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**HARVARD UNIVERSITY – INSTITUTE OF POLITICS**  
**MARCH 13-23, 2004**  
**N=1,205 COLLEGE UNDERGRADUATES**  
**MARGIN OF ERROR = +/- 2.8% AT THE 95% CONFIDENCE LEVEL**

Notes:

1. Percentages may not add up to 100% due to rounding.
2. \* indicates percentages of less than 0.5%
3. References to surveys other than "IOP" such as Newsweek and Wall St. Journal are among U.S. adults 18+, not college students

Introduction:

Helb, my name is (INTERVIEWER) from Schneiders / Della Volpe / Schulman, a national opinion research company. Today we are conducting a very important survey of college students, and would like very much to include your opinions. I think you will find it interesting. I assure you that your answers will be kept completely confidential and this is not a sales call – we are only interested in your opinions. Before I begin, I just need to ask you a few questions to make sure that you qualify...

1. Are you currently attending an undergraduate student at a four-year college or university?

Yes..... 100%  
 No ..... --

2. Are you a United States citizen?

Yes..... 100%  
 No ..... --

3. Could you please tell me your age?

Mean age..... 20.7 years

4. Are you registered to vote?

Yes..... 74%  
 No ..... 25%  
 Don't know ..... 1%

5. When it comes to voting, do you consider yourself to be affiliated with the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, or are you Independent or Unaffiliated with a major party?

Democrat .....	32%
Republican .....	24%
Independent/Unaffiliated.....	41%
Other (VOL).....	2%
Refused .....	2%

**IF Q-5 < 5, ASK:**

6. We are trying to understand how young people think about political parties – can you please tell me why you consider yourself to be a [INSERT Q-5 RESPONSE: DEMOCRAT, REPUBLICAN, INDEPENDENT ]?

**DEMOCRATS; N=384**

Family/upbringing .....	25%
Ideology .....	24%
Policy issues .....	24%
Problem with Republicans/ Bush.....	15%
Economic Issues .....	6%
Other .....	3%
No Reason .....	1%
Don't know .....	2%

**INDEPENDENT; N=509**

Want to choose for self.....	29%
Do not like either side.....	23%
Don't know enough about parties/ politics.....	16%
Like both/Both sides have appeal.....	13%
Don't care .....	10%
Moderate.....	2%
Both sides are the same.....	2%
Family/ Upbringing.....	1%
Left-wing .....	1%
Can't decide Independent.....	1%
Want an alternative.....	*
Too far to the right .....	*
System.....	*
Still forming opinion.....	*
Far left .....	*
Don't want to identify.....	*
Other .....	1%
Not sure .....	1%
No response.....	1%

**REPUBLICANS; N=286**

Conservative Ideology.....	30%
Family/upbringing .....	30%
Policy issues .....	19%
Problem with Democrats .....	6%
Abortion .....	6%
No reason .....	5%
Moral issues.....	3%
Other .....	1%
Bush .....	*

7. In November, there will be a general election for President. How likely is it that you will vote in this election? Will you definitely be voting, will you probably be voting, are you 50-50, or do you think you probably won't be voting in the general election for President?

Definitely be voting.....	62%
Probably be voting .....	21%
50-50 .....	9%
Probably won't vote .....	8%
DK/Refused .....	*

8. 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?

Right Direction.....	47%
Wrong track.....	42%
Don't know .....	11%

9. Thinking about national issues for a moment, can you please tell me which issue concerns you most? [RECORD VERBATIM AND THEN ASK]: Can you please tell me specifically, what concerns you most about [INSERT ISSUE]?

War.....	21%
Terrorism .....	7%
Security.....	4%
Defense - other.....	1%
<u>Net: Defense .....</u>	<u>33%</u>
Economy in general .....	11%
Jobs.....	4%
Budget deficit .....	3%
Economic issues - other .....	2%
<u>Net: Economy.....</u>	<u>20%</u>
Education.....	7%
Gay marriage .....	6%
Social - other.....	4%
Environment.....	2%
Abortion .....	2%
<u>Net: Social issues .....</u>	<u>21%</u>
Foreign policy.....	8%
Foreign issues - other .....	1%
<u>Net: Foreign issues.....</u>	<u>9%</u>
Healthcare.....	3%
Domestic issues - other.....	3%
<u>Net: Domestic issues .....</u>	<u>6%</u>
Other .....	*
Don't know .....	6%
None/Nothing .....	4%

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

NBC/Wall Street Journal (3/04)

Approve .....	47%	50%
Disapprove .....	45%	46%
Not sure.....	8%	5%

[ROTATE TWO FAVORABILITY QUESTIONS]

11. Do have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of John Kerry? If you don't have enough information to have an opinion, or have never heard of him, just say so.

Very favorable .....	7%
Somewhat favorable .....	38%
<b>Net: Favorable.....</b>	<b>45%</b>
Somewhat unfavorable.....	12%
Very unfavorable .....	6%
<b>Net: Unfavorable.....</b>	<b>18%</b>
Recognize name, but cannot rate (VOL).....	30%
Don't recognize name/Never heard of .....	7%

12. Do have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of George W. Bush?

Very favorable .....	15%
Somewhat favorable .....	35%
<b>Net: Favorable.....</b>	<b>50%</b>
Somewhat unfavorable.....	24%
Very unfavorable .....	23%
<b>Net: Unfavorable.....</b>	<b>47%</b>
Recognize name, but cannot rate (VOL).....	2%
Don't recognize name .....	*

**[SPLIT SAMPLE 13 A/B]**

13.A If the election for president were held today and the candidates were [ROTATE 2 CANDIDATES] George W. Bush, the Republican, and John Kerry, the Democrat, for whom would you vote? **N = 615**

