FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE Wednesday, March 3, 2004

## Swing Voters Criticize Bush on Economy, Support Him on Iraq_ THREE-IN-TEN VOTERS OPEN TO PERSUASION

Heading into an eight-month marathon to Election Day, President Bush and Sen. John Kerry already command strong support from their respective parties and will now try to win over those in the middle - the estimated three-in-ten voters who have not yet fully committed to either candidate. Overall, $38 \%$ of voters support Kerry and say they have definitely decided not to vote for Bush. A third of voters support Bush and say there is no chance they will vote for Kerry.

The remaining portion of the electorate ( $29 \%$ of all voters) have either expressed a preference for one of the candidates yet say they still could change their mind, or are truly undecided. Most of these swing voters have expressed a preference - $13 \%$ favor Bush, $10 \%$ Kerry - though they are still open to the possibility of changing their mind. Just $6 \%$ of voters are firmly on the fence at this early stage of the campaign.

The latest Pew Research Center national survey, conducted Feb. 24-29, shows Kerry with a slight edge in a head-to-head match up with Bush ( $48 \%-44 \%$ ). The results of this survey were combined with poll conducted earlier in February (Feb. 11-16) as

| Electorate Divided, <br> Three-in-ten Uncommitted <br>  <br>  <br> Registered voters <br> Committed to Bush <br> Committed to Kerry <br> Swing voters <br> Favor Bush <br> Favor Kerry <br> Pure undecided <br>  <br> Based on 1,898 registered voters in two <br> surveys conducted February <br> 11-16 and <br> February $24-29$ |
| :--- | a way of determining the size and composition of the swing vote.

As might be expected, a relatively large percentage of swing voters are independents (39\%), but a majority identify with one of the two parties ( $27 \%$ Republican/25\% Democrat). Nearly half ( $48 \%$ ) describe themselves as moderates, but roughly a third identify themselves as conservatives (34\%). A majority of swing voters are women (55\%). (see profile pg. 4)

## Swing Voters on the Candidates, Issues

A majority of swing voters (55\%) approve of President Bush's job performance and most take a favorable view personally of both candidates (75\% favorable for Kerry, $70 \%$ for Bush). They also have a generally positive opinion of both political parties ( $64 \%$ Republican/61\% Democrat).

When it comes to the issues, swing voters tend to side with Kerry's supporters in their economic perceptions and attitudes, but they agree with Bush's supporters on Iraq and the war on terrorism. Just $20 \%$ of swing voters rate the nation's economy as excellent or good, while $79 \%$ rate it as only fair or poor. They share this view with Kerry supporters, $88 \%$ of whom rate the economy in relatively negative terms. Most Bush supporters ( $66 \%$ ) say the economy is doing well.

Bush supporters are twice as likely as either Kerry supporters or swing voters to believe the economy will improve over the next year ( $60 \%$ vs. $32 \%$ and $29 \%$ ). Pluralities of Kerry supporters and swing voters expect the economy to remain the same over the next year.

And fully two-thirds of swing voters (68\%) say President Bush could be doing more to improve economic conditions, while $26 \%$ say he is doing all he can. While not as critical of the president as Kerry backers ( $91 \%$ of whom say the president could be doing more), most Bush backers take the opposite view.

On policies on Iraq and the war on terror, however, swing voters tend to agree with the president's decisions. By two-to-one ( $61 \%$ to 29\%) swing voters say taking military action in Iraq was the right decision. Not surprisingly, Bush backers almost unanimously (92\%) support the war, while Kerry backers oppose the war by

| Swing Voters View Candidates and Parties Evenly |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Committed to Swing Bush Kerry voters |  |  |
| Bush job | \% | \% | \% |
| Approve | 97 | 5 | 55 |
| Disapprove | 2 | 92 | 28 |
| Don't know | 1 | $\underline{3}$ | 17 |
|  | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Favorable view of... |  |  |  |
| Bush | 99 | 8 | 70 |
| Kerry | 26 | 95 | 75 |
| Republican Party | 93 | 15 | 64 |
| Democratic Party | 27 | 88 | 61 |
| Based on 1,149 Registered voters surveyed February 11-16. |  |  |  |


