



**THE PEW RESEARCH CENTER**  
**For The People & The Press**

***NEWS Release***

*1150 18<sup>th</sup> Street, N.W., Suite 975*

*Washington, D.C. 20036*

*Tel (202) 293-3126*

*Fax (202) 293-2569*

**EMBARGOED**

FOR RELEASE: WEDNESDAY, MAY 12, 2004, 4:00 P.M.

**76% Have Seen Prison Pictures; Bush Approval Slips**  
**IRAQ PRISON SCANDAL HITS HOME, BUT MOST REJECT TROOP PULLOUT**

**Also Inside ...**

- National satisfaction at eight-year low
- Opinion of Bush drives horserace
- GOPers: too much Abu Ghraib coverage
- Declining number of swing voters

***FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:***

Andrew Kohut, Director

Carroll Doherty, Editor

Scott Keeter, Associate Director

Michael Dimock, Research Director

Elizabeth Mueller Gross, Special Projects Director

Nilanthi Samaranyake, Peyton Craighill and Nicole Speulda, Project Directors

Jason Owens, Research Assistant

Kate DeLuca, Staff Assistant

Pew Research Center for The People & The Press

202/293-3126

<http://www.people-press.org>

**76% Have Seen Prison Pictures; Bush Approval Slips**  
**IRAQ PRISON SCANDAL HITS HOME, BUT MOST REJECT TROOP PULLOUT**

Public satisfaction with national conditions has fallen to 33%, its lowest level in eight years, in the wake of revelations of prisoner abuse committed by U.S. soldiers at Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq. President Bush's overall job approval rating also has dropped into negative territory: 44% approve of his job performance, while 48% disapprove.

The Iraq prison scandal has registered powerfully with the public – fully 76% say they have seen pictures depicting mistreatment of Iraqis by U.S. soldiers. There also has been a sharp rise in the number of Americans who think the military effort in Iraq is going badly. For the first time, a majority of Americans (51%) say the war is not going well and the percentage saying the war was the right decision continues to inch downward. The survey was conducted before release of a videotape showing the decapitation of an American in Iraq.

For all that, however, public sentiment continues to run against an immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Iraq. By 53%-42%, Americans favor keeping the troops there until a stable government is established. That number has changed little since early April, after four U.S. contractors were murdered and their bodies desecrated.

<b>Post-Prison Scandal: Opinions of Bush and Iraq</b>				
	Early <u>Jan</u>	Early <u>April</u>	Late <u>April</u>	<u>May</u>
<i>Bush job</i>	%	%	%	%
Approve	58	43	48	44
Disapprove	35	47	43	48
Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Iraq effort is going...</i>				
Very/Fairly well	70	57	55	46
Not too/at all well	25	39	41	51
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Military action was...</i>				
Right decision	62	57	54	51
Wrong decision	28	35	37	42
Don't know	<u>10</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>7</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>What to do now...</i>				
Keep troops in	63	50	53	53
Bring troops home	32	44	40	42
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100	100

President Bush has lost some ground in the presidential race, though voter opinion remains closely divided. Sen. John Kerry holds a 50%-45% lead over Bush in a two-way race, and his lead narrows to 46%-43% when Ralph Nader is included. Most of the president's supporters say they consider their vote as a choice *for* the president. By contrast, Kerry's supporters by roughly two-to-one (32%-15%) view their vote as one *against* Bush.

But confidence in Bush relative to Kerry has eroded on major issues like Iraq and the economy. Bush holds a slight 44%-41% edge as the candidate better able to make wise decisions in Iraq policy; in

late March, he held a 12-point advantage (49%-37%). At the same time, Kerry has opened up double-digit leads on both the economy and jobs. Kerry’s advantage on the key domestic issue of health care is even larger. Currently, 51% say Kerry would be better able to improve the health care system, while just 29% say that about Bush.

The latest national survey of 1,800 Americans, conducted May 3-9 by the Pew Research Center, finds that Bush retains a sizable advantage over Kerry on key personal qualities relating to leadership and judgment in a crisis. Yet roughly a quarter (26%) say their overall impression of Bush has gotten worse in recent weeks, compared to 16% who say that about Kerry. And perceptions of Bush as steadfast and determined are proving to be a double-edged sword for the president: by 65%-23%, the public views Bush, rather than Kerry, as willing to take a stand, even if unpopular. By an even wider margin (68%-12%), Americans say the word “stubborn” applies to Bush.

The survey also highlights clear weaknesses in Kerry’s personal image. By 42%-30%, the public says the phrase “changes his mind too much” better describes the Massachusetts Democrat. That perception is reinforced in respondents’ one-word descriptions of the candidates. In February, as Kerry was sweeping through the Democratic primaries, positive descriptions outnumbered negative ones by two-to-one. Today, just 23% use a positive word to describe Kerry, while 28% describe him negatively. Among the most frequently used negative terms to characterize Kerry are “liar,” “dishonest” and “wishy-washy.”

Voters continue to express relatively strong interest in the presidential race. About six-in-ten (59%) say they have thought “quite a lot” about the campaign, up from 48% at this stage in 2000. Nearly half of voters (45%) say they are hearing the right amount about the campaign. But people in swing states, who have been exposed to millions of dollars in political ads from the campaigns, are somewhat more likely than people in “red states” (predominantly Republican) or “blue states (predominantly Democrat) to say they have heard *too much* about the presidential race. However, voters in the battleground states are about as interested in the campaign as those elsewhere.

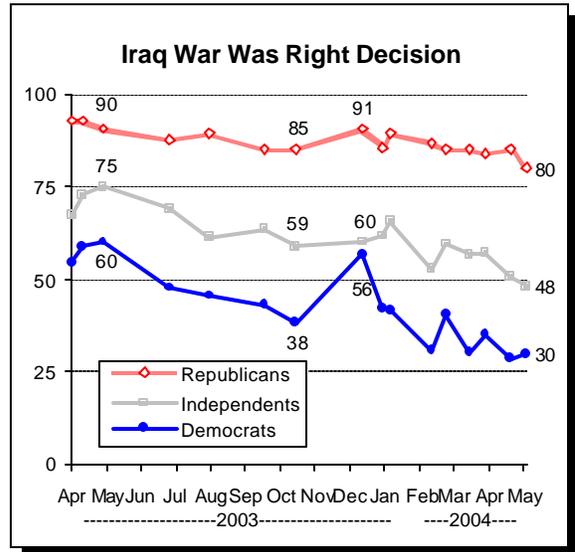
<b>Campaign Heard in Battleground</b>			
	Red States	Blue States	Swing States
<i>Hearing about the campaign</i>	%	%	%
Too much	28	25	35
Too little	21	23	18
Right amount	45	46	43
Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100	100
<i>Thought given to election</i>			
Quite a lot	60	59	58
Some/Little	35	36	37
None (Vol.)	4	3	4
Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
	100	100	100

Based on registered voters.

**Sober Assessments of Iraq**

News of the abuse of Iraqi prisoners by American military personnel, coupled with continued unrest and violence throughout the country, have combined to send public assessments about the war to their lowest levels yet. Just 46% believe the war is going well, the first time that less than a majority of Americans have felt that things in Iraq were going at least “fairly well.”

Although a majority of the public (51%) continues to say that the U.S. made the right decision to use force in Iraq, this is the lowest level of confidence since the war began. The percentage believing the war was the wrong decision has now inched up to 42%, five points higher than it was just two weeks ago.



Views about the decision to go to war remain highly divided along partisan lines, with a 50-point gap separating the opinions of Republicans (80% of whom say the U.S. made the right decision) and Democrats (30%). A potentially ominous sign for President Bush is that the percentage of independents who think the U.S. was right to go to war has now dropped below 50% for the first time (48%).

Moreover, since January of this year, support for the decision has dropped dramatically among key swing constituencies: white Catholics (now 49%, down from 68%) and mainline Protestants (49%, down from 71%). But key elements of the president’s base remain solidly behind the decision to go to war. Republicans (at 80%) have dropped only six points since January, and white evangelicals (at 68%) are down only four points since January.

Assessments of how the war is going also have a partisan cast. Far more Republicans (70%) than Democrats (32%) say the war is going at least fairly well. Those who say they are certain to vote for Bush in November are even more sanguine about the war (78% going well), while about the same

	Total	--- Party ID ---		
		Rep	Dem	Ind
<i>It's going...</i>	%	%	%	%
Very well	10	16	8	9
Fairly well	36	54	24	33
Not well	51	26	67	55
Don't know	3	4	1	3
	100	100	100	100

number of Kerry voters (75%) take a negative view of progress in Iraq. Male veterans have a somewhat more negative assessment of the war than non-veterans.

***No Increase in Support for Withdrawal***

Despite the prison abuse scandal and the recent surge in violence in Iraq, a majority of the public (53%) continues to support keeping troops in Iraq until a stable government is established; 42% say the U.S. should bring its troops home as soon as possible. As on other questions, there is a significant partisan division on this question, with 72% of Republicans in favor of remaining in Iraq compared with only 40% of Democrats. Voters who are not yet firmly committed to one candidate or another divide about like the nation overall: 54% of swing voters support keeping troops in Iraq, 39% support a pullout.

There is also a considerable gender gap on the question, with a solid majority of men (62%) in favoring of remaining in Iraq, while women favor pulling out by a margin of 49% to 45%. Blacks (at 68%) tilt strongly toward withdrawing the troops, and young people (at 52%) are more likely than older people to favor bringing the troops home as quickly as possible.

Compared with less educated respondents, highly educated Americans express the greatest reservations about the decision to go to war. Yet they also express the strongest support for maintaining U.S. forces in Iraq.

Those with a college degree divide evenly (48% each) on the question of whether the war was the right decision, but by about two-to-one (63% to 31%) believe that the U.S. should keep troops in Iraq until a stable government is established there. By contrast, people with a high school education generally support the decision to go to war, but are evenly divided on the question of staying in or pulling out.

