## EMBARGOED

# Democrats Frustrated with Party Even as Candidates Gain Visibility BUSH APPROVAL SLIPS - FIX ECONOMY, SAY VOTERS 

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## Democrats Frustrated with Party Even as Candidates Gain Visibility BUSH APPROVAL SLIPS - FIX ECONOMY, SAY VOTERS

As President Bush shows increasing political vulnerability, the Democratic presidential field is beginning to come into focus. Bush's overall approval rating has declined to pre-Iraq war levels and his lead in a match-up with a hypothetical Democrat has narrowed to five points ( $43 \%-38 \%$ ). Nearly six-in-ten Americans (57\%) now say the economy - not terrorism - is the more important presidential priority. At the same time, Democratic candidates have made modest gains in visibility, and potential support, since early-July.

Yet most Democrats are unhappy with their party's performance in standing up for core principles and this frustration has increased over the past year. Six-in-ten Democrats say the party is doing only a fair or poor job of standing up for traditional positions such as helping the poor and representing working people, while just $38 \%$ say the party is doing an excellent or good job in this area. Since May 2002, the number who say the party is doing at most only a fair job of standing up for core principles has risen seven points, from $53 \%$ to $60 \%$.

The Democrats' unhappiness is even more evident when contrasted with the positive feelings Republicans have for their party. Fully $57 \%$ of Republicans believe the GOP is

| Democratic Dissatisfaction |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Standing up for traditional issues? |  |  |
|  | May | May | Aug |
| Rating Parties | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 |
| Democrats* | \% | \% | \% |
| Excellent/Good | 47 | 44 | 38 |
| Only fair/Poor | 47 | 53 | 60 |
| Don't know | 6 | $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{2}$ |
|  | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Republicans* |  |  |  |
| Excellent/Good | 60 | 55 | 57 |
| Only fair/Poor | 37 | 43 | 42 |
| Don't know | $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{2}$ |  |
|  | 100 | 100 | 100 | doing an excellent or good job of advocating traditional party positions like cutting taxes and promoting conservative social values. In May 2002, 55\% of Republicans gave the party high marks for standing up for core principles.

Among Democrats, liberals have become especially unhappy with the party's performance in standing up for traditional principles, and this has led to a large ideological gap within the party over this issue. In May 2001, near the beginning of Bush's term, roughly the same numbers of liberal and conservative Democrats expressed satisfaction with how well the party was doing in this area ( $48 \%$ of liberals, $45 \%$ of conservatives). But today, just $31 \%$ of liberal Democrats say the party has done an excellent or good job of advocating traditional positions, while conservative Democrats are, if anything, slightly more satisfied with the party's performance than they were two years ago (52\% good/excellent).

The latest Pew Research Center national poll of 2,528 adults, conducted July 14-Aug. 5, shows that the rising dissatisfaction among Democrats with their party is not shaping the presidential race. None of the party's candidates has a major advantage in terms of potential support among disaffected Democratic voters. Overall, there has been a gradual increase since July in the proportion of Americans who are familiar with the Democratic candidates and in the percentage who say there is at least some chance that they would vote for them.

Since July, former Vermont Gov. Howard Dean has made somewhat larger gains than the other candidates. His name recognition is up nine points (from $37 \%$ to $46 \%$ ), and among those who have heard of Dean, $41 \%$ say there is a "good" or "some"

| Voters View the Democratic Field* |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Heard of |  |  | Might vote for** |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| George W. Bush | 99 | 99 | +0 | 63 | 60 | -3 |
| Joe Lieberman | 83 | 86 | +3 | 45 | 50 | +5 |
| John Kerry | 58 | 62 | +4 | 42 | 47 | +5 |
| Dick Gephardt | 75 | 77 | +2 | 45 | 45 | 0 |
| Howard Dean | 37 | 46 | +9 | 32 | 41 | +9 |
| John Edwards | 39 | 45 | +6 | 36 | 41 | +5 |
| Bob Graham | 56 | 60 | +4 | 33 | 38 | +5 |
| Carol Moseley Braun | 36 | 41 | +5 | 29 | 33 | +4 |
| Dennis Kucinich | 18 | 23 | +5 | 27 | 28 | +1 |
| Al Sharpton | 66 | 68 | +2 | 17 | 19 | +2 |
| * Based on registered voter <br> **The percent saying there is vote for each, based on thos | rs. $\begin{aligned} & 15 \text { "sc } \\ & \text { se w } \end{aligned}$ | e" or | $\begin{aligned} & \text { agoo } \\ & \text { hard } \end{aligned}$ | chance the can |  |  | chance they would vote for him, up from $32 \%$ in July. But Dean continues to trail Sen. Joe Lieberman (50\%), Sen. John Kerry (47\%) and Rep. Dick Gephardt (45\%) in terms of potential support. Most voters (54\%), including 55\% of Democrats and Democratic leaners, have still not heard of Dean. Lieberman, Gephardt and Kerry have much greater name recognition, among all voters and among Democrats. Candidate visibility and support - as well as other opinions measured in this survey - did not change significantly over the course of the polling period.

As President Bush's approval rating has inched downward - from 58\% last month to 53\% in the current survey - there has been a sharp rise in the number of Americans who believe Bush should devote more attention to the economy than to the war on terrorism. More than twice as many Americans say it is more important for the president to focus on the economy as say that about the war on terrorism ( $57 \%$ vs. $27 \%$ ).

That represents a dramatic shift since January when a $43 \%$ plurality felt Bush should devote more attention to the war on terrorism. Those who believe the president should focus more on the economy (a group

| Sharp Shift Toward Economy as <br> Presidential Priority |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: |
|  |  |  |  |
|  | Aug | Jan |  |
| More important for | $\frac{2002}{\%}$ | $\frac{2003}{\%}$ |  |
| $\frac{2003}{\%}$ |  |  |  |
| Bush to focus on... | 39 | 38 |  |
| 57 |  |  |  |
| The economy | 57 |  |  |
| The war on terrorism | 34 | 43 |  |
| Both (Vol.) | 22 | 17 |  |
| Neither/DK | $\underline{5}$ | $\underline{2}$ |  |
|  | 100 | 100 |  |

largely comprised of Democrats and independents) disapprove of his job performance by $50 \%-42 \%$. The smaller proportion of the public who say it is more important for Bush to focus on the war on terrorism (mostly Republicans and independents) overwhelmingly approve of his job performance (75\%-18\%).

Public perceptions of the U.S. military operation in Iraq have become more negative, though a $63 \%$ majority continues to endorse the decision to go to war. On domestic issues, Americans continue to voice willingness to roll back or delay tax cuts - rather than cut domestic programs or add to the deficit - to finance increased spending on defense and homeland security. Moreover, solid majorities favor providing universal health insurance even if it means repealing tax cuts or raising taxes.

## Democratic Candidates Gain

In the Democratic horse race, in which name recognition continues to be a major factor, Lieberman draws the most support (58\%). The percentage of all Democratic and Democratic-leaning voters who say there is a "good" or "some" chance they would vote for Lieberman has risen from 49\% in July. Lieberman also is the best-known candidate, with $85 \%$ of Democratic voters saying they have heard of him.

