

# A Vote of No Confidence: How Americans View Presidential Appointees

A Report on a Survey Conducted  
by Princeton Survey Research  
Associates on Behalf of The  
Presidential Appointee Initiative

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## A VOTE OF NO CONFIDENCE: HOW AMERICANS VIEW PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTEES

**A**s Thomas Jefferson prepared for his first term as president, he expressed his desire to “compose an administration whose talents, integrity, names, and dispositions, should at once inspire unbounded confidence in the public mind, and insure a perfect harmony in the conduct of the public business.”<sup>1</sup> Far from inspiring “unbounded confidence in the public mind,” many Americans believe that today’s appointees are motivated more by personal ambition than the public good, are lacking in character and can thank large campaign contributions, rather than qualifications, for their positions.

While many Americans follow news stories about presidential appointments and have a good understanding of the process, a nationwide survey of 1,000 adults suggests that most Americans have little confidence in the people selected to lead the nation. The secret to regaining the public’s trust may be both obvious and politically unassailable: presidents should make clear that qualifications always are

more important than political connections in the choice of nominees.

### **Understanding of the Process**

These findings are based on a survey of just over 1,000 American adults conducted from mid-June to mid-July 2001 by Princeton Survey Research Associates on behalf of The Presidential Appointee Initiative, a project of the Brookings Institution funded by The Pew Charitable Trusts. (A more detailed description of the survey methodology is presented in appendix 1.) Roughly half of the survey respondents were male and half were female, split in thirds between Republicans, Democrats and Independents, representing a broad range of education and income levels. Seventy-five percent were white, 11 percent black or African American, 7 percent Latino or Hispanic and 2 percent Asian.

The survey finds Americans are familiar

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Jefferson to Aaron Burr, 1800, in Andrew A. Lipscomb and Albert Ellery Bergh, eds., *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (Washington, 1903-04), vol. 10, p. 182.

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with many aspects of the presidential appointments process. Sixty percent know that Congress has a role in approving high-level appointees and only 13 percent mistakenly believe the president can appoint anyone he wants. Just under three-fourths accurately recognize that presidential appointees make up only a fraction of the federal workforce. Almost half think that appointees make less money than they would in a senior position outside government, and previous research confirms that for about half of former appointees, their public service did require a salary reduction.<sup>2</sup>

### **Knowledge of the Appointees**

Considering their basic knowledge of both the number of people the president appoints and the Senate's role in confirmation, it is not surprising that Americans are familiar with the current appointees. Over half have been following news stories about whom President Bush is selecting very or somewhat closely. Only 19 percent are not following these stories at all. Americans over 45 years old are more likely to have been following these stories than younger people. People under 29 years old are least likely to have been following this news coverage. Both college graduates and Republicans are more likely to take a careful interest in these stories than people with less formal education

and Democrats, respectively.

Just five months into the new administration, 30 percent of Americans could correctly identify key members of the current Cabinet. Asked to match a name with a position, 36 percent of Americans accurately identified Colin Powell as Secretary of State. Probably associating him with his Gulf War prominence, 35 percent understandably identified him as the Secretary of Defense. Thirty-three percent of Americans matched John Ashcroft with his role as Attorney General and 20 percent identified Donald Rumsfeld as Secretary of Defense.

### **Fairness of the Process**

The public's understanding of the presidential appointments process is conjoined with a belief that the process is unfair. There is resounding public sentiment that qualified people are bypassed to make room for those with political connections. Many Americans believe that political appointments can be bought through campaign donations and they firmly conclude that this is not the way the nation's leaders should be selected.

Only 18 percent of Americans think the most qualified people are selected as appointees. Four times as many (72 per-

<sup>2</sup> A 2000 survey of 435 presidential appointees who served between 1984 and 1999, also conducted for The Presidential Appointee Initiative, found 46 percent had a higher annual salary before serving than they had as an appointee. See Paul C. Light and Virginia L. Thomas, "The Merit and Reputation of an Administration: Presidential Appointees on the Appointments Process," The Presidential Appointee Initiative, April 28, 2000.