<b>Education and Opinions about the War</b>			
	---Education---		
	College degree	Some college	H.S. or less
<i>War decision...</i>	%	%	%
Right	48	54	51
Wrong	48	41	39
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>10</u>
	100	100	100
<i>War is going...</i>			
Very well	9	12	10
Fairly well	33	34	39
Not well	56	51	47
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100	100
<i>Troops should...</i>			
Stay in Iraq	63	56	47
Come home	31	39	48
Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100

***Prison Abuse: Huge Exposure***

Public exposure to reports of mistreatment of Iraqi prisoners has been widespread; 58% say they have heard a lot about this matter and 34% have heard a little. Roughly three-quarters of Americans (76%) say they have seen some of the pictures on which reports of mistreatment are based. This compares with

55% who said they had seen the graphic photos or video of the attack on U.S. civilian contractors in Falluja in early April.

***But Some Say Too Much***

A narrow plurality of the public (39%) believes news organizations have provided the right amount of coverage of the prison abuse story. But more than twice as many people say there has been too much (36%) coverage of the scandal as say there has been too little coverage (17%).

	<b>Press Attention to Prison Abuse Story?</b>					
	<u>Total</u>	--- Party ID ---			-- Male --	
		<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>	<u>Vet-</u>	<u>Non-</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	
Too much	36	50	26	36	52	36
Too little	17	8	26	16	11	17
Right amount	39	37	40	41	33	41
Don't know	<u>8</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>7</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100

Opinion about the coverage divides along partisan lines. Half of Republicans say there has been too much press attention to the matter, but just 26% of Democrats agree. Independents fall in between (36%). A majority of male military veterans (52%) say there has been too much coverage of the story, compared with 36% of men who are not veterans.

With the disturbing images from Iraq’s prisons and continuing violence against coalition forces, some people have responded by becoming more emotionally involved in the news from Iraq while others have become less involved. In response to a question about how “people you know” are reacting to the news these days, 34% say their acquaintances have become more emotionally involved; 26% say people they know have become less involved; and 36% say they have seen no change.

About twice as many liberal Democrats as conservative Republicans say the people they know are more emotionally involved in the situation in Iraq (48% vs. 25%). Young people age 18-29 are most likely to say people they know are becoming less involved (39% say this, compared with 17% for people aged 65 and older).

***Is Criticism of the War Patriotic?***

Nearly half of Americans (49%) say that criticism of how the war is being handled is neither patriotic or unpatriotic, while the other half divides evenly on the question (22% say it is unpatriotic, 23% say it is patriotic). Not surprisingly, views about criticism are highly partisan and strongly related to views about the war itself, with 43% of conservative Republicans saying critics of the war are unpatriotic, while

just 6% of liberal Democrats agree. Interestingly, more male veterans than non-veterans weigh in on either side of the patriotism debate, though there is no agreement on the issue: 27% of male veterans say such criticism is unpatriotic, while 31% view it as patriotic.

Those who say criticism of the handling of the war is either patriotic or unpatriotic were asked why they feel this way. Several themes run through comments by people who see criticism as unpatriotic. Many mention the need to support the troops, or the idea that criticism undermines their efforts. A typical comment was that criticism is wrong “because it’s a smack in the face to those boys over there.” Mentions of George W. Bush and the need to support the president in time of war were also very common. “I just think you should stand by what your president does. He wouldn’t send our boys to war to fight for our freedom for no reason,” said one respondent.

	-- Male --		
	Total	Vet- eran	Non- Vet
	%	%	%
Unpatriotic	22	27	21
Patriotic	23	31	25
Neither	49	39	49
Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100

Those who said criticism is patriotic tended to stress the principle of freedom of speech. “Patriotism is your ability to disagree,” said one respondent. Another said that criticism is patriotic “because this country is founded on the idea that you can express opinions which are unpopular.” Many people said we need to hear the criticism in order to avoid costly mistakes. One person remarked that “knowing the truth will prevent another Vietnam.”

***Bush’s Bad Weeks***

The past few weeks have clearly been worse for Bush than for his Democratic opponent. His overall approval rating has softened a bit since late April. Moreover, about one-in-four Americans (26%) say their overall impression of the president has gotten worse over the past few weeks, while just 7% say their impression has improved. By comparison, impressions of John Kerry are mixed, with 16% saying he looks worse to them than he did a few weeks ago, and 12% saying he looks better.

<i>Impression in past few weeks</i>	<u>Total</u>	<i>2004 Vote Preference</i>		
		<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Swing Voters</u>
	%	%	%	%
<b><i>George W. Bush</i></b>				
Gotten better	7	<b>17</b>	2	3
Gotten worse	26	4	<b>50</b>	18
Stayed the same	65	78	47	<b>75</b>
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100	100	100
<b><i>John Kerry</i></b>				
Gotten better	12	1	<b>23</b>	9
Gotten worse	16	<b>37</b>	4	13
Stayed the same	66	56	71	<b>68</b>
Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>10</u>
	100	100	100	100

The campaigns, for the most part, are reinforcing the impressions of those who have already made up their minds. Fully half of committed Kerry supporters say their impression of Bush has gotten worse in the past few weeks, and 37% of committed Bush supporters feel the same about Kerry. And while smaller minorities say their impressions of Bush and Kerry have improved recently, any improvement has come among committed backers. Somewhat fewer cite improvement in this area because many partisans say their impression couldn't get any better than it already is, and thus has stayed the same.

***Bush Approval Declines Among Swing Voters***

By comparison, the vast majority of uncommitted voters say their impressions of Bush and Kerry have remained unchanged, and there is no difference in this regard within the all-important battleground states, where campaign advertisements have been running heavily. Just one-in-five swing voters (21%) say their impression of Bush has changed, though the trend has been decidedly for the worse (18% vs. 3%). A similar minority says Kerry's image has changed, some for the worse (13%) and some for the better (9%).

<i>Overall</i>	<u>Feb</u>	<u>March</u>	<u>May</u>
<i>Job approval</i>	%	%	%
Approve	55	51	44
Disapprove	28	33	38
Don't know	<u>17</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>18</u>
	100	100	100

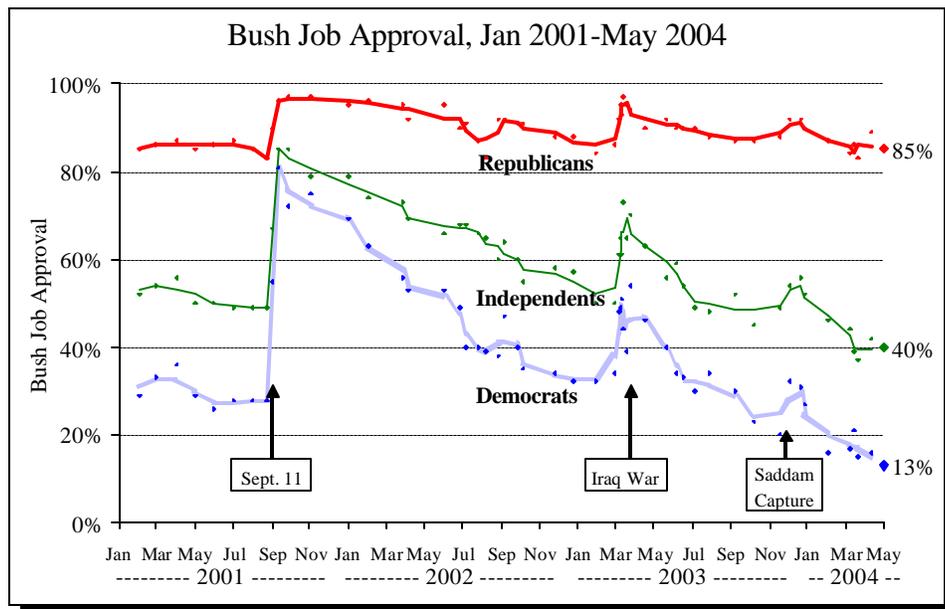
Based on registered voters who are undecided or could change their minds.

Overall presidential job approval has slipped notably among these swing voters over the past few months. In February, twice as many swing voters approved as disapproved of the president's overall job performance (by a 55% to 28% margin). Today, approval has slipped to 44%, and disapproval has grown to 38% among voters who are not committed to either candidate.

## ***Divided Views of Bush***

The current poll reflects unprecedented levels of partisanship with respect to evaluations of the president's performance. As has been the case since Bush first took office, Republicans are solidly behind him, with 85% approving and just 11% disapproving of the job he is doing. But for the first time, Democrats are nearly as unified in opposition to Bush. Just 13% of Democrats approve of the president's job performance, while 79% disapprove. Prior to this year, Democratic approval of Bush had never dipped below 23%.

Equally important, recent surveys have found Bush's job approval among independents to be at an all-time low. In the current survey, as well as three other surveys conducted in late March and April, more independents disapprove of the president's performance in office (49% currently) than approve (40%).



***Terrorism Still Bush’s Strength***

Most voters continue to favor Bush over Kerry when it comes to defending the country from future terrorism (52% Bush/33% Kerry). But that is the only policy issue on which the president holds a clear advantage over his Democratic opponent. Republicans overwhelmingly back Bush on defending the U.S. against terrorism (and Democrats favor Kerry), while swing voters also line up squarely behind the president on this issue. By more than four-to-one (60%-14%), swing voters say Bush is better able than Kerry to handle the threat of terrorism.

On most other issues, however, the president has lost ground to Kerry since late March. The two men are in a virtual tie over who would be better able to handle Iraq and foreign policy generally. In late March, swing voters by more than two-to-one (45%-21%) opted for Bush over Kerry as the candidate who could make wise decisions on Iraq. But the margin has narrowed considerably – currently, 41% of swing voters say Bush could do better on Iraq, while 32% say Kerry.

Kerry also has a substantial advantage with respect to who is better able to improve the health care system and education. Roughly half (51%) say Kerry could better handle health care; just 29% say Bush. And Kerry holds a substantial advantage in improving education (50%-35%). In the presidential campaign four years ago, Bush ran close to former Vice President Al Gore on education, helping to neutralize what had been a Democratic issue.