Gephardt and Kerry trail Lieberman in support among all Democratic voters ( $49 \%$ and $42 \%$, respectively). Like Lieberman, these two candidates also have fairly broad name recognition. Roughly seven-in-ten Democratic voters (73\%) say they have heard of Gephardt while nearly six-in-ten (59\%) say they are familiar with Kerry.

About three-in-ten Democratic voters (29\%) say there is a "good" or "some" chance they will vote for Dean, a significant gain since July (19\%). But Dean remains an unknown figure to most Democratic voters (55\%, down from 65\% last month). Dean's support is comparable with that of Sen. Bob Graham (30\%) and Sen. John Edwards (27\%). While Graham is better known, more Democratic voters say there is

| Democratic Horse Race |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Could vote for? Haven't |  |  |  |  |
|  | $\frac{\mathrm{Yes}}{\%} \frac{\mathrm{No}}{\%}$ |  | $\frac{\text { Heard of }}{\%}$ | Gain |
| Lieberman | 5821 | 6 | 15=100 | +9 |
| July | 4924 | 7 | $20=100$ |  |
| Gephardt | $49 \quad 17$ | 7 | $27=100$ | +3 |
| July | 4617 | 7 | $30=100$ |  |
| Kerry | $42 \quad 11$ | 6 | $41=100$ | +5 |
| July | 3711 | 9 | $43=100$ |  |
| Dean | 2910 | 6 | 55=100 | +10 |
| July | 1912 | 4 | 65=100 |  |
| Graham | 3023 | 7 | $40=100$ | +5 |
| July | 2522 | 6 | $47=100$ |  |
| Bush | 2970 | 1 | * $=100$ | -6 |
| July | 3562 | 3 | * $=100$ |  |
| Edwards | $27 \quad 12$ | 5 | 56=100 | +7 |
| July | $20 \quad 10$ | 4 | 66=100 |  |
| Moseley Braun | 2016 | 3 | $61=100$ | +3 |
| July | 1716 | 3 | $64=100$ |  |
| Sharpton | 2046 | 5 | 29=100 | +4 |
| July | 1647 | 4 | 33=100 |  |
| Kucinich | 1010 | 4 | $76=100$ | +2 |
| July | 89 | 3 | $80=100$ |  |
| Analysis of Democratic and Democratic-leaning registered voters. |  |  |  |  |

no chance they will vote for him (23\%) than say that about Dean (10\%) or Edwards (12\%).

Fully $70 \%$ of Democrats say there is no chance they will vote to reelect the president, up from $62 \%$ a month ago. Fewer than three-in-ten say there is a good (12\%) or some ( $17 \%$ ) chance that they will vote for Bush.

## Measuring Potential Support

The Democratic presidential picture changes when viewed from the perspective of only those Democratic voters who are familiar with the candidates. In that case, Kerry, Dean, Gephardt and Lieberman all draw comparable levels of potential support.

Of Democratic and Democratic-leaning voters who have heard of him, $71 \%$ say there is at least some chance they would vote for Kerry, and slightly fewer say the same about Gephardt (68\%) and Lieberman (68\%). Slightly fewer Democrats would consider voting for Dean (64\%) but that is up from $53 \%$ a month ago. About six-in-ten Democratic voters ( $61 \%$ ) say there is at least some chance they would vote for Edwards. Roughly half of Democrats familiar with Bob Graham and Carol Moseley Braun say they would consider voting for them.

Kerry, Dean, Gephardt and Lieberman also elicit similar levels of voter enthusiasm. A quarter of Democrats say there is a "good" chance they will vote for Kerry and the same percentage says that about Dean. Nearly as many say there is a good chance they will vote for Gephardt (22\%) or Lieberman (21\%).

| The Appeal of the Field to Democrats |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Chance would vote for <br> (Based on those who have heard) |  |  |  |  |
|  | Good chance | Some chance |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { DK/ } \\ & \text { ce } \\ & \text { Ref. } \end{aligned}$ |  |
|  | \% | \% | \% | \% |  |
| John Kerry | 25 | 46 | 19 | 10=100 | (556) |
| Howard Dean | 25 | 39 | 23 | $13=100$ | (436) |
| Dick Gephardt | 22 | 46 | 23 | $9=100$ | (681) |
| Joe Lieberman | 21 | 47 | 25 | $7=100$ | (797) |
| John Edwards | 16 | 45 | 27 | $12=100$ | (434) |
| Bob Graham | 16 | 34 | 39 | $11=100$ | (563) |
| Dennis Kucinich | 15 | 26 | 42 | $17=100$ | (227) |
| Carol Moseley Braun | 14 | 38 | 40 | $8=100$ | (411) |
| George W. Bush | 12 | 17 | 70 | $1=100$ | (958) |
| Al Sharpton | 8 | 20 | 65 | $7=100$ | (739) |
| Analysis of Democratic and Democratic-leaning registered voters. |  |  |  |  |  |

## Ideology and the War

Much of the enthusiasm for Dean and Kerry comes from the left wing of the Democratic party and from opponents of the war in Iraq. Among self-described liberals, $38 \%$ say there is a good chance they will vote for Dean and $32 \%$ say that about Kerry. Both candidates engender much more
enthusiasm among liberals than among conservative and moderate Democratic voters. ${ }^{1}$

In contrast, Gephardt and Graham win the most enthusiasm among conservative Democrats at this point in the race, but both are struggling to appeal to liberals. Gephardt leads the pack among conservative Democrats, with $25 \%$ saying there is a good chance they will vote for him, but trails five other candidates, including Rep. Dennis Kucinich, within the liberal wing of the

| Ideology and Iraq Shape Democratic Preferences |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Good chance | ----Preferences of---- |  |  | --By View of War-Right Wrong decision decision |  |
|  | Conser- | Mod- |  |  |  |
|  | vatives | erates |  |  |  |
| will vote for... | \% | \% |  | \% | \% |
| Kerry | 16 | 23 | 32 | 16 | 30 |
| Dean | 17 | 18 | 38 | 11 | 33 |
| Gephardt | 25 | 19 | 22 | 14 | 27 |
| Lieberman |  | 21 | 25 | 17 | 26 |
| Edwards | 13 | 12 | 23 | 12 | 19 |
| Graham | 22 | 13 | 15 | 10 | 19 |
| Kucinich | 7 | 7 | 24 | 4 | 22 |
| Moseley Braun | 12 | 13 | 16 | 13 | 15 |
| Bush | 16 | 15 | 4 | 21 | 3 |
| Sharpton | 11 | 6 | 9 | 7 | 10 |
| Based on Democrats and Democratic-leaning registered voters who have heard of each candidate. |  |  |  |  |  |

Views on the war in Iraq also are closely tied to voting considerations. Democratic voters are divided over whether the U.S. made the right decision (43\%) or the wrong decision (49\%) in using military force in Iraq. Democrats who support the war are divided in their allegiance at this point. Fully half say there is a good chance ( $21 \%$ ) or some chance $(29 \%)$ that they will vote to reelect Bush in 2004, and no Democratic candidate stands out as a particularly strong challenger among war supporters.

