# PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE \& THE PRESS JUNE 2004 VOTER ATTITUDES SURVEY FINAL TOPLINE <br> June 3-13, 2004 <br> $\mathrm{N}=1806$ 

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]

June, 2004
May, 2004
Late April, 2004
Early April, 2004
Late March, 2004
Mid-March, 2004
February, 2004
Mid-January, 2004
Early January, 2004
2003
December, 2003
November, 2003
October, 2003
September, 2003
Mid-August, 2003
Early August, 2003
Mid-July, 2003
Early July, 2003
June, 2003
May, 2003
April 10-16, 2003
April 9, 2003
April 2-7, 2003
March 28-April 1, 2003
March 25-27, 2003
March 20-24, 2003
March 13-16, 2003
February, 2003
January, 2003
2002
December, 2002
Late October, 2002
Early October, 2002
Mid-September, 2002
Early September, 2002
Late August, 2002
August, 2002
Late July, 2002
July, 2002
June, 2002

| Approve | Dis- <br> approve | Don't <br> know |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 48 | 43 |  |
| 94 | 48 | $8=100$ |
| 48 | 43 | $9=100$ |
| 43 | 47 | $10=100$ |
| 47 | 44 | $9=100$ |
| 46 | 47 | $7=100$ |
| 48 | 44 | $8=100$ |
| 56 | 34 | $10=100$ |
| 58 | 35 | $7=100$ |
|  |  |  |
| 57 | 34 | $9=100$ |
| 50 | 40 | $10=100$ |
| 50 | 42 | $8=100$ |
| 55 | 36 | $9=100$ |
| 56 | 32 | $12=100$ |
| 53 | 37 | $10=100$ |
| 58 | 32 | $10=100$ |
| 60 | 29 | $11=100$ |
| 62 | 27 | $11=100$ |
| 65 | 27 | $8=100$ |
| 72 | 22 | $6=100$ |
| 74 | 20 | $6=100$ |
| 69 | 25 | $6=100$ |
| 71 | 23 | $6=100$ |
| 70 | 24 | $6=100$ |
| 67 | 26 | $7=100$ |
| 55 | 34 | $11=100$ |
| 54 | 36 | $10=100$ |
| 58 | 32 | $10=100$ |
| 61 | 28 |  |
| 65 | $11=100$ |  |
| 59 | 29 | $12=100$ |
| 61 | 30 | $9=100$ |
| 67 | 22 | $11=100$ |
| 63 | 26 | $11=100$ |
| 60 | 27 | $13=100$ |
| 67 | 21 | $12=100$ |
| 65 | 25 | $10=100$ |
| 67 | 21 | $12=100$ |
| 70 | 20 | $10=100$ |
|  |  |  |

April, 2002
Early April, 2002
February, 2002
January, 2002
2001
Mid-November, 2001
Early October, 2001
Late September, 2001
Mid-September, 2001
Early September, 2001
August, 2001
July, 2001
June, 2001
May, 2001
April, 2001
March, 2001
February, 2001

| Approve | Dis- <br> approve | Don't <br> know |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 69 | 18 | $13=100$ <br> 74 |
| 16 | $10=100$ |  |
| 78 | 13 | $9=100$ |
| 80 | 11 | $9=100$ |
|  |  |  |
| 84 | 9 | $7=100$ |
| 84 | 8 | $8=100$ |
| 86 | 7 | $7=100$ |
| 80 | 9 | $11=100$ |
| 51 | 34 | $15=100$ |
| 50 | 32 | $18=100$ |
| 51 | 32 | $17=100$ |
| 50 | 33 | $17=100$ |
| 53 | 32 | $15=100$ |
| 56 | 27 | $17=100$ |
| 55 | 25 | $20=100$ |
| 53 | 21 | $26=100$ |

More specifically...
Q. 2 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling [INSERT ITEM, RANDOMIZE]

|  |  | Approve | Disapprove | DK/Ref. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| a. | The economy | 43 | 50 | 7=100 |
|  | Late April, 2004 | 42 | 51 | $7=100$ |
|  | Early April, 2004 | 39 | 53 | $8=100$ |
|  | Mid-January, 2004 | 47 | 47 | $6=100$ |
|  | September, 2003 | 43 | 48 | $9=100$ |
|  | February, 2003 | 43 | 48 | $9=100$ |
|  | January, 2003 | 47 | 45 | $8=100$ |
|  | Early October, 2002 | 49 | 40 | $11=100$ |
|  | June, 2002 | 53 | 36 | $11=100$ |
|  | January, 2002 | 60 | 28 | $12=100$ |
|  | Early September, 2001 | 47 | 44 | $9=100$ |
|  | February, 2001 | 50 | 22 | $28=100$ |
|  | Clinton: Early September, 1998 | 71 | 23 | $6=100$ |
|  | Clinton: September, 1997 | 60 | 34 | $6=100$ |
|  | Clinton: January, 1996 | 50 | 42 | $8=100$ |
|  | Clinton: June, 1995 | 46 | 46 | $8=100$ |
|  | Clinton: October, 1994 | 45 | 46 | $9=100$ |
|  | Clinton: July, 1994 | 38 | 56 | $6=100$ |
|  | Bush, Sr.: August, 1990 | 40 | 52 | $8=100$ |
|  | Bush, Sr.: May, 1990 | 42 | 47 | $11=100$ |
| b. | The situation in Iraq | 42 | 51 | $7=100$ |
|  | Late April, 2004 | 44 | 48 | $8=100$ |
|  | Early April, 2004 | 40 | 53 | $7=100$ |
|  | Mid-January, 2004 | 59 | 37 | $4=100$ |
|  | September, 2003 | 52 | 40 | $8=100$ |
|  | April 10-16, $2003{ }^{1}$ | 77 | 17 | $6=100$ |
|  | April 8-9, 2003 | 71 | 23 | $6=100$ |
|  | --April 9, 2003 | 76 | 18 | $6=100$ |
|  | --April 8, 2003 | 65 | 28 | $7=100$ |
|  | April 2-7, 2003 | 73 | 21 | $6=100$ |
|  | March 28-April 1, 2003 | 69 | 26 | 5=100 |
|  | March 25-27, 2003 | 73 | 23 | $4=100$ |
|  | March 23-24, 2003 | 72 | 22 | $6=100$ |
|  | March 20-22, 2003 | 70 | 23 | $7=100$ |
|  | February, 2003 | 56 | 37 | $7=100$ |
|  | January, 2003 | 56 | 36 | $8=100$ |
|  | Early October, 2002 | 56 | 34 | $10=100$ |
|  | Gallup: Late January, 1991 | 84 | 11 | $5=100$ |

[^0]
## Q. 2 CONTINUED...

c. Terrorist threats

Late April, 2004
Early April, 2004
Gallup/CNN/USA Today: 12/03
$\frac{\text { Approve }}{56} \quad \frac{\text { Disapprove }}{35} \quad \frac{\text { DK/Ref. }}{9=100}$
$55 \quad 36 \quad 9=100$

September, 2003
February, 2003
53
$38 \quad 9=100$

January, 2003
64

Early October, 2002
June, 2002
Mid-September, 2001²
Clinton: Early September, 1998
33
$2=100$
$28 \quad 8=100$
$25 \quad 8=100$
23 8=100
$22 \quad 7=100$
71
$18 \quad 8=100$
74
$\begin{array}{cc}6 & 9=100 \\ 20 & 8=100\end{array}$
Q. 3 Now I will read a list of some stories covered by news organizations this past month. As I read each item, tell me if you happened to follow this news story very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely. [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]
a. News about candidates for the 2004 presidential election

April, 2004
Mid-March, 2004
Late February, 2004
Early February, $2004^{3}$
Mid-January, 2004
Early January, 2004
December, 2003
November, 2003
October, 2003
September, 2003
Mid-August, 2003
May, 2003
January, 2003
June, 2000
April, 2000
March, 2000
February, 2000
January, 2000
July, 1996
April, 1996
March, 1996
January, 1996

| Very | Fairly | Not too | Not at all |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Closely | Closely | Closely | Closely | DK/Ref |
| 28 | 34 | 19 | 18 | 1=100 |
| 31 | 33 | 19 | 16 | $1=100$ |
| 35 | 34 | 18 | 13 | *=100 |
| 24 | 40 | 23 | 12 | $1=100$ |
| 29 | 37 | 20 | 13 | $1=100$ |
| 16 | 30 | 27 | 26 | $1=100$ |
| 14 | 32 | 30 | 23 | $1=100$ |
| 16 | 26 | 27 | 30 | 1=100 |
| 11 | 26 | 34 | 28 | $1=100$ |
| 12 | 27 | 28 | 32 | $1=100$ |
| 17 | 25 | 30 | 27 | $1=100$ |
| 12 | 27 | 27 | 33 | $1=100$ |
| 8 | 19 | 31 | 41 | $1=100$ |
| 14 | 28 | 29 | 28 | $1=100$ |
| 23 | 32 | 23 | 21 | 1=100 |
| 18 | 39 | 22 | 20 | $1=100$ |
| 26 | 41 | 19 | 13 | $1=100$ |
| 26 | 36 | 21 | 17 | *=100 |
| 19 | 34 | 28 | 18 | $1=100$ |
| 22 | 40 | 23 | 14 | 1=100 |
| 23 | 35 | 25 | 17 | *=100 |
| 26 | 41 | 20 | 13 | *=100 |
| 10 | 34 | 31 | 24 | $1=100$ |

In Mid-September, 2001 the question was worded: "...dealing with the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon in Washington." In Early September 1998 the question was worded: "Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling current threats from international terrorist groups?"

3 From May 2003 to Early February 2004 and in March 1992, the story was listed as "The race for the Democratic nomination." In January 2003, the story was listed as "Recent announcements by prominent Democrats about plans to run for president in 2004." In 2000, the story was listed as "News about candidates for the 2000 presidential election." In January, March and April 1996, the story was listed as "News about the Republican presidential candidates." In January 1992 and 1987, the story was listed as "News about the Democratic candidates for the Presidential nomination." In 1988, the story was introduced as being from "this past year" and was listed as "News about the presidential campaign in 1988."
Q. 3 CONTINUED...