<b>Bush Leads on Terrorism, Kerry Gains Elsewhere</b>				
<i>Who can best handle...</i>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>DK</u>
	%	%	%	%
Terrorism	52	33	5	10=100
Late March	53	29	4	14=100
Mid-March	57	32	4	7=100
Situation in Iraq	44	41	4	11=100
Late March	49	37	4	10=100
Mid-March	47	45	2	6=100
Foreign policy	43	42	4	11=100
Late March	44	38	4	14=100
Mid-March	44	45	3	8=100
Trade policies	40	40	6	14=100
Late March	38	39	5	18=100
Mid-March	38	48	3	11=100
Economy	38	48	5	9=100
Late March	39	44	6	11=100
Mid-March	37	53	2	8=100
Education	35	50	5	10=100
Late March	39	43	5	13=100
Mid-March	36	52	3	9=100
Job situation	35	50	5	10=100
Late March	37	45	7	11=100
Mid-March	30	57	5	8=100
Health care	29	51	7	13=100
Late March	33	46	6	15=100
Mid-March	29	57	4	10=100

Based on registered voters.

**Personal Qualities: Two Sides of Bush**

Voters continue to view Bush as a strong leader and possessing good judgment in a crisis. Roughly half of voters say these descriptions apply to Bush; only about a third say they better describe Kerry. Bush holds a significant advantage on these personal qualities among swing voters. More than half of swing voters (54%) view Bush as a strong leader; just 14% say that phrase better describes Kerry. Similarly, by four-to-one (53%-13%) swing voters view Bush, not Kerry, as using good judgment in a crisis.

Bush also is generally viewed as “willing to take a stand, even if unpopular.”

However, fully two-thirds of voters (68%) also say the description “stubborn” better applies to Bush rather than Kerry. To a degree, these perceptions of Bush – both positive and negative – cut across party lines. A substantial minority of Democratic voters (41%) look at Bush as being willing to take an unpopular stand; roughly the same number of Democrats say that describes Kerry (44%). A solid majority of Republicans (57%) believes the term stubborn applies to Bush; just 20% say it better describes Kerry.

Kerry’s primary attribute is that he is seen as caring “about people like me.” A 45% plurality says that phrase better describes Kerry; 34% think it better describes Bush. While partisans divide in predictable fashion over who this phrase better describes, swing voters say it better characterizes Kerry by 37%-21%.

A substantial plurality of voters (42%) think the phrase “changes his mind too much” better describes Kerry; just 30% say it applies to Bush. There is a significant gender gap in these perceptions, especially among voters under age 50. Among men in this group, 48% believe Kerry changes his mind too much, while 34% say that about Bush. However, women voters under age 50 are split (32% Kerry/32% Bush).

<b>Bush Strong Leader but Stubborn, Kerry Caring but Indecisive</b>					
	<i>Phrase better describes...</i>				
	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>Both</u>	<u>DK</u>
	%	%	%	%	%
Stubborn	68	12	4	5	11=100
Willing to take a stand	65	23	3	4	5=100
A strong leader	50	31	8	4	7=100
Good judgment in crisis	47	35	4	5	9=100
Personally likable	42	39	6	8	5=100
Down to earth	43	40	8	3	6=100
Honest and truthful	34	36	17	4	9=100
Cares about people	34	45	8	5	8=100
Changes mind too much	30	42	8	5	15=100

Based on registered voters.

***Race Moves in a Narrow Range***

Voting intentions remain closely divided, with registered voters favoring Kerry over Bush by a slim 50% to 45% margin. Preferences on both sides continue to be shaped predominantly by voters' views of President Bush.

Nearly two-thirds of Kerry supporters (64%) describe their choice as more of a vote *against* George W. Bush than as a vote *for* John Kerry. There is little to suggest that affirmative support for Kerry is increasing. At the close of the Democratic primaries in March, 40% of Kerry voters expressed their support in positive terms, but this has declined to 30% today. Bush backers overwhelmingly describe their preference as a vote *for* the president, not *against* Kerry, by a 74% to 21% margin.

	Feb	Mar	Mid- Mar	Late May
<b><i>Kerry Supporters</i></b>	%	%	%	%
Voting <i>for</i> Kerry	33	40	35	30
Voting <i>against</i> Bush	64	56	58	64
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100	100
<b><i>Bush Supporters</i></b>				
Voting <i>for</i> Bush	84	79	78	74
Voting <i>against</i> Kerry	12	17	17	21
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100	100

While the overall horserace has remained close since February, more voters are making up their minds, though Election Day is still more than five months away. In February, nearly three-in-ten voters (29%) were either undecided, only leaned toward one of the candidates, or supported a candidate but said they might still change their minds. Today, just 22% of voters fall into these categories. Consequently, the proportion of voters who say they have already made up and will not change their minds has increased from 71% in February to 78% today. Both Kerry and Bush have gained committed supporters at roughly the same rate over this time period.

	Feb	Mar	May
<b><i>Registered voters</i></b>	%	%	%
Committed to Bush	33	34	36
Committed to Kerry	38	40	42
Swing voters	29	26	22
Favor Bush	13	11	9
Favor Kerry	10	9	8
Pure undecided	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100

February figures based on 1,898 registered voters in two surveys conducted 2/11-16 and 2/24-29. March figures based on 2,474 registered voters in two surveys conducted 3/17-21 and 3/22-28.

“Committed” voters are those who support a candidate and say there is “no chance” they might vote for the opponent.

This level of commitment is no lower in the key battleground states in which both campaigns have been particularly active. As many voters in “swing” states have already made up their minds about who to support as is the case in “red” or “blue” states, though they are more evenly divided between the two candidates. Currently, 24% of voters in battleground states have not committed their support to a candidate (compared with 22% overall).

### *One-word Descriptions*

The descriptions respondents use to describe Bush and Kerry have changed substantially over the past three months. Compared with a February survey conducted at the peak of the Democratic primary cycle, far fewer today can even come up with one word to describe Kerry. And among those who can describe him, there has been a decidedly negative shift in the terms being used.

In February, twice as many said something favorable about Kerry as unfavorable (38% vs. 19%). Since that time, positive remarks have declined, and negative remarks have increased and today Kerry receives roughly the same amount of both (23% positive and 28% negative).

	May <u>2003</u>	Feb <u>2004</u>	May <u>2004</u>
<b><i>Bush</i></b>	%	%	%
Positive	52	36	33
Negative	27	36	37
Neutral	9	13	13
No answer/DK	<u>12</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>17</u>
	100	100	100
<b><i>Kerry</i></b>			
Positive	--	38	23
Negative	--	19	28
Neutral	--	21	18
No answer/DK	--	<u>22</u>	<u>31</u>
		100	100

The most frequently used words to describe the Democratic nominee are the lukewarm terms “good,” “hopeful,” “okay,” and “better than Bush.” The top negative term applied to Kerry is “liar,” and is mentioned far more often than it was three months ago. Perhaps more directly showing the impact of the campaign on the candidates image, a number of respondents described Kerry as “indecisive” “wishy-washy” “undecided” and “uncertain,” terms that went virtually unmentioned three months ago.

But no single word has come to dominate the public’s perception of John Kerry as “boring” did with Al Gore four years ago. Across multiple surveys during the early election season, this word was associated with the former vice president more than any other, often by large margins.

**One-Word Descriptions  
of President Bush**

<u>February 2004</u>	<u>May 2004</u>
27 Honest	30 Honest
24 Fair	29 Good
24 Leader	26 Incompetent
21 Liar	26 Leader
17 Arrogant	24 Arrogant
14 Strong	16 Strong
13 Excellent	15 Integrity
13 Good	13 Idiot
12 Christian	11 Christian
12 Integrity	10 Determined
9 Stupid	10 Stupid
9 Incompetent	9 Liar
8 Dishonest	8 Trustworthy
7 Confident	7 Aggressive
7 Determined	7 Committed
7 Idiot	7 Dishonest
7 Patriotic	7 Okay
7 Ass	

\* The number of respondents who offered each response; the numbers are NOT percentages.

**One-Word Descriptions  
of John Kerry**

<u>February 2004</u>	<u>May 2004</u>
45 Honest	16 Good
26 Democrat	16 Hopeful
21 Good	16 Okay
15 Liberal	12 Better than Bush
14 Fair	12 Liar
12 Arrogant	12 Unknown
11 Phony	11 Politician
10 Politician	10 Liberal
10 Qualified	9 Dishonest
9 Intelligent	9 Indecisive
9 Knowledgeable	9 Wishy-washy
9 Presidential	8 Democrat
8 Veteran	7 Dislike
7 Sincere	7 Don't like
7 Tall	7 Idiot
7 Competent	7 Undecided
	7 Untrustworthy
	7 Weak

\* The number of respondents who offered each response; the numbers are NOT percentages.

While the balance of positive and negative responses about George W. Bush have remained largely the same, the negative terms Bush's critics use to describe the president negatively have shifted. Three months ago, "liar" was the most often used negative word used to describe the president, mentioned twice as often as terms like "incompetent" or "stupid." Today, the order of these phrases has reversed, with "incompetent" most frequently mentioned by Bush's critics, far more often than references to the president's dishonesty. One criticism of the president that has remained consistently high over the past year is "arrogance," which has been the first or second most used word by Bush opponents in three consecutive surveys.

Bush's supporters continue to describe the president as "honest," "leader," "strong," and cite his "integrity." Mentions of Bush's faith also arise frequently: many of his supporters describe Bush as "Christian."

### Who Will Win?

By 52%-31%, more voters believe Bush will win reelection in November than predict a Kerry victory. This is largely unchanged from February, when 56% predicted that Bush would win, and 32% said Kerry would.

Democrats are no more optimistic, or dispirited, about their party's chances than they were during the primary season. While Republicans overwhelmingly predict a Bush victory (78% vs. 9% who think Kerry will win), Democrats are more divided, with half choosing Kerry, and 34% Bush as the likely victor. While they may not have made up their minds yet themselves, more swing voters expect a Bush victory than a Kerry victory by a margin of two-to-one (52% to 25%).

<b>Democrats Remain Less Optimistic</b>			
<i>Who will win in November?</i>			
	George Bush	John Kerry	DK
	%	%	%
Total	52	31	17=100
<i>Party</i>			
Republican	78	9	13=100
Democrat	34	50	16=100
Independent	49	35	16=100
<i>Vote Preference</i>			
Certain Bush	84	5	11=100
Certain Kerry	25	57	18=100
Swing voters	52	25	23=100

Based on registered voters.

