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HART/MCINTURFF
December 2004

Study #6050—page 1
NBC News/Wall Street Journal

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

Interviews: 1,003 adults
Dates: December 9-13, 2004

FINAL RESULTS

Study #6050
NBC News/Wall Street Journal
December 2004

48 Male
52 Female
[109]

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

The margin of error for 1,003 interviews is $\pm 3.1\%$

1. Are you currently registered to vote at this address?

Registered	85	[138]
Not registered	15	
Not sure	-	

2. 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>12/04</u>	<u>10/04+</u>	<u>9/04+</u>	<u>8/04+</u>	<u>7/04+</u>	<u>6/04+</u>	<u>High</u> <u>9/01</u>	<u>Low</u> <u>7/92+</u>	
Headed in the right direction	41	39	39	36	36	36	72	14	[139]
Off on the wrong track	46	48	49	50	48	48	11	71	
Mixed (VOL)	11	10	10	12	14	14	11	9	
Not sure	2	3	2	2	2	2	6	6	
		<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>9/03</u>	
		33	41	47	56	41	43	38	
		50	49	43	30	48	47	50	
		14	5	6	9	8	6	8	
		3	5	4	5	3	3	4	
		<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>	
		42	49	62	36	43	44	42	
		44	38	22	47	42	42	43	
		9	8	13	14	13	14	12	
		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.

3a. How old are you? (IF "REFUSED," ASK:) Well, would you tell me which age group you belong to?

18-24	12	50-54.....	8	[140-141]
25-29	7	55-59.....	7	
30-34	11	60-64.....	6	
35-39	10	65-69.....	6	
40-44	11	70-74.....	5	
45-49	10	75 and over.....	6	
		Refused.....	1	

3b. Are you from a Hispanic or Spanish-speaking background?

Yes, Hispanic	11	[142]
No, not Hispanic.....	89	
Not sure/refused.....	-	

3c. What is your race--white, black, Asian, or something else?

White	75	[143]
Black	11	
Asian	2	
Other	3	
Hispanic (VOL).....	8	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

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

	<u>12/04</u>	<u>10/04+</u>	<u>9/04+</u>	<u>8/04+</u>	<u>7/04+</u>	<u>High</u> <u>11/01</u>	<u>Low</u> <u>6/04+</u>	[144]
Approve	49	49	47	47	48	88	45	
Disapprove.....	44	47	48	48	46	7	49	
Not sure	7	4	5	5	6	5	6	
		<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>	
		45	47	50	54	58	52	
		49	46	46	41	34	41	
		6	7	5	6	9	7	
		<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	<u>5/03+</u>	<u>4/03</u>	<u>3/29-30/03</u>	
		51	49	56	62	71	66	
		44	45	38	31	23	29	
		5	6	6	7	6	5	
		<u>3/23/03</u>	<u>3/17/03</u>	<u>2/03¹</u>	<u>1/03</u>	<u>12/02</u>	<u>10/02+</u>	
		67	62	61	54	62	63	
		28	33	31	40	33	31	
		5	5	8	6	5	6	
		<u>9/02</u>	<u>7/02</u>	<u>6/02</u>	<u>5/02</u>	<u>4/02</u>		
		64	67	69	75	74		
		30	27	23	18	20		
		6	6	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>12/04*</u>	<u>10/04+</u>	<u>9/04+</u>	<u>8/04+</u>	<u>6/04+</u>	<u>5/04+</u>	<u>3/04</u>	
Approve	44	45	45	43	45	41	45	[145]
Disapprove.....	51	52	51	52	49	53	51	
Not sure	5	3	4	5	6	6	4	
		<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>	
		49	48	50	43	45	47	
		45	46	44	52	48	45	
		6	6	5	6	7	8	
		<u>4/03</u>	<u>1/03</u>	<u>12/02</u>	<u>10/02+</u>	<u>9/02</u>	<u>7/02</u>	
		49	44	47	48	48	49	
		42	49	45	44	43	43	
		9	7	8	8	9	8	
		<u>6/02</u>	<u>4/02</u>	<u>1/02</u>	<u>12/01</u>	<u>6/01</u>		
		57	61	63	63	50		
		34	30	27	25	38		
		9	9	10	12	12		

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

+ 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>12/04**</u>	<u>10/04+</u>	<u>9/04+</u>	<u>8/04+</u>	<u>6/04+</u>	<u>5/04+</u>	<u>3/04</u>	
Approve	45	48	44	44	44	43	47	[146]
Disapprove.....	51	46	51	52	52	51	48	
Not sure	4	6	5	4	4	6	5	
		<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>	
		54	56	48	48	47	55	
		41	37	47	48	46	39	
		5	7	5	4	7	6	
		<u>5/03+</u>	<u>4/03</u>	<u>1/03</u>	<u>12/02</u>	<u>10/02+</u>	<u>9/02</u>	
		63	70	51	57	58	55	
		31	24	42	36	35	34	
		6	6	7	7	7	11	
		<u>7/02</u>	<u>6/02</u>	<u>4/02</u>	<u>1/02</u>	<u>12/01</u>	<u>6/01</u>	
		62	64	68	81	82	50	
		28	28	26	13	12	32	
		10	8	6	6	6	18	

