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For The People & The Press

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Young Women Propel Clinton's Lead in '08 Test
A YEAR AHEAD, REPUBLICANS FACE TOUGH POLITICAL TERRAIN

Also inside...

- Abortion, gay marriage less important than in '04
- Clinton draws more positive support than Giuliani
- GOP evangelicals open to conservative 3rd party
- Many uneasy w/ Bill Clinton "back in White House"

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Clinton Propelled by Support from Young Women in '08 Test A YEAR AHEAD, REPUBLICANS FACE TOUGH POLITICAL TERRAIN

A year before the 2008 presidential election, most major national opinion trends decidedly favor the Democrats. Discontent with the state of the nation is markedly greater than it was four years ago. President Bush's approval rating has fallen from 50% to 30% over this period. And the Democrats' advantage over the Republicans on party affiliation is not only substantially greater than it was four years ago, but is the highest recorded during the past two decades.

The public continues to express more confidence in the Democratic Party than in the Republican Party as being able to bring about needed change, to govern in an honest and ethical way and to manage the federal government. The Democratic Party's advantages on these traits are much wider than during the last presidential campaign. Moreover, they remain about as large as they were just prior to the 2006 midterm election, in spite of rising public discontent with the Democrat-led Congress.

The voters' issues agenda also appears to benefit the Democrats. Along with Iraq, the economy, health care and education rate as the most important issues for voters. Compared with the 2004 campaign, fewer voters now place great importance on the issues that have animated Republican political unity in recent years – including gay marriage, abortion and terrorism.

What's Changed In Four Years		
	Oct <u>2003</u>	Oct <u>2007</u>
<i>State of nation</i>		
Satisfied	38	28
Dissatisfied	56	66
Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100
<i>Bush job</i>		
Approve	50	30
Disapprove	42	63
Don't know	<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>
	100	100
<i>Party ID*</i>		
Republican/lean R	<u>42</u>	<u>36</u>
Democrat/lean D	44	50
No leaning	<u>14</u>	<u>14</u>
	100	100

Party identification figures based on annual totals (2007 year-to-date).

Looking to the presidential election itself, the political climate appears to be affecting the morale of those in both parties. Democrats are more positive and more enthused than are Republicans. Since the beginning of the year, Democrats have closely followed campaign news at consistently higher rates than have Republicans, and somewhat greater proportions of Democrats say they have given a lot of thought to the presidential candidates.

Republicans not only are less engaged in the campaign, but they also rate their party's presidential candidates more negatively than do Democrats. Nearly half of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents (46%) rate the Republican presidential candidates as only fair

or poor; by comparison, just 28% of Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents give the Democratic presidential field comparably low ratings.

The latest national survey by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, conducted Oct. 17-23 among 2,007 adults, finds that Hillary Clinton remains the clear favorite for the Democratic nomination. Clinton leads Barack Obama, her closest rival, 45%-24% among Democratic and Democratic-leaning registered voters. Clinton holds a substantial advantage over Obama and other rivals among most key Democratic voter groups, including liberals and African Americans. College graduates are among the only Democratic groups that splits its support between Clinton and Obama.

The nomination race among Republicans is more fluid, reflecting sharp ideological divides within the party. Giuliani maintains a modest 31%-18% lead over John McCain, with Fred Thompson at 17%, among Republican and Republican-leaning registered voters. Giuliani's lead has remained fairly stable since March, while Thompson has faltered a bit recently and McCain has lost support over a longer period of time. Since September, Mike Huckabee's standing has increased from 4% to 8%, giving him virtually the same level of support as Mitt Romney (9%).

The GOP nomination race among Republican evangelicals, in particular, appears to be wide open: Giuliani, McCain and Thompson each draw about 20% of the vote among white Republican and Republican-leaning evangelical voters, with Huckabee and Romney getting about 10% each.

Signs of GOP Frustration		
<i>Your party does excellent/ good job advocating traditional positions</i>	Rep/ <u>Lean R</u> %	Dem/ <u>Lean D</u> %
October 2007	36	39
November 2006	42	43
April 2006	47	40
August 2003	57	38
<i>Your party's presidential candidates*</i>		
Excellent/Good	50	69
Only fair/Poor	46	27
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100
<i>Consider voting for conservative third-party* candidate?</i>		
	%	
Yes	44	--
No	51	--
Don't know	<u>5</u>	--
	100	
	Giuliani <u>voters</u>	Clinton <u>voters</u>
<i>Presidential vote is more...*</i>	%	%
FOR your candidate	46	76
AGAINST other candidate	50	20
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100

*Based on registered voters.

In addition, a solid majority of Republican white evangelicals (55%) say they would at least consider voting for a conservative third-party candidate if the general election is between Giuliani and Clinton. Overall, 44% of Republicans and Republican-leaning voters say they would consider backing a third-party candidate who holds more conservative positions than Giuliani on social issues like abortion and gay marriage.

Sen. Clinton holds a 51%-43% advantage over Giuliani in a general election ballot test among all registered voters. Clinton's lead over Giuliani reflects her strong backing from women (57%-37%). Giuliani runs slightly ahead of her among men (49%- 44%). Clinton's support is strongest among women voters younger than 50 (60%-36%), while Giuliani's support is greatest among men in the same age group (52%-45%). Younger women also are the voting group that most often says that, apart from their feelings about Clinton, it would be a good thing to elect a female president. Nearly half (47%) express this opinion, compared with just 34% of older women and 24% of men.

Clinton's supporters are much more positive about her candidacy than are Giuliani's. Roughly three-quarters of voters who favor Clinton (76%) say their choice is more a vote *for* the New York senator, compared with 20% who say their choice is mostly a vote *against* Giuliani. By contrast, Giuliani's support is divided fairly evenly between those who see their choice as a vote for Giuliani (46%) and those who say it is a vote against Clinton (50%).

Voters who favor Clinton more often cite her positions on issues as the reason they support her (35%), but many also mention her leadership ability (27%) and experience (24%). Giuliani's support is much more based on his leadership ability (46%), and much less on his positions on issues (15%).

<i>What supporters like most about...</i>	Clinton	Giuliani
	%	%
Stand on issues	35	15
Leadership	27	46
Experience	24	22
Personality	7	7
Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>10</u>
	100	100
<i>What opponents like least about...</i>		
Stand on issues	42	27
Leadership	9	10
Experience	10	9
Personality	21	21
Don't know	<u>18</u>	<u>33</u>
	100	100

Based on registered voters.

In fact, Giuliani's stances on issues are cited less as a reason to support him than has been the case for any presidential candidate since 1992. At the same time, more of his supporters cite his leadership ability as what they like most about him than have the supporters of any candidate in the same period, including George Bush during his reelection campaign in 2004 (46% Giuliani vs. 41% for Bush in September 2004).

As is typically the case, opponents of both Clinton and Giuliani more often cite their positions on issues, rather than leadership, personality or other factors, as the main reason why they are not supporting them. Roughly four-in-ten Giuliani supporters (42%) say Clinton's positions on issues are what they like least about her; 21% cite Clinton's personality. Clinton supporters are more divided over what they do not like about Giuliani, and a relatively large minority (33%) offered no response. A plurality of those who did give an answer cited Giuliani's positions on issues (27%), while 21% mentioned his personality.

The survey finds that in some respects, voters hold similar perceptions of the personal qualities of the New York senator and former New York City mayor. Overwhelming majorities describe Clinton as ambitious (93%), outspoken (84%) and tough (78%). Somewhat smaller, though substantial, majorities also associate these qualities with Giuliani. Smaller percentages see both candidates as compassionate and down-to-earth, and only about half view Clinton (49%) and Giuliani (48%) as trustworthy.

In a follow-up question, voters say that they like Clinton and Giuliani’s ambition, outspokenness and toughness. However, a slightly larger number say they *dislike* Clinton’s outspokenness than say they dislike this quality in Giuliani (26% vs. 18%). In addition, voters have a more positive view of such qualities as outspokenness and toughness in a hypothetical female leader than they do when those same qualities are associated with Clinton.

Overall, a large majority of the public (64%) says that if Hillary Clinton becomes president, Bill Clinton would have positive influence on the way she does her job. But far fewer people (45%) say they like the idea of the former president “being back in the White House.”

Men and women are about equally positive about Bill Clinton’s influence on Hillary Clinton, but fewer women than men say they like the idea of the former president returning to the White House (40% vs. 52%). Older women are less likely than younger women to say they like the idea of Bill Clinton returning to the White House. White evangelical Protestants also are quite negative about this prospect; fully 58% say they dislike the idea of Bill Clinton being back in the White House.

The public is divided about whether Hillary Clinton would govern the country differently from her husband. About half (48%) say Hillary Clinton’s governing style would be similar, while 45% say it would be different. Most Republicans believe that Hillary Clinton’s style of governing would be similar to Bill Clinton’s – and by two-to-one those who express this opinion see it as a bad thing. Democrats and independents are less certain about Sen. Clinton’s governing style; those who believe Hillary Clinton’s approach will be different from Bill Clinton’s generally see this as a good thing, as do those who believe her approach will be similar.

Clinton, Guiliani Viewed as Ambitious, Tough and Outspoken				
	Describes <u>Clinton</u> %	Is this something you...		
		<u>Like</u> %	<u>Dislike</u> %	<u>DK</u> %
Ambitious	93 ⇒	72	21	7=100
Outspoken	84 ⇒	68	26	6=100
Tough	78 ⇒	81	13	6=100
Compassionate	58			
Trustworthy	49			
Down-to-earth	47			

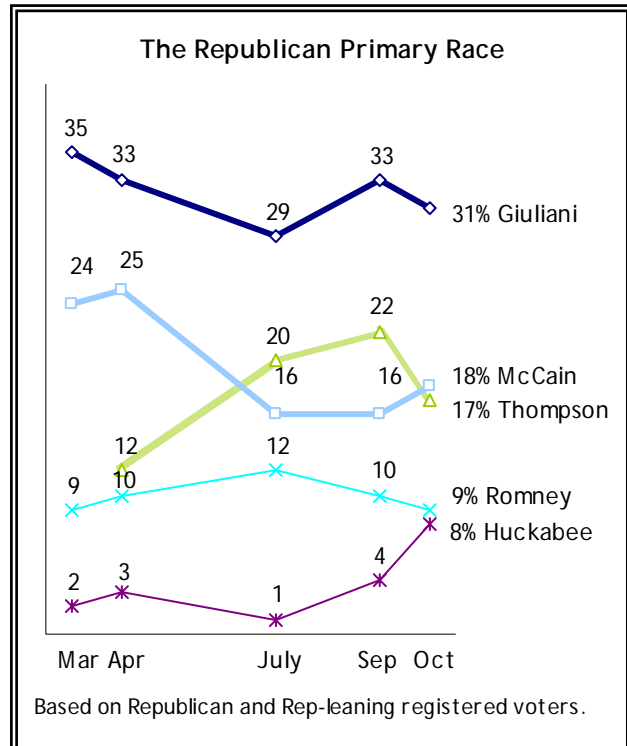
	Describes <u>Giuliani</u> %	Is this something you...		
		<u>Like</u> %	<u>Dislike</u> %	<u>DK</u> %
Ambitious	78 ⇒	73	18	9=100
Outspoken	66 ⇒	73	18	9=100
Tough	68 ⇒	85	9	6=100
Compassionate	58			
Down-to-earth	53			
Trustworthy	48			

Like/dislike follow up not asked for *compassionate, down-to-earth* or *trustworthy*.
Based on registered voters.

Section 1: The Nomination Races

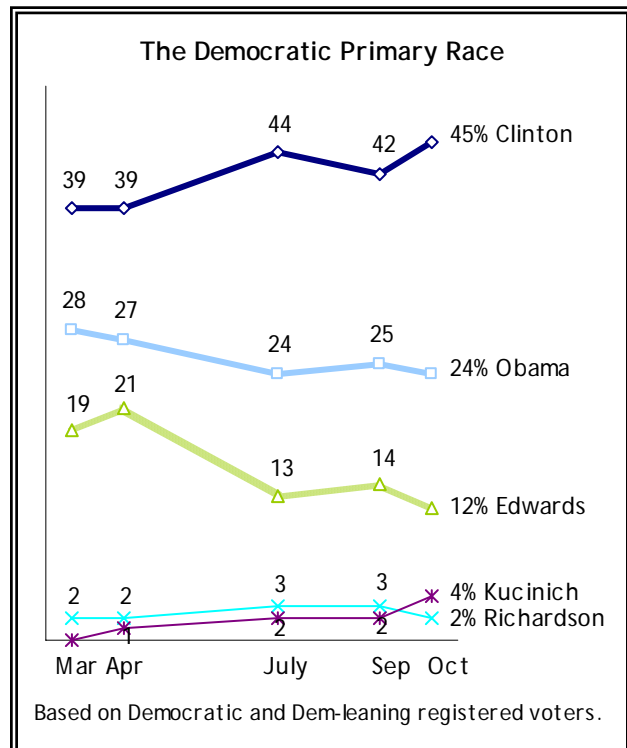
Rudy Giuliani continues to hold a substantial lead in the GOP primary race. Among Republican and Republican-leaning registered voters, 31% currently favor Giuliani, with John McCain (18%) and Fred Thompson (17%) in a virtual tie for second place. Thompson's support has dropped five points from a month ago, mostly as a result of decreasing enthusiasm among conservatives in the party.

Former Arkansas Gov. Mike Huckabee is the main beneficiary of Thompson's losses. Huckabee's support has risen from just 1% in July to 4% in September and 8% in October. Huckabee currently runs about even with Mitt Romney (9%) among Republican and Republican-leaning registered voters nationwide.



There has been less movement in the Democratic race in recent months. Hillary Clinton continues to build on her already substantial lead among Democratic and Democratic-leaning registered voters. She leads Barack Obama by nearly two-to-one (45% to 24%) in the latest survey, with John Edwards a distant third at 12%.

Clinton's growing advantage over the past six months has come largely among Democratic groups who were Barack Obama's strongest supporters earlier in the year – liberals, college graduates and young people. While Obama continues to run well among these voters, Clinton has opened a sizable lead in all three groups since March and April of this year.



The Democratic Primary

Hillary Clinton is the favored candidate for the Democratic nomination across nearly all segments of the party base. Clinton holds a 21-point lead over Obama (45% to 24%) among registered Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents, a margin virtually unchanged from September. When data from these two months (September and October) are combined to analyze subgroups within the party base, Clinton's lead is remarkably solid. She holds a double-digit lead among liberal, moderate and conservative Democrats, as well as among Democratic voters of all ages.

In Pew surveys conducted in March and April, Barack Obama ran even with Hillary Clinton among liberal Democrats (35% to 35%). Today, Clinton has opened a 13-point lead (41% to 28%). But Obama continues to run considerably better among liberal Democrats than he does among conservatives. Clinton holds a 31-point lead among conservative Democrats (51% to 20%), which is virtually unchanged from earlier in the year.

Similarly, in March and April Democrats under age 30 favored Obama over Clinton by a 42% to 34% margin. While younger Democratic voters continue to express more support for Obama than do older Democrats, Clinton has now reversed these figures among 18-29 year olds. She now leads Obama by 42% to 32% among younger voters, and has expanded her lead among Democrats over age 30 as well.

Breaking Down the Democratic Nomination Race

<i>Based on Dems and Dem-leaners</i>	Clin- <u>ton</u> %	Oba- <u>ma</u> %	Ed- <u>wards</u> %	<i>Clin-Ob</i> <u>lead</u> %
Oct total	45	24	12	+21
Sept total	42	25	14	+17
<i>Combined data from Sept & Oct*</i>				
Democrat	48	24	12	+24
Dem leaner	36	26	14	+10
Liberal	41	28	11	+13
Moderate	42	25	15	+17
Conservative	51	20	11	+31
White	42	22	16	+20
Black	49	37	4	+12
Men	42	24	15	+18
Women	47	25	11	+22
18-29	42	32	6	+10
30-49	45	27	15	+18
50-64	45	21	15	+24
65+	45	18	12	+27
Men 18-49	40	31	13	+9
Women 18-49	47	27	12	+20
Men 50+	44	17	17	+27
Women 50+	46	22	11	+24
College grad	36	31	15	+5
Some college	43	27	11	+16
HS or less	51	19	12	+32
\$100,000+	43	27	15	+16
\$75-\$99,000	38	29	14	+9
\$50-\$74,999	45	25	16	+20
\$30-\$49,999	43	27	12	+16
Under \$30,000	51	22	9	+29
Northeast	55	17	10	+38
Midwest	40	31	14	+9
South	47	22	13	+25
West	36	28	13	+8
White evangel Prot	48	21	17	+27
White mainline Prot	41	25	16	+16
White Catholic	45	17	20	+28
Black Protestant	48	37	4	+11
Secular/Unaffiliated	37	27	10	+10

* Subgroup analysis based on 1405 Democratic and Democratic-leaning registered voters interviewed in September and October 2007.

Barack Obama continues to run competitively with Clinton among college graduates, though also he has lost some ground here. In the latest polls, he trails Clinton by only five points (36% to 31%) among college-educated Democratic voters, a very close margin when compared

with the overwhelming 51% to 19% lead Clinton holds among Democrats who never attended college. But in March and April, Obama led Clinton among college graduates by a seven-point margin (36% to 29%).

While gender may prove to be a major factor in the general election if Clinton becomes the Democratic nominee, it has played little role in the primary so far. Men and women express virtually identical preferences in the Democratic primary, with women only somewhat more likely to name Clinton as their preferred candidate.

