

THE PIPA/KNOWLEDGE NETWORKS POLL

THE AMERICAN PUBLIC ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

PIPA-Knowledge Networks Poll: Separate Realities of Bush and Kerry Supporters

Questionnaire

Dates of Survey: Oct 12–18, 2004
Sample Size: 968

Margin of Error: +/- 3.2 % [full sample]
+/- 4.0 % [2/3 sample]

[SAMPLE DIVIDED INTO SIX SUB-SAMPLES]

[FULL SAMPLE]

Q1. Compared to a year ago, do you think that the nation's economy has:

	10/04	8/04
Gotten better.....	26%	31%
Bush supporters.....	48	58
Kerry supporters.....	7	10
Is about the same.....	27	29
Bush supporters.....	32	29
Kerry supporters.....	22	28
Gotten worse	46	40
Bush supporters.....	20	13
Kerry supporters.....	70	60
(No answer).....	1	1

[2/3 SAMPLE]

Q2a-b. Based on what you know, do you think the U.S. DOES or DOES NOT participate in the following treaties and agreements?

	U.S. Does	U.S. Does Not
The Kyoto agreement to reduce global warming.....	34%	52
Bush supporters.....	36	49
Kerry supporters.....	31	58
The International Criminal Court that tries individuals for war crimes, genocide, or crimes against humanity if their own country won't try them	42	44

Bush supporters.....	45	42
Kerry supporters.....	39	48

Q3-Q6: *To be released*

[FULL SAMPLE]

Q7. Do you think the US made the right decision or the wrong decision in going to war against Iraq?

	10/04	8/04
Right decision	46%	46
Bush supporters.....	85	87
Kerry supporters.....	8	14
Wrong decision	51	49
Bush supporters.....	13	10
Kerry supporters.....	90	85
(No answer).....	3	5

[IF “RIGHT DECISION”]

Q7a. Which comes closer to your view? [ORDER RANDOMIZED]:

	10/04	8/04
I support having gone to war, because I think it was the best thing for the US to do.....	33%	33
Bush supporters.....	62	65
Kerry supporters.....	6	8
I am not sure if going to war was the best thing to do, but I support Bush’s decision, because he is the president.....	12	13
Bush supporters.....	23	22
Kerry supporters.....	3	6
(No answer).....	1	0

Q7b-Q12: *To be released*

[2/3 SAMPLE]

Q12a. Do you think a majority of people in the Islamic world favor or oppose US-led efforts to fight terrorism?

Favor	35%
Bush supporters.....	51
Kerry supporters.....	21
Oppose	60
Bush supporters.....	44
Kerry supporters.....	75
(No answer).....	5

Q12b: *To be released*

[FULL SAMPLE]

Q13. Is it your belief that, just before the war, Iraq. [ARO]

	10/04	8/04
Had actual weapons of mass destruction	27%	35
Bush supporters.....	47	63
Kerry supporters.....	8	13
Had no weapons of mass destruction but had a major program for developing them	22	19
Bush supporters.....	25	18
Kerry supporters.....	18	18
Had some limited activities that could be used to help develop weapons of mass destruction, but not an active program	37	34
Bush supporters.....	25	16
Kerry supporters.....	51	50
Did not have any activities related to weapons of mass destruction.....	12	10
Bush supporters.....	2	2
Kerry supporters.....	22	18
(No answer).....	2	4

[2/3 SAMPLE]

Q14. Is it your impression that the US has or has not found clear evidence in Iraq that Saddam Hussein was working closely with the al-Qaeda terrorist organization?