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

+ 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>12/04*</u>	<u>10/04+</u>	<u>9/04+</u>	<u>8/04+</u>	<u>6/04+</u>	<u>1/04</u>	<u>12/14/03</u>	
Approve.....	51	50	52	53	48	63	66	[147]
Disapprove.....	42	46	43	42	47	31	27	
Not sure.....	7	4	5	5	5	6	7	
		<u>12/13/03</u>	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	<u>1/03</u>	<u>12/02</u>	
		56	56	60	66	64	66	
		38	39	34	28	28	27	
		5	5	6	6	8	7	
		<u>9/02</u>	<u>7/02</u>	<u>6/02</u>	<u>5/02</u>	<u>4/02</u>		
		67	73	75	75	76		
		26	22	20	18	19		
		7	5	5	7	5		

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

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY ARE REGISTERED TO VOTE IN Q.1.)

5. A lot of people are unable to get out and vote for many reasons. Did you happen to vote in the November election for president? (IF "YES," ASK:) For whom did you vote--George W. Bush, John Kerry, or someone else? +

Voted--George W. Bush.....	47	[148]
Voted--John Kerry.....	42	
Voted--someone else.....	3	
Did not vote.....	6	
Not sure.....	2	

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

6. Now I'm going to read you the names of several public figures and organizations, 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							[149]
December 2004.....	31	19	9	13	28	-	
October 2004+	36	14	6	13	31	-	
September 2004+	36	13	6	12	33	-	
August 2004+	33	16	8	12	31	-	
July 2004+	29	19	8	13	30	1	
June 2004+	33	15	8	14	30	-	
May 2004+	30	19	8	13	30	-	
March 2004	34	16	8	13	28	-	
January 2004	38	17	8	13	24	-	
December 13, 2003.....	35	19	8	15	23	-	
September 2003.....	35	17	9	15	23	1	
July 2003.....	38	21	9	14	17	-	
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	-	
July 2000+	24	28	14	14	18	2	
<i>High</i>							
December 2001.....	54	26	9	6	5	-	
<i>Low</i>							
March 2000+	19	26	21	15	17	2	

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

Q.6 (cont'd)

	Very Positive	Somewhat Positive	Neutral	Somewhat Negative	Very Negative	Don't Know Name/ Not Sure	
The Democratic Party							[150/158]
December 2004.....	18	26	22	19	14	1	
October 2004+	17	25	22	16	19	1	
September 2004+.....	16	26	20	18	19	1	
August 2004+	17	24	23	16	19	1	
July 2004+.....	16	25	24	19	14	2	
September 2003.....	11	29	22	19	16	3	
July 2003.....	11	25	25	20	16	3	
December 2002.....	13	27	27	16	15	2	
September 2002.....	12	26	30	17	12	3	
December 2001.....	18	30	26	14	9	3	
December 2000.....	23	23	18	16	18	2	
July 2000+.....	19	27	24	15	14	1	
June 1996+	17	29	23	15	15	1	
<i>High</i>							
January 2000.....	20	30	23	15	10	2	
<i>Low</i>							
December 1994	10	23	25	24	16	2	
The Republican Party							[151/159]
December 2004.....	19	27	18	16	18	2	
October 2004+	20	24	18	15	22	1	
September 2004+.....	21	22	16	18	22	1	
August 2004+	18	26	17	16	22	1	
July 2004+.....	18	25	20	18	18	1	
September 2003.....	17	26	17	19	18	3	
July 2003.....	18	30	16	16	16	3	
December 2002.....	21	26	22	15	14	2	
September 2002.....	15	30	26	13	13	3	
December 2001.....	21	36	18	13	9	3	
December 2000.....	18	26	23	14	18	1	
July 2000+.....	15	28	24	16	15	2	
June 1996+	11	25	25	21	16	2	
<i>High</i>							
December 2001.....	21	36	18	13	9	3	
<i>Low</i>							
March 1999	1	22	23	19	23	2	

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

Q.6 (cont'd)

	Very Positive	Somewhat Positive	Neutral	Somewhat Negative	Very Negative	Don't Know Name/ Not Sure	
John Kerry							[152]
December 2004*	19	24	18	17	21	1	
October 2004+	21	23	12	14	29	1	
September 2004+	18	25	14	14	28	1	
August 2004+	21	23	14	13	27	2	
July 2004+	17	25	21	16	19	2	
June 2004+	13	27	21	14	21	4	
May 2004+	12	26	19	16	22	5	
March 2004	15	27	20	13	17	8	
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	
Colin Powell							[153]
December 2004*	41	30	15	7	3	4	
May 2004+	40	29	15	11	3	2	
July 2003	42	33	14	7	2	2	
May 2003+	52	27	9	6	3	3	
December 2001	57	27	10	1	1	4	
April 2001	51	27	12	4	1	5	
March 2001	53	23	13	4	2	5	
January 2001	48	26	16	4	1	5	
April 1997	47	30	14	3	2	4	
August 1996+	30	35	20	5	3	7	
June 1996+	37	32	19	3	3	6	
May 1996+	35	30	19	5	3	8	
December 1995	28	33	24	5	4	6	
October 1995	21	33	28	6	2	10	
March 1991+	43	28	8	2	1	18	
February 1991+	46	22	8	2	1	21	
<i>High</i>							
December 2001	57	27	10	1	1	4	
<i>Low</i>							
October 1995	21	33	28	6	2	10	