**Table 1**  
**Public perception of the importance of campaign contributions**  
**in presidential appointments**

Percentage of Americans who think campaign contributions play each role in who is selected for appointments

Role	Percent
A very big role	57
A moderate role	28
A small role	10
No role at all	3

*Remaining respondents offered “don’t know” as their response or refused to respond.*

cent) believe people are selected because they share a president’s political beliefs and/or played a role in the campaign. Four in five argue that political considerations play too large a role in the selection process.

Americans believe consideration for an appointment is too tightly tied to donations. Eighty-five percent think campaign contributions play a substantial role in determining who is selected (table 1). Four-fifths think it’s unacceptable that campaign contributions play such a major

role in whom a president selects to run federal departments and agencies.

When asked how much a person needs to contribute to a campaign to be considered for an appointment, more than half (54 percent) estimate that it would take a donation greater than \$5,000. One-quarter think that consideration could be bought for less than \$5,000. Only 8 percent volunteered that they don’t think a person needs to contribute to be in the running for a high-level position (table 2).

**Table 2**  
**Public perception of the cost of being considered for a high-level position**  
**in government**

Percentage of Americans who think consideration for an appointment requires a campaign contribution of each amount

Amount	Percent
More than \$10,000	44
More than \$5,000 and less than \$10,000	10
Between \$1,000 and \$5,000	8
Less than \$1,000	18
None	8

*Remaining respondents offered “don’t know” as their response or refused to respond.*

While Americans may believe that the process for selecting appointees unfairly overlooks qualified candidates who are not due political favors, they also believe that the process mistreats those who are considered. Three in four Americans agree that the media asks too many questions and reports too much information about the personal lives of the people who presidents select for appointments.

### Image of Appointees

Americans have a mixed view of presidential appointees as both well-meaning public servants and self-interested political operatives. On the one hand, 60 percent of Americans have a favorable opinion of presidential appointees, and three-fourths think that these public servants are motivated by the chance to make America a better place and the opportunity to make a difference. On the other hand, nearly nine in 10 Americans feel appointees are driven

by personal ambition. The two reasons that lead the public's list of appointee motivators are the desire to have influence and to move ahead professionally (table 3).

Asked to choose between public good or private gain as the primary reason people accept presidential appointments, the majority of Americans think personal benefit is the principal incentive. While 54 percent believe career advancement is the leading motivator, only 35 percent believe that serving the country's best interests is the main driving force behind the appointees. An additional 6 percent believe that both reasons are taken into account in the decision to serve.

When asked to compare the quality of presidential appointees to the rest of the population, few Americans identify them as particularly talented and a sizable number lack confidence in their basic charac-

**Table 3**  
**Public perception of the motivation to serve**

Percentage of Americans who think each reason plays a very big or moderate role in the decision to serve as a presidential appointee

Reason	Percent
Desire to have influence and make important decisions	87
Desire to meet important people and move ahead professionally	85
Personally liking the president and believing in the president's vision for the country	80
Desire to make America a better place to live	79
Interest in the government work that needs to be done	78
Financial rewards and benefits of working for the government	77
Chance to make a difference through working in the government	74

ter. Although appointees are most appreciated for intelligence and capability, only a minority of the public believes they are any more qualified in these areas than most Americans. About half find the people who lead the nation’s departments and agencies equally honest, hard working, patriotic, capable and intelligent as most Americans. One-third think that they are less honest than most people in the country and 27 percent think that they do not work as hard as other Americans (table 4).

This tarnished image of appointees may help to explain why just three in 10 Americans would strongly encourage a close friend to accept a presidential appointment. Rather, most Americans would either discourage (18 percent) or only somewhat encourage (39 percent) a friend to accept the call to service. These are sober findings for recruiting a government of America’s best and brightest.

## Differences of Opinion

Party affiliation is the characteristic that most consistently drives differences of opinion about presidential appointees. Generally, Americans are not sharply divided on this topic based on gender, race, age or education.

Republicans are less concerned with the process and have a more positive opinion of appointees than Democrats and Independents, perhaps because a member of their party is president. It is impossible to know from a single survey whether Democrats and Independents would feel differently if another party were in charge of appointments. Most importantly, despite some significant differences in opinion, the pattern of disappointment in the selection process and the character of appointees is unmistakable, regardless of party affiliation.

