PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS FEBRUARY 2004 NEWS INTEREST INDEX FINAL TOPLINE February 11 - 16, 2004 N=1500

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]

Don't

know

7=100

8=100

7=100

11=100

15=100

18 = 100

17=100

17=100

15=100

17=100

20=100

26=100

| | | Dia | Don't | | | Dis- |
|------------------------|------------------|------|---------------|----------------------|---------|---------|
| Λ | pprove a | Dis- | Don't know | | Approve | |
| February, 2004 | 48 | 44 | 8=100 | 2001 | Approve | арргоче |
| Mid-January, 2004 | 56 | 34 | 10=100 | Mid-November, 2001 | 84 | 9 |
| Early January, 2004 | 58 | 35 | 7=100 | Early October, 2001 | 84 | 8 |
| 2003 | 50 | 33 | 7-100 | Late September, 2001 | 86 | 7 |
| December, 2003 | 57 | 34 | 9=100 | Mid-September, 2001 | 80 | 9 |
| November, 2003 | 50 | 40 | 10=100 | Early September, 200 | | 34 |
| October, 2003 | 50 | 42 | 8=100 | August, 2001 | 50 | 32 |
| September, 2003 | 55 | 36 | 9=100 | July, 2001 | 51 | 32 |
| Mid-August, 2003 | 56 | 32 | 12=100 | June, 2001 | 50 | 33 |
| Early August, 2003 | 53 | 37 | 10=100 | May, 2001 | 53 | 32 |
| Mid-July, 2003 | 58 | 32 | 10=100 | April, 2001 | 56 | 27 |
| Early July, 2003 | 60 | 29 | 11=100 | March, 2001 | 55 | 25 |
| June, 2003 | 62 | 27 | 11=100 | February, 2001 | 53 | 21 |
| 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 | | | |
| 2002 | | | | | | |
| 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 7 0 | 21 | 12=100 | | | |
| June, 2002 | 70 | 20 | 10=100 | | | |
| April, 2002 | 69 | 18 | 13=100 | | | |
| Early April, 2002 | 74 70 | 16 | 10=100 | | | |
| February, 2002 | 78 | 13 | 9=100 | | | |
| January, 2002 | 80 | 11 | 9=100 | | | |

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=785]: ROTATE Q.2 AND Q.3

Q.2F1 Do you approve or disapprove of the job the Republican leaders in Congress are doing? [IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF DEPENDS PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall do you approve or disapprove of the job the Republican leaders in Congress are doing? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]¹

July, 1996

June, 1996

April, 1996

March, 1996

February, 1996

January, 1996

October, 1995

August, 1995

June, 1995

April, 1995

March, 1995

December, 1994

September, 1995

Dis-

48

50

46

51

53

54

51

50

45

45

43

39

28

Approve approve

38

36

39

35

33

36

36

36

38

41

44

43

52

Don't

know

14=100

14=100

15=100

14=100

14=100

10 = 100

13=100

14 = 100

17 = 100

14 = 100

13=100

18 = 100

20=100

| | | Dis- | Don't |
|-----------------------|---------|----------------|-----------------------|
| A | Approve | <u>approve</u> | know |
| February, 2004 | 41 | 42 | $1\overline{7} = 100$ |
| January, 2003 | 48 | 37 | 15=100 |
| June, 2002 | 50 | 34 | 16=100 |
| May, 2002 | 49 | 34 | 17=100 |
| February, 2002 | 56 | 24 | 20=100 |
| Early September, 2001 | 43 | 39 | 18=100 |
| June, 2001 | 40 | 40 | 20=100 |
| May, 2001 | 45 | 36 | 19=100 |
| April, 2001 | 45 | 30 | 25=100 |
| January, 2001 | 43 | 36 | 21=100 |
| July, 2000 | 36 | 46 | 18=100 |
| May, 2000 | 40 | 42 | 18=100 |
| March, 2000 | 38 | 43 | 19=100 |
| February, 2000 | 40 | 43 | 17=100 |
| January, 2000 | 39 | 41 | 20=100 |
| December, 1999 | 38 | 42 | 20=100 |
| October, 1999 | 34 | 50 | 16=100 |
| Late September, 1999 | 34 | 46 | 20=100 |
| August, 1999 | 40 | 44 | 16=100 |
| July, 1999 | 36 | 45 | 19=100 |
| June, 1999 | 37 | 46 | 17=100 |
| May, 1999 | 38 | 44 | 18=100 |
| March, 1999 | 38 | 47 | 15=100 |
| February, 1999 | 37 | 51 | 12=100 |
| January, 1999 | 38 | 50 | 12=100 |
| Early December, 1998 | 38 | 49 | 13=100 |
| November, 1998 | 41 | 48 | 11=100 |
| Early September, 1998 | 44 | 37 | 19=100 |
| Early August, 1998 | 43 | 37 | 20=100 |
| June, 1998 | 42 | 38 | 20=100 |
| May, 1998 | 40 | 41 | 19=100 |
| April, 1998 | 41 | 40 | 19=100 |
| March, 1998 | 43 | 39 | 18=100 |
| January, 1998 | 43 | 41 | 16=100 |
| November, 1997 | 41 | 43 | 16=100 |
| August, 1997 | 42 | 44 | 14=100 |
| June, 1997 | 33 | 50 | 17=100 |
| May, 1997 | 40 | 44 | 16=100 |
| April, 1997 | 40 | 44 | 16=100 |
| February, 1997 | 44 | 42 | 14=100 |
| January, 1997 | 38 | 47 | 15=100 |
| November, 1996 | 40 | 43 | 17=100 |
| | | | |

Some trends from 1998 and 1999 have been omitted.

Q.3F1 Do you approve or disapprove of the job the Democratic leaders in Congress are doing? [IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF DEPENDS PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall do you approve or disapprove of the job the Democratic leaders in Congress are doing? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]

| | Approve | <u>Disapprove</u> | Don't know |
|-----------------------|----------------|-------------------|------------|
| February, 2004 | 38 | 42 | 20 = 100 |
| June, 2002 | 47 | 36 | 17=100 |
| May, 2002 | 42 | 37 | 21 = 100 |
| February, 2002 | 49 | 30 | 21 = 100 |
| Early September, 2001 | 49 | 30 | 21 = 100 |
| June, 2001 | 50 | 28 | 22 = 100 |

ASK ALL:

Q.4 Now I will read a list of some stories covered by news organizations this past month. As I read each item, tell me if you happened to follow this news story very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely. [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE. OBSERVE FORM SPLITS]

| | | Very | Fairly | Not too | Not at all | |
|-----------|---|---------|---------|---------|------------|---------|
| | | Closely | Closely | Closely | Closely | DK/Ref |
| a. | The race for the Democratic presidential nomination | 29 | 37 | 20 | 13 | 1=100 |
| | Mid-January, 2004 | 16 | 30 | 27 | 26 | 1=100 |
| | Early January, 2004 | 14 | 32 | 30 | 23 | 1=100 |
| | December, 2003 | 16 | 26 | 27 | 30 | 1=100 |
| | November, 2003 | 11 | 26 | 34 | 28 | 1=100 |
| | October, 2003 | 12 | 27 | 28 | 32 | 1 = 100 |
| | September, 2003 | 17 | 25 | 30 | 27 | 1=100 |
| | Mid-August, 2003 | 12 | 27 | 27 | 33 | 1 = 100 |
| | May, 2003 | 8 | 19 | 31 | 41 | 1=100 |
| | January, 2003 ² | 14 | 28 | 29 | 28 | 1=100 |
| | February, 2000 | 26 | 36 | 21 | 17 | *=100 |
| | January, 2000 | 19 | 34 | 28 | 18 | 1=100 |
| | March, 1996 | 26 | 41 | 20 | 13 | *=100 |
| | January, 1996 | 10 | 34 | 31 | 24 | 1=100 |
| | March, 1992 | 35 | 40 | 16 | 9 | *=100 |
| | January, 1992 | 11 | 25 | 36 | 27 | 1=100 |
| | May, 1988 | 22 | 46 | 23 | 6 | 3=100 |
| | November, 1987 | 15 | 28 | 35 | 21 | 1=100 |
| A CITY TO | ODM 4 ONLY IN FOR | | | | | |
| | ORM 1 ONLY [N=785]: | 47 | 20 | 10 | 4 | 1 100 |
| b.F1 | News about the current situation in Iraq | 47 | 38 | 10 | 4 | 1=100 |
| | Mid-January, 2004 | 48 | 39 | 9 | 4 | *=100 |
| | December, 2003 | 44 | 38 | 11 | 6 | 1=100 |
| | November, 2003 | 52 | 33 | 9 | 5 | 1=100 |
| | October, 2003 | 38 | 40 | 14 | 7 | 1=100 |
| | September, 2003 | 50 | 33 | 10 | 6 | 1=100 |
| | Mid-August, 2003 | 45 | 39 | 10 | 5 | 1=100 |

