?

	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS				RE-ELEC		TWOWAY		
	TOT	M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+	YES	NO	GWB	JK
GEORGE W. BUSH	42%	50%	34%	6%	32%	87%	37%	42%	44%	42%	90%	5%	85%	--%
JOHN KERRY	38	37	39	83	43	4	51	31	33	43	1	72	--	82
RALPH NADER	4	5	2	2	8	3	1	5	5	2	*	6	3	4
NONE OF THEM	4	2	5	2	3	*	5	5	2	3	2	5	2	4
INSISTS ON "OTHER"	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
WILL NOT VOTE	2	*	3	1	2	--	--	4	2	1	1	1	2	1
DON'T KNOW	10	4	15	5	10	5	6	12	13	6	6	9	9	7
REFUSED	1	1	2	1	2	1	--	2	1	3	--	2	--	1

VOTE25. (IF DID NOT NAME ONE OF THREE) If you had to make up your mind among these three, as of now who would you prefer?

	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS				RE-ELEC		TWOWAY		
	TOT	M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+	YES	NO	GWB	JK
NOT ASKED	83%	92%	75%	92%	82%	94%	90%	78%	82%	87%	91%	83%	87%	87%
GEORGE W. BUSH	5	3	6	2	2	2	3	9	5	1	8	2	10	--
JOHN KERRY	4	2	6	2	5	2	3	5	3	7	--	8	--	9
RALPH NADER	2	*	3	2	2	--	3	1	4	*	--	3	1	3
NONE OF THEM	*	--	1	--	*	--	--	1	--	*	*	--	--	--
INSISTS ON "OTHER"	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
DON'T KNOW	4	2	7	2	5	2	3	5	5	3	1	3	2	1
REFUSED	1	*	2	*	2	1	--	1	1	2	--	1	*	*

VOTE26. (UNLESS NAMED BUSH/KERRY IN VOTE24. OR VOTE25.) Suppose you were choosing just between Bush and Kerry? Which would you prefer?

	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS				RE-ELEC		TWOWAY		
	TOT	M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+	YES	NO	GWB	JK
NOT ASKED	89%	92%	85%	94%	82%	95%	93%	87%	85%	93%	98%	86%	94%	91%
GEORGE W. BUSH	3	3	3	*	6	3	--	3	5	2	1	3	6	--
JOHN KERRY	4	3	4	4	7	*	3	5	6	2	--	7	--	9
NONE OF THEM	1	*	1	--	1	--	1	1	--	*	*	*	--	--
INSISTS ON "OTHER"	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
DON'T KNOW	3	1	5	2	3	1	2	4	4	1	--	2	--	--
REFUSED	1	--	2	--	1	1	--	1	1	2	--	1	--	--



PUSH3WAY. (CONSTRUCTED ITEM FROM VOTE24, VOTE25) ADDING IN LEANERS If you had to make up your mind among these three, as of now

	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS				RE-ELEC		TWOWAY		
	TOT	M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+	YES	NO	GWB	JK
GEORGE W. BUSH	46%	53%	40%	9%	34%	90%	39%	51%	49%	43%	98%	6%	94%	--%
JOHN KERRY	42	39	45	85	48	6	54	35	36	50	1	80	--	91
RALPH NADER	5	6	5	4	10	3	4	6	9	2	*	9	4	7
NONE OF THEM	*	--	1	--	*	--	--	1	--	*	*	--	--	--
INSISTS ON "OTHER"	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
DON'T KNOW	4	2	7	2	5	2	3	5	5	3	1	3	2	1
REFUSED	1	*	2	*	2	1	--	1	1	2	--	1	*	*

