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Primary Preview: Surveys in Iowa, New Hampshire and South Carolina
FRONT- RUNNING DEAN HAS STRONG LIBERAL BASE CONFIDENT
IN HIS ELECTABILITY

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Voter opinion is still fluid in the early Democratic primary states of Iowa, New Hampshire and especially South Carolina. As with the candidates themselves, there are significant disagreements among likely primary voters in these pivotal states on such key issues as how to deal with the postwar situation in Iraq, gay marriage and tax cuts. Most voters in New Hampshire, and especially Iowa, say the war in Iraq was a mistake. But at the same time, majorities in both states say U.S. troops should remain there until a stable government can be established.

Former Vermont Gov. Howard Dean is the strongest candidate overall. He is the clear front-runner in New Hampshire, with a 34%-20% lead over Sen. John Kerry. Dean also is running ahead in Iowa, where he leads Rep. Dick Gephardt by a smaller margin (29%-21%). But Dean's advantage in these states is not insurmountable. The horse race in Iowa between Dean and Gephardt is much closer when only *strong* support is factored, which is a relevant indicator in Iowa's caucus format.

A survey of early primary states finds that the Feb. 3 primary in South Carolina is wide open. Compared with Iowa and New Hampshire, the electorate in South Carolina is more conservative. In addition, significantly fewer of those who say they plan to vote there have paid close attention to the race and they have heard far less from the candidates and their campaign organizations. The front-runner, Sen. John Edwards, polls only 16% followed by retired Gen. Wesley Clark (11%), Gephardt (10%), and Sen. Joe Lieberman (9%).

The Pew Research Center's latest survey was conducted from Nov. 18 to Dec. 4 among 394 voters who intend to vote in the Jan. 19 Iowa caucus, 585 likely voters in New Hampshire's Jan. 27 primary (open to Democrats and independents), and 566 likely voters in South Carolina (open to all voters). A separate national survey was conducted among 469 Democrats (including independents who lean Democratic) who said they were likely to vote in a primary or caucus in their state.

Democratic Horse Race [^]				
	<u>Natl</u>	<u>IA</u>	<u>NH</u>	<u>SC</u>
	%	%	%	%
Dean	15	29	34	7
Clark	15	3	8	11
Gephardt	12	21	5	10
Lieberman	12	1	8	9
Kerry	6	18	20	3
Edwards	5	5	4	16
Sharpton	5	1	1	8
Moseley Braun	4	1	1	2
Kucinich	2	4	1	*
Other	1	*	1	1
Don't know	<u>23</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>33</u>
	100	100	100	100

Democrat with Best Chance of Beating Bush				
	<u>Natl</u>	<u>IA</u>	<u>NH</u>	<u>SC</u>
	%	%	%	%
Dean	19	32	33	9
Clark	11	4	7	10
Gephardt	7	17	4	10
Lieberman	8	*	5	8
Kerry	6	14	18	1
Edwards	2	2	1	7
Sharpton	2	0	*	4
Moseley Braun	1	*	0	1
Kucinich	0	1	0	*
Other	3	1	2	2
None	6	3	6	9
Don't know	<u>35</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>39</u>
	100	100	100	100

[^] National figures based on Democrats and Democratic leaners who are likely to vote in primaries or caucuses in their states. Iowa, NH, and SC figures based on all likely caucus and primary voters.

The surveys in Iowa and New Hampshire show that Dean supporters there do not harbor doubts about former governor's ability to defeat Bush. Rather, it is emerging as a strong suit. Roughly a third of likely voters in Iowa and New Hampshire say Dean has the best chance of beating Bush next November, far more than say that about any other Democrat. In addition, Dean tends to run stronger among those who place a greater priority on defeating Bush than on nominating a candidate who agrees with them on the issues.

Dean's vocal opposition to the war in Iraq clearly has helped him build his lead in Iowa and New Hampshire. In both states, Dean draws a disproportionate share of the vote from war opponents and from voters who feel Democratic leaders backed the war because they were afraid to oppose the president. In Iowa, Dean leads Gephardt by roughly two-to-one (37%-18%) among those who criticize Democratic leaders for not standing up to Bush. In New Hampshire, Dean holds a 42%-17% lead over Kerry among voters who express this view.

Dean's advantage is bolstered by his strong appeal to the well-educated liberal wing of the party in Iowa and New Hampshire. Nearly half of Dean's Iowa supporters are college graduates and far more describe themselves as liberals (38%) than conservatives (17%). By contrast, only about three-in-ten Gephardt backers in Iowa are college graduates, and more are conservative than liberal (32% vs. 20%). In New Hampshire, there is a similar demographic divide, with Dean drawing stronger support from more educated, liberal, and secular voters. By contrast, there is no sharply defined constituency backing John Kerry in the state.

The survey shows that on several issues voters in the early primary states generally concur with likely Democratic voters nationally – notably, in their support for abortion rights, more generous government assistance to the poor, and support for gun control. Concerns about free trade agreements are also shared across all electorates. Not surprisingly, there also is broad opposition to Bush among Democratic primary voters in these states, as well as nationwide. But a comparatively high percentage of voters in South Carolina (37%) approve of the president's job performance, reflecting that state's open primary format and its conservative character.

There are deep differences among likely primary

Primary Voters and the Issues				
	<u>Natl</u>	<u>IA</u>	<u>NH</u>	<u>SC</u>
	%	%	%	%
<i>US policy in Iraq</i>				
Keep troops in Iraq	47	56	57	48
Bring troops home	48	38	38	48
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Allowing gays and lesbians to marry</i>				
Favor	40	42	52	21
Oppose	52	48	38	72
Don't know	<u>8</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>7</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>What to do with recent tax cuts?</i>				
Remain in place	11	5	12	18
Repeal cuts for wealthy	42	49	50	34
Repeal all tax cuts	36	41	33	38
Don't know	<u>11</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>10</u>
	100	100	100	100

voters on key issues. Iowans who intend to vote in the caucuses are much more opposed to the war in Iraq than are probable voters in New Hampshire and South Carolina, with 68% saying it was the wrong decision. At the same time, there is less support among likely primary voters in Iowa and New Hampshire for a quick withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq. Majorities of voters in both states (56% and 57%, respectively) believe U.S. troops should remain in Iraq until a stable government is established there, while voters in South Carolina and national Democratic voters are split over the continued U.S. presence in Iraq.

Recent Pew Center surveys have shown that gay marriage is a divisive issue among Democrats, and there also are major differences across the early primary states. Likely voters in the South Carolina primary oppose gay marriage by more than three-to-one (72%-21%). In New Hampshire, by contrast, a slim majority of probable primary voters favor gay marriage (52%), much more than the percentage of national Democratic voters who support gay marriage (40%).

The survey also finds:

- * Likely voters in Iowa and New Hampshire have been blanketed with appeals by the various campaigns. Nearly three-quarters (74%) of Iowa voters, and 55% in New Hampshire say they have been called by one of the campaigns.
- * Sen. Kerry, who trails Dean by a significant margin in New Hampshire, is a solid third-place candidate in Iowa at 18%. But Kerry draws support from just 6% of Democratic voters nationally. Sen. Lieberman, by comparison, continues to show strength nationally (12%), but fails to break double digits in any of the early primaries.
- * Health care is the issue New Hampshire voters most want to hear discussed by the candidates (35%), outpacing the economy and unemployment (25%) or the war in Iraq and terrorism (24%). Health care also rivals the economy and Iraq among likely Iowa caucus participants.
- * In general, voters in the early primary states say it is more important to select a candidate who agrees with them on the issues than one who has the best chance of defeating Bush in November. But national Democratic voters are more divided – 49% say issues are more important while 44% believe it is more important to find a candidate who can defeat Bush.

Candidate Standing in Iowa

Howard Dean holds a slight 29% to 21% edge over Richard Gephardt among probable Iowa caucus voters and John Kerry garners the support of another 18%. John Edwards is currently running a distant fourth, receiving the support of 5% of likely caucus participants.

One effect of the caucus process is to concentrate candidate support, as supporters of candidates receiving relatively little support have the opportunity to shift their support to their second choice candidate as the caucus progresses. Based on the current survey, there is little evidence that this reallocation will fundamentally change the dynamics of the race. Dean, Gephardt and Kerry each receive about equal support as a second choice among people who prefer one of the other six candidates.

Dean’s lead is slightly greater when the analysis is limited to Iowans why say they will “definitely” attend the caucuses on Jan. 19. Dean is the first choice of 31% of these most active voters, compared with 19% for Gephardt and 18% for Kerry. But the intensity of support for all three candidates is almost exactly the same. Just under half who list Dean, Gephardt and Kerry as their first choice say they support each candidate *strongly*.