	10/04	8/04
US has	38%	41
Bush supporters.....	63	68
Kerry supporters.....	12	20
US has not	57	54
Bush supporters.....	32	28
Kerry supporters.....	85	78
(No answer).....	5	5

[FULL SAMPLE]

Q15. Thinking about how all the people in the world feel about the US having gone to war with Iraq, do you think:

	10/04	8/04
The majority of people favor the US having gone to war.....	14%	16
Bush supporters.....	26	28
Kerry supporters.....	5	7
The majority of people oppose the US having gone to war.....	53	50
Bush supporters.....	31	27
Kerry supporters.....	74	72
Views are evenly balanced.....	31	33
Bush supporters.....	42	44
Kerry supporters.....	20	21
(No answer).....	2	2

Q16. Please select what you think is the best description of the relationship between the Iraqi government under Saddam Hussein and the terrorist group al-Qaeda. [ARO]

	10/04	8/04
There was no connection at all.....	9%	10
Bush supporters.....	2	2
Kerry supporters.....	18	18
A few al-Qaeda individuals visited Iraq or had contact with Iraqi officials but Iraq did not provide substantial support to al-Qaeda.....	32	32
Bush supporters.....	19	16
Kerry supporters.....	46	47

Iraq gave substantial support to al-Qaeda, but was not involved in the September 11th attacks	38	35
Bush supporters.....	55	52
Kerry supporters.....	22	21
 Iraq was directly involved in carrying out the September 11 th attacks	14	15
Bush supporters.....	20	23
Kerry supporters.....	8	8
 (No answer).....	7	9

[2/3 SAMPLE]

Q17. Is it your impression the Bush administration is currently saying that the US has found clear evidence Saddam Hussein was working closely with the al Qaeda terrorist organization?

	10/04	8/04*
Is.....	53%	55
Bush supporters.....	55	61
Kerry supporters.....	52	52
 Is not.....	40	36
Bush supporters.....	37	31
Kerry supporters.....	43	45
 (No answer).....	8	9

Q18-Q19: *To be released*

[FULL SAMPLE]

Q20:Q41. If, before the war, US intelligence services had concluded that Iraq did not have weapons of mass destruction and was not providing substantial support to al Qaeda, do you think the US:

Should still have gone to war with Iraq for other reasons	21%
Bush supporters.....	37
Kerry supporters.....	6
 Should not have gone to war with Iraq	74
Bush supporters.....	58
Kerry supporters.....	92

* Question wording has been changed slightly from the question wording in August 2004. In August, the question read “Bush administration has been saying.” This has been replaced with “is currently saying.”

(No answer).....4

Q21:Q42. If, before the war, US intelligence services had told President Bush there was no reliable evidence that Iraq possessed or was building weapons of mass destruction or was providing substantial support to al Qaeda, do you think:

He would still have gone to war with Iraq for other reasons 59%
 Bush supporters.....34
 Kerry supporters.....83

He would not have gone to war with Iraq37
 Bush supporters.....61
 Kerry supporters.....14

(No answer).....5

Q22-Q23: *To be released*

[2/3 SAMPLE]

Q24a-b. *What is your impression of the positions of the following people on this question:*

With regard to missile defense, should the US:

- Build a missile defense system right away
- Do more research until such a system is proven to be effective
- Not build a missile defense system at all

	Build a missile defense system right away	Do more research until proven effective	Not build at all	No answer
President George W. Bush.....	50%	30	7	13
Bush supporters.....	47	41	2	10
Kerry supporters.....	56	20	13	11
Senator John Kerry	7	48	31	14
Bush supporters.....	6	29	51	14
Kerry supporters.....	9	68	13	10

Q25a-b. *What is your impression of the positions of the following people on this question:*

Should countries that are part of international trade agreements be required or not be required to maintain minimum standards for working conditions and for protection of the environment?

	Should be required	Should not be required	No answer
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President George W. Bush.....	56%	30	14
Bush supporters.....	74	13	13
Kerry supporters.....	39	51	10
Senator John Kerry	70	15	15
Bush supporters.....	63	21	16
Kerry supporters.....	81	10	9

Q26 a-b. *What is your impression of the positions of the following people on this question:*

Should the US participate or not participate in the International Criminal Court that tries individuals for war crimes, genocide, or crimes against humanity if their own country won't try them?