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

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

Q.6 (cont'd)

	Very Positive	Somewhat Positive	Neutral	Somewhat Negative	Very Negative	Don't Know Name/ Not Sure	
Dick Cheney							[154]
December 2004*	18	24	13	13	28	4	
October 2004+	24	20	12	11	31	2	
September 2004+	21	20	13	12	31	3	
August 2004+	18	20	16	12	30	4	
July 2004+	16	20	19	14	28	3	
June 2004+	17	22	17	13	27	4	
May 2004+	18	21	16	13	29	3	
March 2004	17	22	18	14	22	6	
December 13, 2003.....	18	24	14	13	23	8	
May 2003+	24	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	
December 2001.....	36	27	23	3	6	5	
April 2001.....	31	21	22	10	9	7	
January 2001	23	26	26	9	7	9	
July 2000+	19	23	26	9	6	17	
<i>High</i>							
February 1991+.....	33	33	13	2	2	17	
<i>Low</i>							
July 2004+.....	16	20	19	14	28	3	
Tom DeLay							[155]
December 2004*	3	9	26	7	10	45	
December 2000.....	2	7	19	5	8	59	
July 2000+	3	7	18	4	9	59	
July 1999.....	2	7	19	3	4	65	
Arnold Schwarzenegger							[156]
December 2004*	16	28	31	10	9	6	
August 2004+	16	26	31	12	10	5	
November 2003.....	14	23	32	14	10	7	
Antonin Scalia							[157]
December 2004*	6	10	20	6	6	52	
Condoleezza Rice							[160]
December 2004**.....	26	19	21	10	12	12	
May 2004+	26	22	17	12	12	11	

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

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

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

Q.6 (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>	
Laura Bush							[161]
December 2004**	40	22	21	7	6	4	
August 2004+	38	19	24	8	6	5	
December 2001	49	27	16	2	2	4	
March 2001	28	24	33	3	2	10	
January 2001	16	18	34	4	5	23	
July 2000+	13	14	28	4	4	37	
Donald Rumsfeld							[162]
December 2004**	11	23	17	14	24	11	
May 2004+	16	23	18	14	19	10	
November 2003	18	25	15	11	19	12	
September 2003	21	26	15	11	14	13	
July 2003	21	25	15	13	15	12	
May 2003+	27	25	13	8	13	14	
June 2002	23	24	19	8	6	20	
December 2001	30	26	16	4	3	21	
John Edwards							[163]
December 2004**	16	24	24	16	13	7	
October 2004+	18	24	21	13	20	4	
September 2004+	20	21	21	14	17	7	
August 2004+	19	22	25	15	13	6	
July 2004+	18	26	26	12	8	10	
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	

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

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

Q.6 (cont'd)

	Very Positive	Somewhat Positive	Neutral	Somewhat Negative	Very Negative	Don't Know Name/ Not Sure	
Hillary Rodham Clinton							[164]
December 2004**	24	21	14	11	29	1	
December 13, 2003.....	21	25	12	12	30	1	
July 2003.....	16	21	20	13	27	3	
March 2001	16	19	15	18	31	1	
January 2001	27	22	13	12	24	2	
December 2000.....	27	23	16	10	23	1	
October 2000+	20	19	15	14	31	1	
September 2000+	19	23	16	13	28	1	
June 2000+	19	22	16	13	29	1	
April 2000+	18	22	18	12	27	3	
March 2000+	18	24	19	15	23	1	
January 2000	21	23	18	13	24	1	
December 1999.....	19	22	17	13	28	1	
October 1999	21	24	13	16	25	1	
<i>High</i>							
January 1999.....	35	23	16	11	14	1	
<i>Low</i>							
October 2000+	20	19	15	14	31	1	

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

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

7. Which of the following best describes how you feel about George W. Bush being reelected as president--optimistic and confident that he will do a good job, satisfied and hopeful that he will do a good job, uncertain and wondering whether he will do a good job, or pessimistic and worried that he will do a bad job?

	12/04	10/04+	10/00+	
Optimistic.....	30	31	27	[165]
Satisfied.....	22	20	29	
Uncertain	17	13	24	
Pessimistic	30	35	19	
Not sure.....	1	1	1	

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

8. Do you feel that there has been a fair and accurate vote count in the presidential election, or do you worry that the vote count has been unfair?

Fair and accurate vote count.....	68	[166]
Worry the count has been unfair	27	
Not sure.....	5	

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY VOTED OR ARE NOT SURE IN Q.5.)

9. There were many important issues in the presidential campaign. When it came to deciding for whom you would vote for president, which one of the following was the single most important issue in deciding for whom you would vote? **(IF "ALL," ASK:)** Well, if you had to choose the MOST important issue, which would you choose?

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

	<u>12/04</u>	<u>10/04+</u>	<u>9/04+</u>	
Jobs and the economy ¹	24	26	28	[167]
The war in Iraq	24	22	20	
Social issues and values	20	14	12	
Terrorism	16	25	23	
Health care	6	10	13	
Taxes	3	NA	NA	
None/other (VOL)	4	1	2	
Not sure	3	2	2	

¹Prior to December 2004, the item was phrased, "The economy."