PUSH2WAY. (CONSTRUCTED ITEM, COMBINING VOTE24-25) Choice between Bush and Kerry

	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS				RE-ELEC		TWOWAY		
	TOT	M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+	YES	NO	GWB	JK
GEORGE W. BUSH	49%	56%	43%	9%	40%	92%	39%	54%	54%	45%	99%	9%	100%	--%
JOHN KERRY	46	43	50	89	55	6	57	40	42	52	1	87	--	100
NONE OF THEM	1	*	1	--	1	--	1	1	--	*	*	*	--	--
INSISTS ON "OTHER"	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
DON'T KNOW	3	1	5	2	3	1	2	4	4	1	--	2	--	--
REFUSED	1	--	2	--	1	1	--	1	1	2	--	1	--	--

BUSH06. As of now, do you think you would like to see President Bush reelected in 2004, or would you rather see someone else in the White House?

	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS				RE-ELEC		TWOWAY		
	TOT	M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+	YES	NO	GWB	JK
LIKE BUSH RE-ELECTED	43%	50%	37%	8%	31%	86%	36%	47%	45%	42%	100%	--%	87%	1%
LIKE SOMEONE ELSE	51	47	55	89	61	11	61	46	49	55	--	100	9	96
DON'T KNOW	4	3	6	1	8	2	3	6	5	2	--	--	3	2
REFUSED	1	1	2	2	*	1	--	1	1	2	--	--	--	2

GWB04. How would you rate the job George W. Bush is doing handling foreign policy? Excellent, good, fair or poor?

	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS				RE-ELEC		TWOWAY		
	TOT	M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+	YES	NO	GWB	JK
EXCELLENT	9%	12%	6%	1%	5%	23%	4%	7%	11%	11%	21%	--%	18%	--%
GOOD	30	33	28	8	30	51	34	32	32	27	53	11	53	8
FAIR	30	24	35	35	35	19	30	35	26	29	24	33	26	32
POOR	30	31	29	56	30	7	31	23	32	33	1	56	3	60
DON'T KNOW	1	--	2	*	--	1	1	2	--	--	*	*	*	*
REFUSED	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

GWB05. How would you rate the job George W. Bush is doing dealing with problems here at home? (PROMPT FOR CATEGORIES AS NECESSARY)

	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS				RE-ELEC		TWOWAY		
	TOT	M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+	YES	NO	GWB	JK
EXCELLENT	6%	8%	4%	2%	4%	15%	7%	4%	8%	5%	14%	--%	13%	--%
GOOD	28	30	26	7	26	52	26	29	27	30	52	7	48	8
FAIR	34	32	35	33	38	27	37	35	32	29	30	34	32	34
POOR	31	30	33	58	32	6	31	29	33	33	3	59	7	58
DON'T KNOW	1	--	1	*	--	--	--	2	--	1	--	1	--	1
REFUSED	*	--	*	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	*	--	*	--

## GWB06. Handling the economy? (PROMPT FOR CATEGORIES AS NECESSARY)

	GENDER				PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS				RE-ELEC		TWOWAY	
	TOT	M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+	YES	NO	GWB	JK	
EXCELLENT	7%	11%	4%	1%	2%	20%	8%	6%	8%	7%	17%	*%	15%	*%	
GOOD	26	29	24	7	23	45	27	30	23	27	51	7	47	6	
FAIR	31	26	35	25	40	27	27	32	35	28	29	29	30	30	
POOR	34	33	34	66	34	6	38	30	32	36	3	62	7	62	
DON'T KNOW	2	1	2	1	--	2	--	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	
REFUSED	*	--	*	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	*	--	*	--	

## GWB07. Dealing with terrorism? (PROMPT FOR CATEGORIES AS NECESSARY)

	GENDER				PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS				RE-ELEC		TWOWAY	
	TOT	M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+	YES	NO	GWB	JK	
EXCELLENT	17%	23%	12%	4%	8%	39%	13%	17%	19%	20%	39%	1%	34%	1%	
GOOD	37	38	35	18	43	47	40	41	37	26	52	22	53	20	
FAIR	24	20	28	35	29	11	22	24	27	22	8	37	11	37	
POOR	21	18	24	42	21	3	25	17	15	31	1	40	1	41	
DON'T KNOW	1	1	2	*	--	1	--	1	1	2	--	1	*	1	
REFUSED	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	