In January 2003, the story was listed as "Recent announcements by prominent Democrats about plans to run for president in 2004." In 2000, the story was listed as "News about candidates for the 2000 presidential election." In 1996, the story was listed as "News about the Republican presidential candidates." In January 1992 and 1987, the story was listed as "News about the Democratic candidates for the Presidential nomination." In 1988, the story was listed as "News about the presidential campaign in 1988."

| Q.4 CC | ONTINUED | Very | Fairly | Not too | Not at al | 1 |
|--------|---|---------|---------|---------|-----------|---------|
| | | Closely | Closely | Closely | Closely | DK/Ref |
| | Early July, 2003 | 37 | 41 | 13 | 8 | 1=100 |
| | June, 2003 | 46 | 35 | 13 | 6 | *=100 |
| | May, 2003 | 63 | 29 | 6 | 2 | *=100 |
| | April 11-16, 2003 ³ | 47 | 40 | 10 | 2 | 1=100 |
| | April 2-7, 2003 | 54 | 34 | 9 | 2 | 1 = 100 |
| | March 20-24, 2003 | 57 | 33 | 7 | 2 | 1=100 |
| | March 13-16, 2003 ⁴ | 62 | 27 | 6 | 4 | 1=100 |
| | February, 2003 | 62 | 25 | 8 | 4 | 1=100 |
| | January, 2003 | 55 | 29 | 10 | 4 | 2 = 100 |
| | December, 2002 | 51 | 32 | 10 | 6 | 1=100 |
| | Late October, 2002 | 53 | 33 | 8 | 5 | 1=100 |
| | Early October, 2002 | 60 | 28 | 6 | 5 | 1=100 |
| | Early September, 2002 | 48 | 29 | 15 | 6 | 2=100 |
| ASK F | ORM 2 ONLY [N=715]: | | | | | |
| c.F2 | Recent reports that no weapons of mass destruction have | | | | | |
| V.1. Z | been found in Iraq | 37 | 39 | 14 | 9 | 1=100 |
| ASK F | ORM 1 ONLY [N=785]: | | | | | |
| d.F1 | Controversy over Janet Jackson's performance during | | | | | |
| G.1 1 | the Super Bowl halftime show | 22 | 27 | 24 | 26 | 1=100 |
| | and Super 20 m. mandand ono m | | _, | | _0 | 1 100 |
| ASK A | LL: | | | | | |
| e. | The poison Ricin found in a Senate office building | 12 | 30 | 28 | 29 | 1=100 |
| | Mid-November, 2001 ⁵ | 41 | 41 | 12 | 5 | 1 = 100 |
| | Early November, 2001 | 47 | 35 | 13 | 4 | 1=100 |
| f. | The debate about allowing gays and lesbians to marry | 26 | 32 | 22 | 19 | 1=100 |
| | Mid-August, 2003 | 19 | 30 | 22 | 28 | 1=100 |
| ASK F | ORM 2 ONLY [N=715]: | | | | | |
| g.F2 | Questions about President Bush's service in | | | | | |
| D | the National Guard during the Vietnam War | 19 | 25 | 25 | 29 | 2=100 |

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=785]:

Q.5F1 Do you happen to know which Democratic candidate won the New Hampshire primary?

| | | Dem Primary | Rep Primary | Rep Primary |
|-----------|---------------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| | | Feb 2000 | Feb 2000 | Feb 1996 |
| 59 | John Kerry {correct} | 46 Gore | 41 McCair | ı 62 Buchanan |
| 2 | Other/Incorrect | 8 | 14 | 10 |
| <u>39</u> | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 46 | <u>45</u> | <u>28</u> |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 |

From March 20 to April 16, 2003 the story was listed as "News about the war in Iraq."

From October 2002 to March 13-16, 2003 the story was listed as "Debate over the possibility that the U.S. will take military action in Iraq." In Early September 2002 the story was listed as "Debate over the possibility that the U.S. will invade Iraq."

In 2001 the story was listed as "Reports of Anthrax cases around the country."

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=715]:

- Q.6F2 Do you happen to know which Democratic candidate served in Vietnam and then protested the Vietnam war when he returned home?
 - 41 John Kerry {correct}
 - 4 Other/Incorrect
 - 55 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

100

ASK ALL:

Q.7 Thinking about the presidential primaries so far, generally do you think they have been a good way of determining who the best qualified nominees are or not?

| | | | | | Gallup | | | Newsweek | | |
|-----------|--------------------|----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|--|
| | | March | March | March | Jan | June | May | Jan | March | |
| | | 2000 | <u> 1996</u> | <u> 1992</u> | <u> 1992</u> | <u> 1988</u> | <u> 1988</u> | <u> 1988</u> | <u>1980</u> | |
| 40 | Yes | 41 | 35 | 31 | 51 | 48 | 56 | 61 | 40 | |
| 46 | No | 50 | 58 | 59 | 41 | 37 | 31 | 23 | 48 | |
| <u>14</u> | Don't know/Refused | <u>9</u> | <u>7</u> | <u>10</u> | <u>8</u> | <u>15</u> | <u>13</u> | <u>16</u> | <u>12</u> | |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | |

Q.8 All in all, how would you rate the job the press has done in covering the presidential campaign so far: excellent, good, only fair, or poor?

| | | June | March | Feb | Sept | July | Feb | Sept | May | March | Feb |
|----------|--------------------|-------------|-------------|----------|-------------|------|--------------|-------------|----------|----------|-------------|
| | | <u>2000</u> | <u>2000</u> | 2000 | <u>1996</u> | 1996 | <u> 1996</u> | <u>1992</u> | 1992 | 1992 | <u>1992</u> |
| 11 | Excellent | 7 | 10 | 13 | 13 | 7 | 16 | 12 | 10 | 12 | 11 |
| 43 | Good | 41 | 46 | 50 | 44 | 35 | 45 | 45 | 44 | 51 | 45 |
| 30 | Only fair | 38 | 32 | 25 | 29 | 42 | 25 | 27 | 33 | 28 | 32 |
| 12 | Poor | 10 | 9 | 7 | 11 | 14 | 10 | 11 | 10 | 6 | 7 |
| <u>4</u> | Don't know/Refused | _4 | <u>3</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>3</u> | 2 | <u>4</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>5</u> |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=785]:

Q.9F1 So far, do you think news organizations are giving too much coverage to the 2004 presidential campaign, too little coverage to the campaign, or the right amount of coverage?

| | | Oct | April | June | March | Feb | Sept | July | March | Oct | Sept | Feb | Oct | May | Nov |
|----------|--------------|-------------|-------------------|----------|-------|----------|------|-----------|-------|------|----------|------|------|------|------|
| | | <u>2003</u> | 2003 ⁶ | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 | 1999 | 1999 | 1996 | 1995 | 1992 | 1992 | 1991 | 1988 | 1987 |
| 28 | Too much | 23 | 15 | 19 | 25 | 22 | 28 | 18 | 29 | 18 | 22 | 19 | 12 | 24 | 21 |
| 8 | Too little | 17 | 38 | 16 | 10 | 10 | 14 | 13 | 10 | 18 | 11 | 15 | 22 | 7 | 16 |
| 61 | Right amount | 51 | 38 | 60 | 61 | 63 | 49 | 59 | 58 | 60 | 62 | 62 | 58 | 62 | 58 |
| <u>3</u> | DK/Refused | 9 | 9 | <u>5</u> | 4 | <u>5</u> | 9 | <u>10</u> | 3 | 4 | <u>5</u> | 4 | 8 | 7 | _5 |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

In April 2003, the question was asked as part of a list and was worded: "the race for the Democratic presidential nomination."