		Participate	Not Participate	No answer
President George W. Bush.....	48%	39	13	
Bush supporters.....	53	38	9	
Kerry supporters.....	45	43	12	
Senator John Kerry	58	27	14	
Bush supporters.....	56	30	14	
Kerry supporters.....	65	24	11	

Q27-Q32: *To be released*

[2/3 SAMPLE]

Q33. Is it your impression that the Bush administration is saying that Iraq, just before the war:
[ARO]

	10/04	8/04
Had actual weapons of mass destruction	68%	60
Bush supporters.....	63	58
Kerry supporters.....	73	63
Had no weapons of mass destruction but had a major program for developing them.....	15	20
Bush supporters.....	19	24
Kerry supporters.....	11	19
Had some limited activities that could be used to help develop weapons of mass destruction, but not an active program	11	15
Bush supporters.....	15	15
Kerry supporters.....	9	14
Did not have any activities related to weapons of mass destruction.....	2	1

Bush supporters.....	1	*
Kerry supporters.....	4	3
(No answer).....	4	4

Q34. Which of the following comes closest to your impression of what the Bush administration is currently saying the relationship was, just before the war, between the Iraqi government under Saddam Hussein and the terrorist group al-Qaeda? [ARO]

	10/04	8/04
There was no connection at all.....	4%	3
Bush supporters.....	2	4
Kerry supporters.....	6	2
A few al-Qaeda individuals visited Iraq or had contact with Iraqi officials, but Iraq did not give substantial support to al-Qaeda.....	15	18
Bush supporters.....	17	17
Kerry supporters.....	16	20
Iraq gave substantial support to al-Qaeda, but was not involved in the September 11th attacks	52	43
Bush supporters.....	56	52
Kerry supporters.....	49	38
Iraq was directly involved in carrying out the September 11 th attacks	23	27
Bush supporters.....	19	19
Kerry supporters.....	25	35
(No answer).....	7	9

Q35: *To be released*

[2/3 SAMPLE]

Q36. On the question of what Iraq had just before the war, is it your impression experts

	10/04	8/04
Mostly agree Iraq DID have weapons of mass destruction.....	37%	31
Bush supporters.....	56	51
Kerry supporters.....	18	15
Mostly agree Iraq DID NOT have weapons of mass destruction, though it may have had some programs		

for developing them	38	43
Bush supporters.....	23	22
Kerry supporters.....	56	63
Are evenly divided on the question	21	21
Bush supporters.....	18	22
Kerry supporters.....	23	19
(No answer).....	4	5

Q37. On the question of the relationship between Iraq and al Qaeda is it your impression experts

	10/04	8/04
Mostly agree Iraq WAS providing substantial support to al Qaeda	41%	40
Bush supporters.....	60	56
Kerry supporters.....	21	26
Mostly agree Iraq WAS NOT providing substantial support to al Qaeda	28	29
Bush supporters.....	12	14
Kerry supporters.....	45	46
Are evenly divided on the question	26	24
Bush supporters.....	24	24
Kerry supporters.....	30	24
(No answer).....	6	7

Q38. As you may know, Charles Duelfer, the chief weapons inspector selected by the Bush administration to investigate whether Iraq had weapons of mass destruction, has just presented his final report to Congress. Is it your impression he concluded that, just before the war, Iraq...