## GWB08. Dealing with Iraq? (PROMPT FOR CATEGORIES AS NECESSARY)

	GENDER				PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS				RE-ELEC		TWOWAY	
	TOT	M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+	YES	NO	GWB	JK	
EXCELLENT	12%	16%	8%	2%	6%	26%	11%	10%	11%	14%	26%	1%	23%	1%	
GOOD	27	28	26	8	20	48	25	32	30	20	51	6	50	4	
FAIR	22	19	24	20	33	16	23	24	22	16	20	21	21	21	
POOR	38	36	41	70	41	9	40	32	35	48	3	71	5	73	
DON'T KNOW	1	*	2	1	--	1	--	1	2	2	*	1	1	1	
REFUSED	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	

## GWBX1. (CONSTRUCTED ITEM) Comparison of overall rating with foreign policy

	GENDER				PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS				RE-ELEC		TWOWAY	
	TOT	M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+	YES	NO	GWB	JK	
OVERALL HIGHER	27%	27%	27%	27%	24%	30%	33%	28%	28%	23%	30%	26%	29%	26%	
BOTH SAME	58	60	55	56	61	58	43	59	60	64	59	58	58	58	
FOREIGN HIGHER	13	12	14	16	15	11	21	11	13	11	10	15	12	16	
ONE/BOTH DK	2	--	3	1	--	1	3	2	--	2	1	1	1	*	

## GWBX2. (CONSTRUCTED ITEM) Comparison of overall rating with domestic problems

	GENDER				PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS				RE-ELEC		TWOWAY	
	TOT	M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+	YES	NO	GWB	JK	
OVERALL HIGHER	33%	36%	31%	24%	32%	42%	23%	36%	36%	33%	43%	26%	44%	21%	
BOTH SAME	55	53	57	61	53	51	64	55	53	53	47	63	46	64	
DOMESTIC HIGHER	11	12	10	14	15	8	11	7	12	12	9	10	9	14	
ONE/BOTH DK	1	--	3	1	--	--	2	2	--	3	*	1	*	1	

GWBX3. (CONSTRUCTED ITEM) Comparison of overall rating with handling economy

	GENDER			PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS				RE-ELEC		TWOWAY	
	TOT	M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+	YES	NO	GWB	JK
OVERALL HIGHER	32%	33%	32%	27%	30%	39%	24%	33%	36%	34%	39%	28%	41%	24%
BOTH SAME	56	54	57	61	60	50	63	56	53	53	52	60	51	62
ECONOMY HIGHER	10	12	7	10	10	9	11	9	9	11	8	11	8	13
ONE/BOTH DK	2	1	4	2	--	2	2	2	2	3	1	2	1	2

GWBX4. (CONSTRUCTED ITEM) Comparison of overall rating with dealing with terrorism

	GENDER			PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS				RE-ELEC		TWOWAY	
	TOT	M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+	YES	NO	GWB	JK
OVERALL HIGHER	15%	14%	17%	17%	17%	16%	20%	15%	15%	16%	14%	17%	13%	16%
BOTH SAME	54	54	54	47	51	60	48	55	53	59	61	51	61	49
TERRORISM HIGHER	28	31	26	34	31	23	31	28	31	21	25	31	25	33
ONE/BOTH DK	2	1	3	2	--	1	2	2	1	3	*	2	1	1

GWBX5. (CONSTRUCTED ITEM) Comparison of overall rating with dealing with Iraq

	GENDER			PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS				RE-ELEC		TWOWAY	
	TOT	M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+	YES	NO	GWB	JK
OVERALL HIGHER	32%	31%	32%	33%	37%	32%	33%	30%	31%	34%	29%	35%	30%	33%
BOTH SAME	53	54	52	53	50	54	46	56	55	53	55	54	53	57
IRAQ HIGHER	13	14	11	12	13	13	20	13	12	10	15	9	16	10
ONE/BOTH DK	2	*	4	2	--	1	2	2	2	3	1	1	1	1

