

JUNE 25-28, 2004 NBC NEWS/ *WALL STREET JOURNAL* POLL

The poll results are from a survey conducted by the polling organizations of Peter D. Hart and Robert M. Teeter for NBC News and the *Wall Street Journal* from June 25 to 28, 2004. The survey was conducted by telephone among 1,025 registered voters across the country.

The sample for this poll was drawn using random-digit dialing to provide a sample frame that is representative of the United States population. Individuals were selected in accordance with a probability sample design that gives all telephone numbers (both listed and unlisted) an equal chance to be chosen. One adult, age 18 or over, was included from each household, selected by a systematic procedure to provide a balance of respondents by sex.

The data's margin of error is ± 3.0 percentage points among all adults at the 95% confidence level (± 4.3 for Form A half-sample questions and ± 4.3 for Form B half-sample questions; ± 4.6 for Q9b among those who say they will vote for Bush; ± 4.6 for Q9b among those who say they will vote for Kerry). Sample tolerances for subgroups are larger. Minimal weights have been applied to sex, ethnicity, age by form, and race by form.

1724 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20009
(202) 234-5570

Interviews: 1,025 registered voters
Dates: June 25-28, 2004

FINAL

Study #6044
NBC News/Wall Street Journal
June 2004

48 Male
52 Female

Please note: all results are shown as percentages unless otherwise stated.

The margin of error for 1,025 interviews is $\pm 3.0\%$

Unless otherwise noted by a "+", all previous data shown reflects responses among all adults.

1. Are you currently registered to vote in the precinct or election district where you live now, or haven't you had a chance to register yet?

Yes, registered	100	CONTINUE
No, not registered	-	TERMINATE
Not sure	-	

- 2a. Using a ten-point scale, please tell me how likely you are to vote in this November's elections for president and Congress. If you are certain that you will vote, pick a number closer to "8," "9," or "10." If it is less likely that you will vote, use a number closer to "1," "2," or "3." You may choose any number from one to ten. +

10, certain to vote	80
9	8
8	5
7	2
6	1
5	2
4	-
3	1
2	-
1, less likely to vote	1
Cannot rate	-

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

2b. For statistical purposes only, would you please tell me your age? (IF "REFUSED," ASK:) Well, would you tell me which age group you belong to?

18-24	7	50-54	12
25-29	7	55-59	10
30-34	9	60-64	6
35-39	11	65-69	8
40-44	9	70-74	4
45-49	9	75 and over	8
		Refused.....	-

3a. All in all, do you think that things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track?

	<u>6/04+</u>	<u>5/04+</u>	<u>3/04+</u>	<u>1/04</u>	<u>12/14/03</u>	<u>12/13/03</u>	<u>11/03</u>	<u>High</u> <u>9/01</u>	<u>Low</u> <u>7/92+</u>
Right direction.....	36	33	43	47	56	41	43	72	14
Wrong track	48	50	49	43	30	48	47	11	71
Mixed (VOL).....	14	14	4	6	9	8	6	11	9
Not sure	2	3	4	4	5	3	3	6	6
		<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	<u>5/03+</u>	<u>4/03</u>	<u>1/03</u>	<u>12/02</u>	<u>10/02+</u>	<u>9/02</u>
		38	42	50	62	36	43	44	42
		50	44	38	22	47	42	42	43
		8	9	7	13	14	13	14	12
		4	4	5	3	3	2	-	3
		<u>7/02</u>	<u>6/02</u>	<u>4/02</u>	<u>1/02</u>	<u>12/01</u>	<u>9/01</u>	<u>6/01</u>	<u>4/01</u>
		40	52	53	62	70	72	43	47
		42	31	28	20	15	11	39	39
		14	14	15	14	12	11	14	11
		4	3	4	4	3	6	4	3

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

3b. I'm going to read you a number of events that have occurred in the past few weeks--which one or two have had the greatest personal effect on you? + *

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

The situation in Iraq and the hostage killings	57	>
Higher gas prices	48	
The death of Ronald Reagan	20	
The 9-11 Commission report.....	12	
The opening of the World War Two veterans memorial in Washington, DC.....	9	
Changes in the stock market.....	9	
The new Medicare prescription drug cards.....	7	
The publication of Bill Clinton's memoirs.....	2	
None/other (VOL)	1	
Not sure.....	-	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

4a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job that George W. Bush is doing as president?

	<u>6/04+</u>	<u>5/04+</u>	<u>3/04+</u>	<u>1/04</u>	<u>12/14/03</u>	<i>High</i> <u>11/01</u>	<i>Low</i> <u>5/04+</u>
Approve	45	47	50	54	58	88	47
Disapprove	49	46	46	41	34	7	46
Not sure.....	6	7	4	6	9	5	7
		<u>12/13/03</u>	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	<u>5/03+</u>	<u>4/03</u>
		52	51	49	56	62	71
		41	44	45	38	32	23
		7	5	6	6	6	6
		<u>3/29-30/03</u>	<u>3/23/03</u>	<u>3/17/03</u>	<u>2/03¹</u>	<u>1/03</u>	<u>12/02</u>
		66	67	62	61	54	62
		29	28	33	31	40	33
		5	5	5	8	6	5
		<u>10/02+</u>	<u>9/02</u>	<u>7/02</u>	<u>6/02</u>	<u>5/02</u>	<u>4/02</u>
		63	64	67	69	75	74
		31	30	27	23	18	20
		6	6	6	8	7	6
		<u>6/02</u>	<u>5/02</u>	<u>4/02</u>			
		69	75	74			
		23	18	20			
		8	7	6			

¹ Overnight poll conducted after Colin Powell's speech to the United Nations.