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY VOTED OR ARE NOT SURE IN Q.5.)

10. Thinking more about the presidential election, when it comes to **(READ ITEM)**, was this the most important issue, one of several important issues, an issue of little importance, or an issue that was not at all important in your voting decision for president?

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE

	<u>The Most Important Issue</u>	<u>One Of Several Important Issues</u>	<u>An Issue Of Little Importance</u>	<u>Issue Not Important At All</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
The economy	28	64	6	2	-	[170]
The war in Iraq	28	64	5	3	-	[171]
The issue of terrorism	26	64	7	3	-	[168]
Social issues and values	22	54	17	6	1	[169]

11. When it comes to **(READ ITEM)**, which party do you think would do a better job--the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, both about the same, or neither?

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY DEMOCRATIC PARTY

	Party <u>Advantage</u>	Democratic <u>Party</u>	Republican <u>Party</u>	Both About <u>The Same</u>	Neither	Not <u>Sure</u>	
Dealing with health care							[179]
December 2004**	D-18	39	21	23	11	6	
January 2004.....	D-26	48	22	18	10	2	
December 13, 2003.....	D-18	43	25	14	13	6	
October 2002+	D-25	46	21	19	11	3	
June 2002.....	D-22	38	16	23	18	5	
June 2001.....	D-21	41	20	21	12	6	
December 1999.....	D-26	43	17	21	13	6	
March 1999.....	D-24	42	18	23	12	5	
October 1998+.....	D-20	41	21	26	8	4	
September 1998.....	D-20	40	20	24	13	3	
June 1998.....	D-13	25	12	34	23	6	
May 1996.....	D-20	42	22	16	17	3	
December 1995.....	D-21	43	22	13	16	6	
October 1994.....	D-12	37	25	12	20	6	
July 1994.....	D-16	37	21	18	18	6	
May 1994.....	D-9	26	17	38	15	4	
October 1993.....	D-28	44	16	16	18	6	
March 1993.....	D-48	57	9	17	12	5	
July 1992+	D-34	44	10	21	19	6	
April 1992+	D-36	48	12	17	18	5	
October 1991+.....	D-34	46	12	18	16	8	

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

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

Q.11 (cont'd)	Party Advantage	Democratic Party	Republican Party	Both About The Same	Neither	Not Sure	
Dealing with the economy							[175]
December 2004*	D-9	39	30	20	7	4	
July 2004+	D-8	40	32	19	7	2	
January 2004+	R-2	36	38	15	8	2	
December 13, 2003	R-1	37	38	14	7	5	
October 2002+	D-6	36	30	21	9	4	
June 2002	D-1	32	31	24	9	4	
June 2001	D-6	37	31	20	6	6	
December 1999	D-3	34	31	24	7	4	
March 1999	D-6	35	29	26	6	4	
September 1998	-	31	31	29	6	3	
September 1997	R-9	25	34	26	9	6	
October 1996	D-4	36	32	15	10	7	
May 1996+	R-4	26	30	27	14	3	
December 1995	R-8	22	30	27	17	4	
June 1995	R-12	17	29	29	23	2	
October 1994	R-8	22	30	28	16	4	
July 1994	R-11	18	29	32	17	4	
June 1994	R-5	21	26	39	12	2	
October 1993	R-5	22	27	20	28	3	
March 1993	D-16	34	18	34	11	3	
July 1992+	D-8	26	18	35	18	3	
May 1992	D-6	29	23	26	17	5	
January 1992+	D-5	28	23	33	12	4	
October 1991+	R-1	27	28	26	14	5	
Dealing with Social Security							[173/177]
December 2004	D-15	38	23	20	13	6	
January 2004	D-20	45	25	16	11	3	
December 13, 2003	D-15	39	24	18	13	7	
October 2002+	D-23	43	20	19	13	5	
June 2002	D-15	36	21	26	12	5	
June 2001	D-15	38	23	22	11	6	
December 1999	D-15	38	23	18	14	7	
March 1999	D-18	39	21	23	11	6	
October 1998+	D-23	44	21	25	6	4	
September 1998	D-16	37	21	25	13	4	
July 1998	D-9	28	19	34	14	5	
January 1998	D-11	26	15	34	18	7	
September 1997	D-14	33	19	18	22	8	
October 1996	D-12	36	24	17	15	8	
December 1995	D-22	44	22	14	14	6	
June 1995	D-9	35	26	16	15	8	
November 1994	D-5	32	27	15	16	10	

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

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

Q.11 (cont'd)