July, 1992
May, 1992
March, 1992
January, 1992
May, 1988
November, 1987
b. News about the current situation in Iraq

April, 2004
Mid-March, 2004
Early February, 2004
Mid-January, 2004
December, 2003
November, 2003
October, 2003
September, 2003
Mid-August, 2003
Early July, 2003
June, 2003
May, 2003
April 11-16, $2003^{4}$
April 2-7, 2003
March 20-24, 2003
March 13-16, $2003^{5}$
February, 2003
January, 2003
December, 2002
Late October, 2002
Early October, 2002
Early September, 2002
c. The high price of gasoline these days

April, 2004
Early April, 2004
Mid-March, 2004
September, 2003
March, 2003
February, 2003
June, 2001
May, 2001
Early October, 2000
June, $2000^{6}$
March, 2000

| Very | Fairly | Not too | Not at al |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Closely | Closely | Closely | Closely | DK/Ref |
| 20 | 45 | 26 | 9 | *=100 |
| 32 | 44 | 16 | 8 | *=100 |
| 35 | 40 | 16 | 9 | *=100 |
| 11 | 25 | 36 | 27 | $1=100$ |
| 22 | 46 | 23 | 6 | $3=100$ |
| 15 | 28 | 35 | 21 | $1=100$ |
| 39 | 42 | 12 | 6 | $1=100$ |
| 54 | 33 | 8 | 5 | * $=100$ |
| 47 | 36 | 12 | 4 | $1=100$ |
| 47 | 38 | 10 | 4 | $1=100$ |
| 48 | 39 | 9 | 4 | * $=100$ |
| 44 | 38 | 11 | 6 | $1=100$ |
| 52 | 33 | 9 | 5 | $1=100$ |
| 38 | 40 | 14 | 7 | $1=100$ |
| 50 | 33 | 10 | 6 | $1=100$ |
| 45 | 39 | 10 | 5 | $1=100$ |
| 37 | 41 | 13 | 8 | $1=100$ |
| 46 | 35 | 13 | 6 | *=100 |
| 63 | 29 | 6 | 2 | *=100 |
| 47 | 40 | 10 | 2 | $1=100$ |
| 54 | 34 | 9 | 2 | $1=100$ |
| 57 | 33 | 7 | 2 | $1=100$ |
| 62 | 27 | 6 | 4 | $1=100$ |
| 62 | 25 | 8 | 4 | $1=100$ |
| 55 | 29 | 10 | 4 | $2=100$ |
| 51 | 32 | 10 | 6 | $1=100$ |
| 53 | 33 | 8 | 5 | $1=100$ |
| 60 | 28 | 6 | 5 | $1=100$ |
| 48 | 29 | 15 | 6 | $2=100$ |
| 58 | 26 | 9 | 6 | $1=100$ |
| 46 | 30 | 15 | 8 | $1=100$ |
| 58 | 23 | 10 | 8 | $1=100$ |
| 47 | 27 | 14 | 10 | $2=100$ |
| 45 | 27 | 15 | 11 | 1=100 |
| 52 | 27 | 11 | 9 | $1=100$ |
| 53 | 25 | 12 | 9 | $1=100$ |
| 56 | 31 | 7 | 5 | $1=100$ |
| 61 | 26 | 6 | 6 | $1=100$ |
| 56 | 25 | 12 | 6 | $1=100$ |
| 61 | 25 | 9 | 5 | *=100 |
| 58 | 28 | 10 | 4 | * $=100$ |

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

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

In August 1990 through June 2000 the question was worded "Recent increases in the price of gasoline."

## Q. 3 CONTINUED...

October, 1990
September, 1990
August, 1990
d. The abuse of Iraqi prisoners by U.S. soldiers in Iraq

FIELD PERIOD JUNE 7-13 ONLY [N=1333]:
e. The death and memorial services of Ronald Reagan May, $1994^{7}$

| Very | Fairly | Not too | Not at all |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Closely | Closely | Closely | Closely | DK/Ref |
| 62 | 26 | 8 | 4 | *=100 |
| 56 | 28 | 11 | 5 | *=100 |
| 57 | 27 | 10 | 5 | $1=100$ |
| 34 | 37 | 18 | 9 | $2=100$ |
| 40 | 30 | 17 | 11 | $2=100$ |
| 36 | 37 | 17 | 10 | * $=100$ |

Q. 4 How much thought have you given to the coming presidential election . . Quite a lot or only a little?

## BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1426]:

June, 2004
May, 2004
Late March, 2004
Mid-March, 2004
Early November, 2000
Late October, 2000
Mid-October, 2000
Early October, 2000
September, 2000
July, 2000
June, 2000
May, 2000
April, 2000
November, 1996
October, 1996
Late September, 1996
Early September, 1996
July, 1996
June, 1996
October, 1992
September, 1992
August, 1992
June, 1992
Gallup: November, 1988
Gallup: October, 1988
Gallup: August, 1988
Gallup: September, 1988

| Quite <br> A lot | (VOL.) <br> Some | Only a <br> Little | (VOL.) <br> None | DK/ <br> Ref. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\frac{\text { Re }}{3}$ | $\frac{36}{2}$ | $1=100$ |  |  |
| 59 | 6 | 30 | 4 | $1=100$ |
| 60 | 4 | 31 | 4 | $1=100$ |
| 65 | 2 | 31 | 2 | $*=100$ |
| 72 | 6 | 19 | 2 | $1=100$ |
| 66 | 6 | 24 | 4 | $*=100$ |
| 67 | 9 | 19 | 4 | $1=100$ |
| 60 | 8 | 27 | 4 | $1=100$ |
| 59 | 8 | 29 | 3 | $1=100$ |
| 46 | 6 | 45 | 3 | $*=100$ |
| 46 | 6 | 43 | 5 | $*=100$ |
| 48 | 4 | 42 | 5 | $1=100$ |
| 45 | 7 | 41 | 7 | $*=100$ |
| 67 | 8 | 22 | 3 | $*=100$ |
| 65 | 7 | 26 | 1 | $1=100$ |
| 61 | 7 | 29 | 2 | $1=100$ |
| 56 | 3 | 36 | 4 | $1=100$ |
| 55 | 3 | 41 | 1 | $*=100$ |
| 50 | 5 | 41 | 3 | $1=100$ |
| 77 | 5 | 16 | 1 | $1=100$ |
| 69 | 3 | 26 | 1 | $1=100$ |
| 72 | 4 | 23 | 1 | $*=100$ |
| 63 | 6 | 29 | 1 | $1=100$ |
| 73 | 8 | 17 | 2 | $0=100$ |
| 69 | 9 | 20 | 2 | $0=100$ |
| 61 | 10 | 27 | 2 | $0=100$ |
| 57 | 18 | 23 | 2 | $0=100$ |

Q. 5 Are you more interested or less interested in politics this year than you were in 2000 - the last presidential election year? ${ }^{8}$

|  | June | July | June | June | March |  |
| :---: | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 47 | More | $\underline{2000}$ | $\frac{1996}{38}$ | $\frac{1996}{42}$ | $\underline{1992}$ | $\underline{1992}$ |
| 28 | Less | 38 | 38 | 35 | 24 | 27 |
| 23 | Same (VOL.) | 22 | 19 | 22 | 19 | 14 |
| $\frac{2}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused | $\underline{2}$ | $\underline{1}$ | $\underline{2}$ | $\underline{2}$ | $\underline{2}$ |
| 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |  |  |

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 [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=1426]: |  | Late <br> March | Mid- <br> March |  |
| :---: | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $\frac{2004}{4}$ | $\frac{2004}{44}$ | $\frac{2004}{42}$ |
| 46 | George W. Bush, the Republican/Lean Bush | 43 | 43 | 49 |
| 42 | John Kerry, the Democrat/Lean Kerry | 46 | 43 | 4 |
| 6 | Ralph Nader/Lean Nader | 6 | 6 | 4 |
| $\frac{6}{100}$ | Other/DK (VOL.) | $\underline{5}$ | $\underline{7}$ | $\underline{5}$ |
|  |  | 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 [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=1426]:

|  | Bush/ <br> Lean Bush | Kerry/ <br> Lean Kerry | Other/ <br> DK |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| June, 2004 | 48 |  | 46 | $6=100$ |
| 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 | $8=100$ |
| June, 2000 | 45 Bush |  | 46 Gore | $9=100$ |
| June, 1996 | 40 Dole | 55 Clinton | $5=100$ |  |
| June, 1992 | 45 Bush, Sr. | 41 Clinton | $14=100$ |  |
| May, 1988 | 40 Bush, Sr. | 53 Dukakis | $7=100$ |  |

[^1]
## 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=1426]:




## 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=1426]:

|  | June, 2004 | Chance might <br> vote for Kerry | Decided not to <br> vote for Kerry | Don't know/ <br> Refused |  |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | May, 2004 | 10 | 11 |  | Ref |
|  | Late March, 2004 | 13 | 35 |  | $3=54 \%$ |
|  | Mid-March, 2004 | 13 | 37 | $3=50 \%$ |  |
|  | Late February, 2004 | 13 | 32 | $3=48 \%$ |  |
|  | Early February, 2004 | 15 | 36 | $3=52 \%$ |  |
| Gore: | November, 2000 | 8 | 33 | $5=53 \%$ |  |
| Gore: | Late October, 2000 | 9 | 41 | $6=55 \%$ |  |
| Gore: | Mid-October, 2000 | 10 | 44 | $4=57 \%$ |  |
| Gore: | Early October, 2000 | 11 | 40 | $5=55 \%$ |  |
| Gore: | September, 2000 | 13 | 38 | $7=56 \%$ |  |
| Gore: | June, 2000 | 14 | 35 | $5=53 \%$ |  |
| Clinton: | July, 1996 | 8 | 34 | $6=54 \%$ |  |
| Clinton: | May, 1992 | 11 | 36 | $4=48 \%$ |  |
|  |  |  | 38 | $6=55 \%$ |  |

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=1426]:

|  | Chance might vote for Bush |  | Decided not to vote for Bush | Don't know Refused |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | June, 2004 | 9 | 41 | 2=52\% |
|  | May, 2004 | 9 | 42 | 4=55\% |
|  | Late March, 2004 | 11 | 40 | 3=54\% |
|  | Mid-March, 2004 | 11 | 44 | 2=57\% |
|  | Late February, 2004 | 10 | 43 | 3=56\% |
|  | Early February, 2004 | 10 | 41 | 2=53\% |
| Bush: | November, 2000 | 8 | 44 | 7=59\% |
| Bush: | Late October, 2000 | 10 | 41 | 4=55\% |
| Bush: | Mid-October, 2000 | 12 | 40 | 5=57\% |
| Bush: | Early October, 2000 | 11 | 39 | 7=57\% |
| Bush: | September, 2000 | 15 | 38 | 6=59\% |
| Bush: | June, 2000 | 15 | 33 | 6=54\% |
| Dole: | July, 1996 | 15 | 40 | 3=58\% |
| Bush, Sr: | May, 1992 | 8 | 40 | 5=53\% |