Gephardt leads Dean among union voters in Iowa, though he has not sewn up the labor vote. A quarter of union members rank Gephardt as their first choice, while 28% favor Kerry. One-in-five union members say Dean is their preference.

Beyond union membership, there are a number of stark differences in the constituencies of the leading candidates. About half of Dean (47%) and Kerry (52%) supporters are college graduates, compared with 30% of Gephardt supporters. Dean and Kerry supporters also tend to be somewhat younger than voters who prefer Gephardt. Dean supporters are much more satisfied with their finances: 69% rate their personal financial situation as good or excellent, compared with 58% of Kerry supporters and 51% of Gephardt voters.

	<u>First choice</u> %	<u>Second choice</u> %	<u>Re-allocated*</u> %
Dean	29	21	33
Gephardt	21	16	25
Kerry	18	18	21
Edwards	5	8	--
Kucinich	4	1	--
Clark	3	3	--
Moseley Braun	1	1	--
Lieberman	1	4	--
Sharpton	1	1	--
Other	*	1	2
Don't know	<u>17</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>19</u>
	100	100	100

* Candidates who were the first choice of less than 15% of Iowa voters were removed, and the second choice of those voters is taken. Note that this process happens at the *precinct level* during the actual Iowa caucuses. The procedure here in no way represents a prediction of the outcome in Iowa.

Dean's base of support is also clearly the most liberal of the three frontrunners. By a 38% to 17% margin, Dean supporters in Iowa identify themselves as liberal, not conservative. John Kerry's supporters are also more liberal than conservative (30% vs. 16%) but Gephardt supporters are more conservative (20% liberal, 32% conservative). This carries over into divisions over some policy issues. Dean supporters are much more favorable toward the idea of gay marriage, and are more opposed to the idea of preemptive use of force, than are Iowa voters who name Gephardt as their first choice.

Dean's backers are more likely than Gephardt's to say the Iraq war was the wrong decision, and that things are going poorly in Iraq. And Dean supporters are considerably more likely to say Democrats in Washington backed the war because they were afraid to stand up to the president. Most Gephardt supporters say democratic leaders backed the president because they thought it was the right thing to do.

	<i>Iowa Supporters of...</i>			
	<u>Dean</u>	<u>Gephardt</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Undec.</u>
	%	%	%	%
<i>Education</i>				
College grad	47	30	52	38
Some college	22	19	13	11
H.S. or less	31	51	35	51
<i>Ideology</i>				
Conservative	17	32	16	20
Moderate	42	45	53	46
Liberal	38	20	30	31
Union member	11	18	24	16
<i>Financial situation</i>				
Excellent/Good	69	51	58	48
Fair/Poor	30	46	41	47
<i>Gay marriage</i>				
Favor	53	32	34	41
Oppose	36	63	52	42
<i>Preemption justified?</i>				
Often/Sometimes	37	48	41	38
Rarely/Never	62	44	58	50

Candidate Standing in New Hampshire

Dean holds a strong 34%-20% lead over Kerry among likely voters in New Hampshire, with Clark and Lieberman each garnering 8%. Dean also has a significant advantage in terms of intensity of support in the Granite State. Half (51%) of primary voters who rank Dean as their first choice consider themselves strong supporters, compared with just 37% of Kerry supporters who say the same. Clark and Lieberman have even softer support in New Hampshire, garnering strong support from only 31% and 18%, respectively, of their supporters. And if turnout becomes a factor, 63% of Dean backers say that they "always vote;" just 49% of Kerry backers say the same.

There is little evidence that Kerry has become the "stop

	<u>First choice</u>	<u>Second choice</u>
	%	%
Dean	34	15
Kerry	20	18
Clark	8	11
Lieberman	8	9
Gephardt	5	6
Edwards	4	6
Moseley Braun	1	2
Kucinich	1	1
Sharpton	1	1
Other	1	*
Don't know	<u>17</u>	<u>31</u>
	100	100

Dean” candidate. A third of Kerry supporters rank Dean as their second choice, while roughly the same percentage of Dean supporters rank Kerry as their second choice. Nor is there evidence that Kerry stands to benefit as the second choice of many other voters. Current supporters of both Clark and Lieberman lean toward Dean over Kerry as their second choice.

More than six-in-ten New Hampshire voters (62%) say it is more important to pick a candidate who comes closest to their views on the issue, while just 32% believe it is more important to choose a candidate who has the best chance to defeat Bush. Yet while issues appear to trump electability, many New Hampshire voters seem comfortable with Dean’s prospects in a showdown with Bush. A third say that Dean is the candidate with the *best* chance of defeating Bush in November, significantly more than say that about Kerry (18%) or any other candidate in the field.

As in other parts of the country, Dean is drawing the strongest support from more educated and more liberal primary voters. Dean backers in New Hampshire identify themselves as liberal, not conservative, by two-to-one (43% to 21%). By comparison, Kerry backers (21% liberal, 22% conservative), as well as undecided voters (26%, 26%), are evenly split in this regard.

Profiles of New Hampshire Constituencies			
	<i>NH Supporters of...</i>		
	<u>Dean</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Undec.</u>
<i>Education</i>	%	%	%
College grad	46	41	31
Some college	24	17	26
H.S. or less	29	41	43
<i>Ideology</i>			
Conservative	21	22	26
Moderate	34	50	40
Liberal	43	21	26
<i>Church Attendance</i>			
Weekly or more	26	30	32
Monthly/annually	34	42	34
Seldom/never	40	28	34
Always vote	63	49	62
<i>Iraq war was...</i>			
Right decision	34	46	38
Wrong decision	59	47	49

New Hampshire’s Democratic primary electorate is far more secular than the electorates in Iowa and South Carolina, and Dean’s appeal to this group is strong. Fully 40% of Dean backers in New Hampshire say they seldom or never attend church, compared with 28% of Kerry supporters. Kerry’s strength is among Catholics, who make up roughly 40% of likely voters in the state. New Hampshire Catholics are split in their support for the two leading candidates (31% favor Dean, 29% Kerry). Dean leads Kerry among Protestants by two-to-one (36% to 17%). New Hampshire voters who say they have no religious beliefs favor Dean over Kerry by four-to-one (44% to 11%)

Unlike in Iowa, where a wide range of issues divide supporters of the leading candidates, New Hampshire supporters of Dean and Kerry exhibit few issue differences. Views on gay marriage, taxes, trade, and other major issues are largely the same among both Dean and Kerry backers. But opposition to the war in Iraq continues to be a rallying point for Dean supporters, who

are much more likely than Kerry backers to say the war was the wrong decision (59% of Dean supporters vs. 47% of Kerry supporters).

Candidate Standing in South Carolina

The race in South Carolina’s Democratic primary is still very fluid. A third of likely voters express no candidate preference at this point, double the rate among undecided voters in Iowa or New Hampshire (17% each). And relatively few express strong support for any candidate (21%), compared with 33% in New Hampshire and 40% in Iowa.

Unlike the other early primary and caucus states, where there are currently two or three clear front-runners, support is spread across many candidates in South Carolina. Edwards is the first choice of 16% of likely voters in South Carolina, while Clark and Gephardt are favored by 11% and 10%, respectively; Lieberman, Al Sharpton and Dean are close behind.

The potential electorate in South Carolina is significantly more conservative than those in Iowa or New Hampshire, reflecting both regional differences among Democrats, as well as open primary rules that allow Republicans to participate in the election. It is unclear how many Republicans will turn out, but currently a third of registered Republicans say they intend to vote. Overall, GOP voters make up slightly less than 20% of the potential electorate.

Interestingly, these crossover voters have roughly the same candidate preferences as Democratic and independent voters in South Carolina. While excluding likely Republican voters from the analysis alters the estimate of the overall ideological makeup of the South Carolina electorate, it does not change projections of the horse race as it currently stands.

In addition to being somewhat more conservative on a range of policy issues, South Carolina has a significant African-American population that is not present in Iowa or New Hampshire. Sharpton is favored by 15% of likely black voters, slightly more than the number who favor Edwards (13%) or

	<u>First choice</u> %	<u>Second choice</u> %
Edwards	16	7
Gephardt	10	11
Clark	10	5
Lieberman	9	8
Sharpton	8	4
Dean	7	8
Kerry	3	6
Moseley Braun	2	4
Other	1	*
Kucinich	*	0
Don't know	<u>33</u>	<u>47</u>
	100	100

	<i>First choice of...</i>	
	<u>Whites</u> %	<u>Blacks</u> %
Edwards	19	13
Gephardt	9	11
Clark	14	6
Lieberman	11	7
Sharpton	2	15
Dean	8	6
Kerry	4	1
Moseley Braun	1	4
Other	1	1
Kucinich	*	0
Don't know	<u>29</u>	<u>36</u>
	100	100

Gephardt (11%). Just 2% of white voters favor Sharpton. Former Sen. Carol Moseley Braun is favored by 4% of black voters.