	<u>Party Advantage</u>	<u>Democratic Party</u>	<u>Republican Party</u>	<u>Both About The Same</u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
Dealing with Iraq							[178]
December 2004**	R-15	27	42	17	10	4	
July 2004+	R-8	31	39	16	10	4	
January 2004+	R-27	22	49	14	12	4	
December 13, 2003	R-21	24	45	13	7	11	
October 2002+	R-30	17	47	21	8	7	
Dealing with the war on terrorism							[174]
December 2004*	R-18	24	42	22	7	5	
January 2004	R-24	23	46	22	6	3	
December 13, 2003	R-26	20	46	19	9	5	
October 2002+	R-36	13	49	27	6	5	
Promoting strong moral values							[172/176]
December 2004	R-21	21	42	22	12	3	
January 2004	R-22	23	45	18	13	2	
December 13, 2003	R-23	20	42	15	15	8	
June 2001	R-22	18	40	23	16	3	
December 1999	R-21	16	37	23	20	4	

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

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

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

12. In winning the presidential election, President Bush says that the voters gave him a mandate--meaning he believes that the voters have backed his positions on the issues and want him to pursue policies that he advocated during the campaign. For each of the following policies that I read you, please tell me whether, speaking for yourself, you think that President Bush has a mandate from the voters to pursue this policy.

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY YES, BUSH HAS MANDATE

	Yes, Bush Has Mandate	No, Bush Does Not Have Mandate	Depends (VOL)	Not Sure	
Continuing to fight the war on terrorism, both here at home and overseas **	74	20	3	3	[218]
Promoting legislation that addresses moral values and standards	55	38	2	5	[209/216]
Staying in Iraq as long as is necessary to create a stable Iraqi democracy	52	41	3	4	[180/214]
Making the tax cuts of the past few years permanent *	48	41	2	9	[211]
Nominating judges who have a conservative judicial philosophy *	46	44	2	8	[213]
Amending the U.S. Constitution to ban gay marriages	41	51	2	6	[208/215]
Establishing more restrictions on abortion	38	53	2	7	[210/217]
Allowing workers to invest some of their Social Security taxes in the stock market **	35	51	3	11	[219]
Limiting the role of the federal government in the funding of stem cell research *	34	52	4	10	[212]

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

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

13. President Bush has nominated a number of new people to be in his cabinet during his second term. Would you say that you are mostly satisfied with the people he has nominated, mostly dissatisfied, or do you not have an opinion either way? **

Mostly satisfied	27	[220]
Mostly dissatisfied	17	
No opinion either way	51	
Not sure	5	

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

14. Looking ahead, do you feel that in 2005 the country will find the Democrats and Republicans in Congress in a period of unity by working together and reaching consensus, or will it be a period of division where the parties hold fast to their positions and show little willingness to compromise?

Period of unity/working together	27	[221]
Period of division/little willingness to compromise	65	
Depends (VOL)	4	
Not sure	4	

15. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an independent, or something else? (IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:) Would you call yourself a strong (Democrat/Republican) or not a very strong (Democrat/Republican)? (IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "NOT VERY STRONG DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN.") (IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party, closer to the Democratic Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly independent?

Strong Democrat	22		[222]
Not very strong Democrat.....	8	CONTINUE	
Independent/lean Democrat	10		
Strictly independent.....	18	Skip to Q.17	
Independent/lean Republican.....	10		
Not very strong Republican	6	Skip to Q.16b	
Strong Republican	22		
Other	3	Skip to Q.17	
Not sure/nothing	1		

(Q.16a. – ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO ARE DEMOCRATS IN Q.15.)

(Q.16b. – ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO ARE REPUBLICANS IN Q.15.)

- 16a/b. Let me read you six issues. Please tell me which one or two of these issues the differences between the parties' positions are too important for the (INSERT RESPONDENT'S PARTY) to compromise on? Well, if you had to choose just one or two issues, which would you choose?

	Q.16a Responses Among Democrats	Q.16b Responses Among Republicans	
The war in Iraq	34	42	[223]
President Bush's nominations to the Supreme Court.....	23	23	>
Changes to the Social Security system.....	29	15	
Budget issues.....	10	10	
Taxes.....	15	17	
Social issues such as abortion and gay marriage.....	34	36	
All of these (VOL)	10	11	
None/other (VOL)	3	3	
Not sure.....	4	4	

17. Please tell me which one of the following people you currently consider to be the voice of the Democratic Party.

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE OF ALL ADULTS

	All Adults		Democrats			
	12/04 **	12/00	12/04 **	12/02 ²	12/00	
Hillary Clinton.....	25	10	24	11	12	[225-226]
Bill Clinton.....	23	28	30	19	33	
John Kerry	13	NA	15	NA	NA	
Ted Kennedy	8	NA	6	11	NA	
John Edwards.....	7	NA	9	NA	NA	
Howard Dean.....	4	NA	5	NA	NA	
Nancy Pelosi.....	3	NA	2	NA	NA	
Harry Reid.....	1	NA	2	NA	NA	
None (VOL) ¹	8		4	4		
Other (VOL)	-	} 4	-	-	} 3	
Not sure	8	9	3	9	7	

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

¹ In December 2000, the volunteered responses "none" and "other" were combined.

² In December 2002 this question was asked *only* of respondents who identified themselves as Democrats or who said they planned to vote in the Democratic primary.

Turning to some other issues . . .

