

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

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

Q.1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling his job as president? [**IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF DEPENDS PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling his job as president? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK**]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>3</sup> In Early February 2004, these “one word” questions were not asked toward the beginning of the questionnaire. For George W. Bush, another trend from March 1999 is also available.

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

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

May 2004\*

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

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

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

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

	Quite <u>A lot</u>	(VOL.) <u>Some</u>	Only a <u>Little</u>	(VOL.) <u>None</u>	DK/ <u>Ref.</u>
May, 2004	59	6	30	4	1=100
Late March, 2004	60	4	31	4	1=100
Mid-March, 2004	65	2	31	2	*=100
Early November, 2000	72	6	19	2	1=100
Late October, 2000	66	6	24	4	*=100
Mid-October, 2000	67	9	19	4	1=100
Early October, 2000	60	8	27	4	1=100
September, 2000	59	8	29	3	1=100
July, 2000	46	6	45	3	*=100
June, 2000	46	6	43	5	*=100
May, 2000	48	4	42	5	1=100
April, 2000	45	7	41	7	*=100

**Q.3 CONTINUED...**

	Quite <u>A lot</u>	(VOL.) <u>Some</u>	Only a <u>Little</u>	(VOL.) <u>None</u>	DK/ <u>Ref.</u>
November, 1996	67	8	22	3	*=100
October, 1996	65	7	26	1	1=100
Late September, 1996	61	7	29	2	1=100
Early September, 1996	56	3	36	4	1=100
July, 1996	55	3	41	1	*=100
June, 1996	50	5	41	3	1=100
October, 1992	77	5	16	1	1=100
September, 1992	69	3	26	1	1=100
August, 1992	72	4	23	1	*=100
June, 1992	63	6	29	1	1=100
<b>Gallup:</b> November, 1988	73	8	17	2	0=100
<b>Gallup:</b> October, 1988	69	9	20	2	0=100
<b>Gallup:</b> August, 1988	61	10	27	2	0=100
<b>Gallup:</b> September, 1988	57	18	23	2	0=100

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

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

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

**NO QUESTION 5**

**ASK ALL:**

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

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

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

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

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

**ASK ALL:**

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

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

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

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

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

**Selected Trends:**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

  

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

  

----- CLINTON -----					----- DOLE -----					----- PEROT -----					
		Pro-	Anti-	Un-		Pro-	Anti-	Un-		Pro-	Anti-	Un-	Other/		
<b>1996</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Clinton</b>	<b>other</b>	<b>decid</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Dole</b>	<b>other</b>	<b>decid</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Perot</b>	<b>Other</b>	<b>decid</b>	<b>DK</b>		
Nov	<b>51</b>	33	15	3	<b>32</b>	15	15	2	<b>9</b>	4	5	*	<b>8=100</b>		
Oct	<b>51</b>	33	16	2	<b>34</b>	15	18	1	<b>8</b>	4	4	*	<b>7=100</b>		
Sept	<b>52</b>	35	15	2	<b>34</b>	16	17	1	<b>8</b>	3	5	0	<b>6=100</b>		
Mar	<b>53</b>	30	20	3	<b>41</b>	15	25	1	--	--	--	--	<b>6=100</b>		

  

----- CLINTON -----					----- BUSH -----					----- PEROT -----					
		Pro-	Anti-	Un-		Pro-	Anti-	Un-		Pro-	Anti-	Un-	Other/		
<b>1992</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Clinton</b>	<b>other</b>	<b>decid</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Bush</b>	<b>other</b>	<b>decid</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Perot</b>	<b>Other</b>	<b>decid</b>	<b>DK</b>		
Oct	<b>48</b>	23	22	3	<b>35</b>	19	13	3	<b>8</b>	3	5	*	<b>9=100</b>		
Sept	<b>53</b>	21	29	3	<b>38</b>	20	16	2	--	--	--	--	<b>9=100</b>		
Aug	<b>57</b>	27	28	2	<b>37</b>	20	16	1	--	--	--	--	<b>6=100</b>		
Mar	<b>44</b>	13	29	2	<b>49</b>	32	15	2	--	--	--	--	<b>7=100</b>		

  

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**ASK ALL:**

Regardless of who you might support in November...