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

4b. Do you generally approve or disapprove of the job that George W. Bush is doing in handling the economy?

	<u>6/04+</u>	<u>5/04+</u>	<u>3/04+</u>	<u>1/04</u>	<u>12/13/03</u>	<u>11/03</u>
Approve	45	41	46	49	48	50
Disapprove	49	53	51	45	46	44
Not sure.....	6	6	3	6	6	5
		<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	<u>5/03+</u>	<u>4/03</u>	<u>1/03</u>
		43	45	47	49	44
		52	48	45	42	49
		6	7	8	9	7
		<u>12/02</u>	<u>10/02+</u>	<u>9/02</u>	<u>7/02</u>	<u>6/02</u>
		47	48	48	49	57
		45	44	43	43	34
		8	8	9	8	9
		<u>4/02</u>	<u>1/02</u>	<u>12/01</u>	<u>6/01</u>	
		61	63	63	50	
		30	27	25	38	
		9	10	12	12	

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

4c. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job that George W. Bush is doing in handling our foreign policy?

	<u>6/04+ *</u>	<u>5/04+</u>	<u>3/04+</u>	<u>1/04</u>	<u>12/14/03</u>	<u>12/13/03</u>	<u>11/03</u>
Approve.....	44	43	47	54	56	48	48
Disapprove.....	52	51	49	41	37	47	48
Not sure	4	6	4	5	7	5	4
	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	<u>5/03+</u>	<u>4/03</u>	<u>1/03</u>	<u>12/02</u>	<u>10/02+</u>
	47	55	63	70	51	57	58
	46	39	31	24	42	36	35
	7	6	6	6	7	7	7
	<u>9/02</u>	<u>7/02</u>	<u>6/02</u>	<u>4/02</u>	<u>1/02</u>	<u>12/01</u>	<u>6/01</u>
	55	62	64	68	81	82	50
	34	28	28	26	13	12	32
	11	10	8	6	6	6	18

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

4d. When it comes to dealing with the war on terrorism, do you approve or disapprove of the job George W. Bush is doing?

	<u>6/04+ **</u>	<u>1/04</u>	<u>12/14/03</u>	<u>12/13/03</u>	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>
Approve.....	48	63	66	56	56	60	66
Disapprove.....	47	31	27	38	39	34	28
Not sure.....	5	6	7	5	5	6	6
	<u>1/03</u>	<u>12/02</u>	<u>9/02</u>	<u>7/02</u>	<u>6/02</u>	<u>5/02</u>	<u>4/02</u>
	64	66	67	73	75	75	76
	28	27	26	22	20	18	19
	8	7	7	5	5	7	5

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

5a. Looking ahead to November's presidential election, do you feel that George W. Bush deserves to be re-elected, or do you feel that he does not deserve to be re-elected?

	<u>6/04+</u>	<u>5/04+</u>	<u>3/04+</u>	<u>1/04</u>	<u>12/14/03</u>	<u>12/13/03</u>
Yes, deserves re-election.....	45	45	49	51	52	47
No, does not deserve re-election	50	49	48	42	38	46
Not sure	5	6	4	7	11	7

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

5b. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job that Congress is doing?

	<u>6/04+</u>	<u>5/04+</u>	<u>1/04</u>	<u>12/13/03</u>	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	<u>5/03+</u>	<i>High</i> <u>9/98</u>	<i>Low</i> <u>10/90+</u>
Approve	40	39	46	39	43	39	42	43	61	22
Disapprove	42	43	41	47	45	45	45	43	28	69
Not sure	18	18	13	14	11	16	13	14	11	9

	<u>1/03</u>	<u>12/02</u>	<u>10/02+</u>	<u>9/02</u>	<u>7/02</u>	<u>6/02</u>	<u>1/02</u>
	42	44	44	40	34	43	54
	39	39	40	44	48	41	29
	19	17	16	16	18	16	17

	<u>12/01</u>	<u>6/01</u>	<u>4/01</u>	<u>3/01</u>	<u>1/01</u>	<u>12/00</u>	<u>10/00+</u>
	57	47	43	45	48	55	49
	29	34	33	32	35	30	35
	14	19	24	23	17	15	16

	<u>9/00+</u>	<u>7/00+</u>	<u>6/00+</u>	<u>4/00+</u>	<u>3/00+</u>	<u>1/00</u>	<u>12/99</u>	<u>10/99</u>
	46	46	43	42	43	48	45	42
	41	42	46	44	40	36	42	45
	13	12	11	14	17	16	13	13

	<u>9/99</u>	<u>7/99</u>	<u>6/99</u>	<u>4/99</u>	<u>3/99</u>	<u>1/99</u>	<u>12/98</u>	<u>10/98+</u>
	40	43	40	49	41	50	44	48
	49	41	42	38	45	40	42	39
	11	16	18	13	14	10	14	13