Had actual weapons of mass destruction	12%
Bush supporters.....	19
Kerry supporters.....	7
Had no weapons of mass destruction but had a major program for developing them	27
Bush supporters.....	38
Kerry supporters.....	16

Had some limited activities that could be used to help develop weapons of mass destruction, but not

an active program.....	39
Bush supporters.....	31
Kerry supporters.....	50
Did not have any activities related to weapons of mass destruction	12
Bush supporters.....	4
Kerry supporters.....	20
(No answer).....	9

Q39-Q40: *To be released*

Q42a-Q44: *To be released*

[FULL SAMPLE]

Q45. Do you think that President George Bush is honest and frank or do you sometimes have doubts about things he says:

	10/04	8/04
Honest and frank.....	40%	36
Bush supporters.....	80	78
Kerry supporters.....	4	7
Sometimes have doubts about things he says	58	60
Bush supporters.....	19	20
Kerry supporters.....	96	94
(No answer).....	2	3

Q46. If the upcoming election for president were held today for whom would you vote:

George W. Bush.....	46%
John F. Kerry	46
(No answer).....	7

[IF ANSWER QUESTION 46]

Q46a. How sure are you that you will vote this way?

Very sure Bush.....	38%
Somewhat sure Bush.....	7
Not very sure Bush.....	2
Very sure Kerry.....	37%

Somewhat sure Kerry.....	8
Not very sure Kerry	2
(No answer).....	7

[ARO GOP AND DEMS IN QUESTION]

Q47. If the election for U.S. (United States) Congress were being held today, would you vote for...the [Republican/Democratic] Party's candidate or the [Democratic/Republican] Party's candidate for Congress in your district?

Republican	42%
Democrat.....	46
(No answer).....	12

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA:

D1. In politics today, do you think of yourself as:

Republican	15%
Leaning toward Republican	16
Independent.....	27
Leaning toward Democrat	15
Strongly Democrat.....	19
Other	6

D2. Did you vote for a candidate for the House of Representatives or the Senate in the election in November 2002?

Yes	62%
No.....	34

D3. What is your religious preference? Do you consider yourself:

Christian.....	72%
Jewish.....	2
Muslim	*
Buddhist	1
Hindu.....	*
Other religion	6
No religious preference.....	15
Agnostic	2
Atheist.....	1
(No answer).....	2

[IF "CHRISTIAN"]

D3a. Would you describe yourself as a 'born-again' or evangelical?

Yes	22%*
No.....	33
No opinion	16
(No answer).....	1

[IF ANSWER "CHRISTIAN, JEWISH, MUSLIM, BUDDHIST, HINDU, OR OTHER RELIGION" IN QUESTION D3]

D4. How often do you attend church or attend religious services--at least once a week, almost every week, about once a month, seldom, or never?

Once a week.....	27%*
Almost every week	9
About once a month.....	8
Seldom	29
Never.....	6
(No answer).....	1

D5. Age

18-29	18%
30-44	28
45-59	26
60+	27

D6. Education level (categorical)

Less than High School	11%
High School Graduate.....	34
Some College.....	28
College Graduate	27

D7. Race/Ethnicity

White, Non-Hispanic	79%
Black, Non-Hispanic.....	9
Other, Non-Hispanic.....	4
Hispanic	8

D8. Gender

Male	46%
Female.....	54

D9. Region

Northeast.....	18%
Midwest.....	27
South	33
West	22

**IPA-Knowledge Networks Poll:
Public Perceptions of the Foreign Policy Positions of the Presidential Candidates**

Questionnaire

Dates of Survey: Sep 8–12, 2004
Sample Size: 959

Margin of Error: +/- 3.2 % [full sample]
+/- 4.0 % [2/3 sample]

[STATEMENT]

Next are a series of questions, some of which ask for your impression of some things that you may or may not know. Please just indicate your impression, whether or not you are very confident that it is correct.

[2/3 SAMPLE]

Q14a-c: *What is your impression of the positions of the following people or groups on this question:*

Should the U.S. participate or not participate in the Kyoto agreement to reduce global warming?

	Participate	Not participate
President George W. Bush	40	46
Bush supporters.....	51	39
Kerry supporters.....	34	54
Senator John Kerry	60	25
Bush supporters.....	52	36
Kerry supporters.....	74	13

Q15a-b: *What is your impression of the positions of the following people or groups on this question:*

Should the US participate or not participate in the treaty that bans all use of land mines?