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

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

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

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

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

**ASK FORM 1 ONLY:**

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

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

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

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

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

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

**ASK FORM 2 ONLY:**

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

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

		<u>George</u>	<u>John</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b>	<u>DK/Ref.</u>
		<u>W. Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u> <sup>6</sup>	<u>Neither</u>	
a.F2	Improving economic conditions	38	48	5	9=100
	Late March, 2004	39	44	6	11=100
	Mid-March, 2004	37	53	2	8=100

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

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

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

		George <u>W. Bush</u>	John <u>Kerry</u>	(VOL.) <u>Neither</u>	<u>DK/Ref.</u>
	Late-October, 2000 <sup>7</sup>	40	46	6	8=100
	Mid-October, 2000	37	49	3	11=100
	Early October, 2000	35	47	6	12=100
	September, 2000	38	46	5	11=100
	June, 2000	38	41	5	16=100
	March, 2000	42	46	4	8=100
b.F2	Improving the health care system	29	51	7	13=100
	Late March, 2004	33	46	6	15=100
	Mid-March, 2004	29	57	4	10=100
	Late-October, 2000	38	47	5	10=100
	Mid-October, 2000	37	48	4	11=100
	Early October, 2000	36	49	5	10=100
	September, 2000	32	51	6	11=100
	June, 2000	31	44	6	19=100
	March, 2000	31	51	6	12=100
c.F2	Improving education	35	50	5	10=100
	Late March, 2004	39	43	5	13=100
	Mid-March, 2004	36	52	3	9=100
	Late-October, 2000	41	45	4	10=100
	Mid-October, 2000	40	46	3	11=100
	Early October, 2000	41	43	6	10=100
	September, 2000	39	45	4	12=100
	June, 2000	34	44	5	17=100
	March, 2000	42	44	3	11=100
d.F2	Improving the job situation	35	50	5	10=100
	Late March, 2004	37	45	7	11=100
	Mid-March, 2004	30	57	5	8=100
e.F2	Making wise decisions about U.S. trade policies	40	40	6	14=100
	Late March, 2004	38	39	5	18=100
	Mid-March, 2004	38	48	3	11=100
	July, 1996 <sup>8</sup>	40	40	6	14=100
f.F2	Making wise decisions about what to do in Iraq	44	41	4	11=100
	Late March, 2004	49	37	4	10=100
	Mid-March, 2004	47	45	2	6=100
g.F2	Defending the country from future terrorist attacks	52	33	5	10=100
	Late March, 2004	53	29	4	14=100
	Mid-March, 2004	57	32	4	7=100

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

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

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

	George <u>W. Bush</u>	John <u>Kerry</u>	(VOL.) <u>Neither</u>	<u>DK/Ref.</u>
h.F2 Making wise decisions about foreign policy	43	42	4	11=100
Late March, 2004	44	38	4	14=100
Mid-March, 2004	44	45	3	8=100
March, 2000	40	46	4	10=100
Early September, 1996	42	44	6	8=100
July, 1996	44	42	4	10=100
October, 1992	53	27	9	11=100

**ASK ALL:**

On another subject...

Q.16 Would you say the press has been too critical, not critical enough, or fair in the way it has covered the Bush administration?

	Early <u>July 2003<sup>9</sup></u>	Clinton <u>June 1993</u>
34 Too critical	25	35
24 Not critical enough	23	12
35 Fair	48	49
<u>7</u> Don't know/Refused	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>
100	100	100

Q.17 How much trust and confidence do you have in the wisdom of the American people when it comes to making choices on election day? A great deal, a fair amount, not very much, or none at all?

20 A great deal
48 A fair amount
24 Not very much
5 None at all
<u>3</u> Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100

Now thinking about Iraq...

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

	Right <u>decision</u>	Wrong <u>decision</u>	Don't know/ <u>Ref.</u>
May, 2004	51	42	7=100
Late April, 2004	54	37	9=100
Early April, 2004	57	35	8=100
Mid-March, 2004	55	39	6=100
Late February, 2004	60	32	8=100
Early February, 2004	56	39	5=100
Mid-January, 2004	65	30	5=100
Early January, 2004	62	28	10=100
December, 2003	67	26	7=100

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<sup>9</sup> In 2003 and 1993 the question was worded: "Do you think the press has been too critical of the [Bush/Clinton] Administration policies and performance so far, not critical enough or do you think that the press has handled this about right?"