While the presence of Sharpton and Moseley Braun on the ballot draws a significant amount of black support away from other candidates, there is little to suggest that this fundamentally changes the race. Asked for their second preferences, black voters in South Carolina divide their support in a manner strikingly similar to the way whites divide, with Edwards a slight favorite.

South Carolina Voters More Conservative

Nationally, 30% of likely Democratic participants in the nominating process describe themselves as liberal or very liberal. Neither Iowa nor New Hampshire differs in liberalism, though Iowans are less conservative and more moderate than Democrats nationally.

Voters in South Carolina lean further to the right than the average Democrat nationally. Even if South Carolina Republicans who say they are going to vote are removed, the Palmetto State’s voters are somewhat more conservative than are Democrats nationwide.

	<u>Natl</u>	<u>Iowa</u>	<u>NH</u>	<u>SC</u>
	%	%	%	%
Very conservative	3	2	1	9
Conservative	24	19	25	30
Moderate	39	46	39	39
Liberal	22	22	25	12
Very liberal	8	9	6	4
Don't know/Ref	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100	100

Divided by Issues, United Against Bush

There is no consensus among voters in the early primary states on a number of key issues, including the war in Iraq, gay marriage, free trade and taxes. But for the most part, these voters are united in their opposition to the president.

Majorities of likely participants in the Democratic nominating process disapprove of President Bush’s performance in office, and – with the exception of South Carolina – majorities *strongly* disapprove (even in South Carolina, 45% say this). Iowans who plan on participating in the caucuses stand out for their negative views of the president. Nearly eight-in-ten disapprove of his job performance, with 64% strongly disapproving.

	<u>Natl</u>	<u>Iowa</u>	<u>NH</u>	<u>SC</u>
	%	%	%	%
Approve	20	16	26	37
Very strongly	8	6	14	26
No so strongly	12	9	11	10
Don't know	*	1	1	1
Disapprove	72	78	64	56
Very strongly	58	64	54	45
No so strongly	13	13	9	10
Don't know	1	1	1	1
Don't know	8	6	10	7
	100	100	100	100

No Dominant Issue

There is no consensus among Democrats likely to participate in their party’s nominating process as to the *single* issue they would most like to hear the candidates talk about. However, voters nationally and in the three early states are generally concerned about the same mix of problems and issues.

South Carolinians are especially concerned about the economy – and specifically jobs and unemployment. Overall, 39% of likely South Carolina voters mention the economy as the top issue, while 18% specifically volunteer jobs and unemployment. Jobs are far less of an issue among primary voters in New Hampshire (5%) and Iowa (7%).

	<u>Natl</u> %	<u>Iowa</u> %	<u>NH</u> %	<u>SC</u> %
Economy/jobs/deficit	35	30	27	39
Iraq/war/terrorism	26	30	24	21
Health care	23	28	35	19
Education	8	9	10	9
Social Security	3	3	2	4
Other	16	19	20	20
Don’t know	7	6	5	8

Figures may add to more than 100% due to multiple responses.

Likely voters in New Hampshire and Iowa are more concerned about health care than are those in South Carolina. More than a third of New Hampshire voters (35%) and 28% of likely caucus participants in Iowa cite health care as the issue they most want the candidates to discuss, compared with 19% in South Carolina.

Similarly, there is no consensus nor a clear pattern to the issues deemed important by supporters of particular candidates. In Iowa for example, 33% of Dean supporters cite war or terrorism as the most important issue, but so do 29% of Gephardt and 28% of Kerry supporters. In New Hampshire, 29% of Dean supporters cite war and terrorism, as do 22% of Kerry’s likely voters.

Many Differences Over Iraq

Likely voters in Iowa stand out for their strong opposition to President Bush’s decision to go to war in Iraq. Nearly seven-in-ten (68%) feel that was the wrong decision compared with roughly a quarter (26%) who believe it was the right decision. Opinion among Democratic voters nationally is nearly as lopsided; by almost two-to-one (60%-32%) they believe the war was the wrong decision.

Voters in the other early primary states – New Hampshire and South Carolina – are more divided over the decision to go to war. Roughly four-in-ten likely voters in both of those states say the decision to attack Iraq was the right one (40% New Hampshire, 43% South Carolina).

Likely voters in Iowa also have a more negative view of the current situation in Iraq than do those in other states. Roughly two-thirds of likely Iowa caucus participants (65%) believe things are not going well in Iraq, compared with 57% in New Hampshire and 52% in South Carolina.

Yet in spite of the strong opposition to the war among likely participants in the Iowa caucuses, there is scant support for a quick withdrawal of U.S. forces in Iraq. Nearly six-in-ten likely Democratic caucus participants (56%) say the United States should maintain forces in Iraq until a stable government is established there. The same percentage of likely voters in the New Hampshire primary (57%) believes the U.S. should stay the course in Iraq.

Democratic voters nationally are evenly divided over a quick pullout from Iraq – 48% say the troops should be brought home as soon as possible, 47% believe the U.S. should stay until a stable government is formed. There is a similar division of opinion among likely voters in South Carolina (48%-48%).

Among the general public, there is more consistent support for the decision to go to war *and* to maintain U.S. forces in Iraq. In a mid-October survey by the Pew Research Center, 60% of Americans backed the decision to go to war and 58% said U.S. forces should stay in Iraq until a stable government is established there. (See “The 2004 Political Landscape: Evenly Divided and Increasingly Polarized,” Nov. 5, 2003).

There is more agreement among Democrats nationally and those in early primary states over the reasons why Democratic leaders voted for the war in Iraq. While about half of Democratic voters nationally (47%) say the leaders felt that support for the war was the right thing to do, 36% said they voted this way because they were afraid to stand up to the president. More voters in New Hampshire than elsewhere (57%) think Democratic leaders believed their votes were the right decision.

Preemptive War – Iowans Opposed

Overall, half of Democratic voters nationally believe that the use of force can be justified against countries that may threaten the U.S. but have not yet attacked. Among voters in the early Democratic

More War Opponents in Iowa				
<i>Use of military force in Iraq</i>	Natl	Iowa	NH	SC
	%	%	%	%
Right decision	32	26	40	43
Wrong decision	60	68	52	47
Don't know	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>10</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>How well is war going?</i>				
Very/fairly well	36	31	39	44
Not very/not at all well	62	65	57	52
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Why Democratic leaders supported the war</i>				
Right thing to do	47	51	57	52
Afraid to oppose Bush	36	30	29	31
Mixed/other	7	7	4	5
Don't know	<u>10</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>12</u>
	100	100	100	100

primaries, Iowans are most opposed to this policy: 56% say it is rarely or never justified. South Carolina voters are generally supportive of this policy, with 58% saying it as at least sometimes justified.

As is the case with the war in Iraq, there is considerably more support among the general public for preemptive attacks on enemies than there is among early primary state voters, with the exception of those in South Carolina. Americans support that policy by roughly two-to-one (63%-32%).

<i>Preemptive war justified?</i>	<u>Natl</u> %	<u>IA</u> %	<u>NH</u> %	<u>SC</u> %
Often/Sometimes	50	40	50	58
Rarely/Never	45	56	47	35
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>7</u>
	100	100	100	100

More Financial Gloom in South Carolina

Large majorities of voters in all three early primary states – and three-quarters of Democratic voters nationally – say jobs in their area are difficult to find. Yet there are clear differences in how these voters assess their personal finances.

Majorities of likely voters in Iowa (58%) and New Hampshire (55%) rate their personal finances as good or excellent. But only about four-in-ten likely voters in South Carolina (39%) say the same about their financial status. Probable primary voters in South Carolina and New Hampshire are somewhat more optimistic than those in Iowa in their assessments of future economic developments over the next year.

<i>Personal financial situation</i>	<u>Natl</u> %	<u>Iowa</u> %	<u>NH</u> %	<u>SC</u> %
Excellent shape	6	8	6	6
Good shape	34	50	49	33
Only fair shape	43	31	32	38
Poor shape	16	9	11	22
Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>US economy will...</i>				
Get better	30	30	37	40
Get worse	20	17	16	19
Stay same	46	47	40	36
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100	100

Primary Voters Negative Toward Trade Deals

Democratic voters nationally and those in the early primary states are broadly skeptical of free trade agreements such as NAFTA and the WTO. Only in Iowa does a clear majority (53%) say such agreements have been a “bad thing” for the country, but pluralities elsewhere views trade pacts negatively.