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

6. Why do you feel the way you do about the nation's direction? **(READ RESPONSE FROM Q.3a IF NECESSARY)** What are some things that make you feel this way about the nation's direction? + **

Net Right Direction	35%	Net Wrong Track	59%
Economy is improving, getting better, recovering	16	Against the war in Iraq, we shouldn't be in Iraq	21
Approve of the war on terror, fighting terrorism	6	Economy is in bad shape, not getting better	14
There are more jobs, unemployment is down	4	Not enough jobs, high unemployment	10
Approve of the job President Bush is doing	3	Health care needs to be revamped, too expensive	5
Agree with the war in Iraq, with the way war is being handled	3	Too much money to other countries, not taking care of own people	4
		Some things are good and some are not, they are okay	2
		Don't know; no response	5%

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

7. Now I'm going to read you the names of several public figures, and I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as either very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, or very negative. If you don't know the name, please just say so.

	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Somewhat Negative</u>	<u>Very Negative</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/ Not Sure</u>
George W. Bush						
June 2004+	33	15	8	14	30	-
May 2004+	30	19	8	13	30	-
March 2004+	35	17	6	13	29	-
January 2004.....	38	17	8	13	24	-
December 13, 2003.....	35	19	8	15	23	-
November 2003.....	34	19	11	13	24	-
September 2003.....	35	17	9	15	23	1
July 2003.....	38	21	9	14	17	-
May 2003+	42	21	8	11	17	1
January 2003.....	36	20	12	16	16	-
December 2002.....	38	24	14	12	12	-
October 2002+	37	24	11	12	15	1
April 2002	47	25	13	8	7	-
April 2000+	17	29	22	13	16	3
High						
December 2001.....	54	26	9	6	5	-
Low						
March 2000+	19	26	21	15	17	2
John Kerry						
June 2004+	13	27	21	14	21	4
May 2004+	12	26	19	16	22	5
March 2004+	15	28	20	12	18	6
January 2004.....	5	17	25	16	10	29
December 13, 2003.....	3	18	20	13	11	36
December 2002.....	5	14	25	8	5	43

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

Q.7 (cont'd)

	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Somewhat Negative</u>	<u>Very Negative</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/ Not Sure</u>
Dick Cheney						
June 2004+	17	22	17	13	27	4
May 2004+	18	21	16	13	29	3
March 2004+	18	21	17	14	23	6
December 13, 2003	18	24	14	13	23	8
September 2003	21	25	16	14	18	7
May 2003+	25	23	18	10	16	8
January 2003	20	27	23	12	13	5
September 2002	23	27	21	12	12	5
July 2002	24	28	19	10	13	6
April 2002	27	29	22	8	10	4
December 2001	36	27	23	3	6	5
April 2001	31	21	22	10	9	7
January 2001	23	26	26	9	7	9
October 2000+	25	24	26	8	9	8
<i>High</i>						
February 1991+	33	33	13	2	2	17
<i>Low</i>						
May 2004+	18	21	16	13	29	3
Ralph Nader						
June 2004+	4	16	28	19	22	11
May 2004+	5	14	30	18	24	9
March 2004+	3	15	29	20	23	10
December 2000	8	23	30	15	13	11
October 2000+	11	20	31	10	12	16
September 2000+	12	20	27	14	13	14
June 2000+	10	23	30	9	6	22
April 2000+	9	19	31	12	8	21
May 1996	14	23	28	9	6	20

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

Q.7 (cont'd)

	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Somewhat Negative</u>	<u>Very Negative</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/ Not Sure</u>
Bill Clinton						
June 2004+	20	22	16	14	27	1
January 2002	17	19	13	13	36	2
June 2001	18	21	15	15	31	-
April 2001	20	20	15	11	34	-
March 2001	17	17	13	14	38	1
January 2001	32	24	11	12	21	-
December 2000	33	23	11	12	21	-
<i>Likely voters</i> November 2000+	22	20	11	11	35	1
<i>Likely voters</i> October 2000+	25	23	8	12	32	-
September 2000+	25	25	10	13	27	-
August 2000+	24	22	11	13	30	-
July 2000+	22	27	11	12	28	-
<i>High</i>						
January 1993	33	31	15	9	7	5
<i>Low</i>						
March 2001	17	17	13	14	38	1
John Edwards						
June 2004+ *	10	22	29	11	4	24
March 2004	12	24	27	14	6	17
January 2004	4	12	24	8	6	45
December 13, 2003	3	14	21	8	5	49
Ronald Reagan						
June 2004+ *	48	22	16	7	6	1
January 2000	37	27	17	9	9	1
September 1999	31	29	17	11	11	1
April 1992	14	23	16	17	29	1
May 1991	16	22	19	17	23	3
October 1990	16	25	16	17	23	3
March 1990	21	26	16	14	22	1
November 1989	19	28	17	13	21	2
Joe Biden						
June 2004+ *	5	11	25	6	4	49

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

Q.7 (cont'd)

	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Somewhat Negative</u>	<u>Very Negative</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/ Not Sure</u>
Dick Gephardt						
June 2004+ **	5	19	33	13	10	20
January 2004	5	21	26	17	11	20
December 13, 2003	4	20	27	14	11	24
January 2002	6	21	25	10	8	30
September 1998	6	18	35	9	5	27
October 1997	4	18	30	12	6	30
September 1997	6	15	32	8	7	32
March 1992	4	19	29	11	7	30
March 1991	5	21	28	10	4	32
Nancy Reagan						
June 2004+ *	46	24	19	5	3	3
January 2000	25	28	30	7	7	3

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

8. What is your preference for the outcome of November's congressional elections—a Congress controlled by Republicans or a Congress controlled by Democrats?