Opponents of the war, by contrast, are taking an "anybody but Bush" attitude about the upcoming election: every Democratic candidate garners more support among war opponents than they do among war proponents. Kerry receives the most support among war opponents $-76 \%$ say there is some chance they will vote for him, slightly more than say that about Gephardt (69\%), Lieberman (69\%) and Dean (67\%). Dean receives more enthusiastic support among war opponents than the other candidates. A third of Democratic voters who oppose the war say there is a good chance they will vote for Dean, compared with $30 \%$ for Kerry, $27 \%$ for Gephardt, and $26 \%$ for Lieberman.

## Sharpton Polarizes

There are significant demographic divides within the Democratic party that may well affect candidate strategies as the primary season progresses. Former Sen. Carol Moseley Braun and the Rev. Al Sharpton - the African-American candidates in the race - both elicit significantly more support among black Democrats than among whites. The racial gap is particularly stark when it comes to Sharpton - half of African-American Democrats and Democratic leaners say there is some (33\%) or a good (18\%) chance they will vote for Sharpton, compared with just $18 \%$ of white Democrats ( $4 \%$ good chance, $14 \%$ some chance).

But race is not a factor for all candidates in the field. Lieberman, Graham and Edwards receive comparable levels of support from both white and black Democrats. Dean, Gephardt, Kerry and Kucinich, on the other hand, have more limited appeal among black voters than they do among whites.

| African-American Democrats Divided |  |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | Preferences of |
| Good chance | Whites Blacks |
| will vote for... | \% \% |
| Kerry | $25 \quad 17$ |
| Dean | $27 \quad 14$ |
| Gephardt | 2315 |
| Lieberman | 23 20 |
| Edwards | $17 \quad 16$ |
| Graham | $15 \quad 19$ |
| Kucinich | 15 |
| Moseley Braun | $10 \quad 25$ |
| Bush | 12 |
| Sharpton | 418 |
| Based on Democrats and Democratic- <br> leaning registered voters who have heard of each candidate. |  |

Age and gender also are factors in candidate preferences. Dean's potential support is far stronger among young Democrats and Democratic leaners than among those over age 50, while Gephardt is viewed much more favorably among older voters in the party. Dean also elicits possible support from $71 \%$ of Democratic men, but just $57 \%$ of Democratic women. The only candidate who garners more support from Democratic women than men is Moseley Braun.

## Preferences Not Strongly Influenced by Party Criticism

Democrats, especially liberals, are increasingly dissatisfied with the way the party is standing up for core principles. But there is no evidence that any of the nine candidates have been able to directly tap into this unhappiness. Roughly a quarter of Democratic voters who express frustration with the party's performance in this area say there is a good chance they will vote for Kerry and Dean ( $26 \%$ each). But both candidates draw comparable support from those who say the party has done well in advocating traditional positions.

Gephardt and Lieberman do somewhat better among the satisfied group than among Democrats who are unhappy with the

| No Clear Favorite Among Party Critics |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Rating the Party: <br> Excellent/ Fair/ |  |  |
| Good chance | Good | Poor |
| will vote for... | \% | \% |
| Kerry | 24 | 26 |
| Dean | 22 | 26 |
| Gephardt | 28 | 18 |
| Lieberman | 28 | 18 |
| Edwards | 20 | 14 |
| Graham | 16 | 16 |
| Kucinich | 15 | 15 |
| Moseley Braun | 18 | 12 |
| Bush | 14 | 10 |
| Sharpton | 11 | 7 |
| Based on Democrats and Democraticleaning registered voters who have heard of each candidate. |  |  |

party's advocacy of traditional positions. Roughly three-in-ten (28\%) say there is a good chance they will vote for each of the candidates compared with $18 \%$ of those who are dissatisfied with the party's performance in standing up for traditional positions.

## War Bounce Smaller Than for Bush Sr.

A 53\% majority approves of the job George W. Bush is doing as president while $37 \%$ disapprove. That is the highest negative rating the president has received since taking office. After reaching a peak of $86 \%$ just after the Sept. 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, the president's approval rating declined through much of 2002 and early 2003 , before rallying to $74 \%$ during the war in Iraq.

This spike was shorter in duration and smaller in size than the one experienced by Bush's father, former President George H. W. Bush, after the 1991 Persian Gulf War. Prior to


Source: 1990-1992 Gallup, 2002-2003 Pew Research Center the start of the war in December 1990, Bush Sr . was at $61 \%$ in the polls, and rose to a peak of $86 \%$ after the conclusion of hostilities. His approval rating fell afterwards, but did not reach prewar levels until November of 1991. By contrast, George W. Bush was at $55 \%$ in mid-March and rose to $74 \%$ approval around the time of the fall of Baghdad in early April. He has now fallen back to prewar levels, five months later.

Republicans remain steadfast in their support of the president, with $91 \%$ approving of his performance and only $6 \%$ disapproving. But ratings among both Democrats and independents have continued their downward slide. Just $30 \%$ of Democrats say they approve of the president's performance, the lowest level since before Sept. 11, 2001. Independents are more positive than Democrats, but they are closer in their views to the Democrats than to Republicans. Just under half of independents now approve (48\%), which also is their lowest level in the post-9/11 period. As recently as June, nearly six-in-ten independents (59\%) approved of the Bush's job performance.

The president's approval ratings showed no significant uptick as a result of the U.S. military raid in Iraq in which Saddam Hussein's sons, Uday and Qusay, were killed.

Along with increasing disapproval of his job performance, the president is facing a public expressing a growing degree of dissatisfaction with the way things are going in the country. The poll
finds $53 \%$ dissatisfied with the state of the nation, while $40 \%$ are satisfied. The $40 \%$ satisfaction essentially matches the low points in the national mood experienced just prior to Sept. 11, 2001 and again in September 2002. There is a strong partisan tilt to these results; $64 \%$ of Republicans are satisfied with the way things are going, compared with only $25 \%$ of Democrats.

## More Want Greater Focus on Economy

The survey also finds a dramatic increase in the percentage of the public who say that it is more important for Bush to focus on the economy rather than on the war on terrorism. Growth in the importance of the economy in the public's mind has occurred across the political and economic spectrum.

More than two-thirds of blacks (69\%) rate the economy a more important presidential priority than terrorism compared with $55 \%$ of whites. But concern among both groups grew by nearly 20 points since January. Similarly, more Republicans and Democrats say Bush should focus more attention on the economy than did so in January, but large partisan differences persist. Republicans are divided on the question ( $43 \%$ say it is more important for the president to focus on the economy, $40 \%$ say war on terrorism) while Democrats overwhelmingly say the economy should be the focus ( $70 \%$ economy/ $18 \%$ war on terrorism). Opinion that the president should focus on the economy grew 28 points among young people (age 18-29); they are now the age group with the greatest concern about the economy.

## Bush's Lead Slips

A plurality of registered voters say they would like to see the president reelected in 2004, but his advantage over a hypothetical Democrat is declining. In the current poll, $43 \%$ say they prefer Bush compared with $38 \%$ who prefer a Democrat. Bush led by $47 \%-37 \%$ in a poll taken last month. In April, just after the fall of Baghdad, Bush's lead stood at 14 points ( $48 \%-34 \%$ ).

