PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS JUNE 2004 VOTER ATTITUDES SURVEY FINAL TOPLINE June 3-13, 2004 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]

		Dis-	Don't			Dis-	Don't
	Approve a		know		Approve		know
June, 2004	48	43	9=100	April, 2002	69	18	13=100
May, 2004	44	48	8=100	Early April, 2002	74	16	10=100
Late April, 2004	48	43	9=100	February, 2002	78	13	9=100
Early April, 2004	43	47	10=100	January, 2002	80	11	9=100
Late March, 2004	47	44	9=100	2001			, 100
Mid-March, 2004	46	47	7=100	Mid-November, 2001	84	9	7=100
February, 2004	48	44	8=100	Early October, 2001	84	8	8=100
Mid-January, 2004	56	34	10=100	Late September, 2001	86	7	7=100
Early January, 2004	58	35	7=100	Mid-September, 2001	80	9	11=100
2003				Early September, 2001	51	34	15=100
December, 2003	57	34	9=100	August, 2001	50	32	18=100
November, 2003	50	40	10=100	July, 2001	51	32	17=100
October, 2003	50	42	8=100	June, 2001	50	33	17=100
September, 2003	55	36	9=100	May, 2001	53	32	15=100
Mid-August, 2003	56	32	12=100	April, 2001	56	27	17=100
Early August, 2003	53	37	10=100	March, 2001	55	25	20=100
Mid-July, 2003	58	32	10=100	February, 2001	53	21	26=100
Early July, 2003	60	29	11=100	·			
June, 2003	62	27	11=100				
May, 2003	65	27	8=100				
April 10-16, 2003	72	22	6=100				
April 9, 2003	74	20	6=100				
April 2-7, 2003	69	25	6=100				
March 28-April 1, 2003	71	23	6=100				
March 25-27, 2003	70	24	6=100				
March 20-24, 2003	67	26	7 = 100				
March 13-16, 2003	55	34	11=100				
February, 2003	54	36	10 = 100				
January, 2003	58	32	10 = 100				
2002							
December, 2002	61	28	11=100				
Late October, 2002	59	29	12 = 100				
Early October, 2002	61	30	9=100				
Mid-September, 2002	67	22	11=100				
Early September, 2002	63	26	11=100				
Late August, 2002	60	27	13=100				
August, 2002	67	21	12=100				
Late July, 2002	65	25	10=100				
July, 2002	67	21	12=100				
June, 2002	70	20	10=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
a.	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	42 46	8=100
	Clinton: October, 1994	45	46 46	9=100
	Clinton: July, 1994	38	4 0 56	6=100
	• •	40	52	8=100
	Bush, Sr.: August, 1990	40	32 47	
	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
	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."

Q.2 CONTINUED...

		Approve	Disapprove	DK/Ref.
c.	Terrorist threats	56	35	9=100
	Late April, 2004	55	36	9=100
	Early April, 2004	53	38	9=100
	Gallup/CNN/USA Today: 12/03	65	33	2 = 100
	September, 2003	64	28	8=100
	February, 2003	67	25	8=100
	January, 2003	69	23	8=100
	Early October, 2002	71	22	7=100
	June, 2002	74	18	8=100
	Mid-September, 2001 ²	85	6	9=100
	Clinton: Early September, 1998	72	20	8=100

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]

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

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?"