	Participate	Not participate
President George W. Bush.....	56%	32
Bush supporters.....	72	20
Kerry supporters.....	46	44
Senator John Kerry	66	21
Bush supporters.....	61	28
Kerry supporters.....	79	12

Q16a-b: *What is your impression of the positions of the following people or groups on this question:*

Should the US participate or not participate in the treaty that would prohibit nuclear weapon test explosions worldwide?

	Participate	Not participate
President George W. Bush	57%	32
Bush supporters.....	69	24
Kerry supporters.....	50	41
Senator John Kerry	66	21
Bush supporters.....	61	29
Kerry supporters.....	77	12

Q17a-c: *What is your impression of the positions of the following people or groups on this question:*

Should defense spending be expanded, cut back, or kept about the same?

	Expanded	Cut back	Kept same
President George W. Bush	54	17	23
Bush supporters.....	57	9	28
Kerry supporters.....	54	27	16
Senator John Kerry	13	48	31
Bush supporters.....	9	64	19
Kerry supporters.....	18	35	43

[2/3 SAMPLE]

Q18a-b: *What is your impression of the positions of the following people or groups on this question:*

Should countries that are part of international trade agreements be required or not be required to maintain minimum standards for working conditions and for protection of the environment?

	Should be required	Should not
President George W. Bush	70%	24
Bush supporters.....	84	11
Kerry supporters.....	56	39
Senator John Kerry	76	17
Bush supporters.....	65	28
Kerry supporters.....	90	5

Q19a-b: *What is your impression of the positions of the following people or groups on this question:*

Who should have the stronger role in helping the Iraqis to write a new constitution and build a new democratic government, the United States or the United Nations?

	United States	United Nations
President George W. Bush	62%	30
Bush supporters.....	70	25
Kerry supporters.....	60	33
Senator John Kerry	10	80
Bush supporters.....	8	83
Kerry supporters.....	13	80

[FULL SAMPLE]

Q20a-d: *What is your impression of the positions of the following people or groups on this question:*

Should the US participate or not participate in the International Criminal Court that tries individuals for war crimes, genocide, or crimes against humanity if their own country won't try them?

	Participate	Not Participate
President George W. Bush	55	33
Bush supporters.....	66	24
Kerry supporters.....	49	42
The uncommitted	47	31
Senator John Kerry	50	36
Bush supporters.....	45	43

Kerry supporters.....59 31

Q21a-d: *What is your impression of the positions of the following people or groups on this question:*

In general, when the United States is asked to be part of a United Nations international peacekeeping force in a troubled part of the world, should the US take part, or should we leave this job to other countries?

	Take Part	Leave Job to Others
President George W. Bush	65	25
Bush supporters.....	78	14
Kerry supporters.....	58	35
Senator John Kerry	54	34
Bush supporters.....	41	48
Kerry supporters.....	73	19

Q25a-d: *What is your impression of the positions of the following people or groups on this question:*

In the Middle East conflict, should the United States take Israel’s side, take the Palestinians’ side, or not take either side?

	Take Israel’s side	Take the Palestinians’	Not take either side
President George W. Bush	42	2	43
Bush supporters.....	41	1	45
Kerry supporters.....	46	4	41
Senator John Kerry	17	5	62
Bush supporters.....	15	10	58
Kerry supporters.....	20	1	68

Q26a-d: *What is your impression of the positions of the following people or groups on this question:*

- With regard to missile defense, should the US:
- Build a missile defense system right away
 - Do more research until such a system is proven to be effective
 - Not build a missile defense system at all

Build a Do more research Not

	missile defense system right away	until proven effective	build at all
President George W. Bush	46	33	7
Bush supporters.....	44	41	4
Kerry supporters.....	52	28	11
 Senator John Kerry	 8	 46	 32
Bush supporters.....	9	26	51
Kerry supporters.....	6	68	16

[FULL SAMPLE]

Q38. If the upcoming election for president were held today for whom would you vote:

George W. Bush.....	45%
John F. Kerry	44
(No answer).....	11

[If Answer “Bush or “Kerry”]

Q38a. How sure are you that you will vote this way?