Bush is still doing better among Republicans than the hypothetical Democrat is doing among Democrats, but there is evidence that Democratic voters - and traditional Democrat-leaning demographic groups - are coming home. In addition, the president has lost ground among independents, who are now divided between Bush and a Democratic candidate ( $34 \%$ for Bush, $33 \%$ for a Democrat).

Women, especially older women, liberals and middle- and low-income Americans have moved away from Bush. In April there was no gender gap in preferences for 2004, with men favoring Bush by $48 \%$ to $35 \%$ and women favoring $\operatorname{him} 48 \%$ to $34 \%$. Today, the preferences of men are nearly unchanged (49\% Bush, 32\% a Democrat), while a plurality of women now support a Democrat (44\% Democrat vs. $37 \%$ Bush). Much of the shift has come from women age 50 and older. In April, a $52 \%$ majority of women age 50 and older favored Bush's reelection. In the current survey, only about a third (35\%) support his reelection while $45 \%$ prefer a Democrat.

Similarly, the economic gap in presidential preferences is now much wider than in April. A solid majority (55\%) of voters with annual family incomes of greater than $\$ 50,000$ continue to support Bush's reelection. That compares with only about a third ( $34 \%$ ) of voters with annual household incomes of less than $\$ 50,000$. In April, a $46 \%$ plurality of this group backed Bush's reelection; today, a comparable plurality (45\%) backs the Democrat.

| Democratic Groups Returning to Fold |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | ril---- <br> Prefer | $----A u g$ <br> Reelect | ust---- <br> Prefer | Change in Bush |
|  | Bush | Dem. | Bush | Dem. | Support |
|  | \% | \% | \% | \% |  |
| Total | 48 | 34 | 43 | 38 | -5 |
| Men | 48 | 35 | 49 | 32 | +1 |
| Under 50 | 46 | 39 | 50 | 32 | +4 |
| 50 and older | r 49 | 31 | 48 | 32 | -1 |
| Women | 48 | 34 | 37 | 44 | -11 |
| Under 50 | 46 | 36 | 38 | 43 | -8 |
| 50 and older | - 52 | 31 | 35 | 45 | -17 |
| 18-29 | 39 | 50 | 37 | 48 | -2 |
| 30-49 | 48 | 34 | 46 | 34 | -2 |
| 50-64 | 54 | 27 | 43 | 40 | -11 |
| 65+ | 46 | 37 | 38 | 39 | -8 |
| Republican | 90 | 1 | 88 | 4 | -2 |
| Democrat | 13 | 71 | 9 | 78 | -4 |
| Independent | 42 | 33 | 34 | 33 | -8 |
| Conservative | 67 | 18 | 66 | 22 | -1 |
| Moderate | 40 | 40 | 35 | 40 | -5 |
| Liberal | 22 | 65 | 10 | 73 | -12 |
| White | 55 | 28 | 48 | 33 | -7 |
| Nonwhite | 11 | 67 | 17 | 65 | +6 |
| College grad | 47 | 36 | 47 | 36 | 0 |
| Some college | 47 | 36 | 44 | 37 | -3 |
| H.S. or less | 49 | 33 | 39 | 40 | -10 |
| \$75k + | 47 | 34 | 55 | 31 | +8 |
| \$50-75k | 59 | 28 | 55 | 29 | -4 |
| \$30-50k | 53 | 34 | 39 | 41 | -14 |
| <\$30k | 40 | 40 | 28 | 49 | -12 |
| Large city | 45 | 44 | 36 | 45 | -9 |
| Suburb | 48 | 32 | 43 | 37 | -5 |
| Small town | 49 | 32 | 42 | 37 | -7 |
| Rural area | 47 | 34 | 50 | 32 | +3 |
| Red states | 48 | 35 | 50 | 31 | +2 |
| Swing | 50 | 33 | 42 | 38 | -8 |
| Blue states | 44 | 37 | 36 | 44 | -8 |
| Based on registere | red voter |  |  |  |  |

## Iraq: Growing Pessimism

Faced with a steady stream of reports of American casualties in Iraq, an increasing percentage of the public thinks the military effort is not going well. The belief that the U.S. made a mistake in launching the war also has grown, though much more slowly. More than a third of the public (35\%) now believes the military effort is going "not too well" ( $24 \%$ ) or "not at all well" (11\%). This total is up 14 points from a survey conducted June 19-July 2 ( $21 \%$ ). Currently, only $19 \%$ say the war is going "very well," though $43 \%$ say it is going "fairly well."

| Concerns about Military Effort Grow |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| How well is the military effort going? | ---War period- <br> Early Mid Late |  |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { July } \\ \underline{2003} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | August 2003 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | \% | \% | \% | \% | \% |
| Very well | 65 | 39 | 61 | 23 | 19 |
| Fairly well | 25 | 46 | 32 | 52 | 43 |
| Not well | 3 | 10 | 4 | 21 | 35 |
| Don't know | 7 | 5 | $\underline{3}$ | 4 | $\underline{3}$ |
|  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Was Iraq war the right decision? |  |  |  |  |  |
| Yes | 71 | 69 | 74 | 67 | 63 |
| No | 22 | 25 | 19 | 24 | 30 |
| Don't know |  |  |  | $\underline{9}$ | 7 |
|  |  | 100 |  | 100 | 100 |

But a large majority of the public continues to regard the decision to go to war as a sound one. By more than two-to-one ( $63 \%$ to $30 \%$ ), respondents say that using military force in Iraq was the right decision. The number who say that the war was the wrong decision has risen six points since the early July survey (from $24 \%$ to $30 \%$ ).

Republicans continue to believe that the war was the right thing to do; $90 \%$ still feel that way, compared with $93 \%$ in late April. But many more Democrats and independents express reservations about the war. After the fall of Baghdad in April, a majority of Democrats (59\%) felt that the war was the right decision; now just $46 \%$ feel this way. A majority of independents continue to say the U.S. did the right thing ( $61 \%$ ), but this is down 12 points since April, when $73 \%$ felt this way.

The current survey was underway when American military forces killed Saddam Hussein's

| War in Iraq |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Late April | $\frac{\text { otal }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { Rep }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { Dem }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { Ind }}{\%}$ |
| Right decision | 74 | 93 | 59 | 73 |
| Wrong decision | 19 | 4 | 31 | 22 |
| Don't know | $\underline{7}$ | $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{10}$ | $\underline{5}$ |
|  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| August |  |  |  |  |
| Right decision | 63 | 90 | 46 | 61 |
| Wrong decision | 30 | 8 | 45 | 33 |
| Don't know | $\underline{7}$ | $\underline{2}$ | $\underline{9}$ | $\underline{6}$ |
| Change | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
|  | -11 | -3 | -13 | -12 | sons on July 22; respondents interviewed after this event were somewhat more positive about the progress of the war: prior to the event, $36 \%$ said the war is not going well, compared with $31 \%$ who felt this way after the news reports about it. Attitudes about the wisdom of the decision to go to war were unaffected by the killing of the Hussein sons.