While more Republicans than Democrats and Independents believe presidents select

**Table 4**  
**How Americans rate the character of appointees**

Percentage of Americans who rate appointees more, as, and less of each characteristic compared to most Americans

Characteristic	More	As	Less
Honest	8	53	33
Hard working	23	45	27
Patriotic	26	56	14
Capable	40	49	9
Intelligent	41	47	7

*Remaining respondents offered “don’t know” as their response or refused to respond.*

the most qualified candidates for appointments, this opinion is shared by less than a quarter of Republicans (table 5). More Republicans (46 percent) than Democrats (32 percent) and Independents (36 percent) think a president should select people loyal to the party rather than the most qualified people, without regard to their affiliation. But again, like Democrats and Independents, a greater number of Republicans think presidents ought to pick appointees based on their qualifications and not just their political affiliation. While Democrats lean toward public-sector experience as the best qualifier for an appointment, both Republicans and Independents favor private-sector experience as the most important credential for appointed service.

Republicans are less likely than Democrats and Independents to think that campaign contributions play an important role in the selection of appointees. But still, almost four out of five Republicans think political contributions play a big or

moderate role in selections and three-fourths find this state of affairs unacceptable.

Democrats and Independents are more cynical than Republicans about appointees' motivations for accepting their position. Forty-five percent of Republicans think serving their country's best interests is appointees' main motivator compared to 31 percent of Democrats and 29 percent of Independents.

Over three-quarters of Republicans have a favorable view of appointees compared to just over half of Independents and Democrats. This impression may stem from views about appointees' character. Democrats and Independents are more likely than Republicans to rate appointees as less honest, less hard working, less patriotic and less capable than most Americans. Still, one in five Republicans believe appointees are less honest and less hard working than the typical American.

**Table 5**  
**Public perception of the main reason a president selects a candidate for an appointment**

Percentage of Americans, by political affiliation, who think each is the main reason a president chooses someone to help run the government

Reason	Republicans	Independents	Democrats
Most qualified	24	17	13
Played a role in the president's campaign	17	29	31
Shares the president's political beliefs	49	43	48

*Remaining respondents volunteered all reasons, none of the reasons, that they don't know or they refused to respond.*



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## Conclusion

Presidents have always drawn heavily on their political supporters in staffing their administrations and Americans accept the notion that political considerations play a role in the appointments process. Thirty-eight percent agree that there are many qualified people in both parties and that it is important to select people who are loyal to help carry out the president's agenda. They object, however, to any emphasis on political favoritism over qualifications in the selection process.

Thomas Jefferson believed it was "necessary to provide an administration composed of persons whose qualifications and standing have possessed them of the public confidence, and whose wisdom may ensure to our fellow citizens the advantages they sanguinely expect."<sup>3</sup> Necessary, perhaps, because Jefferson recognized the potential relationship between confidence in his appointments and confidence in the federal government.

The survey results suggest that many Americans believe today's appointees fail to meet Jefferson's standards. And the public's disappointment with the qualifications and motivations of presidential

appointees may factor into Americans' distrust of government. Only 29 percent of Americans think they can trust the federal government to do what is right all or most of the time and only 7 percent have a great deal of trust in the federal government. Despite its mission to promote the public good, Americans have less trust in government than private business. Given the chance to help choose a job for their child, most Americans would advocate for a position in the private sector (53 percent) over one in government (30 percent).

Building confidence in the nation's appointed leaders, and perhaps in the work of the departments and agencies they direct, may be as straightforward as breaking the perception of ties between presidential appointments and political contributions. A constant emphasis on the qualifications of the candidates presidents nominate may be the simple key to reinvigorating the public's trust in appointees.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Jefferson to Henry Dearborn, 1801, in Andrew A. Lipscomb and Albert Ellery Bergh, eds., *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (Washington, 1903-04), vol. 10, p. 204.



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## APPENDIX 1: SURVEY METHODOLOGY

**T**his report is based on a nationwide, representative telephone survey of 1,003 adults living in continental United States telephone households. The survey was conducted by Princeton Survey Research Associates (PSRA) for the Brookings Institution's Presidential Appointee Initiative. Interviewing occurred between June 18 and July 18, 2001. The interview averaged 15 minutes in length, and interviewers made up to 10 calls to each sampled respondent to attempt to complete an interview.