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 C	ONTINUED	Very	Fairly	Not too	Not at al	1
		Closely	Closely		Closely	DK/Ref
	July, 1992	20	45	26	9	*=100
	May, 1992	32	44	16	8	*=100
	March, 1992	35	40	16	9	*=100
	January, 1992	11	25	36	27	1=100
	May, 1988	22	46	23	6	3=100
	November, 1987	15	28	35	21	1=100
b.	News about the current situation in Iraq	39	42	12	6	1=100
	April, 2004	54	33	8	5	*=100
	Mid-March, 2004	47	36	12	4	1=100
	Early February, 2004	47	38	10	4	1=100
	Mid-January, 2004	48	39	9	4	*=100
	December, 2003	44	38	11	6	1=100
	November, 2003	52	33	9	5	1=100
	October, 2003	38	40	14	7	1=100
	September, 2003	50	33	10	6	1=100
	Mid-August, 2003	45	39	10	5	1=100
	Early July, 2003	37	41	13	8	1=100
	June, 2003	46	35	13	6	*=100
	May, 2003	63	29	6	2	*=100
	April 11-16, 2003 ⁴	47	40	10	2	1=100
	April 2-7, 2003	54	34	9	2	1=100
	March 20-24, 2003	57	33	7	2	1=100
	March 13-16, 2003 ⁵	62	27	6	4	1=100
	February, 2003	62	25	8	4	1=100
	January, 2003	55	29	10	4	2=100
	December, 2002	51	32	10	6	1=100
	Late October, 2002	53	33	8	5	1=100
	Early October, 2002	60	28	6	5	1=100
	Early September, 2002	48	29	15	6	2=100
c.	The high price of gasoline these days	58	26	9	6	1=100
	April, 2004	46	30	15	8	1=100
	Early April, 2004	58	23	10	8	1=100
	Mid-March, 2004	47	27	14	10	2=100
	September, 2003	45	27	15	11	1=100
	March, 2003	52	27	11	9	1=100
	February, 2003	53	25	12	9	1=100
	June, 2001	56	31	7	5	1=100
	May, 2001	61	26	6	6	1=100
	Early October, 2000	56	25	12	6	1=100
	June, 2000 ⁶	61	25	9	5	*=100
	March, 2000	58	28	10	4	*=100
	-·, -···	•		- 0	•	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	Very	Fairly	Not too	Not at all	
	Closely	Closely	Closely	Closely	DK/Ref
October, 1990	62	26	8	4	*=100
September, 1990	56	28	11	5	*=100
August, 1990	57	27	10	5	1=100
d. The abuse of Iraqi prisoners by U.S. soldiers in Iraq	34	37	18	9	2=100
FIELD PERIOD JUNE 7-13 ONLY [N=1333]:					
e. The death and memorial services of Ronald Reagan	40	30	17	11	2 = 100
May, 1994^7	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?

	Quite	(VOL.)	Only a	(VOL.)	DK/
	A lot	<u>Some</u>	<u>Little</u>	None	Ref.
June, 2004	58	3	36	2	1=100
May, 2004	59	6	30	4	1 = 100
Late March, 2004	60	4	31	4	1 = 100
Mid-March, 2004	65	2	31	2	*=100
Early November, 2000	72	6	19	2	1=100
Late October, 2000	66	6	24	4	*=100
Mid-October, 2000	67	9	19	4	1=100
Early October, 2000	60	8	27	4	1=100
September, 2000	59	8	29	3	1=100
July, 2000	46	6	45	3	*=100
June, 2000	46	6	43	5	*=100
May, 2000	48	4	42	5	1=100
April, 2000	45	7	41	7	*=100
November, 1996	67	8	22	3	*=100
October, 1996	65	7	26	1	1=100
Late September, 1996	61	7	29	2	1=100
Early September, 1996	56	3	36	4	1=100
July, 1996	55	3	41	1	*=100
June, 1996	50	5	41	3	1=100
October, 1992	77	5	16	1	1=100
September, 1992	69	3	26	1	1=100
August, 1992	72	4	23	1	*=100
June, 1992	63	6	29	1	1=100
Gallup: November, 1988	73	8	17	2	0 = 100
Gallup: October, 1988	69	9	20	2	0 = 100
Gallup: August, 1988	61	10	27	2	0 = 100
Gallup: September, 1988	57	18	23	2	0=100

⁷ In May 1994 the item was worded "The death and funeral of Richard M. Nixon."

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
		<u>2000</u>	1996	<u> 1996</u>	<u> 1992</u>	<u>1992</u>
47	More	38	42	41	55	57
28	Less	38	38	35	24	27
23	Same (VOL.)	22	19	22	19	14
2	Don't know/Refused	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	2	2	2
100		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]?

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

		Bush/	Kerry/	Other/
		Lean Bush	Lean Kerry	<u>DK</u>
	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, 200-	4 47	47	6=100
	Early January, 2004	52	41	7=100
	October, 2003	50	42	8=100
Selected Trends:	June, 2000	45 Bush	46 Gore	9=100
	June, 1996	40 Dole	55 Clinton	5=100
	June, 1992	45 Bush, S	r. 41 Clinton	14=100
	May, 1988	40 Bush, S	r. 53 Dukakis	7=100

In 2000 the question referenced politics in 1996; in 1996 it referenced politics in 1992; in 1992 it referenced politics in 1988.

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?