## Sacrifice Tax Cuts for Security, Health Care

In principle, Americans generally support the tax cuts that have been enacted since Bush became president. But the public continues to prefer postponing or reducing the tax cuts - rather than reducing domestic spending or adding to the deficit - to finance the expanding budget for defense and homeland security. And solid majorities say they support providing health insurance for all Americans even if it means scaling back recent tax cuts, or even raising taxes.

Overall, a $41 \%$ plurality believes the best way to pay for the increased cost of defense and homeland security is by postponing or reducing recent tax cuts. That number has been largely unchanged since February 2002. But Americans are showing less willingness to pay for these programs by adding to the budget deficit ( $15 \%$, down from $20 \%$ in late March and $24 \%$ in February 2002). And about a quarter ( $23 \%$ ) would

| How to Pay for Defense and Security Costs |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Cons | Mod/ Lib |  | Cons/ <br> Mod | Lib |
|  | Total | Rep | Rep | Indep | Dem | Dem |
|  | \% | \% | \% | \% | \% | \% |
| Postpone tax cuts | 41 | 28 | 39 | 43 | 44 | 63 |
| Cut domestic | 23 | 42 | 27 | 21 | 18 | 12 |
| Add to deficit | 15 | 13 | 19 | 14 | 22 | 13 |
| None | 4 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 2 | 2 |
| Other/multiple | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 3 | 5 |
| Don't know | $\underline{12}$ | $\underline{9}$ | $\underline{7}$ | $\underline{12}$ | $\underline{11}$ | $\underline{5}$ |
|  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | cut domestic programs for pay for increased security spending, an increase of seven points since late March.

There are clear partisan differences over this issue, but the ideological divisions within parties are more striking. Most liberal Democrats (63\%) favor postponing or reducing tax cuts to pay for increased defense and homeland security. That is far more than any other group, including conservative and moderate Democrats ( $44 \%$ ). At the other end of the political spectrum, $42 \%$ of conservative Republicans support cutting domestic programs to finance defense and homeland security; no more than $27 \%$ in any other group (moderate and liberal Republicans) backs that approach.

## Most Favor Raising Taxes for Health Care

Two-thirds of the public (67\%) favors the government guaranteeing health care for all citizens even if it means repealing most of the recent tax cuts. Significantly, just as many Americans say they want the government to provide universal health coverage even if it means raising taxes.

Half of respondents were asked if the government should guarantee health insurance for all even if it means repealing "most of the recent tax cuts," while the other half was asked a different version of the question that mentioned "raising taxes." The virtually identical results indicate that most people do not make a distinction between providing health insurance by rolling back tax cuts
or by actually raising taxes.

Partisanship influences attitudes on both measures, with Democrats more supportive of scrapping tax cuts and raising taxes than are Republicans. Still, half of Republicans favor repealing tax cuts to provide health insurance for all Americans and somewhat more (60\%) back raising taxes to achieve that goal. By comparison, more Democrats prefer repealing tax cuts than raising taxes to provide universal health coverage.

## Medicare Benefit Too Skimpy

## Guarantee Health Insurance, Even if it Means...

|  | Total | Rep | Dem | Ind |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Repealing tax cuts | \% | \% | \% | \% |
| Favor | 67 | 50 | 82 | 67 |
| Oppose | 26 | 45 | 13 | 27 |
| Don't know | $\frac{7}{100}$ | $\stackrel{5}{100}$ | $\stackrel{5}{100}$ | $\underline{\underline{6}} 10$ |
| Raising taxes |  |  |  |  |
| Favor | 67 | 60 | 74 | 68 |
| Oppose | 29 | 37 | 23 | 28 |
| Don't know | $\stackrel{4}{100}$ | $\frac{3}{100}$ | $\underline{3} 100$ | $\underline{4}$ |

Roughly half of Americans (51\%) feel that pending legislation in Congress to add a prescription drug benefit to Medicare will not go far enough in covering seniors' drug costs. Only about one-in-five ( $21 \%$ ) believe the benefits are about right while $10 \%$ say the legislation goes too far in covering the cost of prescription drugs.

There are significant age differences in attitudes toward the legislation. People age 65 and older have a relatively measured reaction to the proposal - $45 \%$ think it will not go far enough, $22 \%$ say it is about right and $9 \%$ think it will go too far. A relatively high proportion of seniors (24\%) declined to offer an opinion.

Criticism of the proposed drug benefit is more widespread among those age 50-64. Nearly six-in-ten in this group (59\%) believe the legislation does not go far enough in covering prescription drug costs - far more than any other age category. Half of those under age 50 think the coverage provided by the legislation will be inadequate.

Politically, a solid majority of Democrats (60\%) say the legislation does not go far enough in addressing prescription drug costs compared with $40 \%$ of Republicans. Conservative Republicans have the most favorable view of the Medicare plan, with $28 \%$ saying the level of benefits will be appropriate. Still, even a plurality in this group (36\%) says the proposal does not go far enough in covering prescription drug costs.


#### Abstract

ABOUT THIS SURVEY

Results for the survey are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates among a nationwide sample of 2,528 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period July 14 - August 5, 2003. Based on the total sample, one can say with $95 \%$ confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 2 percentage points. For results based on either Form $1(\mathrm{~N}=1,284)$ or Form $2(\mathrm{~N}=1,244)$, the sampling error is plus or minus 3.5 percentage points. For results based on registered voters $(N=1,866)$ the sampling error is plus or minus 2.5 percentage points.

Respondents who indicated they would prefer to complete the interview in Spanish, plus Spanish-speaking households in which no eligible English-speaking adult was available, were contacted by a Spanish-speaking interviewer. A total of 56 interviews were conducted in Spanish.

In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.


## SURVEY METHODOLOGY IN DETAIL

The sample for this survey is a random digit sample of telephone numbers selected from telephone exchanges in the continental United States. The random digit aspect of the sample is used to avoid "listing" bias and provides representation of both listed and unlisted numbers (including not-yet-listed). The design of the sample ensures this representation by random generation of the last two digits of telephone numbers selected on the basis of their area code, telephone exchange, and bank number.

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

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

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

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

The demographic weighting parameters are derived from a special analysis of the most recently available Census Bureau's Current Population Survey (March 2002). This analysis produced population parameters for the demographic characteristics of households with adults 18 or older, which are then compared with the sample characteristics to construct sample weights. The analysis only included households in the continental United States that contain a telephone. The weights are derived using an iterative technique that simultaneously balances the distributions of all weighting parameters.