For results based on the total sample, one can say with 95 percent confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is within approximately plus or minus 3 percentage points. In addition to sampling error, question wording and practical difficulties in conducting telephone surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings.



## APPENDIX 2: SURVEY RESULTS

### Presidential Appointee Survey III

Prepared by Princeton Survey Research Associates  
for the Brookings Institution

Interview dates: June 18 – July 18, 2001  
Margin of error is plus or minus 3 percentage points for results  
based on the full sample

**Q1** To start, I'd like your opinion of some organizations and institutions. The first one is (Insert). Do you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of (Insert)? ... How about (Insert)?

	Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very Unfavorable	Don't Know	Refused
<b>a</b> business corporations	<b>12</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>b</b> the news media	<b>12</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>c</b> the federal government in Washington	<b>9</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>

**Q2** How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right – just about always, most of the time, or only some of the time?

- 4** Just about always
- 25** Most of the time
- 66** Only some of the time
- 4** Never (**Volunteered**)
- 1** Don't know
- \*** Refused

**Q3** Generally speaking, what is your opinion of (Insert)? Is it very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable? ... How about (Insert)?

	Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	Don't Know	Refused
<b>a</b>	elected federal officials such as members of Congress					
	<b>7</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>b</b>	federal officials the president selects to help run the different departments and agencies of the government					
	<b>12</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>c</b>	federal government workers					
	<b>12</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>d</b>	President George W. Bush					
	<b>25</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>e</b>	Vice President Dick Cheney					
	<b>22</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>1</b>

**Q4** If 1 represents someone who generally believes that, on the whole, federal government programs should be cut back greatly to reduce the power of government, and 6 represents someone who feels that federal government programs should be maintained to deal with important problems, where on the scale of 1 to 6 would you place yourself?

<b>3.86</b>	Mean
<b>9</b>	1
<b>7</b>	2
<b>22</b>	3
<b>23</b>	4
<b>18</b>	5
<b>16</b>	6
<b>3</b>	Don't Know
<b>1</b>	Refused

**Q5** What do you personally feel is the bigger problem with government? Government has the wrong priorities, OR government has the right priorities but runs programs inefficiently?

<b>28</b>	Wrong priorities
<b>61</b>	Runs programs inefficiently
<b>3</b>	Both ( <b>Volunteered</b> )
<b>2</b>	Neither ( <b>Volunteered</b> )
<b>5</b>	Don't Know
<b>1</b>	Refused

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**Q6** When a new president enters office, he selects people to help him run the different departments and agencies of the government. For example, the president selects the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense and the Attorney General. How closely have you been following news stories on who President Bush is selecting to help him run the different departments and agencies of the government – very closely, somewhat closely, not too closely, or not closely at all?

- 15 Very closely
- 37 Somewhat closely
- 29 Not too closely
- 19 Not closely at all
- \* Don't Know
- \* Refused

**Q7** Just your best guess, about how many of the government workers in Washington does the president select – nearly all, most, some, or only a few?

- 8 Nearly all
- 16 Most
- 30 Some
- 41 Only a few
- 6 Don't Know
- \* Refused

**Q8** Do you think a president can select anyone he wants to fill the highest-level positions in the government such as the Secretary of State, or does Congress need to approve the president's selections, or don't you know for sure?

- 13 President can select anyone he wants
- 60 Congress needs to approve
- 26 Don't know for sure
- 1 Refused

**Q9** How big a role do you think financial contributions people make to a president's campaign play in who is selected to work in high-level government positions? Do you think financial contributions play a very big role, a moderate role, a small role, or no role at all?

- 57 A very big role
- 28 A moderate role
- 10 A small role
- 3 No role at all
- 2 Don't Know
- 1 Refused

**Q10** Do you think it is acceptable that campaign contributions play a big or moderate role in who the president selects to run different departments and agencies of the government, or do you think this is not acceptable?

*Based on those who think campaign contributions play a very big or moderate role: n=857*

- 15 Acceptable
- 80 Not acceptable
- 4 Don't know
- \* Refused

**Q11** How much money do you think a person needs to contribute to be considered for a high level position in government—less than \$1,000, \$1,000 to \$5,000, more than \$5,000 but less than \$10,000 or more than \$10,000?