	----- March-April -----				----- Sept-Oct -----			
	Clin- ton %	Oba- ma %	Ed- wards %	<i>Clin-Ob</i> <i>lead</i>	Clin- ton %	Oba- ma %	Ed- wards %	<i>Clin-Ob</i> <i>lead</i>
Liberal	35	35	18	0	41	28	11	+13
Moderate	37	28	21	+9	42	25	15	+17
Conservative	49	17	19	+32	51	20	11	+31
18-29	34	42	17	-8	42	32	6	+10
30-49	42	30	18	+12	45	27	15	+18
50-64	36	25	21	+11	45	21	15	+24
65+	42	15	23	+27	45	18	12	+27

* Subgroup analysis based on 1,188 Democratic and Democratic-leaning registered voters interviewed in March and April, 2007 and 1405 Democratic and Democratic-leaning registered voters interviewed in September and October, 2007.

Clinton's strongest region of the country remains the Northeast, where she leads Obama by 38 points (55%-17%). She also holds a greater than two-to-one advantage among Democratic voters in the South, (47%-22%); however, Clinton leads Obama by only nine points in the Midwest and by eight points in the West.

African American views of the Democratic field are virtually unchanged from earlier in the year. In the most recent surveys, 49% of blacks support Clinton, and 37% Obama, with no other candidate garnering a significant level of support (Edwards is third at 4%). In the March and April surveys, African American Democrats favored Clinton by an almost identical 48% to 37% margin.

Though Clinton has not advocated an immediate withdrawal from Iraq as part of her campaign platform, she runs at least as well among Democrats who want an Iraq pullout as among those who do not. In fact, 50% of Democrats calling for an immediate troop withdrawal back Clinton, compared with 44% of those who want a more gradual withdrawal and 40% of those who say the U.S. should stay in Iraq until the

	Keep troops In Iraq	Bring troops home Grad- ually	Imme- diately
	%	%	%
Clinton	40	44	50
Obama	25	27	23
Edwards	14	15	8
Kucinich	0	2	6
Richardson	5	2	1
Biden	3	1	1
Dodd	*	1	1
Other/None	5	2	2
DK/Refused	8	6	8
	100	100	100
Number of cases	335	661	320

Based on Democratic and Democratic-leaning registered voters interviewed in Sept and Oct.

situation is stable. While John Edwards has made an effort to position himself as a stronger opponent of the war than Clinton, he gets less support from Democrats who want an immediate pullout than from those with more moderate views. Not surprisingly, Dennis Kucinich garners his highest figures among Democrats who favor immediate troop withdrawal. Even so, just 6% of these Democrats favor him for the nomination.

The Republican Race

While Giuliani leads among nearly all major segments of the GOP base, his standing among conservative Republicans remains the most tenuous. Where Giuliani holds a 17-point lead over his closest competitor among moderate and liberal Republicans (36% to 19% for McCain), he holds just a nine-point edge (27% to 18% for Thompson) among conservatives. And the matchup is even tighter among white evangelical Protestants, 23% of whom back Giuliani, 21% Thompson, and 19% McCain.

But no clear alternative has arisen to take advantage of the lack of enthusiasm for Giuliani among conservatives. A month ago, Fred Thompson appeared to be this candidate – garnering the support of 22% of Republicans overall and 25% of conservatives, but he has dropped five points overall and seven points among conservatives in the past month.

The Republican Nomination Race					
	<u>Giuliani</u>	<u>McCain</u>	<u>Thompson</u>	<u>Romney</u>	<u>Huckabee</u>
	%	%	%	%	%
October Total*	31	18	17	9	8
Male	31	17	21	9	9
Female	31	18	13	10	6
18-49	33	19	18	7	6
50+	28	16	17	12	11
Conservative	27	16	18	11	11
Moderate/Liberal	36	19	16	8	3
White evangel Prot	23	19	21	10	11
White mainline Prot	33	14	19	8	10
White Catholic	35	21	14	10	6
<i>GOP Primary field</i>					
Excellent/Good	36	16	18	10	7
Fair/Poor	27	18	19	9	9
<i>Bush job</i>					
Approve	30	16	19	9	10
Disapprove	32	21	15	10	4
<i>War is going...</i>					
Very well	38	13	18	8	10
Fairly well	29	18	19	10	9
Not well	31	20	14	10	5
<i>Tax cuts should be...</i>					
Permanent	31	12	22	10	11
Repealed for wealthy	36	18	15	11	6
Repealed for all	31	31	12	8	4
<i>Abortion should be...</i>					
Legal in all/most cases	37	19	19	8	4
Illegal in all/most cases	24	17	17	10	12

* Based on Republican and Republican-leaning registered voters.

Mike Huckabee's rise in the polls is due almost entirely to his growing support among conservatives in the party. While he remains far out of the lead, his backing among conservatives has increased from 7% to 11% since September, and he now enjoys as much conservative support as Romney (11%). Yet Huckabee's appeal to moderate and liberal Republicans stands at just 3% nationwide.

	Conservative			Mod/Lib		
	Sept	Oct	change	Sept	Oct	change
	%	%		%	%	
Giuliani	30	27	-3	44	36	-8
Thompson	25	18	-7	14	16	+2
McCain	15	16	+1	15	20	+5
Romney	12	11	-1	6	8	+2
Huckabee	7	11	+4	2	3	+1

Based on Republican and Republican-leaning registered voters.

The issue of abortion may be a factor in Giuliani's candidacy, but again no candidate has consolidated the support of pro-life Republicans. Perhaps more important, there is hardly a consensus about abortion within the party. While a 51% majority of Republican and Republican-leaning voters believe abortion should be illegal in all or most cases, 43% say it should be legal in all or most cases. Among the former, Giuliani receives the support of just 24%, compared with 37% among the latter.

Conservative Revolt?

Conservative Republicans are not notably enthusiastic about the slate of Republican presidential candidates, but they have more positive impressions of the field than do GOP moderates and liberals. Among Republican and Republican-leaning voters, a solid majority of conservatives (55%) rate the Republican candidates as excellent or good. That compares with a 44% positive rating among the smaller number of GOP moderates and liberals.

	<i>Opinion of GOP field</i>			<i>Consider conserv. third-party?</i>		
	Excel/Only fair/			Yes	No	DK
	Good	Poor	DK			
	%	%	%	%	%	%
All Rep/Rep leaners	50	46	4=100	44	51	5=100
Conservative	55	42	3=100	50	45	5=100
Moderate/liberal	44	51	5=100	34	62	4=100
<i>Among whites</i>						
Evangelical Prot	50	45	5=100	55	42	3=100
Mainline Prot	51	46	3=100	36	57	7=100

Based on Republican and Republican-leaning registered voters.

However, when presented with a scenario in which the general election candidates are Giuliani and Clinton, along with "a third party candidate who holds more conservative positions on social issues like abortion and gay rights," half of conservative Republicans say they would consider voting for such a candidate. Just 34% of GOP moderates and liberals say they would consider voting for a third-party candidate who takes conservative positions on social issues.

White Republican evangelical Protestants express the greatest willingness to consider voting for a conservative third-party candidate. More than half of white Republican evangelicals (55%) say they would consider this, compared with 36% of white Republican mainline Protestants and the same proportion of white Republican Catholics.

Section 2: The General Election

While the Democratic Party maintains a substantial advantage over the GOP in party identification, Clinton holds a more modest 51%-43% lead over Giuliani among registered voters in an early general election test. Clinton runs particularly well among those demographic groups that typically vote Democratic by wide margins – minorities, the poor and less educated people. And she holds substantial leads over Giuliani among women voters (20 points) and those under age 30 (19 points).

By contrast, Giuliani leads by only a narrow margin among men (49%-44%). And while he runs slightly better among older voters than among the very young, he does not lead Clinton in any age group. Giuliani holds a two-to-one advantage over Clinton among white evangelical Protestants (63%-31%). But a comparison with 2004 exit polls shows that Giuliani trails George Bush's support among white evangelicals. *(For a detailed comparison between the 2004 national exit poll and the Clinton-Giuliani matchup, see p. 23.)*

Giuliani leads Clinton by nine points among white non-Hispanic Catholics (51%-42%). And though independents solidly supported Democratic candidates in last year's midterm elections, Giuliani narrowly trails Clinton among independent voters (by 47%-44%). Giuliani also attracts approximately the same level of support among Republican voters (84%) that Clinton gets among Democratic voters (82%).

If the 2008 Election Was Held Today, Who Would You Vote For?			
	Clin- ton %	Giuliani %	C-G gap
Total	51	43	+8
Men	44	49	-5
Women	57	37	+20
White	44	50	-6
Black	85	8	+77
Hispanic	57	38	+19
18-29	59	40	+19
30-49	51	45	+6
50-64	50	41	+9
65+	47	44	+3
College grad+	49	46	+3
Some college	50	45	+5
High school or less	53	39	+14
Income			
\$100k+	46	48	-2
\$75-\$99,999	50	48	+2
\$50-\$74,999	44	50	-6
\$30-\$49,999	48	46	+2
\$20-\$29,999	57	37	+20
<\$20,000	72	23	+49
East	52	43	+9
Midwest	52	43	+9
South	52	41	+11
West	48	45	+3
Urban	55	39	+16
Suburban	51	43	+8
Rural	44	47	-3
Republican	13	84	-71
Democrat	82	12	+70
Independent	47	44	+3
Total Protestant	46	48	-2
White Evangelical	31	63	-32
White Mainline	44	50	-6
Black Protestant	86	7	+79
Total Catholic	50	44	+6
White Non-Hispanic	42	51	-9
Secular/Unaffiliated	69	27	+42
Church Attendance			
Weekly or more	45	48	-3
Monthly or yearly	55	41	+14
Seldom or never	56	38	+18
Use of Force in Iraq was...			
Right decision	25	70	-45
Wrong decision	71	23	+48
Based on registered voters.			

The Gender Gap

Gender has long played a role in presidential elections, and the gender gap is again looming large in a possible Clinton-Giuliani matchup. Currently, Hillary Clinton runs 13 points better among female voters (57%) than among male voters (44%). According to exit polls, the gender gap in the 2004 Bush-Kerry race was seven points. The current gap is about the same as it was in 2000, when Al Gore was supported by 54% of women but just 42% of men.

In large part, the gender gap reflects the fact that women are substantially more Democratic than men in general. In the current poll, 42% of women identify themselves as Democrats, compared with 31% of men.

Among Democrats, men and women are almost equally loyal to Clinton in a matchup with Giuliani, but the gender gap is more noticeable among independents. Clinton holds a 12-point lead among independent women (52% to 40%) but trails Giuliani by five points among independent men (43% to 48%). And while only 9% of Republican men would cross party lines to vote for Clinton, nearly twice as many Republican women (17%) say that if the election were today, they would favor Clinton over Giuliani.

The difference between men and women is particularly striking among younger voters. Women ages 18-29 favor Clinton over Giuliani by roughly two-to-one (66% vs. 32%), while younger men divide almost evenly (48% for Clinton, 51% Giuliani). Clinton's advantage, while significant, is much narrower among women age 30 and over.

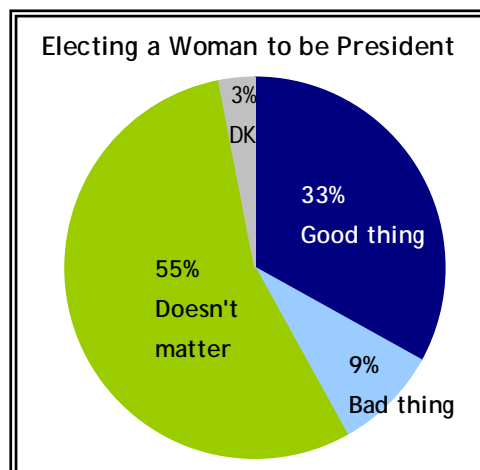
	Men		Women		<i>Gender gap*</i>
	<u>Clinton</u> %	<u>Giuliani</u> %	<u>Clinton</u> %	<u>Giuliani</u> %	
2007	44	49	57	37	+13
	<u>Dem</u> %	<u>Rep</u> %	<u>Dem</u> %	<u>Rep</u> %	
2004	44	55	51	48	+7
2000	42	53	54	43	+12
1996	43	44	54	38	+11

Current figure based on registered voters.
1996-2004 data from exit polls.
* Difference between women and men in support for Democratic candidate.

	Men		Women		<i>Gender gap</i>
	<u>Clinton</u> %	<u>Giuliani</u> %	<u>Clinton</u> %	<u>Giuliani</u> %	
All RVs	44	49	57	37	+13
Democrats	80	15	84	11	+4
Independents	43	48	52	40	+9
Republicans	9	88	17	80	+8
18-29	48	51	66	32	+18
30-49	43	53	58	38	+15
50-64	44	45	55	38	+11
65+	44	46	50	41	+6

Electing a Woman President

One factor that may be helping Clinton is the view held by some Americans that it would be a good thing to elect a woman to be president. While a solid majority of Americans (55%) say they do not think the gender of the president matters, 33% say it would be a good thing to elect a woman as president, while just 9% believe it would be a bad thing.



Nationally, 42% of women say it would be good to elect a woman as president, compared with 24% of men, and the gap is again largest among younger generations. About twice as many women ages 18-29 as men in the same group say it would be good to have a woman president (50% vs. 24%). By comparison, there is virtually no gender gap among Americans age 65 and over (31% of women and 26% of men say “good thing”).

Views about a woman president in general are highly correlated with party. Democrats are twice as likely as Republicans (42% vs. 21%) to say electing a woman would be a good thing. Among Republicans, men and women are largely of the same view, but Democratic women are substantially more likely than Democratic men (51% vs. 30%) to say it would be good to elect a woman president.

	Total %	Men %	Women %	Gap %
Total	33	24	42	+18
18-29	38	24	50	+26
30-49	34	24	45	+21
50-64	30	23	37	+14
65+	29	26	31	+5
Democrat	42	30	51	+21
Independent	32	24	43	+19
Republican	21	18	25	+7
<i>Vote for...</i>				
Clinton	45	34	52	+18
Giuliani	22	15	29	+14

Voters who say it would be a good thing to elect a woman as president favor Clinton by a 70% to 28% margin, while the small minority who says it would be a bad thing back Giuliani by a 73% to 12% margin. The 55% majority who says the gender of the president doesn’t matter is evenly divided: 47% back Clinton and 47% back Giuliani.

Candidates' Personal Traits

There is little evidence that personal characteristics widely attributed to Hillary Clinton pose a substantial problem for her. Many Americans have a negative view of Clinton; most voters who choose Giuliani in a general election matchup describe their choice as more anti-Clinton than pro-Giuliani. But by two-to-one, those who say their vote is a vote against Clinton cite her positions on the issues, not her personality, as the problem (42% vs. 21%).

In fact, some of the traits most often associated with Hillary Clinton – that she is “ambitious,” “tough” and “outspoken” – are widely seen as positive traits, not negative traits. Fully 93% of voters say they think Clinton is ambitious, and 72% of these voters say her ambition is something they like about her. Similarly, 78% say Clinton is tough, and 81% view her toughness positively. The one trait that has a slightly more negative connotation for Clinton is being outspoken. Fully 84% say this applies to Clinton, and while 68% say they like this about her, 26% say they dislike this trait.

Ambition, toughness and outspokenness are less universally associated with Rudy Giuliani. About eight-in-ten (78%) view Giuliani as “ambitious” (compared with 92% for Clinton), 66% think of Giuliani as “outspoken” (Clinton, 84%), and 68% say he is “tough” (Clinton, 78%). These gaps, to a large extent, reflect the fact that many voters remain less familiar with the former New York City Mayor than they are with Sen. Clinton.

These traits carry, at most, only a slightly more positive connotation for Giuliani than they do for Clinton. While 85% who say Giuliani is tough say they like this about him, 81% who say this about Clinton also view it favorably. And while 73% of those who think Giuliani is ambitious say this is something they like about him, 72% say the same about Clinton. The one more substantial gap comes with respect to being outspoken. Just over a quarter (26%) of those who say Clinton is outspoken say it is something they dislike about her. Among those who say this applies to Giuliani, 18% say it is something they dislike.

Ambition, Outspokenness and Toughness Mostly Liked				
Describes	Clinton	Is this something you...		
		Like	Dislike	DK
	%	%	%	%
Ambitious	93 ⇒	72	21	7=100
Outspoken	84 ⇒	68	26	6=100
Tough	78 ⇒	81	13	6=100
Compassionate	58			
Down-to-earth	47			
Trustworthy	49			
Describes Giuliani				
	Giuliani	Like	Dislike	DK
	%	%	%	%
Ambitious	78 ⇒	73	18	9=100
Outspoken	66 ⇒	73	18	9=100
Tough	68 ⇒	85	9	6=100
Compassionate	58			
Down-to-earth	53			
Trustworthy	48			

Like/dislike follow-up asked of those who said the trait described each candidate. Follow-up not asked for *compassionate*, *down-to-earth* or *trustworthy*.
Based on registered voters.

The bigger concern, for both Clinton and Giuliani, is that fewer than half of voters say they think the word “trustworthy” describes Clinton (49%) or Giuliani (48%). Among independents, just 46% say they see Giuliani as trustworthy (though 25% do not know enough to say), and only 43% of independents see Clinton as trustworthy.

Is it Female Politicians, or Hillary Clinton?

The positive associations voters express about ambition, toughness and outspokenness are not limited to Clinton and Giuliani in particular. In a separate survey, voters were asked for their views on these same traits as they apply to male and female political leaders in general. Again, all three are seen in overwhelmingly positive terms, regardless of the gender of the politician. In fact, ambition, toughness and outspokenness carry slightly *better* connotations when associated with female political leaders than with male political leaders.