18. When you hear the phrase "moral values," what does it mean to you?

(PROBE FOR MULTIPLE RESPONSES:) Anything else? [229-233]

Knowing right from wrong, doing the right thing, making the right decision	16%
Helpful to others, good, fair, not hurting fellow man, respectful	12
Standards/beliefs/personal philosophy/what you believe in	12
Honesty, telling the truth, ethical, decent, integrity	10
Old fashioned family values, family unity, traditional family values	7
Follow the teachings of the Bible, the Ten Commandments	6
Going to church, worshiping God, believing in God, having faith	5
Against gay marriages, gay marriages should not be allowed	5
Leading a good life, living a good life	5
Don't know; no response	7%

19. Which one of the following statements comes closest to expressing how you feel about the state of morals in this country at the present time?

	12/04	12/96	10/64 ¹	
They are pretty bad and getting worse	43	61	41	[234]
They are pretty bad but getting better.....	20	16	14	
They are pretty good but getting worse	20	12	21	
They are pretty good and getting better.....	12	7	16	
Not sure	5	4	8	

¹ Comparable data from October 1964 was collected by the National Opinion Research Center. The percentage shown for "not sure" includes those who volunteered that they are indifferent.

20. People define values in different ways. Looking beyond such values as integrity, patriotism, and hard work, please tell me whether each of the following items is a major part of your personal definition of values, a secondary part of your definition, a minor part of your definition, or not really a part of your definition of values.

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY A MAJOR PART OF DEFINITION

	A Major Part Of <u>Definition</u>	A Secondary Part Of <u>Definition</u>	A Minor Part Of <u>Definition</u>	Not Really A Part Of <u>Definition</u>	Not Sure	
Ensuring that everyone is given an equal opportunity to succeed in life, regardless of their race or gender	88	8	2	1	1	[240]
Being compassionate and helping those who are less fortunate than you.....	85	11	3	1	-	[235]
Rewarding individual initiative and personal responsibility	67	20	7	4	2	[241]
Having tolerance for those who have different values, backgrounds, and lifestyles	65	23	7	4	1	[237]
Strengthening the family by promoting traditional marriage	60	14	11	14	1	[239]
Being religious and making your faith a part of your everyday life	56	21	12	10	1	[238]
Raising standards of public decency in television, movies, and video games	56	20	13	10	1	[236]
Promoting individuality and encouraging self-expression.....	54	26	12	6	2	[242]

- 21a. When it comes to the Democratic Party, on which one or two of these values do you think the Democratic Party is the strongest? Well, if you had to choose just one or two, which would you choose?

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

Ensuring equal opportunities	37	[243-244]
Tolerance	27	>
Individuality	19	
Compassion	14	
Strengthening families	11	
Personal responsibility	8	
Raising standards of public decency	6	
Strong faith	5	
None/other (VOL).....	8	
Not sure	9	

- 21b. When it comes to the Republican Party, on which one or two of these values do you think the Republican Party is the strongest? Well, if you had to choose just one or two, which would you choose?

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

Strengthening families.....	31	[245-246]
Strong faith.....	25	>
Personal responsibility	21	
Raising standards of public decency.....	18	
Ensuring equal opportunities.....	10	
Individuality	9	
Compassion	6	
Tolerance	6	
None/other (VOL).....	10	
Not sure.....	8	

22. 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>12/04</u>	<u>10/04+</u>	<u>9/04+</u>	<u>8/04+</u>	<u>7/04+</u>	<u>6/04+</u>	<u>5/04+</u>	
Worth it.....	43	41	40	43	43	40	42	[247]
Not worth it.....	48	50	52	49	47	51	47	
Depends (VOL).....	6	4	3	4	4	5	5	
Not sure.....	3	5	5	4	6	4	6	
			<u>3/04</u>	<u>1/04</u>	<u>12/14/03</u>	<u>12/13/03</u>	<u>11/03</u>	
			50	52	53	45	45	
			45	40	37	42	46	
			1	2	5	6	3	
			4	5	5	6	5	

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

23. As you may know, Iraq is scheduled to hold elections for prime minister and parliament in January.

Some people say that the elections SHOULD be held in January so that the Iraqi people can have a democratically elected government as soon as possible.

Other people say that the elections should NOT be held in January because the situation in Iraq is too dangerous and chaotic to hold an election right now.

Who do you agree with more--the people who say that the election SHOULD be held in January or the people who say that the election should NOT be held in January?

Agree more with people who say elections should be held.....	55	[248]
Agree more with people who say elections should NOT be held	35	
Depends/some of both (VOL).....	5	
Not sure.....	5	

24. If Iraq's elections do take place in January as planned, do you think that the United States should maintain its current troop level in the country to help secure peace and stability, or should the United States reduce its number of troops soon after the Iraqi election?

Maintain current troop level	45	[249]
Reduce number of troops	41	
Depends/some of both (VOL)	9	
Not sure	5	

25. And do you feel more confident or less confident that the war in Iraq will come to a successful conclusion?

	12/04	10/04+	9/04+	
More confident	41	46	37	[250]
Less confident	48	41	53	
Depends/some of both (VOL)	6	8	5	
Not sure	5	5	5	

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

26. I'm going to read you several proposals that have been made regarding the federal tax system. Please tell me which ONE of these proposals you feel is the best.

A) Institute a national consumption or sales tax that would replace income taxes and tax consumer goods instead.

B) Lower income tax rates but eliminate such deductions as those for state and local income taxes and employer-provided health insurance.