### Earnings Satisfaction Up, Especially Among Republicans

While news from Iraq has generally been bad, working Americans are expressing somewhat more satisfaction with the lifestyles they can afford than has been the case over most of the past decade. Asked whether they earn enough to lead the kind of life they want, 51% of employed respondents say yes, 48% say no. This is comparable to a February survey where 53% of working Americans expressed financial satisfaction, but is significantly higher than any previous survey conducted in the past ten years. From 1994 through 2002, roughly 41% to 44% said they earned enough to live the kind of life they wanted, with very few exceptions.

There is little to suggest that this increase in personal financial satisfaction is related to employment rates – while unemployment figures have fluctuated over this time period, the fluctuations are not what is underlying this apparent increase in the proportion of workers who earn a comfortable wage.

	<b>Earn Enough to Lead the Life You Want?</b>				<i>R-D Diff</i>
	<i>--- Party ID ---</i>				
<i>Percent "yes"</i>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>	
	%	%	%	%	
May 2004	51	68	46	43	+22
Feb. 2004	53	63	44	51	+19
June 2002	43	48	38	45	+10
Jan. 2001	43	47	39	46	+8
Sept. 1999	42	48	38	39	+10
Aug. 1999	39	47	38	35	+9
Sept. 1998	43	49	41	43	+8
Nov. 1997	41	47	38	40	+9
May 1997	46	50	47	41	+3
June 1996	44	51	41	42	+10
Feb. 1995	41	46	40	38	+6
July 1994	40	46	37	38	+9
Mar. 1994	44	44	45	43	-1

Based on those who work full or part time.

But there is a significant, and relatively new, partisan component to this viewpoint. While throughout the trend, employed Republicans have typically expressed somewhat more satisfaction with their earnings than employed Democrats, this mostly reflects the fact that Republicans, on average, earn more. But the gap between Republican and Democratic earnings satisfaction has exploded in recent surveys, suggesting that political attitudes are becoming more associated with more personal, quality-of-life evaluations.

Today, 68% of employed Republicans say they earn enough to lead the kind of life they want, compared with just 46% of employed Democrats. Since January of 2001, this reflects a 21-point increase among Republicans (from 47%) – by far the most sizeable shift in this attitude ever measured.

Democrats, too, are feeling a bit better today than in 2001 (46%, up from 39%), but the gap between Democratic and Republican earnings satisfaction is greater than it has ever been previously.

\*\*\*\*\*

#### **ABOUT THIS SURVEY**

Results for the survey are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International among a nationwide sample of 1,800 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period May 3-9, 2004. Based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 2.5 percentage points. For results based on either Form 1 (N=904) or Form 2 (N=897), the sampling error is plus or minus 3.5 percentage points.

For results based on Registered Voters (N=1465), the sampling error is plus or minus 3 percentage points. For results based on either Form 1 registered voters (N=730) or Form 2 registered voters (N=735), the sampling error is plus or minus 4 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.

## BUSH vs. KERRY

	Bush/Lean <u>Bush</u> %	Kerry/Lean <u>Kerry</u> %	Undecided <u>/Other</u> %	Certain <u>Bush</u> %	Certain <u>Kerry</u> %	Swing <u>Voter</u> %
<b>Total</b>	45	50	5=100	36	42	22=100
<b>Sex</b>						
Male	50	46	4	40	38	22
Female	41	53	6	32	46	22
<b>Race</b>						
White	51	45	4	40	37	23
Non-white	22	71	8	18	63	19
Black	6	86	8	3	76	21
Hispanic*	50	43	7	36	40	24
<b>Race and Sex</b>						
White Men	54	41	5	44	34	22
White Women	48	48	4	37	39	24
<b>Age</b>						
Under 30	39	57	4	29	50	21
30-49	49	46	5	38	38	24
50-64	48	48	4	38	41	21
65+	40	54	6	33	46	21
<b>Sex and Age</b>						
Men under 50	53	43	4	43	35	22
Women under 50	40	54	6	29	47	24
Men 50+	46	49	5	37	42	21
Women 50+	43	52	5	36	44	20
<b>Education</b>						
College Grad.	46	51	3	38	42	20
Some College	49	47	4	38	40	22
High School Grad.	46	48	6	37	42	21
< H.S. Grad.	35	57	8	24	46	30
<b>Family Income</b>						
\$75,000+	49	47	4	38	36	26
\$50,000-\$74,999	60	38	2	48	32	20
\$30,000-\$49,999	46	49	5	38	43	19
\$20,000-\$29,999	33	65	2	25	60	15
<\$20,000	29	64	7	20	54	26

\* The designation Hispanic is unrelated to the white-black categorization.

Question: Suppose there were only two major candidates for president and you had to choose between George W. Bush, the Republican or John Kerry, the Democrat, who would you vote for?

*Continued on next page...*

	Bush/Lean	Kerry/Lean	Undecided	Certain	Certain	Swing
	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>/Other</u>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Voter</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%
<b>Total</b>	45	50	5=100	36	42	22=100
<b>Region</b>						
East	42	54	4	30	45	25
Midwest	42	52	6	33	41	26
South	51	44	5	41	39	20
West	43	52	5	35	45	20
<b>Religious Affiliation</b>						
Total White Protestant	59	37	4	48	29	23
- Evangelical	69	28	3	57	21	22
- Non-Evangelical	48	48	4	37	39	24
White Catholic	46	48	6	34	40	26
Secular	29	68	3	24	62	14
<b>Community Size</b>						
Large City	32	65	3	25	55	20
Suburb	46	48	6	37	42	21
Small City/Town	47	48	5	39	41	20
Rural Area	54	39	7	40	28	32
<b>Party ID</b>						
Republican	90	8	2	74	4	22
Democrat	9	87	4	7	78	15
Independent	43	50	7	32	40	28
<b>Party and Ideology</b>						
Conservative Republican	95	4	1	85	1	14
Moderate/Liberal Rep.	83	14	3	59	8	33
Conservative/Mod. Dem.	12	84	4	9	73	18
Liberal Democrat	4	94	2	2	90	8
<b>Bush Approval</b>						
Approve	88	10	2	73	5	22
Disapprove	7	89	4	3	79	18
<b>Use of Force in Iraq</b>						
Right Decision	75	22	3	62	15	23
Wrong Decision	11	83	6	7	73	20
<b>Labor Union</b>						
Union Household	36	57	7	28	48	24
Non-Union Household	46	49	5	37	41	22

## USE OF FORCE IN IRAQ

	-----May 2003-----		---Early Jan. 2004--		-----May 2004-----		Change	
	<u>Right</u> <u>Decision</u> %	<u>Wrong</u> <u>Decision</u> %	<u>Right</u> <u>Decision</u> %	<u>Wrong</u> <u>Decision</u> %	<u>Right</u> <u>Decision</u> %	<u>Wrong</u> <u>Decision</u> %	<u>Jan - May</u> <u>2004</u>	(N)
<b>Total</b>	74	20	62	28	51	42	-11	(1800)
<b>Sex</b>								
Male	75	19	67	26	56	39	-11	(883)
Female	73	21	58	29	46	45	-12	(917)
<b>Race</b>								
White	79	16	67	24	54	39	-13	(1450)
Non-white	60	33	46	40	38	54	-8	(317)
Black	56	37	35	49	27	66	-8	(174)
Hispanic*	76	13	55	28	57	37	+2	(120)
<b>Race and Sex</b>								
White Men	79	16	70	24	58	37	-12	(707)
White Women	78	17	64	25	51	40	-13	(743)
<b>Age</b>								
Under 30	72	25	62	29	54	41	-8	(319)
30-49	79	15	67	25	56	38	-11	(687)
50-64	71	22	65	25	51	43	-14	(458)
65+	70	22	48	34	35	53	-13	(308)
<b>Sex and Age</b>								
Men under 50	78	18	69	25	61	35	-8	(524)
Women under 50	75	20	62	28	50	43	-8	(482)
Men 50+	71	22	63	28	48	45	-15	(346)
Women 50+	70	22	53	30	42	49	-11	(420)
<b>Education</b>								
College Grad.	69	26	55	37	48	48	-7	(656)
Some College	75	21	67	24	54	41	-13	(431)
High School Grad.	76	17	65	24	52	38	-13	(546)
< H.S. Grad.	78	16	64	23	50	44	-14	(147)
<b>Family Income</b>								
\$75,000+	76	18	67	26	51	44	-16	(395)
\$50,000-\$74,999	78	19	69	27	61	33	-8	(278)
\$30,000-\$49,999	74	21	67	25	49	44	-18	(395)
\$20,000-\$29,999	73	24	64	23	48	44	-16	(204)
<\$20,000	69	20	51	35	46	46	-5	(241)

\* The designation Hispanic is unrelated to the white-black categorization.

Question: Do you think the U.S. made the right decision or the wrong decision in using military force in Iraq?