But there is a Clinton factor – the terms “ambitious” and “outspoken” carry a slightly more negative connotation when people are thinking about Clinton than when they are thinking about female politicians in general. Overall, 21% of those who see Clinton as ambitious dislike this about her, compared with 16% who dislike this in female political leaders more generally. And 26% of those who see Clinton as outspoken dislike this about her, compared with 16% who dislike this in general. There is no such gap when it comes to Giuliani.

About the same percentage of voters dislikes toughness in female political leaders as say that about Hillary Clinton (14% vs. 13%). Somewhat more voters say they dislike toughness in male political leaders than say they dislike that trait when it is associated with Giuliani (19% vs. 9%).

Most Like Same Traits in Men, Women Leaders			
Female leaders who are...	<u>Like</u>	<u>Dislike</u>	<u>DK</u>
	%	%	%
Ambitious	75	16	9=100
Tough	73	14	13=100
Outspoken	71	16	13=100
Male leaders who are...			
Ambitious	70	19	11=100
Tough	68	19	13=100
Outspoken	68	21	11=100

Based on a separate survey of 1,646 registered voters, half of whom were asked about female political leaders and the other half about male political leaders.

The ‘Clinton Factor’			
<i>Dislike this in...</i>			
	<u>Female</u>	<u>Hillary</u>	
	<u>leaders</u>	<u>Clinton*</u>	<u>Diff</u>
	%	%	
Ambitious	16	21	+5
Tough	14	13	-1
Outspoken	16	26	+10
<i>Dislike this in...</i>			
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Rudy</u>	
	<u>leaders</u>	<u>Giuliani*</u>	<u>Diff</u>
	%	%	
Ambitious	19	18	-1
Tough	19	9	-10
Outspoken	21	18	-3

* Based on registered voters who say the trait applies to each candidate.

A 'Clinton Factor' Among Republicans

The gap between views of Clinton and female leaders more generally is particularly wide among Republicans. Half of Republicans who describe Clinton as outspoken say they dislike this trait in her; just 28% rate this trait negatively in female politicians in general. And 38% of Republicans dislike Clinton's ambition, while 23% dislike this in female politicians in general. However, a majority of Republicans who rate Clinton as ambitious say that they like this trait in her.

Overall, 26% of men find Clinton's ambition unappealing, and 30% of those who see her as outspoken dislike this trait. This is somewhat more negative than how women perceive these traits. In addition, fewer men rate the same traits negatively when applied to female political leaders in general.

Democrats, both men and women, find these traits to be almost universally appealing, whether they apply to Clinton in particular or female political leaders in general. Just 7% of Democrats dislike ambitious or outspoken female political leaders, and the same number dislike these traits in Hillary Clinton. Independents, as is often the case, fall in between. Independent voters are more likely to rate both ambition and outspokenness as negatives when they are thinking about Clinton than when they are thinking about female politicians in general.

	Dislike Ambition in...			Dislike Outspokenness in...		
	Female leaders			Female leaders		
	%	HRC	Diff	%	HRC	Diff
Total	16	21	+5	16	26	+10
Men	19	26	+7	18	30	+12
Women	12	18	+6	14	23	+9
Republicans	23	38	+15	28	50	+22
Men	27	39	+12	30	57	+27
Women	19	38	+19	26	45	+19
Democrats	7	7	0	7	7	0
Men	9	12	+3	10	10	0
Women	6	5	-1	6	4	-2
Independents	14	23	+9	14	24	+10
Men	16	27	+11	15	23	+8
Women	10	19	+9	12	26	+14

Based on registered voters.

Both Reps & Dems Focus on Clinton

At this early stage of the campaign, Hillary Clinton receives more affirmative support than any Democratic candidate in the past two decades. Fully 76% of those who say they would support her in a matchup with Rudy Giuliani say they see their vote more as a vote *for* Clinton than as a vote *against* Giuliani. Just as significantly, Clinton is the driving force behind much of Giuliani's support as well. Half of the voters who would support him say it would be a vote *against* Clinton, while 46% say their choice is a vote *for* Giuliani.

In this regard, the current landscape is a mirror image of voter reactions to the 2004 election, when George W. Bush was the defining factor for both Kerry supporters (50% described their vote as mostly a vote *against* Bush) and Bush supporters (76% mostly voting *for* Bush).

Reactions to a possible Clinton-Giuliani race are similar to how voters viewed the 1996 election between Bill Clinton and Bob Dole. Bill Clinton's supporters were enthusiastic about his reelection (66% voting *for* Clinton), while Dole supporters were divided (47% voting *for* Dole, 48% *against* Clinton).

And the 1992 election began the same way. In March 1992, two-thirds of the voters who said they would back Bill Clinton in the general election said it would be a vote *against* incumbent George Bush, not *for* Clinton. The 1992 election, however, shows that balance of affirmative support can change through the course of the campaign. By the end of October, 57% of Clinton supporters were saying they were voting *for* Clinton, not *against* Bush.

Among Giuliani supporters, the anti-Clinton vote is most prevalent among white evangelical Protestants and older women; six-in-ten of the women older than 50 who back Giuliani say their vote is mostly a vote against

	More a vote...		
	For	Against	
<i>Among those who back the Democrat</i>	<u>Dem</u> %	<u>Rep</u> %	<u>DK</u> %
Oct 2007 (Clinton)	76	20	4=100
Nov 2004 (Kerry)	43	50	7=100
Nov 2000 (Gore)	63	32	5=100
Nov 1996 (Clinton)	66	29	5=100
Oct 1992 (Clinton)	57	40	3=100
Oct 1988 (Dukakis)	54	37	9=100
	For	Against	
<i>Among those who back the Republican</i>	<u>Rep</u> %	<u>Dem</u> %	<u>DK</u> %
Oct 2007 (Giuliani)	46	50	4=100
Nov 2004 (Bush)	76	20	4=100
Nov 2000 (Bush)	64	30	6=100
Nov 1996 (Dole)	47	48	5=100
Oct 1992 (Bush)	57	38	5=100
Oct 1988 (Bush)	61	32	7=100

"Would you say that your choice is more a vote FOR [name] or more a vote AGAINST [name]?"
Based on registered voters.

	More a vote...		
	For Giuliani	Against Clinton	DK
<i>Among Giuliani supporters</i>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Total	46	50	4=100
Men	52	45	3=100
18-49	53	43	4=100
50+	49	49	2=100
Women	39	56	5=100
18-49	44	52	4=100
50+	34	60	6=100
Conservative	43	54	3=100
Moderate/Lib	49	46	5=100
<i>Among whites</i>			
Evangelical Prot	37	60	3=100
Mainline Prot	42	53	5=100
Catholic	54	40	6=100
<i>Primary vote</i>			
Giuliani	67	27	6=100
Other Repub	32	66	2=100

Based on registered voters.

Clinton, well above the number of younger women or men who describe their vote this way. Similarly, 60% of white evangelical Protestants who back Giuliani say they do so mostly because they dislike Clinton more than because they like Giuliani. When white Catholics back Giuliani, on the other hand, they mostly describe their position as pro-Giuliani, not anti-Clinton.

Not surprisingly, virtually all of the Republicans who back Giuliani in the primary horserace continue to support him if he faces Hillary Clinton in the general election, and two-thirds describe their support as a vote *for* Giuliani, not *against* Clinton. But Republicans who back other GOP candidates for the nomination feel differently about the general election. While 82% of these Republicans say they would support Giuliani if he were the Republican nominee, two-thirds say it would mostly be a vote *against* Clinton, not *for* Giuliani.

Leadership & Experience Trump Issues So Far

In a hypothetical matchup between Hillary Clinton and Rudy Giuliani, voters are far more focused on personal qualifications and experience than on issue positions. More than two-thirds of Giuliani backers say that what they like most about him is his leadership (46%) or experience (22%). Just 15% say Giuliani’s stand on issues is what draws their support. Issues are raised far more often by Clinton supporters (35% say this is what they like most about her), yet even here roughly half cite either her leadership (27%) or experience (24%) as her best traits.

In September 2004, 52% of Kerry backers said his position on issues was the biggest draw, as did 42% of Bush supporters. And in October 2000, the comparable figures were 48% among Gore supporters and 59% among Bush supporters. There was more of a disparity in 1996 and 1992. In both years, Clinton supporters emphasized his issue positions, while Dole supporters in 1996, and especially Bush supporters in 1992, emphasized leadership and experience.

What Do You Like <u>Most</u> About...?*					
	Issue positions	Leadership	Experience	Personality	DK
	%	%	%	%	%
2007					
Clinton	35	27	24	7	7=100
Giuliani	15	46	22	7	10=100
2004					
Kerry	52	16	13	8	11=100
Bush	42	41	4	8	5=100
2000					
Gore	48	16	27	4	5=100
Bush	59	21	5	10	5=100
1996					
Clinton	49	24	6	14	7=100
Dole	35	25	33	3	4=100
1992					
Clinton	68	13	4	11	4=100
Bush	19	26	35	15	5=100

* Based on registered voters who support each candidate. Data from previous years from September or October just prior to the election.

The emphasis on leadership and experience in Giuliani’s case reflects the strong association people have with his role as mayor of New York City. When asked to describe in their own words what they like most, nearly half of those who cite Giuliani’s leadership or experience make specific reference to his handling of the 9/11 crisis. A number of others referred

to the job he did “cleaning up” New York City when he was mayor. Others mention his decisiveness, commitment, and ability to “get things done.”

About half of Clinton’s supporters in the general election also cite leadership or experience as what they like best (51%), and most references are to her time spent as First Lady and the overall length of time she has been involved in major political issues. Among the 35% of Clinton backers who like her best for her stand on issues, health care and Iraq are the most frequently mentioned topics people have in mind.

Dislike of Hillary Focuses on Issues

Among voters who favor Giuliani over Clinton in a general election matchup, a 42% plurality cites Clinton’s stand on issues as what they like least about her. That is double the percentage that cites her personality (21%); even fewer people cite her experience (10%) or leadership (9%) as what they like least. The emphasis on Clinton’s issue positions is most notable among conservative Republicans who support Giuliani; 52% of these voters cite Clinton’s stances on the issues as what they like least about her.

	Issue positions	Leader- ship	Exper- ience	Person- ality	DK
	%	%	%	%	%
2007					
Clinton	42	9	10	21	18=100
Giuliani	27	10	9	21	33=100
2004					
Kerry	53	12	8	16	11=100
Bush	46	28	4	13	9=100
2000					
Gore	43	15	6	27	9=100
Bush	37	14	15	21	13=100

* Based on registered voters who support the other candidate. Data from previous years from September or October just prior to the election.

Fully a third of the voters who favor Clinton offer no answer to what they like least about Giuliani. Roughly a quarter of Clinton supporters cite his positions on issues (27%), followed by his personality (21%), his leadership (10%) and experience (9%).

When asked to define what they like least about Clinton’s stand on issues, some Giuliani backers refer to specific policies such as her health care plan, abortion or Iraq. More common, though are general criticisms of her politics – such as that she is too liberal or flip-flops on the issues.

Bill Clinton’s Possible Return

The public has a mixed reaction to the prospect of Bill Clinton’s return to the White House, should Hillary Clinton win the 2008 election. Nonetheless, most Americans believe that Bill Clinton would have a positive influence on the way Hillary Clinton would do her job if she becomes president.

Fewer than half of Americans (45%) say they “like the idea of Bill Clinton being back in the White House;” a third says they dislike that prospect. Republicans are overwhelmingly negative

about the prospect of Bill Clinton’s possible return, while Democrats are overwhelmingly positive. Notably, men are much more favorable about Clinton’s possible return to the White House than are women: by 52%-29% men like this idea, while women are divided (40% like/36% dislike).

	<i>Bill Clinton “back in White House?”</i>		<i>Bill Clinton’s influence on Hillary</i>	
	<u>Like</u> %	<u>Dislike</u> %	<u>Pos</u> %	<u>Neg</u> %
Total	45	33	64	19
Men	52	29	67	18
Women	40	36	62	19
Republican	16	66	47	35
Democrat	70	10	79	8
Independent	44	34	64	17
<i>Among Protestants</i>				
White evangelical	26	58	53	24
White mainline	43	31	62	18
White Catholic	43	36	58	22
Secular/Unaffil	59	22	68	18

There is greater agreement that the former president would have a positive influence on his wife, if she wins the presidency. Despite the reservations that women express about Bill Clinton “being back in the White House,” nearly as many women as men say Bill Clinton’s influence on a President Hillary Clinton would be positive (62% of women vs. 67% of men).

The differences are even more striking among groups that express sharply negative opinions about Bill Clinton again living in the White House – Republicans and white evangelical Protestants. About three times as many Republicans say Bill Clinton’s influence on Hillary Clinton would be positive, should she become president, as feel favorably about his possible return to the White House (47% vs. 16%). And while only about a quarter of white evangelical Protestants (26%) say they would welcome Bill Clinton’s return to the White House, 53% believe he would have a positive influence on Hillary Clinton if she becomes president.

Who’s More Liberal?

Sizable minorities of Republicans and white evangelical Protestants say that Hillary Clinton is more liberal than Bill Clinton, which may help explain why large numbers in these groups view him as a potentially positive influence on a Hillary Clinton administration. Overall, most Americans (54%) believe that Hillary and Bill Clinton are about the same ideologically,

while 23% say that Hillary Clinton is more liberal than her husband and 16% say she is more conservative.

More than three times as many Republicans say Hillary Clinton is more liberal than her husband than say she is more conservative (35% vs. 10%), while 48% of Republicans see both Clintons as similar ideologically. Similarly, about a third of white evangelical Protestants say Hillary Clinton is more liberal (32%) compared with just 12% who believe she is more conservative.

	<i>Hillary is more...</i>		<i>Both</i>	<i>DK</i>
	<u>Lib- eral</u>	<u>Con- servative</u>	<u>about the same</u>	
	%	%	%	%
Total	23	16	54	7=100
Republican	35	10	48	7=100
Democrat	14	19	63	4=100
Independent	24	20	48	8=100

By contrast, far more Democrats than Republicans see Hillary and Bill Clinton as ideologically similar (63% vs. 48%); among the remainder, slightly more Democrats see Hillary Clinton as more conservative than see her as more liberal (19% vs. 14%). Among independents, 24% say Hillary Clinton is more liberal than Bill Clinton, 20% more conservative, and 48% say the two Clintons are similar.

Republicans are more likely than Democrats to say that the Clintons differ ideologically, but most Republicans say that Bill and Hillary Clinton’s styles of governance would be similar. A solid majority of Republicans (57%) say the way Hillary Clinton would govern the country would be generally similar to the way Bill Clinton governed; 39% of Republicans say Hillary Clinton would govern differently.

The general public is divided over this question, as are Democrats and independents. Overall, a slight plurality of Americans (48%) say Hillary Clinton’s governing style would be similar to her husband’s. Narrow pluralities of Democrats (49%) and independents (48%) believe that Hillary Clinton’s approach to governing would be generally different from Bill Clinton’s.

Whether they believe Hillary Clinton’s way of governing would be similar – or different – from her husband’s, Democrats and independents generally say either approach would be a good thing. Republicans who believe Hillary Clinton’s style of governance would be similar say that is a bad thing, by two-to-one (34%-17%). The smaller number of Republicans who say the Clintons’ ways of governing are different are divided over whether that is bad or good.

Patterns of Candidate Support 2004-2007

The general election is still a year away, but already it is clear that many of the patterns of candidate support evident in the last election are likely to persist. Yet there also are some striking differences, aside from the larger gender gap, between a hypothetical Giuliani-Clinton matchup and the 2004 presidential election.

Among white mainline Protestants and white non-Hispanic Catholics, Giuliani fares about as well as George Bush did in 2004. However, while Giuliani draws support from two-thirds of white evangelical Protestants (67%), Bush did significantly better among white evangelical voters (78%), according to the exit polls conducted by the National Election Pool (NEP).

In addition, voters who attend religious services once a week or more divide fairly evenly between Giuliani (52%) and Clinton (48%). In 2004, regular church-goers supported Bush over John Kerry by 61%-39%.

Clinton runs ahead of Kerry in most income and education categories. Voters with some college – those who have attended college but have not gotten a degree – favored Bush by an eight-point margin in 2004. But voters in this group favor Clinton over Giuliani by 53%-47% in the current survey.

Electoral Landscape: 2004 vs. 2007*					
	--2004-- NEP Exit Poll		Oct 07 RV's		Clinton gain
	Kerry %	Bush %	Clinton %	Giuliani %	
Total	48	52	54	46	+6
Men	44	56	47	53	+3
Women	52	48	60	40	+8
White	41	59	47	53	+6
Black	89	11	91	9	+2
Hispanic	55	45	60	40	+5
18-29	54	46	60	40	+6
30-49	46	54	53	47	+7
50-64	48	52	55	45	+7
65+	48	52	52	48	+4
College grad+	50	50	51	49	+1
Some college	46	54	53	47	+7
High school or less	48	52	58	42	+10
Income					
\$100k+	41	59	49	51	+8
\$75-\$99,999	45	55	51	49	+6
\$50-\$74,999	43	57	47	53	+4
\$30-\$49,999	50	50	51	49	+1
<\$30,000	60	40	68	32	+8
East	56	44	55	45	-1
Midwest	48	52	54	46	+6
South	43	57	56	44	+13
West	50	50	51	49	+1
Urban	55	45	58	42	+3
Suburban	47	53	54	46	+7
Rural	42	58	48	52	+6
Republican	6	94	13	87	+7
Democrat	89	11	87	13	-2
Independent	51	49	51	49	0
Total Protestant	37	63	49	51	+12
White Evang	22	78	33	67	+11
White Mainline	48	52	47	53	-1
Black Protestant	84	16	92	8	+8
Total Catholic	47	53	53	47	+6
White Non-Hisp	43	57	46	54	+3
Secular/Unaffiliated	68	32	72	28	+4
Church Attendance					
Weekly or more	39	61	48	52	+9
Monthly or yearly	53	47	57	43	+4
Seldom or never	63	37	59	41	-4
Use of Force in Iraq was...^					
Right decision	14	86	26	74	+12
Wrong decision	88	12	76	24	-12

* 2004 figures repercentaged based on two-party vote. Current figures based on those expressing a preference.
^ Exit poll question asked if respondents approved or disapproved of the decision to go to war with Iraq.