| Swing Voters Pessimistic About Economy |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Committed to Bush Kerry |  | Swing |
|  |  |  | voters |
| Nation's economy | \% | \% | \% |
| Excellent/Good | 66 | 11 | 20 |
| Only fair/Poor | 34 | 88 | 79 |
| Don't know | $\stackrel{*}{*}$ | 1 | 1 |
|  | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Economy over next year |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Better | 60 | 32 | 29 |
| Worse | 4 | 16 | 12 |
| Same | 32 | 42 | 48 |
| Don't know | 4 | $\underline{10}$ | 11 |
|  | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Bush \& economy |  |  |  |
| Doing all he can | 67 | 5 | 26 |
| Could do more | 30 | 91 | 68 |
| Don't know | $\underline{3}$ | 4 | $\underline{6}$ |
|  |  |  | 100 |
| Jobs in your area |  |  |  |
| Plenty available |  | 14 | 29 |
| Hard to find | 41 | 76 | 58 |
| Mixed/DK | $\underline{9}$ | $\underline{10}$ | 13 |
|  |  | 100 | 100 |
| Based on 749 registered voters surveyed February 24-29. |  |  |  |

a 70\% to 25\% margin. And similarly, most swing voters, along with Bush backers, say the war in Iraq helped in the broader war on terrorism. Kerry supporters tend to take the opposite view.

## Divided Over Social Issues

On two of three social and cultural issues that have played important roles in past presidential elections - abortion and gun control - swing voters fall somewhat closer to Kerry supporters than to Bush supporters. But on the social issue that looms large in this fall's contest - gay marriage - swing voters fall in between.

A majority of those who are committed to supporting Bush (56\%) say they favor changing the laws to make it harder for a woman to obtain an abortion. By contrast, just $23 \%$ of committed Kerry supporters feel this way. Swing voters side with Kerry voters on this issue just $33 \%$ favor toughening restrictions on abortion. Similarly, a majority of Bush supporters (56\%) say it is more important to protect the rights of gun owners than to control gun ownership. Only $26 \%$ of Kerry voters agree, and swing voters (at 37\% agreement) fall closer to Kerry supporters than to Bush supporters.

On the issue of gay marriage, however, half or more of all three groups of voters say they oppose allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally. Bush voters are nearly united in opposition to gay marriage, with $82 \%$ opposed. Half of Kerry voters oppose gay marriage. Swing voters fall between these two groups, with $64 \%$ opposed - 18 percentage points less than Bush voters, 14 percentage points more than Kerry voters.

| Swing Voters Support Iraq, War on Terrorism |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Committed to Swing <br> Bush Kerry voters |  |  |
| War in Iraq | \% | \% | \% |
| Right decision | 92 | 25 | 61 |
| Wrong decision | 4 | 70 | 29 |
| Don't know | 4 | 5 | $\underline{10}$ |
|  | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Iraq's effect on war on terrorism |  |  |  |
| Helped | 88 | 30 | 62 |
| Hurt | 8 | 56 | 23 |
| No effect (Vol.) | 1 | 8 | 4 |
| Don't know | 3 | $\underline{6}$ | 11 |
|  | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Based on registered voters surveyed February 11-16 and February 24-29. |  |  |  |


| Swing Voters Divided on Wedge Issues |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| More restrictions on abortion | Committed to Bush Kerry |  | Swing |
|  |  |  | voters |
|  | \% | \% | \% |
| Favor | 56 | 23 | 33 |
| Oppose | 41 | 73 | 58 |
| DK | $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{4}$ | $\underline{9}$ |
|  | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Gay marriage |  |  |  |
| Favor | 14 | 43 | 27 |
| Oppose | 82 | 50 | 64 |
| DK | $\underline{4}$ | 7 | $\underline{9}$ |
|  | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Gun ownership |  |  |  |
| Protect rights | 56 | 26 | 37 |
| Control ownership | 41 | 68 | 57 |
| DK | $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{6}$ | $\underline{6}$ |
|  |  |  | 100 |
| Based on 749 registered voters surveyed February 24-29. |  |  |  |