*Continued on next page...*

	-----May 2003-----		---Early Jan. 2004--		-----May 2004-----		<i>Change</i>	
	<u>Right</u>	<u>Wrong</u>	<u>Right</u>	<u>Wrong</u>	<u>Right</u>	<u>Wrong</u>	<u>Jan - May</u>	(N)
	<u>Decision</u>	<u>Decision</u>	<u>Decision</u>	<u>Decision</u>	<u>Decision</u>	<u>Decision</u>	<u>2004</u>	
	%	%	%	%	%	%		
<b>Total</b>	74	20	62	28	51	42	-11	(1800)
<b>Region</b>								
East	72	24	63	28	43	51	-20	(342)
Midwest	78	18	64	27	51	42	-13	(440)
South	74	19	61	27	53	39	-8	(644)
West	71	22	63	28	53	42	-10	(374)
<b>Religious Affiliation</b>								
Total White Protestant	81	14	71	20	60	34	-11	(733)
- Evangelical	84	12	72	17	68	26	-4	(377)
- Non-Evangelical	76	17	71	22	49	44	-22	(356)
White Catholic	79	18	68	26	49	44	-19	(289)
Secular	62	32	52	36	43	52	-9	(225)-
<b>Community Size</b>								
Large City	71	25	55	35	41	53	-14	(364)
Suburb	71	22	65	27	50	42	-15	(425)
Small City/Town	73	20	64	26	53	40	-11	(658)
Rural Area	81	14	66	22	58	35	-8	(315)
<b>Party ID</b>								
Republican	90	7	86	8	80	15	-6	(521)
Democrat	60	34	42	45	30	65	-12	(588)
Independent	75	19	62	29	48	44	-14	(550)
<b>Party and Ideology</b>								
Conservative Republican	94	5	88	6	83	10	-5	(320)
Moderate/Liberal Rep.	85	10	82	12	74	23	-8	(190)
Conservative/Mod. Dem.	64	31	47	41	36	58	-11	(369)
Liberal Democrat	50	44	29	60	18	79	-11	(197)
<b>Bush Approval</b>								
Approve	92	5	85	8	82	12	-3	(806)
Disapprove	34	58	26	63	24	71	-2	(854)
<b>Male Veterans</b>								
Veterans	--	--	--	--	52	42	--	(227)
Non Veterans	--	--	--	--	57	38	--	(639)
<b>Voter Preference</b>								
Certain Bush	--	--	--	--	85	8	--	(549)
Certain Kerry	--	--	--	--	18	76	--	(604)
Swing Voter	--	--	--	--	51	40	--	(312)
<b>Labor Union</b>								
Union Household	74	22	61	29	46	49	-15	(234)
Non-Union Household	74	20	62	28	52	41	-10	(1530)

## IRAQI PRISONER ABUSE SCANDAL

	<i>Heard...</i>			<i>Seen Pictures</i>		<i>Press Attention</i>			
	<u>A lot</u>	<u>A little</u>	<u>Nothing/ DK</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No/ DK</u>	<u>Too much</u>	<u>Too little</u>	<u>Right Amount</u>	<u>DK</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
<b>Total</b>	58	34	8=100	76	24=100	36	17	39	8=100
<b>Sex</b>									
Male	61	32	7	78	22	40	15	38	7
Female	53	38	9	73	27	33	19	39	9
<b>Race</b>									
White	58	34	8	75	25	38	14	40	8
Non-white	54	38	8	79	21	33	27	34	6
Black	52	40	8	73	27	29	29	37	5
Hispanic*	55	32	13	70	30	39	21	32	8
<b>Race and Sex</b>									
White Men	63	30	7	77	23	42	12	40	6
White Women	53	38	9	72	28	33	17	40	10
<b>Age</b>									
Under 30	46	44	10	62	38	33	25	37	5
30-49	56	36	8	77	23	36	14	43	7
50-64	66	29	5	84	16	40	14	40	6
65+	66	27	7	79	21	38	19	30	13
<b>Sex and Age</b>									
Men under 50	57	35	8	74	26	40	16	39	5
Women under 50	48	42	10	69	31	29	20	44	7
Men 50+	72	24	4	86	14	41	15	38	6
Women 50+	61	32	7	78	22	37	17	34	12
<b>Education</b>									
College Grad.	68	27	5	82	18	36	11	47	6
Some College	60	34	6	76	24	37	18	37	8
High School Grad.	52	39	9	75	25	39	17	39	5
< H.S. Grad.	50	37	13	68	32	32	26	29	13
<b>Family Income</b>									
\$75,000+	67	28	5	80	20	37	8	48	7
\$50,000-\$74,999	62	33	5	83	17	42	17	36	5
\$30,000-\$49,999	59	35	6	71	29	36	21	37	6
\$20,000-\$29,999	50	42	8	78	22	38	15	39	8
<\$20,000	47	40	13	68	32	29	27	35	9

\* The designation Hispanic is unrelated to the white-black categorization.

Questions: How much, if anything have you heard about reports of mistreatment of Iraqi prisoners by U.S. troops... a lot, a little, or nothing at all?

Did you happen to see any of the pictures on which the reports of mistreatment are based, or not?

Based on what you've seen or heard, do you think the press is giving too much, too little, or the right amount of attention to these reports?

*Continued...*

	<i>Heard...</i>			<i>Seen Pictures</i>		<i>Press Attention</i>			
	<u>A lot</u>	<u>A little</u>	<u>Nothing/ DK</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No/ DK</u>	<u>Too much</u>	<u>Too little</u>	<u>Right Amount</u>	<u>DK</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<b>Total</b>	58	34	8=100	76	24=100	36	17	39	8=100
<b>Region</b>									
East	60	32	8	77	23	28	17	46	9
Midwest	60	35	5	77	23	39	17	35	9
South	54	36	10	75	25	38	15	39	8
West	58	35	7	74	26	40	20	34	6
<b>Religious Affiliation</b>									
Total White Protestant	57	35	8	74	26	40	12	40	8
- Evangelical	54	37	9	78	22	44	9	39	8
- Non-Evangelical	61	33	6	69	31	35	16	41	9
White Catholic	59	34	7	79	21	35	14	43	8
Secular	53	37	10	76	24	30	23	41	6
<b>Community Size</b>									
Large City	60	34	6	77	23	34	21	40	5
Suburb	64	32	4	78	22	37	15	40	8
Small City/Town	57	33	10	74	26	32	19	42	7
Rural Area	53	39	8	75	25	46	12	34	8
<b>Party ID</b>									
Republican	63	31	6	79	21	50	8	37	5
Democrat	59	32	9	76	24	26	26	40	8
Independent	54	38	8	74	26	36	16	41	7
<b>Party and Ideology</b>									
Conservative Republican	69	26	5	78	22	56	4	34	6
Moderate/Liberal Rep.	56	36	8	81	19	40	14	42	4
Conservative/Mod. Dem.	54	36	10	77	23	29	24	39	8
Liberal Democrat	69	25	6	76	24	20	30	41	9
<b>Bush Approval</b>									
Approve	57	36	7	76	24	50	9	36	5
Disapprove	61	32	7	78	22	24	26	42	8
<b>Use of Force in Iraq</b>									
Right Decision	55	36	9	74	26	46	11	37	6
Wrong Decision	64	31	5	80	20	23	26	44	7
<b>Male Veterans</b>									
Veterans	71	24	5	84	16	52	11	33	4
Non-Veterans	59	34	7	76	24	36	16	41	7
<b>Labor Union</b>									
Union Household	67	31	2	85	15	40	19	36	5
Non-Union Household	57	35	8	74	26	36	16	40	8

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS**  
**MAY 2004 POLITICAL/BELIEVABILITY**  
**FINAL TOPLINE**  
**May 3 - 9, 2004**  
**N=1800**

**ON FORM ONE Q.1 PRECEDES Q.2 --- ON FORM TWO, Q.2 PRECEDES Q.1**

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]

	<u>Approve</u>	Dis- approve	Don't <u>know</u>		<u>Approve</u>	Dis- approve	Don't <u>know</u>
May, 2004	44	48	8=100	April, 2002	69	18	13=100
Late April, 2004	48	43	9=100	Early April, 2002	74	16	10=100
Early April, 2004	43	47	10=100	February, 2002	78	13	9=100
Late March, 2004	47	44	9=100	January, 2002	80	11	9=100
Mid-March, 2004	46	47	7=100	<b>2001</b>			
February, 2004	48	44	8=100	Mid-November, 2001	84	9	7=100
Mid-January, 2004	56	34	10=100	Early October, 2001	84	8	8=100
Early January, 2004	58	35	7=100	Late September, 2001	86	7	7=100
<b>2003</b>				Mid-September, 2001	80	9	11=100
December, 2003	57	34	9=100	Early September, 2001	51	34	15=100
November, 2003	50	40	10=100	August, 2001	50	32	18=100
October, 2003	50	42	8=100	July, 2001	51	32	17=100
September, 2003	55	36	9=100	June, 2001	50	33	17=100
Mid-August, 2003	56	32	12=100	May, 2001	53	32	15=100
Early August, 2003	53	37	10=100	April, 2001	56	27	17=100
Mid-July, 2003	58	32	10=100	March, 2001	55	25	20=100
Early July, 2003	60	29	11=100	February, 2001	53	21	26=100
June, 2003	62	27	11=100				
May, 2003	65	27	8=100				
April 10-16, 2003	72	22	6=100				
April 9, 2003	74	20	6=100				
April 2-7, 2003	69	25	6=100				
March 28-April 1, 2003	71	23	6=100				
March 25-27, 2003	70	24	6=100				
March 20-24, 2003	67	26	7=100				
March 13-16, 2003	55	34	11=100				
February, 2003	54	36	10=100				
January, 2003	58	32	10=100				
<b>2002</b>							
December, 2002	61	28	11=100				
Late October, 2002	59	29	12=100				
Early October, 2002	61	30	9=100				
Mid-September, 2002	67	22	11=100				
Early September, 2002	63	26	11=100				
Late August, 2002	60	27	13=100				
August, 2002	67	21	12=100				
Late July, 2002	65	25	10=100				
July, 2002	67	21	12=100				
June, 2002	70	20	10=100				

**ON FORM ONE Q.1 PRECEDES Q.2 --- ON FORM TWO, Q.2 PRECEDES Q.1**

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

	Sat- <u>isfied</u>	Dis- <u>satisfied</u>	No <u>Opinion</u>		Sat- <u>isfied</u>	Dis- <u>satisfied</u>	No <u>Opinion</u>
May, 2004	33	61	6=100	October, 1993	22	73	5=100
Late February, 2004	39	55	6=100	September, 1993	20	75	4=100
Early January, 2004	45	48	7=100	May, 1993	22	71	7=100
December, 2003	44	47	9=100	January, 1993	39	50	11=100
October, 2003	38	56	6=100	January, 1992	28	68	4=100
August, 2003	40	53	7=100	November, 1991	34	61	5=100
April, 2003 <sup>1</sup>	50	41	9=100	<i>Late Feb, 1991 (Gallup)</i>	66	31	3=100
January, 2003	44	50	6=100	August, 1990	47	48	5=100
September, 2002 <sup>2</sup>	41	55	4=100	May, 1990	41	54	5=100
Late August, 2002	47	44	9=100	January, 1989	45	50	5=100
May, 2002	44	44	12=100	September, 1988 (RVs)	50	45	5=100
March, 2002	50	40	10=100	May, 1988	41	54	5=100
Late September, 2001	57	34	9=100	January, 1988	39	55	6=100
Early September, 2001	41	53	6=100				
June, 2001	43	52	5=100				
March, 2001	47	45	8=100				
February, 2001	46	43	11=100				
January, 2001	55	41	4=100				
September, 2000	51	41	8=100				
June, 2000	47	45	8=100				
April, 2000	48	43	9=100				
August, 1999	56	39	5=100				
January, 1999	53	41	6=100				
November, 1998	46	44	10=100				
Early September, 1998	54	42	4=100				
Late August, 1998	55	41	4=100				
Early August, 1998	50	44	6=100				
February, 1998	59	37	4=100				
January, 1998	46	50	4=100				
September, 1997	45	49	6=100				
August, 1997	49	46	5=100				
January, 1997	38	58	4=100				
July, 1996	29	67	4=100				
March, 1996	28	70	2=100				
October, 1995	23	73	4=100				
June, 1995	25	73	2=100				
April, 1995	23	74	3=100				
July, 1994	24	73	3=100				
March, 1994	24	71	5=100				

<sup>1</sup> Asked April 8, 2003 only; N=395.