GWBI1. (CONSTRUCTED ITEM) Comparison of Iraq rating with foreign policy

	GENDER			PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS				RE-ELEC		TWOWAY	
	TOT	M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+	YES	NO	GWB	JK
IRAQ HIGHER	11%	12%	11%	7%	6%	14%	14%	11%	12%	9%	16%	7%	15%	7%
BOTH SAME	70	74	66	71	72	71	67	74	71	65	72	69	71	70
FOREIGN HIGHER	17	14	20	20	22	14	18	13	16	24	11	23	12	22
ONE/BOTH DK	2	*	3	1	--	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	1

GWBI2. (CONSTRUCTED ITEM) Comparison of Iraq rating with domestic problems

	GENDER			PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS				RE-ELEC		TWOWAY	
	TOT	M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+	YES	NO	GWB	JK
IRAQ HIGHER	22%	23%	20%	14%	16%	28%	14%	33%	21%	15%	32%	13%	33%	10%
BOTH SAME	57	57	57	60	59	57	66	43	64	60	53	61	53	61
DOMESTIC HIGHER	20	19	20	25	26	14	20	22	14	22	13	24	12	27
ONE/BOTH DK	2	*	3	1	--	1	--	2	2	3	1	1	1	1

GWBI3. (CONSTRUCTED ITEM) Comparison of Iraq rating with handling economy

	GENDER			PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS				RE-ELEC		TWOWAY	
	TOT	M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+	YES	NO	GWB	JK
IRAQ HIGHER	24%	24%	25%	16%	25%	30%	21%	32%	25%	18%	33%	16%	34%	14%
BOTH SAME	53	55	51	60	49	50	53	46	56	56	51	57	48	58
ECONOMY HIGHER	21	20	21	22	26	18	26	20	16	23	15	26	15	26
ONE/BOTH DK	3	1	4	2	--	2	--	1	4	3	2	2	2	2



IRAQ10Y. In the long run, will the US decision to attack Iraq increase the risk of terrorism in the world, reduce it, or not make that much difference one way or the other?

	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS				RE-ELEC		TOWWAY		
	TOT	M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+	YES	NO	GWB	JK
INCREASE	38%	40%	37%	60%	43%	19%	43%	30%	41%	40%	15%	58%	16%	61%
DECREASE	33	37	28	11	24	59	34	37	33	26	60	12	57	9
NOT MUCH DIFFERENCE	26	21	30	26	30	19	20	30	23	29	22	28	23	28
DON'T KNOW	3	2	5	2	3	3	3	3	3	6	3	2	4	2
REFUSED	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

IRAQ10Z. Would you call the US led war in Iraq a complete success, mostly a success, only partly a success, mostly a failure, or a complete failure?

	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS				RE-ELEC		TOWWAY		
	TOT	M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+	YES	NO	GWB	JK
COMPLETE SUCCESS	1%	1%	1%	--%	1%	3%	1%	2%	1%	1%	3%	--%	2%	--%
MOSTLY A SUCCESS	25	29	21	8	17	48	28	27	21	24	48	7	42	7
ONLY PARTLY A SUCCESS	44	39	48	40	50	40	42	48	48	36	43	42	47	38
MOSTLY A FAILURE	21	22	21	41	23	3	22	15	20	29	2	39	3	41
A COMPLETE FAILURE	6	6	7	11	9	1	6	5	7	8	1	12	1	13
DON'T KNOW	3	3	2	*	--	6	3	3	4	2	3	1	4	*
REFUSED	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

IRAQ12A. So far, the United States has not found clear evidence of Iraqi weapons of mass destruction. If it turns out that none are found, do you think this means the US was wrong about Iraq having such weapons, that the Iraqis destroyed them secretly, or that they remain hidden somewhere?