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# 2003 VALUES UPDATE SURVEY 

- FINAL TOPLINE -

July 14 - August 5, 2003
$\mathrm{N}=\mathbf{2 , 5 2 8}$

ON FORM ONE, Q. 1 PRECEDES Q.2; ON FORM TWO, Q. 2 PRECEDES Q. 1
Q. 1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling his job as president? [IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF DEPENDS PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling his job as president? [IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]

|  | Approve | Disapprove | Don't know |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| August, 2003 | 53 | 37 | $10=100$ |
| Mid-July, 2003 | 58 | 32 | $10=100$ |
| 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 | $10=100$ |
| 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 | $10=100$ |
| April, 2002 | 69 | 18 | $13=100$ |
| Early April, 2002 | 74 | 16 | $10=100$ |
| February, 2002 | 78 | 13 | $9=100$ |
| January, 2002 | 80 | 11 | $9=100$ |
| Mid-November, 2001 | 84 | 9 | $7=100$ |
| Early October, 2001 | 84 | 8 | $8=100$ |
| Late September, 2001 | 86 | 7 | $7=100$ |
| Mid-September, 2001 | 80 | 9 | $11=100$ |
| Early September, 2001 | 51 | 34 | $15=100$ |
| August, 2001 | 50 | 32 | $18=100$ |
| July, 2001 | 51 | 32 | $17=100$ |
| June, 2001 | 50 | 33 | $17=100$ |
| May, 2001 | 53 | 32 | $15=100$ |
| April, 2001 | 56 | 27 | $17=100$ |
| March, 2001 | 55 | 25 | $20=100$ |
| February, 2001 | 53 | 21 | $26=100$ |

## ON FORM ONE, Q. 1 PRECEDES Q.2; ON FORM TWO, Q. 2 PRECEDES Q. 1

Q. 2 All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in this country today?
$\frac{\text { Satisfied }}{40} \quad \frac{\text { Dissatisfied }}{53} \quad \frac{\text { No Opinion }}{7=100}$

| April, 2003 ${ }^{2}$ | 50 | 41 | $9=100$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| January, 2003 | 44 | 50 | $6=100$ |
| September, $2002^{3}$ | 41 | 55 | $4=100$ |
| Late August, 2002 | 47 | 44 | $9=100$ |
| May, 2002 | 44 | 44 | $12=100$ |
| March, 2002 | 50 | 40 | $10=100$ |
| Late September, 2001 | 57 | 34 | $9=100$ |
| Early September, 2001 | 41 | 53 | $6=100$ |
| June, 2001 | 43 | 52 | $5=100$ |
| March, 2001 | 47 | 45 | $8=100$ |
| February, 2001 | 46 | 43 | $11=100$ |
| January, 2001 | 55 | 41 | $4=100$ |
| September, 2000 | 51 | 41 | $8=100$ |
| June, 2000 | 47 | 45 | $8=100$ |
| April, 2000 | 48 | 43 | $9=100$ |
| August, 1999 | 56 | 39 | $5=100$ |
| January, 1999 | 53 | 41 | $6=100$ |
| November, 1998 | 46 | 44 | $10=100$ |
| Early September, 1998 | 54 | 42 | $4=100$ |
| Late August, 1998 | 55 | 41 | $4=100$ |
| Early August, 1998 | 50 | 44 | $6=100$ |
| February, 1998 | 59 | 37 | $4=100$ |
| January, 1998 | 46 | 50 | $4=100$ |
| September, 1997 | 45 | 49 | $6=100$ |
| August, 1997 | 49 | 46 | $5=100$ |
| January, 1997 | 38 | 58 | $4=100$ |
| July, 1996 | 29 | 67 | $4=100$ |
| March, 1996 | 28 | 70 | $2=100$ |
| October, 1995 | 23 | 73 | $4=100$ |
| June, 1995 | 25 | 73 | $2=100$ |
| April, 1995 | 23 | 74 | $3=100$ |
| July, 1994 | 24 | 73 | $3=100$ |
| March, 1994 | 24 | 71 | $5=100$ |
| October, 1993 | 22 | 73 | $5=100$ |
| September, 1993 | 20 | 75 | $4=100$ |
| May, 1993 | 22 | 71 | $7=100$ |
| January, 1993 | 39 | 50 | $11=100$ |
| January, 1992 | 28 | 68 | $4=100$ |
| November, 1991 | 34 | 61 | $5=100$ |
| Late February, 1991 (Gallup) | 66 | 31 | $3=100$ |
| August, 1990 | 47 | 48 | $5=100$ |
| May, 1990 | 41 | 54 | $5=100$ |
| January, 1989 | 45 | 50 | $5=100$ |
| September, 1988 (RVs) | 50 | 45 | $5=100$ |
| May, 1988 | 41 | 54 | $5=100$ |
| January, 1988 | 39 | 55 | $6=100$ |

ASK ALL:
Q. 5 Looking ahead, would you like to see George W. Bush re-elected President in 2004 or would you prefer that
a Democratic candidate win the election? [INTERVIEWER: IF R SAYS "OTHER" OR "SOMEONE ELSE," PROBE ONCE BEFORE CODING AS OTHER]

August, 2003
Mid-July, 2003

| Bush | Prefer | Other/ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Re-elected | Democrat | DK |
| 40 | 39 | $21=100$ |
| 45 | 37 | $18=100$ |
| 46 | 35 | $19=100$ |
| 51 | 36 | $13=100$ |
| 45 | 42 | $13=100$ |
| 40 | 48 | $12=100$ |
| 42 | 42 | $16=100$ |
| 41 | 43 | $16=100$ |


| Bush | Prefer | Other/ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Re-elected | Democrat | DK |
| 43 | 38 | $19=100(\mathbf{N}=\mathbf{1 8 6 6})$ |
| 47 | 37 | $16=100$ |
| 48 | 34 | $18=100$ |
| 51 | 36 | $13=100$ |
| 45 | 42 | $13=100$ |
| 39 | 49 | $12=100$ |
| 41 | 45 | $14=100$ |
| 41 | 44 | $15=100$ |

Q. 6 Over the past year, the budget for military defense and homeland security has been increasing. Which one of the following do you think is the BEST way to pay for these increases? [READ AND ROTATE]

|  |  | Late |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | March | Feb | Feb |
|  |  | $\underline{2003}{ }^{5}$ | $\underline{2003}{ }^{6}$ | $\underline{2002}$ |
| 15 | Add to the budget deficit | 20 | 23 | 24 |
| 23 | Reduce spending on domestic programs [OR] | 16 | 21 | 22 |
| 41 | Postpone or reduce last year's tax cuts | 40 | 40 | 42 |
| 4 | None (VOL) | 5 | 1 | 2 |
| 1 | Two of them, or all three (VOL) | 1 | 1 | * |
| 4 | Other (VOL) | 5 | 2 | 1 |
| $\underline{12}$ | Don't know/Refused | $\underline{13}$ | $\underline{12}$ | $\underline{9}$ |
| 100 |  | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Q. 7 There are currently proposals before Congress to include prescription drug coverage in Medicare benefits for seniors. What do you think... will the Medicare legislation go too far, not far enough, or will it be about right, in how much it covers the costs of prescription drugs for seniors?

| 10 | Too far |
| :--- | :--- |
| 51 | Not far enough |
| 21 | About right |
| $\frac{18}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused [VOL.] |

Q. 8 I'd like to read you a list of some programs and proposals that are being discussed in this country today. For each one, please tell me whether you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose it. The first one is...
[READ AND ROTATE; OBSERVE FORM SPLIT ON ITEMS d,e].

