

PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS
FEBRUARY 2004 GLOBAL ATTITUDES PROJECT -- U.S. SURVEY
FINAL TOPLINE
February 24 - 29, 2004
N=1,000

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

	<u>Sat- isfied</u>	<u>Dis- satisfied</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>		<u>Sat- isfied</u>	<u>Dis- satisfied</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
Late February, 2004	39	55	6=100				
Early January, 2004	45	48	7=100	July, 1994	24	73	3=100
December, 2003	44	47	9=100	March, 1994	24	71	5=100
October, 2003	38	56	6=100	October, 1993	22	73	5=100
August, 2003	40	53	7=100	September, 1993	20	75	4=100
April, 2003 ¹	50	41	9=100	May, 1993	22	71	7=100
January, 2003	44	50	6=100	January, 1993	39	50	11=100
September, 2002 ²	41	55	4=100	January, 1992	28	68	4=100
Late August, 2002	47	44	9=100	November, 1991	34	61	5=100
May, 2002	44	44	12=100	<i>Late Feb, 1991 (Gallup)</i>	66	31	3=100
March, 2002	50	40	10=100	August, 1990	47	48	5=100
Late September, 2001	57	34	9=100	May, 1990	41	54	5=100
Early September, 2001	41	53	6=100	January, 1989	45	50	5=100
June, 2001	43	52	5=100	September, 1988 (RVs)	50	45	5=100
March, 2001	47	45	8=100	May, 1988	41	54	5=100
February, 2001	46	43	11=100	January, 1988	39	55	6=100
January, 2001	55	41	4=100				
September, 2000	51	41	8=100				
June, 2000	47	45	8=100				
April, 2000	48	43	9=100				
August, 1999	56	39	5=100				
January, 1999	53	41	6=100				
November, 1998	46	44	10=100				
Early September, 1998	54	42	4=100				
Late August, 1998	55	41	4=100				
Early August, 1998	50	44	6=100				
February, 1998	59	37	4=100				
January, 1998	46	50	4=100				
September, 1997	45	49	6=100				
August, 1997	49	46	5=100				
January, 1997	38	58	4=100				
July, 1996	29	67	4=100				
March, 1996	28	70	2=100				
October, 1995	23	73	4=100				
June, 1995	25	73	2=100				
April, 1995	23	74	3=100				

¹ Asked April 8, 2003 only; N=395.

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

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

	<u>Very Closely</u>	<u>Fairly Closely</u>	<u>Not too Closely</u>	<u>Not at all Closely</u>	(VOL) DK
Late February, 2004	24	40	23	12	1=100
Early February, 2004	29	37	20	13	1=100
Mid-January, 2004	16	30	27	26	1=100
Early January, 2004	14	32	30	23	1=100
December, 2003	16	26	27	30	1=100
November, 2003	11	26	34	28	1=100
October, 2003	12	27	28	32	1=100
September, 2003	17	25	30	27	1=100
Mid-August, 2003	12	27	27	33	1=100
May, 2003	8	19	31	41	1=100
January, 2003 ³	14	28	29	28	1=100
March, 2000	26	41	19	13	1=100
February, 2000	26	36	21	17	*=100
January, 2000	19	34	28	18	1=100
March, 1996	26	41	20	13	*=100
January, 1996	10	34	31	24	1=100
March, 1992	35	40	16	9	*=100
January, 1992	11	25	36	27	1=100
May, 1988	22	46	23	6	3=100
November, 1987	15	28	35	21	1=100

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

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

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

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=749]:

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

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

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

PRC3 Do you think there is a chance that you might vote for John Kerry in November, or have you definitely decided not to vote for him?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=749]:

	Early Feb 2004	----- Gore 2000 -----						- Clinton -	
		Nov	Oct	Mid- Oct	Early Oct	Sept	June	July 1996	May 1992
13 Chance might vote for him	15	8	9	10	11	13	14	8	11
36 Decided not to vote for him	33	41	44	40	38	35	34	36	38
<u>3</u> Don't know/Refused	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>
52%	53%	55%	57%	55%	56%	53%	54%	48%	55%

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

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

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=749]:

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

ASK ALL:

On a different subject...

PRC5 How would you rate economic conditions in this country today -- as excellent, good, only fair, or poor?