	<u>6/04+</u>	<u>5/04+</u>	<u>3/04+</u>	<u>1/04</u>	<u>12/13/03</u>	<u>10/02+</u>	<u>9/02</u>	<u>7/02</u>
Republican-controlled Congress	42	41	42	42	42	43	42	43
Democrat-controlled Congress	44	44	45	43	42	42	42	41
Not sure ²	14	15	13	15	16	15	16	16
		<u>6/02</u>	<u>1/02</u>	<u>12/01</u>	<u>12/99</u>	<u>10/99</u>	<u>7/99</u>	<u>6/99</u>
		42	44	42	40	39	39	42
		41	40	40	44	41	43	41
		17	16	18	16	20	18	17
	<u>4/99</u>	<u>3/99</u>	<u>10/98+</u>	<u>9/98</u>	<u>7/98</u>	<u>6/98</u>	<u>4/98</u>	<u>2/98</u>
	41	37	41	40	41	39	37	41
	40	43	43	39	40	40	41	37
	19	20	16	21	19	21	22	22
	<u>1/98</u>	<u>12/97</u>	<u>9/97</u>	<u>7/97</u>	<u>4/97</u>	<u>1/96</u>	<u>12/95</u>	<u>10/94</u> ¹
	40	41	41	45	44	41	42	44
	42	37	39	39	38	38	41	38
	18	22	20	16	18	21	17	18

¹ In October 1994, the question referred to the 1994 congressional elections; the 1995 and 1996 survey dates referred to the 1996 congressional elections; the 1997 and 1998 dates refer to the 1998 congressional elections.

² The volunteered responses "both equal," "neither in control," or "doesn't matter," were reported separately; for purposes of comparative they are combined with "not sure."

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

- 9a. If the election for president were held today, and George W. Bush were running as the Republican candidate, John Kerry were running as the Democratic candidate, and Ralph Nader were running as an independent candidate, for whom would you vote?

	<u>6/04+</u>		<u>5/04+</u>	<u>3/04+</u>
George W. Bush	45	CONTINUE	46	46
John Kerry	44		42	43
Ralph Nader.....	4		5	5
Depends (VOL).....	1		1	1
None/other (VOL).....	1	Skip to Q.9c	1	2
Not sure	5		5	3

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO MAKE A CHOICE IN Q.9a.)

- 9b. Would you definitely vote for **(CANDIDATE IN Q.9a)**, probably vote for **(CANDIDATE IN Q.9a)** but are still thinking about it, or are you just leaning toward voting for **(CANDIDATE IN Q.9a)**?

	<i>Bush Voters</i>			<i>Kerry Voters</i>		
	<u>6/04+</u>	<u>5/04+</u>	<u>3/04+</u>	<u>6/04+</u>	<u>5/04+</u>	<u>3/04+</u>
Definitely vote for candidate	80	78	81	64	65	70
Probably vote for candidate.....	11	12	12	17	17	15
Just leaning toward voting for candidate.....	8	10	7	19	18	15
Not sure	1	-	-	-	-	-

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

- 9c. If the election for president were held today, and George W. Bush were running as the Republican candidate and John Kerry were running as the Democratic candidate, for whom would you vote?

	<u>6/04+</u>	<u>5/04+</u>	<u>3/04+</u>	<u>1/04</u>	<u>7/03</u>	<u>5/03</u>	<u>1/03</u>
George W. Bush	47	48	48	54	49	55	48
John Kerry	47	45	45	35	34	27	31
Depends (VOL).....	1	1	1	2	1	2	4
Other (VOL)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
None/will not vote (VOL)	1	2	{2	{3	{6	{6	{3
Not sure	4	4	4	6	9	11	14

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

10a. Please tell me which ONE of the following issues will be most important to you personally in your voting for Congress and president this year. **(IF "ALL," ASK:)** Well, if you had to choose, which one will be MOST important?

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO CHOOSE AN ISSUE IN Q.10a.)

10b. And which ONE of these issues will be the SECOND most important to you in your voting?

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE OF TOP PRIORITY

	Q.10a Top Priority			Q.10a/b COMBINED Top/Second Priorities	
	6/04+	5/04+		6/04+	5/04+
The war in Iraq	25	20	CONTINUE	47	36
Terrorism and homeland security	22	18		38	35
Jobs and unemployment	21	21		40	42
Health care and prescription drug coverage....	11	18		28	33
The federal budget deficit	9	6		17	15
Taxes.....	4	8		11	17
Energy and gasoline prices	5	5		15	15
Other (VOL).....	2	2	Skip to Q.11	3	3
Not sure.....	1	2		NA	NA

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

11. How much would you say you know about John Kerry and what he stands for--a lot, a fair amount, just some, or very little?