	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS				RE-ELEC		TOWWAY		
	TOT	M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+	YES	NO	GWB	JK
US WAS WRONG	26%	26%	26%	46%	30%	7%	27%	20%	28%	31%	4%	46%	4%	49%
IRAQIS DESTROYED	13	15	11	12	11	19	8	14	10	17	16	9	17	10
IRAQIS HID THEM	54	52	56	37	53	67	59	59	54	47	73	40	72	37
DON'T KNOW	6	6	7	4	5	6	6	7	7	4	6	5	6	4
REFUSED	1	1	1	1	*	1	--	1	1	1	*	1	*	1

IRAQ12B. If the US government thought the Iraqis didn't actually have weapons of mass destruction anymore, do you think it was a good idea to go to war with Iraq for other reasons, a bad idea, or don't you have an opinion?

	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS				RE-ELEC		TOWWAY		
	TOT	M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+	YES	NO	GWB	JK
GOOD IDEA ANYWAY	32%	40%	24%	10%	22%	61%	36%	39%	30%	24%	59%	11%	56%	8%
BAD IDEA	43	40	46	72	54	14	43	37	44	49	15	71	16	74
DON'T HAVE OPINION	24	18	29	18	23	24	21	23	25	25	24	18	26	18
DON'T KNOW	1	1	--	--	--	1	--	1	--	1	1	*	1	*
REFUSED	*	*	*	--	1	--	--	--	1	--	*	--	1	--

IRAQ12C. Before the start of the war, President Bush said that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction which would pose a real threat to the US. Do you think he believed at the time this was true?

	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS				RE-ELEC		TWOWAY		
	TOT	M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+	YES	NO	GWB	JK
YES, BELIEVED WAS TRUE	76%	79%	74%	62%	69%	96%	83%	78%	77%	69%	97%	58%	95%	56%
NO, DID NOT	19	15	22	36	22	1	14	17	20	20	1	35	2	38
DON'T KNOW	5	6	4	2	9	3	3	4	3	10	2	7	3	6
REFUSED	*	--	*	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	*	--	*	--

IRAQ16. How much attention have you been paying to the reports of mistreatment of Iraqi prisoners by US military guards? A lot, some, only a little, or none at all?

	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS				RE-ELEC		TWOWAY		
	TOT	M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+	YES	NO	GWB	JK
A LOT	35%	37%	33%	41%	39%	31%	31%	25%	40%	43%	35%	38%	33%	39%
SOME	48	46	50	41	51	52	46	51	49	44	47	46	50	45
ONLY A LITTLE	14	13	14	15	10	13	16	20	8	11	14	12	13	13
NONE AT ALL	3	4	2	3	*	3	6	4	2	2	3	4	3	3
DON'T KNOW	*	1	--	--	--	1	--	--	1	--	1	--	1	--
REFUSED	*	--	*	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	*	--	*	--

IRAQ17. Do you think the US media has been paying too much attention to this issue, too little, or about the right amount?

	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS				RE-ELEC		TWOWAY		
	TOT	M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+	YES	NO	GWB	JK
TOO MUCH	54%	59%	50%	33%	55%	73%	41%	55%	55%	62%	72%	41%	72%	37%
TOO LITTLE	4	3	5	8	5	2	6	3	3	6	1	8	1	8
ABOUT THE RIGHT AMOUNT	39	36	42	57	38	24	52	39	40	28	26	49	26	53
DON'T KNOW	2	2	3	2	2	2	1	3	1	4	1	2	2	2
REFUSED	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

IRAQ18. Do you think what happened was mostly individual soldiers acting on their own, or was it deliberate US policy?