**Q.18 CONTINUED...**

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

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

	<u>Very well</u>	<u>Fairly well</u>	<u>Not too well</u>	<u>Not at all well</u>	<u>Don't know/ Ref.</u>
May, 2004	10	36	32	19	3=100
Late April, 2004	12	43	26	15	4=100
Early April, 2004	14	43	26	13	4=100
Mid-March, 2004	16	45	26	11	2=100
Early February, 2004	17	46	23	11	3=100
Mid-January, 2004	22	51	18	6	3=100
Early January, 2004	23	47	18	7	5=100
December, 2003	28	47	16	6	3=100
October, 2003	16	44	25	11	4=100
September, 2003	15	47	26	9	3=100
August, 2003	19	43	24	11	3=100
Early July, 2003	23	52	16	5	4=100
<i>April 10-16, 2003</i>	<i>61</i>	<i>32</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>3=100</i>
<i>April 8-9, 2003</i>	<i>60</i>	<i>32</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>2=100</i>
<i>April 2-7, 2003</i>	<i>55</i>	<i>37</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3=100</i>
<i>March 25-April 1, 2003</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>46</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>5=100</i>
<i>March 23-24, 2003</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>6=100</i>
<i>March 20-22, 2003</i>	<i>65</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>7=100</i>

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Q.22a Why do you feel that way? [OPEN END: DO NOT PROBE]

**VERBATIM RESPONSES NOT CATEGORIZED NUMERICALLY**

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

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

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

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

		<i>Falluja</i>
		Early April <sup>10</sup>
		<u>2004</u>
76	Yes	55
24	No	45
*	Don't know/Refused	*
<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>

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<sup>10</sup> In Early April 2004 the question was worded, "A few days ago, there were violent attacks against Americans in and around Falluja, Iraq, that resulted in the deaths of four U.S. civilians and five soldiers. Did you happen to see any video or pictures of these events in the news, or not?"

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

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

**ASK APPROXIMATELY 1,000 RANDOMLY SELECTED RESPONDENTS [N=1001]:**

Q.23 Now, I'm going to read a list. Please rate how much you think you can BELIEVE each organization I name on a scale of 4 to 1. On this four point scale, "4" means you can believe all or most of what the organization says. "1" means you believe almost nothing of what they say. How would you rate the believability of (READ ITEM. RANDOMIZE LIST) on this scale of 4 to 1? (INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE")

	Believe			Cannot Believe	Never Heard	Can't Rate
	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>of</u>	<u>Rate</u>
a. USA Today	15	32	22	8	2	21=100
May, 2002	15	36	19	6	1	23=100
May, 2000	17	31	20	7	2	23=100
May, 1998	18	35	21	5	2	19=100
April, 1996	20	34	20	9	3	14=100
February, 1993	20	36	21	7	1	15=100
August, 1989	21	32	18	5	6	18=100
June, 1985	13	26	13	2	4	42=100
b. ABC News	22	36	24	9	*	9=100
May, 2002	22	43	19	6	*	10=100
May, 2000	26	36	20	6	*	12=100
May, 1998	28	43	18	4	*	7=100
April, 1996	30	44	17	5	*	4=100
February, 1993	34	42	17	4	*	3=100
August, 1989	30	46	14	3	1	7=100
June, 1985	32	51	11	1	*	5=100
c. The Wall Street Journal	18	31	17	8	1	25=100
May, 2002	22	29	11	4	1	33=100
May, 2000	27	24	9	6	4	30=100
May, 1998	30	30	9	4	2	25=100
April, 1996	28	29	13	7	3	20=100
February, 1993	30	32	14	6	2	16=100
August, 1989	30	26	9	3	6	26=100
June, 1985	25	23	6	2	1	43=100
d. The daily newspaper you are most familiar with	17	33	30	12	*	8=100
May, 2002	20	39	25	9	0	7=100
May, 2000	23	38	24	8	*	7=100
May, 1998	27	36	24	7	*	6=100