	6/04+	5/04+	3/04+
Know a lot	15	18	23
Know a fair amount	42	44	45
Know just some	28	25	17
Know very little	15	12	14
Not sure	-	1	1

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

12a. How would you rate George W. Bush on the following qualities, using a five-point scale, on which a "5" means a very good rating, a "1" means a very poor rating, and a "3" means a mixed rating?

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY GOOD (RATING OF "4" OR "5")

	Very Good Rating			Very Poor Rating		Cannot Rate
	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	
Being easygoing and likable						
June 2004+ *	32	21	22	11	13	1
Having high personal standards that set the proper moral tone for the country						
June 2004+ *	39	13	20	11	16	1
Having the strong leadership qualities needed to be president						
June 2004+ *	32	18	17	13	20	-
May 2003.....	47	17	15	8	13	1
January 2003.....	34	22	21	11	12	-
July 2002	38	24	19	9	10	-
January 2002.....	49	24	17	5	5	-
April 2001	28	22	22	13	15	-
January 2001	26	24	25	13	11	1
December 1999.....	26	27	24	10	9	4
Being smart and intelligent						
June 2004+ *	25	23	19	10	23	-
Being honest and straightforward						
June 2004+ *	29	18	14	12	26	1
May 2003.....	41	18	21	7	13	1
January 2003.....	39	21	16	10	13	1
July 2002	35	23	19	10	12	1
April 2001	37	18	20	11	13	1
January 2001	28	22	25	11	13	1
Being compassionate enough to understand average people						
June 2004+ *	24	16	22	13	25	-
May 2003.....	34	17	19	9	20	1
January 2003.....	27	22	19	12	19	1
July 2002	33	23	21	10	12	1
January 2002.....	44	21	20	6	8	1
April 2001	26	20	21	15	17	1
January 2001	21	21	27	14	16	1
December 1999.....	22	24	28	10	12	4

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

Q.12a (cont'd)

	Very Good Rating			Very Poor Rating		Cannot Rate
	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	
Having the right economic policies for the times						
June 2004+ *	16	24	19	14	26	1
May 2003.....	18	21	25	11	23	2
January 2003.....	13	20	29	16	21	1
July 2002	14	25	34	13	12	2

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

12b. How would you rate John Kerry on the following qualities, using a five-point scale, on which a "5" means a very good rating, a "1" means a very poor rating, and a "3" means a mixed rating? + **

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY GOOD (RATING OF "4" OR "5")

	Very Good Rating			Very Poor Rating		Cannot Rate
	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	
Being smart and intelligent	33	28	23	5	8	3
Having high personal standards that set the proper moral tone for the country	22	25	21	11	16	5
Being easygoing and likable	20	25	28	12	10	5
Being knowledgeable and experienced enough to handle the presidency.....	23	21	27	10	15	4
Being consistent and standing up for his beliefs	17	21	21	12	25	4
Being strong in protecting American interests overseas	16	21	24	14	19	6
Having the right economic policies for the times	11	18	30	12	16	13

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

Now I'd like to turn to the war in Iraq...

13. Do you think that the United States should or should not have taken military action to remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq?

	<u>6/04+</u>	<u>5/04+</u>	<u>3/04+</u>	<u>1/04</u>	<u>12/14/03</u>	<u>12/13/03</u>
Should have taken military action	56	60	63	66	69	66
Should not have taken military action	39	35	33	29	26	30
Not sure	5	5	4	5	5	4
	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	<u>5/03</u>	<u>4/03</u>	<u>3/17/03¹</u>
	63	64	69	71	76	65
	34	33	27	24	17	30
	3	4	5	5	7	5
	<u>2/03²</u>	<u>1/03</u>	<u>12/02</u>	<u>10/02+</u>	<u>9/02</u>	<u>4/02³</u>
	60	56	59	60	58	57
	27	36	30	31	30	28
	13	8	11	9	12	8

¹ On March 17, 2003, the question was phrased, "Do you think that the United States should or should not take..."

² Overnight poll conducted after Colin Powell's speech to the United Nations.

³ In April 2002, the question was phrased, "Do you think that the United States should or should not take military action against Iraq and Saddam Hussein?"

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

14. Since the United States has taken military action against Iraq to remove Saddam Hussein from power, do you think the threat of terrorism against the United States has increased, decreased, or stayed about the same?

	<u>6/04+*</u>	<u>4/03²</u>	<u>3/17/03¹</u>	<u>1/03</u>	<u>12/02</u>
Increased.....	51	32	52	55	55
Decreased	14	14	16	10	9
Stayed about the same.....	34	52	29	32	35
Not sure.....	1	2	3	3	1

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

¹ Prior to April 2003, this question was phrased, "If the United States took military action against Iraq to remove Saddam Hussein from power, do you think that the threat of terrorism in the United States would increase, decrease, or stay about the same?"

² In April 2003, this question was phrased, "Since the United States has taken military action against Iraq to remove Saddam Hussein from power, do you think the threat of terrorism in the United States has increased, decreased, or stayed about the same?"

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

15. When it comes to the war in Iraq, do you think that removing Saddam Hussein from power was or was not worth the number of U.S. military casualties and the financial cost of the war?