Pro- Anti- Un- Pro-	DAIGED (UEDDI VEDDI				DIIC	7.7					
Total Kerry Bush decid Total Bush Kerry decid DK										Other	-/		
Nov 45 29 14 2 41 27 12 2 14=100 10	2004	Total				T-4-1					7		
May													
Late Mar 47 17 27 3 46 36 8 2 7=100													
Mid-Mar 52 21 29 2 43 34 7 2 5=100	•												
Feb 47 15 30 2 47 39 6 2 6=100													
Pro- Anti- Un- Pro- Anti- Un- Other/													
Pro- Anti- Un- Pro- Anti- Un- Other/	Feb	47	15	30	2	47	39	6	2	6=100)		
Pro- Anti- Un- Pro- Anti- Un- Other/			CORE				DIIC	7.7					
Nov 45 29 14 2 41 27 12 2 14=100										Other	./		
Nov 45 29 14 2 41 27 12 2 14=100 Sept 47 30 14 3 41 24 14 3 12=100	2000	Total				T-4-1			-		-/		
Sept 47 30 14 3 41 24 14 3 12=100 CLINTON													
Pro- Anti- Un- Pro-													
Pro- Anti- Un- Other	Sept	47	30	14	3	41	24	14	3	12=10)()		
Pro- Anti- Un- Other			CLINT	'ON			DOL	F			D	$FR \cap T$	
Total Clinton other decid Total Dole other decid Total Perot Other decid DK												-	Other/
Nov 51 33 15 3 32 15 15 2 9 4 5 * 8=100 Oct 51 33 16 2 34 15 18 1 8 4 4 * 7=100 Sept 52 35 15 2 34 16 17 1 8 3 5 0 6=100 Mar 53 30 20 3 41 15 25 1 6=100 Pro- Anti- Un- Pro- Anti- Un- Other/ 1992 Total Clinton other other other decid Bush other decid Total other o	1006	Total				Total				Total			
Oct 51 33 16 2 34 15 18 1 8 4 4 * 7=100 Sept 52 35 15 2 34 16 17 1 8 3 5 0 6=100 Mar 53 30 20 3 41 15 25 1 6=100			_										
Sept Mar 52 35 15 2 34 16 17 1 8 3 5 0 6=100 Mar 53 30 20 3 41 15 25 1 6=100													
Mar 53 30 20 3 41 15 25 1													
	-										-		
Pro- Anti- Un- Pro- Anti- Pro- Pro- Anti- Pro- Anti- Pro- Pro- Anti- Pro-	Iviai	33	30	20	3	41	13	23	1				 0-100
Pro- Anti- Un- Pro- Anti- Pro- Pro- Anti- Pro- Anti- Pro- Pro- Anti- Pro-			- CLINTO	ON			BUSI	4			P	EROT	
1992 Total Oct Clinton other 23 decid 3 Total 19 Bush 19 other 13 decid 3 Total Perot Other 20 Other 20 DK 20 9=100													Other/
Oct 48 23 22 3 35 19 13 3 8 3 5 * 9=100	1992	Total	Clinton	other		Total		other	decid	Total			DK
Sept 53 21 29 3 38 20 16 2 9=100	Sept	53		29		38		16					
Aug 57 27 28 2 37 20 16 1 6=100													
Mar 44 13 29 2 49 32 15 2 7=100	-												
	1.141		10		_			10	_				. 200
DUKAKIS BUSH			- DUKAK	XIS			BUSI	Ч					
Pro- Anti- Un- Pro- Anti- Un- Other/							Pro-	Anti-	Un-	Other	·/		
1988 Total Dukakis Bush decid Total Bush Dukakis decid DK	<u>1988</u>	Total	<u>Dukakis</u>	<u>Bush</u>	decid	Total	Bush	Dukaki	s decid	<u>DK</u>			
Oct 42 23 15 4 50 31 16 3 8=100	Oct	42	23	15			31	16	3	8=100)		
Sept 44 21 19 4 50 31 15 4 6=100	Sept	44	21	19	4	50	31	15	4	6=100)		
May 53 23 26 4 40 26 11 3 7=100	May	53	23	26	4	40	26	11	3	7=100)		

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

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

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1426]:

	(Chance might	Decided not to	Don't know/
	<u> </u>	ote for Kerry	vote for Kerry	Refused
	June, 2004	10	41	3=54%
	May, 2004	11	35	4=50%
	Late March, 2004	13	37	3=53%
	Mid-March, 2004	13	32	3=48%
	Late February, 200	04 13	36	3=52%
	Early February, 20	004 15	33	5=53%
Gore:	November, 2000	8	41	6=55%
Gore:	Late October, 200	0 9	44	4=57%
Gore:	Mid-October, 200	0 10	40	5=55%
Gore:	Early October, 200	00 11	38	7=56%
Gore:	September, 2000	13	35	5=53%
Gore:	June, 2000	14	34	6=54%
Clinton:	July, 1996	8	36	4=48%
Clinton:	May, 1992	11	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?