Clinton also leads Giuliani by sizable margin among voters in the South (56%-44%), which would represent a major shift from recent elections. In 2004, the South was Bush's strongest region by far; nearly six-in-ten voters in the South (58%) backed Bush, compared with 42% who supported Kerry. Clinton also runs ahead of Kerry in the Midwest, though not in the East or West.

Section 3: Views of the Issues and the Parties

For the most part, the issues that rate as most important to voters have changed little since the end of the 2004 presidential campaign. The economy, health care, Iraq and education currently rate as top issues for voters. Those issues ranked near the top of voter concerns in October 2004, and in a Pew survey conducted in June of this year. Terrorism and jobs, which also ranked in the top tier in 2004, have declined a bit in importance. Still, about seven-in-ten say each of these issues will be very important in their vote (69% terrorism, 71% jobs).

There have been other notable changes in the voters' issues agenda. Energy has increased sharply as a concern; currently, 65% of voters say energy will be very important to their vote, up from 54% in October 2004.

	Oct 2004	Oct 2007	04-07 Change
<i>Very important to your vote</i>	%	%	
Economy	78	79	+1
Health care	73	76	+3
Iraq	74	76	+2
Education	75	75	0
Jobs	76	71	-5
Terrorism	77	69	-8
Social Security	65	68	+3
Energy	54	65	+11
Taxes	59	63	+4
Budget deficit	57	61	+4
Moral values	63	61	-2
Environment	53	58	+5
Immigration	n/a	56	n/a
Abortion	47	39	-8
Stem cell research	43	35	-8
Gay marriage	32	22	-10

Based on registered voters.

By contrast, there has been a sharp decline in the proportion of voters citing social issues – gay marriage, abortion and stem cell research – as very important. Just 22% say gay marriage will be very important to their vote, down from 32% in October 2004. About four-in-ten (39%) say abortion will be very important, compared with 47% three years ago. Stem cell research also has declined in importance by eight points since 2004 (from 43% to 35%).

Abortion Seen as Less Important

About four-in-ten Republicans (42%) cite abortion as very important, down from 52% in October 2004. Independents also are significantly less likely to rate abortion as a major issue than in 2004 (44% then, 33% today). Democratic opinions are mostly unchanged; as a consequence, the gap between Democrats and Republicans over the importance of abortion that was evident in 2004 has now disappeared.

Issue	% very important		
	Oct 2004	Oct 2007	Change
	%	%	
Abortion			
Republican	52	42	-10
Democrat	45	43	-2
Independent	44	33	-11
Gay marriage			
Republican	39	27	-12
Democrat	27	19	-8
Independent	29	17	-12
Stem cell research			
Republican	34	25	-9
Democrat	52	43	-9
Independent	43	33	-10

Based on registered voters.

Other social issues – gay marriage and stem cell research – have decreased in importance across the political spectrum. Only about a quarter of Republicans (27%) and roughly one-in-five Democrats (19%) and independents (17%) say gay marriage will be very important in their vote; there have been substantial declines in the proportions all three groups rating gay marriage as a major voting issue.

Similarly, stem cell research has lost salience among voters. About four-in-ten Democrats (43%) rate this issue as very important, down from 52% in October 2004. There have been comparable declines in the percentages of independents (10 points) and Republicans (nine points) saying that stem cell research will matter a great deal in their voting decisions.

Partisan Gaps Persist

As was the case in October 2004, terrorism rates at the top of Republican voters’ agenda, while Democrats continue to view domestic issues – specifically health care – as most important. Domestic issues – including the economy and health care – also top the list of concerns among independent voters.

Iraq also remains a dominant issue. Eight-in-ten Democrats and more than seven-in-ten independents (73%) and Republicans (71%) say Iraq will be very important in their vote. Slightly more Democrats rate Iraq as very important than did so in October 2004 (76% then, 80% today), while views among independents and Republicans are mostly unchanged.

Dueling Partisan Agendas		
<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>
Terrorism (77)	Health care (88)	Economy (77)
Economy (74)	Education (84)	Health care (76)
Iraq (71)	Economy (83)	Iraq (73)
Moral values (68)	Social Security (81)	Education (70)
Education (66)	Jobs (81)	Energy (68)
Immigration (65)	Iraq (80)	Jobs (67)
Taxes (64)	Environment (72)	Terrorism (65)
Jobs (61)	Energy (70)	Social Security (62)
Health care (59)	Terrorism (66)	Environment (60)
Energy (55)	Taxes (66)	Budget deficit (59)
Social Security (54)	Budget deficit (66)	Taxes (59)
Budget deficit (52)	Moral values (58)	Moral values (57)
Abortion (42)	Immigration (50)	Immigration (57)
Environment (36)	Abortion (43)	Stem cell research (33)
Gay marriage (27)	Stem cell research (43)	Abortion (33)
Stem cell research (25)	Gay marriage (19)	Gay marriage (17)

Percent ranking each as very important to their vote.
Based on registered voters.

The largest partisan gaps continue to be in opinions over the importance of the environment and domestic issues. As in 2004, twice as many Democrats as Republicans say the environment will be very important to their vote (72% vs. 36%). Far more Democrats than Republicans say that health care (29-point difference) and Social Security (27 points) will be very important in their voting decisions.

Republicans continue to rate terrorism more highly as a voting issue than do Democrats (77% vs. 66%). And immigration, which was not included as an issue in October 2004, rates fairly high on the agenda of Republican voters (65% very important); among Democrats, it ranks near the bottom, at 50%, ahead of only abortion, stem cell research and gay marriage.

There also are sizable differences *within* each party over the salience of several issues. Two-thirds of conservative and moderate Democrats (67%) say moral values will be very important to their vote, compared with just 42% of liberal Democrats. Conservative and moderate Democrats also are much more likely than liberal Democrats to view terrorism and Social Security as very important issues. For liberal Democrats, the environment rates as a leading priority; currently, the environment ranks behind only health care among the concerns of liberal Democrats (89% vs. 86%). By comparison, far fewer conservative and moderate Democrats (66%) say the environment will be very important to their vote.

Among Republicans, the largest ideological differences are over the importance of abortion: twice as many conservative Republicans as moderate and liberal Republicans say abortion will be very important to their vote (50% vs. 25%). For their part, moderate and liberal Republicans are much more likely to rate the environment as a major voting issue than are conservative Republicans (46% vs. 30%).

Ideological Divisions in Both Parties Over Importance of Major Issues			
<i>Democrats rating each as very important</i>			
	Cons/ <u>Mod</u> %	Lib- <u>eral</u> %	<i>Diff</i>
<i>Issue</i>			
Moral values	67	42	-25
Terrorism	73	54	-19
Social Security	86	70	-16
Environment	66	86	+20
Stem cell research	38	56	+18
Immigration	45	56	+11
<i>Republicans rating each as very important</i>			
	Conserv- <u>ative</u> %	Mod/ <u>Lib</u> %	<i>Diff</i>
<i>Issue</i>			
Abortion	50	25	-25
Gay marriage	33	18	-15
Moral values	73	59	-14
Environment	30	46	+16
Economy	71	81	+10
Education	63	72	+9
Based on registered voters.			

Party Images

The Democratic Party continues to hold large advantages over the Republicans in specific traits related to empathy, the ability to bring about needed change, managerial competence and honesty. Despite the public's low opinion of the Democrat-led Congress, the party's image in these dimensions is not appreciably different than it was in October 2006, prior to the midterm elections in which Democrats won control of the House and Senate.

Notably, the Democratic Party's image advantage in these areas – particularly in management of the government and honesty – is much greater than it was during the 2004 presidential campaign. Currently, 44% say the Democratic Party can better manage the federal government while 32% choose the Republican Party. That is little changed from a year ago, but in July 2004 the Democratic Party had only a three-point lead as the party better able to manage the federal government.

Similarly, the Democratic Party's advantage as the party viewed as governing “in a more honest and ethical way” increased from just three points in July 2004 to 14 points in October 2006; the Democrats' lead in this area remains substantial (40%-26%).

The Democratic Party also is generally viewed as selecting better candidates for office. Currently, 41% say that the Democratic Party selects better political candidates compared with 32% who say the Republican Party. During the 1980s and 1990s, the Republicans frequently held modest advantages in this area. In the current survey, there is a sizable gender gap in views about which party selects better candidates. Men are evenly divided, with about as many saying the Republican Party as the Democratic Party (36% vs. 39%). Women say the Democratic Party selects better candidates, by 43%-29%.

Democrats' Continuing Image Advantage				
<i>Which party...</i>	Dem	Rep	Other/	<i>Dem</i>
<i>Is concerned</i>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>adv.</u>
<i>about people like me</i>	%	%	%	
October 2007	54	25	21=100	+29
March 2007	55	26	19=100	+29
Oct 2006	55	27	18=100	+28
July 2004	50	30	20=100	+20
Can bring needed change				
October 2007	48	26	26=100	+22
March 2007	52	26	22=100	+26
Oct 2006	48	28	24=100	+20
July 2004	46	35	19=100	+11
Can better manage the government				
October 2007	44	32	24=100	+12
March 2007	47	31	22=100	+16
Oct 2006	44	34	22=100	+10
April 2006	39	35	26=100	+4
Oct 2005	41	35	24=100	+6
July 2004	40	37	23=100	+3
Is more honest and ethical				
October 2007	40	26	34=100	+14
March 2007	43	25	32=100	+18
Oct 2006	41	27	32=100	+14
April 2006	36	28	36=100	+8
Oct 2005	40	30	30=100	+10
July 2004	37	34	29=100	+3
Selects better candidates				
October 2007	41	32	27=100	+9
March 1998	33	32	35=100	+1
July 1994	36	40	24=100	-4
May 1990	22	32	46=100	-10
January 1988	24	31	45=100	-7

As might be expected, large proportions of both Republicans and Democrats tend to say that each of these positive image traits applies to their own party. But Republicans are less likely to say several traits apply to the GOP than Democrats are to say they better describe the Democratic Party.

Democrats overwhelmingly say the phrase “is more concerned with people like me” better describes the Democratic Party. Fully 87% of Democrats express this opinion; by contrast, a smaller majority of Republicans (65%) say that phrase better describes the Republican Party. The gap among partisans is almost as large in perceptions of which party can bring about the kind of change the country needs (20 points).

Which party...	Better describes own party		D-R Diff
	Rep	Dem	
	%	%	
Is concerned about people like me	65	87	+22
Can bring needed change	66	86	+20
Is more honest & ethical	64	74	+10
Can better manage the government	75	77	+2
Selects better candidates	69	70	+1

More Democrats than Republicans also view their own party as governing in a more honest and ethical way (74% vs. 64%). But in other image measures, similar numbers of Republicans and Democrats say their party embodies the positive traits. While 77% of Democrats say the phrase “can better manage the government” applies to the Democratic Party, about the same number of Republicans (75%) say it describes the Republican Party. About as many Republicans as Democrats say their party selects better candidates for office (69% of Republicans, 70% of Democrats).

Republicans Increasingly Critical of Party

Just 36% of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents say the Republican Party does an excellent or good job of standing up for traditional GOP positions on such issues as “reducing the size of government, cutting taxes and promoting conservative social values.” That is the lowest positive rating Republicans have given their party since Pew began tracking this measure in 2000. More than six-in-ten Republicans and Republican-leaning independents (62%) say the party has done only a fair or poor job in advocating these traditional

	Democratic Party*		Republican Party**	
	Excellent/ Only fair/		Excellent/ Only fair/	
	Good	Poor	Good	Poor
	%	%	%	%
October 2007	39	57	36	62
November 2006	43	52	42	56
April 2006	40	59	47	51
March 2005	33	65	51	45
July 2004	49	48	61	37
August 2003	38	60	57	42
May 2002	44	53	55	43
May 2001	47	47	60	37
September 2000^	63	36	49	49

* Based on Democrats and Democrat-leaning independents.
 ** Based on Republicans and Republican-leaning independents.
 ^ Based on registered voters in each party.

positions.

Democratic voters are only slightly more positive than Republican voters in evaluating how well their party has performed in standing up for traditional Democratic positions on such things as “protecting the interests of minorities, helping the poor and needy, and representing working people.” Just 39% of Democratic and Democratic-leaning voters say the party has done an excellent or good job in this regard, while 57% rate the party’s performance as only fair or poor.

However, while Democrats have long been skeptical of their party’s record in standing up for traditional positions, Republicans have grown increasingly negative about the GOP’s performance in recent years. In July 2004, fully 61% of Republicans said the party was doing an excellent or good job of advocating traditional positions, and in March 2005 a narrow majority (51%) still expressed this opinion.

Since 2004, criticism of the Republican Party has increased sharply among all Republicans and Republican-leaning independents, especially conservative Republicans. Just 39% of conservative Republicans say the party is doing an excellent or good job in promoting traditional positions, down 30 points since July 2004. By comparison, the decline among moderate and liberal Republicans has been less pronounced (19 points).

Conservative Republicans Increasingly Critical of GOP			
	<i>Excellent/good job on traditional issues</i>		
	July 2004	Oct 2007	<i>Change</i>
	%	%	
All Rep/Rep leaner	61	36	-25
Conservative	69	39	-30
Moderate/Liberal	50	31	-19
<i>Among whites</i>			
Evangelical Prot	66	42	-24
Mainline Prot	63	24	-39
Catholic	58	36	-22

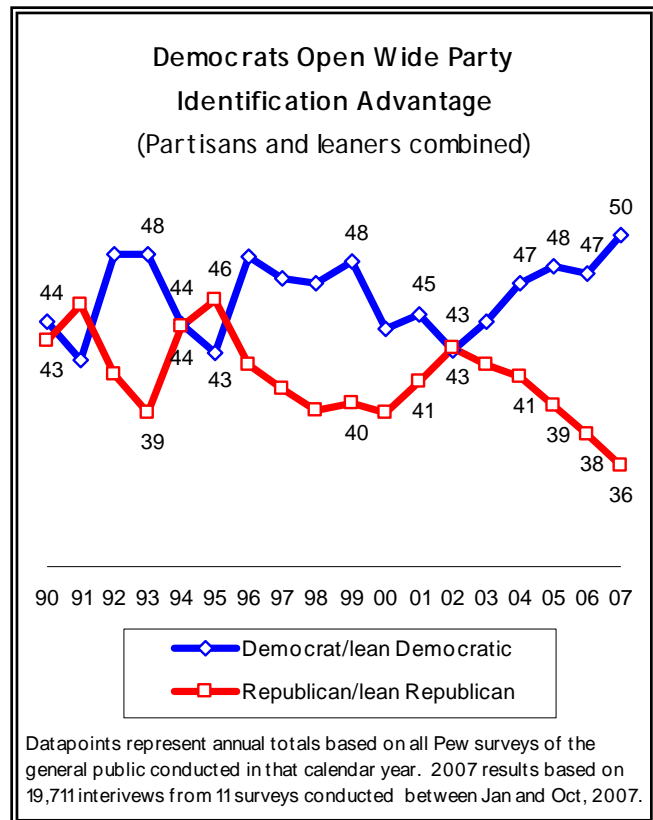
Section 4: Long-Term Political Trends

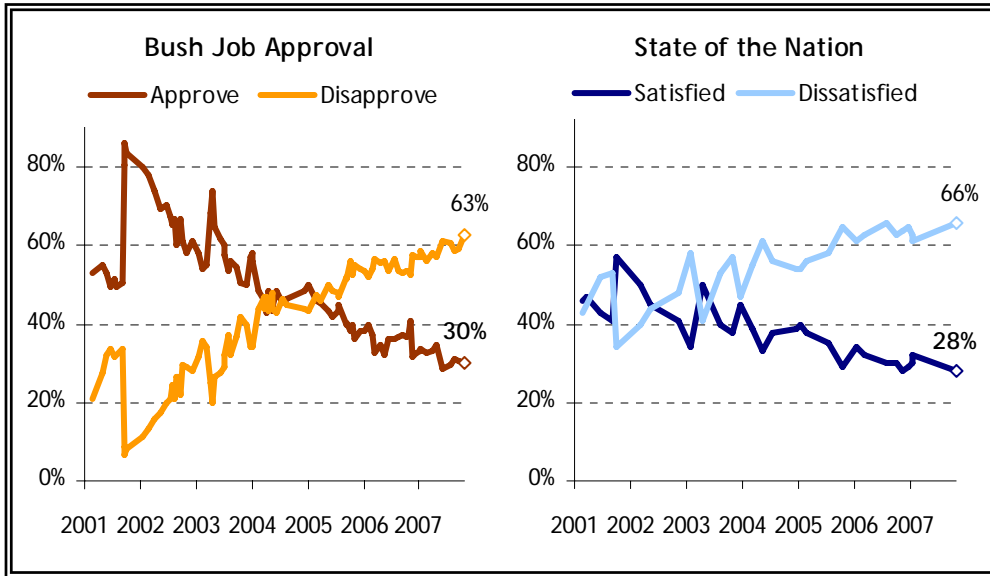
Earlier this year, the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press reported that the Democratic Party had opened a wide advantage in party identification. (See *“Political Landscape More Favorable to Democrats,”* March 22, 2007.) A new analysis shows that the Democratic lead is virtually undiminished.