There is more uncertainty over the personal impact of trade agreements. About four-in-ten voters in Iowa (46%) and New Hampshire (39%) say trade agreements have hurt them and their families. But more than a third of the voters in both states (34% and 37%, respectively) either say

that these agreements have not hurt nor helped them, or they are not sure of their effect. South Carolina voters are less ambiguous about the personal impact of free trade agreements: 53% say they and their family have been hurt by trade agreements, including 23% who say they have *definitely* been hurt.

Trade Not a Big Factor in Iowa

Despite Rep. Gephardt’s highly visible opposition to NAFTA and other trade agreements, his supporters in Iowa do not stand out as especially critical of such agreements. A majority of Gephardt supporters (54%) believe these trade deals hurt the country, but about the same number of Dean supporters express that view (58%).

No Iowa Advantage on Trade for Gephardt			
<i>Free trade agreements are...</i>	<i>First choice for president</i>		
	<u>Dean</u>	<u>Gephardt</u>	<u>Kerry</u>
	%	%	%
Good thing	22	25	28
Bad thing	58	54	49
Don't know/Ref.	<u>20</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>23</u>
	100	100	100
<i>Personal impact of agreements...</i>			
Helped	24	15	26
Hurt	41	49	42
Neither (vol.)	19	17	18
Don't know/Ref.	<u>16</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>14</u>
	100	100	100

Tax Cuts: How Much to Repeal?

The vast majority of likely participants in the Democratic nominating contests favor rolling back some or all of the tax cuts passed under President Bush over the past few years, but voters are divided nationally and in the early primary states over the extent of the rollbacks. Only 11% nationally think all of the tax cuts should remain in place, and no more than 18% in any of the states (South Carolina) favor this approach.

Half of voters in Iowa and New Hampshire – and a 42% plurality of national Democratic voters – favor the repeal of only the tax cuts for wealthy Americans, leaving other reductions in place. South Carolina voters are more divided, with 38% backing a total repeal of tax cuts and 34% favoring rolling back only the cuts for the wealthy. That is due in part to strong black support for a total repeal, as well as conservative support for keeping all tax reductions in place.

Despite Dean’s call for a repeal of all of Bush’s tax cuts, more of his supporters in New Hampshire favor the narrower option of repealing tax cuts for the wealthy, while his supporters in Iowa are divided on the question.

There is considerably more unity among Democratic likely voters on the subject of government assistance to the poor. Big majorities nationally and in all three of the early primary states favor providing “more generous” help for the poor. There are no significant differences among the primary states or between those states and national Democratic voters.

Social Issues: Gay Marriage and Abortion

While the likely Democratic electorates of the early states are not especially different from Democrats nationally on most domestic issues, New Hampshire is distinctively liberal on the issue of gay marriage and South Carolina is considerably more conservative.

Nationally, only 40% of likely Democratic primary participants support gay marriage, while just over half (52%) oppose it. Opinion on this issue is comparable in Iowa, but a majority of likely voters in New Hampshire – 52% – support the idea of allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally, with 18% strongly favoring this. By contrast, a large majority of likely voters in South Carolina are opposed to gay marriage, with nearly half (47%) strongly holding this view, and another quarter (25%) less strongly opposed.

<i>Allowing gays and lesbians to marry</i>	<u>Natl</u> %	<u>Iowa</u> %	<u>NH</u> %	<u>SC</u> %
Favor	40	42	52	20
Oppose	52	48	38	73
Don't know	<u>8</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>7</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Making it more difficult to get an abortion</i>				
Favor	23	24	19	30
Oppose	69	66	74	58
Don't know	<u>8</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>12</u>
	100	100	100	100

The issue of abortion is less divisive within the Democratic electorate, with majorities nationally and in the three states opposed to making it more difficult for women to obtain an abortion. But New Hampshire voters also hold the most liberal views on this issue, with 43% strongly opposed to further restrictions. In South Carolina, where voters have a higher level of religious commitment, there is somewhat more support for tougher abortion restrictions; even there, however, just three-in-ten support making it more difficult for women to get abortions.

The poll finds a consensus among Democratic voters about gun control. A solid majority of national Democratic voters (65%) and comparable majorities in the early primary states think it is more important to control gun ownership than it is to protect the right of Americans to own guns.

Candidate Images: Terrorism

Most likely voters, both nationally and in early primary and caucus states, either see no real differences in the candidates' ability to do a good job of protecting the nation from terrorism, or feel they don't know enough to make an evaluation. Clark is seen as strong on this issue in all parts of

	<u>Natl</u> %	<u>Iowa</u> %	<u>NH</u> %	<u>SC</u> %
Clark	14	12	24	11
Kerry	6	18	16	4
Lieberman	6	1	5	5
Dean	5	14	10	5
Gephardt	5	11	4	6
Sharpton	3	0	*	3
Edwards	1	4	3	5
Moseley Braun	1	0	1	1
Kucinich	*	2	1	*
No diff./DK	68	59	53	69

Respondents could list multiple candidates.

the country, but especially in New Hampshire, where 24% say he would do a particularly good job. Kerry also stands out in the minds of voters in Iowa and New Hampshire, where 18% and 16%, respectively, say he would do a good job. Dean receives a number of votes of confidence in Iowa and New Hampshire, where he has electoral support, and Gephardt is ranked highly in Iowa.

Respondents were also asked if there were any candidates they thought would *not* do a good job of dealing with terrorism. Most (76%) said none stood out, but 12% said they thought Sharpton would not do a particularly good job of protecting the nation from terrorism.

Traditional Democratic Issues

As with terrorism, a considerable share of voters see no significant differences in the ability of any Democratic candidate to stand up for the party’s long-standing positions on such things as protecting the interests of minorities, helping the poor and needy, and representing working people.

Voters’ ratings on this issue for the most part track the horse race in each state, with Dean, Gephardt and Kerry widely perceived as capable in Iowa, and Dean and Kerry standing out in New Hampshire.

While Dean leads Gephardt by 29% to 21% in the current preferences of Iowa voters, Gephardt rates slightly better than Dean at standing up for the party’s traditional principles (28%-24%). When asked if any would *not* do a good job in this area, only a small minority cited any names, and no candidate stands out as lacking ability in this area.

	<u>Natl</u>	<u>Iowa</u>	<u>NH</u>	<u>SC</u>
	%	%	%	%
Dean	11	24	23	8
Gephardt	10	28	8	10
Lieberman	10	2	8	7
Sharpton	9	3	3	11
Kerry	7	17	19	2
Clark	5	1	4	5
Moseley Braun	5	4	4	3
Edwards	3	6	6	11
Kucinich	2	5	2	*
No diff./DK	44	37	39	53

On each question, respondents could list multiple candidates.

Campaigns Matter in Iowa, NH

The likely participants in the Iowa caucus and New Hampshire primaries are far more engaged in the election than likely voters elsewhere in the country. More than eight-in-ten voters in Iowa (82%) and 75% in New Hampshire are following news about the race very or fairly closely, compared with just over half of Democratic voters nationwide. Primary voters in South Carolina have yet to be drawn in to the campaign in the same way as these earlier states. Just 57% there say they are following the campaign very or fairly closely, not far from the national average among Democratic voters (52%).

The extensive campaign efforts by the candidates in Iowa and New Hampshire is obvious. Nearly three-quarters of likely caucus participants in Iowa have been called on the telephone by a campaign, and 34% have attended a campaign event. These rates are significantly lower in New Hampshire (55% have been called, and 18% have attended an event), but still very high, especially when the fact that Iowa caucus participants represent a much more active segment of the electorate than primary voters is taken into account. This difference is most visible in the different rates of campaign donations. One-in-five likely Iowa caucus attendees have contributed money to one or more of the Democratic presidential candidates, compared with fewer than one-in-ten primary voters in New Hampshire, South Carolina, and nationwide.

The Internet is also becoming an tool of the primary campaigns in these states. Significant minorities of voters in Iowa (27%) and New Hampshire (22%) have sent or received e-mails about the candidates or campaigns, and more than one-in-five in both states have visited candidate web sites.

Not only are Iowa and New Hampshire voters more interested and engaged in the election, they also are significantly more satisfied with the quality of the field. Three-quarters of Iowa voters say they have a favorable impression of the candidates running for the nomination as a group, while just 21% rate the field as fair or poor in quality. New Hampshire voters are also generally favorable in their assessments (60% excellent/good, 35% fair/poor). Among likely Democratic voters nationwide, as many rate the field favorably as unfavorably (46% to 46%).