	(Chance might	Decided not to	Don't know/
	2	vote for Bush	vote for Bush	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, 200	04 10	43	3=56%
	Early February, 20	004 10	41	2=53%
Bush:	November, 2000	8	44	7=59%
Bush:	Late October, 200	0 10	41	4=55%
Bush:	Mid-October, 200	0 12	40	5=57%
Bush:	Early October, 200	00 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:

Pe	ersonality	Leadership	Experience	Stand on issues	Don't know	
John Kerry	7	20	16	45	12=100	(N=649)
George W. Bush	8	33	4	49	6=100	(N=700)
T1 6 2000						
Trend for 2000:						
Al Gore	4	1.6	27	40	7 100	
Late October, 2000	4	16	27	48	5=100	
Mid-October, 2000	8	16	29	44	3=100	
Early October, 2000		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 5=100	
Early October, 2000		20	7	58	7=100	
September, 2000	9	19	9	55	8=100	
	10	19	11	50	10=100	
June, 2000			8	50 51		
May, 2000	12	22			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	14	24	6	49	7=100	
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 <u>NOT</u> 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	16	11	6	52	15=100	(N=700)
George W. Bush	12	35	3	41	9=100	(N=649)
Trend for 2000:						
Al Gore						
Late October, 20	00 27	15	6	43	9=100	
Mid-October, 20	00 27	18	5	43	7=100	
Early October, 2	000 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, 20	00 21	14	15	37	13=100	
Mid-October, 20	00 18	16	15	43	8=100	
Early October, 2	000 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?

	Republican/ Lean Rep.	Democrat/ Lean Dem.	Other/ <u>Undecided</u>
June, 2004	41	48	11=100
2002 Election			
Early November, 2002	42	46	12=100
Early October, 2002	44	46	10=100
Early September, 2002	44	46	10=100
June, 2002	44	46	10=100
February, 2002	46	45	9=100
Early November, 2001	44	44	12=100
2000 Election			
Early November, 2000	42	48	10=100
Early October, 2000	43	47	10=100
July, 2000	43	47	10=100
February, 2000	44	47	9=100
October, 1999	43	49	8=100
June, 1999	40	50	10=100
1998 Election			
Late October, 1998	40	47	13=100
Early October, 1998	43	44	13=100
Early September, 1998	45	46	9=100
Late August, 1998	44	45	11=100
Early August, 1998	42	49	9=100
June, 1998	44	46	10=100
March, 1998	40	52	8=100
February, 1998	41	50	9=100
January, 1998	41	51	8=100
August, 1997	45	48	7=100
1996 Election			
November, 1996 ⁹	44	48	8=100
October, 1996	42	49	9=100
Late September, 1996	43	49	8=100
Early September, 1996	43	51	6=100
July, 1996	46	47	7=100
June, 1996	44	50	6=100
March, 1996	44	49	7=100
January, 1996	46	47	7=100
October, 1995	48	48	4=100
August, 1995	50	43	7=100

⁹ November 1996 trend based on likely voters.

Q.13/13a CONTINUED	Republican/ Lean Rep.	Democrat/ Lean Dem.	Other/ Undecided
1994 Election	<u>-</u>		
November, 1994	45	43	12=100
Late October, 1994	47	44	9=100
Early October, 1994	52	40	8=100
September, 1994	48	46	6=100
July, 1994	45	47	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
		<u>2002</u>	2002	<u>2002</u>	2002	2002	<u>2000</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u> 1998</u>				
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
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	4	<u>5</u>	4	4	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
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. Bu		
		May	Early Feb	Mid-Jan	Sept	June	March	Feb	Oct
		<u>2004</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2004</u>	2003	<u>2003</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u> 1991</u>
51	George W. Bush, or	52	56	61	47	66	72	66	78
35	John Kerry	31	32	21	34	22	20	25	11
<u>14</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>17</u>	<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	100

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

		Sept	June	July	Sep	Oct	Oct
		2003	2000	1999	<u>1996</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u> 1991</u>
29	Economy	45	11	4	13	14	43
20	Iraq/The war	11	-	-	-	-	-
7	Terrorism/Protecting the nation	15	-	-	-	-	-
6	Job situation/Unemployment	4	2	2	8	6	15
5	Health care reform/Health care in general	18	11	18	14	20	8
4	Gas Prices/Gas	-	4	-	-	-	-
4	Education/Education reform	5	12	9	11	6	11
3	Domestic Focus/Taking care of U.S. issues	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	Foreign Policy	2	6	6	4	5	-
2	Medicare/Senior citizens/Elderly	1	3	11	-	-	-
2	Morality/Lack of religion/Ethics	1	3	6	5	8	-
2	Taxes	2	7	9	16	8	6
2	Poverty/Homelessness	1	2	-	-	-	8

Q.16 CONTINUED...