C) Keep the federal tax system pretty much as it is now.

A) Institute a national consumption or sales tax ...	23	[251]
B) Lower income tax rates, but eliminate certain deductions	24	
C) Keep the federal tax system pretty much as it is now	39	
Depends (VOL)	3	
Not sure	11	

27. Are you currently employed? (IF CURRENTLY EMPLOYED:) What type of work do you do?

(IF NOT CURRENTLY EMPLOYED:) Are you a student, a homemaker, retired, or unemployed and looking for work?

<u>Currently Employed</u>		
Professional/ manager	21	[252-259]
White-collar worker	23	
Blue-collar worker	19	
Farmer, rancher	-	
<u>Not Currently Employed</u>		
Student	4	
Homemaker	7	
Retired	21	
Unemployed, looking for work	4	
Other	-	
Not sure	1	

28. In general, do you think that it is a good idea or a bad idea to change the Social Security system to allow workers to invest their Social Security contributions in the stock market?

Good idea.....	38	[260]
Bad idea.....	50	
Not sure.....	12	

(ASK ONLY OF NON-RETIRED RESPONDENTS IN Q.27.)

29. How confident are you that Social Security still will be providing retirement benefits when you reach retirement age? Would you say that you are completely confident, very confident, just somewhat confident, or not confident at all?

	12/04	3/99	12/98	
Completely confident	8	8	12	[261]
Very confident	11	11	10	
Just somewhat confident	33	35	31	
Not confident at all	46	45	43	
Not sure	2	1	4	

How much confidence do you have that the Social Security system will have the funds to provide retirement benefits for you or your spouse upon retirement – complete confidence, a great deal of confidence, only a little confidence or no confidence?

	11/79 ¹
Complete confidence	10
A great deal of confidence	22
Only a little confidence	41
No confidence	21
Not sure.....	6

¹ Comparative data comes from a survey for the National Commission on Social Security.

30. Please tell me which of the following approaches to dealing with Social Security you would prefer—**(A)** making some adjustments but leaving the Social Security system basically as is and running the risk that the system will fall short of money as more people retire and become eligible for benefits, OR **(B)** changing the Social Security system by allowing people to invest some of their Social Security taxes in private accounts—like I-R-A's or 401k's—and running the risk that some people will lose money in their private accounts due to drops in the stock market?

	12/04	8/04+ ¹	1/04 ²	6/00+	
A /Making some adjustments but leaving the Social Security system basically as is	39	43	52	45	[262]
B /Changing Social Security to allow people to invest some of their Social Security taxes in private accounts	45	41	38	45	
Neither/other(VOL)	7	8	5	5	
Depends (VOL)	4	3	1	1	
Not sure	5	5	4	4	

¹Prior to August 2004, the phrase, "... like IRAs or 401ks. ..." was not included.

²Prior to January 2004, the question was phrased, "... to dealing with Social Security concerns you more."

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

(ASK ONLY OF NON-RETIRED RESPONDENTS IN Q.27.)

31. If the Social Security system were changed to allow people to invest some of their Social Security taxes in private retirement accounts that invest in stocks and bonds, would you personally invest some of your Social Security taxes in this way?

Yes, would invest some Social Security taxes	54	[263]
No, would NOT invest some Social Security taxes	38	
Not sure.....	8	

32. As I just mentioned, there is a proposal to allow people to invest some of their Social Security taxes in private retirement accounts that invest in stocks and bonds.

SUPPORTERS of this idea say that these accounts give people more control over their own money and provide the opportunity to receive more money in retirement. And, because these funds are yours, they can be passed onto your family as part of your estate.

OPPONENTS of this idea say that it is expensive because it could cost between one and two trillion dollars over the next ten years to add these accounts to the system, and it would be dangerous because a major downturn in the stock market could make it impossible to pay Social Security benefits to millions of people.

Who do you agree with more on this issue--those who support this idea or those who oppose it?

Agree more with supporters	41	[264]
Agree more with opponents	46	
Some of both (VOL)	5	
Not sure.....	8	

33. Most people agree that the Social Security system is in trouble and needs more money if it is going to continue to pay benefits to people when they retire. Which one of the following options would you prefer to bring more money into the Social Security system? If you feel that none of these options is acceptable, please say so.

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

Gradually increasing the Social Security payroll tax	24	[265]
Gradually raising the retirement age at which people can collect Social Security	16	
Having the federal government borrow more money than it currently does to put into the Social Security system	7	
Gradually reducing the amount of money people receive as their Social Security benefit	4	
None of these options is acceptable	40	
Not sure.....	9	

Changing subjects . . .

34. Compared to other years, do you think that 2004 was one of the best years for the United States, above average, about average, below average, or one of the worst years for the United States?