Iowa, NH Voters More Interested, More Active, and More Satisfied				
<i>Following campaign</i>	<u>Natl</u> %	<u>Iowa</u> %	<u>NH</u> %	<u>SC</u> %
Very closely	15	37	33	23
Fairly closely	37	45	42	34
Not closely	48	18	25	42
Don't know	*	*	*	<u>1</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Rate quality of the field</i>				
Excellent/Good	46	75	60	38
Fair/Poor	46	21	35	50
Don't know	<u>8</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>12</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Campaign contact & activity...</i>				
Been called on phone	18	74	55	16
Attended event(s)	--	34	18	9
Sent/received e-mail	10	27	22	9
Visited website(s)	--	22	20	7
Donated money	7	20	7	8
Online chats & blogs	--	6	6	3

ABOUT THE SURVEYS

Results from the four surveys are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International. Random samples of telephone households were called nationally, in New Hampshire, and South Carolina. In Iowa, samples of registered voters were called.

NATIONAL SURVEY

Interviews were conducted Nov. 18 - Dec. 1 with a total of 469 adults 18 or older who identified themselves as Democrats or independents who leaned Democratic. All respondents said they were registered to vote and were very likely or somewhat likely to vote in a Democratic primary or caucus in their state next year. Respondents who later said they would not vote when asked for their choice among the Democratic contenders were excluded from the tabulations. 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 5 percentage points.

IOWA SURVEY

Interviews were conducted Nov. 25 - Dec. 4 with a total of 394 registered voters in Iowa (registered Republicans were excluded from the sample). All respondents were age 18 or older, and said they will definitely or probably attend the January 19th Democratic caucuses. Respondents who later said they would not vote when asked for their choice among the Democratic contenders were excluded from the tabulations. 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 6 percentage points.

NEW HAMPSHIRE SURVEY

Interviews were conducted Nov. 18 - Dec. 1 with a total of 585 adults 18 or older who said they were not registered as Republicans. All respondents said they were registered to vote and planned to vote in the Democratic presidential primary on January 27th. Respondents who later said they would not vote when asked for their choice among the Democratic contenders were excluded from the tabulations. 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 5 percentage points.

SOUTH CAROLINA SURVEY

Interviews were conducted Nov. 18 - Dec. 1 with a total of 566 adults 18 and older who said they are registered to vote and planned to vote in the Democratic presidential primary on February 3rd. Respondents who later said they would not vote when asked for their choice among the Democratic contenders were excluded from the tabulations. 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 5 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.

SURVEY METHODOLOGY IN DETAIL

The samples for the national, New Hampshire, and South Carolina surveys are random digit samples of telephone numbers selected from telephone exchanges in the continental United States and the states of New Hampshire and South Carolina, respectively. The random digit aspect of the sample is used to avoid "listing" bias and provides representation of both listed and unlisted numbers (including not-yet-listed). The design of the sample ensures this

representation by random generation of the last two digits of telephone numbers selected on the basis of their area code, telephone exchange, and bank number.

The telephone exchanges were selected with probabilities proportional to their size. The first eight digits of the sampled telephone numbers (area code, telephone exchange, bank number) were selected to be proportionally stratified by county and by telephone exchange within county. That is, the number of telephone numbers randomly sampled from within a given county is proportional to that county's share of telephone numbers in the U.S. or within a given state. Only working banks of telephone numbers are selected. A working bank is defined as 100 contiguous telephone numbers containing one or more residential listings.

The sample was released for interviewing in replicates. Using replicates to control the release of sample to the field ensures that the complete call procedures are followed for the entire sample. The use of replicates also insures that the regional distribution of numbers called is appropriate. Again, this works to increase the representativeness of the sample.

At least 10 attempts were made to complete an interview at every sampled telephone number. The calls were staggered over times of day and days of the week to maximize the chances of making a contact with a potential respondent. All interview breakoffs and refusals were re-contacted at least once in order to attempt to convert them to completed interviews. In each contacted household, interviewers asked to speak with the "youngest male 18 or older who is at home." If there is no eligible man at home, interviewers asked to speak with "the oldest woman 18 or older who is at home." This systematic respondent selection technique has been shown empirically to produce samples that closely mirror the population in terms of age and gender.

Non-response in telephone interview surveys produces some known biases in survey-derived estimates because participation tends to vary for different subgroups of the population, and these subgroups are likely to vary also on questions of substantive interest. In order to compensate for these known biases, the sample data are weighted in analysis.

The demographic weighting parameters used in the national, New Hampshire, and South Carolina samples are derived from a special analysis of the most recently available Census Bureau's Current Population Survey (March 2003). This analysis produced population parameters for the demographic characteristics of households with adults 18 or older, which are then compared with the sample characteristics to construct sample weights. The analysis only included households in the continental United States or the individual states that contain a telephone. The weights are derived using an iterative technique that simultaneously balances the distributions of all weighting parameters.

The sample for the Iowa survey was drawn from the database of registered voters maintained by the office of the Iowa Secretary of State, and excluded registered Republicans. This database is updated continuously and represents the most complete and accurate record of voter registration available. Most voter records contain a telephone number for the voter, and these were used to contact the sampled individuals. Data from Iowa were not weighted. Ann Selzer and Dana Birnberg of Selzer & Company provided helpful advice on polling Iowans.

Demographic Profile of Likely Voters

	<u>National</u>	<u>Iowa</u>	New <u>Hampshire</u>	South <u>Carolina</u>
	%	%	%	%
<i>Gender</i>				
Male	40	46	44	44
Female	<u>60</u>	<u>54</u>	<u>56</u>	<u>56</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Race</i>				
White	72	97	95	56
Black	21	1	1	42
Other non-white	7	2	2	1
Don't know/Refused	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Hispanic descent</i>				
Yes	10	1	1	2
No/Don't know	<u>90</u>	<u>99</u>	<u>99</u>	<u>98</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Age</i>				
18-29	17	7	10	14
30-49	37	29	46	38
50-64	23	34	25	25
65 and older	22	28	16	21
Refused	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Education</i>				
College grad or higher	31	45	39	21
Some college	24	17	23	24
H.S. grad	36	34	32	39
Less than H.S.	9	4	6	16
Don't know/Refused	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Family Income</i>				
\$75,000 and higher	19	21	23	14
\$50,000-\$74,999	14	17	19	16
\$30,000-\$49,999	24	26	24	22
\$20,000-\$29,999	14	12	9	16
Less than \$20,000	20	13	12	22
Don't know/Refused	<u>9</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>10</u>
	100	100	100	100

All state figures based on likely primary or caucus voters in Iowa, New Hampshire and South Carolina.

National figures based on likely primary or caucus voters who identify themselves as Democrats or independents who lean Democratic.

Demographic Profile of Likely Voters (continued)

Labor union membership

<i>Are you (or is your spouse) a member of a labor union?</i>	<u>National</u>	<u>Iowa</u>	<u>New Hampshire</u>	<u>South Carolina</u>
Union household (NET)	16	23	15	6
Respondent only	9	12	10	3
Spouse only	5	7	3	2
Both are members	2	4	2	1
Non-union household	83	76	85	94
Don't know/Refused	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>
	100	100	100	100

Past Voting Behavior

<i>How often would you say you vote?</i>	<u>National</u>	<u>Iowa</u>	<u>New Hampshire</u>	<u>South Carolina</u>
Always	52	63	62	53
Nearly always	34	29	28	27
Part of the time	9	6	8	14
Seldom	3	2	2	5
Never vote (vol)	1	*	*	1
Other/Don't know/Refused	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>
	100	100	100	100

Religion

<i>What is your religious preference?</i>	<u>National</u>	<u>Iowa</u>	<u>New Hampshire</u>	<u>South Carolina</u>
Protestant	55	64	34	86
White evangelical	14	18	8	29
White non-evangelical	22	44	25	18
Roman Catholic	24	23	41	5
Jewish	3	1	1	*
Mormon	1	*	*	*
Orthodox church	1	-	1	1
Islam/Muslim	*	*	-	*
Other religion	2	2	4	2
No religion/Atheist/Agnostic	12	8	16	5
Don't know/Refused	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>
	100	100	100	100

Church Attendance

<i>Aside from weddings and funerals, how often do you attend religious services</i>	<u>National</u>	<u>Iowa</u>	<u>New Hampshire</u>	<u>South Carolina</u>
More than once a week	16	10	6	27
Once a week	23	40	24	31
Once or twice a month	17	14	10	20
A few times a year	18	17	24	10
Seldom	17	10	20	8
Never	9	7	15	4
Don't know/Refused	<u>*</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>
	100	100	100	100

All state figures based on likely primary or caucus voters in Iowa, New Hampshire and South Carolina.