The March 2003 trends are from Gallup and were worded: "If George W. Bush runs for re-election in 2004, in general are you more likely to vote for Bush or for the Democratic Party's candidate for president?"
5
In Late March 2003 the question was worded: "Which one of the following do you think is the BEST way to pay for the cost of the war in Iraq?"
6
In February 2003 and 2002 the question was worded: "As you may know, President Bush has proposed large increases in the budget for military defense and homeland security. Which one of the following do you think is the BEST way to pay for these increases, if they are to happen?"

## ASK FORM 1 ONLY [ $\mathbf{N}=1284$ ]:

d.F1 The U.S. government guaranteeing health insurance for all citizens, even if it means repealing most of the recent tax cuts

## ASK FORM 2 ONLY [ $\mathbf{N}=1244$ ]:

e.F2 The U.S. government guaranteeing health
e.F2 The U.S. government guaranteeing health
insurance for all citizens, even if it means raising taxes


| 67 | 28 | 39 | 26 | 8 | 18 | $7=100$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

Q. 18 In politics TODAY, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or Independent?

|  | Republican | Democrat | Independent | (VOL) <br> No <br> Preference | (VOL) <br> Other <br> Party | Don't know |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| August, 2003 | 27 | 31 | 36 | 4 | * | $2=100$ |
| August, 2002 | 30 | 32 | 32 | 3 | 1 | $2=100$ |
| May, 2002 | 27 | 30 | 36 | 4 | 1 | $2=100$ |
| May, 2001 | 27 | 30 | 37 | 4 | 1 | $1=100$ |
| September, 2000 | 27 | 34 | 30 | 6 | * | $3=100$ |
| February, 2000 | 27 | 30 | 34 | 6 | 1 | $2=100$ |
| Late September, 1999 | 24 | 31 | 36 | 5 | 1 | $3=100$ |
| August, 1999 | 25 | 33 | 37 | 3 | * | $2=100$ |
| November, 1997 | 25 | 32 | 38 | 3 | * | $2=100$ |
| June, 1996 | 30 | 33 | 34 | 2 | * | $1=100$ |
| February, 1996 | 30 | 32 | 32 | 3 | 1 | $2=100$ |
| October, 1995 | 30 | 30 | 35 | 3 | * | $2=100$ |
| April, 1995 | 30 | 29 | 37 | 3 | * | $1=100$ |
| March, 1995 | 35 | 28 | 32 | -- | 2 | $3=100$ |
| February, 1995 | 33 | 30 | 33 | -- | 2 | $2=100$ |
| December, 1994 | 35 | 31 | 30 | -- | 2 | $2=100$ |
| November, 1994 | 28 | 31 | 35 | 4 | * | $2=100$ |
| October, 1994 | 31 | 32 | 33 | 3 | * | $1=100$ |
| Early October, 1994 | 33 | 30 | 32 | -- | 2 | $3=100$ |
| July, 1994 | 29 | 33 | 35 | 2 | * | $1=100$ |
| June, 1992 | 28 | 32 | 36 | 1 | * | $3=100$ |
| May, 1990 | 28 | 33 | 28 | 9 | * | $2=100$ |
| February, 1989 | 31 | 38 | 23 | 7 | * | $1=100$ |
| May, 1988 | 28 | 38 | 26 | 6 | * | $2=100$ |
| January, 1988 | 27 | 39 | 26 | 6 | * | $2=100$ |
| May, 1987 | 25 | 37 | 28 | 8 | * | $2=100$ |

## IF ANSWERED REPUBLICAN, ASK [N=634]:

Q. 19 Do you consider yourself a STRONG Republican, or NOT a strong Republican?

|  | Late |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Sept | Sept | Aug Nov | Oct | April | Oct | July | June | May | Feb | May | Jan | May |
|  | $\frac{2000}{14}$ | $\frac{1999}{10}$ | $\frac{1999}{11}$ | $\frac{1997}{11}$ | $\frac{1995}{11}$ | $\frac{1995}{15}$ | $\frac{1994}{16}$ | $\frac{1994}{13}$ | $\frac{1992}{11}$ | $\frac{1990}{13}$ | $\frac{1989}{15}$ | $\frac{1988}{13}$ | $\frac{1988}{12}$ |
| $\frac{1987}{11}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 14 Strong | $\frac{13}{27} \%$ | $\frac{14}{24 \%}$ | $\frac{14}{25} \%$ | $\frac{14}{25} \%$ | $\frac{19}{30} \%$ | $\frac{15}{30} \%$ | $\frac{15}{31} \%$ | $\frac{16}{29} \%$ | $\frac{17}{28} \%$ | $\frac{15}{28} \%$ | $\frac{16}{31} \%$ | $\frac{15}{28} \%$ | $\frac{15}{27} \%$ |
| $\frac{13}{25} \%$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

## IF ANSWERED DEMOCRAT, ASK [ $\mathbf{N}=897$ ]:

Q. 20 Do you consider yourself a STRONG Democrat, or NOT a strong Democrat?

|  | Late |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Sept | Sept | Aug | Nov | Oct | April | Oct | July | June | May | Feb | May | Jan | May |
|  | $\underline{2000}$ | 1999 | 1999 | 1997 | 1995 | $\underline{1995}$ | 1994 | 1994 | 1992 | 1990 | 1989 | 1988 | 1988 | $\underline{1987}$ |
| 15 Strong | 19 | 15 | 15 | 14 | 14 | 14 | 18 | 15 | 14 | 16 | 17 | 19 | 19 | 18 |
| 16 Not strong | $\underline{15}$ | $\underline{16}$ | 18 | 18 | 16 | 15 | 14 | 18 | 18 | 17 | $\underline{21}$ | 19 | $\underline{20}$ | 19 |
| 31\% | 34\% | 31\% | 33\% | 32\% | 30\% | 29\% | 32\% | 33\% | 32\% | 33\% | 38\% | 38\% | 39\% | 37\% |

IF ANSWERED INDEPENDENT/NO PREFERENCE/OTHER/DON'T KNOW (Q18=3,4,5,9), ASK [N=997]:
Q. 21 As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to the Republican Party or the Democratic Party?