Based on nearly 20,000 interviews conducted between January and October of this year, half of Americans say they think of themselves as Democrats (33%) or as independents who lean toward the Democratic Party (17%). By comparison, just 36% identify as Republicans (25%) or as independents who lean to the GOP (11%).

This 14-point advantage is the largest in nearly 20 years of surveys by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press. Just five years ago, in 2002, the balance of partisanship was even, with 43% identifying with or leaning toward each political party.

George W. Bush’s historically low job approval ratings are undoubtedly a factor in these trends. In the current survey, the proportion of Americans who disapprove of his performance in office has reached a new high of 63%, more than twice as many as the number who approve (30%). In October 2003, a year ahead of the 2004 elections, 50% approved of Bush’s job performance while 42% disapproved.





Bush’s low job approval ratings pose a unique problem for Republican candidates this year; no incumbent president has been this unpopular nationally in recent history.

The public has also been growing increasingly dissatisfied with the state of the nation. The share of Americans who offer a negative assessment of the way things are going in the country has risen from 56% to 66% over the past four years, while just 28% currently express satisfaction. While low, these satisfaction ratings are not unprecedented. In October of 1995, just 23% of Americans were satisfied with the state of the nation, and satisfaction levels stayed below 30% through the 1996 election cycle. Despite this sour public mood, Bill Clinton was able to win reelection handily, in part based on his strong job approval ratings throughout this period.

Presidential Job Approval One Year Out			
	App- rove %	Disapp- rove %	DK %
Oct 2007	30	63	7=100
Oct 2003	50	42	8=100
Oct 1999	59	34	7=100
Oct 1995	48	42	10=100
Oct 1991	61	28	11=100
Sep 1987	50	43	7=100

State of the Nation One Year Out			
	Satis- fied %	Dissat- isfied %	DK %
Oct 2007	28	66	6=100
Oct 2003	38	56	6=100
Aug 1999	56	39	5=100
Oct 1995	23	73	4=100
Nov 1991	34	61	5=100
Jan 1988	39	55	6=100

ABOUT THIS SURVEY

Results for this survey are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International among a nationwide sample of 2,007 adults, 18 years of age or older, from October 17-23, 2007 (1,507 respondents were interviewed on a landline telephone, and 500 were interviewed on a cell phone, including 199 who had no landline telephone). Both the landline and cell phone samples were designed by Survey Sampling, Inc.

The combined landline and cell phone data were weighted using demographic weighting parameters derived from the March 2006 Census Bureau's Current Population Survey, along with an estimate of current patterns of telephone status in the U.S. derived from the 2006 National Health Interview Survey, using an iterative technique that simultaneously balances the distributions of all weighting parameters. The weighting procedure also accounted for the fact that respondents with both landline and cell phones had a greater probability of being included in the sample.

The Pew Research Center for the People & the Press will be releasing a detailed analysis of the landline and cell phone samples in the coming weeks.

For results based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling is plus or minus 2.5 percentage points. For results based on Form 1 (N=1,008) or Form 2 (N=999), one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling is plus or minus 3.5 percentage points. For results based on Democratic and Democratic-leaning registered voters (N=837) the margin of error is plus or minus 4 percentage points. For Republican and Republican-leaning registered voters (N=648) the margin of error is plus or minus 4.5 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.

ABOUT THE CENTER

The Pew Research Center for the People & the Press is an independent opinion research group that studies attitudes toward the press, politics and public policy issues. We are sponsored by The Pew Charitable Trusts and are one of seven projects that make up the Pew Research Center, a nonpartisan "fact tank" that provides information on the issues, attitudes and trends shaping America and the world.

The Center's purpose is to serve as a forum for ideas on the media and public policy through public opinion research. In this role it serves as an important information resource for political leaders, journalists, scholars, and public interest organizations. All of our current survey results are made available free of charge.

All of the Center's research and reports are collaborative products based on the input and analysis of the entire Center staff consisting of:

Andrew Kohut, Director
Scott Keeter, Director of Survey Research
Carroll Doherty and Michael Dimock, Associate Directors
Richard Wike and Kim Parker, Senior Researchers
April Clark, Juliana Menasce Horowitz, Robert Suls, Shawn Neidorf and Allison Pond,
Research Associates
James Albrightain, Executive Assistant
Alec Tyson, Research Assistant

PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS
OCTOBER 2007 POLITICAL SURVEY
FINAL TOPLINE
October 17-23, 2007
N=2007

Q.1 All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in this country today?

	Satis- <u>fied</u>	Dis- <u>satisfied</u>	No <u>Opinion</u>		Satis- <u>fied</u>	Dis- <u>satisfied</u>	No <u>Opinion</u>
October, 2007	28	66	6=100	April, 2000	48	43	9=100
February, 2007	30	61	9=100	August, 1999	56	39	5=100
Mid-January, 2007	32	61	7=100	January, 1999	53	41	6=100
Early January, 2007	30	63	7=100	November, 1998	46	44	10=100
December, 2006	28	65	7=100	Early September, 1998	54	42	4=100
Mid-November, 2006	28	64	8=100	Late August, 1998	55	41	4=100
Early October, 2006	30	63	7=100	Early August, 1998	50	44	6=100
July, 2006	30	65	5=100	February, 1998	59	37	4=100
May, 2006	29	65	6=100	January, 1998	46	50	4=100
March, 2006	32	63	5=100	September, 1997	45	49	6=100
January, 2006	34	61	5=100	August, 1997	49	46	5=100
Late November, 2005	34	59	7=100	January, 1997	38	58	4=100
Early October, 2005	29	65	6=100	July, 1996	29	67	4=100
July, 2005	35	58	7=100	March, 1996	28	70	2=100
Late May, 2005	39	57	4=100	October, 1995	23	73	4=100
February, 2005	38	56	6=100	June, 1995	25	73	2=100
January, 2005	40	54	6=100	April, 1995	23	74	3=100
December, 2004	39	54	7=100	July, 1994	24	73	3=100
Mid-October, 2004	36	58	6=100	March, 1994	24	71	5=100
July, 2004	38	55	7=100	October, 1993	22	73	5=100
May, 2004	33	61	6=100	September, 1993	20	75	5=100
Late February, 2004	39	55	6=100	May, 1993	22	71	7=100
Early January, 2004	45	48	7=100	January, 1993	39	50	11=100
December, 2003	44	47	9=100	January, 1992	28	68	4=100
October, 2003	38	56	6=100	November, 1991	34	61	5=100
August, 2003	40	53	7=100	Late February, 1991 (<i>Gallup</i>)	66	31	3=100
<i>April 8, 2003</i>	<i>50</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>9=100</i>	August, 1990	47	48	5=100
January, 2003	44	50	6=100	May, 1990	41	54	5=100
November, 2002	41	48	11=100	January, 1989	45	50	5=100
September, 2002	41	55	4=100	September, 1988 (<i>RVs</i>)	50	45	5=100
Late August, 2002	47	44	9=100	May, 1988	41	54	5=100
May, 2002	44	44	12=100	January, 1988	39	55	6=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				
October, 2000 (<i>RVs</i>)	54	39	7=100				
September, 2000	51	41	8=100				
June, 2000	47	45	8=100				

Q.2 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling his job as president? [**IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF DEPENDS PROBE ONCE WITH:** Overall do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling his job as president? **IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK**]

	<u>App-rove</u>	<u>Dis-approve</u>	<u>Don't know</u>		<u>App-rove</u>	<u>Dis-approve</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
October, 2007	30	63	7=100	Mid-January, 2004	56	34	10=100
September, 2007	31	59	10=100	Early January, 2004	58	35	7=100
August, 2007	31	59	10=100	December, 2003	57	34	9=100
July, 2007	29	61	10=100	November, 2003	50	40	10=100
June, 2007	29	61	10=100	October, 2003	50	42	8=100
April, 2007	35	57	8=100	September, 2003	55	36	9=100
March, 2007	33	58	9=100	Mid-August, 2003	56	32	12=100
February, 2007	33	56	11=100	Early August, 2003	53	37	10=100
Mid-January, 2007	33	59	8=100	Mid-July, 2003	58	32	10=100
Early January, 2007	33	57	10=100	Early July, 2003	60	29	11=100
December, 2006	32	57	11=100	June, 2003	62	27	11=100
Mid-November, 2006	32	58	10=100	May, 2003	65	27	8=100
Early October, 2006	37	53	10=100	<i>April 10-16, 2003</i>	72	22	<i>6=100</i>
September, 2006	37	53	10=100	<i>April 9, 2003</i>	74	20	<i>6=100</i>
August, 2006	37	54	9=100	<i>April 2-7, 2003</i>	69	25	<i>6=100</i>
July, 2006	36	57	7=100	<i>March 28-April 1, 2003</i>	71	23	<i>6=100</i>
June, 2006	36	54	10=100	<i>March 25-27, 2003</i>	70	24	<i>6=100</i>
April, 2006	33	56	11=100	<i>March 20-24, 2003</i>	67	26	<i>7=100</i>
Early April, 2006	35	55	10=100	March 13-16, 2003	55	34	11=100
March, 2006	33	57	10=100	February, 2003	54	36	10=100
February, 2006	40	52	8=100	January, 2003	58	32	10=100
January, 2006	38	54	8=100	December, 2002	61	28	11=100
December, 2005	38	54	8=100	Late October, 2002	59	29	12=100
Early November, 2005	36	55	9=100	Early October, 2002	61	30	9=100
Late October, 2005	40	52	8=100	Mid-September, 2002	67	22	11=100
Early October, 2005	38	56	6=100	Early September, 2002	63	26	11=100
September 8-11, 2005	40	52	8=100	Late August, 2002	60	27	13=100
September 6-7, 2005	40	52	8=100	August, 2002	67	21	12=100
July, 2005	44	48	8=100	Late July, 2002	65	25	10=100
June, 2005	42	49	9=100	July, 2002	67	21	12=100
Late May, 2005	42	48	10=100	June, 2002	70	20	10=100
Mid-May, 2005	43	50	7=100	April, 2002	69	18	13=100
Late March, 2005	49	46	5=100	Early April, 2002	74	16	10=100
Mid-March, 2005	45	46	9=100	February, 2002	78	13	9=100
February, 2005	46	47	7=100	January, 2002	80	11	9=100
January, 2005	50	43	7=100	Mid-November, 2001	84	9	7=100
December, 2004	48	44	8=100	Early October, 2001	84	8	8=100
Mid-October, 2004	44	48	8=100	Late September, 2001	86	7	7=100
August, 2004	46	45	9=100	Mid-September, 2001	80	9	11=100
July, 2004	46	46	8=100	Early September, 2001	51	34	15=100
June, 2004	48	43	9=100	August, 2001	50	32	18=100
May, 2004	44	48	8=100	July, 2001	51	32	17=100
Late April, 2004	48	43	9=100	June, 2001	50	33	17=100
Early April, 2004	43	47	10=100	May, 2001	53	32	15=100
Late March, 2004	47	44	9=100	April, 2001	56	27	17=100
Mid-March, 2004	46	47	7=100	March, 2001	55	25	20=100
February, 2004	48	44	8=100	February, 2001	53	21	26=100

QUESTIONS 3-5 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

NO QUESTION 6

ASK ALL:

Q.7 How much thought, if any, have you given to candidates who may be running for president in 2008?
[READ]

		Sept <u>2007</u>	July <u>2007</u>	June <u>2007</u>	April <u>2007</u>	March <u>2007</u>	Feb <u>2007</u>	Dec <u>2006</u>
30	A lot	27	30	29	26	24	24	23
37	Some	33	38	34	34	36	34	36
17	Not much	21	16	20	21	20	22	20
14	None at all	17	15	16	17	18	18	20
<u>2</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL. DO NOT READ)	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.8 If there is a primary election or caucus in your state early next year, how likely is it that you will vote in either the Republican or Democratic primary for President?¹ [READ IN ORDER]

		Sept <u>2007</u>	Feb ² <u>2000</u>
59	Very likely	56	60
18	Somewhat likely	19	18
5	Not too likely	6	7
12	Not at all likely	13	11
1	No primary (VOL.)	1	1
<u>5</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=1008]:

Q.9F1 Generally speaking would you say that you personally care a good deal WHO wins the 2008 presidential election or that you don't care very much who wins?

		Feb <u>2007</u>	Oct <u>2003</u> ³	Feb <u>1999</u>	Oct <u>1995</u>	Oct <u>1991</u>	May <u>1987</u>
84	Care a good deal	83	77	83	78	73	76
14	Don't care very much	14	21	16	19	22	20
<u>2</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100

1 The word "either" was added to the question in October 2007.

2 In February 2000, the question read, "If there is a primary election in your state this year, how likely is it that you will vote in either the Republican or Democratic primary for president?"

3 In October 2003, the question referred to the 2004 presidential election; in 1999, it referred to the 2000 presidential election; in 1995, it referred to the 1996 presidential election; in 1991, it referred to the 1992 presidential election; in 1987, it referred to the 1988 presidential election.

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=999]:

Q.10F2 Generally speaking would you say that you personally care a good deal WHICH PARTY wins the 2008 presidential election or that you don't care very much which party wins?

		Feb <u>2007</u>	Oct <u>2003</u>	Feb <u>1999</u>	Oct <u>1995</u>	Oct <u>1991</u>	May <u>1987</u>
63	Care a good deal	62	62	61	61	55	54
33	Don't care very much	35	36	36	36	39	40
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100

NO QUESTION 11

ROTATE Q.12 AND Q.13

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=1008]:

Q.12F1 Overall, what's your impression of the candidates running for the DEMOCRATIC presidential nomination? AS A GROUP, would you say they are excellent candidates, good candidates, fair candidates or poor candidates?⁴

		Feb <u>2004</u>	Mid- Jan <u>2004</u>	Sept <u>2003</u>	Feb <u>1992</u>	Oct <u>1991</u>	Jan <u>1988</u>
8	Excellent	5	4	3	3	2	3
32	Good	40	27	27	31	18	27
36	Fair	37	40	39	51	38	44
16	Poor	12	17	15	9	15	17
<u>8</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>6</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>9</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=999]:

Q.12F2 Overall, what's your impression of the candidates running for the DEMOCRATIC presidential nomination? AS A GROUP, would you say they are excellent candidates, good candidates, only fair candidates or poor candidates?

9	Excellent
38	Good
32	Only fair
14	Poor
<u>7</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

4 Question was asked in September 2007, but only of Democrats and Independents. Those data are not shown.

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=1008]:

Q.13F1 Overall, what's your impression of the candidates running for the REPUBLICAN presidential nomination? As a group, would you say they are excellent candidates, good candidates, fair candidates or poor candidates?⁵

		Oct	Jan
		<u>1995</u>	<u>1988</u>
4	Excellent	3	3
27	Good	29	34
38	Fair	46	42
20	Poor	18	11
<u>11</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>4</u>	<u>10</u>
100		100	100

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=999]:

Q.13F2 Overall, what's your impression of the candidates running for the REPUBLICAN presidential nomination? As a group, would you say they are excellent candidates, good candidates, only fair candidates or poor candidates?

4	Excellent
29	Good
41	Only fair
16	Poor
<u>10</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

NO QUESTIONS 14-19

5 Question was asked in September 2007, but only of Republicans and Independents. Those data are not shown.

ASK ALL:

ROTATE ORDER OF DEMOCRATIC (Q20-Q21) AND REPUBLICAN (Q23-Q24) SERIES:

Q.20 I'm going to read you the names of some DEMOCRATIC presidential candidates. Who would you most like to see nominated as the Democratic Party's candidate for president in 2008? **[READ AND RANDOMIZE. ACCEPT VOLUNTEERED RESPONSE IF OFFERED BEFORE FULL LIST IS READ. IF 98 'DON'T KNOW' PROBE ONCE: Is there anyone you are leaning toward as of today?]**

BASED ON DEMOCRATIC AND DEMOCRATIC LEANING REGISTERED VOTERS [N=837]:

						WITHOUT GORE^		
		Sept	July	April	Mar	Jul	Apr	Mar
		<u>2007</u>	<u>2007</u>	<u>2007</u>	<u>2007</u>	<u>2007</u>	<u>2007</u>	<u>2007</u>
45	Hillary Clinton	42	40	34	35	44	39	39
24	Barack Obama	25	21	24	26	24	27	28
12	John Edwards	14	11	18	16	13	21	19
4	Dennis Kucinich	2	2	1	*	2	1	*
2	Bill Richardson	3	2	1	1	3	2	2
2	Joe Biden	2	2	1	1	3	1	2
1	Chris Dodd	1	1	*	*	1	*	*
n/a	Al Gore^	n/a	12	14	12	--	--	--
*	Other (VOL.) [SPECIFY]	1	1	*	0	1	*	*
3	None of them (VOL.)	2	2	5	3	3	5	4
7	Don't know/Haven't thought about it (VOL.)	8	6	2	5	6	3	5
*	Refused (VOL.)	*	0	*	1	0	1	1
<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

^ Al Gore not included on list beginning in September. Trends recalculated by substituting in Gore supporters' second choice.

IF HAS A FIRST CHOICE (1-96 IN Q.20) ASK:

Q.21 And who would be your SECOND choice? **[READ REMAINING NAMES IF NECESSARY]**

<u>1st</u> <u>choice</u>	<u>2nd</u> <u>choice</u>	<u>Com-</u> <u>bined</u>	
45	21	66	Hillary Clinton
24	28	52	Barack Obama
12	19	31	John Edwards
2	3	5	Bill Richardson
4	2	6	Dennis Kucinich
2	3	5	Joe Biden
1	1	2	Chris Dodd
*	*		Other (VOL.) [SPECIFY]
3	6		None of them (VOL.)
7	6		Don't know/Haven't thought about it (VOL.)
*	1		Refused (VOL.)
<u>n/a</u>	<u>10</u>		<i>No first choice</i>
<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>		

NO QUESTION 22.