National figures based on likely primary or caucus voters who identify themselves as Democrats or independents who lean Democratic.

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
NOVEMBER/DECEMBER 2003 DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY SCENE-SETTER SURVEYS**

National Survey	Nov. 18 - Dec. 1, 2003	N=469 Democrat/Lean Dem Likely Voters
Iowa Survey	Nov. 25 - Dec. 4, 2003	N=394 Likely Voters
New Hampshire Survey	Nov. 18 - Dec. 1, 2003	N=585 Likely Voters
South Carolina Survey	Nov. 18 - Dec. 1, 2003	N=566 Likely Voters

SAMPLE DESCRIPTIONS: (See "About the Surveys" for details)

THE **NATIONAL** SAMPLE IS BASED ON DEMOCRATS AND DEMOCRATIC-LEANERS (INDEPENDENTS WHO LEAN DEMOCRATIC) WHO ARE "VERY" OR "SOMEWHAT" LIKELY TO VOTE IN THE PRIMARY OR CAUCUS IN THEIR STATE

THE **IOWA** SAMPLE EXCLUDES REGISTERED REPUBLICANS, AND IS BASED ON RESPONDENTS WHO WILL "DEFINITELY" OR "PROBABLY" ATTEND THE CAUCUS IN THEIR AREA

THE **NEW HAMPSHIRE** SAMPLE EXCLUDES REGISTERED REPUBLICANS, AND IS BASED ON RESPONDENTS WHO "PLAN TO VOTE"

THE **SOUTH CAROLINA** SAMPLE DOES NOT MAKE ANY EXCLUSIONS BASED ON PARTY IDENTIFICATION, AND IS BASED ON RESPONDENTS WHO "PLAN TO VOTE"

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]**

IF APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE (1,2 IN Q.1) ASK:

Q.2 Do you (approve/disapprove) very strongly, or not so strongly?

<u>Natl.</u>	<u>IA</u>	<u>NH</u>	<u>SC</u>		National <u>Total</u> [^]
20	16	26	37	Approve	50
8	6	14	26	Very strongly	34
12	9	11	10	Not so strongly	14
*	1	1	1	Don't know (VOL.)	2
72	78	64	56	Disapprove	40
58	64	54	45	Very strongly	30
13	13	9	10	Not so strongly	9
1	1	1	1	Don't know (VOL.)	1
8	6	10	7	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	10
100	100	100	100		100

Q.3 How closely have you been following news about the race for the Democratic presidential nomination... very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely?

<u>Natl.</u>	<u>IA</u>	<u>NH</u>	<u>SC</u>		National <u>Total</u>
15	37	33	23	Very closely	11
37	45	42	34	Fairly closely	26
33	13	20	28	Not too closely	34
15	5	5	14	Not at all closely	28
*	*	*	1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	1
100	100	100	100		100

[^] Where applicable, national totals representing the most recent general population survey results are shown.

- REGIST These days, many people are so busy they can't find time to register to vote, or move around so often they don't get a chance to re-register... Are you NOW registered to vote in your precinct or election district, or haven't you been able to register so far?
- REGICERT Are you absolutely certain you are registered to vote, or is there a chance your registration has lapsed because you moved or for some other reason?
- Q.4 Are you now registered in your precinct or election district as a Republican, as a Democrat, or haven't you declared a party affiliation?

				<i>NH REGISTERED VOTERS</i>	
<u>Natl.</u>	<u>IA</u>	<u>NH</u>	<u>SC</u>		<u>Jan 1996</u>
--	--	--	17	Registered Republican	36
--	74	42	45	Registered Democrat	24
--	2	5	1	Other party (VOL.)	8
--				Haven't declared party affiliation/ Independent (VOL.)	30
--	20	51	34	Not sure / Refused (VOL.)	<u>2</u>
--	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>		<u>100</u>
	100	100	100		

PARTY In politics TODAY, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or Independent?

<u>Natl.</u>	<u>IA</u>	<u>NH</u>	<u>SC</u>	
--	1	3	19	Republican
73	73	41	47	Democrat
25	24	54	27	Independent
1	*	*	4	No Preference (VOL.)
1	1	0	*	Other party (VOL.)
*	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	Don't know / Refused (VOL.)
100	100	100	100	

- Q.5 If there is a Democratic primary election or caucus in your state next year, how likely is it that you will vote? Are you very likely, somewhat likely, not too likely, or not at all likely to vote in the Democratic primaries?
[INTERVIEWER: IF RESPONDENT IS NOT SURE WHETHER THEY ARE ELIGIBLE TO VOTE, ENTER PUNCH 6]

<u>Natl.</u>	<u>IA</u>	<u>NH</u>	<u>SC</u>	
82	--	--	--	Very likely
18	--	--	--	Somewhat likely
--	--	--	--	Not too likely
--	--	--	--	Not at all likely
--	--	--	--	No primary (VOL.)
--	--	--	--	Not sure if eligible/Not eligible to participate (VOL.)
--	--	--	--	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100				

Q.5NH Do you, yourself, plan to vote in the January 27th New Hampshire Democratic primary, or not?
 Q.5SC Do you, yourself, plan to vote in the February 3rd South Carolina Democratic primary, or not?

NH REGISTERED REPUBLICANS¹

<u>Natl.</u>	<u>IA</u>	<u>NH</u>	<u>SC</u>		<u>Jan 1996</u>
--	--	100	100	Yes	90
--	--	--	--	No	7
--	--	<u>--</u>	<u>--</u>	Not sure	<u>3</u>
		100	100		100

Q.5IA Thinking about the upcoming Democratic caucuses in Iowa on January 19th, how likely would you say it is that you'll attend the presidential caucus in your area? Will you definitely attend, probably attend, probably not attend, or aren't you sure at this point?

<u>Natl.</u>	<u>IA</u>	<u>NH</u>	<u>SC</u>	
--	47	--	--	Definitely
--	53	--	--	Probably
--	--	--	--	Probably not
--	--	--	--	Not sure
--	--	--	--	Will not attend (VOL.)
--	<u>--</u>	--	--	Refused (VOL.)
	100			

M.3 Overall, what's your impression of the candidates running for the Democratic presidential nomination? AS A GROUP, would you say they are excellent candidates, good candidates, fair candidates or poor candidates?

***NH LIKELY REPUBLICAN
 PRIMARY VOTERS²***

<u>Natl.</u>	<u>IA</u>	<u>NH</u>	<u>SC</u>		<u>Jan 1996</u>
5	17	10	4	Excellent	5
41	58	50	34	Good	29
40	19	31	41	Fair	48
6	2	4	9	Poor	16
<u>8</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>12</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>2</u>
100	100	100	100		100

¹ In January 1996 the question was worded, "Do you, yourself, plan to vote in the February 20 Republican primary?"

² In January 1996 the question was worded, "...running for the Republican presidential nomination?"

Q.6 Which one of the following Democratic candidates would be your first choice for president? (**READ AND RANDOMIZE**) [IF “Don’t know” **PROBE ONCE WITH:** “Just as of today, would you say you LEAN toward ...(**READ**). **IF STILL DK, ENTER.**]

IF CANDIDATE GIVEN (1 thru 10 in Q.6) ASK:

Q.7 And which of the Democratic candidates would be your second choice? [**RE-READ LIST, IF NECESSARY—EXCLUDE NAME CITED IN Q.6**]

IF NAMED CANDIDATE GIVEN (1 thru 9 in Q.6) ASK:

Q.8 Do you support (**INSERT RESPONSE FROM Q.6**) strongly or only moderately?