| 2004 Presidential Voter Profile |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Committed to |  | Swing |
|  | $\frac{\text { Bush }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { Kerry }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { Voter }}{\%}$ |
| Total White Protestant | 62 | 40 | 45 |
| -Evangelical Protestant | 23 | 26 | 22 |
| -Mainline Protestant | 39 | 14 | 23 |
| Wh. Non-Hisp. Catholic | c 18 | 16 | 18 |
| Secular | 5 | 10 | 11 |
| Other | $\underline{15}$ | 34 | $\underline{26}$ |
|  | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Attend Church |  |  |  |
| More than once a week | 23 | 12 | 17 |
| Once a week | 30 | 25 | 25 |
| 1 to 2 times per month | 14 | 17 | 17 |
| Few times a year | 13 | 21 | 17 |
| Seldom or never | 20 | 25 | 24 |
| Union household | 12 | 18 | 14 |
| Non-union household | 88 | 82 | 86 |
| Men 18-49 | 28 | 21 | 25 |
| Women 18-49 | 23 | 31 | 30 |
| Men 50+ | 26 | 21 | 20 |
| Women 50+ | 23 | 27 | 25 |
| Northeast | 17 | 23 | 19 |
| Midwest | 24 | 25 | 24 |
| South | 38 | 31 | 39 |
| West | 21 | 21 | 18 |
| Urban | 24 | 29 | 28 |
| Suburban | 54 | 49 | 47 |
| Rural | 22 | 22 | 25 |


| 2004 Presidential Voter Profile |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Committed to Bush Kerry |  | Swing |
|  | $\frac{\text { Bush }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { Kerry }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { Voter }}{\%}$ |
| Male | 54 | 42 | 45 |
| Female | $\underline{46}$ | 58 | $\underline{55}$ |
|  | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| 18-29 | 9 | 16 | 17 |
| 30-49 | 42 | 36 | 38 |
| 50-64 | 29 | 24 | 26 |
| 65+ | 20 | 23 | 17 |
| College Grad | 32 | 31 | 26 |
| Some College | 40 | 33 | 37 |
| High School Grad | 21 | 24 | 23 |
| Less than H.S. | 7 | 12 | 13 |
| \$75,000+ | 28 | 22 | 20 |
| \$50K - \$75K | 20 | 15 | 13 |
| \$30K - \$50K | 24 | 22 | 23 |
| \$20K - \$30K | 8 | 12 | 14 |
| Less than \$20K | 7 | 20 | 14 |
| Republican | 74 | 3 | 27 |
| Democrat | 4 | 69 | 25 |
| Independent | 20 | 25 | 39 |
| White | 92 | 76 | 81 |
| Black | 1 | 18 | 12 |
| Hispanic | 6 | 11 | 8 |
| Conservative | 66 | 21 | 34 |
| Moderate | 27 | 44 | 48 |
| Liberal | 5 | 31 | 14 |

## ABOUT THIS SURVEY

This report is based on results of two February surveys conducted by the Pew Research Center. Portions of the analysis are based on the combined samples of the two surveys, with a total 1,898 registered voters. Based on this combined sample, one can say with $95 \%$ confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 2.5 percentage points.

Results for the February 2004 News Interest Index survey are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates among a nationwide sample of 1,500 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period February $11-16,2004$. 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 3 percentage points. For results based on Registered Voters ( $\mathrm{N}=1149$ ), the sampling error is plus or minus 3.5 percentage points.

Results for the February 2004 Global Attitudes Project -- US Survey are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates among a nationwide sample of 1,000 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period February $24-29,2004$. 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 3.5 percentage points. For results based on Registered Voters $(\mathrm{N}=749)$, the sampling error is plus or minus 4 percentage points.

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

## PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE \& THE PRESS FEBRUARY 2004 GLOBAL ATTITUDES PROJECT -- U.S. SURVEY FINAL TOPLINE <br> February 24-29, 2004 <br> $\mathbf{N}=\mathbf{1 , 0 0 0}$

Q1 Now thinking about our country, overall, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in our country today?