	<u>6/04+</u>	<u>5/04+</u>	<u>3/04+</u>	<u>1/04</u>	<u>12/14/03</u>	<u>12/13/03</u>	<u>11/03</u>
Worth it.....	40	42	50	52	53	45	45
Not worth it	51	47	44	40	37	42	46
Depends.....	5	5	2	2	5	6	3
Not sure	4	6	4	5	5	6	5

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

16. When it comes to how long American troops should stay in Iraq, which of the following statements comes closest to your view?

Statement A: American troops should be withdrawn from Iraq now or as soon as possible.

Statement B: American troops should be withdrawn from Iraq according to a specified timetable and leave within the next eighteen months regardless of the situation at that time.

Statement C: American troops should stay as long as necessary to complete the process, even if it takes as long as five years.

	<u>6/04+ **</u>	<u>5/04+</u>	<u>3/04+</u>	<u>1/04</u>	<u>12/14/03</u>
Statement A /As soon as possible	24	25	23	19	20
Statement B /According to specified timetable, but within 18 months.....	31	30	25	24	23
Statement C /As long as necessary, even if five years	43	44	50	56	55
Not sure	2	1	2	2	3
		<u>12/13/03</u>	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>
		21	20	21	17
		23	28	26	23
		55	51	50	58
		1	2	2	3

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

17. Do you think President Bush gave the country the most accurate information he had before going to war with Iraq, or do you think President Bush exaggerated information to make the case for war with Iraq?

	<u>6/04+ **</u>	<u>3/04+</u>	<u>7/03</u>
Gave the most accurate information he had	42	49	48
Exaggerated information to make the case for war	53	49	47
Not sure ¹	5	2	6

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

¹ Prior to June 2004, this item was phrased, "Depends/Not sure (VOL)."

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

18. Do you think President Bush gave the country the most accurate information he had before going to war with Iraq, or do you think President Bush deliberately misled people to make the case for war with Iraq?

	<u>6/04+ *</u>	<u>3/04+</u>
Gave the most accurate information he had	44	53
Deliberately misled people to make the case for war	47	41
Not sure ¹	9	6

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

¹ Prior to June 2004, this item was phrased, "Depends/Not sure (VOL)."

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

19. Which concerns you more about the United States' position in Iraq—that the United States will stay in Iraq too long or that we will exit Iraq too soon? +

Stay in Iraq too long	53
Exit Iraq too soon	37
Not sure	10

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

20. As you may know, President Bush has set a deadline of this June thirtieth to hand over governing power in Iraq to an Iraqi government. Do you think that the United States should or should not hand governing power in Iraq to an Iraqi government at this point?

	ALL VOTERS		Pre-handover	Post-handover
	6/04+	5/04+ ¹	6/25-27/04	6/28/04
Yes, should hand over power ²	74	66	74	74
No, should not hand over power ³	18	22	17	21
Not sure	8	12	9	5

¹ In May 2004, this question was phrased, "As you may know, President Bush has set a deadline of this June 30th to hand over governing power in Iraq to an Iraqi government. Do you think that the United States should or should not meet this deadline of handing governing power in Iraq to an Iraqi government by June 30th?"

² In May 2004, this item was phrased, "Yes, should meet June 30th deadline."

³ In May 2004, this item was phrased, "No, should not meet June 30th deadline."

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

21. And do you think that the Iraqi people are ready to take over and run their government?

	ALL VOTERS		Pre-handover	Post-handover
	6/04+	5/04+ ¹	6/25-27/04	6/28/04
Yes, are ready ²	31	19	30	33
No, are not ready ³	50	64	52	47
Depends (VOL)	7	6	6	8
Not sure	12	11	12	12

¹ In May 2004, this question was phrased, "And do you think that the Iraqi people will be ready to take over and run their government by June 30th?"

² In May 2004, this item was phrased, "Yes, will be ready."

³ In May 2004, this item was phrased, "No, will not be ready."

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

22. Do you think that Iraq will or will not be able to establish and maintain a stable, democratic government?

	6/04+	5/04+	3/04+
Will be able to maintain stable, democratic government	31	27	46
Will not be able to maintain stable, democratic government	45	51	40
Mixed/neither fully democratic nor fully undemocratic (VOL)	10	10	4
Not sure ¹	14	12	10

¹ In March 2004, this item was phrased, "Depends/Not sure (VOL)."

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

23. If Iraqi civilian leaders are unable to govern effectively, do you feel that the United States should take back the governing of Iraq or let the Iraqi citizens work things out for themselves? +

Take back the governing of Iraq.....	12
Let Iraqis work it out for themselves.....	74
Depends (VOL)	7
Not sure	7

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

24. Do you think that the United States has the situation in Iraq pretty much under control, or do you think that the United States is NOT really in control of the situation in Iraq?