	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS				RE-ELEC		TWOWAY		
	TOT	M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+	YES	NO	GWB	JK
INDIVIDUAL SOLDIERS	60%	59%	60%	43%	51%	79%	67%	70%	56%	46%	77%	46%	76%	43%
DELIBERATE POLICY	28	31	25	47	30	9	25	16	30	40	9	44	9	47
SOME OF EACH (VOL.)	6	4	7	4	8	5	4	9	5	5	7	4	6	5
DON'T KNOW	6	5	7	5	9	6	4	4	9	8	6	6	7	5
REFUSED	1	1	1	--	1	1	--	1	--	1	1	1	1	--

IRAQ19. And do you think high civilian officials in the Pentagon and White House should be held responsible for what happened, or wasn't it really their fault?

	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS				RE-ELEC		TWOWAY		
	TOT	M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+	YES	NO	GWB	JK
HOLD CIVILIANS RESPONS	42%	38%	45%	58%	50%	25%	40%	39%	43%	42%	23%	58%	26%	58%
NOT REALLY THEIR FAULT	46	53	40	34	40	62	58	47	42	45	64	34	61	33
SOME OF EACH (VOL.)	4	2	5	4	2	5	1	4	6	2	4	3	4	4
DON'T KNOW	8	6	10	4	7	8	1	10	8	11	8	5	8	5
REFUSED	*	*	*	--	--	--	--	--	1	1	1	--	1	--

QD05. Generally speaking, do you consider yourself a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or something else?

	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS				RE-ELEC		TWOWAY		
	TOT	M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+	YES	NO	GWB	JK
DEMOCRAT	30%	26%	33%	100%	--%	--%	37%	27%	25%	33%	5%	52%	5%	57%
REPUBLICAN	31	37	25	--	--	100	24	37	31	30	62	7	58	4
INDEPENDENT	21	23	20	--	100	--	21	17	24	23	15	25	17	25
OTHER	13	11	15	--	--	--	13	16	16	7	14	11	15	9
NONE	3	3	3	--	--	--	4	2	3	3	2	3	2	3
DON'T KNOW	1	1	1	--	--	--	1	--	2	1	*	1	*	2
REFUSED	1	--	3	--	--	--	--	1	*	3	2	1	2	*

QD11. In what year were you born? (ENTER FOUR-DIGIT YEAR) (Calculated and grouped as below)

	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS				RE-ELEC		TWOWAY		
	TOT	M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+	YES	NO	GWB	JK
18-29	16%	16%	15%	19%	15%	12%	100%	--%	--%	--%	13%	18%	12%	19%
30-44	28	26	29	25	22	33	--	100	--	--	30	25	30	24
45-59	31	31	31	26	35	31	--	--	100	--	32	30	34	28
60 and over	23	25	22	26	26	22	--	--	--	100	23	25	21	26
DK/REFUSED	2	2	3	3	2	2	--	--	--	--	2	1	2	3

\* denotes less than .5%

-- denotes 0%

#### HOW THE POLL WAS DONE

This BADGER POLL™ was conducted by the University of Wisconsin Survey Center as part of its ongoing program of research designed to benefit the research community and the people of Wisconsin, under the direction of G. Donald Ferree, Jr., Associate Director for Public Opinion Research of the Center. The media sponsors of the survey are the (Madison) Capital Times, and the Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel. The BADGER POLL™ is intended to be a "poll of record" for the state, investigating matters of concern to Wisconsinites including politics, culture, and their daily lives, adhering to the highest standards of polling methodology and rigorous independence.

A total of 504 randomly chosen state residents were interviewed for this survey by telephone between June 15 and 23, inclusive. Telephone numbers were generated by computer in proportion to the number of adults living in each area of the state. Theoretically, results from this survey have a "margin of error" of a little over +/- 4%. This means that, had we asked every eligible resident in Wisconsin, exactly these questions at the time the survey was conducted, there is only a one in twenty chance that the answers would differ by more than that in either direction from what we report here. There could be differences because of changes in question wording, events occurring in the meantime, or any of the practical difficulties involved in taking a scientific survey. Results based on subgroups are subject to a larger "margin of error".