|  | Satisfied | Dissatisfied | No Opinion |  | Sat- <br> isfied | Dissatisfied | No Opinion |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Late February, 2004 | 39 | 55 | 6=100 |  |  |  |  |
| Early January, 2004 | 45 | 48 | $7=100$ | July, 1994 | 24 | 73 | $3=100$ |
| December, 2003 | 44 | 47 | $9=100$ | March, 1994 | 24 | 71 | $5=100$ |
| October, 2003 | 38 | 56 | 6=100 | October, 1993 | 22 | 73 | $5=100$ |
| August, 2003 | 40 | 53 | $7=100$ | September, 1993 | 20 | 75 | $4=100$ |
| April, $2003{ }^{1}$ | 50 | 41 | $9=100$ | May, 1993 | 22 | 71 | $7=100$ |
| January, 2003 | 44 | 50 | $6=100$ | January, 1993 | 39 | 50 | $11=100$ |
| September, 2002 ${ }^{2}$ | 41 | 55 | $4=100$ | January, 1992 | 28 | 68 | $4=100$ |
| Late August, 2002 | 47 | 44 | $9=100$ | November, 1991 | 34 | 61 | $5=100$ |
| May, 2002 | 44 | 44 | $12=100$ | Late Feb, 1991 (Gallup) | 66 | 31 | $3=100$ |
| March, 2002 | 50 | 40 | $10=100$ | August, 1990 | 47 | 48 | $5=100$ |
| Late September, 2001 | 57 | 34 | $9=100$ | May, 1990 | 41 | 54 | $5=100$ |
| Early September, 2001 | 41 | 53 | $6=100$ | January, 1989 | 45 | 50 | $5=100$ |
| June, 2001 | 43 | 52 | $5=100$ | September, 1988 (RVs) | 50 | 45 | $5=100$ |
| March, 2001 | 47 | 45 | $8=100$ | May, 1988 | 41 | 54 | $5=100$ |
| February, 2001 | 46 | 43 | $11=100$ | January, 1988 | 39 | 55 | $6=100$ |
| 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 | $3=100$ |  |  |  |  |

[^0]2 The September 2002 trend is from a Pew Global Attitudes Project survey, fielded August 19 to September 8, 2002 and released December 4, 2002.

PRC1 How closely have you been following news about candidates for the 2004 presidential election? Very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely?

|  | Very <br> Closely | Fairly <br> Closely | Not too <br> Closely | Not at all <br> Closely | (VOL) <br> DK |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Late February, 2004 | 24 | 40 | 23 | 12 | $1=100$ |
| Early February, 2004 | 29 | 37 | 20 | 13 | $1=100$ |
| Mid-January, 2004 | 16 | 30 | 27 | 26 | $1=100$ |
| Early January, 2004 | 14 | 32 | 30 | 23 | $1=100$ |
| December, 2003 | 16 | 26 | 27 | 30 | $1=100$ |
| November, 2003 | 11 | 26 | 34 | 28 | $1=100$ |
| October, 2003 | 12 | 27 | 28 | 32 | $1=100$ |
| September, 2003 | 17 | 25 | 30 | 27 | $1=100$ |
| Mid-August, 2003 | 12 | 27 | 27 | 33 | $1=100$ |
| May, 2003 | 8 | 19 | 31 | 41 | $1=100$ |
| January, 2003 | 14 | 28 | 29 | 28 | $1=100$ |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| March, 2000 | 26 | 41 | 19 | 13 | $1=100$ |
| February, 2000 | 26 | 36 | 21 | 17 | $*=100$ |
| January, 2000 | 19 | 34 | 28 | 18 | $1=100$ |
| March, 1996 | 26 | 41 | 20 | 13 | $*=100$ |
| January, 1996 | 10 | 34 | 31 | 24 | $1=100$ |
| 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 | $1=100$ |

PRC2 Suppose the 2004 presidential election were being held TODAY, and the candidates were [George W. Bush, the Republican or John Kerry, the Democrat. READ, ROTATE]. Who would you vote for?

## IF OTHER OR DK (3,9 IN PRC2) ASK:

PRC2a As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to [READ, ROTATE IN SAME ORDER AS PRC2]?

## BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=749]:

|  |  | Early <br> Feb | Early <br> Jan | Oct | Feb |  | Feb |  | March |  | May |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2003}$ | $\underline{2000}$ |  | 1996 |  | $\underline{1992}$ |  | $\underline{1988}$ |  |
| 44 | Bush/Lean Bush | 47 | 52 | 50 | 46 | Bush | 44 | Dole | 49 | Bush, Sr. | 40 | Bush, Sr. |
| 48 | Kerry/Lean Kerry | 47 | 41 | 42 | 45 | Gore | 52 | Clinton | 44 | Clinton | 53 | Dukakis |
| 8 | Other/DK (VOL.) | 6 | 7 | $\underline{8}$ | $\underline{9}$ |  | 4 |  | 7 |  | 7 |  |
| 100 |  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |  | 100 |  | 100 |  | 100 |  |

[^1]
## THOSE WHO DID NOT CHOOSE KERRY (IN PRC2/2a) ASK:

PRC3 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=749]:

|  |  | Early Feb 2004 | ------------ Gore 2000 --------------- |  |  |  |  |  | - Clinton - |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | Late | Mid- | Early |  |  | July | May |
| 13 | Chance might vote for him |  | $\frac{2004}{15}$ | $\frac{\mathrm{Nov}}{8}$ | $\frac{\mathrm{Oct}}{9}$ | $\frac{\text { Oct }}{10}$ | $\frac{\text { Oct }}{11}$ | $\frac{\text { Sept }}{13}$ | $\frac{\text { June }}{14}$ | 8 | $\frac{11}{11}$ |
| 36 | Decided not to vote for him | 33 | 41 | 44 | 40 | 38 | 35 | 34 | 36 | 38 |
| 3 | Don't know/Refused | 5 | 6 | 4 | 5 | 7 | 5 | 6 | 4 | 6 |
| 52\% |  | 53\% | 55\% | 57\% | 55\% | 56\% | 53\% | 54\% | 48\% | 55\% |

## THOSE WHO DID NOT CHOOSE BUSH IN (PRC2/2a) ASK:

PRC4 Do you think there is a chance that you might vote for George W. Bush in November, or have you definitely decided not to vote for him?

## BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=749]:

|  |  | Early Feb | --------------- Bush 2000 --------------- |  |  |  |  |  | Dole <br> July <br> 1996 | $\begin{gathered} \text { Bush, Sr. } \\ \text { May } \\ \underline{1992} \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | Late | Mid- | Early |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | $\underline{2004}$ | Nov | Oct | Oct | Oct | Sept | June |  |  |
| 10 | Chance might vote for him |  | 10 | 8 | 10 | 12 | 11 | 15 | 15 | 15 | 8 |
| 43 | Decided not to vote for him | 41 | 44 | 41 | 40 | 39 | 38 | 33 | 40 | 40 |
| 3 | Don't know/Refused | 2 | 7 | 4 | 5 | 7 | 6 | 6 | 3 | 5 |
| 56\% |  | 53\% | 59\% | 55\% | 57\% | 57\% | 59\% | 54\% | 58\% | 53\% |

ASK ALL:
On a different subject...
PRC5 How would you rate economic conditions in this country today -- as excellent, good, only fair, or poor?

|  |  |  | Only |  | Don't know/ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Excellent | Good | $\underline{\text { fair }}$ | Poor | Refused |
| Late February, 2004 | 2 | 29 | 42 | 26 | $1=100$ |
| February 9-12, 2004 (Gallup) | 2 | 31 | 46 | 21 | $0=100$ |
| January 12-15, 2004 (Gallup) | 3 | 34 | 42 | 21 | $0=100$ |
| January 2-5, 2004 (Gallup) | 3 | 40 | 41 | 16 | * $=100$ |
| December 11-14, 2003 (Gallup) | 3 | 34 | 44 | 19 | * $=100$ |
| November 3-5, 2003 (Gallup) | 2 | 28 | 49 | 21 | *=100 |
| October 24-26, 2003 (Gallup) | 2 | 24 | 44 | 30 | *=100 |
| October 6-8, 2003 (Gallup) | 2 | 20 | 50 | 27 | $1=100$ |
| September 8-10, 2003 (Gallup) | 1 | 20 | 49 | 30 | *=100 |
| August 4-6, 2003 (Gallup) | 1 | 24 | 52 | 23 | * $=100$ |
| February 17-19, 2003 (Gallup) | 1 | 17 | 48 | 34 | *=100 |
| February 4-6, 2002 (Gallup) | 2 | 26 | 55 | 16 | $1=100$ |
| March 5-7, 2001 (Gallup) | 3 | 43 | 43 | 10 | $1=100$ |
| January 7-10, 2000 (Gallup) | 19 | 52 | 23 | 5 | $1=100$ |
| January 15-17, 1999 (Gallup) | 14 | 55 | 27 | 4 | *=100 |
| March 20-22, 1998 (Gallup) | 20 | 46 | 27 | 7 | * $=100$ |
| Jan 31 - Feb 2, 1997 (Gallup) | 4 | 38 | 43 | 15 | *=100 |
| March 15-17, 1996 (Gallup) | 2 | 31 | 48 | 18 | $1=100$ |
| May 11-14, 1995 (Gallup) | 2 | 27 | 50 | 20 | $1=100$ |
| January 15-17, 1994 (Gallup) | * | 22 | 54 | 24 | *=100 |
| February 12-14, 1993 (Gallup) | * | 14 | 46 | 39 | $1=100$ |
| January 3-6, 1992 (Gallup) | * | 12 | 46 | 41 | $1=100$ |