		Sept 2003	June 2000	July 1999	Sep 1996	Oct 1995	Oct 1991
1	Abortion	1	3	1	4		10
1	Gay Marriage	-	-	-	-	-	-
1	Budget deficit/National debt	1	2	8	10	14	8
1	Environment	-	-	-	-	-	-
1	Military Issues/Defense	-	-	-	-	-	5
1	Social Security	2	10	14	-	-	4
8	Other issues						
10	Don't know/Refused	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?

						I	?Vs				
						Late	Late				
			June	March	July	Oct	Sept	June	Oct	Aug	June
Tota	1 RVs		<u>2000</u>	2000	<u> 1999</u>	1996^{10}	<u> 1996</u>	<u> 1996</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>
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	<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	2	<u>1</u>	2
100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	(N=1426))									

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]:

		Bush/Gore									
		Late Oct	Early Oct	Sept	June	July					
		2000	2000	2000	2000	1999					
68	Different	60	61	56	51	47					
21	Similar	34	30	32	33	24					
<u>11</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>6</u>	9	<u>12</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>29</u>					
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?

	Ferrance	Mid-		nion Resear Torporation	
		March	June	Aug	
		<u>2004</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>1976</u>	
63	Really matters who wins the 2004 presidential election	63	45	45	
32	Things will pretty much be the same regardless	32	49	46	
_5	Don't know/Refused	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>9</u>	
100		100	100	100	

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?"

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=891]:

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?

		June 2000
22	Agree	32
73	Disagree	61
_5	Don't know/Refused	<u>7</u>
100		100

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=915]:

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?

		June 2000
29	Agree	37
64	Disagree	55
<u>7</u>	Don't know/Refused	8
100		100

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,	Absolutely	Chance	Don't know/	' Not	Don't know/
Registered	<u>Certain</u>	<u>lapsed</u>	<u>Refused</u>	Registered	Refused
79	76	3	*	20	1=100
79	75	4	*	21	*=100
76	73	3	0	23	1=100
76	73	3	*	23	1=100
77	74	3	*	22	1=100
77	74	3	*	22	1=100
77	74	3	*	22	1=100
76	72	3	1	23	1=100
77	73	3	1	22	1=100
77	74	3	*	22	1=100
76	73	3	*	23	1=100
	Registered 79 79 76 76 77 77 77 76 77 77	Registered Certain 79 76 79 75 76 73 76 73 77 74 77 74 77 74 76 72 77 73 77 74	Registered Certain lapsed 79 76 3 79 75 4 76 73 3 77 74 3 77 74 3 77 74 3 76 72 3 77 73 3 77 74 3 77 73 3 77 74 3	Registered Certain lapsed Refused 79 76 3 * 79 75 4 * 76 73 3 0 76 73 3 * 77 74 3 * 77 74 3 * 77 74 3 * 76 72 3 1 77 73 3 1 77 74 3 *	Registered Certain lapsed Refused Registered 79 76 3 * 20 79 75 4 * 21 76 73 3 0 23 76 73 3 * 23 77 74 3 * 22 77 74 3 * 22 76 72 3 1 23 77 73 3 1 22 77 74 3 * 22

IF '2' NO OR '9' NOT SURE IN REGIST OR '2' CHANCE OR '9' NOT SURE IN REGICERT ASK:

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?

			June 2000	June 1992
24%	Not	registered	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:

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?

	Yes, Plan	Absolutely	Fairly	Not	No, Don't	Don't know/
	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	1=100

In Early November 2002, Early November, 2000, Late October 1998, November 1996 and November 1994 the question 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	Yes, Plan	Absolutely	Fairly	Not	No, Don't	Can't Say/
	To Vote	Certain	Certain	Certain	Plan To	Don't know
August, 1992	97	89	8	*	1	2=100
June, 1992	97	88	8	1	1	2=100
Gallup: November, 1988	97	87	9	1	2	1=100
October, 1988	98				1	1=100

^{*} 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?