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

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

	<u>Better</u>	<u>Worse</u>	<u>Same</u>	<u>Don't Know/ Refused</u>
Late February, 2004	39	12	41	8=100
September, 2003	37	17	43	3=100
May, 2003	43	19	35	3=100
Late March, 2003	33	23	37	7=100
January, 2003	30	20	44	6=100
Early October, 2002	34	18	42	6=100
June, 2002	30	20	46	4=100
January, 2002	44	17	36	3=100
January, 2001*	18	33	44	5=100
June, 2000	15	24	55	6=100
Early October, 1998 (RVs)	16	22	57	5=100
Early September, 1998	18	17	61	4=100
May, 1990	18	31	45	6=100
February, 1989	25	22	49	4=100
September, 1988 (RVs)	24	16	51	9=100
May, 1988	24	20	46	10=100
January, 1988	22	26	45	7=100
January, 1984* (RVs)	35	13	49	3=100

* *Newsweek*

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

		Early		Late		Early			Bush, Sr.		
		Sept	July	May	March	Jan	Oct	June	Jan	March	Jan
		<u>2003</u>	<u>2003</u>	<u>2003</u>	<u>2003</u>	<u>2003</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>
30	Doing as much as he can	26	33	42	41	33	31	33	48	21	21
65	Could be doing more	70	62	53	52	61	63	62	46	76	76
<u>5</u>	Can't say	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

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

Now, I have just a few questions about you and your family...

EMPLOY Are you now employed full-time, part-time or not employed?

		Early		Late			Early							
		Feb 2004	June 2002	June 2001	Jan 2001	Sept 1999	Aug 1999	Sept 1998	Nov 1997	May 1997	June 1996	Feb 1995	July 1994	March 1994
49	Full-time	51	55	54	52	56	58	55	55	53	57	55	55	53
12	Part-time	13	10	11	12	13	11	12	12	12	13	11	12	14
39	Not employed	36	35	35	35	31	30	33	33	35	30	34	33	32
*	Don't know/Ref.	*	*	*	<u>1</u>	*	<u>1</u>	*	*	*	*	*	*	<u>1</u>
<u>100</u>		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

NO PRC30-32

IF EMPLOYED FULL OR PART TIME (1,2 IN EMPLOY) ASK [N=608]:

PRC33 Do you now earn enough money to lead the kind of life you want, or not?

		Late		Early								<i>U.S. News & World Report</i>				
		June 2002	Jan 2001	Sept 1999	Aug 1999	Sept 1998	Nov 1997	May 1997	June 1996	Feb 1995	July 1994	March 1994	Oct 1992	Aug 1992	May 1992	Jan 1992
53	Yes	43	43	42	39	43	41	46	44	41	40	44	36	33	34	39
46	No	56	56	58	60	57	59	54	56	58	60	56	63	66	65	61
<u>1</u>	DK/Ref	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	*	<u>1</u>	*	*	*	*	<u>1</u>	*	*	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	*
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

IF 'NO' (2 IN PRC33) ASK:

PRC34 Do you think you will be able to earn enough money in the future to lead the kind of life you want, or not?

		Late		Early								<i>U.S. News & World Report</i>				
		June 2002	Jan 2001	Sept 1999	Aug 1999	Sept 1998	Nov 1997	May 1997	June 1996	Feb 1995	July 1994	March 1994	Oct 1992	Aug 1992	May 1992	Jan 1992
26	Yes	30	33	33	38	36	33	34	34	35	34	33	35	36	34	34
19	No	23	21	23	19	20	24	18	20	20	24	20	36	25	28	22
<u>1</u>	DK/Ref	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>
46%		56%	56%	58%	60%	57%	59%	54%	56%	58%	60%	56%	63%	66%	65%	61%

IF NOT EMPLOYED OR DK/REF (3,9 IN EMPLOY) ASK [N=392]:

PRC35 Do you now have enough income to lead the kind of life you want, or not?

48	Yes
50	No
<u>2</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

IF 'NO' (2 IN PRC35) ASK:

PRC36 Do you think you will have enough income in the future to lead the kind of life you want, or not?

- 21 Yes
- 23 No
- 6 Don't know/Refused
- 50%

IF EMPLOYED FULL OR PART TIME" (1,2 IN EMPLOY) ASK [N=608]:

PRC37 How concerned are you, if at all, about losing your job or taking a cut in pay? **[READ]**

- 23 Very concerned
- 19 Somewhat concerned
- 20 Not too concerned
- 38 Not at all concerned
- * Don't know/Refused
- 100

EMPLOY Are you now employed full-time, part-time or not employed?