August, 2003
September, 2000
Late September, 1999
August, 1999

| Republican |  | Democrat |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | 39 |
| 28 |  | 33 |
| 31 |  | 34 |
| 34 |  | 36 |

(VOL.)
Other/DK/Ref.
$32=100$
$39=100$
$35=100$
$30=100$

## ASK REPUBLICANS AND REPUBLICAN LEANERS ONLY (Q.18=1 OR Q.21=1) [N=928]:

Q. 22 How good a job is the Republican Party doing these days in standing up for its traditional positions on such things as reducing the size of government, cutting taxes and promoting conservative social values - would you say the Party is doing an excellent job, a good job, only a fair job or a poor job?

|  | Rep/ <br> Lean Rep <br> May 2002 | Rep/ <br> Lean Rep <br> May 2001 | Rean Rep $($ RV $)$ <br> Lean <br> 6 | Excellent |
| ---: | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 51 | Good | 6 |  | 10 |

ASK DEMOCRATS AND DEMOCRATIC LEANERS ONLY (Q.18=2 OR Q.21=2) [N=1298]:
Q. 23 How good a job is the Democratic Party doing these days in standing up for its traditional positions on such things as protecting the interests of minorities, helping the poor and needy, and representing working people - would you say the Party is doing an excellent job, a good job, only a fair job or a poor job?

|  | Dem/ <br> Lean Dem <br> May 2002 | Dem/ <br> Lean Dem <br> May 2001 | Dean Dem <br> LRV) |  |
| ---: | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 5 | Excellent | 5 | $\underline{8}$ | $\underline{11}$ |
| 33 | Good | 39 | 39 | 52 |
| 51 | Only fair | 43 | 40 | 32 |
| 9 | Poor | 10 | 7 | 4 |
| $\frac{2}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused | $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{6}$ | $\underline{1}$ |
|  |  | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Q. 27 Next, I'm going to read you a list of some people who have been in the news lately. Not everyone will have heard of them. For each one that I name, please tell me whether or not you have heard of this person. (First,) (INSERT NAME; RANDOMIZE NAMES), have you heard of this person or not? (IF HAVE HEARD, ASK)
How much of a chance is there that you would vote for (INSERT NAME) if (he/she) is a candidate for president in 2004 - is there a good chance, some chance, or no chance? Have you heard of (NEXT NAME) or not?

|  | N REGISTERED VO' | $\mathrm{N}=18$ |  |  | Based on | Those W | ho Have | Heard |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Have | Have not | DK/ | Good | Some | No | DK/ |
|  |  | Heard | Heard | Ref. | Chance | Chance | Chance | Ref. (N) |
| a. | George W. Bush | 99 | * | $1=100$ | 43 | 17 | 38 | $2=100$ (1853) |
|  | Early July, 2003 | 99 | * | $1=100$ | 44 | 19 | 35 | $2=100$ |
|  | August, 1999 | 98 | 2 | * $=100$ | 40 | 30 | 27 | $3=100$ |
|  | June, 1999 | 96 | 4 | * $=100$ | 34 | 35 | 27 | $4=100$ |
|  | May, 1999 | 95 | 4 | $1=100$ | 34 | 34 | 28 | $4=100$ |
|  | February, 1999 | 95 | 5 | * $=100$ | 32 | 36 | 27 | $5=100$ |
| b. | John Kerry | 62 | 37 | $1=100$ | 13 | 34 | 43 | $10=100(1150)$ |
|  | Early July, 2003 | 58 | 42 | * $=100$ | 13 | 29 | 46 | $12=100$ |
|  | May, $1999{ }^{\text {8 }}$ | 52 | 46 | $2=100$ | 8 | 37 | 44 | $11=100$ |
|  | February, 1999 | 38 | 61 | $1=100$ | 8 | 37 | 48 | $7=100$ |
| c. | Dick Gephardt | 77 | 22 | $1=100$ | 12 | 33 | 46 | $9=100$ (1422) |
|  | Early July, 2003 | 75 | 25 | * $=100$ | 9 | 36 | 46 | $9=100$ |
| d. | Howard Dean | 46 | 54 | * $=100$ | 13 | 28 | 46 | 13=100 (866) |
|  | Early July, 2003 | 37 | 63 | * $=100$ | 9 | 23 | 57 | $11=100$ |
| e. | John Edwards | 45 | 54 | $1=100$ | 8 | 33 | 47 | 12=100 (877) |
|  | Early July, 2003 | 39 | 60 | $1=100$ | 7 | 29 | 53 | $11=100$ |
| f. | Carol Moseley Braun | 41 | 59 | * $=100$ | 9 | 24 | 57 | 10=100 (799) |
|  | Early July, 2003 | 36 | 64 | * $=100$ | 10 | 19 | 63 | $8=100$ |
| g. | Dennis Kucinich | 23 | 77 | * $=100$ | 8 | 20 | 57 | 15=100 (440) |
|  | Early July, 2003 | 18 | 82 | * $=100$ | 7 | 20 | 60 | $13=100$ |
| h. | Bob Graham | 60 | 39 | $1=100$ | 9 | 29 | 51 | 11=100 (1137) |
|  | Early July, 2003 | 56 | 43 | $1=100$ | 8 | 25 | 57 | $10=100$ |
| i. | Joe Lieberman | 86 | 13 | $1=100$ | 13 | 37 | 43 | $7=100$ (1590) |
|  | Early July, 2003 | 83 | 16 | $1=100$ | 13 | 32 | 47 | $8=100$ |
| j. | Al Sharpton | 68 | 32 | * $=100$ | 5 | 14 | 75 | $6=100$ (1367) |
|  | Early July, 2003 | 66 | 34 | * $=100$ | 5 | 12 | 77 | $6=100$ |

Q. 30 Right now, which is more important for President Bush to focus on ... the economy or the war on terrorism?

|  |  |  | Early | Late |  |
| :---: | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | April | Jan | Oct | Aug |
| 57 | The economy | $\frac{2003^{9}}{}$ | $\frac{2003}{26}$ | $\frac{2002}{38}$ | $\frac{2002}{39}$ |
| 27 | The war on terrorism | 42 | 43 | 45 | 34 |
| $*$ | Neither (VOL) | 1 | $*$ | $*$ | 2 |
| 13 | Both (VOL) | 19 | 17 | 17 | 22 |
| $\frac{3}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused (VOL) | $\underline{2}$ | $\underline{2}$ | $\underline{2}$ | $\underline{3}$ |
|  |  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

ASK ALL:
Just a few questions about the war on terrorism...
Q. 33 In general, how well do you think the U.S. government is doing in reducing the threat of terrorism? [READ]

|  |  | Early <br> Nov | June | Early | Nov |
| ---: | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | | Mid- |
| :---: |

Q. 36 How worried are you that there will soon be another terrorist attack in the United States? [READ]

|  |  | March | Feb | Jan | Dec | Early <br> Oct | Late <br> Aug | June | Jan | Dec | $\begin{gathered} \text { Oct } \\ 15-21 \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Oct } \\ 10-14 \end{gathered}$ | Early |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | 2003 | $\underline{2003}$ | $\underline{2003}$ | $\underline{2002}$ | $\underline{2002}$ | $\underline{2002}$ | $\underline{2002}$ | $\underline{2002}$ | 2001 | $\underline{2001}$ | $\underline{2001}$ | $\underline{2001}$ |
| 13 | Very worried | 22 | 34 | 18 | 31 | 20 | 16 | 32 | 20 | 13 | 29 | 27 | 28 |
| 45 | Somewhat worried | 42 | 41 | 50 | 42 | 46 | 46 | 44 | 42 | 39 | 42 | 40 | 45 |
| 29 | Not too worried | 20 | 17 | 23 | 18 | 22 | 25 | 17 | 28 | 27 | 18 | 19 | 15 |
| 12 | Not at all worried | 14 | 7 | 8 | 8 | 11 | 12 | 7 | 9 | 19 | 10 | 12 | 11 |
| 1 | Don't know/Refused | $\underline{2}$ | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | * | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| 100 |  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