**Q.23 CONTINUED ...**

	Believe			Cannot Believe	Never Heard	Can't Rate
	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>of</u>	<u>Rate</u>
April, 1996	24	37	26	8	*	5=100
February, 1993	22	41	25	8	*	4=100
August, 1989	26	41	24	7	*	2=100
June, 1985	28	52	13	2	*	5=100
e. The Associated Press	15	33	26	8	2	16=100
May, 2002	14	35	22	7	4	18=100
May, 2000	16	32	22	7	5	18=100
May, 1998	15	36	24	6	4	15=100
April, 1996	14	40	22	9	3	12=100
February, 1993	16	39	23	7	3	12=100
August, 1989	21	43	18	4	6	9=100
June, 1985	21	40	11	2	2	24=100
f. CNN	29	36	17	8	1	9=100
May, 2002	32	34	15	6	1	12=100
May, 2000	33	32	14	5	1	15=100
May, 1998	37	35	11	4	1	12=100
April, 1996	34	37	14	4	1	10=100
February, 1993	41	35	10	4	2	8=100
August, 1989	33	31	11	2	8	16=100
June, 1985	20	24	7	1	10	38=100
g. NBC News	22	39	24	9	*	6=100
May, 2002	23	43	19	6	*	9=100
May, 2000	26	37	21	7	*	9=100
May, 1998	28	42	20	4	*	6=100
April, 1996	28	46	18	5	*	3=100
February, 1993	31	42	18	6	*	3=100
August, 1989	32	47	14	2	*	5=100
June, 1985	31	51	12	1	*	5=100
h. CBS News	22	35	24	9	1	9=100
May, 2002	23	41	19	6	*	11=100
May, 2000	26	37	20	7	*	10=100
May, 1998	26	43	21	4	*	6=100
April, 1996	30	42	17	6	*	5=100
February, 1993	31	44	16	5	*	4=100
August, 1989	29	45	16	4	1	5=100
June, 1985	33	51	11	1	*	4=100
i. C-SPAN	20	28	18	7	4	23=100
May, 2002	18	26	12	5	8	31=100
May, 2000	21	24	11	6	10	28=100
May, 1998	20	26	12	4	12	26=100
April, 1996	19	24	12	9	10	26=100
j. Time Magazine	18	33	20	10	*	19=100
May, 2002	18	35	16	7	1	23=100
May, 2000	22	30	16	6	2	24=100

**Q.23 CONTINUED ...**

	Believe			Cannot Believe	Never Heard	Can't Rate
	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>of</u>	<u>Rate</u>
May, 1998	21	38	17	4	1	19=100
June, 1985	27	38	10	2	*	23=100
k. People Magazine	6	15	32	25	1	21=100
May, 2002	7	20	31	15	1	26=100
May, 2000	8	18	30	20	2	22=100
May, 1998	8	21	34	16	1	20=100
June, 1985	8	22	28	12	1	29=100
l. Newsweek	14	34	20	9	1	22=100
May, 2002	14	37	16	5	2	26=100
May, 2000	17	32	17	7	2	25=100
May, 1998	19	40	16	5	1	19=100
June, 1985	23	40	9	2	*	26=100
m. The National Enquirer	4	6	9	61	2	18=100
May, 2002	3	5	11	60	1	20=100
May, 2000	3	3	8	68	2	16=100
May, 1998	3	4	11	69	1	12=100
June, 1985	4	7	11	54	1	23=100
n. The NewsHour with Jim Lehrer	13	20	16	8	8	35=100
May, 2002	13	20	13	5	18	31=100
May, 2000	13	18	13	8	18	30=100
May, 1998	15	21	12	5	19	28=100
June, 1985 <sup>11</sup>	18	17	6	2	29	28=100
o. Your local TV news	23	36	27	9	*	5=100
May, 2002	26	39	22	7	*	6=100
May, 2000	30	39	19	6	*	6=100
May, 1998	32	38	19	6	*	4=100
June, 1985	34	47	13	1	*	5=100
<b>NO ITEM p.</b>						
q. 60 Minutes	29	33	19	9	*	10=100
May, 2002	30	39	15	5	*	11=100
May, 2000	31	37	17	7	*	8=100
May, 1998	32	37	20	4	*	7=100
r. MSNBC	18	36	22	8	2	14=100
May, 2002	21	34	17	5	4	19=100
May, 2000	19	29	15	6	8	23=100
s. National Public Radio	17	25	22	12	3	21=100
May, 2002	16	28	20	7	6	23=100
May, 2000	16	21	18	8	13	24=100
May, 1998	13	34	17	7	7	22=100

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<sup>11</sup> In 1985 this item was worded "The MacNeil-Lehrer NewsHour."

**Q.23 CONTINUED ...**

	Believe <u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	Cannot Believe <u>1</u>	Never Heard of	Can't Rate
<b>NO ITEM t.</b>						
u. The Fox News CABLE Channel	21	33	23	9	1	13=100
May, 2002	19	34	20	6	2	19=100
May, 2000	19	28	19	9	3	22=100
v. U.S. News & World Report	19	32	20	6	2	21=100
May, 2002	18	33	14	5	4	26=100
w. The New York Times	16	31	18	10	2	23=100

**ASK ALL:**

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

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

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

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

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

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

<b>Q.24 CONTINUED...</b>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
March, 1994	44	56	*=100
October, 1992 <i>U.S. News &amp; W. Report.</i>	36	63	1=100
August, 1992 <i>U.S. News &amp; W. Report</i>	33	66	1=100
May, 1992 <i>U.S. News &amp; W. Report</i>	34	65	1=100
January, 1992 <i>U.S. News &amp; W. Report</i>	39	61	*=100

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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