	<u>June 2000</u>	<u>July 1996</u>
	28	21
	65	73
L.)	4	3
Refused	<u>3</u>	3
	100	100
	,	28 65 L.) 4 Refused <u>3</u>

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.	79	Important OR	81
	18	Unimportant	17
	1	Neither applies (VOL.)	1
	_2	Don't know/Refused (VOL	<u>1</u>
	100		100

no item b

			Mid-March 2004
c.	48	Informative OR	53
	46	Not informative	42
	2	Neither applies (VOL.)	2
	4	Don't know/Refused (VOL	<u>3</u>
	100		100

			Mid-March 2004
d.	52	Too long OR	52
	42	Not too long	44
	2	Neither applies (VOL.)	1
	_4	Don't know/Refused (VOL	<u>3</u>
	100		100

			Mid-March 2004
e.	45	Too negative OR	47
	46	Not too negative	47
	2	Neither applies (VOL.)	2
	<u>7</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL) <u>4</u>
	100		100

			Mid-March 2004
f.	32	Hard to follow OR	28
	63	Easy to follow	68
	2	Neither applies (VOL.)	2
	<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL) <u>2</u>
	100		100

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]:

		Gore	Clinton
		June 2000	<u>July 1996</u>
6	A	9	9
25	В	26	28
30	C	31	30
16	D	13	12
18	F	16	18
_5	Don't know/Refused	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>
100		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]:

		Bush	Dole
		June 2000	<u>July 1996</u>
13	A	10	3
26	В	30	19
23	C	29	36
12	D	13	19
23	F	13	20
_3	Don't know/Refused	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>
100		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
		<u>2004</u>	2000	<u>2000</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u> 1996</u>	<u> 1996</u>	<u> 1996</u>	1992	1992	1992	1992
10	Excellent	11	7	10	13	13	7	16	12	10	12	11
37	Good	43	41	46	50	44	35	45	45	44	51	45
34	Only fair	30	38	32	25	29	42	25	27	33	28	32
15	Poor	12	10	9	7	11	14	10	11	10	6	7
4	Don't know/Refused	4	4	3	5	3	2	4	5	3	3	5
100		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]:

			Gore Critical	Clinton Critical	Dukakis Critical
		Mid-	of Bush	of Dole	of Bush, Sr.
		March	Early Oct	Late Sept	Oct
		<u>2004</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1988</u>
44	Too personally critical	48	29	21	45
48	Not too personally critical	46	61	70	50
8	Don't know/Refused	<u>6</u>	<u>10</u>	9	<u>5</u>
100		100	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]:

			Bush Critical	Dole Critical	Bush, Sr Critical
		Mid-	Of Gore	of Clinton	of Dukakis
		March	Early Oct	Late Sept	Oct
		<u>2004</u>	2000	<u>1996</u>	<u>1988</u>
33	Too personally critical	33	40	53	52
58	Not too personally critical	58	50	40	43
9	Don't know/Refused	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>
100		100	100	100	100

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?

			Registered Voters			In "past few days" only 12	
			Mid-	Gore	Clinton	Oct Oct Oct	Sept
			March	Early Oct	t Late Sept	14-18 9-13 2-6	25-29
<u>Total</u>	<u>RVs</u>		<u>2004</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u> 1996</u>	<u>1992</u> <u>1992</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>
71	73	Yes	60	57	63	57 59 64	75
19	21	A lot	14				
27	29	Some	20				
24	22	Only once or twice	26				
1	1	Don't know/Refused	*				
28	26	No	39	41	35	40 39 34	24
<u>1</u>	_1	Don't know/Refused	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	2	<u>3</u> <u>2</u> <u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
100	100		100	100	100	100 100 100	100
	(N=14)	426)					

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?"

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?

			Registered Voters		In "past few days"	only	
			Mid-	Bush	Dole	Oct Oct Oc	et Sept
			March	Early Oct	Late Sept	14-18 9-13 2-	6 25-29
<u>Total</u>	RVs		<u>2004</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1992</u> <u>1992</u> <u>199</u>	<u>1992</u>
67	69	Yes	65	61	70	60 66 68	3 78
20	20	A lot	15				
27	30	Some	21				
20	19	Only once or twice	28				
*	*	Don't know/Refused	1				
32	30	No	34	37	29	38 32 30	21
_1	<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u> <u>2</u> <u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
100	100		100	100	100	100 100 10	00 100
	(N=14)	126)					

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
		<u>2000</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1976</u>
14	Very likely	19	24	21
21	Possibly likely	27	30	32
62	Not at all likely	51	43	41
3	(DO NOT READ) Don't know/Refused	<u>3</u>	3	<u>6</u>
100		100	100	100

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

		June	June	Newsweek
		<u>2000</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u> 1976</u>
78	Yes	69	80	80
20	No	30	18	18
_2	Don't know	<u>_1</u>	2	_2
100		100	100	100

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?