	6/04+ **	5/04+
United States is in control of the situation.....	34	34
United States is NOT in control of the situation	58	60
Not sure.....	8	6

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

25. Do you feel that the United States' activities in Iraq have done more to reduce or more to increase violence in the Middle East? + *

More to reduce violence	22
More to increase violence	60
Some of both (VOL)	8
No effect either way (VOL)	4
Not sure	6

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

26. Based on what you have learned, please tell me whether you believe each of the following is true or is not true. + *

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY TRUE

	<u>True</u>	<u>Not True</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
Saddam Hussein represented a threat in the Middle East	83	14	3
Saddam Hussein represented a threat to the United States	65	32	3
Iraq had weapons of mass destruction	54	37	9
Iraq was connected to the September eleventh terrorist attacks	40	49	11

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

27. Thinking about the abuse and torture of Iraqi prisoners by American military personnel at the Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq, which of the following comes closer to your point of view?

In this case, the abuse and torture of the prisoners were justified and understandable because we are at war against terrorists, OR

Abuse and torture of prisoners is always wrong, even in the case of war against terrorists. +

Justified and understandable because we are at war	18
Always wrong, even in the case of war	72
Some of both (VOL).....	7
Not sure.....	3

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

28. Thinking about the abuse and torture of Iraqi prisoners by American military personnel at the Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq, at which of the following levels do you think the decision was made to abuse and torture the Iraqi prisoners? +

Limited to the American military guards in the prison and their immediate superiors	36
Also included the American military leadership in Iraq.....	20
Also included military and civilian leaders in Washington .	35
Not sure.....	9

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

Turning to the economy...

29. Over the past twelve months, do you think that the nation's economy has gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed about the same?

	<u>6/04+</u>	<u>5/04+</u>	<u>3/04+</u>	<u>1/04</u>	<u>12/13/03</u>	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>
Economy has gotten better	39	35	35	43	45	38	27
Economy has gotten worse	28	33	34	23	27	29	41
Economy has stayed about the same ...	31	31	29	34	27	31	30
Not sure	2	1	1	1	1	1	2
		<u>7/03</u>	<u>5/03+</u>	<u>12/01</u>	<u>4/01¹</u>	<u>3/01</u>	<u>3/92</u>
		23	18	6	7	17	6
		42	45	65	57	44	73
		34	36	28	35	38	20
		1	1	1	1	1	1
		<u>1/92</u>	<u>12/91</u>	<u>10/91</u>	<u>9/91</u>	<u>7/91</u>	<u>6/91</u>
		2	3	6	8	9	11
		78	74	67	57	64	54
		19	22	26	33	26	35
		1	1	1	2	1	-
		<u>5/91</u>	<u>12/90</u>	<u>10/90</u>	<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>
		8	3	3	6	11	11
		64	73	72	57	37	36
		27	23	24	35	51	52
		1	1	1	2	1	1
		<u>4/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>11/89</u>	<u>9/89</u>	
		12	12	12	15	18	
		30	30	29	34	23	
		56	56	57	49	57	
		2	2	2	2	2	

¹ Prior to April 2001, the question was phrased, "Over the past year. . . ."

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

30. During the next twelve months, do you think that the nation's economy will get better, get worse, or stay about the same?

	<u>6/04+</u>	<u>5/04+</u>	<u>3/04+</u>	<u>1/04</u>	<u>12/13/03</u>	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	<u>5/03+</u>
Economy will get better	43	42	44	50	53	49	44	45	49
Economy will get worse.....	15	16	18	10	10	15	19	16	17
Economy will stay about the same	34	34	35	37	33	33	33	34	31
Not sure	8	8	3	3	3	3	4	4	3
		<u>1/03</u>	<u>12/02</u>	<u>10/02+</u>	<u>9/02</u>	<u>7/02</u>	<u>4/02</u>	<u>12/01</u>	<u>4/01¹</u>
		35	40	41	39	41	50	50	36
		25	20	20	18	20	13	15	25
		37	35	34	39	37	32	32	34
		3	5	5	4	2	5	3	5
		<u>3/01</u>	<u>10/98+</u>	<u>9/98</u>	<u>4/97</u>	<u>1/96</u>	<u>7/95</u>	<u>4/95</u>	<u>12/94</u>
		28	17	19	19	21	20	24	31
		29	24	22	22	21	21	23	17
		37	54	53	57	52	54	50	46
		6	5	6	2	6	5	3	6
		<u>10/94</u>	<u>9/94</u>	<u>6/94</u>	<u>5/94</u>	<u>3/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>12/93</u>	<u>10/93</u>
		31	28	28	27	29	44	43	21
		24	24	17	21	16	16	19	27
		40	44	52	49	52	36	34	50
		5	4	3	3	3	4	4	2
	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>12/92</u>	<u>5/92</u>	<u>9/91</u>
	23	20	23	33	39	50	53	32	31
	24	29	27	21	15	9	10	20	24
	51	48	47	44	43	39	35	45	40
	2	3	3	2	3	2	2	3	5

¹ Prior to April 2001, the question was phrased, "During the next year..."

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

31. Which of the following two statements comes closer to your assessment of the United States' economy?

Statement A: On the basis of what I see for the future, the signs point to an economy that is going to be strong--jobs are being created, inflation is low, and the stock market is up.

Statement B: On the basis of what I see for the future, the signs point to an economy that is going to be in trouble--jobs are moving overseas, the budget deficit is growing, and too many jobs do not have health insurance or pensions.