## ASK IF BUSH OR KERRY NAMED IN Q. 7 OR Q.7a:

Q.12a What do you like most about (INSERT NAME CHOSEN FROM Q.7 OR Q.7a) - his personality, his leadership ability, his experience, or his stand on issues?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS WHO CHOSE BUSH OR KERRY IN Q.7/7a:

|  | Personality | Leadership | Experience | Stand on issues | Don't know |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| John Kerry | 7 | 20 | 16 | 45 | $12=100$ | ( $\mathrm{N}=649$ ) |
| George W. Bush | 8 | 33 | 4 | 49 | $6=100$ | ( $\mathrm{N}=700$ ) |

Trend for 2000:
Al Gore

| Late October, 2000 | 4 | 16 | 27 | 48 | $5=100$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mid-October, 2000 | 8 | 16 | 29 | 44 | $3=100$ |
| Early October, 2000 | 6 | 16 | 23 | 49 | $6=100$ |
| September, 2000 | 9 | 15 | 22 | 48 | $6=100$ |
| June, 2000 | 7 | 13 | 29 | 42 | $9=100$ |
| May, 2000 | 10 | 13 | 30 | 40 | $7=100$ |
| March, 2000 | 10 | 14 | 28 | 40 | $8=100$ |
| October, 1999 | 8 | 11 | 32 | 43 | $6=100$ |

George W. Bush

| Late October, 2000 | 10 | 21 | 5 | 59 | $5=100$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mid-October, 2000 | 13 | 18 | 9 | 55 | $5=100$ |
| Early October, 2000 | 8 | 20 | 7 | 58 | $7=100$ |
| September, 2000 | 9 | 19 | 9 | 55 | $8=100$ |
| June, 2000 | 10 | 19 | 11 | 50 | $10=100$ |
| May, 2000 | 12 | 22 | 8 | 51 | $7=100$ |
| March, 2000 | 14 | 24 | 10 | 42 | $10=100$ |
| October, 1999 | 13 | 25 | 11 | 42 | $9=100$ |

## Trend for 1996:

Bill Clinton
September, $1996 \quad 1$
Bob Dole

| September, 1996 | 3 | 25 | 33 | 35 | $4=100$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

## ASK IF BUSH OR KERRY NAMED IN Q. 7 OR Q.7a:

Q.12b What do you like LEAST about (INSERT NAME NOT CHOSEN FROM Q. 7 OR Q.7a) - his personality, his leadership ability, his experience, or his stand on issues?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS WHO CHOSE BUSH OR KERRY IN Q.7/7a:

|  | $\frac{\text { Personality }}{16}$ | $\frac{\text { Leadership }}{11}$ | $\frac{\text { Experience }}{6}$ | $\frac{\text { Stand on Issues }}{52}$ | $\frac{\text { Don't know }}{15=100}$ |  | (N=700) |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| John Kerry | 12 | 35 | 3 | 41 | $9=100$ | $\mathbf{( N = 6 4 9 )}$ |  |
| George W. Bush | 12 | 35 |  |  |  |  |  |

Trend for 2000:
Al Gore

| Late October, 2000 | 27 | 15 | 6 | 43 | $9=100$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Mid-October, 2000 | 27 | 18 | 5 | 43 | $7=100$ |
| Early October, 2000 | 26 | 14 | 4 | 44 | $12=100$ |
| September, 2000 | 17 | 17 | 7 | 48 | $11=100$ |
| June, 2000 | 17 | 19 | 6 | 43 | $15=100$ |
| May, 2000 | 22 | 22 | 6 | 41 | $9=100$ |
| March, 2000 | 22 | 20 | 5 | 43 | $10=100$ |
| October, 1999 | 24 | 22 | 5 | 39 | $10=100$ |

George W. Bush

| Late October, 2000 | 21 | 14 | 15 | 37 | $13=100$ |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :--- | :--- | :---: |
| Mid-October, 2000 | 18 | 16 | 15 | 43 | $8=100$ |
| Early October, 2000 | 25 | 11 | 15 | 37 | $12=100$ |
| September, 2000 | 20 | 12 | 11 | 43 | $14=100$ |
| June, 2000 | 26 | 13 | 10 | 34 | $17=100$ |
| May, 2000 | 25 | 13 | 13 | 35 | $14=100$ |
| March, 2000 | 33 | 8 | 13 | 35 | $11=100$ |
| October, 1999 | 19 | 11 | 13 | 41 | $16=100$ |

## ASK ALL:

On another subject...
Q. 13 If the elections for U.S. Congress were being held TODAY, would you vote for the Republican Party's candidate or the Democratic Party's candidate for Congress in your district?

## IF ANSWERED ‘3' OTHER OR '9' DON’T KNOW IN Q.13, ASK:

Q.13a As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to the Republican or the Democrat?

## BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1426]:

June, 2004
2002 Election
Early November, 2002
Early October, 2002
Early September, 2002
June, 2002
February, 2002
Early November, 2001
2000 Election
Early November, 2000
Early October, 2000
July, 2000
February, 2000
October, 1999
June, 1999
1998 Election
Late October, 1998
Early October, 1998
Early September, 1998
Late August, 1998
Early August, 1998
June, 1998
March, 1998
February, 1998
January, 1998
August, 1997
1996 Election
November, $1996{ }^{9}$
October, 1996
Late September, 1996
Early September, 1996
July, 1996
June, 1996
March, 1996
January, 1996
October, 1995
August, 1995

| Republican/ Lean Rep. | Democrat/ Lean Dem. | Other/ Undecided |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 41 | 48 | $11=100$ |
| 42 | 46 | $12=100$ |
| 44 | 46 | $10=100$ |
| 44 | 46 | $10=100$ |
| 44 | 46 | $10=100$ |
| 46 | 45 | $9=100$ |
| 44 | 44 | $12=100$ |
| 42 | 48 | $10=100$ |
| 43 | 47 | $10=100$ |
| 43 | 47 | $10=100$ |
| 44 | 47 | $9=100$ |
| 43 | 49 | $8=100$ |
| 40 | 50 | $10=100$ |
| 40 | 47 | $13=100$ |
| 43 | 44 | $13=100$ |
| 45 | 46 | $9=100$ |
| 44 | 45 | $11=100$ |
| 42 | 49 | $9=100$ |
| 44 | 46 | $10=100$ |
| 40 | 52 | $8=100$ |
| 41 | 50 | $9=100$ |
| 41 | 51 | $8=100$ |
| 45 | 48 | $7=100$ |
| 44 | 48 | $8=100$ |
| 42 | 49 | $9=100$ |
| 43 | 49 | $8=100$ |
| 43 | 51 | $6=100$ |
| 46 | 47 | $7=100$ |
| 44 | 50 | $6=100$ |
| 44 | 49 | $7=100$ |
| 46 | 47 | $7=100$ |
| 48 | 48 | $4=100$ |
| 50 | 43 | $7=100$ |

[^2]| Q.13/13a CONTINUED... | Republican/ <br> Lean Rep. | Democrat/ <br> Lean Dem. | Other/ <br> Undecided |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1994 Election | 45 |  |  |
| November, 1994 | 47 | 43 | $12=100$ |
| Late October, 1994 | 52 | 40 | $9=100$ |
| Early October, 1994 | 48 | 46 | $8=100$ |
| September, 1994 | 45 | 47 | $6=100$ |
| July, 1994 |  | $8=100$ |  |

ASK ALL:
Q. 14 Thinking about your vote for Congress this fall, will the issue of which party controls Congress, the Republicans or the Democrats, be a factor in your vote, or not?

## BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1426]:

|  |  | Early | Early | Early |  | Early |  |  | Late | Early | Early | Early |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Nov | Oct | Sept | June | Feb | Oct | July | Oct | Oct | Sept | Aug | June |
|  |  | $\underline{2002}$ | 2002 | 2002 | $\underline{2002}$ | 2002 | 2000 | 2000 | 1998 | 1998 | 1998 | 1998 | 1998 |
| 43 | Yes, will be a factor | 48 | 42 | 44 | 47 | 46 | 46 | 46 | 46 | 47 | 41 | 44 | 45 |
| 51 | No, will not | 49 | 55 | 51 | 50 | 49 | 50 | 49 | 50 | 49 | 56 | 53 | 51 |
| 6 | Don't know/Refused | $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{3}$ | 5 | $\underline{3}$ | 5 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 4 | $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{3}$ | 4 |
| 100 |  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Q. 15 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=1426]:

|  |  |  |  | "A Democratic Candidate" |  |  | George H.W. Bush |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | May | Early Feb | Mid-Jan | Sept | June | March | Feb | Oct |
|  |  | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2003}$ | $\underline{2003}$ | 1992 | 1992 | 1991 |
| 51 | George W. Bush, or | 52 | 56 | 61 | 47 | 66 | 72 | 66 | 78 |
| 35 | John Kerry | 31 | 32 | 21 | 34 | 22 | 20 | 25 | 11 |
| 14 | Don't know/Refused | 17 | 12 | 18 | 19 | 12 | 8 | $\underline{9}$ | 11 |
| 100 |  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Q. 16 What one issue would you most like to hear presidential candidates talk about? (OPEN-END. ACCEPT UP TO THREE MENTIONS.)


## Q. 16 CONTINUED...

| Sept | June | July | Sep | Oct | Oct |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\frac{2003}{1}$ | $\frac{2000}{3}$ | $\frac{1999}{1}$ | $\frac{1996}{4}$ | $\frac{1995}{-}$ | $\frac{1991}{10}$ |
| - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 1 | 2 | 8 | 10 | 14 | 8 |
| - | - | - | - | - | - |
| - | - | - | - | - | 5 |
| 2 | 10 | 14 | - | - | 4 |
| 8 | 16 | 13 | 8 | 9 | 13 |

Q. 17 As it's shaping up so far, what's your opinion of the likely presidential candidates for this year? Would you say that you are very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not too satisfied, or not at all satisfied with the likely choices?

|  |  |  | --- RVs --- |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | June | March | July | Late Oct | Late Sept | June | Oct | Aug | June |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Total | RVs |  | $\underline{2000}$ | $\underline{2000}$ | 1999 | $1996{ }^{10}$ | 1996 | 1996 | 1992 | 1992 | $\underline{1992}$ |
| 15 | 17 | Very satisfied | 13 | 12 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 6 |
| 47 | 48 | Fairly satisfied | 49 | 48 | 42 | 48 | 50 | 37 | 41 | 42 | 31 |
| 20 | 19 | Not too satisfied | 22 | 26 | 22 | 27 | 26 | 31 | 33 | 31 | 35 |
| 13 | 12 | Not at all satisfied | 12 | 11 | 13 | 11 | 10 | 19 | 14 | 15 | 26 |
| 5 | 4 | Don't know/Refused | 4 | $\underline{3}$ | 12 | $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{3}$ | 4 | $\underline{2}$ | 1 | $\underline{2}$ |
| 100 | $\begin{gathered} \overline{100} \\ \mathbf{N}=\mathbf{1 4 2 6} \end{gathered}$ |  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Q. 18 What's your impression...do George W. Bush and John Kerry take different positions on the issues, or are they pretty similar in their positions on the issues?

## BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1426]:

|  |  | Late Oct | Early Oct | Sept | June | y |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $\underline{2000}$ | $\underline{2000}$ | $\underline{2000}$ | $\underline{2000}$ | 1999 |
| 68 | Different | 60 | 61 | 56 | 51 | 47 |
| 21 | Similar | 34 | 30 | 32 | 33 | 24 |
| 11 | Don't know/Refused | $\underline{6}$ | $\underline{9}$ | 12 | 16 | $\underline{29}$ |
| 100 |  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Q. 19 As far as making progress on the important issues facing the country is concerned, does it really matter who wins the 2004 presidential election, or will things be pretty much the same regardless of who is elected president?

|  |  | $\begin{array}{c}\text { Opinion Research } \\ \text { Corporation }\end{array}$ |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Mid- | $\begin{array}{c}\text { March }\end{array}$ |  |
|  | June | Aug |  |  |$)$

[^3]
## ASK FORM 1 ONLY [ $\mathbf{N = 8 9 1 ] : ~}$

Q.20F1 Some people feel it is difficult to choose between John Kerry and George W. Bush because EITHER ONE would make a good president. Do you agree, or disagree?

|  |  | $\frac{\text { June } 2000}{32}$ |
| :---: | :--- | :---: |
| 73 | Agree | 61 |
| $\frac{5}{100}$ | Disagree | $\underline{7}$ |
|  | Don't know/Refused | 100 |

## ASK FORM 2 ONLY [ $\mathbf{N = 9 1 5 ] : ~}$

Q.21F2 Some people feel it is difficult to choose between John Kerry and George W. Bush because NEITHER ONE would make a good president. Do you agree, or disagree?

|  |  | $\frac{\text { June } 2000}{39}$ |
| :---: | :--- | :---: |
| 64 | Agree | 55 |
| $\frac{7}{100}$ | Disagree | $\underline{8}$ |

## NO QUESTION 22

ASK ALL:
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?
IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' YES IN REGIST ASK:
REGICERT Are you absolutely certain that you are registered to vote, or is there a chance that your registration has lapsed because you moved or for some other reason?

|  | Yes, Registered | Absolutely Certain | Chance lapsed | Don't know/ Refused | Not <br> Registered | Don't know Refused |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| June, 2004 | 79 | 76 | 3 | * | 20 | 1=100 |
| June, 2000 | 79 | 75 | 4 | * | 21 | *=100 |
| June, 1992 | 76 | 73 | 3 | 0 | 23 | $1=100$ |
| Yearly Averages: |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2003 | 76 | 73 | 3 | * | 23 | $1=100$ |
| 2002 | 77 | 74 | 3 | * | 22 | $1=100$ |
| 2001 | 77 | 74 | 3 | * | 22 | $1=100$ |
| 2000 | 77 | 74 | 3 | * | 22 | $1=100$ |
| 1999 | 76 | 72 | 3 | 1 | 23 | $1=100$ |
| 1998 | 77 | 73 | 3 | 1 | 22 | $1=100$ |
| 1997 | 77 | 74 | 3 | * | 22 | $1=100$ |
| 1996 | 76 | 73 | 3 | * | 23 | $1=100$ |

IF '2' NO OR '9' NOT SURE IN REGIST OR '2' CHANCE OR '9' NOT SURE IN REGICERT ASK:
Q. 23 Do you plan to register to vote, or is there a chance that you may not register?

IF '2' NO OR '9' NOT SURE IN REGIST OR '2' CHANCE OR '9' NOT SURE IN REGICERT ASK:
Q. 24 Have you ever, at any time, been registered to vote, or haven't you ever had the chance to register?

| 24\% | Not registered |  | June 2000 | June 1992 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | 25\% | 27\% |
|  | 11 | Never have been | 11 | 11 |
|  | 13 | Have been in the past | 14 | 16 |
|  | * | Not sure if ever | * | * |
|  | 14 | Plan to register | 13 | 17 |
|  | 9 | Chance may not | 11 | 9 |
|  | 1 | Don't know/Refused | 1 | 1 |

ASK ALL:
Q. 25 Do you, yourself, plan to vote in the election this November?

IF YES IN Q.25, ASK:
Q. 26 How certain are you that you will vote? Are you absolutely certain, fairly certain, or not certain?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1426]:

|  | Yes, Plan Absolutely |  | Fairly | Not | No, Don't |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | To Vote | Certain | Certain | Certain | Plan To | Refused |
| June, 2004 | 96 | 85 | 10 | 1 | 2 | $2=100$ |
| Early November, 2002 ${ }^{11 *}$ | 90 | -- | -- | -- | 8 | $2=100$ |
| Early October, 2002* | 95 | -- | -- | -- | 3 | $2=100$ |
| Early November, 2000 | 96 | -- | -- | -- | 3 | 1=100 |
| Late October, 2000 | 97 | -- | -- | -- | 2 | 1=100 |
| Mid-October, 2000 | 96 | -- | -- | -- | 2 | $2=100$ |
| Early October, 2000 | 97 | 87 | 9 | 1 | 2 | 1=100 |
| September, 2000 | 95 | 84 | 10 | 1 | 3 | $2=100$ |
| June, 2000 | 95 | 84 | 10 | 1 | 2 | $3=100$ |
| Late October, 1998* | 91 | -- | -- | -- | 6 | $3=100$ |
| Early October, 1998* | 92 | -- | -- | -- | 4 | 4=100 |
| Early September, 1998* | 95 | -- | -- | -- | 2 | $3=100$ |
| Late August, 1998* | 93 | 75 | 17 | 1 | 3 | $4=100$ |
| June, 1998* | 95 | 74 | 19 | 2 | 3 | $2=100$ |
| November, 1996 | 96 | -- | -- | -- | 2 | $2=100$ |
| October, 1996 | 98 | 87 | 10 | 1 | 1 | 1=100 |
| Late September, 1996 | 98 | 89 | 8 | 1 | 1 | 1=100 |
| Early September, 1996 | 96 | 83 | 11 | 2 | 2 | $2=100$ |
| July, 1996 | 95 | 82 | 12 | 1 | 3 | $2=100$ |
| June, 1996 | 96 | 84 | 11 | 1 | 2 | $2=100$ |
| November, 1994* | 93 | -- | -- | -- | 5 | $2=100$ |
| October, 1994* | 95 | -- | -- | -- | 3 | $2=100$ |
| October, 1992 | 98 | 91 | 6 | 1 | 1 | 1=100 |
| September, 1992 | 98 | 85 | 11 | 2 | 1 | $\mathbf{1}=100$ | was worded: "Do you yourself plan to vote in the election this Tuesday, or not?" In Early November 2002 "Yes, Plan to Vote" category includes people who volunteered that they already voted.

Q. 27 CONTINUED...

August, 1992
June, 1992
Gallup: November, 1988
October, 1988

| Yes, Plan <br> To Vote | Absolutely <br> Certain | Fairly <br> Certain | Not <br> Certain | No, Don't <br> Plan To | Can't Say/ <br> Don't know |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\mathbf{9 7}$ | 89 | 8 | $*$ |  | $\mathbf{1}$ |
| $\mathbf{9 7}$ | 88 | 8 | 1 | $\mathbf{1}$ | $\mathbf{2 = 1 0 0}$ |
| $\mathbf{9 7}$ | 87 | 9 | 1 | $\mathbf{2}=\mathbf{1 0 0}$ |  |
| $\mathbf{9 8}$ | -- | -- | -- | $\mathbf{1}$ | $\mathbf{1}=\mathbf{1 0 0}$ |
|  |  |  |  |  | $\mathbf{1}=\mathbf{1 0 0}$ |

* Non-Presidential elections


## NO QUESTION 27

## ASK ALL:

Q. 28 How would you describe the presidential election campaign so far - is it interesting to you, or would you say it is dull?

|  |  | June 2000 | July 1996 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 33 | Interesting | 28 | 21 |
| 57 | Dull | 65 | 73 |
| 4 | Neither (VOL.) | 4 | 3 |
| 6 | Don't know/Refused | $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{3}$ |
| 100 |  | 100 | 100 |

Q. 29 Here are a few other pairs of opposite phrases, please tell me which ONE phrase you feel best describes the presidential election so far. [READ AND RANDOMIZE]

Mid-March 2004
a. $\quad 79$

Important OR 81
18 Unimportant 17
1 Neither applies (VOL.) 1
$\frac{2}{100}$ Don't know/Refused (VOL.) $\frac{1}{100}$
no item b
Mid-March 2004
c. $\quad 48$

Informative OR
53
46 Not informative 42
2 Neither applies (VOL.) 2
4 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
$\overline{100}$
Mid-March 2004
d. 52

42
Too long OR
52
44
2 Neither applies (VOL.)
1
$\frac{4}{100}$ Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
$\frac{3}{1}$

Mid-March 2004
e. 45
$46 \quad$ Not too negative
Too negative OR
47
47
2 Neither applies (VOL.) 2
$\frac{7}{100} \quad$ Don't know/Refused (VOL.) $\quad \frac{4}{100}$

## Mid-March 2004

f. 32 Hard to follow OR 28

63 Easy to follow 68
2 Neither applies (VOL.) 2
$\frac{3}{100}$ Don't know/Refused (VOL.) $\quad \underline{2}$

## ROTATE ORDER OF Q. 30 AND Q. 31

Q. 30 What grade would you give John Kerry as to how good a job he is doing in convincing you to vote for him? Would you grade his election campaign: A, B, C, D, or F?

## BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1426]:

|  | A | Gore <br> June 2000 | Clinton <br> July 1996 |
| ---: | :--- | :---: | :---: |
| 6 | B | 9 | 9 |
| 25 | C | 26 | 28 |
| 16 | D | 31 | 30 |
| 18 | F | 13 | 12 |
| $\frac{5}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused | 16 | 18 |
|  |  | $\underline{5}$ | $\underline{3}$ |
| 100 | 100 |  |  |

Q. 31 What grade would you give George W. Bush as to how good a job he is doing in convincing you to vote for him? Would you grade his election campaign: A, B, C, D, or F?

## BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1426]:

|  | A | Bush <br> June 2000 | Dole <br> July 1996 |
| :---: | :--- | :---: | :---: |
| 13 | B | 10 | 3 |
| 26 | C | 30 | 19 |
| 23 | D | 29 | 36 |
| 12 | F | 13 | 19 |
| 23 | 13 | 20 |  |
| $\frac{3}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused | $\underline{5}$ | $\underline{3}$ |
|  |  | 100 | 100 |

Q. 32 All in all, how would you rate the job the press has done in covering the presidential campaign so far excellent, good, only fair, or poor?

|  | Early |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Feb | June | Mar | Feb | Sept | July | Feb | Sept | May | Mar | Feb |
|  |  | $\underline{2004}$ | $\frac{2000}{7}$ | $\frac{2000}{10}$ | $\frac{2000}{13}$ | $\frac{1996}{13}$ | $\frac{1996}{7}$ | $\frac{1996}{16}$ | $\frac{1992}{12}$ | $\frac{1992}{10}$ | $\frac{1992}{12}$ | $\frac{1992}{11}$ |
| 10 | Excellent | 43 | 41 | 46 | 50 | 44 | 35 | 45 | 45 | 44 | 51 | 45 |
| 37 | Good | 30 | 38 | 32 | 25 | 29 | 42 | 25 | 27 | 33 | 28 | 32 |
| 34 | Only fair | 12 | 10 | 9 | 7 | 11 | 14 | 10 | 11 | 10 | 6 | 7 |
| 15 | Poor | $\underline{4}$ | $\underline{4}$ | $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{5}$ | $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{2}$ | $\underline{4}$ | $\underline{5}$ | $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{5}$ |
| $\frac{4}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

## ROTATE Q. 33 AND Q. 34

Q. 33 In the presidential campaign so far, do you think John Kerry has been too personally critical of George W. Bush, or not?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1426]:

|  | Mid- | Gore Critical <br> of Bush | Clinton Critical <br> of Dole | Dukakis Critical <br> of Bush, Sr. |  |
| :---: | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | March | Early Oct | Late Sept | Oct |
| 44 | Too personally critical | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2000}$ | $\underline{1996}$ | $\underline{1988}$ |
| 48 | Not too personally critical | 46 | 29 | 45 |  |
| $\frac{8}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused | $\underline{6}$ | 61 | 70 | 50 |
|  |  | 100 | $\underline{10}$ | $\underline{9}$ | $\underline{5}$ |
|  |  | 100 | 100 | 100 |  |

Q. 34 In the presidential campaign so far, do you think George W. Bush has been too personally critical of John Kerry, or not?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1426]:
$\left.\begin{array}{clcccc}\text { Mid- }\end{array} \begin{array}{c}\text { Bush Critical } \\ \text { Of Gore }\end{array} ~ \begin{array}{ccc}\text { Dole Critical } \\ \text { of Clinton }\end{array} \begin{array}{c}\text { Bush, Sr Critical } \\ \text { of Dukakis }\end{array}\right]$

## ROTATE Q.35/35a WITH Q.36/36a

Q. 35 So far, have you seen any of Kerry’s campaign commercials on TV, or not?

IF YES (1 IN Q.35) ASK:
Q.35a Have you seen Kerry's commercials a lot, some or only once or twice?


[^4]
## ASK ALL:

Q. 36 So far, have you seen any of Bush's campaign commercials on TV, or not?

IF YES (1 IN Q.36) ASK:
Q.36a Have you seen Bush's commercials a lot, some or only once or twice?


## ASK ALL:

Q. 37 Suppose there was a place on the ballot where you could refuse to vote for any of the candidates - a vote of no confidence in all of the candidates running for office? How likely is it that you would vote that way?

## (READ LIST)

|  | June | June | Newsweek |  |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 14 | Very likely | $\underline{2000}$ | $\frac{1992}{24}$ | $\frac{1976}{21}$ |
| 21 | Possibly likely | 27 | 30 | 32 |
| 62 | Not at all likely | 51 | 43 | 41 |
| $\frac{3}{100}$ | (DO NOT READ) Don't know/Refused | $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{6}$ |
|  |  | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Q. 38 In your opinion, does it really make much difference who is elected President?

|  |  | June | June | Newsweek |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 78 | Yes | $\underline{2000}$ | $\frac{1992}{89}$ | $\underline{1976}$ |
| 20 | No | 30 | 18 | 80 |
| $\frac{2}{100}$ | Don't know | $\underline{1}$ | 18 |  |
| $\underline{2}$ | $\underline{2}$ | $\underline{2}$ |  |  |

Q. 39 Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election or not. Other's aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, some of the time, only now and then, or hardly at all?

June, 2004
August, 2003
November, 2002
August, 2002
March, 2001
Early November, 2000 (RVs)
September, 2000 (RVs)

| Most of The Time | Some of the Time | Only Now and Then | Hardly at All | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 44 | 34 | 15 | 7 | *=100 |
| 48 | 33 | 12 | 6 | $1=100$ |
| 49 | 27 | 14 | 9 | $1=100$ |
| 54 | 30 | 11 | 5 | *=100 |
| 49 | 27 | 13 | 10 | $1=100$ |
| 51 | 32 | 12 | 5 | *=100 |
| 51 | 34 | 10 | 4 | $1=100$ |

Q. 39 CONTINUED...

June, 2000
Late September, 1999
August, 1999
November, 1998
Late October, 1998 (RVs)
Early October, 1998 (RVs)
Early September, 1998
June, 1998
November, 1997
November, 1996 (RVs)
October, 1996 (RVs)
June, 1996
October, 1995
April, 1995
November, 1994
October, 1994
July, 1994
May, 1990
February, 1989
October, 1988
September, 1988
May, 1988
January, 1988
November, 1987
May, 1987
July, 1985

| Most of The Time | Some of the Time | Only Now and Then | Hardly at All | (VOL.) $\underline{\text { DK/Ref }}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 38 | 32 | 19 | 11 | *=100 |
| 39 | 32 | 20 | 9 | *=100 |
| 40 | 35 | 17 | 8 | *=100 |
| 46 | 27 | 14 | 13 | *=100 |
| 57 | 29 | 10 | 4 | *=100 |
| 51 | 33 | 11 | 5 | *=100 |
| 45 | 34 | 15 | 6 | *=100 |
| 36 | 34 | 21 | 9 | *=100 |
| 41 | 36 | 16 | 7 | *=100 |
| 52 | 32 | 12 | 4 | *=100 |
| 43 | 37 | 13 | 6 | $1=100$ |
| 41 | 34 | 17 | 8 | *=100 |
| 46 | 35 | 14 | 5 | *=100 |
| 43 | 35 | 16 | 6 | *=100 |
| 49 | 30 | 13 | 7 | $1=100$ |
| 45 | 35 | 14 | 6 | *=100 |
| 46 | 33 | 15 | 6 | *=100 |
| 39 | 34 | 18 | 9 | *=100 |
| 47 | 34 | 14 | 4 | $1=100$ |
| 52 | 33 | 11 | 4 | *=100 |
| 58 | 32 | 8 | 2 | *=100 |
| 37 | 37 | 17 | 6 | 3=100 |
| 37 | 35 | 18 | 8 | $2=100$ |
| 49 | 32 | 14 | 4 | $1=100$ |
| 41 | 35 | 15 | 7 | $2=100$ |
| 36 | 33 | 18 | 12 | $1=100$ |

## ASK ALL:

Q. 40 There are many ways for people to vote, and some prefer one way over another. If you had the choice of voting in a booth at a polling place on election day, OR over the Internet, OR through the mail during the weeks leading up to election day, which would you prefer?

|  |  | June | March | Feb |
| :---: | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 52 | Voting in booth | $\underline{2000}$ | $\underline{2000}$ | $\underline{1996}^{13}$ |
| 28 | Voting over Internet | 24 | 52 | 54 |
| 17 | Voting by mail | 23 | 26 | n/a |
| 1 | None (VOL) | 1 | 20 | 43 |
| $\frac{2}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused | $\underline{2}$ | 1 | 2 |
|  |  | 100 | $\underline{1}$ | $\underline{1}$ |
| 100 | 100 |  |  |  | another. If you had the choice of voting in a booth at a polling place on election day OR voting through the mail during the weeks leading up to election day, which would you prefer?"

## IF PLANS TO VOTE (Q.25=1), ASK:

Q. 41 In the presidential election this fall, do you plan to vote BEFORE election day, that is through the mail or with an absentee ballot, or will you probably vote at your polling place on election day?

## BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1426]:

19 Plan to vote BEFORE election day
77 Will vote on election day

* Don't know/Refused

4 Don't Plan to Vote/Don't Know
100

## NO QUESTIONS 42 OR 43

## ASK ALL:

Q. 44 Now I'd like your views on some people and organizations. (First,) would you say your overall opinion of... [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE] is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? [INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE."]

| a. Congress |  | -------Favorable------ |  |  | -----Unfavorable----- |  |  | Never <br> $\underline{\text { Heard of }}$ | Can't <br> Rate |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Total | Very | Mostly | Total | Very | Mostly |  |  |
|  |  | 56 | 7 | 49 | 33 | 7 | 26 | * | $11=100$ |
|  | July, 2001 | 57 | 7 | 50 | 32 | 8 | 24 | * | $11=100$ |
|  | March, 2001 | 56 | 6 | 50 | 36 | 10 | 26 | 1 | $7=100$ |
|  | January, 2001 | 64 | 10 | 54 | 23 | 5 | 18 | 1 | $12=100$ |
|  | September, 2000 (RVs) | 61 | 8 | 53 | 32 | 5 | 27 | * | $7=100$ |
|  | August, 1999 | 63 | 8 | 55 | 34 | 7 | 27 | * | $3=100$ |
|  | June, 1999 | 56 | 9 | 47 | 39 | 9 | 30 | * | $5=100$ |
|  | February, 1999 | 52 | 4 | 48 | 44 | 8 | 36 | 0 | $4=100$ |
|  | January, 1999 | 48 | 7 | 41 | 45 | 15 | 30 | 0 | $7=100$ |
|  | Early December, 1998 | 52 | 11 | 41 | 41 | 12 | 29 | 0 | $7=100$ |
|  | Early October, 1998 (RVs) | 62 | 7 | 55 | 33 | 8 | 25 | 0 | $5=100$ |
|  | Early September, 1998 | 66 | 7 | 59 | 27 | 5 | 22 | 0 | $7=100$ |
|  | October, 1997 | 53 | 5 | 48 | 44 | 11 | 33 | 0 | $3=100$ |
|  | August, 1997 | 50 | 6 | 44 | 44 | 11 | 33 | 0 | $6=100$ |
|  | June, 1997 | 52 | 4 | 48 | 42 | 8 | 34 | 0 | $6=100$ |
|  | May, 1997 | 49 | 5 | 44 | 42 | 10 | 32 | * | $9=100$ |
|  | February, 1997 | 52 | 6 | 46 | 40 | 9 | 31 | * | $8=100$ |
|  | January, 1997 | 56 | 6 | 50 | 40 | 8 | 32 | * | $4=100$ |
|  | June, 1996 | 45 | 6 | 39 | 50 | 12 | 38 | * | $5=100$ |
|  | April, 1996 | 45 | 6 | 39 | 50 | 13 | 37 | 0 | $5=100$ |
|  | January, 1996 | 42 | 4 | 38 | 54 | 16 | 38 | * | $4=100$ |
|  | October, 1995 | 42 | 4 | 38 | 55 | 13 | 42 | 0 | $3=100$ |
|  | August, 1995 | 45 | 5 | 40 | 47 | 13 | 34 | * | $7=100$ |
|  | June, 1995 | 53 | 8 | 45 | 42 | 11 | 31 | * | $5=100$ |
|  | February, 1995 | 54 | 10 | 44 | 37 | 10 | 27 | 0 | $9=100$ |
|  | July, 1994 | 53 | 7 | 46 | 43 | 9 | 34 | * | $4=100$ |
|  | May, 1993 | 43 | 8 | 35 | 48 | 13 | 35 | 0 | $9=100$ |
|  | November, 1991 | 51 | 7 | 44 | 43 | 9 | 34 | 0 | $6=100$ |
|  | March, 1991 | 66 | 16 | 50 | 26 | 7 | 19 | 0 | $8=100$ |
|  | May, 1990 | 59 | 6 | 53 | 34 | 9 | 25 | 1 | $6=100$ |
|  | May, 1988 | 64 | 8 | 56 | 28 | 5 | 23 | 0 | $8=100$ |
|  | January, 1988 | 64 | 6 | 58 | 29 | 4 | 25 | 0 | $7=100$ |


| Q. 44 CONTINUED... | -------Favorable------ |  |  | -----Unfavorable----- |  |  | Never <br> Heard of | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Can't } \\ & \text { Rate } \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Total | Very | Mostly | Total | Very | Mostly |  |  |
| May, 1987 | 74 | 10 | 64 | 20 | 4 | 16 | * | $6=100$ |
| January, 1987 | 59 | 7 | 52 | 31 | 8 | 23 | 0 | $10=100$ |
| June, 1985 | 67 | 9 | 58 | 26 | 5 | 21 | * | $7=100$ |
| b. The military | 85 | 48 | 37 | 10 | 3 | 7 | * | $5=100$ |
| Newsweek: May 16-17, 2002 | 93 | 59 | 34 | 5 | 2 | 3 | -- | $2=100$ |
| Newsweek: September 13-14, 2001 | 94 | 58 | 36 | 4 | 2 | 2 | -- | 2=100 |
| July, 2001 | 81 | 29 | 52 | 11 | 4 | 7 | * | $8=100$ |
| January, 2001 | 82 | 32 | 50 | 12 | 3 | 9 | 0 | $6=100$ |
| August, 1999 | 89 | 30 | 59 | 10 | 2 | 8 | * | $1=100$ |
| June, 1999 | 83 | 36 | 47 | 13 | 2 | 11 | 0 | $4=100$ |
| Early September, 1998 | 86 | 29 | 57 | 10 | 3 | 7 | 0 | $4=100$ |
| October, 1997 | 78 | 22 | 56 | 18 | 5 | 13 | 0 | $4=100$ |
| May, 1997 | 80 | 23 | 57 | 16 | 5 | 11 | 0 | $4=100$ |
| February, 1996 | 82 | 33 | 49 | 16 | 4 | 12 | * | $2=100$ |
| July, 1994 | 87 | 30 | 57 | 11 | 3 | 8 | * | $2=100$ |
| May, 1993 | 85 | 32 | 53 | 10 | 2 | 8 | 0 | $5=100$ |
| March, 1991 | 94 | 60 | 34 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 0 | $2=100$ |
| May, 1990 | 73 | 18 | 55 | 21 | 6 | 15 | * | $6=100$ |
| January, 1988 | 77 | 20 | 57 | 17 | 3 | 14 | * | $6=100$ |
| April, 1987 | 80 | 17 | 63 | 16 | 4 | 12 | 0 | $4=100$ |
| January, 1987 | 73 | 19 | 54 | 16 | 5 | 11 | * | $11=100$ |
| July, 1986 | 85 | 32 | 53 | 10 | 3 | 7 | 0 | $5=100$ |
| June, 1985 | 77 | 24 | 53 | 18 | 5 | 13 | * | $5=100$ |
| c. The Democratic Party | 54 | 12 | 42 | 36 | 11 | 25 | 0 | $10=100$ |
| Early February, 2004 | 58 | 14 | 44 | 37 | 9 | 28 | * | $5=100$ |
| June, 2003 | 54 | 11 | 43 | 38 | 10 | 28 | 0 | $8=100$ |
| April, 2003 | 57 | 13 | 44 | 36 | 11 | 25 | * | $7=100$ |
| December, 2002 | 54 | 15 | 39 | 37 | 10 | 27 | * | $9=100$ |
| July, 2001 | 58 | 18 | 40 | 34 | 10 | 24 | * | $8=100$ |
| January, 2001 | 60 | 18 | 42 | 30 | 9 | 21 | 1 | $9=100$ |
| September, 2000 (RVs) | 60 | 16 | 44 | 35 | 12 | 23 | * | $5=100$ |
| August, 1999 | 59 | 14 | 45 | 37 | 9 | 28 | * | $4=100$ |
| February, 1999 | 58 | 11 | 47 | 37 | 11 | 26 | 0 | $5=100$ |
| January, 1999 | 55 | 14 | 41 | 38 | 12 | 26 | 0 | $7=100$ |
| Early December, 1998 | 59 | 18 | 41 | 34 | 10 | 24 | 0 | $7=100$ |
| Early October, 1998 (RVs) | 56 | 11 | 45 | 38 | 9 | 29 | * | $6=100$ |
| Early September, 1998 | 60 | 13 | 47 | 33 | 8 | 25 | * | $7=100$ |
| March, 1998 | 58 | 15 | 43 | 36 | 10 | 26 | * | $6=100$ |
| August, 1997 | 52 | 11 | 41 | 42 | 10 | 32 | 0 | $6=100$ |
| June, 1997 | 61 | 10 | 51 | 33 | 8 | 25 | * | $6=100$ |
| January, 1997 | 60 | 13 | 47 | 35 | 7 | 28 | * | $5=100$ |
| October, 1995 | 49 | 9 | 40 | 48 | 11 | 37 | 0 | $3=100$ |
| December, 1994 | 50 | 13 | 37 | 44 | 13 | 31 | * | $6=100$ |
| July, 1994 | 62 | 13 | 49 | 34 | 7 | 27 | * | $4=100$ |
| May, 1993 | 57 | 14 | 43 | 34 | 9 | 25 | 0 | $9=100$ |
| July, 1992 | 61 | 17 | 44 | 33 | 9 | 24 | * | $6=100$ |