	Most of	Some of	Only Now	Hardly	(VOL.)
	The Time	the Time	and Then	at All	DK/Ref
June, 2004	44	34	15	7	*=100
August, 2003	48	33	12	6	1=100
November, 2002	49	27	14	9	1=100
August, 2002	54	30	11	5	*=100
March, 2001	49	27	13	10	1=100
Early November, 2000 (RVs)	51	32	12	5	*=100
September, 2000 (RVs)	51	34	10	4	1=100

Q.39 CONTINUED	Most of The Time	Some of the Time	Only Now and Then	Hardly <u>at All</u>	(VOL.) DK/Ref
June, 2000	38	32	19	11	*=100
Late September, 1999	39	32	20	9	*=100
August, 1999	40	35	17	8	*=100
November, 1998	46	27	14	13	*=100
Late October, 1998 (RVs)	57	29	10	4	*=100
Early October, 1998 (RVs)	51	33	11	5	*=100
Early September, 1998	45	34	15	6	*=100
June, 1998	36	34	21	9	*=100
November, 1997	41	36	16	7	*=100
November, 1996 (RVs)	52	32	12	4	*=100
October, 1996 (RVs)	43	37	13	6	1=100
June, 1996	41	34	17	8	*=100
October, 1995	46	35	14	5	*=100
April, 1995	43	35	16	6	*=100
November, 1994	49	30	13	7	1=100
October, 1994	45	35	14	6	*=100
July, 1994	46	33	15	6	*=100
May, 1990	39	34	18	9	*=100
February, 1989	47	34	14	4	1=100
October, 1988	52	33	11	4	*=100
September, 1988	58	32	8	2	*=100
May, 1988	37	37	17	6	3=100
January, 1988	37	35	18	8	2 = 100
November, 1987	49	32	14	4	1=100
May, 1987	41	35	15	7	2=100
July, 1985	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
		<u>2000</u>	<u>2000</u>	1996 ¹³
52	Voting in booth	50	52	54
28	Voting over Internet	24	26	n/a
17	Voting by mail	23	20	43
1	None (VOL)	1	1	2
2	Don't know/Refused	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
100		100	100	100

In February 1996 the question was worded "There are different 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 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
- <u>4</u> 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."]

		I	Favora	ble	U1	nfavoral	ble	Never	Can't
		<u>Total</u>	Very		<u>Total</u>	Very	Mostly	Heard of	Rate
a. Congress		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 CONTI	NUED	F	Favoral	ole	U1	nfavoral	ole	Never	Can't
		<u>Total</u>	Very	Mostly	<u>Total</u>	Very	Mostly	Heard of	Rate
	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 militar	y	85	48	37	10	3	7	*	5=100
	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	<i>53</i>	18	5	13	*	5=100 5=100
	buile, 1905	,,		20	10		10		5 100
c. The Democ	eratic 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 (<i>RVs</i>)	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
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	Ü.		• •	22				- 100

Q.44 CONT	INUED]	Favorat	ole	Ur	ıfavoral	ole	Never	Can't
		<u>Total</u>	Very	Mostly	<u>Total</u>	Very	Mostly	Heard of	
d. The Repub	lican 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	<i>38</i>	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
	3,								
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	8	20	1	13=100
	January, 2003	30	6	24	16	4	12	36	18=100
		-	_					_	
g. Ralph Nad		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

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

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]: FAVORABLE OF KERRY [N=895]: PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS (NET) PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS (NET) 65 46 13 Honesty/Sincerity/Integrity 10 Military service 11 Leadership Personality/Attitude/Communication Religiosity/Morality/Christian 7 Honesty/Sincerity/Integrity 10 Standing up for beliefs 4 Experience 8 7 Personality/Attitude/Communication 4 Leadership 5 4 General character General character 3 3 Intelligence Strength/toughness 2 Normal guy Normal guy 1 2 Standing up for beliefs Consistency 1 2 Experience Strength/toughness 2 Family man Religiosity/Morality/Christian Other personal characteristics 1 Decisiveness 6 Other personal characteristics 26 POLICIES (NET) 26 POLICIES (NET) General policy 7 Sept. 11th/Terrorism 5 Stand on war in Iraq 7 War in Iraq 4 Economy 6 General policy 2 Health care 2 Policy on the military 1 Foreign policy 1 Abortion 1 Jobs 1 Economy 1 Education Social policy (non-abortion) Getting U.S. out of Iraq 1 Social policy (non-abortion) 2 Other policy 7 **OTHER (NET)** Tax policy He is a Republican Policy on military 1 Protesting Vietnam 6 Other 2 Other policy 5 18 **OTHER (NET)** Don't know/No answer He is not Bush 6 He is a Democrat

Campaign/Criticism of Bush

Other

4

1

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]

UNF	AVORABLE OF BUSH [N=800]:	UNF	AVORABLE OF KERRY [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 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

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?