Natl.		IA		NH		SC		
<u>1st</u>	<u>2nd</u>	<u>1st</u>	<u>2nd</u>	<u>1st</u>	<u>2nd</u>	<u>1st</u>	<u>2nd</u>	
15	8	3	3	8	11	11	5	Wesley Clark
6		1		3		4		Strongly
9		2		5		7		Only Moderately/Don’t know
15	15	29	21	34	15	7	8	Howard Dean
5		14		17		2		Strongly
10		15		17		5		Only Moderately/Don’t know
5	3	5	8	4	6	16	7	John Edwards
1		2		2		6		Strongly
4		3		2		10		Moderate/Lean/Don’t know
12	7	21	18	5	6	10	11	Richard Gephardt
4		10		1		3		Strongly
8		11		4		7		Only Moderately/Don’t know
6	10	18	16	20	18	3	6	John Kerry
2		9		8		1		Strongly
4		9		12		2		Only Moderately/Don’t know
2	2	4	1	1	1	*	0	Dennis Kucinich
1		3		*		0		Strongly
1		1		*		*		Only Moderately/Don’t know
12	10	1	4	8	9	9	8	Joe Lieberman
4		0		2		1		Strongly
8		1		6		8		Only Moderately/Don’t know
4	3	1	1	1	2	2	4	Carol Moseley Braun
2		*		0		1		Strongly
2		1		1		1		Only Moderately/Don’t know
5	4	1	1	1	1	8	4	Al Sharpton
2		1		*		3		Strongly
3		0		*		5		Only Moderately/Don’t know
1	1	*	1	1	*	1	*	Other (DO NOT READ)
--	4	--	2	--	4	--	3	None/Wouldn’t vote/No second choice (DON’T READ)
--	23	--	17	--	17	--	33	Respondent does not have a 1 st choice
23	10	17	7	17	10	33	11	Don’t Know/No answer (DO NOT READ)
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	

Q.9 Regardless of who you personally prefer, which Democratic candidate do you think has the best chance of defeating George W. Bush in the November presidential election? **(RE-READ LIST IF NECESSARY)**

<u>Natl.</u>	<u>IA</u>	<u>NH</u>	<u>SC</u>	
11	4	7	10	Wesley Clark
19	32	33	9	Howard Dean
2	2	1	7	John Edwards
7	17	4	10	Richard Gephardt
6	14	18	1	John Kerry
0	1	0	*	Dennis Kucinich
8	*	5	8	Joe Lieberman
1	*	0	1	Carol Moseley Braun
2	0	*	4	Al Sharpton
3	1	2	2	Other (VOL. DO NOT READ)
6	3	6	9	None has a chance (VOL. DO NOT READ)
<u>35</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>39</u>	Don't Know/No answer (VOL. DO NOT READ)
100	100	100	100	

Q.10 If you had to choose, which would be more important to you in deciding who to support in the (January/February) (primary/caucuses)? **[READ AND ROTATE]**

<u>Natl.</u>	<u>IA</u>	<u>NH</u>	<u>SC</u>	
49	53	62	65	Picking a candidate who comes closest to your positions on the issues [or] Picking a candidate who has the best chance of defeating George W. Bush in November
44	40	32	25	Other (VOL.)
1	1	2	1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	
100	100	100	100	

Q.11 Are you more interested or less interested in politics this year than you were in 2000?

**NH LIKELY REPUBLICAN
PRIMARY VOTERS**

<u>Natl.</u>	<u>IA</u>	<u>NH</u>	<u>SC</u>		<u>Jan 1996</u>
49	46	45	51	More	48
28	14	17	27	Less	29
23	39	37	21	Same (VOL.)	22
<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	Don't Know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>1</u>
100	100	100	100		100

Thinking about the upcoming presidential campaigns...

Q.12 What one ISSUE would you most like to hear presidential candidates talk about? [**OPEN ENDED; MAY ACCEPT UP TO THREE MENTIONS**]

<u>Natl.</u>	<u>IA</u>	<u>NH</u>	<u>SC</u>		National Total^ <u>Sept 2003</u>
28	22	22	21	Economy	45
24	27	21	19	Iraq/The war	11
23	28	35	19	Health care reform/Health care in general	18
8	9	10	9	Education/Education reform	5
7	7	5	18	Job situation/Unemployment	4
3	3	2	4	Social Security	2
3	4	4	3	Terrorism/Protecting the nation	15
3	4	5	3	Foreign Policy/Trade	2
3	3	1	5	Elderly/Senior Citizens/Medicare/Prescription Drugs	1
2	4	3	4	Budget deficit/National debt	1
1	1	1	1	Poverty/Homelessness	1
1	3	5	1	Environment/Energy	1
1	*	1	2	Abortion	1
7	10	8	11	Other [SPECIFY]	
7	6	5	8	Don't know/Refused	8
34	28	25	37	NET: ECONOMY/JOB SITUATION/UNEMPLOYMENT	
26	30	24	21	NET: IRAQ/TERRORISM	

Note: Figures add to more than 100% due to multiple responses.

NO QUESTIONS 13-15

^ Where applicable, national totals representing the most recent general population survey results are shown.

Q.16 Are there any of the Democratic candidates who you think would do a particularly good job of protecting the nation from terrorism? You can name more than one candidate if you like. **(RE-READ LIST IF NECESSARY; PROBE ONCE FOR ADDITIONAL)**

<u>Natl.</u>	<u>IA</u>	<u>NH</u>	<u>SC</u>	
14	12	24	11	Wesley Clark
5	14	10	5	Howard Dean
1	4	3	5	John Edwards
5	11	4	6	Richard Gephardt
6	18	16	4	John Kerry
*	2	1	*	Dennis Kucinich
6	1	5	5	Joe Lieberman
1	0	1	1	Carol Moseley Braun
3	*	*	3	Al Sharpton
1	*	2	1	Other (VOL. DO NOT READ)
9	18	8	6	All about the same (VOL. DO NOT READ)
25	15	21	25	No one would do a good job (VOL. DO NOT READ)
34	26	24	38	Don't Know/No answer (VOL. DO NOT READ)

Q.17 Are there any of the Democratic candidates who you DON'T think would do a good job of protecting the nation from terrorism? **(RE-READ LIST IF NECESSARY; PROBE ONCE FOR ADDITIONAL)**

<u>Natl.</u>	<u>IA</u>	<u>NH</u>	<u>SC</u>	
2	*	2	2	Wesley Clark
2	5	6	1	Howard Dean
*	2	2	1	John Edwards
3	2	2	1	Richard Gephardt
1	2	3	1	John Kerry
2	4	6	1	Dennis Kucinich
3	5	5	3	Joe Lieberman
3	5	4	3	Carol Moseley Braun
12	8	12	12	Al Sharpton
1	0	2	1	Other (VOL. DO NOT READ)
7	6	8	7	All about the same (VOL. DO NOT READ)
35	41	38	30	No one would do a bad job (VOL. DO NOT READ)
34	30	25	43	Don't Know/No answer (VOL. DO NOT READ)

Note: Figures add to more than 100% due to multiple responses.

Q.18 Are there any of the Democratic candidates who you think would do a particularly good job of standing up for the Democratic Party's long-standing positions on such things as protecting the interests of minorities, helping the poor and needy, and representing working people? **(RE-READ LIST IF NECESSARY; PROBE ONCE FOR ADDITIONAL)**

<u>Natl.</u>	<u>IA</u>	<u>NH</u>	<u>SC</u>	
5	1	4	5	Wesley Clark
11	24	23	8	Howard Dean
3	6	6	11	John Edwards
10	28	8	10	Richard Gephardt
7	17	19	2	John Kerry
2	5	2	*	Dennis Kucinich
10	2	8	7	Joe Lieberman
5	4	4	3	Carol Moseley Braun
9	3	3	11	Al Sharpton
1	*	1	1	Other (VOL. DO NOT READ)
6	18	11	9	All the same (VOL. DO NOT READ)
10	7	8	11	No one would do a good job (VOL. DO NOT READ)
28	12	20	33	Don't Know/No answer (VOL. DO NOT READ)

Q.19 Are there any of the Democratic candidates who you DON'T think would do a particularly good job of standing up for the Democratic Party's long-standing positions? **(RE-READ LIST IF NECESSARY; PROBE ONCE FOR ADDITIONAL)**

<u>Natl.</u>	<u>IA</u>	<u>NH</u>	<u>SC</u>	
3	5	5	2	Wesley Clark
1	4	4	2	Howard Dean
1	1	1	1	John Edwards
2	2	2	2	Richard Gephardt
1	2	6	1	John Kerry
1	2	2	*	Dennis Kucinich
4	6	5	3	Joe Lieberman
2	2	2	1	Carol Moseley Braun
5	5	6	8	Al Sharpton
1	0	*	1	Other (VOL. DO NOT READ)
5	7	6	6	All the same (VOL. DO NOT READ)
36	41	38	33	No one would do a bad job (VOL. DO NOT READ)
38	29	29	42	Don't Know/No answer (VOL. DO NOT READ)

Note: Figures add to more than 100% due to multiple responses.

Thinking about your own personal finances...

Q.20 How would you rate your own personal financial situation? Would you say you are in excellent shape, good shape, only fair shape or poor shape?