ASK ALL:

Q.23 I'm going to read you the names of some REPUBLICAN presidential candidates. Who would you most like to see nominated as the Republican Party's candidate for president in 2008? **[READ AND RANDOMIZE. ACCEPT VOLUNTEERED RESPONSE IF OFFERED BEFORE FULL LIST IS READ. IF 98 'DON'T KNOW' PROBE ONCE: Is there anyone you are leaning toward as of today?]**

BASED ON REPUBLICAN AND REPUBLICAN-LEANING REGISTERED VOTERS [N=648]:

						WITHOUT GINGRICH^^			
		Sept	July	April	Mar	Sept	Jul	Apr	Mar
		<u>2007</u>	<u>2007</u>	<u>2007</u>	<u>2007</u>	<u>2007</u>	<u>2007</u>	<u>2007</u>	<u>2007</u>
31	Rudy Giuliani	32	27	32	33	33	29	33	35
18	John McCain	15	16	23	22	16	16	25	24
17	Fred Thompson	21	18	10	n/a	22	20	12	n/a
9	Mitt Romney	9	10	8	8	10	12	10	9
n/a	Newt Gingrich	6	8	9	7	--	--	--	--
8	Mike Huckabee	4	1	3	2	4	1	3	2
n/a	Sam Brownback	2	1	*	2	3	1	1	2
3	Ron Paul	1	2	n/a	n/a	1	3	n/a	n/a
1	Tom Tancredo	1	1	n/a	n/a	1	1	n/a	n/a
n/a	Tommy Thompson	n/a	1	2	3	n/a	1	2	3
n/a	Jim Gilmore	n/a	n/a	*	3	n/a	n/a	*	3
n/a	Duncan Hunter	n/a	n/a	1	1	n/a	n/a	1	1
1	Other (VOL. DO NOT READ)	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	3
4	None of them (VOL. DO NOT READ)	2	3	3	5	2	4	3	6
8	Don't know/Haven't thought about it (VOL.)	6	11	8	12	7	11	9	12
0	Refused (VOL. DO NOT READ)	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

^^ Newt Gingrich not included on list beginning in October Trends recalculated by substituting in Gingrich's supporters' second choice.

IF HAS A FIRST CHOICE (1-96 IN Q.23) ASK:

Q.24 And who would be your SECOND choice? **[READ REMAINING NAMES IF NECESSARY]**

<u>1st</u> <u>choice</u>	<u>2nd</u> <u>choice</u>	<u>Com-</u> <u>bined</u>	
31	20	51	Rudy Giuliani
17	15	32	Fred Thompson
18	19	37	John McCain
9	11	20	Mitt Romney
8	5	13	Mike Huckabee
3	3	6	Ron Paul
1	2	3	Tom Tancredo
1	*		Other (VOL.)
4	7		None of them (VOL.)
8	6		Don't know/Haven't thought about it (VOL.)
0	*		Refused (VOL. DO NOT READ)
<u>n/a</u>	<u>12</u>		<i>No first choice</i>
100	100		

NO QUESTIONS 25-29

ASK ALL:

Q.30 Now suppose the 2008 general election were being held today and you had to choose between **[ROTATE: Rudy Giuliani as the Republican candidate]** and **[Hillary Clinton as the Democratic candidate]** who would you vote for?

IF OTHER OR DK (Q.30 = 3,9), ASK:

Q.30a As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to **[READ, ROTATE IN SAME ORDER AS Q.30]**?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1607]:

	<i>Giuliani/ <u>Lean Giuliani</u></i>	<i>Clinton/ <u>Lean Clinton</u></i>	<i>Other/ Don't <u>know</u> 6=100</i>
October, 2007	43	51	

TREND FOR COMPARISON:(Based on registered voters)⁶

	<i>Bush/ <u>Lean Bush</u></i>	<i>Kerry/ <u>Lean Kerry</u></i>	<i>Nader/ <u>Lean Nader</u></i>	<i>Other/ Don't <u>Know</u></i>
November, 2004	45	46	1	8=100
Mid-October, 2004	45	45	1	4=100
Early October, 2004	48	41	2	9=100
September 22-26, 2004	48	40	2	10=100
September 17-21, 2004	45	42	3	10=100
Early September, 2004	49	43	1	7=100
<i>September 11-14</i>	<i>46</i>	<i>46</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>7=100</i>
<i>September 8-10</i>	<i>52</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>7=100</i>
August, 2004	45	47	2	6=100
July, 2004	44	46	3	7=100
June, 2004	46	42	6	6=100
May, 2004	43	46	6	5=100
Late March, 2004	44	43	6	7=100
Mid-March, 2004	42	49	4	5=100

	<i>Bush/ <u>Lean Bush</u></i>	<i>Gore/ <u>Lean Gore</u></i>	<i>Nader/ <u>Lean Nader</u></i>	<i>Other/ Don't <u>Know</u></i>
November, 2000 ⁷	41	45	4	10=100
Late October, 2000	45	43	4	8=100 ⁸
Mid-October, 2000	43	45	4	8=100
Early October, 2000	43	44	5	8=100
September, 2000	41	47	2	10=100
July, 2000	42	41	6	11=100

6 In 2004, 2000, 1996 and 1992, third-party candidates were offered as explicit choices.

7 From July through November 2000 the question asked explicitly about voting for, "the Green Party ticket headed by Ralph Nader."

8 For trends from 2000, results for "The Reform Party ticket headed by Pat Buchanan" are included in the "Other/DK" category.

Q.30/30a CONTINUED...

	Bush/ <u>Lean Bush</u>	Gore/ <u>Lean Gore</u>	Nader/ <u>Lean Nader</u>	Other/ Don't <u>Know</u>
Late June, 2000	42	35	2	21=100
Mid-June, 2000	41	42	4	13=100
September, 1999	53	41	n/a	6=100
July, 1999	53	42	n/a	5=100
March, 1999 ⁹	54	41	n/a	5=100
January, 1999	50	44	n/a	6=100
Early Sept, 1998	53	40	n/a	7=100

	Dole/ <u>Lean Dole</u>	Clinton/ <u>Lean Clinton</u>	Perot/ <u>Lean Perot</u>	Other/ Don't <u>know</u>
November, 1996	32	51	9	8=100
October, 1996	34	51	8	7=100
Late September, 1996	35	51	7	7=100
Early September, 1996	34	52	8	6=100
July, 1996	34	44	16	6=100

	Bush Sr./ <u>Lean Bush, Sr.</u>	Clinton/ <u>Lean Clinton</u>	Perot/ <u>Lean Perot</u>	Other/ Don't <u>know</u>
Late October, 1992	34	44	19	3=100
Early October, 1992	35	48	8	9=100
June, 1992	31	28	36	5=100

	Bush Sr./ <u>Lean Bush Sr.</u>	Dukakis/ <u>Lean Dukakis</u>	Other/ Don't <u>know</u>
October, 1998	50	42	8=100
September, 1998	50	44	6=100
May, 1998	40	53	7=100

IF GIULIANI OR CLINTON (1,2 IN Q.30 OR Q.30a), ASK:

Q.31 Would you say that your choice is more a vote FOR [INSERT NAME CHOSEN FROM Q.30 OR Q.30a] or more a vote AGAINST [INSERT NAME NOT CHOSEN FROM Q30 OR Q30A]?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1607]:

	----- CLINTON-----				----- GIULIANI-----				Other/ DK
	Total	Pro- Clinton	Anti- Giuli- ani	DK	Total	Pro- Giuli- ani	Anti- Clinton	DK	
2007 Oct	51	39	10	2	43	20	21	2	6=100

9 In March 1999 and previous months, the question asked about: "Suppose the 2000 presidential election were being held TODAY, and the candidates were Al Gore, the Democrat and Texas Governor George W. Bush, the Republican. Who would you vote for?"

Q.31 CONTINUED...

----- <i>KERRY</i> -----					----- <i>BUSH</i> -----				
		Pro-	Anti-			Pro-	Anti-		Other/
2004	Total	Kerry	Bush	DK	Total	Bush	Kerry	DK	DK
Nov	46	20	23	3	45	34	9	2	9=100
Mid-Oct	45	18	24	3	45	32	10	3	10=100
Early Oct	41	15	23	3	48	36	10	2	11=100
Early Sept	43	15	26	2	49	38	9	2	8=100
9/11-14	46	16	28	2	46	35	8	3	8=100
9/8-10	40	14	23	3	52	40	10	2	8=100
Aug	47	20	24	3	45	34	8	3	8=100
June	46	17	27	2	48	35	11	2	6=100
May	50	15	32	3	45	33	10	2	5=100
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

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

----- <i>CLINTON</i> -----					----- <i>DOLE</i> -----				----- <i>PEROT</i> -----					
		Pro-	Anti-			Pro-	Anti-			Pro-	Anti-			Other/
1996	Total	Clinton	other	DK	Total	Dole	other	DK	Total	Perot	Other	DK		/DK
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

----- <i>CLINTON</i> -----					----- <i>BUSH, Sr.</i> -----				----- <i>PEROT</i> -----					
		Pro-	Anti-			Pro-	Anti-			Pro-	Anti-			Other/
1992	Total	Clinton	other	DK	Total	Bush	other	DK	Total	Perot	Other	DK		DK
Late Oct	44	25	17	2	34	19	13	2	19	10	7	2		3=100
Early Oct	48	23	22	3	35	19	13	3	8	3	5	*		9=100
Sept	53	21	29	3	38	20	16	2	--	--	--	--		9=100
Aug	57	27	28	2	37	20	16	1	--	--	--	--		6=100
Mar	44	13	29	2	49	32	15	2	--	--	--	--		7=100

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

IF GIULIANI OR CLINTON (1,2 IN Q.30 OR Q.30a), ASK:

Q.32 What do you like most about (INSERT NAME CHOSEN FROM Q.30 OR Q.30a) — (his/her) personality, (his/her) leadership ability, (his/her) experience, or (his/her) stand on issues?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS WHO CHOSE GIULIANI OR CLINTON IN Q.30/30a [N=1505]:

		<u>Personality</u>	<u>Leadership</u>	<u>Experience</u>	<u>Stand on issues</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	
Hillary Clinton		7	27	24	35	7=100	(N=785)
Rudy Giuliani		7	46	22	15	10=100	(N=720)
John Kerry							
	September, 2004	8	16	13	52	11=100	
	June, 2004	7	20	16	45	12=100	
George W. Bush							
	September, 2004	8	41	4	42	5=100	
	June, 2004	8	33	4	49	6=100	
Gore							
	Late October, 2000	4	16	27	48	5=100	
	Mid-October, 2000	8	16	29	44	3=100	
	Early October, 2000	6	16	23	49	6=100	
	September, 2000	9	15	22	48	6=100	
	June, 2000	7	13	29	42	9=100	
	May, 2000	10	13	30	40	7=100	
	March, 2000	10	14	28	40	8=100	
	October, 1999	8	11	32	43	6=100	
Bush							
	Late October, 2000	10	21	5	59	5=100	
	Mid-October, 2000	13	18	9	55	5=100	
	Early October, 2000	8	20	7	58	7=100	
	September, 2000	9	19	9	55	8=100	
	June, 2000	10	19	11	50	10=100	
	May, 2000	12	22	8	51	7=100	
	March, 2000	14	24	10	42	10=100	
	October, 1999	13	25	11	42	9=100	
Clinton	Early September, 1996	14	24	6	49	7=100	
Dole	Early September, 1996	3	25	33	35	4=100	
Clinton	Late October, 1992 ¹⁰	11	13	4	68	4=100	
Bush, Sr.	Late October, 1992	15	26	35	19	5=100	
Perot	Late October, 1992	12	25	9	53	1=100	

10 In 1992, results were based on respondents who said their vote was pro-candidate, rather than anti-candidate. Category was worded "personality and character."

IF GIULIANI OR CLINTON (1,2 IN Q.30 OR Q.30a), ASK:

Q.32 What do you like most about (INSERT NAME CHOSEN FROM Q.30 OR Q.30a) — (his/her) personality, (his/her) leadership ability, (his/her) experience, or (his/her) stand on issues?

IF ANSWER GIVEN (1-4 IN Q.32) ASK:

Q.33 What is it about (INSERT NAME CHOSEN FROM Q.30 OR Q.30a)'s [INSERT RESPONSE FROM Q.32] that you like? [OPEN END: ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES BUT DO NOT PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL]

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS WHO SAID GIULIANI OR CLINTON IN Q.30/30a:

**(Support Giuliani)
GIULIANI (N=720)**

68% Leadership/Experience

- 29 Works well in crises/9/11
- 18 Cleaned up NYC/Lead NYC/Political experience
- 6 Decisive/Stands up for issues/What is right/Strong
- 6 Gets things done/Makes thing happen/Takes charge
- 4 Honest/Straight forward/Blunt/Trustworthy
- 3 Gets people to listen/Knows how to talk/Charisma
- 2 Good manager/administrator/Good at delegating
- 1 National defense/Terrorism/Foreign policy

15% Stand on issues

- 4 No nonsense/Says what he thinks/Trustworthy
- 1 Experience as NYC mayor/with 9/11
- 1 Foreign policy/Iraq/War on Terror
- 1 Protecting the country/Keeping us safe/National defense
- 1 He's a Republican/He's not Hillary Clinton
- 1 Not overly conservative/Middle-of-road Republican
- 1 Conservative
- 1 Immigration

7% Personality

- 1 Open/Friendly/Down-to-earth/Jovial/Funny/Humor
- 1 Speaks his mind/Straight forward
- 1 Good leader/Good worker
- 1 Handled pressure before/after 9/11
- 1 Honest/Credible/Character
- 1 Outgoing/Commanding/Confident

**(Support Clinton)
CLINTON (N=785)**

51% Leadership/Experience

- 15 Has First Lady experience
- 7 Been in politics forever/politically skilled
- 4 Can get the job done/Would be good pres.
- 4 Tough/Strong/Forceful
- 3 Firm in her stands/commitments/Not afraid
- 3 Knows what she's talking about/Articulate
- 2 Works for/empathizes w/poor/Cares for country
- 2 Experience in the Senate
- 2 No nonsense/Direct
- 2 Smart/Intelligent
- 2 Health-care reform efforts
- 2 Woman/Time for woman president/Mother
- 1 Iraq War

35% Stand on issues

- 9 Health care
- 5 Iraq War/Desire to end it
- 3 Sticks to her guns/Consistent
- 3 Not for the rich/For the middle class/poor
- 2 Her opinions are close to mine
- 1 Abortion/Women's rights/issues
- 1 Woman/Related to her being a woman
- 1 Liberal/Progressive/Democrat
- 1 Civil rights/Gay rights
- 1 Sincere/Honest
- 1 Economics
- 1 Bill Clinton could advise/Might be like him
- 1 Education
- 1 Fair/Open-minded

7% Personality

- 2 Good/True/Genuine/Integrity/Honest
- 2 Friendly/Nice/Relates to people/Well spoken
- 1 Competent/Knowledgeable
- 1 Woman
- 1 Outspoken/Spunk/Outstanding/Clever/Forward

IF GIULIANI OR CLINTON (1,2 IN Q.30 OR Q.30a), ASK:

Q.34 What, if anything, do you like LEAST about (INSERT NAME NOT CHOSEN FROM Q.30 OR Q.30a)
— (his/her) personality, (his/her) leadership ability, (his/her) experience, or (his/her) stand on issues?

**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS WHO CHOSE GIULIANI OR CLINTON IN Q.30/30a
[N=1505]:**

		<u>Personality</u>	<u>Leadership</u>	<u>Experience</u>	<u>Stand on Issues</u>	<u>Nothing in particular/ Don't know</u>	
Hillary Clinton (based on Giuliani voters)		21	9	10	42	18=100	(N=720)
Rudy Giuliani (based on Clinton voters)		21	10	9	27	33=100	(N=785)
John Kerry							
	September, 2004	16	12	8	53	11=100	
	June, 2004	16	11	6	52	15=100	
George W. Bush							
	September, 2004	13	28	4	46	9=100	
	June, 2004	12	35	3	41	9=100	
Gore							
	Late October, 2000	27	15	6	43	9=100	
	Mid-October, 2000	27	18	5	43	7=100	
	Early October, 2000	26	14	4	44	12=100	
	September, 2000	17	17	7	48	11=100	
	June, 2000	17	19	6	43	15=100	
	May, 2000	22	22	6	41	9=100	
	March, 2000	22	20	5	43	10=100	
	October, 1999	24	22	5	39	10=100	
Bush							
	Late October, 2000	21	14	15	37	13=100	
	Mid-October, 2000	18	16	15	43	8=100	
	Early October, 2000	25	11	15	37	12=100	
	September, 2000	20	12	11	43	14=100	
	June, 2000	26	13	10	34	17=100	
	May, 2000	25	13	13	35	14=100	
	March, 2000	33	8	13	35	11=100	
	October, 1999	19	11	13	41	16=100	

IF GIULIANI OR CLINTON (1,2 IN Q.30 OR Q.30a), ASK:

Q.34 What, if anything, do you like LEAST about (INSERT NAME NOT CHOSEN FROM Q.30 OR Q.30a) — (his/her) personality, (his/her) leadership ability, (his/her) experience, or (his/her) stand on issues?