10

Don't know/No answer

		John George W.			(VOL)	Don't know/
		<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Neither</u>	Both	Refused
a.	He twists the facts and misleads people	28	33	23	8	8=100
b.	He is a wealthy elitist	20	27	24	14	15=100
c.	He flip-flops on issues	36	22	24	9	9=100
d.	He is strong and decisive	18	48	21	6	7=100
e.	He is stubborn and doesn't admit mistakes	13	44	25	7	11=100

P.1 CONTINUED... John George W. (VOL) Don't know/ Kerry Bush Neither Both Refused f. He is personally tough and doesn't give up in the face of adversity 15 53 17 8 7=100

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=891]:

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
		2003	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
<u>12</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>14</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>15</u>	8	<u>14</u>	<u>10</u>	8	<u>11</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>10</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=915]:

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?

											A	DC/	
					Early					I	Vashin	gton Post ¹⁴	
		Oct	June	Aug	Sept	Aug	July	Oct	April	July	Jan	Sept	
		2003	<u>2000</u>	1999	<u> 1998</u>	1997	<u> 1996</u>	<u> 1995</u>	<u> 1995</u>	<u> 1994</u>	<u>1984</u>	<u>1982</u>	
50	Agree	46	52	54	46	47	58	59	57	53	41	44	
43	Disagree	44	42	40	47	46	37	37	38	43	48	44	
<u>7</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>10</u>	<u>6</u>	6	<u>7</u>	7	<u>5</u>	4	<u>5</u>	4	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>	
100		100	100	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?

Right	Wrong	Don't know/
decision	decision	Refused
55	38	7=100
51	42	7=100
54	37	9=100
57	35	8=100
55	39	6=100
60	32	8=100
56	39	5=100
65	30	5=100
62	28	10=100
	decision 55 51 54 57 55 60 56 65	decision decision 55 38 51 42 54 37 57 35 55 39 60 32 56 39 65 30

In January 1984, the *ABC/Washington Post* trend was worded: "Can you please tell me if you tend to agree or disagree 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	Right decision	Wrong decision	Don't know/ Refused
December, 2003	67	26	7=100
October, 2003	60	33	7=100
September, 2003	63	31	6=100
August, 2003	63	30	7=100
Early July, 2003	67	24	9=100
May, 2003	74	20	6=100
April 10-16, 2003	74	19	7=100
April 8-9,2003	74	19	7=100
April 2-7, 2003	72	20	8=100
March 28-April 1, 2003	69	25	6=100
March 25-27, 2003	74	21	<i>5</i> = <i>100</i>
March 23-24, 2003	74	21	5=100
March 20-22, 2003	71	22	7=100
Late January, 1991	77	15	9=100

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

	Very well	Fairly well	Not too well	Not at all well	Don't know/ Refused
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?

			Late	Early	Early		
		May	April	April	Jan	Oct	Sept
		2004	2004	2004	2004^{15}	<u>2003</u>	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	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
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	Early			
		April	April	Dec	Oct	Sept
		2004	2004	2003	2003	2003
37	Has a clear plan	36	32	44	35	32
55	Doesn't have a clear plan	54	57	45	54	58
8	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>10</u>
100		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- March	Late Feb	Early Feb	Dec	Sept	May	April	Early Oct
		<u>2004</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2003</u>	<u>2003</u>	<u>2003</u>	2003^{16}	<u>2002</u>
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		
9	Don't know/Refused	<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>9</u>	8	<u>7</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>14</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

In Early January 2004 and earlier, the follow-up question was worded "more coalition troops."

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?"

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
35	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
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>4</u>
100		100

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
		<u>2004</u>
29	Will be another Vietnam	25
55	U.S. will accomplish its goals	54
4	Too early to tell (VOL.)	6
<u>12</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>15</u>
100		100

- Q.59 On June 30th, 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
 - _1 Don't know/Refused (**VOL.**)

100

- 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?
 - They will be able to form an effective government
 - 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		
		<u>2004</u>	<u>2004</u>	2003	2003		
17	Less than a year	8	8	15	13		
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		
8	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>7</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>		
100		100	100	100	100		

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

	Very	Somewhat	Not too	Not at all	Don't know/
	worried	worried	worried	worried	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
		2002^{17}	2002	<u>2001</u>	2001	2001
14	Excellent	13	13	15	18	20
46	Good	44	47	47	51	47
29	Only fair	30	31	25	22	22
8	Poor	8	6	7	5	4
<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>7</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100

In Late August 2002 the question was worded: "How would you rate the job the government is doing defending Americans 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 ..."