- 18 Less than \$1,000
- 8 \$1,000 to \$5,000
- 10 More than \$5,000 but less than \$10,000
- 44 More than \$10,000
- 8 None (**Volunteered**)
- 10 Don't Know
- 3 Refused

**Q12** There may be many reasons a person agrees to serve a president. How big of a role do you think (Insert) plays in a person's decision to serve a president – a very big role, a moderate role, a small role, or no role at all?

	A very big role	A moderate role	A small role	No role at all	Don't Know	Refused
<b>a</b> the desire to make America a better place to live	<b>44</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>*</b>
<b>b</b> the desire to have influence and make important decisions	<b>52</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>*</b>
<b>c</b> the chance to make a difference through working in the government	<b>31</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>d</b> the desire to meet important people and get ahead professionally	<b>55</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>*</b>
<b>e</b> interest in the government work that needs to be done	<b>33</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>*</b>
<b>f</b> the financial rewards and benefits of working for the government	<b>40</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>*</b>
<b>g</b> personally liking the president and believing in the president's vision for the country	<b>45</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>*</b>

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**Q13** All in all, when a person agrees to serve a president do you think the person is motivated primarily to serve the country's best interests or to advance their own career?

- 35** Serving country's best interests
- 54** Advancing their career
- 6** Both (**Volunteered**)
- \*** Neither (**Volunteered**)
- 4** Don't Know
- 1** Refused

**Q14** What do you think is the main reason a president chooses someone to help him run the government – they're the most qualified for the job, they share the president's political beliefs, or they played a role in the president's campaign?

- 18** Most qualified
- 46** Share the president's political beliefs
- 26** Played a role in the president's campaign
- 7** All (**Volunteered**)
- 1** None (**Volunteered**)
- 2** Don't Know
- 1** Refused

**Q15** Now I'm going to read you some statements. Please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with each statement. (Insert)  
Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with that statement?

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't Know	Refused
<b>a</b>	Political considerations play too large a role in who the president selects to help run the government					
	<b>36</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>*</b>
<b>b</b>	The media asks too many questions and reports too much information about the personal lives of the people that the president selects to help run the government					
	<b>44</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>*</b>

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**Q16** Some people say that a president should select the best-qualified person to serve in the government regardless of the person's political party. Other people say that there are many qualified people in both political parties, and that it is important for a president to select people who are loyal to the president's party so they can help him carry out his programs. Which view is closer to your own?

- 59** Best qualified person regardless of party
- 38** Important to select people that are loyal to help carry out the president's programs
- 2** Don't Know
- 1** Refused

**Q17** Which of the following is the best qualification for a person to help run the government?

- 44** Public-sector experience in elected office such as the U.S. Congress or prior service as presidential appointee
- 44** Private-sector experience in managing or running a business
- 5** Other
- 7** Don't Know
- 1** Refused

**Q18** Compared to most Americans, how (Insert) are the people the president selects to help run the government? Are they as (Insert) as most Americans, more (Insert) or less (Insert) than most Americans?

	As ____	More ____	Less ____	Don't Know	Refused
<b>a</b>	honest <b>53</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>b</b>	hard working <b>45</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>c</b>	patriotic <b>56</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>d</b>	intelligent <b>47</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>e</b>	capable <b>49</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>



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**Q19** Do you think that a person who serves the president, such as the Secretary of State or the Secretary of Defense, makes more money, the same amount of money, or less money than a person in a senior position outside of government, such as a company executive?

- 31 Makes more money
- 12 Makes the same amount of money
- 49 Makes less money
- 8 Don't Know
- \* Refused

**Q20** Imagine you had a close friend who is successful in business and has been asked by the president to work in his administration. Would you strongly encourage this friend to take the job, somewhat encourage, somewhat discourage or strongly discourage this friend from taking the job?

- 30 Strongly encourage
- 39 Somewhat encourage
- 11 Somewhat discourage
- 7 Strongly discourage
- 7 Depends (**Volunteered**)
- 4 Don't Know
- 1 Refused

**Q21** Imagine you had a grown son or daughter who had two job offers, one to work in the federal government and one to work in private business, which job would you recommend he or she take?