	<u>12/04**</u>	<u>12/02</u>	<u>12/94</u>	<u>12/93</u>	<u>12/92</u>	<u>12/91+</u>	
One of the best years	3	1	2	1	2	3	[266]
Above-average year	12	7	19	12	9	11	
About average year	32	32	51	43	28	30	
Below-average year	27	39	21	32	39	39	
One of the worst years.....	25	19	6	10	21	16	
Not sure.....	1	2	1	2	1	1	

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

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

35. Recently there's been a story about some baseball players using steroids to enhance their performance. Has this diminished your opinion of baseball? If you have not followed this story, just say so. (IF "HAS DIMINISHED OPINION OF BASEBALL," ASK:) And has this diminished your opinion of baseball a lot or just a little bit? *

Yes, diminished opinion a lot	26	[267]
Yes, diminished opinion just a little	13	
No, has not diminished opinion	48	
Have not followed story	12	
Not sure	1	

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

36. Getting near the end of the survey, please tell me whether you watch any of the following television programs. (IF "YES, WATCH," ASK:) And do you watch this program regularly or once in a while?

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY YES, WATCH REGULARLY OR ONCE IN A WHILE

	<u>Yes, Watch Regularly</u>	<u>Yes, Watch Once In A While</u>	<u>No, Do Not Watch</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
CSI	33	24	43	-	[268]
Everybody Loves Raymond	20	32	48	-	[272]
Will and Grace	9	24	67	-	[273]
Seventh Heaven	10	17	73	-	[271]
Desperate Housewives	11	14	75	-	[269]
Sex in the City	7	13	80	-	[270]

FACTUALS: Now I am going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.

F1. What is the last grade that you completed in school?

Grade school.....	1	[274-275]
Some high school.....	4	
High school graduate	30	
Some college, no degree	18	
Vocational training/2-year college	11	
4-year college/bachelor's degree	19	
Some postgraduate work, no degree	2	
2 or 3 years' postgraduate work/master's degree	10	
Doctoral/law degree	2	
Not sure/refused.....	3	

F2. Thinking about your general approach to issues, do you consider yourself to be liberal, moderate, or conservative?

Liberal	22	[276]
Moderate.....	35	
Conservative	36	
Not sure	7	

F3a. Are you currently single and never married, single and living with a partner, married, separated, widowed, or divorced?

Single	19	[277]
Single, living with partner	5	
Married	55	
Separated.....	1	
Widowed.....	7	
Divorced.....	9	
Other (VOL).....	1	
Not sure/refused.....	3	

F3b. Are you the parent or primary guardian of any children under the age of 18?

Yes	35	[278]
No.....	62	
Not sure/refused.....	3	

F4. Please tell me whether the following statement applies to you personally: "I have at least five thousand dollars invested in mutual funds or stocks."

	<u>12/04</u>	<u>12/13/03</u>	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	<u>1/03</u>	<u>12/02</u>	<u>10/02+</u>	<u>9/02</u>	
Applies.....	45	49	52	47	50	54	52	55	55	[279]
Does not apply	48	46	44	49	46	44	46	43	43	
Not sure.....	7	5	4	4	3	2	2	2	2	
			<u>7/02</u>	<u>6/02</u>	<u>4/02</u>	<u>12/01</u>	<u>4/01</u>	<u>3/01</u>	<u>1/01</u>	
			53	49	49	49	52	49	51	
			44	47	49	49	46	49	45	
			3	4	2	2	2	2	4	

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

F5a. What is your religion?

Protestant (includes Baptist, Lutheran, Methodist, Episcopal, Presbyterian, and other Christians).....	49	CONTINUE	[280]
Catholic.....	25		
Jewish.....	2	Skip to Q.F6a	
Muslim	-		
Other.....	10		
None	10	CONTINUE	
Not sure/refused	4		

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY ARE PROTESTANT, OTHER, NONE, OR NOT SURE IN Q.F5a.)

F5b. Would you describe yourself as either a fundamentalist or an evangelical Christian, or would you not describe yourself that way?

Fundamentalist/evangelical.....	20	[308]
Neither fundamentalist nor evangelical	44	
Not sure.....	9	
Catholic/Jewish/Muslim (Q.F5a)	27	

F6a. How often do you attend services at a church, synagogue, or other place of worship?

Never	16	[309]
Once a year	6	
A few times a year	19	
Once a month	7	
About twice a month	9	
Once a week or more often.....	38	
Not sure	5	

F6b. Do you think of yourself as part of the conservative Christian political movement, also known as the Religious Right?

Yes	13	[310]
No.....	78	
Not sure.....	9	

F7. Are you a member of a labor union? (IF "NO," ASK:) Is anyone else in this household a member of a labor union?

Labor union member.....	11	[311]
Labor union household	5	
Non-union household.....	81	
Not sure	3	

- F8. If you added together the yearly income of all the members of your family who were living at home last year, would the total be less than ten thousand dollars, between ten thousand dollars and twenty thousand dollars, between twenty thousand dollars and thirty thousand dollars, between thirty thousand dollars and forty thousand dollars, between forty thousand dollars and fifty thousand dollars, between fifty thousand dollars and seventy-five thousand dollars, between seventy-five thousand dollars and one hundred thousand dollars, or would the total be more than that?

Less than \$10,000.....	4	[312]
Between \$10,000 and \$20,000	8	
Between \$20,000 and \$30,000	11	
Between \$30,000 and \$40,000	12	
Between \$40,000 and \$50,000	9	
Between \$50,000 and \$75,000	17	
Between \$75,000 and \$100,000	11	
More than \$100,000	11	
Not sure/refused.....	17	