Very sure Bush.....	37%
Somewhat sure Bush.....	6
Not very sure Bush.....	3
 Very sure Kerry.....	 35%
Somewhat sure Kerry.....	7
Not very sure Kerry	3
 (No answer).....	 11

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA:

D1. In politics today, do you think of yourself as:

Republican	28%
Independent.....	28
Democrat.....	34
Other	7

D2. Did you vote for a candidate for the House of Representatives or the Senate in the election in November 2002?

Yes	55%
No.....	42

D3. What is your religious preference? Do you consider yourself:

Christian.....	69%
Jewish.....	1
Muslim.....	1
Buddhist.....	1
Hindu.....	1
Other religion.....	7
No religious preference.....	14
Agnostic.....	3
Atheist.....	2
(No answer).....	3

[If “Christian”]

D3a. Would you describe yourself as

Protestant.....	40%*
Catholic.....	20
Mormon.....	1
Orthodox.....	2
(No answer).....	7

[If “Christian”]

D3b. Would you describe yourself as a 'born-again' or evangelical?

Yes.....	21%*
No.....	32
No opinion.....	15
(No answer).....	*

[If Answer “Christian,” “Jewish,” “Muslim,” “Buddhist,” “Hindu,” Or “Other Religion” In D3]

D4. How often do you attend church or attend religious services--at least once a week, almost every week, about once a month, seldom, or never?

Once a week.....	25%*
Almost every week.....	10
About once a month.....	7
Seldom.....	28
Never.....	8
(No answer).....	1

*Percent of total sample

D5. Age

18-29	22%
30-44	31
45-59	26
60+	22

D6. Education level (categorical)

Less than High School	16%
High School Graduate.....	32
Some College.....	27
College Graduate	24

D7. Race/Ethnicity

White, Non-Hispanic	73%
Black, Non-Hispanic.....	12
Other, Non-Hispanic	5
Hispanic	11

D8. Gender

Male	48%
Female.....	52

D9. Region

Northeast.....	19%
Midwest.....	23
South.....	37
West	23

From: Global Public Opinion on the US Presidential Election and US Foreign Policy

Questionnaire

Dates of Survey: Sep 3–7, 2004
 Sample Size: 798

Margin of Error: +/- 3.5 % [full sample]

Q1: Thinking about how people around the world feel about the US presidential election, do you think:

More would prefer George W. Bush.....	25%
Bush supporters.....	57
Kerry supporters.....	1
More would prefer John Kerry	35
Bush supporters.....	9
Kerry supporters.....	69
Views are about evenly divided.....	39
Bush supporters.....	33
Kerry supporters.....	30
(No answer).....	1

Q2: Thinking about people around the world, do you think the foreign policy of George W. Bush has:

Made more people feel better about the US.....	16%
Bush supporters.....	37
Kerry supporters.....	2
Made more people feel worse about the US	51
Bush supporters.....	17
Kerry supporters.....	86
Views are about evenly divided.....	32
Bush supporters.....	45
Kerry supporters.....	12
(No answer).....	1

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA:

D1. In politics today, do you think of yourself as:

Republican	32%
Independent.....	26
Democrat.....	36
Other	6

D2. Age

18-29	16%
30-44	23
45-59	28
60+	34

D3. Education level (categorical)

Less than High School	17%
High School Graduate.....	32
Some College	29
College Graduate	22

D4. Race/Ethnicity

White, Non-Hispanic	82%
Black, Non-Hispanic.....	8
Other, Non-Hispanic	3
Hispanic	8

D5. Gender

Male	48%
Female.....	52

D6. Region

Northeast.....	20%
Midwest.....	25
South	35
West	20