IF ANSWER GIVEN (1-4 IN Q.34) ASK:

Q.35 What is it about (INSERT NAME NOT CHOSEN FROM Q.30 OR Q.30a)'s [INSERT RESPONSE FROM Q.34] that you don't like? [OPEN END: ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES BUT DO NOT PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL]

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS WHO SAID GIULIANI OR CLINTON IN Q.30/30a:

**(Support Clinton)
GIULIANI (N=785)**

27% Stand on issues

- 4 Republican/Conservative/I'm a Democrat
- 3 Flip flops/inconsistent/doesn't have clear stands
- 2 Everything/Just don't like him
- 2 Iraq War
- 1 Abortion
- 1 For the rich/Against the poor/middle class

21% Personality

- 4 Arrogant/Cocky/Abrasive/Just don't like him
- 2 Divorce/Marital and family troubles
- 2 Not trustworthy/Fake/Phony
- 2 Aggressive/Inflexible
- 1 Not quite presidential

19% Leadership/Experience

- 5 Not proven leader/Mayor of NY not enough
- 3 Lacks international/national experience
- 1 Not presidential material/Not ready
- 1 Too liberal/Untrustworthy/No stands

**(Support Giuliani)
CLINTON (N=720)**

42% Stand on issues

- 6 Flip flops/Waffles
- 6 Health care
- 5 Everything/Just don't like her
- 4 Liberal/Too liberal/Radical
- 4 Supports big government/Socialist
- 3 Tax issues/Spending tax money
- 2 Abortion
- 1 She lies/I distrust her/Opportunist
- 1 Iraq War
- 1 Morals/Ethics
- 1 Gay issues
- 1 She's a Democrat/I'm a Republican

21% Personality

- 3 Fake/Dishonest/Insincere
- 3 Attitude/Presence/Way she carries herself
- 3 Arrogant/Cocky/Strong/Pushy/Abrasive
- 1 Husband Bill Clinton/Stayed with Bill Clinton
- 1 Background/because she's a Clinton
- 1 Know-it-all/Bull-headed/Snob
- 1 Woman/Related to her being a woman
- 1 Morals/Ethics

19% Leadership/Experience

- 7 Doesn't have much/enough experience
- 2 Don't think she can handle it/No leadership
- 1 Association with Bill Clinton/Riding coattails
- 1 Backs down on issues/Flip flops
- 1 Phony/Not trustworthy/Don't like her
- 1 Woman/related to her being a woman

Q.36 Now suppose the 2008 election is between Rudy Giuliani and Hillary Clinton, and a third party candidate is also running who holds more conservative positions on social issues like abortion and gay rights. Would you consider voting for a third party candidate like this, or not?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1607]:

33 Yes, would consider
 61 No, would not
6 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
 100

ASK ALL:

Q.37 Apart from your feelings about Hillary Clinton in particular, do you think it would be a good thing or a bad thing to elect a woman to be president, or don't you think it matters?

33 Good thing
 9 Bad thing
 55 Don't think it matters
3 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
 100

ASK ALL:

And thinking about some issues...

Q.38 In making your decision about who to vote for in next year's election, will the issue of **[INSERT ITEM, RANDOMIZE WITH EVERY RESPONDENT RECEIVING ITEMS a. AND b. AS WELL AS A RANDOM SEVEN OF ITEMS c. THRU p.]** be very important, somewhat important, not too important, or not at all important? ... How important will the issue of **[NEXT ITEM]** be? **[INTERVIEWER: PLEASE RE-READ RESPONSE OPTIONS EVERY THREE OR FOUR ITEMS]**

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1607]:

		Very <u>Important</u>	Somewhat <u>Important</u>	Not too <u>Important</u>	Not at all <u>Important</u>	Don't Know/ <u>Refused</u>
a.	The economy	79	18	1	1	1=100 (N=1607)
	June, 2007	74	22	2	1	1=100
	Mid-October, 2004	78	18	3	1	*=100
	August, 2004	76	22	1	1	*=100
b.	Iraq	76	18	2	2	2=100 (N=1607)
	June, 2007	73	20	3	3	1=100
	Mid-October, 2004	74	20	3	2	1=100
	August, 2004	70	24	3	2	1=100
c.	Terrorism	69	22	5	3	1=100 (N=823)
	June, 2007	69	24	4	2	1=100
	Mid-October, 2004	77	17	3	2	1=100
	August, 2004	75	19	3	2	1=100
d.	Abortion	39	26	17	13	5=100 (N=833)
	June, 2007	40	30	13	14	3=100
	Mid-October, 2004	47	27	12	11	3=100
	August, 2004	45	25	13	14	3=100

Q.38 CONTINUED...

		Very <u>Important</u>	Somewhat <u>Important</u>	Not too <u>Important</u>	Not at all <u>Important</u>	Don't Know/ <u>Refused</u>
e.	Immigration	56	31	7	4	2=100 (N=785)
	June, 2007	54	34	7	3	2=100
f.	Energy	65	28	3	2	2=100 (N=786)
	June, 2007	61	32	4	2	1=100
	Mid-October, 2004	54	37	6	2	1=100
	August, 2004	53	40	6	*	1=100
g.	Taxes	63	28	6	1	2=100 (N=850)
	June, 2007	62	29	7	2	*=100
	Mid-October, 2004	59	31	7	2	1=100
h.	Health care	76	18	4	1	1=100 (N=808)
	June, 2007	71	23	4	2	*=100
	Mid-October, 2004	73	22	4	1	*=100
	August, 2004	72	21	5	2	*=100
i.	The environment	58	31	8	2	1=100 (N=769)
	June, 2007	55	36	6	3	*=100
	Mid-October, 2004	53	37	7	2	1=100
	August, 2004	55	35	7	3	*=100
j.	Moral values	61	26	7	4	2=100 (N=797)
	Mid-October, 2004	63	23	8	4	2=100
	August, 2004	64	25	6	4	1=100
k.	The federal budget deficit	61	28	8	1	2=100 (N=788)
	Mid-October, 2004	57	32	7	3	1=100
	August, 2004	55	35	7	3	*=100
l.	Education	75	21	2	1	1=100 (N=775)
	Mid-October, 2004	75	20	3	2	*=100
	August, 2004	70	26	3	1	*=100
m.	Jobs	71	23	3	2	1=100 (N=823)
	Mid-October, 2004	76	19	4	1	*=100
n.	Gay marriage	22	21	21	32	4=100 (N=795)
	Mid-October, 2004	32	22	19	24	3=100
	August, 2004	34	19	15	30	2=100
o.	Stem cell research	35	35	16	8	6=100 (N=814)
	Mid-October, 2004	43	31	14	7	5=100
p.	Social Security	68	25	5	2	*=100 (N=803)
	Mid-October, 2004	65	27	6	2	*=100

ASK LANDLINE SAMPLE ONLY [N=1507]:

Thinking more generally about the political parties...

Q.39 Please tell me if you think each phrase I read better describes the REPUBLICAN Party and its leaders or the DEMOCRATIC Party and its leaders. (First,) which party do you think (**INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE**)

	Republican Party	Democratic Party	(VOL.) Both equally	(VOL.) Neither	(VOL.) DK/ Ref
a. Can better manage the federal government	32	44	5	9	10=100
March, 2007	31	47	3	8	11=100
Early October, 2006	34	44	3	9	10=100
April, 2006 ¹¹	35	39	3	15	8=100
January, 2006	34	40	4	12	10=100
Early October, 2005	35	41	3	13	8=100
July, 2004	37	40	4	9	10=100
Early September, 1998	37	32	8	12	11=100
August, 1997	39	33	4	16	8=100
July, 1996	45	32	4	12	7=100
April, 1995	49	30	3	13	5=100
July, 1994	43	31	4	17	5=100
May, 1993	36	32	2	17	13=100
July, 1992	30	36	1	23	10=100
May, 1990	28	20	12	31	9=100
May, 1988	33	30	10	17	10=100
January, 1988	30	28	12	20	10=100
May, 1987	24	25	13	28	10=100
b. Governs in a more honest and ethical	26	40	6	19	9=100
March, 2007	25	43	4	18	10=100
Early October, 2006	27	41	4	18	10=100
April, 2006 ¹²	28	36	4	23	9=100
January, 2006	30	37	4	19	10=100
Early October, 2005	30	40	6	18	6=100
July, 2004	34	37	5	15	9=100
Early September, 1998	31	28	6	23	12=100
March, 1998	28	32	7	24	9=100
August, 1997	28	33	5	26	8=100
July, 1996	38	37	2	18	5=100
April, 1995	35	36	4	19	6=100
July, 1994	32	35	6	21	6=100

11 In April 2006 and earlier, the question was worded: "Which party do you think is better described by the phrase.... Able to manage the federal government well."

12 In April 2006 and earlier, the question was worded: "Which party do you think is better described by the phrase... Governs in an honest and ethical way."

Q.39 CONTINUED...

	Republican <u>Party</u>	Democratic <u>Party</u>	(VOL.) Both <u>equally</u>	(VOL.) <u>Neither</u>	(VOL.) DK/ <u>Ref</u>
c. Can bring about the kind of changes the country needs	26	48	5	11	10=100
March, 2007	26	52	4	9	9=100
Early October, 2006	28	48	4	10	10=100
April, 2006	32	47	2	12	7=100
Early October, 2005	32	48	4	9	7=100
July, 2004	35	46	3	7	9=100
Early September, 1998	34	40	7	8	11=100
March, 1998	32	45	7	8	8=100
August, 1997	38	40	4	11	7=100
July, 1996	39	46	2	7	6=100
April, 1995	51	34	4	7	4=100
July, 1994	39	42	4	10	5=100
May, 1993	30	49	2	10	9=100
July, 1992	24	47	2	16	11=100
May, 1990	27	31	13	18	11=100
May, 1988	27	43	9	11	10=100
January, 1988	28	37	14	11	10=100
May, 1987	26	36	14	14	10=100
d. Is more concerned with the needs of people like me	25	54	4	8	9=100
March, 2007	26	55	2	7	10=100
Early October, 2006	27	55	3	8	7=100
April, 2006 ¹³	28	52	3	10	7=100
Early October, 2005	30	52	5	7	6=100
July, 2004	30	50	5	8	7=100
Early September, 1998	31	46	5	9	9=100
March, 1998	30	51	4	8	7=100
August, 1997	31	49	3	10	7=100
July, 1996	35	50	2	7	6=100
April, 1995	39	49	2	7	3=100
July, 1994	35	49	4	8	4=100
May, 1990	21	42	12	18	7=100
May, 1988	23	51	8	11	7=100
January, 1988	22	47	11	13	7=100
e. Selects better candidates for office ¹⁴	32	41	6	10	11=100
March, 1998	32	33	12	12	11=100
July, 1994	40	36	6	13	5=100
May, 1990	32	22	21	17	8=100
May, 1988	28	30	13	19	10=100
January, 1988	31	24	18	18	9=100
May, 1987	27	26	25	13	9=100

13 In April 2006 and earlier, the question was worded: "Is concerned with the needs of people like me."

14 In March 1998 and earlier, the question was worded "selects good candidates for office."

IF VERY OR SOMEWHAT LIKELY TO VOTE IN PRIMARIES (1,2 IN Q.8) ASK [N=1069]

Q.40 Thinking again about the primaries or caucuses in your state early next year – do you think you’ll vote in the Republican or Democratic primary in your state?

- 36 Republican primary or caucus
- 52 Democratic primary or caucus
- 12 Don’t know/Refused (VOL.)
- 100

IF ‘REPUBLICAN PRIMARY’ (1 IN Q.40) [N=405]:

Q.41 What’s more important to you as you think about the Republicans who are running for president [READ AND ROTATE]

- 65 A candidate who stands up for traditional conservative positions
OR
- 25 A candidate who has the best chance of winning against a Democrat
- 5 (VOL. DO NOT READ) Both equally
- 5 (VOL. DO NOT READ) Don’t know/Refused
- 100

NO QUESTIONS 42-43

ASK ALL IN LANDLINE SAMPLE ONLY [N=1507]:

Now I have a different kind of question...

ROTATE QUESTION BLOCKS 44-45 AND 46-47

Q.44 As I name some traits, please tell me whether you think they describe Hillary Clinton. (First/Next.)
[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE] do you think of Hillary Clinton as [ITEM] or not? [INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTION: IF RESPONDENT SAYS THEY DON’T KNOW HER WELL ENOUGH ENTER AS DON’T KNOW AND EMPHASIZE THAT THAT IS A LEGITIMATE ANSWER]

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1249]:

		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	Don’t <u>know</u>
a.	Ambitious	93	5	2=100
b.	Tough	78	17	5=100
c.	Outspoken	84	13	3=100
d.	Trustworthy	49	41	10=100
e.	Down-to-earth	47	47	6=100
f.	Compassionate	58	34	8=100

AFTER Q.44 IS COMPLETE, ASK ONLY FOR TRAITS a-c THAT DESCRIBE CLINTON:

Q.45 You said that Hillary Clinton is [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]. Is that some thing that you like about her or something that you dislike about her? [REPEAT FULL QUESTION FOR EACH ITEM a-c THAT DESCRIBES CLINTON]

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS WHO ANSWERED “YES” (1) TO a/b/c IN Q.44:

		<u>Like</u>	<u>Dislike</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	
a.	Ambitious	72	21	7=100	(N=1171)
b.	Tough	81	13	6=100	(N=967)
c.	Outspoken	68	26	6=100	(N=1048)

ASK ALL IN LANDLINE SAMPLE ONLY [N=1507]:

Q.46 As I name some traits, please tell me whether you think they describe Rudy Giuliani. (First/Next,) [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE] do you think of Rudy Giuliani as [ITEM] or not? [INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTION: IF RESPONDENT SAYS THEY DON'T KNOW HIM WELL ENOUGH ENTER AS DON'T KNOW AND EMPHASIZE THAT THAT IS A LEGITIMATE ANSWER]

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1249]:

		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
a.	Ambitious	78	11	11=100
b.	Tough	68	18	14=100
c.	Outspoken	66	21	13=100
d.	Trustworthy	48	32	20=100
e.	Down-to-earth	53	31	16=100
f.	Compassionate	58	24	18=100

AFTER Q.46 IS COMPLETE, ASK ONLY FOR TRAITS a-c THAT DESCRIBE GIULIANI:

Q.47 You said that Rudy Giuliani is [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]. Is that some thing that you like about him or something that you dislike about him? [REPEAT FULL QUESTION FOR EACH ITEM a-c THAT DESCRIBES GIULIANI]

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS WHO ANSWERED “YES” (1) TO a/b/c IN Q.46:

		<u>Like</u>	<u>Dislike</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	
a.	Ambitious	73	18	9=100	(N=1008)
b.	Tough	85	9	6=100	(N=878)
c.	Outspoken	73	18	9=100	(N=845)

ASK FORM 1 OF LANDLINE SAMPLE ONLY [N=752]:

Q.48F1 If Hillary Clinton were to win the 2008 election, do you, personally, LIKE or DISLIKE the idea of Bill Clinton being back in the White House?

45	Like
33	Dislike
18	Neither/Doesn't matter (VOL.)
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100	

ASK FORM 2 OF LANDLINE SAMPLE ONLY [N=755]:

Q.49F2 If Hillary Clinton were to win the 2008 election, do you think Bill Clinton would have a positive or negative influence on the way she does her job?

64	Positive influence
19	Negative influence
9	No influence (VOL.)
<u>8</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100	

ASK FORM 1 OF LANDLINE SAMPLE ONLY [N=752]:

Q.50F1 On the issues, do you think Hillary Clinton is more liberal than Bill Clinton, more conservative than Bill Clinton, or about the same?

23	More liberal
16	More conservative
54	About the same
<u>7</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100	

ASK FORM 2 OF LANDLINE SAMPLE ONLY [N=755]:

Q.51F2 Do you think the way Hillary Clinton would govern the country would be generally similar, or generally different from the way Bill Clinton governed?

IF 'SIMILAR' OR 'DIFFERENT' (1,2 IN Q.51) ASK:

Q.52F2 And is that a good thing or a bad thing?

48	Similar
29	Good thing
14	Bad thing
3	Mixed/Neither (VOL.)
2	Don't know (VOL.)
45	Different
31	Good thing
8	Bad thing
3	Mixed/Neither (VOL.)
3	Don't know (VOL.)
<u>7</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100	

QUESTIONS 53 AND 54 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

ASK ALL:

On a different subject...

Q.55 Which comes closer to your view about the tax cuts passed under President Bush over the past few years?