<sup>2</sup> The September 2002 trend is from a Pew Global Attitudes Project survey, fielded August 19 to September 8, 2002 and released December 4, 2002.

**ROTATE QUESTIONS A.1 AND A.2, WITH A.3 ALWAYS LAST**

**ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=897]:**

A.1F2 Please tell me what one word best describes your impression of John Kerry. Tell me just the ONE best word that describes him. **(OPEN-END. PROBE ONCE IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS “DON’T KNOW.” ACCEPT UP TO TWO RESPONSES, BUT DO NOT PROBE FOR SECOND RESPONSE).**

<u>May 2004*</u>	<u>Feb 2004</u>	<b>Gore</b> <u>March 2000</u>
16 Good	45 Honest	24 Boring
16 Hopeful	26 Democrat	12 Good
16 Okay	21 Good	9 Fair
12 Better/than Bush	15 Liberal	9 Capable
12 Liar	14 Fair	9 Honest
12 Unknown	11 Phony	8 Okay
11 Politician	12 Arrogant	7 Politician
10 Liberal	10 Politician	7 Dull
9 Dishonest	10 Qualified	7 I like him
9 Indecisive	9 Intelligent	6 Dishonest
9 Wishy-washy	9 Knowledgeable	6 Incompetent
8 Democrat	9 Presidential	6 Environmentalist
7 Dislike	8 Veteran	6 Dislike
7 Don't like	7 Sincere	6 Follower
7 Idiot	7 Tall	5 Great
7 Undecided	7 Competent	5 Weak
7 Untrustworthy	6 Experienced	5 Intelligent
7 Weak	6 Ambitious	5 Alright
6 Capable	6 Honorable	5 Mediocre
6 Competent	6 Charismatic	5 Fake
6 Fair	5 Interesting	<b>(N=585)</b>
6 President/Presidential	5 Truthful	
6 Uncertain	<b>(N=752)</b>	
6 Unsure		
5 Boring		
5 Intelligent		
5 Loser		

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

**ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=897]:**

A.2F2 Please tell me what one word best describes your impression of George W. Bush. Tell me just the ONE best word that describes him. **(OPEN-END. PROBE ONCE IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS “DON’T KNOW”. ACCEPT UP TO TWO RESPONSES, BUT DO NOT PROBE FOR SECOND RESPONSE).**

*(Registered Voters)*

<u>May 2004*</u>	<u>Feb 2004<sup>3</sup></u>	<u>May 2003</u>	<u>Mid-Oct 2000</u>	<u>March 2000</u>	<u>Sept 1999</u>
30 Honest	27 Honest	29 Honest	47 Honest	17 Good	63 Good
29 Good	24 Fair	21 Good	28 Good	11 Okay	37 Okay
26 Incompetent	24 Leader	20 Arrogant	19 OK/Okay	10 Arrogant	27 Alright
26 Leader	21 Liar	16 Leader	17 Sincere	9 Refer to father	27 Likable
24 Arrogant	17 Arrogant	13 Great	13 Arrogant	8 Honest	22 Honest
16 Strong	14 Strong	12 Confident	13 Fair	8 Dislike	20 Unknown
15 Integrity	12 Christian	12 Courageous	13 Alright	7 Integrity	15 Dislike
13 Idiot	13 Excellent	11 Aggressive	12 Dislike	6 Fair	13 Intelligent
11 Christian	13 Good	11 Christian	12 Leader	6 Conservative	12 Rich
10 Determined	12 Integrity	11 Determined	12 Untrustworthy	6 Untrustworthy	11 Conservative
10 Stupid	9 Stupid	11 Integrity	11 Trustworthy	6 President	10 Fair
9 Liar	9 Incompetent	10 Patriot/Patriotic	11 President	6 Determined	10 Impressive
8 Trustworthy	8 Dishonest	9 Cowboy	11 Inexperienced	5 I like him	10 Interesting
7 Aggressive	7 Confident	8 Competent	10 Conservative	5 Inexperienced	10 Politician
7 Committed	7 Determined	8 Decisive	9 Refer to Father	5 Great	9 Aggressive
7 Dishonest	7 Idiot	8 Idiot	9 Republican	5 Wimp	9 Arrogant
7 Okay	7 Patriotic	8 President	9 Liar	5 Bad	9 Leader
6 Dedicated	7 Ass	8 Strong	9 Boring	5 Cocky	8 Smart
6 Fair	6 Character	7 Adequate	8 I like him	5 Excellent	8 Young
6 President	6 Poor	7 Excellent	8 Good man/guy	5 Leader	7 Confident
6 War/warrior	6 Selfish	7 Fair	8 Stupid	<b>(N=599)</b>	<b>(N=1205)</b>
5 Brave	<b>(N=748)</b>	<b>(N=602)</b>	<b>(N=997)</b>		
5 Confident					
5 Courageous					
5 Decisive					
5 Dumb					
5 Excellent					
5 Great					
5 Honorable					
5 Straight-forward					

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

<sup>3</sup>

In Early February 2004, these “one word” questions were not asked toward the beginning of the questionnaire. For George W. Bush, another trend from March 1999 is also available.

**ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=897]:**

A.3F2 And what ONE word best describes your impression of Dick Cheney. (**OPEN-END. PROBE ONCE IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS “DON’T KNOW”. ACCEPT UP TO TWO RESPONSES, BUT DO NOT PROBE FOR SECOND RESPONSE).**)

May 2004\*

23	Okay
17	Good
14	Intelligent
11	Invisible
11	Supportive
11	Untrustworthy
9	Arrogant
9	Liar
9	Sneaky
8	Honest
7	Alright
7	Old
7	Smart
6	Competent
6	Crook
6	Experienced
6	Like/likeable
6	Unknown
5	Dishonest
5	Evil
5	Greedy
5	Knowledgeable
5	Puppet/puppet master
5	Trust/trustworthy

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

Q.3 How much thought have you given to the coming presidential election . . . Quite a lot or only a little?

**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1465]:**

	Quite <u>A lot</u>	(VOL.) <u>Some</u>	Only a <u>Little</u>	(VOL.) <u>None</u>	DK/ <u>Ref.</u>
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
Early 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
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
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
<b>Gallup: November, 1988</b>	73	8	17	2	0=100
<b>Gallup: October, 1988</b>	69	9	20	2	0=100
<b>Gallup: August, 1988</b>	61	10	27	2	0=100
<b>Gallup: September, 1988</b>	57	18	23	2	0=100

**ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=904]:**

Q.4F1 All in all, have you been hearing too much, too little, or about the right amount about the presidential campaign so far?

		<u>Late March 2004</u>		<u>Mid-March 2004</u>	
<u>Total</u>	<u>RVs</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>RVs</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>RVs</u>
28	29	28	30	31	33
24	21	17	14	18	15
42	45	48	50	48	49
<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
100	100	100	100	100	100
	(N=730)				

NO QUESTION 5

**ASK ALL:**

Q.6 Now, suppose the 2004 presidential election were being held TODAY. If you had to choose between George W. Bush, the Republican, John Kerry, the Democrat and Ralph Nader **[READ; ROTATE KERRY AND BUSH WITH NADER ALWAYS LAST]** — who would you vote for?

**IF OTHER OR DK (Q.6 =4,9), ASK:**

Q.6a As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to **[READ, ROTATE IN SAME ORDER AS Q.6]**?

**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1465]:**

		Late March <u>2004</u>	Mid- March <u>2004</u>
43	George W. Bush, the Republican/Lean Bush	44	42
46	John Kerry, the Democrat/Lean Kerry	43	49
6	Ralph Nader/Lean Nader	6	4
<u>5</u>	Other/DK (VOL.)	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>
100		100	100

**ASK ALL:**

Q.7 Suppose there were only two major candidates for president and you had to choose between George W. Bush, the Republican and John Kerry, the Democrat **[READ, ROTATE]** – Who would you vote for?

**IF OTHER OR DK (3,9 IN Q.7) ASK:**

Q.7a As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to **[READ, ROTATE IN SAME ORDER AS Q.7]**?

**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1465]:**

	Bush/ <u>Lean Bush</u>	Kerry/ <u>Lean Kerry</u>	Other/ <u>DK</u>
May, 2004	45	50	5=100
Late March, 2004	46	47	7=100
Mid-March, 2004	43	52	5=100
Late February, 2004	44	48	8=100
Early February, 2004	47	47	6=100
Early January, 2004	52	41	7=100
October, 2003	50	42	8=100

**Selected Trends:**

May, 2000	46 <i>Bush</i>	45 <i>Gore</i>	9=100
April, 1996	40 <i>Dole</i>	54 <i>Clinton</i>	6=100
May, 1992	46 <i>Bush, Sr.</i>	43 <i>Clinton</i>	11=100
May, 1988	40 <i>Bush, Sr.</i>	53 <i>Dukakis</i>	7=100

**THOSE WHO CHOSE JOHN KERRY (IN Q.7/Q.7a), ASK:**

Q.8 Would you say that your choice is more a vote FOR John Kerry or more a vote AGAINST George W. Bush?