| Q. 44 CONTINUED... |  | -------Favorable----- |  |  | -----Unfavorable----- |  |  | Never Heard of | Can't Rate |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Total | Very | Mostly | Total | Very | Mostly |  |  |
| d. The Republican Party |  | 51 | 12 | 39 | 40 | 14 | 26 | 0 | 9=100 |
|  | Early February, 2004 | 52 | 14 | 38 | 42 | 16 | 26 | * | 6=100 |
|  | June, 2003 | 58 | 14 | 44 | 33 | 10 | 23 | 0 | $9=100$ |
|  | April, 2003 | 63 | 14 | 49 | 31 | 10 | 21 | * | 6=100 |
|  | December, 2002 | 59 | 18 | 41 | 33 | 11 | 22 | * | $8=100$ |
|  | July, 2001 | 48 | 11 | 37 | 42 | 15 | 27 | * | $10=100$ |
|  | January, 2001 | 56 | 13 | 43 | 35 | 13 | 22 | * | 9=100 |
|  | September, 2000 (RVs) | 53 | 11 | 42 | 40 | 12 | 28 | 0 | $7=100$ |
|  | August, 1999 | 53 | 8 | 45 | 43 | 12 | 31 | * | $4=100$ |
|  | February, 1999 | 44 | 7 | 37 | 51 | 15 | 36 | 0 | 5=100 |
|  | January, 1999 | 44 | 10 | 34 | 50 | 23 | 27 | 0 | 6=100 |
|  | Early December, 1998 | 46 | 11 | 35 | 47 | 20 | 27 | * | $7=100$ |
|  | Early October, 1998 (RVs) | 52 | 9 | 43 | 42 | 14 | 28 | 0 | $6=100$ |
|  | Early September, 1998 | 56 | 9 | 47 | 37 | 11 | 26 | * | $7=100$ |
|  | March, 1998 | 50 | 10 | 40 | 43 | 12 | 31 | * | $7=100$ |
|  | August, 1997 | 47 | 9 | 38 | 47 | 11 | 36 | * | $6=100$ |
|  | June, 1997 | 51 | 8 | 43 | 42 | 11 | 31 | 1 | $6=100$ |
|  | January, 1997 | 52 | 8 | 44 | 43 | 10 | 33 | * | $5=100$ |
|  | October, 1995 | 52 | 10 | 42 | 44 | 16 | 28 | * | $4=100$ |
|  | December, 1994 | 67 | 21 | 46 | 27 | 8 | 19 | * | 6=100 |
|  | July, 1994 | 63 | 12 | 51 | 33 | 8 | 25 | * | $4=100$ |
|  | May, 1993 | 54 | 12 | 42 | 35 | 10 | 25 | 0 | 11=100 |
|  | July, 1992 | 46 | 9 | 37 | 48 | 17 | 31 | * | $6=100$ |
| e. George W. Bush |  | 52 | 19 | 33 | 45 | 22 | 23 | * | 3=100 |
|  | Early February, 2004 | 53 | 21 | 32 | 44 | 25 | 19 | 0 | 3=100 |
| Gallup: | January 29 - February 1, 2004 | 52 | -- | -- | 47 | -- | -- | -- | 1=100 |
| Gallup: | January 2-5, 2004 | 65 | -- | -- | 35 | -- | -- | -- | *=100 |
| Gallup: | October 6-8, 2003 | 60 | -- | -- | 39 | -- | -- | -- | 1=100 |
| Gallup: | June 9-10, 2003 | 66 | -- | -- | 33 | -- | -- | -- | 1=100 |
|  | April 11-16, 2003 | 72 | 37 | 35 | 25 | 11 | 14 | 0 | 3=100 |
|  | December, 2002 | 68 | 35 | 33 | 27 | 11 | 16 | 0 | 5=100 |
|  | July, 2001 | 61 | 22 | 39 | 35 | 14 | 21 | * | 4=100 |
|  | January, 2001 | 60 | 24 | 36 | 33 | 12 | 21 | 0 | $7=100$ |
|  | May, 2000 | 58 | 18 | 40 | 31 | 12 | 19 | 1 | $10=100$ |
|  | March, 1999** | 61 | 21 | 40 | 21 | 7 | 14 | 4 | $14=100$ |
|  | November, 1997 | 54 | 13 | 41 | 18 | 6 | 12 | 9 | $19=100$ |
| f. John Kerry |  | 50 | 11 | 39 | 41 | 16 | 25 | 0 | 9=100 |
|  | Early February, 2004 | 58 | 14 | 44 | 28 |  | 20 | 1 | $13=100$ |
|  | January, 2003 | 30 | 6 | 24 | 16 | 4 | 12 | 36 | $18=100$ |
| g. Ralph Nader |  | 26 | 4 | 22 | 44 | 20 | 24 | 4 | 26=100 |
| Gallup: | March 26-28, 2004 | 30 | -- | -- | 48 | -- | -- | 7 | $15=100$ |
| Gallup: | August 3-5, 2001 | 42 | -- | -- | 31 | -- | -- | 13 | 14=100 |
| Gallup: | July 14-16, 2000 | 42 | -- | -- | 22 | -- | -- | 17 | 19=100 |
| Gallup: | June 6-7, 2000 | 36 | -- | -- | 22 | -- | -- | 18 | 24=100 |
| Gallup: | April 28-30, 2000 | 41 | -- | -- | 20 | -- | -- | 18 | $21=100$ |

[^5]
## ASK IF FAVORABLE OPINION OF BUSH/KERRY (1,2 IN Q.44e/f):

Q.45/Q. 47 You mentioned having a favorable opinion of (George W. Bush/John Kerry) - what one thing comes to mind that you like most about him? [OPEN END; PROBE ONCE FOR CLARITY ONLY IF NECESSARY; DO NOT PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL]

| FAVORABLE OF BUSH [N=951]: |  |  |
| ---: | :--- | :---: |
| $\mathbf{6 5}$ | PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS (NET) |  |
| 13 | Honesty/Sincerity/Integrity |  |
| 11 | Leadership |  |
| 10 | Religiosity/Morality/Christian |  |
| 8 | Standing up for beliefs |  |
| 7 | Personality/Attitude/Communication |  |
| 5 | General character |  |
| 3 | Strength/toughness |  |
| 2 | Normal guy |  |
| 2 | Consistency |  |
| 2 | Experience |  |
| 2 | Family man |  |
| 1 | Decisiveness |  |
| 6 | Other personal characteristics |  |
| 26 | POLICIES (NET) |  |
| 7 | Sept. 11 ${ }^{\text {th }} /$ Terrorism |  |
| 7 | War in Iraq |  |
| 6 | General policy |  |
| 2 | Policy on the military |  |
| 1 | Abortion |  |
| 1 | Economy |  |
| 1 | Social policy (non-abortion) |  |
| 2 | Other policy |  |
| 7 | OTHER (NET) |  |
| 1 | He is a Republican |  |
| 6 | Other |  |
| 5 | Don't know/No answer |  |
|  |  |  |

FAVORABLE OF KERRY [ $\mathrm{N}=895$ ]:
46 PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS (NET)
10 Military service
9 Personality/Attitude/Communication
7 Honesty/Sincerity/Integrity
4 Experience
4 Leadership
4 General character
3 Intelligence
1 Normal guy
1 Standing up for beliefs
1 Strength/toughness
1 Religiosity/Morality/Christian
6 Other personal characteristics
26 POLICIES (NET)
9 General policy
5 Stand on war in Iraq
4 Economy
2 Health care
1 Foreign policy
1 Jobs
1 Education
1 Getting U.S. out of Iraq
1 Social policy (non-abortion)
1 Tax policy
1 Policy on military
1 Protesting Vietnam
2 Other policy
18 OTHER (NET)
7 He is not Bush
6 He is a Democrat
4 Other
1 Campaign/Criticism of Bush
12 Don't know/No answer

## ASK IF UNFAVORABLE OPINION OF BUSH (3,4 IN Q.44e/f):

Q.46/Q. 48 You mentioned having an unfavorable opinion of (George W. Bush/John Kerry) - what one thing comes to mind that you DISlike most about him? [OPEN END; PROBE ONCE FOR CLARITY ONLY IF NECESSARY; DO NOT PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL]

|  | AVORABLE OF BUSH [ $\mathrm{N}=800$ ]: |  | AVORABLE OF KERRY [ $\mathrm{N}=763$ ]: |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 58 | POLICIES (NET) | 60 | PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS (NET) |
| 32 | War in Iraq | 19 | Consistency |
| 7 | General policy | 12 | Personality/Attitude/Communication |
| 7 | Economy | 9 | Honesty/sincerity/Integrity |
| 4 | Foreign policy | 9 | General character |
| 2 | Price of oil/gas | 2 | Experience |
| 2 | Jobs | 2 | Standing up for beliefs |
| 2 | Sept. 11 ${ }^{\text {th }}$ /Terrorism | 1 | Decisiveness |
| 2 | Social policy (non-abortion) | 1 | Leadership |
| 2 | Tax policy | 1 | Religiosity/Morality/Christian |
| 1 | Policy on the military | 1 | Military service |
| 1 | Education | 4 | Other personal characteristics |
| 1 | Health Care | 19 | POLICIES (NET) |
| 3 | Other policy | 8 | General policy |
| 34 | PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS (NET) | 3 | Protesting Vietnam |
| 12 | Personality/Attitude/Communication | 3 | Abortion |
| 8 | Honesty/sincerity/Integrity | 1 | Stand on war in Iraq |
| 4 | Intelligence | 1 | Social policy (non-abortion) |
| 4 | General character | 1 | Tax policy |
| 2 | Leadership | 1 | Policy on military |
| 1 | Religiosity/Morality/Christian | 1 | Sept. 11/Terrorism |
| 1 | Consistency | 1 | Economy |
| 1 | Experience | 1 | Foreign policy |
| 4 | Other personal characteristics | 1 | Other policy |
| 7 | OTHER (NET) | 14 | OTHER (NET) |
|  |  | 7 | Campaign/Criticism of Bush |
| 5 | Don't know/No answer | 2 | He is a Democrat |
|  |  | 1 | He is not Bush |
|  |  | 5 | Other |
|  |  | 10 | Don't know/No answer |

ASK ALL [FIELD PERIOD JUNE 7-13 ONLY] [N=1333]:
P. 1 Does the phrase [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE] better describe John Kerry, George W. Bush or don't you think it describes either of them?


## P. 1 CONTINUED...

f. He is personally tough and doesn't give up in the face of adversity

| John George W. |  |  | (VOL) | Don't know/ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Kerry | Bush | Neither | Both | Refused |
| 15 | 53 | 17 | 8 | $7=100$ |

## ASK FORM 1 ONLY [ $\mathbf{N = 8 9 1 ] : ~}$

Q.49F1 This year, have Republicans and Democrats in Washington been working together more to solve problems OR have they been bickering and opposing one another more than usual?

|  |  | Oct | May | July | May | July | Aug | Aug | Nov | Aug | June | Oct | Aug |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $\underline{2003}$ | $\underline{2002}$ | 2001 | 2001 | 2000 | 1999 | 1998 | 1997 | 1997 | 1997 | 1995 | 1993 |
| 21 | Working together more | 21 | 44 | 30 | 34 | 21 | 20 | 27 | 38 | 43 | 34 | 21 | 20 |
| 60 | Opposing each other more | 55 | 31 | 46 | 41 | 54 | 68 | 51 | 45 | 46 | 49 | 72 | 57 |
| 7 | Same as in past (VOL) | 10 | 8 | 10 | 9 | 10 | 4 | 8 | 7 | 3 | 6 | 3 | 13 |
| 12 | Don't know/Refused | 14 | 17 | 14 | 16 | 15 | 8 | 14 | 10 | 8 | 11 | 4 | 10 |
| 100 |  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

## ASK FORM 2 ONLY [ $\mathbf{N = 9 1 5 ] :}$

Q.50F2 Some people say we should have a third major political party in this country in addition to the Democrats and Republicans. Do you agree or disagree?