IF NOT EMPLOYED (3 IN EMPLOY) ASK:

EMPLOY1 Are you currently looking for work, or not?

IF EMPLOYED (1,2 IN EMPLOY) OR NOT EMPLOYED/NOT LOOKING (2 IN EMPLOY1) ASK:

EMPLOY3 Over the past 12 months, has there been a time when you have been without a job and looking for work, or not?

	Early Feb <u>2004</u>
61 Employed, full or part time	64
10 Had been unemployed and looking in past year	11
51 Have not /Don't know	53
39 Not Employed	36
8 Currently looking	6
3 Had looked over past year	3
28 Not looking/have not been looking	27
<u>*</u> Don't know/Refused	<u>*</u>
100	100
21% NET: LOOKING/HAS LOOKED FOR WORK	20%

IF PART TIME (2 IN EMPLOY) ASK:

EMPLOY2 Would you prefer to be working full time, or not?

	Early Feb <u>2004</u>
4 Prefer full time work	4
8 Would not prefer full time work	9
<u>*</u> Don't know/Ref.	<u>*</u>
12%	13%

IF MARRIED ASK:

EMPLOYSP Is your spouse now employed full-time, part-time or not employed?

IF SPOUSE NOT EMPLOYED (3 IN EMPLOYSP) ASK:

EMPLOYSP1 Is your spouse currently looking for work, or not?

IF SPOUSE EMPLOYED (1,2 IN EMPLOYSP) OR NOT EMPLOYED/NOT LOOKING (2 IN EMPLOYSP1) ASK:

EMPLOYSP3 Over the past 12 months, has there been a time when your spouse has been without a job and looking for work, or not?

	Early Feb <u>2004</u>
37 Employed, full or part time	36
4 Had been unemployed and looking in past year	4
33 Have not /Don't know	32
16 Not Employed	16
2 Currently looking	2
1 Had looked over past year	1
13 Not looking/have not been looking	13
* Don't know/Refused	*
<u>47</u> Not married	<u>48</u>
100	100

25% NET: SELF/SPOUSE IS LOOKING/HAS LOOKED FOR WORK 24%

IF SPOUSE PART TIME (2 IN EMPLOYSP) ASK:

EMPLOYSP2 Would your spouse prefer to be working full time, or not?

	Early Feb <u>2004</u>
1 Yes, would prefer full time	1
4 No, would not	3
<u>0</u> Don't know/Refused	<u>*</u>
5%	4%

NO PRC38

ASK ALL:

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

	June <u>2001</u>	Oct <u>1999</u>	Aug <u>1988</u>	--- Gallup --- <u>Aug 1984</u>
38 Yes, divided into "haves" and "have-nots"	44	39	26	31
59 No	53	59	71	61
<u>3</u> Don't know/Refused	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>8</u>
100	100	100	100	100

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

		--- Gallup ---		
		June	Oct	Aug
		<u>2001</u>	<u>1999</u>	<u>1988</u>
59	Haves	52	67	59
27	Have-nots	32	24	17
7	Neither (VOL)	10	6	15
<u>7</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>
100		100	100	100

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

		June	Reagan
		<u>2001</u>	<i>Gallup</i>
			<u>Aug 1988⁴</u>
47	Helping the haves	43	49
4	Helping the have-nots	4	4
42	About the same	40	39
1	Neither (VOL)	2	2
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>11</u>	<u>6</u>
100		100	100

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

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

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

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

		June <u>2003</u>	June <u>2002</u>	Feb <u>2002</u>	June <u>2001</u>
32	Professional or business class	31	31	32	29
47	Working class	43	47	46	47
15	OR a struggling family or household?	14	14	14	15
2	More than one apply (VOL)	3	2	2	2
2	None apply (VOL)	7	3	4	4
<u>2</u>	DK/Refused	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100	100	100

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

		Mid-Jan <u>2004</u>	Oct <u>2003</u>	June <u>2002</u>	June <u>2001</u>	<i>U.S. News & World Report</i>		
						Aug <u>1992</u>	May <u>1992</u>	Jan <u>1992</u>
31	Plenty of jobs available	27	24	31	42	15	16	12
59	Jobs are difficult to find	60	66	59	44	76	77	79
5	Lots of some jobs, few of others (VOL)	6	5	4	8	6	4	6
<u>6</u>	Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100