PRC6 A year from now, do you expect that economic conditions in the country as a whole will be better than they are at present, or worse, or just about the same as now?

|  | $\frac{\text { Better }}{}$ | $\frac{\text { Worse }}{}$ | $\frac{\text { Same }}{41}$ | Don't Know/ <br> Refused |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Late February, 2004 | 39 | 12 | 1700 |  |
| September, 2003 | 37 | 17 | 43 | $3=100$ |
| May, 2003 | 43 | 19 | 35 | $3=100$ |
| Late March, 2003 | 33 | 23 | 37 | $7=100$ |
| January, 2003 | 30 | 20 | 44 | $6=100$ |
| Early October, 2002 | 34 | 18 | 42 | $6=100$ |
| June, 2002 | 30 | 20 | 46 | $4=100$ |
| January, 2002 | 44 | 17 | 36 | $3=100$ |
| January, 2001* | 18 | 33 | 44 | $5=100$ |
| June, 2000 | 15 | 24 | 55 | $6=100$ |
| Early October, 1998 (RVs) | 16 | 22 | 57 | $5=100$ |
| Early September, 1998 | 18 | 17 | 61 | $4=100$ |
| May, 1990 | 18 | 31 | 45 | $6=100$ |
| February, 1989 | 25 | 22 | 49 | $4=100$ |
| September, 1988 (RVS) | 24 | 16 | 51 | $9=100$ |
| May, 1988 | 24 | 20 | 46 | $10=100$ |
| January, 1988 | 22 | 26 | 45 | $7=100$ |
| January, 1984* (RVs) | 35 | 13 | 49 | $3=100$ |
| * Newsweek |  |  |  |  |

PRC7 In your opinion, is President Bush doing as much as he can to improve economic conditions or do you think he could be doing more?

| Bush, Sr. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Early |  |  |  |  | Late |  |  | Early |  |
| Sept | July | May | March | Jan | Oct | June | Jan | March | Jan |  |  |
|  |  | $\underline{2003}$ | $\frac{2003}{26}$ | $\frac{2003}{43}$ | $\frac{2003}{41}$ | $\frac{2003}{33}$ | $\frac{2002}{31}$ | $\frac{2002}{33}$ | $\frac{2002}{48}$ | $\frac{1992}{21}$ | $\frac{1992}{21}$ |
| 30 | Doing as much as he can | 70 | 62 | 53 | 52 | 61 | 63 | 62 | 46 | 76 | 76 |
| 65 | Could be doing more | $\underline{4}$ | $\underline{5}$ | $\underline{5}$ | $\underline{7}$ | $\underline{6}$ | $\underline{6}$ | $\underline{5}$ | $\underline{6}$ | $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{3}$ |
| $\frac{5}{100}$ | Can't say | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

## Q. 2 - Q. 28 See Global Attitudes Questionnaire.

PRC39 Some people think of American society as divided into two groups, the "haves" and the "have-nots," while others think it's incorrect to think of America that way. Do you, yourself, think of America as divided into haves and have-nots, or don't you think of America that way?