ABC/

| Early |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Oct | June | Aug | Sept | Aug | July | Oct | April | July | Jan | Sept ${ }^{4}$ |
| $\frac{2003}{46}$ | $\frac{2000}{52}$ | $\frac{1999}{54}$ | $\frac{1998}{46}$ | $\frac{1997}{47}$ | $\frac{1996}{58}$ | $\frac{1995}{59}$ | $\frac{1995}{57}$ | $\frac{1994}{53}$ | $\frac{1984}{41}$ | $\frac{1982}{44}$ |
| 44 | 42 | 40 | 47 | 46 | 37 | 37 | 38 | 43 | 48 | 44 |
| $\underline{10}$ | $\underline{6}$ | $\underline{6}$ | $\frac{7}{10}$ | $\frac{7}{100}$ | $\underline{5}$ | $\underline{4}$ | $\underline{5}$ | $\underline{4}$ | $\underline{11}$ | $\underline{12}$ |
| 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |  |  |

## ASK ALL:

Now thinking about Iraq...
Q. 51 Do you think the U.S. made the right decision or the wrong decision in using military force against Iraq?

|  | decision | decision | Refused |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| June, 2004 | 55 | 38 | $7=100$ |
| 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 | $10=100$ |

14
In January 1984, the $A B C / W a s h i n g t o n ~ P o s t ~ t r e n d ~ w a s ~ w o r d e d: ~ " C a n ~ y o u ~ p l e a s e ~ t e l l ~ m e ~ i f ~ y o u ~ t e n d ~ t o ~ a g r e e ~ o r ~ d i s a g r e e ~$ with the following statement, of if, perhaps, you have no opinion about the statement: We should have a third major political party in this country in addition to the Democrats and Republicans."
In September 1982, the ABC/Washington Post trend was worded: "I’m going to read a few statements. For each, can you please tell me if you tend to agree or disagree with it, or if, perhaps, you have no opinion about the statements... We should have a third party in this country in addition to the Democrats and Republicans."
Q. 51 CONTINUED...

December, 2003
October, 2003
September, 2003
August, 2003
Early July, 2003
May, 2003
April 10-16, 2003
April 8-9,2003
April 2-7, 2003
March 28-April 1, 2003
March 25-27, 2003
March 23-24, 2003
March 20-22, 2003
Late January, 1991

| $\begin{array}{c}\text { Right } \\ \text { decision }\end{array}$ | Wrong decision | Don't know/ Refused |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 67 | 26 | $7=100$ |
| 60 | 33 | $7=100$ |
| 63 | 31 | $6=100$ |
| 63 | 30 | $7=100$ |
| 67 | 24 | $9=100$ |
| 74 | 20 | $6=100$ |
| 74 | 19 | $7=100$ |
| 74 | 19 | $7=100$ |
| 72 | 20 | $8=100$ |
| 69 | 25 | $6=100$ |
| 74 | 21 | $5=100$ |
| 74 | 21 | $5=100$ |
| 71 | 22 | $7=100$ |
| 77 | 15 | $9=100$ |

Q. 52 How well is the U.S. military effort in Iraq going? [READ IN ORDER]

|  | Very <br> well | Fairly <br> well | Not too <br> well | Not at all <br> well | Don't know/ <br> Jefused |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| June, 2004 | 16 | 41 | 25 | 14 | $4=100$ |
| 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 | $4=100$ |
| April 10-16, 2003 | 61 | 32 | 3 | 1 | $3=100$ |
| April 8-9, 2003 | 60 | 32 | 3 | 3 | $2=100$ |
| April 2-7, 2003 | 55 | 37 | 3 | 2 | $3=100$ |
| March 25-April 1, 2003 | 39 | 46 | 8 | 2 | $5=100$ |
| March 23-24, 2003 | 45 | 41 | 6 | 2 | $6=100$ |
| March 20-22, 2003 | 65 | 25 | 2 | 1 | $7=100$ |

Q. 53 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?

## IF "KEEP TROOPS IN IRAQ" (1 IN Q.53) ASK:

Q. 54 Do you think more troops are needed in Iraq right now, or do you think there are already enough troops there to do the job?

|  |  | May | Late April | Early April | Early Jan | Oct | Sept |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2004}{ }^{15}$ | $\underline{2003}$ | $\underline{2003}$ |
| 51 | Keep troops in Iraq | 53 | 53 | 50 | 63 | 58 | 64 |
| 18 | More troops needed | -- | -- | -- | 29 | 32 | 34 |
| 23 | Have enough there to do the job | -- | -- | -- | 26 | 21 | 25 |
| * | Reduce number of troops (VOL.) | -- | -- | -- | * | * | * |
| 10 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | -- | -- | -- | 8 | 5 | 5 |
| 44 | Bring troops home | 42 | 40 | 44 | 32 | 39 | 32 |
| 5 | Don't know/Refused | $\underline{5}$ | 7 | $\underline{6}$ | $\underline{5}$ | $\underline{3}$ | 4 |
| 100 |  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

## ASK ALL:

Q. 55 Do you think George W. Bush has a clear plan for bringing the situation in Iraq to a successful conclusion, or don't you think so?

|  | Late <br> April | Early |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | April | Dec | Oct | Sept |  |
|  |  | $\frac{2004}{36}$ | $\frac{2004}{32}$ | $\frac{2003}{44}$ | $\frac{2003}{35}$ | $\frac{2003}{32}$ |
| 37 | Has a clear plan | 54 | 57 | 45 | 54 | 58 |
| 55 | Doesn't have a clear plan | $\underline{10}$ | $\underline{11}$ | $\underline{11}$ | $\underline{11}$ | $\frac{10}{10}$ |
| $\frac{8}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Q. 56 Do you think the war in Iraq has helped the war on terrorism, or has it hurt the war on terrorism?

|  |  | Mid- <br> March | Late <br> Feb | Early <br> Feb | Dec | Sept | May | April | Early |
| :---: | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2003}$ | $\underline{2003}$ | $\underline{2003}$ | $\underline{2003}^{16}$ | $\underline{2002}$ |
| 43 | Helped | 50 | 62 | 55 | 59 | 54 | 65 | 63 | 52 |
| 44 | Hurt | 37 | 28 | 32 | 26 | 31 | 22 | 22 | 34 |
| 4 | No effect (VOL) | 5 | 3 | 7 | 6 | 7 | 6 | -- | -- |
| $\frac{9}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused | $\underline{8}$ | $\underline{7}$ | $\underline{6}$ | $\underline{9}$ | $\underline{8}$ | $\underline{7}$ | $\underline{15}$ | $\underline{14}$ |
|  |  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

[^6]Q. 57 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?

|  |  | May 2004 |
| ---: | :--- | :---: |
|  | Less emotionally involved | 26 |
| 23 | More emotionally involved | 33 |
| 37 | About as involved as they have been | 36 |
| 1 | Mixed / Some more, some less (VOL.) | 1 |
| $\frac{4}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | $\underline{4}$ |

Q. 58 Some people are comparing Iraq to the war in Vietnam thirty years ago. Do you think Iraq will turn out to be another Vietnam, or do you think the U.S. will accomplish its goals in Iraq?

|  |  | Late April <br> 20 |
| ---: | :--- | :---: |
| 29 | Will be another Vietnam | $\frac{2004}{25}$ |
| 55 | U.S. will accomplish its goals | 54 |
| 4 | Too early to tell (VOL.) | 6 |
| $\frac{12}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | $\underline{15}$ |
|  |  | 100 |

Q. 59 On June $30^{\text {th }}$, the U.S. is planning to hand over civilian authority to Iraqi leaders. How much have you heard about this... a lot, a little, or nothing at all?

| 42 | A lot |
| :--- | :--- |
| 40 | A little |
| 17 | Nothing at all |
| $\frac{1}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) |

Q. 60 All in all, do you think that Iraqi officials will be able to form an effective government after this transfer of power, or don't you think they will be able to do so?

41 They will be able to form an effective government
45 Don't think they will be able to
14 Don't know/Refused (VOL.) 100
Q. 61 How much longer do you think United States troops will have to remain in Iraq - for less than a year, one to two years, two to five years, or will the U.S. troops have to stay in Iraq for longer than five years?

|  |  | ---- CBS/New York Times |  |  |  |
| :---: | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | ----- |  |  |  |
|  |  | April | March | Dec | July |
| 17 | Less than a year | $\frac{2004}{8}$ | $\underline{2004}$ | $\frac{2003}{8}$ | $\frac{2003}{15}$ |
| 33 | One to two years | 27 | 22 | 34 | 31 |
| 26 | Two to five years | 33 | 35 | 31 | 31 |
| 16 | Longer than five years | 25 | 26 | 12 | 18 |
| $\frac{8}{100}$ | Don’t know/Refused (VOL.) | $\underline{7}$ | $\underline{9}$ | $\underline{8}$ | $\underline{7}$ |
|  |  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Q. 62 How worried are you that there will soon be another terrorist attack in the United States? [READ]

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

Q. 63 How would you rate the job the government is doing in defending America from future terrorist attacks? Would you say the government is doing an excellent job, a good job, only a fair job, or a poor job?

|  |  | Late |  | Early | Oct | Oct |
| ---: | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Aug | Jan | Nov | $15-21$ | $10-14$ |
|  |  | $\underline{2002^{17}}$ | $\frac{2002}{13}$ | $\frac{2001}{15}$ | $\underline{2001}$ | $\frac{2001}{18}$ |
| 14 | Excellent | 44 | 47 | 47 | 51 | 47 |
| 46 | Good | 30 | 31 | 25 | 22 | 22 |
| 29 | Only fair | 8 | 6 | 7 | 5 | 4 |
| 8 | Poor | $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{6}$ | $\underline{4}$ | $\underline{7}$ |
| $\frac{3}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused | $\underline{5}$ | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| 100 |  |  |  |  |  |  | at home from future terrorist attacks..." In January 2002 and earlier the question was worded: "How would you rate the job the government is doing in BUILDING DEFENSES at home to prevent future terrorist attacks? Would you say ..."


[^0]:    1 From March to April 2003 the item was worded: "... dealing with the war in Iraq?" The 1991 Gallup trend was worded "...George Bush is handling the situation in the Persian Gulf region."

[^1]:    8 In 2000 the question referenced politics in 1996; in 1996 it referenced politics in 1992; in 1992 it referenced politics in 1988.

[^2]:    9 November 1996 trend based on likely voters

[^3]:    10 In previous years the question was worded "What's your opinion of the presidential candidates this year? Would you say that you are very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not too satisfied, or not at all satisfied with the choices?"

[^4]:    In October 1992 the question was worded: "In the PAST FEW DAYS have you seen any television commercials on behalf of (Bill Clinton's/George Bush's) candidacy? Only tell me 'yes' if you have seen paid commercials for (Clinton/Bush) on TV in the past few days." In September 1992 the question was worded: "So far, have you seen any television commercials on behalf of (Bill Clinton's/George Bush's) candidacy, or not?"

[^5]:    ** In March 1999 and November 1997 the category was listed: "Texas Governor George W. Bush."

[^6]:    ${ }^{15}$ In Early January 2004 and earlier, the follow-up question was worded "more coalition troops."
    16 In April 2003, the question was worded: "Do you think the war in Iraq will help the war on terrorism, or will it hurt the war on terrorism?" In Early October 2002 the question was worded: "If the U.S. uses military force in Iraq, do you think this will help the war on terrorism, or will it hurt the war on terrorism?"