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=715]:

Q.10F2 How much influence do you think news organizations have on which candidates become the presidential nominees? Too much, too little or about the right amount?

| | | | - Regi | stered | Voters - | RVs | | | | | | |
|----------|------------------------|----------|--------------|--------|--------------|--------------|-------------------|--------------|-------------|------|------|----------|
| | | Sept | Oct | Sept | Sept | Feb | Jan | Oct | Aug | May | Jan | Nov |
| | | 1999 | <u> 1996</u> | 1996 | <u> 1992</u> | <u> 1992</u> | 1992 ⁷ | <u> 1988</u> | <i>1988</i> | 1988 | 1988 | 1987 |
| 63 | Too much | 64 | 67 | 64 | 54 | 58 | 53 | 58 | 54 | 47 | 51 | 59 |
| 5 | Too little | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 4 | 5 |
| 28 | About the right amount | 30 | 25 | 30 | 37 | 33 | 40 | 36 | 41 | 41 | 37 | 31 |
| <u>4</u> | Don't know/Refused | <u>2</u> | <u>4</u> | 2 | <u>5</u> | <u>4</u> | 3 | 3 | <u>4</u> | 8 | 8 | <u>5</u> |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

NO QUESTIONS 11 THRU 13

ASK ALL:

Q.14 Suppose the 2004 presidential election were being held TODAY, and the candidates were [George W. Bush, the Republican or John Kerry, the Democrat? **READ, ROTATE**]. Who would you vote for? **IF OTHER OR DK (3,9 IN Q.14) ASK:**

Q.14a As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to [READ, ROTATE IN SAME ORDER AS Q.14]?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1149]:

| | | Early | | | | | |
|-----|---------------------------|----------|----------|-------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|
| | | Jan | Oct | Feb | Feb | March | May |
| | | 2004 | 2003 | <u>2000</u> | <u>1996</u> | <u>1992</u> | <u>1988</u> |
| 47 | George W. Bush/Lean Bush | 52 | 50 | 46 Bush | 44 Dole | 49 Bush, Sr. | 40 Bush, Sr. |
| 47 | John Kerry/Lean Kerry | 41 | 42 | 45 Gore | 52 Clinton | 44 Clinton | 53 Dukakis |
| 6 | Other candidate/DK (VOL.) | <u>7</u> | <u>8</u> | <u>9</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>7</u> | <u>7</u> |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

In January 1988, May 1988 and January 1992, the question was asked: "How much influence do you feel news organizations have on which candidates become presidential nominees?" In November 1987, the question was asked: "How much influence do you feel news organizations have on which candidates become their parties' presidential nominees?" Registered voter trends from 1996, 1992 and 1988 were asked: "... which candidate becomes the president?"

THOSE WHO CHOSE JOHN KERRY (IN Q.14/14a), ASK:

Q.15 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.14/14a), ASK:**

Q.16 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=1149]:

| | <i>KERRY</i> Pro- Anti- Un- | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|--------------------------------|----------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|------|------------|--------------|-------------------------------------|----|---------|---|-----------|--|
| | | Pro- | Anti- | Un- | | Pro- | Anti- | Un- | Other | •/ | | | | |
| | Total | Kerry | Bush | <u>decid</u> | Total | Bush | Kerry | <u>decid</u> | <u>DK</u> | | | | | |
| Feb 2004 | 47 | 15 | 30 | 2 | 47 | 39 | 6 | 2 | 6=100 |) | | | | |
| | | COR | | | | D.1 | IGI | | | | | | | |
| | | GOR | | | | | JSH | | 0.41 | , | | | | |
| | | Pro- | | Un- | 75 . 1 | | Anti- | Un- | Other | •/ | | | | |
| | | Gore 200 | | <u>decid</u> | <u>Total</u> | | | <u>decid</u> | <u>DK</u> | | | | | |
| Nov 2000 | 45 | 29 | 14 | 2 | 41 | 27 | 12 | 2 | 14=10 | | | | | |
| Sept 2000 | 47 | 30 | 14 | 3 | 41 | 24 | 14 | 3 | 12=10 | 00 | | | | |
| | | CLIN | ITON | | | D | OLE. | | | n | EDAT | | | |
| | | C <i>LIN</i> Pro- | - Anti | | | | | Un- | PEROT Pro- Anti- Un- Othe | | | | | |
| | T-4-1 | | | _ | Total | | | _ | Total | | | _ | Other/ | |
| N. 1006 | | | | <u>decid</u> | | | | <u>decid</u> | | | Other 5 | * | <u>DK</u> | |
| Nov 1996 | 51 | 33 | 15 | 3 | 32 | 15 | 15 | 2 | 9 | 4 | 5 | | 8=100 | |
| Oct 1996 | 51 | | 16 | | 34 | 15 | 18 | 1 | 8 | 4 | 4 | * | 7=100 | |
| Sept 1996 | 52 | | 15 | 2 | 34 | 16 | 17 | 1 | 8 | 3 | 5 | 0 | 6=100 | |
| Mar 1996 | 53 | 30 | 20 | 3 | 41 | 15 | 25 | 1 | | | | | 6=100 | |
| | | CLIN | TON | | | BUSH | | | | P | EROT- | | | |
| | | Pro- | Anti- | | | Pro- | | Un- | | | Anti- | | Other/ | |
| | Total | Clinton | | _ | Total | | | decid | Total | | Other | _ | DK | |
| Oct 1992 | 48 | 23 | 22 | 3 | 35 | 19 | 13 | 3 | 8 | 3 | 5 | * | 9=100 | |
| Sept 1992 | 53 | 21 | 29 | 3 | 38 | 20 | 16 | 2 | | | | | 9=100 | |
| Aug 1992 | 57 | 27 | 28 | 2 | 37 | 20 | 16 | 1 | | | | | 6=100 | |
| Mar 1992 | 44 | 13 | 29 | 2 | 49 | 32 | 15 | 2 | | | | | 7=100 | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | DUK | AKIS | | | BU | <i>JSH</i> | | | | | | | |
| | | Pro- | Anti- | Un- | | Pro- | Anti- | Un- | Other | ·/ | | | | |
| | Total | Dukakis | Bush | decid | Total | Bush | Dukakis | decid | <u>DK</u> | | | | | |
| Oct 1988 | 42 | 23 | 15 | 4 | 50 | 31 | 16 | 3 | 8=100 |) | | | | |
| Sept 1988 | 44 | 21 | 19 | 4 | 50 | 31 | 15 | 4 | 6=100 |) | | | | |
| May 1988 | 53 | 23 | 26 | 4 | 40 | 26 | 11 | 3 | 7=100 |) | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

THOSE WHO DID NOT CHOOSE KERRY, ASK:

Q.17 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=1149]:

| | | Gore 2000 | | | | | Clinton | | |
|-----|-----------------------------|-----------|----------|------------|----------|------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| | | | Late | Mid- | Early | | | July | May |
| | | Nov | Oct | <u>Oct</u> | Oct | Sept | <u>June</u> | <u>1996</u> | <u>1992</u> |
| 15 | Chance might vote for him | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 13 | 14 | 8 | 11 |
| 33 | Decided not to vote for him | 41 | 44 | 40 | 38 | 35 | 34 | 36 | 38 |
| _5 | Don't know/Refused | 6 | <u>4</u> | _5 | <u>7</u> | _5 | 6 | _4 | 6 |
| 53% | | 55% | 57% | 55% | 56% | 53% | 54% | 48% | 55% |
| | | | | | | | | | |

THOSE WHO DID NOT CHOOSE BUSH, ASK:

Q.18 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=1149]:

| | | Bush 2000 | | | | | | Dole | Bush, Sr. |
|-----|-----------------------------|-----------|----------|------|------------|------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| | | | Late | Mid- | Early | | | July | May |
| | | Nov | Oct | Oct | <u>Oct</u> | Sept | <u>June</u> | <u>1996</u> | <u>1992</u> |
| 10 | Chance might vote for him | 8 | 10 | 12 | 11 | 15 | 15 | 15 | 8 |
| 41 | Decided not to vote for him | 44 | 41 | 40 | 39 | 38 | 33 | 40 | 40 |
| _2 | Don't know/Refused | _7 | <u>4</u> | _5 | _7 | _6 | <u>6</u> | 3 | _5 |
| 53% | | 59% | 55% | 57% | 57% | 59% | 54% | 58% | 53% |

ASK FORM 3 ONLY: [NOTE: FORM 3 AND 4 ARE HALF SAMPLES THAT ARE INDEPENDENT (ORTHOGONAL) TO FORM 1 AND 2 USED IN OTHER QUESTIONS]:

Q.19F3 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).

| | | Gore | |
|--------|---------------|--------|------------------|
| Feb 20 | <u>004</u> * | March | <u>1 2000</u> |
| 45 | Honest | 24 | Boring |
| 26 | Democrat | 12 | Good |
| 21 | Good | 9 | Fair |
| 15 | Liberal | 9 | Capable |
| 14 | Fair | 9 | Honest |
| 11 | Phony | 8 | Okay |
| 12 | Arrogant | 7 | Politician |
| 10 | Politician | 7 | Dull |
| 10 | Qualified | 7 | I like him |
| 9 | Intelligent | 6 | Dishonest |
| 9 | Knowledgeable | 6 | Incompetent |
| 9 | Presidential | 6 | Environmentalist |
| 8 | Veteran | 6 | Dislike |
| 7 | Sincere | 6 | Follower |
| 7 | Tall | 5 | Great |
| 7 | Competent | 5 | Weak |
| 6 | Experienced | 5 | Intelligent |
| 6 | Ambitious | 5 | Alright |
| 6 | Honorable | 5 | Mediocre |
| 6 | Charismatic | 5 | Fake |
| 5 | Interesting | (N=58) | 35) |
| 5 | Truthful | | |
| (N=75) | 52) | | |

^{*} The numbers listed represent the number of respondents who offered each response; the numbers <u>are not</u> percentages.

ASK FORM 4 ONLY:

Q.20F4 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).8

| | , | | | (Re | gistered Voters) | | | | |
|-----|---------------|-----|-------------------|-----|------------------|-----|---------------------|-----|--------------|
| Feb | 2004* | Ma | y 2003 | Mic | d-Oct 2000 | Ma | rch 2000 | Sep | t 1999 |
| 27 | Honest | 29 | Honest | 47 | Honest | 17 | Good | 63 | Good |
| 24 | Fair | 21 | Good | 28 | Good | 11 | Okay | 37 | Okay |
| 24 | Leader | 20 | Arrogant | 19 | OK/Okay | 10 | Arrogant | 27 | Alright |
| 21 | Liar | 16 | Leader/Leadership | 17 | Sincere | 9 | Reference to father | 27 | Likable |
| 17 | Arrogant | 13 | Great | 13 | Arrogant | 8 | Honest | 22 | Honest |
| 14 | Strong | 12 | Confident | 13 | Fair | 8 | Dislike | 20 | Unknown |
| 12 | Christian | 12 | Courageous | 13 | Alright | 7 | Integrity | 15 | Dislike |
| 13 | Excellent | 11 | Aggressive | 12 | Dislike | 6 | Fair | 13 | Intelligent |
| 13 | Good | 11 | Christian | 12 | Leader | 6 | Conservative | 12 | Rich |
| 12 | Integrity | 11 | Determined | 12 | Untrustworthy | 6 | Untrustworthy | 11 | Conservative |
| 9 | Stupid | 11 | Integrity | 11 | Trustworthy | 6 | President | 10 | Fair |
| 9 | Incompetent | 10 | Patriot/Patriotic | 11 | President | 6 | Determined | 10 | Impressive |
| 8 | Dishonest | 9 | Cowboy | 11 | Inexperienced | 5 | I like him | 10 | Interesting |
| 7 | Confident | 8 | Competent | 10 | Conservative | 5 | Inexperienced | 10 | Politician |
| 7 | Determined | 8 | Decisive | 9 | Refer to Father | 5 | Great | 9 | Aggressive |
| 7 | Idiot | 8 | Idiot | 9 | Republican | 5 | Wimp | 9 | Arrogant |
| 7 | Patriotic | 8 | President | 9 | Liar | 5 | Bad | 9 | Leader |
| 7 | Ass | 8 | Strong | 9 | Boring | 5 | Cocky | 8 | Smart |
| 6 | Character | 7 | Adequate | 8 | I like him | 5 | Excellent | 8 | Young |
| 6 | Poor | 7 | Excellent | 8 | Good man/guy | 5 | Leader | 7 | Confident |
| 6 | Selfish | 7 | Fair | 8 | Stupid | (N= | :599) | (N= | =1205) |
| (N= | -748) | (N= | =602) | (N= | =997) | | | | |

^{*} The numbers listed represent the number of respondents who offered each response; the numbers <u>are not</u> percentages.

ASK FORM 1 ONLY:

Q.23F1 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=602]:

| | | | | | Geor | ge H.W. | Bush |
|-----------|------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|
| | | Mid-Jan | Sept | June | March | Feb | Oct |
| | | <u>2004</u> | <u>2003</u> | <u>2003</u> | <u>1992</u> | <u> 1992</u> | <u> 1991</u> |
| 51 | George W. Bush, or | 61 | 47 | 66 | 72 | 66 | 78 |
| 36 | A Democratic candidate | 21 | 34 | 22 | 20 | 25 | 11 |
| <u>13</u> | Don't know/Refused | <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 |

NOTE ON QUESTION ORDERING: In previous surveys, these "one word" questions were asked toward the beginning of the questionnaire. For George W. Bush, another trend from March 1999 is also available.

ASK FORM 2 ONLY:

Q.24F2 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=547]:

- 56 George W. Bush, or
- 32 John Kerry
- 12 Other/Can't say/Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

100

ASK ALL:

Q.25 Overall, what's your impression of the candidates who ran for the Democratic presidential nomination? AS A GROUP, would you say they were excellent candidates, good candidates, fair candidates or poor candidates?⁹

| | | Democ | cratic | Republican | D | emocrai | tic | Republican |
|-----|-----------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| | | Mid Jan | Sept | Oct | Feb | Oct | Jan | Jan |
| | | <u>2004</u> | <u>2003</u> | <u>1995</u> | <u> 1992</u> | <u> 1991</u> | <u>1988</u> | <u>1988</u> |
| 5 | Excellent | 4 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 3 |
| 40 | Good | 27 | 27 | 29 | 31 | 18 | 27 | 34 |
| 37 | Fair | 40 | 39 | 46 | 51 | 38 | 44 | 42 |
| 12 | Poor | 17 | 15 | 18 | 9 | 15 | 17 | 11 |
| 6 | Don't know/Ref. | <u>12</u> | <u>16</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>27</u> | <u>9</u> | <u>10</u> |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

ROTATE Q.26-27

Q.26 Would you say the press has been too easy, too tough or fair in the way it has covered John Kerry's campaign?

| | | Gore |
|-----------|----------------------|------------|
| | | March 2000 |
| 18 | Too easy | 17 |
| 5 | Too Tough | 8 |
| 67 | Fair | 65 |
| <u>10</u> | Don't Know/Ref (VOL) | <u>10</u> |
| 100 | | 100 |

Q.27 Would you say the press has been too easy, too tough, or fair in the way it has covered George W. Bush over the past few months?

| | | March 2000 ¹⁰ |
|----------|----------------------|--------------------------|
| 19 | Too easy | 14 |
| 27 | Too Tough | 10 |
| 49 | Fair | 65 |
| <u>5</u> | Don't Know/Ref (VOL) | <u>11</u> |
| 100 | | 100 |

⁹ All trends' question wording was asked in the present tense.