- 30 Government
- 53 Private business
- 11 Depends (**Volunteered**)
- 4 Don't Know
- 2 Refused

**Q22** In general, how much do you trust the following organizations. First, what about (Insert)? And what about (Insert)?

	A great deal	A fair amount	Not too much	Not at all	Don't Know	Refused
<b>a</b>	the federal government in Washington					
	7	56	29	7	1	*
<b>b</b>	private business					
	9	63	21	4	2	*

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**Q23** Now think about government workers in Washington in general, not the ones selected by the president to help him run the government. Do you think most federal government workers in general choose to work in government because (Insert first phrase) or because (Insert second phrase)?

	First item	Second item	Don't Know	Refused
<b>a</b>	of the job security	the government provides/they want to help the public		
	<b>70</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>b</b>	of the salary and benefits	the government provides/they get the chance to make a difference		
	<b>68</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>c</b>	they want to do something worthwhile/they want to have a secure pay check			
	<b>24</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>1</b>

**Q24** Now we have a question some people can answer and some people cannot. One of the people President Bush selected is (**Randomly choose from:** Colin Powell, John Ashcroft, Donald Rumsfeld). Do you know whether he was picked by the president to be (Secretary of State, the Attorney General or Secretary of Defense)?

**Colin Powell (n=343)**

- 36 Secretary of State
- 4 Attorney General
- 35 Secretary of Defense
- 24 Don't Know
- 1 Refused

**John Ashcroft (n=325)**

- 8 Secretary of State
- 33 Attorney General
- 11 Secretary of Defense
- 47 Don't Know
- 2 Refused

**Donald Rumsfeld (n=335)**

- 7 Secretary of State
- 9 Attorney General
- 20 Secretary of Defense
- 64 Don't Know
- 1 Refused

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**D1** Respondent's sex:

**48** Male  
**52** Female

**D2** What is your age?

**23** 18-29  
**31** 30-44  
**25** 45-59  
**21** 60+  
**0** Don't Know  
**1** Refused

**D3** Are you of Hispanic origin or descent, such as Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban or some other Latino background?

**9** Yes  
**90** No  
**\*** Don't Know  
**1** Refused

**D4** What is your race? White, African American or black, Latino or Hispanic, Asian or some other race?

**75** White  
**11** Black or African American  
**7** Latino or Hispanic  
**2** Asian  
**4** Other  
**1** Don't Know  
**1** Refused

- 
- D5 What was the last grade or class you completed in school?
- 3 None, or grade 1-8
  - 10 High school incomplete (grades 9-11)
  - 30 High school graduate (grade 12 or GED certificate)
  - 7 Business, technical or vocational school after high school
  - 24 Some college, no four-year degree
  - 15 College graduate (BS, BA or other four-year degree)
  - 9 Post-graduate training or professional schooling after college (e.g., toward a master's degree or PhD, law or medical school)
  - \* Don't Know
  - 1 Refused
- D6 Last year, what was your total household income from all sources before taxes? Just stop me when I get to the right category.
- 10 Less than \$10,000
  - 11 \$10,000 to under \$20,000
  - 14 \$20,000 to under \$30,000
  - 12 \$30,000 to under \$40,000
  - 10 \$40,000 to under \$50,000
  - 14 \$50,000 to under \$75,000
  - 9 \$75,000 to under \$100,000
  - 8 \$100,000 or more
  - 3 Don't Know
  - 8 Refused
- D7 In politics today, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat or Independent?
- 28 Republican
  - 33 Democrat
  - 33 Independent
  - 3 No Preference (**Volunteered**)
  - \* Other (**Volunteered**)
  - 2 Don't Know
  - 1 Refused

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**D8** As of today do you lean more to the Republican Party or more to the Democratic Party?

*Based on those who do not identify themselves as a Republican or Democrat: n=376*

<b>33</b>	Republican
<b>39</b>	Democrat
<b>18</b>	Don't Know
<b>10</b>	Refused



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## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

**J**udith M. Labiner earned her Ph.D. in public policy analysis from the University of North Carolina - Chapel Hill. She received her master's degree from the Hubert H. Humphrey Institute for Public Affairs at the University of Minnesota and her bachelor's degree from the University of Wisconsin - Madison. Prior to joining the Brookings Institution

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