	<u>6/04+</u>	<u>5/04+</u>
Statement A /economy will be strong	34	31
Statement B /economy will be in trouble	57	60
Some of both (VOL)	7	7
Not sure.....	2	2

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

32. I'm going to read you a short statement about the economy. Using a scale from one to five, please tell me how much you agree with this statement. On this scale, a five means that you totally agree with the statement, and a one means that you totally disagree with the statement.

"The net loss of one-point-two million private-sector jobs is a serious challenge for the American economy. Middle-class families are also increasingly being squeezed by the rising costs of health care, college tuition, and gasoline at the same time that wages and incomes are stagnating and personal bankruptcies are at a record high." +

5, totally agree	46
4	19
3	20
2	8
1, totally disagree	6
Cannot rate.....	1

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

33. Compared with the past several presidents, do you feel that **(READ ITEM)** will turn out to have been one of the very best, better than most, not as good as most, or definitely worse than most of them?

	One Of The Very <u>Best</u>	Better Than <u>Most</u>	Not As Good As <u>Most</u>	Definitely Worse <u>Than Most</u>	Not <u>Sure</u>
Bill Clinton					
June 2004+ *	13	39	26	21	1
January 2001	16	40	24	18	2
December 2000.....	13	44	24	16	3
January 1999	12	38	26	19	5
Ronald Reagan					
June 2004+ *	32	43	16	5	4
September 1999.....	18	46	24	8	4
1981 ¹	11	44	28	9	8

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

¹ Results from a 1981 survey conducted by Lou Harris.

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

34. In terms of President Bush's approach to governing and how he handles the presidency, do you think that he is more like his father, former president George Bush, or more like Ronald Reagan? + **

More like father/former president George Bush	40
More like Ronald Reagan	25
Some of both (VOL)	11
Is like neither (VOL)	17
Not sure	7

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

35. I'm going to read you a short statement about the economy. Using a scale from one to five, please tell me how much you agree with this statement. On this scale, a five means that you totally agree with the statement, and a one means that you totally disagree with the statement.

"Our economy is strong and it is getting stronger. America has added more than one-point-four million new jobs since last August. The rate of home ownership in America is at an all-time high, business investment is growing, the stock market is improving, consumer confidence is increasing, and personal incomes are on the rise." +

5, totally agree	16
4	19
3	28
2	19
1, totally disagree	17
Cannot rate.....	1

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

On a different topic...

36. From what you know, do you think that the Bush Administration did all that could reasonably be expected to prevent the September eleventh terrorist attacks, or do you think that the Administration should have done more?

	6/04+ **	5/04+ ¹
Did all that could be expected	50	58
Should have done more	43	36
Not sure	7	6

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

¹ In May 2004, this question was phrased, "From what you know, do you think that George W. Bush did all that could reasonably be expected to prevent the September eleventh terrorist attacks, or do you think that he should have done more?"

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

37. I'm going to read you a number of the findings from the federal commission that is investigating the nine-eleven terrorist attacks. For each one, please tell me whether you agree or disagree with that finding. + **

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY AGREE WITH FINDING

	Agree With Finding	Disagree With Finding	Not Sure
Aviation and defense department officials in the United States government were not trained or prepared to deal with a situation that had terrorists using airplanes as weapons	84	13	3
Saddam Hussein and the Iraqi government did not collaborate with Al Qaeda in attacking the United States on 9/11.....	42	47	11
The government of Saudi Arabia and members of the Saudi royal family were not involved in helping to finance the 9/11 attacks.....	26	49	25

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

Getting near the end of the survey...

38. Would you favor or would you oppose an amendment to the United States Constitution that defines marriage as a union only between a man and a woman and makes same-sex marriages unconstitutional? (**IF "FAVOR" OR "OPPOSE," ASK:**) Would you say that you strongly (favor/oppose) this, or just somewhat (favor/oppose) this?

	<u>6/04+</u>	<u>5/04+¹</u>	<u>3/04+</u>	<u>12/13/03</u>
Favor Constitutional Amendment	51	50	54	{48}
Strongly favor	43	42	46	
Somewhat favor	8	8	8	
Oppose Constitutional Amendment	44	44	43	{44}
Somewhat oppose	11	11	11	
Strongly oppose	33	33	32	
Depends (VOL)	2	2	1	2
Not sure	3	4	3	6

¹ Prior to May 2004, the question was phrased, "Would you favor or would you oppose a constitutional amendment that defined marriage as a union only between a man and a woman and made same-sex marriages unconstitutional?"

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

39. There is a type of medical research that involves using special cells, called stem cells, that are obtained from human embryos. These human embryo stem cells are then used to generate new cells and tissue that could help treat or cure many diseases. I am now going to read you two statements about this type of research.

Statement A: Those OPPOSED to this type of research say that it crosses an ethical line by using cells from potentially viable human embryos, when this research can be done on animals or by using other types of cells.

Statement B: Those IN FAVOR of this research say that it could lead to breakthrough cures for many diseases, such as cancer, Alzheimer's, Parkinson's, and spinal cord injuries, and this research uses only embryos that otherwise would be discarded.

Who do you agree with more--those opposed or those in favor?

	<u>6/04+</u>	<u>6/01</u>
Agree more with those opposed	22	23
Agree more with those in favor	71	69
Depends (VOL)	2	3
Not sure	5	5

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.