In March 2000 the question asked about "George W. Bush's campaign."

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=785]:

Q.28F1 Would you say the press has been too easy, too tough, or fair in the way it has covered Howard Dean's campaign?

- Too easy
- 24 Too tough
- 49 Fair
- 16 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

100

ASK FORM 2 ONLY:

Q.29F2 In your opinion, what is MORE responsible for the problems Howard Dean has had in his campaign: the way the press has covered him or Howard Dean's personal actions and views themselves?

| | | | Based on very/fairly close | Based on very/fairly close |
|----|--------------|---------------------------|--|-------------------------------|
| | | | attention to the Democratic race ¹¹ | attention to Clinton scandals |
| | <u>Total</u> | | <u>Feb 2004</u> | Feb 1992 |
| | 22 | Press coverage | 22 | 48 |
| | 57 | Dean himself | 62 | 40 |
| | 3 | Both (VOL.) | 4 | 5 |
| | 1 | Neither (VOL.) | 1 | * |
| | <u>17</u> | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) |) <u>11</u> | <u>7</u> |
| | 100 | | 100 | 100 |
| N= | (715) | | (505) | (655) |

ASK ALL:

11

Q.30 At any point in the presidential campaign, did you want Howard Dean to win the Democratic nomination?

| | | | Republican nomination |
|-----------|--------------------------|------------|-----------------------|
| | | Bradley | McCain |
| | | March 2000 | March 2000 |
| 23 | Yes | 28 | 44 |
| 63 | No | 60 | 48 |
| <u>14</u> | Don't know/Refused (VOL) | <u>12</u> | <u>8</u> |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 |

In February 1992 the question was worded: "In your opinion, what is MORE responsible for the problems Bill Clinton has had in his campaign so far: the way the press has covered him or Bill Clinton's personal actions and views, themselves?" The question was asked only of those who followed very or fairly closely "Charges that Arkansas Gov. Clinton has had extramarital affairs" or "Controversy about Gov. Clinton's joining ROTC to avoid the draft in 1969." To create an approximate trend for comparison, this column shows the current question about Howard Dean based only on those who followed "the race for the Democratic presidential nomination" very or fairly closely. This creates a roughly comparable pool of respondents in terms of education, attentiveness, and partisanship.

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=785]:

Q.31F1 As I read a list of different aspects of election campaigns, please tell me how much, if at all, each one bothers you personally. First, how much does (INSERT AND ROTATE) bother you -- very much, somewhat, not too much, or not at all?¹²

| | | Very | Some- | Not too | Not | Don't |
|----|-------------------------------------|------|-------------|-------------|--------|---------|
| | | Much | <u>what</u> | <u>much</u> | at all | know |
| a. | The amount of money politicians | | | | | |
| | spend on campaigns | 59 | 17 | 10 | 13 | 1=100 |
| | March, 2000 | 59 | 20 | 9 | 12 | *=100 |
| | February, 1996 | 56 | 17 | 13 | 13 | 1=100 |
| | PSRA : July, 1994 | 69 | 16 | 7 | 7 | 1=100 |
| b. | Political advertising on television | 29 | 27 | 20 | 23 | 1=100 |
| | March, 2000 | 25 | 27 | 25 | 22 | 1=100 |
| | February, 1996 | 32 | 24 | 26 | 17 | 1=100 |
| | PSRA : July, 1994 | 31 | 29 | 23 | 16 | 1=100 |
| c. | What politicians say to get elected | 44 | 31 | 13 | 10 | 2=100 |
| | March, 2000 | 46 | 30 | 13 | 10 | 1=100 |
| | February, 1996 | 53 | 25 | 11 | 10 | 1=100 |
| | PSRA : July, 1994 | 61 | 23 | 9 | 5 | 2=100 |
| d. | News coverage about campaigns | 13 | 30 | 28 | 29 | *=100 |
| | March, 2000 | 13 | 26 | 31 | 29 | 1=100 |
| | February, 1996 | 15 | 26 | 30 | 27 | 2 = 100 |
| | PSRA : July, 1994 | 23 | 31 | 25 | 20 | 1=100 |
| e. | Negative campaigning | 61 | 20 | 7 | 11 | 1=100 |
| | March, 2000 | 57 | 20 | 11 | 10 | 2 = 100 |
| | February, 1996 | 60 | 17 | 11 | 10 | 2=100 |

In March 2000 "if at all" was added to the question wording.

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=715]:

Q.32F2 Thinking about the presidential candidates and what you will learn about them over the next year, please rate the importance of each of the following things. How important is it for YOU to learn about (INSERT ITEM; ROTATE ITEMS) — very important, somewhat important, not too important, or not at all important?

| | | Very | Somewhat | Not too | Not at all | (VOL.) |
|----|---|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|---------|
| | | Important | Important | Important | Important | DK/Ref |
| a. | How well a candidate connects | | | | | |
| | with average people | 71 | 22 | 4 | 2 | 1=100 |
| | June, 2000 | 67 | 24 | 4 | 3 | 2 = 100 |
| | October, 1999 | 71 | 23 | 5 | 1 | *=100 |
| b. | A candidate's voting record or policy positions in public offices he or she | | | | | |
| | previously held | 64 | 27 | 3 | 5 | 1=100 |
| | June, 2000 | 60 | 27 | 6 | 5 | 2 = 100 |
| | October, 1999 | 58 | 31 | 7 | 3 | 1=100 |
| c. | A candidate's reputation for honesty | 88 | 8 | 1 | 2 | 1=100 |
| | June, 2000 | 84 | 11 | 2 | 2 | 1=100 |
| | October, 1999 | 82 | 13 | 3 | 1 | 1=100 |
| d. | A candidate's major campaign contributors | 39 | 38 | 13 | 9 | 1=100 |
| | June, 2000 | 42 | 29 | 13 | 13 | 3=100 |
| | October, 1999 | 37 | 38 | 14 | 10 | 1=100 |
| e. | A candidate's military background | 21 | 41 | 22 | 15 | 1=100 |
| | October, 1999 | 19 | 37 | 23 | 21 | *=100 |
| f. | Whether a candidate is an | | | | | |
| | active church member | 27 | 28 | 19 | 25 | 1=100 |
| | October, 1999 | 25 | 32 | 21 | 22 | *=100 |
| | | | | | | |

ASK ALL:

Q.33 Now I'd like your views on some people and organizations. (First,) would you say your overall opinion of... [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE ITEMS IN BLOCKS (FIRST a. THRU c., THEN d. THRU f WITH ITEM g LAST; OBSERVE FORM SPLITS] is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? [INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE."]

| | | Very | Mostly | Mostly | Very | Never | |
|----|--------------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-----------|-------|
| | | Favor- | Favor- | Unfavor- | Unfavor- | Heard | Can't |
| | | <u>able</u> | <u>able</u> | <u>able</u> | <u>able</u> | <u>Of</u> | Rate |
| a. | The federal government in Washington | 10 | 49 | 25 | 11 | * | 5=100 |
| | April, 2003 | 14 | 59 | 17 | 5 | 0 | 5=100 |
| | December, 2002 | 11 | 53 | 20 | 7 | * | 9=100 |
| | Mid-November, 2001 | 17 | 65 | 12 | 3 | 0 | 3=100 |
| | Late October, 2000 (RVs) | 7 | 47 | 30 | 10 | * | 6=100 |
| | October, 1997 | 4 | 34 | 41 | 18 | 0 | 3=100 |