**THOSE WHO CHOSE GEORGE W. BUSH (IN Q.7/Q.7a), ASK:**

Q.9 Would you say that your choice is more a vote FOR George W. Bush or more a vote AGAINST John Kerry?

**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1465]:**

<b>----- KERRY -----</b>										<b>----- BUSH -----</b>				<b>Other/</b>
		Pro-	Anti-	Un-		Pro-	Anti-	Un-						
<b>2004</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Kerry</b>	<b>Bush</b>	<b>decid</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Bush</b>	<b>Kerry</b>	<b>decid</b>		<b>DK</b>				
May	50	15	32	3	45	33	10	2		5=100				
Late Mar	47	17	27	3	46	36	8	2		7=100				
Mid-Mar	52	21	29	2	43	34	7	2		5=100				
Feb	47	15	30	2	47	39	6	2		6=100				

<b>----- GORE -----</b>					<b>----- BUSH -----</b>				<b>Other/</b>
		Pro-	Anti-	Un-		Pro-	Anti-	Un-	
<b>2000</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Gore</b>	<b>Bush</b>	<b>decid</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Bush</b>	<b>Gore</b>	<b>decid</b>	<b>DK</b>
Nov	45	29	14	2	41	27	12	2	14=100
Sept	47	30	14	3	41	24	14	3	12=100

<b>----- CLINTON -----</b>					<b>----- DOLE -----</b>				<b>----- PEROT -----</b>				<b>Other/</b>
		Pro-	Anti-	Un-		Pro-	Anti-	Un-		Pro-	Anti-	Un-	
<b>1996</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Clinton</b>	<b>other</b>	<b>decid</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Dole</b>	<b>other</b>	<b>decid</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Perot</b>	<b>Other</b>	<b>decid</b>	<b>DK</b>
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

<b>----- CLINTON -----</b>					<b>----- BUSH -----</b>				<b>----- PEROT -----</b>				<b>Other/</b>
		Pro-	Anti-	Un-		Pro-	Anti-	Un-		Pro-	Anti-	Un-	
<b>1992</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Clinton</b>	<b>other</b>	<b>decid</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Bush</b>	<b>other</b>	<b>decid</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Perot</b>	<b>Other</b>	<b>decid</b>	<b>DK</b>
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

<b>----- DUKAKIS -----</b>					<b>----- BUSH -----</b>				<b>Other/</b>
		Pro-	Anti-	Un-		Pro-	Anti-	Un-	
<b>1988</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Dukakis</b>	<b>Bush</b>	<b>decid</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Bush</b>	<b>Dukakis</b>	<b>decid</b>	<b>DK</b>
Oct	42	23	15	4	50	31	16	3	8=100
Sept	44	21	19	4	50	31	15	4	6=100
May	53	23	26	4	40	26	11	3	7=100

**THOSE WHO DID NOT CHOOSE KERRY IN Q.7/7a, ASK:**

Q.10 Do you think there is a chance that you might vote for John Kerry in November, or have you definitely decided not to vote for him?

**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1465]:**

	Late March <u>2004</u>	Mid- March <u>2004</u>	Late Feb <u>2004</u>	Early Feb <u>2004</u>	----- Gore 2000 -----						- Clinton -	
					Late Nov	Mid- Oct	Early Oct	Oct	Sept	June	July <u>1996</u>	May <u>1992</u>
11 Chance might vote for him	13	13	13	15	8	9	10	11	13	14	8	11
35 Decided not to vote for him	37	32	36	33	41	44	40	38	35	34	36	38
<u>4</u> Don't know/Refused	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>
50%	53%	48%	52%	53%	55%	57%	55%	56%	53%	54%	48%	55%

**THOSE WHO DID NOT CHOOSE BUSH IN Q.7/7a, ASK:**

Q.11 Do you think there is a chance that you might vote for George W. Bush in November, or have you definitely decided not to vote for him?

**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1465]:**

	Late March <u>2004</u>	Mid- March <u>2004</u>	Late Feb <u>2004</u>	Early Feb <u>2004</u>	----- Bush 2000 -----						Dole	Bush, Sr
					Late Nov	Mid- Oct	Early Oct	Oct	Sept	June	July <u>1996</u>	May <u>1992</u>
9 Chance might vote for him	11	11	10	10	8	10	12	11	15	15	15	8
42 Decided not to vote for him	40	44	43	41	44	41	40	39	38	33	40	40
<u>4</u> Don't know/Refused	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>
55%	54%	57%	56%	53%	59%	55%	57%	57%	59%	54%	58%	53%

**ASK ALL:**

Regardless of who you might support in November...

Q.12 Over the past few weeks has your overall impression of [INSERT NAME; ROTATE] gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed about the same? ... [INTERVIEWER: IF RESPONDENT SAYS "Already bad, can't get any worse" or "Already good, can't get any better" CODE AS PUNCH 3 "Stayed the same"]

	Gotten Better	Gotten Worse	Stayed about the same	Don't know/ Refused
a. George W. Bush	7	26	65	2=100
b. John Kerry	12	16	66	6=100

Q.13 Regardless of who you might support, who do you think is most likely to win the coming presidential election? [READ]

**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1465]:**

		<i>"A Democratic Candidate"</i>				George H.W. Bush		
		Early Feb	Mid-Jan	Sept	June	March	Feb	Oct
		<u>2004</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2003</u>	<u>2003</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1991</u>
52	George W. Bush, or	56	61	47	66	72	66	78
31	John Kerry	32	21	34	22	20	25	11
<u>17</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>12</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>11</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100

**ASK FORM 1 ONLY:**

Q.14F1 As I read a list of phrases, tell me if you think each phrase better describes John Kerry or George W. Bush. (INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE)

**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=730]:**

		George	John	(VOL.)	(VOL.)	
		<u>W. Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u> <sup>4</sup>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>Both</u>	<u>DK/Ref.</u>
					<u>Equally</u>	
a.F1	Would use good judgment in a crisis	47	35	4	5	9=100
	Late March, 2004	46	36	2	3	13=100
	Mid-March, 2004	48	39	2	5	6=100
	Late-October, 2000	43	42	2	5	8=100
	Mid-October, 2000	40	42	5	8	5=100
	Early October, 2000	36	43	4	10	7=100
	September, 2000	38	44	3	8	7=100
	June, 2000	44	37	5	6	8=100
b.F1	Personally likable	42	39	6	8	5=100
	Late March, 2004	40	40	5	8	7=100
	Mid-March, 2004	40	44	4	8	4=100
	Late-October, 2000	48	39	5	5	3=100
	Mid-October, 2000	44	38	5	9	4=100
	Early October, 2000	41	38	4	12	5=100
	September, 2000	37	44	3	12	4=100
	June, 2000	42	36	7	9	6=100
c.F1	Honest and truthful	34	36	17	4	9=100
	Late March, 2004	37	38	12	3	10=100
	Mid-March, 2004	35	39	16	5	5=100
	Late-October, 2000	43	32	15	5	5=100
	Mid-October, 2000	38	30	19	6	7=100
	Early October, 2000	36	32	17	8	7=100
	September, 2000	35	37	13	9	6=100
	June, 2000	35	31	19	7	8=100
d.F1	Cares about people like me	34	45	8	5	8=100
	Late March, 2004	38	42	9	3	8=100
	Mid-March, 2004	34	48	8	4	6=100
	Late-October, 2000	40	43	8	5	4=100

<sup>4</sup> In 2000 the question asked about Al Gore.

**Q.14F1 CONTINUED...**

		George	John	(VOL.)	(VOL.)	
		<u>W. Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u> <sup>5</sup>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>Both</u>	<u>DK/Ref.</u>
					<u>Equally</u>	
	Mid-October, 2000	40	42	7	7	4=100
	Early October, 2000	35	44	11	5	5=100
	September, 2000	31	47	9	7	6=100
e.F1	A strong leader	50	31	8	4	7=100
	Late March, 2004	51	33	4	2	10=100
	Mid-March, 2004	52	34	4	4	6=100
	Late-October, 2000	44	41	6	6	3=100
	Mid-October, 2000	42	39	9	6	4=100
	Early October, 2000	41	38	7	10	4=100
	September, 2000	44	38	7	6	5=100
f.F1	Willing to take a stand, even if it's unpopular	65	23	3	4	5=100
	Late March, 2004	59	28	3	3	7=100
	Mid-March, 2004	63	27	1	5	4=100
	Late-October, 2000	49	35	7	4	5=100
	Mid-October, 2000	49	35	6	5	5=100
	Early October, 2000	43	35	8	6	8=100
	September, 2000	45	37	8	5	5=100
	June, 2000	46	32	9	5	8=100
g.F1	Is down to earth	43	40	8	3	6=100
	Late March, 2004	44	36	7	5	8=100
	Mid-March, 2004	43	42	5	5	5=100
	May, 2000	41	46	5	2	6=100
h.F1	Stubborn	68	12	4	5	11=100
i.F1	Changes his mind too much	30	42	8	5	15=100

---

<sup>5</sup> In 2000 the question asked about Al Gore.

**ASK FORM 2 ONLY:**

Q.15F2    Regardless of who you support, which one of the presidential candidates —George W. Bush or John Kerry — do you think would do the best job of **(INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE. IF RESPONDENT MENTIONS ANYONE OTHER THAN BUSH OR KERRY PROBE ONCE: "IF YOU HAD TO CHOOSE BETWEEN BUSH AND KERRY...")** ?