|  | --- Gallup --- |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | June | Oct | Aug | CBS/NY Times |
| 38 | Yes, divided into "haves" and "have-nots" | $\underline{2001}$ | $\frac{1999}{44}$ | $\frac{1988}{26}$ | $\underline{\text { Aug 1984 }}$ |
| 59 | No | 53 | 59 | 71 | 31 |
| $\frac{3}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused | $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{2}$ | $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{3}$ |
|  |  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

PRC40 If you had to choose, which of these groups are you in, the haves or the have-nots?

|  |  | --- Gallup --- |  |  |
| ---: | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | June | Oct | Aug |
| 59 | Haves | $\underline{2001}$ | $\frac{1999}{62}$ | $\frac{1988}{59}$ |
| 27 | Have-nots | 32 | 24 | 17 |
| 7 | Neither (VOL) | 10 | 6 | 15 |
| $\frac{7}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused | $\underline{6}$ | $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{9}$ |
|  |  | 100 | 100 | 100 |

PRC41 On the whole, do you think the Bush Administration is doing more to help the haves or the have-nots, or do you think it is treating both groups about the same?

|  | Reagan <br> June | Gallup |  |
| ---: | :--- | ---: | :---: |
| 47 | Helping the haves | 43 | $\frac{2001}{\text { Aug 1988 }}$ |
| 4 | Helping the have-nots | 4 | 4 |
| 42 | About the same | 40 | 39 |
| 1 | Neither (VOL) | 2 | 2 |
| $\frac{6}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused | $\underline{11}$ | $\underline{6}$ |
|  |  | 100 | 100 |

PRC42 Thinking about the money you owe on credit cards and installment loans (excluding your mortgage), would you say you...

|  |  |  | U.S. News \& World Report |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | June 2001 | Jan 1992 |
| 9 | Owe a lot more than you can afford? | 13 | 7 |
| 13 | Owe a little more than you can afford? | 15 | 14 |
| 29 | Owe about what you can afford? | 31 | 32 |
| 23 | OR owe less than you can afford? | 18 | 19 |
| 20 | Do not have any debts (VOL) | 12 | 16 |
| 5 | No credit cards (VOL) | 10 | 11 |
| 1 | Don't know/Refused | 1 | 1 |
| 100 |  | $\overline{100}$ | 100 |

[^2]CLASS Which of the following labels best describes your household [READ ITEMS, IN ORDER]:

|  | June | June | Feb | June |  |
| ---: | :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
|  |  | $\underline{2003}$ | $\underline{2002}$ | $\underline{2002}$ | $\underline{2001}$ |
| 32 | Professional or business class | 43 | 47 | 46 | 47 |
| 47 | Working class | 14 | 14 | 14 | 15 |
| 15 | OR a struggling family or household? | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| 2 | More than one apply (VOL) | 7 | 3 | 4 | 4 |
| 2 | None apply (VOL) | $\underline{2}$ | $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{2}$ | $\underline{3}$ |
| $\frac{100}{100}$ | DK/Refused | 100 | 100 | 100 |  |

PRC43 Thinking now about job opportunities where you live, would you say there are plenty of jobs available in your community or are jobs difficult to find?

|  |  | Mid-Jan2004 | $\begin{gathered} \text { Oct } \\ \underline{2003} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { June } \\ & \underline{2002} \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { June } \\ & \underline{2001} \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | U.S. News \& World Report |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Aug |  |  |  | May | Jan |
|  |  | $\underline{1992}$ |  |  |  | $\underline{1992}$ | $\underline{1992}$ |
| 31 | Plenty of jobs available |  | 27 | 24 | 31 | 42 | 15 | 16 | 12 |
| 59 | Jobs are difficult to find |  | 60 | 66 | 59 | 44 | 76 | 77 | 79 |
| 5 | Lots of some jobs, few of others (VOL) | 6 | 5 | 4 | 8 | 6 | 4 | 6 |
| 6 | Don't know | 7 | 5 | $\underline{6}$ | $\underline{6}$ | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| 100 |  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |


[^0]:    Asked April 8, 2003 only; N=395.

[^1]:    From May 2003 to Early February 2004, 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 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 listed as "News about the presidential campaign in 1988."

[^2]:    4 Question was worded: "On the whole, do you think the Reagan Administration has done more to help the haves or the have-nots, or do you think it has treated both groups about the same?"