| Eavor- able able able able able able able able |
|---|
| b. The Democratic Party June, 2003 April, 2003 April, 2003 11 43 28 10 0 8=100 April, 2003 13 44 25 11 * 7=100 December, 2002 July, 2001 January, 2001 18 40 24 10 * 8=100 January, 2001 18 42 21 9 1 9=100 |
| June, 2003 11 43 28 10 0 8=100 April, 2003 13 44 25 11 * 7=100 December, 2002 15 39 27 10 * 9=100 July, 2001 18 40 24 10 * 8=100 January, 2001 18 42 21 9 1 9=100 |
| April, 2003 13 44 25 11 * 7=100 December, 2002 15 39 27 10 * 9=100 July, 2001 18 40 24 10 * 8=100 January, 2001 18 42 21 9 1 9=100 |
| December, 2002 15 39 27 10 * 9=100 July, 2001 18 40 24 10 * 8=100 January, 2001 18 42 21 9 1 9=100 |
| July, 2001 18 40 24 10 * 8=100 January, 2001 18 42 21 9 1 9=100 |
| January, 2001 18 42 21 9 1 9=100 |
| · |
| $C_{-m+m} = 0.000 (DV_{-})$ 16 44 02 10 ψ 7 100 |
| September, 2000 (RVs) |
| August, 1999 14 45 28 9 * 4=100 |
| February, 1999 11 47 26 11 0 5=100 |
| January, 1999 14 41 26 12 0 7=100 |
| Early December, 1998 18 41 24 10 0 7=100 |
| Early October, 1998 (<i>RVs</i>) 11 45 29 9 * 6=100 |
| Early September, 1998 13 47 25 8 * 7=100 |
| March, 1998 15 43 26 10 * 6=100 |
| August, 1997 11 41 32 10 0 6=100 |
| June, 1997 10 51 25 8 * 6=100 |
| January, 1997 13 47 28 7 * 5=100 |
| October, 1995 9 40 37 11 0 3=100 |
| December, 1994 13 37 31 13 * 6=100 |
| July, 1994 13 49 27 7 * 4=100 |
| May, 1993 14 43 25 9 0 9=100 |
| July, 1992 17 44 24 9 * 6=100 |
| c. The Republican Party 14 38 26 16 * 6=100 |
| June, 2003 14 44 23 10 0 9=100 |
| April, 2003 14 49 21 10 * 6=100 |
| December, 2002 18 41 22 11 * 8=100 |
| July, 2001 11 37 27 15 * 10=100 |
| January, 2001 13 43 22 13 * 9=100 |
| September, 2000 (<i>RVs</i>) 11 42 28 12 0 7=100 |
| August, 1999 8 45 31 12 * 4=100 |
| February, 1999 7 37 36 15 0 5=100 |
| January, 1999 10 34 27 23 0 6=100 |
| Early December, 1998 11 35 27 20 * 7=100 |
| Early October, 1998 (<i>RVs</i>) 9 43 28 14 0 6=100 |
| Early September, 1998 9 47 26 11 * 7=100 |
| March, 1998 10 40 31 12 * 7=100 |
| August, 1997 9 38 36 11 * 6=100 |
| June, 1997 8 43 31 11 1 6=100 |
| January, 1997 8 44 33 10 * 5=100 |
| October, 1995 10 42 28 16 * 4=100 |
| December, 1994 21 46 19 8 * 6=100 |
| July, 1994 12 51 25 8 * 4=100 |
| May, 1993 12 42 25 10 0 11=100 |
| July, 1992 9 37 31 17 * 6=100 |

| Q.33 C | ONTINUED | Very | | Mostly | Very | Never | |
|--------|---------------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-----------|---------|
| | | Favor- | Favor- | Unfavor- | Unfavor- | Heard | Can't |
| | | <u>able</u> | <u>able</u> | <u>able</u> | <u>able</u> | <u>Of</u> | Rate |
| ASK F | ORM 1 ONLY [N=785]: | | | | | | |
| d.F1 | George W. Bush | 21 | 32 | 19 | 25 | 0 | 3=100 |
| | Gallup: January 29 - February 1, 2004 | 52 | 2 | 47 | 7 | | 1=100 |
| | Gallup: January 2-5, 2004 | 65 | 5 | 35 | 5 | | *=100 |
| | Gallup: October 6-8, 2003 | 60 |) | 39 |) | | 1=100 |
| | Gallup: June 9-10, 2003 | 66 | 5 | 33 | 3 | | 1=100 |
| | April 11-16, 2003 | 37 | 35 | 14 | 11 | 0 | 3=100 |
| | December, 2002 | 35 | 33 | 16 | 11 | 0 | 5=100 |
| | July, 2001 | 22 | 39 | 21 | 14 | * | 4=100 |
| | January, 2001 | 24 | 36 | 21 | 12 | 0 | 7 = 100 |
| | May, 2000 | 18 | 40 | 19 | 12 | 1 | 10=100 |
| | March, 1999 ¹³ | 21 | 40 | 14 | 7 | 4 | 14=100 |
| | November, 1997 | 13 | 41 | 12 | 6 | 9 | 19=100 |
| ASK F | ORM 2 ONLY [N=715]: | | | | | | |
| e.F2 | The Bush administration | 17 | 35 | 23 | 22 | * | 3=100 |
| ASK A | LL: | | | | | | |
| f. | John Kerry | 14 | 44 | 20 | 8 | 1 | 13=100 |
| | January, 2003 | 6 | 24 | 12 | 4 | 36 | 18=100 |
| ASK F | ORM 1 ONLY [N=785]: | | | | | | |
| g.F1 | John Edwards | 9 | 33 | 17 | 7 | 8 | 26=100 |
| g.1 1 | January, 2003 | 4 | 18 | 10 | 4 | 43 | 21=100 |
| | January, 2003 | 7 | 10 | 10 | 4 | +5 | 21-100 |

NO QUESTION 34

In March 1999 and November 1997 the category was listed: "Texas Governor George W. Bush."

On another subject...

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=785]:

Q.35F1 Do you happen to know if the federal government is spending MORE money than it is taking in this year, or spending LESS money than it is taking in?

| | | June | Feb | Aug | Feb |
|-----------|--|--------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| | | 2001 ¹⁴ | <u>2000</u> | <u>1999</u> | <u> 1989</u> |
| 82 | Spending more than it is taking in (Correct) | 46 | 34 | 41 | 81 |
| 4 | Spending less than it is taking in | 19 (correct) | 29 (correct) | 31 (correct) | 6 |
| * | (DO NOT READ) About equal | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 |
| <u>14</u> | Don't know/Refused | <u>34</u> | <u>36</u> | <u>27</u> | <u>10</u> |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=715]:

Q.36F2 When the federal government spends more than it takes in, that is called a "deficit." Do you happen to know if the deficit is CURRENTLY larger, smaller, or about the same as it was four years ago?

- 79 Larger
- 6 Smaller
- 5 About the same
- $\underline{10}$ Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

100

ASK ALL:

Q.37 **[IF 2,3,9 IN Q.35F1 READ:** Currently, the United States has a budget deficit, meaning that it is spending more than it is taking in.] How much do you think each of the following has contributed to the current federal budget deficit? Has **[INSERT ITEM, RANDOMIZE]** added a great deal, some, not much, or not at all to the current budget deficit?

| | | A great <u>deal</u> | Some | Not <u>much</u> | Not <u>at all</u> | DK/ <u>Ref.</u> |
|----|---|------------------------|------|--------------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| a. | Increased spending on domestic programs such as roads, health care, | | | | | |
| | and aid to the poor | 8 | 31 | 36 | 21 | 4=100 |
| b. | Increased spending on homeland defense | 46 | 35 | 11 | 3 | 5=100 |
| c. | The costs of the war in Iraq | 73 | 19 | 4 | 2 | 2=100 |
| d. | Lower government revenue as a result of recent tax cuts | 21 | 37 | 23 | 11 | 8=100 |

Q.38 Which do you think has had the GREATEST effect on the federal budget deficit? [READ ONLY THOSE OPTIONS CITED AS "GREAT DEAL" IN Q.37a-d]

- 3 Increased spending on domestic programs such as roads, health care, and aid to the poor
- 8 Increased spending on homeland defense
- The costs of the war in Iraq
- 8 Lower government revenue as a result of recent tax cuts
- 2 Multiple / all the same (VOL. DO NOT READ)
- None contributed a great deal (**FROM Q.37a-d**)
- 1 Don't know/Refused (**VOL. DO NOT READ**)

100

In 2001, 2000 and 1999, the correct answer was "spending less than it is taking in."