**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=735]:**

		George <u>W. Bush</u>	John <u>Kerry</u> <sup>6</sup>	(VOL.) <u>Neither</u>	<u>DK/Ref.</u>
a.F2	Improving economic conditions	38	48	5	9=100
	Late March, 2004	39	44	6	11=100
	Mid-March, 2004	37	53	2	8=100
	Late-October, 2000 <sup>7</sup>	40	46	6	8=100
	Mid-October, 2000	37	49	3	11=100
	Early October, 2000	35	47	6	12=100
	September, 2000	38	46	5	11=100
	June, 2000	38	41	5	16=100
	March, 2000	42	46	4	8=100
b.F2	Improving the health care system	29	51	7	13=100
	Late March, 2004	33	46	6	15=100
	Mid-March, 2004	29	57	4	10=100
	Late-October, 2000	38	47	5	10=100
	Mid-October, 2000	37	48	4	11=100
	Early October, 2000	36	49	5	10=100
	September, 2000	32	51	6	11=100
	June, 2000	31	44	6	19=100
	March, 2000	31	51	6	12=100
c.F2	Improving education	35	50	5	10=100
	Late March, 2004	39	43	5	13=100
	Mid-March, 2004	36	52	3	9=100
	Late-October, 2000	41	45	4	10=100
	Mid-October, 2000	40	46	3	11=100
	Early October, 2000	41	43	6	10=100
	September, 2000	39	45	4	12=100
	June, 2000	34	44	5	17=100
	March, 2000	42	44	3	11=100
d.F2	Improving the job situation	35	50	5	10=100
	Late March, 2004	37	45	7	11=100
	Mid-March, 2004	30	57	5	8=100

---

<sup>6</sup>        In 2000 the question asked about Al Gore.

<sup>7</sup>        In 2000 the item was listed as "Keeping the economy strong."

**Q.15F2 CONTINUED...**

		George <u>W. Bush</u>	John <u>Kerry</u>	(VOL.) <u>Neither</u>	<u>DK/Ref.</u>
e.F2	Making wise decisions about U.S. trade policies	40	40	6	14=100
	Late March, 2004	38	39	5	18=100
	Mid-March, 2004	38	48	3	11=100
	July, 1996 <sup>8</sup>	40	40	6	14=100
f.F2	Making wise decisions about what to do in Iraq	44	41	4	11=100
	Late March, 2004	49	37	4	10=100
	Mid-March, 2004	47	45	2	6=100
g.F2	Defending the country from future terrorist attacks	52	33	5	10=100
	Late March, 2004	53	29	4	14=100
	Mid-March, 2004	57	32	4	7=100
h.F2	Making wise decisions about foreign policy	43	42	4	11=100
	Late March, 2004	44	38	4	14=100
	Mid-March, 2004	44	45	3	8=100
	March, 2000	40	46	4	10=100
	Early September, 1996	42	44	6	8=100
	July, 1996	44	42	4	10=100
	October, 1992	53	27	9	11=100

**QUESTIONS 16 AND 17 HELD FOR RELEASE**

**ASK ALL:**

Now thinking about Iraq...

Q.18 Do you think the U.S. made the right decision or the wrong decision in using military force against Iraq?

	<u>Right</u> <u>decision</u>	<u>Wrong</u> <u>decision</u>	<u>Don't know/</u> <u>Ref.</u>
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
October, 2003	60	33	7=100
September, 2003	63	31	6=100
August, 2003	63	30	7=100
Early July, 2003	67	24	9=100
May, 2003	74	20	6=100

<sup>8</sup> In 1996 the question asked about Bob Dole and Bill Clinton. In 1992, the question asked about George Bush, Sr., Bill Clinton and Ross Perot. Perot is included in the "Neither" trend category.

**Q.18 CONTINUED...**

	<u>Right decision</u>	<u>Wrong decision</u>	<u>Don't know/ Ref.</u>
<i>April 10-16, 2003</i>	74	19	7=100
<i>April 8-9,2003</i>	74	19	7=100
<i>April 2-7, 2003</i>	72	20	8=100
<i>March 28-April 1, 2003</i>	69	25	6=100
<i>March 25-27, 2003</i>	74	21	5=100
<i>March 23-24, 2003</i>	74	21	5=100
<i>March 20-22, 2003</i>	71	22	7=100
Late January, 1991	77	15	9=100

**Q.19** How well is the U.S. military effort in Iraq going? **[READ IN ORDER]**

	<u>Very well</u>	<u>Fairly well</u>	<u>Not too well</u>	<u>Not at all well</u>	<u>Don't know/ Ref.</u>
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
<i>April 10-16, 2003</i>	61	32	3	1	3=100
<i>April 8-9, 2003</i>	60	32	3	3	2=100
<i>April 2-7, 2003</i>	55	37	3	2	3=100
<i>March 25-April 1, 2003</i>	39	46	8	2	5=100
<i>March 23-24, 2003</i>	45	41	6	2	6=100
<i>March 20-22, 2003</i>	65	25	2	1	7=100

**Q.20** Do you think the U.S. should keep military troops in Iraq until a stable government is established there, or do you think the U.S. should bring its troops home as soon as possible?

	<u>Late April 2004</u>	<u>Early April 2004</u>	<u>Early Jan 2004</u>	<u>Oct 2003</u>	<u>Sept 2003</u>
53 Keep troops in Iraq	53	50	63	58	64
42 Bring troops home	40	44	32	39	32
<u>5</u> Don't know/Refused	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.21 Thinking about the people you know, would you say they are becoming LESS emotionally involved in the news from Iraq than they were, MORE emotionally involved, or are the people you know about as involved as they had been?

26	Less emotionally involved
33	More emotionally involved
36	About as involved as they have been
1	Mixed / Some more, some less (VOL.)
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100	

Q.22 Regardless of how you yourself feel about the war in Iraq, do you think CRITICISM of how the war is being handled is UNpatriotic, is patriotic, or neither?

22	Is UNpatriotic
23	Is patriotic
49	Neither
6	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100	

**ASK IF 1 OR 2 IN Q.22 [N=839]:**

Q.22a Why do you feel that way? [OPEN END: DO NOT PROBE]  
**VERBATIM RESPONSES NOT CATEGORIZED NUMERICALLY**

**QUESTIONS N.1 TO N.3 WERE ASKED MAY 5 TO MAY 9 ONLY [N=1203]:**

N.1 How much, if anything, have you heard about reports of mistreatment of Iraqi prisoners by U.S. troops ... a lot, a little, or nothing at all?

58	A lot
34	A little
7	Nothing at all
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

N.2 Did you happen to see any of the pictures on which the reports of mistreatment are based, or not?

		<i>Falluja</i>
		Early April <sup>9</sup>
		<u>2004</u>
76	Yes	55
24	No	45
<u>*</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>*</u>
100		100

---

<sup>9</sup> In Early April 2004 the question was worded, "A few days ago, there were violent attacks against Americans in and around Falluja, Iraq, that resulted in the deaths of four U.S. civilians and five soldiers. Did you happen to see any video or pictures of these events in the news, or not?"

N.3 Based on what you've seen or heard, do you think the press is giving too much, too little, or the right amount of attention to these reports?

36 Too much  
 17 Too little  
 39 Right amount  
8 Don't know/Refused  
 100

**QUESTION 23 HELD FOR RELEASE**

**ASK ALL:**

Now, I have just a few questions about you and your family...

EMPLOY Are you now employed full-time, part-time or not employed?

	<u>Full-time</u>	<u>Part-time</u>	<u>Not employed</u>	<u>Don't know/Ref.</u>
May, 2004	54	10	35	1=100
Late February, 2004	49	12	39	*=100
Early February, 2004	51	13	36	*=100
June, 2002	55	10	35	*=100
June, 2001	54	11	35	*=100
January, 2001	52	12	35	1=100
Late September, 1999	56	13	31	*=100
August, 1999	58	11	30	1=100
Early September, 1998	55	12	33	*=100
November, 1997	55	12	33	*=100
May, 1997	53	12	35	*=100
June, 1996	57	13	30	*=100
February, 1995	55	11	34	*=100
July, 1994	55	12	33	*=100
March, 1994	53	14	32	1=100

**IF EMPLOYED FULL OR PART TIME'' (1,2 IN EMPLOY) ASK [N=1167]:**

Q.24 Do you now earn enough money to lead the kind of life you want, or not?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
May, 2004	51	48	1=100
Late February, 2004	53	46	1=100
June, 2002	43	56	1=100
January, 2001	43	56	1=100
Late September, 1999	42	58	*=100
August, 1999	39	60	1=100
Early September, 1998	43	57	*=100
November, 1997	41	59	*=100
May, 1997	46	54	*=100
June, 1996	44	56	*=100
February, 1995	41	58	1=100
July, 1994	40	60	*=100
March, 1994	44	56	*=100

**Q.24 CONTINUED...**

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
October, 1992 <i>U.S. News &amp; W. Report</i> .	36	63	1=100
August, 1992 <i>U.S. News &amp; W. Report</i>	33	66	1=100
May, 1992 <i>U.S. News &amp; W. Report</i>	34	65	1=100
January, 1992 <i>U.S. News &amp; W. Report</i>	39	61	*=100

**IF 'NO' (2 IN Q.24) ASK:**

Q.25 Do you think you will be able to earn enough money in the future to lead the kind of life you want, or not?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
May, 2004	25	19	4=48%
Late February, 2004	26	19	1=46%
June, 2002	30	23	3=56%
January, 2001	33	21	2=56%
Late September, 1999	33	23	2=58%
August, 1999	38	19	3=60%
Early September, 1998	36	20	1=57%
November, 1997	33	24	2=59%
May, 1997	34	18	2=54%
June, 1996	34	20	2=56%
February, 1995	35	20	3=58%
July, 1994	34	24	2=60%
March, 1994	33	20	3=56%
October, 1992 <i>U.S. News &amp; W. Report</i>	35	36	5=63%
August, 1992 <i>U.S. News &amp; W. Report</i>	36	25	5=66%
May, 1992 <i>U.S. News &amp; W. Report</i>	34	28	3=65%
January, 1992 <i>U.S. News &amp; W. Report</i>	34	22	5=61%

**IF NOT EMPLOYED OR DK/REF (3,9 IN EMPLOY) ASK [N=633]:**

Q.26 Do you now have enough income to lead the kind of life you want, or not?

		Late Feb <u>2004</u>
50	Yes	48
47	No	50
<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>2</u>
100		100

**IF 'NO' (2 IN Q.26) ASK:**

Q.27 Do you think you will have enough income in the future to lead the kind of life you want, or not?

		Late Feb <u>2004</u>
18	Yes	21
25	No	23
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>6</u>
47%		50%