[READ IN ORDER]

		-RVs-				
		Early	Early			
		Nov	Oct	April	Dec	Sept
		<u>2006</u>	<u>2006</u>	<u>2006</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2004</u>
24	All of the tax cuts should be made permanent	30	26	25	28	27
31	Tax cuts for the wealthy should be repealed, while others stay in place, OR	34	36	36	35	31
30	All of the tax cuts should be repealed	22	26	28	25	28
<u>15</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL. DO NOT READ)	<u>14</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>14</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100

Q.56 Do you think abortion should be **[READ IN ORDER ON FORM 1, REVERSE ORDER OF OPTIONS ON FORM 2]**

	Legal in	Legal in	Illegal	Illegal	(VOL.)
	<u>all cases</u>	<u>most cases</u>	<u>in most</u>	<u>in all</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
			<u>cases</u>	<u>cases</u>	
October, 2007	21	32	24	15	8=100
August, 2007	17	35	26	17	5=100
March, 2007 <i>Pew Social Trends</i>	15	30	30	20	5=100
February, 2006 <i>Associated Press/Ipsos-Poll</i>	19	32	27	16	6=100
December 2005 <i>ABC/Washington Post</i> ²	17	40	27	13	3=100
April 2005 <i>ABC/Washington Post</i>	20	36	27	14	3=100
December 2004 <i>ABC/Washington Post</i>	21	34	25	17	3=100
May 2004 <i>ABC/Washington Post</i>	23	31	23	20	2=99
January 2003 <i>ABC/Washington Post</i>	23	34	25	17	2=100
August 2001 <i>ABC/Washington Post</i>	22	27	28	20	3=100
June 2001 <i>ABC/BeliefNet Poll</i>	22	31	23	20	4=100
January 2001 <i>ABC/Washington Post</i>	21	38	25	14	1=99
September 2000 (RVs) <i>ABC/Washington Post</i>	20	35	25	16	3=99
July 2000 <i>ABC/Washington Post</i>	20	33	26	17	4=100
September 1999 <i>ABC/Washington Post</i>	20	37	26	15	2=100
March 1999 <i>ABC/Washington Post</i>	21	34	27	15	3=100
July 1998 <i>ABC/Washington Post</i>	19	35	29	13	4=100
August 1996 <i>ABC/Washington Post</i>	22	34	27	14	3=100
June 1996 <i>ABC/Washington Post</i>	24	34	25	14	2=99
October 1995 <i>ABC/Washington Post</i>	26	35	25	12	3=100
September 1995 <i>ABC/Washington Post</i>	24	36	25	11	4=100
July 1995 <i>ABC/Washington Post</i>	27	32	26	14	1=100

Thinking about Iraq...

ON FORM 2, ASK Q.59/60/61 BEFORE Q.57 AND Q.58

Q.57 Do you think the U.S. made the right decision or the wrong decision in using military force against Iraq?

	<u>Right decision</u>	<u>Wrong decision</u>	<u>DK/ Ref</u>
October, 2007	39	54	7=100
September, 2007	42	50	8=100
July, 2007	41	53	6=100
June, 2007	40	51	9=100
April, 2007	45	47	8=100
March, 2007	43	49	8=100
February, 2007	40	54	6=100
Mid-January, 2007	40	51	9=100
Early January, 2007	40	53	7=100
December, 2006	42	51	7=100
Mid-November, 2006	41	51	8=100
Late October, 2006	43	47	10=100
Early October, 2006	45	47	8=100
Early September, 2006	49	43	8=100
August, 2006	45	46	9=100
July, 2006	44	50	6=100
June, 2006	49	44	7=100
April, 2006	47	46	7=100
March, 2006	45	49	6=100
February, 2006	51	44	5=100
January, 2006	45	47	8=100
December, 2005	47	48	5=100
Late October, 2005	48	45	7=100
Early October, 2005	44	50	6=100
Mid-September, 2005	49	44	7=100
July, 2005	49	44	7=100
June, 2005	47	45	8=100
February, 2005	47	47	6=100
January, 2005	51	44	5=100
December, 2004	49	44	7=100
November, 2004 (RVs)	48	41	11=100
Mid-October, 2004	46	42	12=100
Early October, 2004	50	39	11=100
Early September, 2004	53	39	8=100
August, 2004	53	41	6=100
July, 2004	52	43	5=100
June, 2004	55	38	7=100
May, 2004	51	42	7=100
Late April, 2004	54	37	9=100
Early April, 2004	57	35	8=100
Mid-March, 2004	55	39	6=100
Late February, 2004	60	32	8=100
Early February, 2004	56	39	5=100
Mid-January, 2004	65	30	5=100
Early January, 2004	62	28	10=100
December, 2003	67	26	7=100

Q.57 CONTINUED...

	<u>Right decision</u>	<u>Wrong decision</u>	<u>DK/ Ref</u>
October, 2003	60	33	7=100
September, 2003	63	31	6=100
August, 2003	63	30	7=100
Early July, 2003	67	24	9=100
May, 2003	74	20	6=100
<i>April 10-16, 2003</i>	<i>74</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>7=100</i>
<i>April 8-9, 2003</i>	<i>74</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>7=100</i>
<i>April 2-7, 2003</i>	<i>72</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>8=100</i>
<i>March 28-April 1, 2003</i>	<i>69</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>6=100</i>
<i>March 25-27, 2003</i>	<i>74</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>5=100</i>
<i>March 23-24, 2003</i>	<i>74</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>5=100</i>
<i>March 20-22, 2003</i>	<i>71</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>7=100</i>
Late January, 1991	77	15	8=100

Q.58 How well is the U.S. military effort in Iraq going? [READ IN ORDER]

	<u>Very well</u>	<u>Fairly well</u>	<u>Not too well</u>	<u>Not at all well</u>	<u>DK/ Ref</u>
October, 2007	10	34	29	22	5=100
September, 2007	9	32	30	24	5=100
July, 2007	8	28	34	25	5=100
June, 2007	7	27	33	28	5=100
April, 2007	7	31	34	25	3=100
March, 2007	10	30	32	24	4=100
February, 2007	5	25	38	29	3=100
Mid-January, 2007	7	28	32	30	3=100
December, 2006	4	28	37	27	4=100
Mid-November, 2006	6	26	34	30	4=100
Late October, 2006	5	30	34	25	6=100
Early October, 2006	8	29	33	25	5=100
Early September, 2006	8	39	28	20	5=100
August, 2006	8	33	32	23	4=100
June, 2006	16	37	25	18	4=100
April, 2006	13	34	29	21	3=100
March, 2006	9	34	30	21	6=100
December, 2005	14	37	29	17	3=100
Early October, 2005	9	35	31	22	3=100
Mid-September, 2005	12	41	26	18	3=100
July, 2005	14	38	27	17	4=100
June, 2005	9	41	27	19	4=100
February, 2005	14	40	25	17	4=100
January, 2005	9	39	29	20	3=100
December, 2004	10	40	28	18	4=100
Mid-October, 2004	13	38	26	17	6=100
Early September, 2004	12	40	26	18	4=100
August, 2004	12	41	28	16	3=100
July, 2004	13	42	26	16	3=100
June, 2004	16	41	25	14	4=100
May, 2004	10	36	32	19	3=100

QUESTION 58 CONTINUED...

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

Q.59 Do you think the U.S. should keep military troops in Iraq until the situation has stabilized, or do you think the U.S. should bring its troops home as soon as possible?

	Keep troops <u>in Iraq</u>	Bring troops <u>home</u>	<u>DK/ Ref</u>
October, 2007	42	54	4=100
September, 2007	39	54	7=100
July, 2007	39	54	7=100
June, 2007	39	56	5=100
April, 2007	41	53	6=100
March, 2007	43	52	5=100
February, 2007	42	53	5=100
Mid-January, 2007	46	48	6=100
Early January, 2007	41	53	6=100
December, 2006	44	50	6=100
Mid-November, 2006	46	48	6=100
Late October, 2006	46	47	7=100
Early October, 2006	47	47	6=100
Early September, 2006	47	47	6=100
August, 2006	48	46	6=100
June, 2006	50	45	5=100
April, 2006	48	48	4=100
March, 2006	44	50	6=100
February, 2006	50	46	4=100
January, 2006	48	48	4=100
December, 2005	49	46	5=100
Early October, 2005	47	48	5=100
Mid-September, 2005	51	45	4=100
July, 2005	52	43	5=100
June, 2005	50	46	4=100
February, 2005	55	42	3=100

Q.59 CONTINUED...

	Keep troops <u>in Iraq</u>	Bring troops <u>home</u>	<u>DK/ Ref</u>
January, 2005	54	41	5=100
December, 2004	56	40	4=100
Mid-October, 2004	57	36	7=100
Early September, 2004	54	40	6=100
August, 2004	54	42	4=100
July, 2004	53	43	4=100
June, 2004 ¹⁵	51	44	5=100
May, 2004	53	42	5=100
Late April, 2004	53	40	7=100
Early April, 2004	50	44	6=100
Early January, 2004	63	32	5=100
October, 2003	58	39	3=100
September, 2003	64	32	4=100

IF “KEEP TROOPS IN IRAQ” (1 IN Q.59) ASK [N=897]:

Q.60 Do you think the U.S. should or should not set a timetable for when troops will be withdrawn from Iraq?^

	Should set a <u>timetable</u>	Should not set <u>timetable</u>	<u>DK/ Refused</u>
October, 2007	15	26	1=42%
September, 2007	13	25	1=39%
June, 2007	13	25	1=39%
April, 2007	11	28	2=41%
March, 2007	14	27	2=43%
Mid-January, 2007	19	26	1=46%
December, 2006	17	25	2=44%
Mid-November, 2006	17	27	2=46%
Late October, 2006	15	29	2=46%
Early October, 2006	15	30	2=47%
Early September, 2006	13	32	2=47%
August, 2006	16	30	2=48%
June, 2006	16	32	1=50%
April, 2006	14	32	1=48%
March, 2006	14	29	1=44%
January, 2006	16	30	2=48%
December, 2005	17	30	2=49%
Early October, 2005	15	31	1=47%
Mid-September, 2005	19	30	2=51%
July, 2005	16	34	2=52%

^ Trend note: Question previously asked of all respondents. Results shown here are limited to those who said we should “keep troops in Iraq until the situation has stabilized.” The small number who volunteered that the U.S. should “get out now” in previous surveys have been grouped with supporters of a timetable.

15 In June 2004 and earlier, the question was worded: “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 “BRING TROOPS HOME” (2 IN Q.59) ASK [N=1018]:

Q.61 Should the U.S. remove all troops from Iraq immediately, or should the withdrawal of troops be gradual over the next year or two?

	Remove all troops <u>immediately</u>	Gradual <u>withdrawal</u>	DK/ <u>Refused</u>
October, 2007	18	35	1=54%
September, 2007	18	34	2=54%
July, 2007	21	31	2=54%
June, 2007	20	35	1=56%
April, 2007	17	34	2=53%
March, 2007	18	33	1=52%
February, 2007	16	35	2=53%
Mid-January, 2007	16	30	2=48%
December, 2006	18	32	*=50%
Mid-November, 2006	16	31	1=48%
August, 2006	15	30	1=46%
April, 2006	18	29	1=48%
January, 2006	14	32	2=48%
December, 2005	17	28	1=46%

ASK ALL IN LANDLINE SAMPLE ONLY [N=1507]:

Q.62 Regardless of what you think about the original decision to use military force in Iraq, do you now believe that the United States will definitely succeed, probably succeed, probably fail, or definitely fail in achieving its goals in Iraq?

	Sept <u>2007</u>	July <u>2007</u>	April <u>2007</u>	Feb <u>2007</u>	Nov <u>2006</u>	Mid- Sept <u>2006</u>	Aug <u>2006</u>	July <u>2005</u>
11	8	9	9	7	12	13	14	17
35	34	34	36	40	41	44	40	43
31	32	32	30	34	28	26	28	25
13	15	17	16	12	13	9	12	8
<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.63 Which concerns you more... [READ AND ROTATE]

	That the U.S. will leave Iraq before a stable <u>democracy is in place</u>	That the U.S. will wait too long to withdraw <u>its troops from Iraq</u>	(VOL) <u>Neither</u>	DK/ <u>Ref</u>
October, 2007	37	51	3	9=100
June, 2007	31	58	3	8=100
February, 2007	35	55	2	8=100
Mid-November, 2006	33	55	3	9=100
March, 2006	30	61	3	6=100
Early October, 2005	32	55	4	9=100
July, 2005	34	50	9	7=100
Early April, 2004	36	52	2	10=100
Mid-January, 2004	41	48	5	6=100

ASK ALL:

PARTY In politics TODAY, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or Independent?

IF ANSWERED 3, 4, 5 OR 9 IN PARTY, ASK:

PARTYLN As of today do you lean more to the Republican Party or more to the Democratic Party?

	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>	(VOL.) <u>No Preference</u>	(VOL.) <u>Other Party</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>	<i>Lean Rep</i>	<i>Lean Dem</i>
October, 2007	25	37	33	3	*	2=100	11	17
September, 2007	27	32	32	6	*	3=100	8	16
August, 2007	26	32	32	5	1	4=100	10	16
July, 2007	27	32	34	4	*	3=100	11	17
June, 2007	25	34	32	6	*	3=100	10	17
April, 2007	25	28	40	5	*	2=100	13	17
March, 2007	25	36	33	3	*	3=100	12	16
February, 2007	25	34	34	4	*	3=100	10	18
Mid-January, 2007	24	35	34	3	*	4=100	12	18
Early-January, 2007	23	31	39	4	*	3=100	12	18
December, 2006	25	35	32	5	*	3=100	11	17
Mid-November, 2006	25	36	32	4	*	3=100	9	18
Late October, 2006	26	32	33	5	1	3=100	10	16
Early October, 2006	27	34	33	3	*	3=100	12	15
Early September, 2006	30	34	30	3	*	3=100	10	14
August, 2006	30	33	30	4	*	3=100	12	14
July, 2006	29	33	31	4	1	2=100	11	14
June, 2006	29	34	31	4	*	2=100	11	16
April, 2006	29	32	30	5	*	4=100	10	14
Early April, 2006	29	32	33	3	*	3=100	12	16
March, 2006	28	34	30	4	*	4=100	11	15
February, 2006	30	33	31	3	*	3=100	11	16
January, 2006	28	32	32	5	*	3=100	10	15
Yearly Totals								
2006	27.6	32.8	30.3	5.0	.4	3.9=100	10.2	14.5
2005	29.2	32.8	30.3	4.5	.3	2.8=100	10.2	14.9
2004	29.5	33.1	30.0	4.0	.4	3.0=100	11.8	13.6
2003	29.8	31.4	31.2	4.7	.5	2.5=100	12.1	13.0
2002	30.3	31.2	30.1	5.1	.7	2.7=100	12.6	11.6
2001	29.2	33.6	28.9	5.1	.5	2.7=100	11.7	11.4
2001 Post-Sept 11	30.9	31.8	27.9	5.2	.6	3.6=100	11.7	9.4
2001 Pre-Sept 11	28.2	34.6	29.5	5.0	.5	2.1=100	11.7	12.5
2000	27.5	32.5	29.5	5.9	.5	4.0=100	11.6	11.6
1999	26.6	33.5	33.7	3.9	.5	1.9=100	13.0	14.5
1998	27.5	33.2	31.9	4.6	.4	2.4=100	11.8	13.5
1997	28.2	33.3	31.9	4.0	.4	2.3=100	12.3	13.8
1996	29.2	32.7	33.0	5.2=100			12.7	15.6
1995	31.4	29.7	33.4	5.4=100			14.4	12.9
1994	29.8	31.8	33.8	4.6=100			14.3	12.6
1993	27.4	33.8	34.0	4.8=100			11.8	14.7
1992	27.7	32.7	35.7	3.9=100			13.8	15.8
1991	30.9	31.4	33.2	4.5=100			14.6	10.8
1990	31.0	33.1	29.1	6.8=100			12.4	11.3
1989	33	33	34=100					
1987	26	35	39=100					

ASK REPUBLICANS AND REPUBLICAN LEANERS ONLY (PARTY=1 OR PARTYLN=1) IN LANDLINE SAMPLE [N=588]:

REPJOB 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?

		Late		Mid-	Late		(RVs)				
		Nov	June	April	Sept	March	July	Aug	May	May	Sept
		2006	2006	2006	2005	2005	2004	2003	2002	2001	2000
5	Excellent	7	6	6	4	8	12	6	6	10	6
31	Good	35	36	41	44	43	49	51	49	50	43
49	Only fair	41	44	41	41	36	33	37	38	32	44
13	Poor	15	10	10	8	9	4	5	5	5	5
<u>2</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

ASK DEMOCRATS AND DEMOCRATIC LEANERS ONLY (PARTY=2 OR PARTYLN=2) IN LANDLINE SAMPLE [N=778]:

DEMJOB 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?

		Late		Mid-	Late		(RVs)				
		Nov	June	April	Sept	March	July	Aug	May	May	Sept
		2006	2006	2006	2005	2005	2004	2003	2002	2001	2000
4	Excellent	6	4	5	3	3	6	5	5	8	11
35	Good	37	30	35	32	30	43	33	39	39	52
48	Only fair	45	51	48	49	51	40	51	43	40	32
9	Poor	7	13	11	14	14	8	9	10	7	4
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>1</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

ASK ALL:

INVEST Which of the following best describes your level of investment in the stock market? [READ IN ORDER ON FORM 1, REVERSE ORDER OF OPTIONS ON FORM 2]

		Sept
		2007
6	I trade stocks and other funds pretty regularly	7
43	I have some long-term investments like retirement accounts, but don't trade stocks regularly	45
47	I don't have any money in the stock market	44
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>4</u>
100		100

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N=2013

ASK FORM 1 ONLY:

Q.1F1 Now a question about politics. Please tell me whether the following traits are things you personally LIKE or DISLIKE in FEMALE political leaders. (First/Next,) [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE] do you generally like or dislike female political leaders who are [ITEM]?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=845]:

		<u>Like</u>	<u>Dis- like</u>	<u>Neither/ know</u>	<u>Don't</u>
a.	Ambitious	75	16	5	4=100
b.	Tough	73	14	8	5=100
c.	Outspoken	71	16	9	4=100
d.	Down-to-earth	89	5	3	3=100

ASK FORM 2 ONLY:

Q.2F2 Now a question about politics. Please tell me whether the following traits are things you personally LIKE or DISLIKE in MALE political leaders. (First/Next,) [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE] do you generally like or dislike male political leaders who are [ITEM]?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=801]:

		<u>Like</u>	<u>Dis- like</u>	<u>Neither/ depends</u>	<u>Don't</u>
a.	Ambitious	70	19	8	3=100
b.	Tough	68	19	9	4=100
c.	Outspoken	68	21	8	3=100
d.	Down-to-earth	92	3	3	2=100