ASK ALL:

Q.39 I'd like your opinion of some programs and proposals being discussed in this country today. Please tell me if you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose each one. The first one is... [INSERT ITEM; ITEM a ALWAYS APPEARS FIRST, FOLLOWED BY ITEMS b AND c ROTATED] ITEM b AND c FOLLOWED IMMEDIATELY BY Q61b AND Q61c, RESPECTIVELY

| | |] | FAVOF | ζ | O | PPOSE |] | |
|----|---|-----|----------|--------------|-----|----------|--------|---------|
| | | , | Strongly | y | 5 | Strongly | У | Don't |
| | | Net | Favor | <u>Favor</u> | Net | Oppose | Oppose | know |
| a. | Allowing churches and other houses of worship | | | | | | | |
| | to apply, along with other organizations, for | | | | | | | |
| | government funding to provide social services | | | | | | | |
| | such as job training or drug treatment counseling | | | | | | | |
| | to people who need them | 69 | 28 | 41 | 29 | 10 | 19 | 2 = 100 |
| | March, 2002 | 70 | 26 | 44 | 27 | 9 | 18 | 3=100 |
| | June, 2001 | 72 | 30 | 42 | 25 | 10 | 15 | 3=100 |
| | March, 2001 | 75 | 30 | 45 | 21 | 8 | 13 | 4 = 100 |
| | February, 2001 | 64 | 28 | 36 | 30 | 11 | 19 | 6=100 |
| | September, 2000^{15} (RVs) | 67 | 32 | 35 | 29 | 12 | 17 | 4=100 |
| b. | Making it more DIFFICULT for a woman | | | | | | | |
| | to get an abortion | 36 | 17 | 19 | 58 | 30 | 28 | 6=100 |
| | November, 2003 | 35 | 19 | 16 | 57 | 29 | 28 | 8=100 |
| | August, 2003 ¹⁶ | 36 | 17 | 19 | 57 | 30 | 27 | 7 = 100 |
| | May, 1993 | 32 | 15 | 17 | 60 | 35 | 25 | 8=100 |
| | May, 1992 | 30 | | | 62 | | | 8=100 |
| | May, 1990 | 38 | 21 | 17 | 55 | 29 | 26 | 7 = 100 |
| | May, 1987 | 41 | 18 | 23 | 51 | 33 | 18 | 8=100 |
| | May, 1985 | 47 | | | 49 | | | 4=100 |
| c. | Allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally | 30 | 9 | 21 | 63 | 42 | 21 | 7=100 |
| | November, 2003 | 30 | 10 | 20 | 62 | 41 | 21 | 8=100 |
| | October, 2003 | 32 | 9 | 23 | 59 | 35 | 24 | 9=100 |
| | Mid-July, 2003 | 38 | 10 | 28 | 53 | 30 | 23 | 9=100 |
| | March, 2001 | 35 | 8 | 27 | 57 | 34 | 23 | 8=100 |
| | June, 1996 | 27 | 6 | 21 | 65 | 41 | 24 | 8=100 |

ASK IMMEDIATELY AFTER Q.39b OF THOSE WHO GAVE AN OPINION:

Q.40b Would you vote for a candidate who DISAGREES with you about abortion, if they AGREE with you on most OTHER issues?

100

⁴⁹ Yes, would

No, would not

⁶ Depends (VOL.)

⁴ Don't know/Refused

⁶ No opinion on abortion (**FROM Q.39b**)

Based on registered voters. Item was worded: "Allowing religious organizations to apply, along with other organizations, for government funding to provide social services such as job training or drug treatment counseling to people who need them."

In August 2003 and earlier the question was worded: "Changing the laws to make it more difficult for a woman to get an abortion."

ASK IMMEDIATELY AFTER Q.39c OF THOSE WHO GAVE AN OPINION:

Q.40c Would you vote for a candidate who DISAGREES with you about gay marriage, if they AGREE with you on most OTHER issues?

- 47 Yes, would
- No, would not
- 4 Depends (VOL.)
- 3 Don't know/Refused
- 7 No opinion on gay marriage (**FROM Q.39c**)

ASK ALL:

Q.41 What do you think is more important – to protect the right of Americans to own guns, OR to control gun ownership?

IF OPINION GIVEN (1,2) IN Q.41 ASK:

Q.41a Do you feel strongly about that, or not?

| | | June | May | March | June | May | Dec |
|----------|--|----------|-------------|----------|----------|----------|--------------|
| | | 2003 | <u>2000</u> | 2000 | 1999 | 1999 | <u> 1993</u> |
| 37 | Protect right of Americans to own guns | 42 | 38 | 29 | 33 | 30 | 34 |
| 31 | Yes, feel strongly | | | | | | |
| 6 | No, don't feel strongly | | | | | | |
| * | Don't know/Refused | | | | | | |
| 58 | Control gun ownership | 54 | 57 | 66 | 62 | 65 | 57 |
| 46 | Yes, feel strongly | | | | | | |
| 11 | No, don't feel strongly | | | | | | |
| 1 | Don't know/Refused | | | | | | |
| <u>5</u> | Don't know/Refused | <u>4</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>5</u> | 9 |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

IF OPINION GIVEN (1,2) IN Q.41 ASK:

Q.41b Would you vote for a candidate who DISAGREES with you about gun ownership, if they AGREE with you on most OTHER issues?

- 54 Yes, would
- No, would not
- 5 Depends (**VOL.**)
- 3 Don't know/Refused
- 5 No opinion on gun ownership (**FROM Q.41**)

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=785]:

Q.42F1 In your view, should the GOVERNMENT start up programs that encourage people to get and stay married, or should the GOVERNMENT stay out of this?

| | | March 2002 |
|----------|---|------------|
| 20 | The government should start up programs that encourage marriage | 18 |
| 77 | The government should stay out | 79 |
| <u>3</u> | Don't know/Refused | <u>3</u> |
| 100 | | 100 |

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=715]:

Q.43F2 In your view, should the GOVERNMENT start up programs that encourage people to get and stay married, or not?

- 42 Yes, the government should start up programs that encourage marriage
- 54 No, the government should not
- $\frac{4}{100}$ Don't know/Refused [VOL.]

NO QUESTION 44 THROUGH 47

ASK ALL:

Now thinking about Iraq...

Do you think the U.S. made the right decision or the wrong decision in using military force against Iraq? Q.48

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

How well is the U.S. military effort in Iraq going? [READ IN ORDER] Q.49

| | Very | Fairly | Not too | Not at all | Don't know |
|------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|
| | <u>well</u> | <u>well</u> | <u>well</u> | <u>well</u> | <u>/Ref.</u> |
| February, 2004 | 17 | 46 | 23 | 11 | 3=100 |
| Mid-January, 2004 | 22 | 51 | 18 | 6 | 3=100 |
| Early January,2004 | 23 | 47 | 18 | 7 | 5=100 |
| December, 2003 | 28 | 47 | 16 | 6 | 3=100 |
| October, 2003 | 16 | 44 | 25 | 11 | 4=100 |
| September, 2003 | 15 | 47 | 26 | 9 | 3=100 |
| August, 2003 | 19 | 43 | 24 | 11 | 3=100 |
| Early July, 2003 | 23 | 52 | 16 | 5 | 4=100 |
| April 10-16, 2003 | 61 | 32 | 3 | 1 | 3=100 |
| April 8-9, 2003 | 60 | 32 | 3 | 3 | 2=100 |
| April 2-7, 2003 | 55 | 37 | 3 | 2 | 3=100 |
| March 25-April 1, 2003 | 39 | 46 | 8 | 2 | 5=100 |
| March 23-24, 2003 | 45 | 41 | 6 | 2 | 6=100 |
| March 20-22, 2003 | 65 | 25 | 2 | 1 | 7=100 |

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=785]:

Q.50F1 Do you think the war in Iraq has helped the war on terrorism, or has it hurt the war on terrorism?

| | | | | | | Early |
|----------|--------------------|-------------|-------------|----------|-------------|-------------|
| | | Dec | Sept | May | April | Oct |
| | | <u>2003</u> | <u>2003</u> | 2003 | 2003^{17} | <u>2002</u> |
| 55 | Helped | 59 | 54 | 65 | 63 | 52 |
| 32 | Hurt | 26 | 31 | 22 | 22 | 34 |
| 7 | No effect (VOL) | 6 | 7 | 6 | | |
| <u>6</u> | Don't know/Refused | 9 | <u>8</u> | <u>7</u> | <u>15</u> | <u>14</u> |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=715]:

Q.51F2 Do you think the war with Iraq has or has not contributed to the long-term security of the United States?

| | | ABC/Washington Post | | | | |
|-----|--------------------|---------------------|----------|----------|--|--|
| | | Jan | Dec | July | | |
| | | <u>2004</u> | 2003 | 2003 | | |
| 56 | Yes, has | 59 | 62 | 62 | | |
| 38 | No, has not | 38 | 34 | 35 | | |
| 6 | Don't know/Refused | <u>3</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>3</u> | | |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 | | |

ASK FORM 3 ONLY: [NOTE: FORM 3 AND 4 ARE HALF SAMPLES THAT ARE INDEPENDENT (ORTHOGONAL) TO FORM 1 AND 2 USED IN OTHER QUESTIONS] [N=752]:

Q.52F3 How worried are you that there will soon be another terrorist attack in the United States? [READ]

| | Very worried | Somewhat worried | Not too worried | Not at all worried | Don't know/ Refused |
|---------------------|-----------------|------------------|--------------------|--------------------|------------------------|
| February, 2004 | 13 | 42 | 28 | 16 | 1=100 |
| Mid-January, 2004 | 20 | 45 | 24 | 10 | 1=100 |
| August, 2003 | 13 | 45 | 29 | 12 | 1=100 |
| March, 2003 | 22 | 42 | 20 | 14 | 2=100 |
| February, 2003 | 34 | 41 | 17 | 7 | 1=100 |
| January, 2003 | 18 | 50 | 23 | 8 | 1=100 |
| December, 2002 | 31 | 42 | 18 | 8 | 1=100 |
| Early October, 2002 | 20 | 46 | 22 | 11 | 1=100 |
| Late August, 2002 | 16 | 46 | 25 | 12 | 1=100 |
| June, 2002 | 32 | 44 | 17 | 7 | *=100 |
| January, 2002 | 20 | 42 | 28 | 9 | 1=100 |
| December, 2001 | 13 | 39 | 27 | 19 | 2=100 |
| October 15-21, 2001 | 29 | 42 | 18 | 10 | 1=100 |
| October 10-14, 2001 | 27 | 40 | 19 | 12 | 2=100 |
| Early October, 2001 | 28 | 45 | 15 | 11 | 1=100 |
| | | | | | |

In April 2003, the question was worded: "Do you think the war in Iraq will help the war on terrorism," In Early October 2002 the question was worded: "If the U.S. uses military force in Iraq, do you think this will help the war on terrorism, or will it hurt the war on terrorism?"

ASK FORM 4 ONLY [N=748]:

Q.53F4 All in all, how worried are you that you or someone in your family might become a victim of a terrorist attack? Would you say you are [READ]

| | | | | | (VOL.) | |
|---|---------|----------|---------|------------|----------|---------|
| | Very | Somewhat | Not too | Not at all | Already | |
| | Worried | Worried | Worried | Worried | a Victim | DK/Ref |
| February, 2004 | 10 | 27 | 37 | 26 | * | *=100 |
| March 28-April 1, 2003 | 14 | 34 | 31 | 20 | 0 | 1=100 |
| March 25-27, 2003 | 12 | 30 | 33 | 23 | 1 | 1=100 |
| March 23-24, 2003 | 8 | 25 | 37 | 28 | * | 2 = 100 |
| March 20-22, 2003 | 9 | 27 | 37 | 26 | * | 1=100 |
| February, 2003 | 22 | 29 | 30 | 18 | 0 | 1 = 100 |
| January, 2003 | 11 | 30 | 37 | 21 | * | 1=100 |
| Late August, 2002 | 12 | 28 | 35 | 24 | * | 1=100 |
| June, 2002 | 17 | 28 | 36 | 19 | * | *=100 |
| January, 2002 | 12 | 26 | 38 | 24 | * | *=100 |
| Early November, 2001 | 13 | 27 | 35 | 24 | 0 | 1 = 100 |
| Mid-October, 2001 | 18 | 32 | 29 | 19 | 0 | 2 = 100 |
| Late September, 2001 | 17 | 36 | 31 | 15 | * | 1=100 |
| <i>Gallup</i> : 9/14-15/01 ¹⁸ | 18 | 33 | 35 | 13 | * | 1=100 |
| <i>Gallup</i> : 9/11/01 ¹⁹ | 23 | 35 | 24 | 16 | 1 | 1=100 |
| Gallup: August, 1998 | 10 | 22 | 38 | 29 | | 1=100 |
| Gallup: July, 1996 | 13 | 26 | 34 | 27 | | *=100 |
| <i>Gallup</i> : April, 1995 ²⁰ | 14 | 28 | 33 | 24 | | 1=100 |
| | | | | | | |

For the September 14-15 Gallup trend the question started with "I'd like to ask you a few questions about the events that occurred this past Tuesday in New York City and Washington, DC..."

For the September 11 Gallup trend the question started with "I'd like to ask you a few questions about the events that occurred today in New York City and Washington, DC..."

For the April 1995 Gallup trend the question was worded "How worried are you that you or someone in your family will become a victim of a terrorist attack similar to the bombing in Oklahoma City?"

ASK ALL:
And one last short question...

Q.54 I'd like your general impression of some parts of the country. First [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZED;
OBSERVE FORM SPLITS – THIS IS A THREE WAY FORM SPLIT, WITH ROUGHLY 500

OBSERVE FORM SPLITS – THIS IS A THREE WAY FORM SPLIT, WITH ROUGHLY 500 CASES PER FORM] – would you say your overall impression of [ITEM] is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable?

| | | EA | VODAI | BLE | LINE | AVORA | DIE | Never Heard | Can't | |
|------|--------------------------------------|-----|-------|--------|------|-------|--------|----------------|--------|------------|
| | | NET | Very | Mostly | NET | Very | Mostly | Of_ | Rate | <u>(N)</u> |
| a. | Your State ²¹ | 82 | 40 | 42 | 15 | 4 | 11 | 0 | *=100 | (789) |
| b. | Massachusetts | 58 | 12 | 46 | 19 | 6 | 13 | 0 | 23=100 | (1500) |
| c.FA | Texas | 64 | 18 | 46 | 20 | 4 | 16 | 0 | 16=100 | (462) |
| d.FA | California | 60 | 14 | 46 | 26 | 6 | 20 | * | 14=100 | (462) |
| | <i>NBC</i> : May, 1985 ²² | 63 | | | 16 | | | | 21=100 | (- / |
| e.FA | Pennsylvania | 64 | 14 | 50 | 10 | 3 | 7 | 0 | 26=100 | (462) |
| f.FB | New York | 65 | 18 | 47 | 20 | 6 | 14 | * | 15=100 | (505) |
| g.FB | Michigan | 62 | 13 | 49 | 14 | 5 | 9 | 0 | 24=100 | (505) |
| C | <i>NBC</i> : May, 1985 | 50 | | | 14 | | | | 36=100 | |
| h.FB | Georgia | 66 | 17 | 49 | 13 | 5 | 8 | * | 21=100 | (505) |
| i.FC | Illinois | 65 | 11 | 54 | 10 | 3 | 7 | * | 25=100 | (533) |
| j.FC | Florida | 69 | 20 | 49 | 20 | 6 | 14 | 0 | 11=100 | (533) |
| k.FC | Arizona | 71 | 16 | 55 | 9 | 3 | 6 | * | 20=100 | (533) |

Due to a data collection error, respondents in TX, CA, PA, NY, MI, GA, IL, FL, AZ were only asked about their own state if they were assigned to the form (form A, B, or C) on which their state was listed in items c-k. To estimate an accurate national ranking for a person's own state, respondents from these states were included in the overall ratings for a person's own state, and weighted to adjust for missing data.

The NBC News question was worded: "Do you have a generally favorable or unfavorable opinion of..."