<u>Natl.</u>	<u>IA</u>	<u>NH</u>	<u>SC</u>		National Total [^] <u>Sept 2003</u>
6	8	6	6	Excellent shape	10
34	50	49	33	Good shape	38
43	31	32	38	Only fair shape	36
16	9	11	22	Poor shape	15
<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>1</u>
100	100	100	100		100

Q.21 A year from now, do you expect that economic conditions in the country as a whole will be better than they are at present, or worse, or just about the same as now?

<u>Natl.</u>	<u>IA</u>	<u>NH</u>	<u>SC</u>		National Total <u>Sept 2003</u>
30	30	37	40	Better	37
20	17	16	19	Worse	17
46	47	40	36	Same	43
<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>3</u>
100	100	100	100		100

Q.22 Thinking now about job opportunities where you live, would you say there are plenty of jobs available in your community or are jobs difficult to find?

<u>Natl.</u>	<u>IA</u>	<u>NH</u>	<u>SC</u>		National Total <u>Oct 2003</u>
18	14	20	17	Plenty of jobs available	24
75	73	63	76	Jobs are difficult to find	66
5	8	11	5	Lots of some jobs, few of others (VOL.)	5
<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>2</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>5</u>
100	100	100	100		100

[^] Where applicable, national totals representing the most recent general population survey results are shown.

Now thinking about Iraq...

Q.23 Do you think the U.S. made the right decision or the wrong decision in using military force against Iraq?

<u>Natl.</u>	<u>IA</u>	<u>NH</u>	<u>SC</u>		National Total [^] <u>Oct 2003</u>
32	26	40	43	Right decision	60
60	68	52	47	Wrong decision	33
<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>10</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>7</u>
100	100	100	100		100

Q.24 How well is the U.S. military effort in Iraq going? **[READ IN ORDER]**

<u>Natl.</u>	<u>IA</u>	<u>NH</u>	<u>SC</u>		National Total <u>Oct 2003</u>
7	3	6	8	Very well	16
29	28	33	36	Fairly well	44
36	42	33	33	Not too well	25
26	23	24	19	Not at all well	11
<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>4</u>
100	100	100	100		100

Q.25 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>Natl.</u>	<u>IA</u>	<u>NH</u>	<u>SC</u>		National Total <u>Oct 2003</u>
47	56	57	48	Keep troops in Iraq	58
48	38	38	48	Bring troops home	39
<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>3</u>
100	100	100	100		100

Q.26 Do you think many of the Democratic leaders in Washington voted for the war **[READ AND ROTATE]**

<u>Natl.</u>	<u>IA</u>	<u>NH</u>	<u>SC</u>	
47	51	57	52	Because they thought it was the right thing to do [or did they vote for the war]
36	30	29	31	Because they were afraid to stand up and oppose the president
7	7	4	5	Mixed/Other (VOL. DO NOT READ)
<u>10</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>12</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL. DO NOT READ)
100	100	100	100	

[^] Where applicable, national totals representing the most recent general population survey results are shown.

Q.27 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; RANDOMIZE]

<u>Natl.</u>	<u>IA</u>	<u>NH</u>	<u>SC</u>		National Total [^]
				a. Making it more DIFFICULT for a woman to get an abortion	<u>Aug 2003</u>
11	9	8	15	Strongly favor	17
12	16	11	15	Favor	19
32	34	31	32	Oppose	27
37	31	43	26	Strongly Oppose	30
<u>8</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>12</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>7</u>
100	100	100	100		100
				b. Allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally	<u>Oct 2003</u>
15	14	18	6	Strongly favor	9
25	28	34	15	Favor	23
19	27	22	25	Oppose	24
33	21	16	47	Strongly Oppose	35
<u>8</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>7</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>9</u>
100	100	100	100		100
				c. Providing more generous government assistance to the poor	<u>March 2002</u>
37	27	32	42	Strongly favor	24
45	55	49	35	Favor	43
11	11	14	13	Oppose	22
4	2	2	5	Strongly Oppose	5
<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>5</u>
100	100	100	100		100

Q.28 What do you think is more important – to protect the right of Americans to own guns, OR to control gun ownership?

<u>Natl.</u>	<u>IA</u>	<u>NH</u>	<u>SC</u>		National Total
					<u>May 2000</u>
30	29	27	35	Protect rights of Americans to own guns	38
65	66	67	60	Control gun ownership	57
<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>5</u>
100	100	100	100		100

[^] Where applicable, national totals representing the most recent general population survey results are shown.

Q.29 In general, do you think that free trade agreements like NAFTA, (the North American Free Trade Agreement) and the WTO (World Trade Organization), have been a good thing or a bad thing for the United States? **[INTERVIEWER: READ OUT FULL NAMES ONLY IF RESPONDENT IS UNCERTAIN]**

<u>Natl.</u>	<u>IA</u>	<u>NH</u>	<u>SC</u>	
32	26	31	29	Good thing
44	53	44	44	Bad thing
<u>24</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>27</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100	100	100	100	

Q.30 Thinking about the financial situation of you and your family... Do you think these free trade agreements (like NAFTA and the WTO) have definitely helped, probably helped, probably hurt, or definitely hurt the financial situation of you and your family? **[INTERVIEWER: READ OUT FULL NAMES ONLY IF RESPONDENT IS UNCERTAIN]**

<u>Natl.</u>	<u>IA</u>	<u>NH</u>	<u>SC</u>	
1	2	2	2	Definitely helped
25	18	22	19	Probably helped
29	33	26	30	Probably hurt
16	13	13	23	Definitely hurt
13	20	19	11	Neither (VOL.)
<u>16</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>15</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100	100	100	100	

Q.31 Do you think that using military force against countries that may seriously threaten our country, but have not attacked us, can often be justified, sometimes be justified, rarely be justified, or never be justified?

<u>Natl.</u>	<u>IA</u>	<u>NH</u>	<u>SC</u>		National Total [^] <u>Aug 2003</u>
10	5	9	13	Often justified	20
40	35	41	45	Sometimes justified	43
26	36	31	15	Rarely justified	19
19	20	16	20	Never justified	13
<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>7</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>5</u>
100	100	100	100		100

Q.32 Which comes closer to your view about the tax cuts passed under President Bush over the past few years? **[READ IN ORDER]**

<u>Natl.</u>	<u>IA</u>	<u>NH</u>	<u>SC</u>	
11	5	12	18	All of the tax cuts should remain in place
42	49	50	34	Tax cuts for the wealthy should be repealed, while others stay in place
36	41	33	38	All of the tax cuts should be repealed
<u>11</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>10</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL. DO NOT READ)
100	100	100	100	

NO QUESTIONS 33-34

[^] Where applicable, national totals representing the most recent general population survey results are shown.

Q.35 Do you use a computer at your workplace, at school, at home or anywhere else on at least an occasional basis?
IF “1, YES” (USE A COMPUTER) IN Q.35, ASK:

Q.36 Do you ever go online to access the Internet or World Wide Web or to send and receive email?

<u>Natl.</u>	<u>IA</u>	<u>NH</u>	<u>SC</u>	
73	75	84	69	Yes, computer user
63	68	79	57	Goes online
10	7	5	12	Doesn't go online
0	0	0	0	Don't know
27	25	16	31	Not a computer user
*	0	0	*	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100	100	100	100	

Q.37 So far in the Democratic primary campaign, have you... (INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE ITEMS a. THRU c. FOLLOWED BY RANDOMIZED ITEMS d. THRU f. ASK ITEMS d THRU f. ONLY IF ONLINE [1 in Q.36])

<u>Natl.</u>	<u>IA</u>	<u>NH</u>	<u>SC</u>	
18	74	55	16	a. Been called on the telephone by a campaign
82	26	44	83	Yes
*	*	1	1	No
100	100	100	100	Don't know/Refused
7	20	7	8	b. Contributed money to any of the Democratic presidential candidates
93	79	92	91	Yes
0	1	1	1	No
100	100	100	100	Don't know/Refused
--	34	18	9	c. Attended a campaign event
--	66	82	91	Yes
--	*	0	*	No
	100	100	100	Don't know/Refused
--	22	20	7	d. Visited any of the candidates' websites
--	46	59	50	Yes
--	*	0	*	No
--	32	21	43	Don't know/Refused
	100	100	100	Doesn't go online
10	27	22	8	e. Sent or received e-mails about the candidates or campaigns
53	41	57	48	Yes
0	*	*	1	No
37	32	21	43	Don't know/Refused
100	100	100	100	Doesn't go online
--	6	6	3	f. Participated in online discussions or "blogs" about the campaign
--	61	72	54	Yes
--	1	1	0	No
--	32	21	43	Don't know/Refused
	100	100	100	Doesn't go online