John Kerry.....	26%
George W. Bush.....	21%
Other - SPECIFY .....	1%
Don't know .....	4%

13.B If the election for president were held today and the candidates were [ROTATE 3 CANDIDATES] George W. Bush, the Republican, and John Kerry, the Democrat, and Ralph Nader, the independent, for whom would you vote? **N = 590**

John Kerry.....	22%
George W. Bush.....	17%
Ralph Nader.....	4%
Other - SPECIFY .....	*
Don't know .....	6%

**[TOTAL SAMPLE] N=1205**

<b>John Kerry .....</b>	<b>48%</b>
<b>George W. Bush.....</b>	<b>38%</b>
<b>Other (including Ralph Nader) .....</b>	<b>5%</b>
<b>Don't know.....</b>	<b>10%</b>

14. How closely have you been following the campaign for President?

Very closely.....	16%
Somewhat closely.....	46%

Net: Closely.....	62%
Not very closely .....	29%
Not at all.....	9%
Net: Not Closely.....	38%
Don't know .....	*

15. Which is more important to you in choosing a candidate for president: [ROTATE] their personal qualities such as experience and leadership ability --or -- their positions on specific issues?

ABC News/Washington Post (11/03)

Positions on specific issues .....	66%	52%
Personal qualities such as experience and leadership.....	28%	40%
Other (Vol) .....	3%	7%
Don't know .....	3%	1%

16. In thinking about your vote for President this year – which kind of leadership do you think is more important: [ROTATE]

Bringing people together and reaching agreement in an effort to get things done.....	70%
Making decisions and taking action regardless of public opinion .....	26%
Don't know .....	4%

17. Moving on to some issues in the news lately ... do you support or oppose the United States having gone to war with Iraq? [AFTER CHOICE ASK] Do you support/oppose it strongly or only somewhat?

Strongly support .....	22%
Somewhat support.....	27%
Net: Support.....	49%
Somewhat oppose.....	22%
Strongly oppose.....	25%
Net: Oppose.....	47%
Don't know .....	4%

18. Do you think marriages between homosexuals should or should not be recognized by the law as valid, with the same rights as traditional marriages?

Gallup (3/04)

Should be recognized as valid .....	57%	33%
Should not be recognized as valid.....	34%	61%
Don't know .....	9%	6%

19. Based on the current state of the economy, do you think it will be very easy, somewhat easy, somewhat difficult or very difficult for students in your class to find a permanent job upon graduation?

Very easy.....	4%
Somewhat easy.....	27%
<u>Net: Easy.....</u>	<u>31%</u>
Somewhat difficult.....	54%
Very difficult.....	13%
<u>Net: Difficult.....</u>	<u>67%</u>
Don't know.....	3%

20. When it comes to most political issues, do you think of yourself as a liberal, a conservative or a moderate? [IF MODERATE, ADK: Do you lean liberal or conservative?]

Liberal.....	31%
Moderate – Liberal.....	13%
<u>Net: Liberal.....</u>	<u>44%</u>
Moderate.....	23%
Moderate – Conservative.....	10%
Conservative.....	20%
<u>Net: Conservative.....</u>	<u>30%</u>
Don't know/Refused.....	4%

21. Generally speaking, do you think the philosophies of the [ROTATE] Democratic and Republican parties are fundamentally different or basically the same?

Different.....	62%
Same.....	31%
Don't know.....	7%

Now, I'm going to read you groups of statements. Please listen carefully because after I read each I would like you to pick any number from 1 and 5 where "1" means you strongly disagree and "5" means you strongly agree." The first statement is....

**[ROTATE ORDER]**

22. The best way to increase economic growth and create jobs is to cut taxes.

Strongly disagree.....	13%
Somewhat disagree .....	24%
<u>Net: Disagree .....</u>	<u>37%</u>
Neither agree nor disagree.....	39%
Somewhat agree .....	16%
Strongly agree.....	6%
<u>Net: Agree.....</u>	<u>22%</u>
Don't know [DO NOT READ] .....	1%

23. Our country's goal in trade policy should be to eliminate all barriers to trade and employment so that we have a truly global economy.

Strongly disagree.....	7%
Somewhat disagree .....	18%
<u>Net: Disagree .....</u>	<u>25%</u>
Neither agree nor disagree.....	38%
Somewhat agree .....	27%
Strongly agree.....	10%
<u>Net: Agree.....</u>	<u>37%</u>
Don't know [DO NOT READ] .....	*

24. Basic health insurance is a right for all people, and if someone has no means of paying for it, the government should provide it.

Strongly disagree.....	4%
Somewhat disagree .....	10%
<u>Net: Disagree .....</u>	<u>14%</u>
Neither agree nor disagree.....	17%
Somewhat agree .....	32%
Strongly agree.....	37%
<u>Net: Agree.....</u>	<u>69%</u>
Don't know [DO NOT READ] .....	*

25. Qualified minorities should be given special preferences in hiring and education.

Strongly disagree.....	21%
Somewhat disagree .....	27%
<u>Net: Disagree .....</u>	<u>48%</u>
Neither agree nor disagree.....	31%
Somewhat agree .....	16%
Strongly agree.....	5%
<u>Net: Agree.....</u>	<u>21%</u>
Don't know [DO NOT READ] .....	*

26. Religious values should play a more important role in government.

Strongly disagree.....	37%
Somewhat disagree.....	22%
<u>Net: Disagree.....</u>	<u>59%</u>
Neither agree nor disagree.....	17%
Somewhat agree.....	13%
Strongly agree.....	11%
<u>Net: Agree.....</u>	<u>24%</u>
Don't know [DO NOT READ].....	*

27. In today's world, it is sometimes necessary to attack potentially hostile countries, rather than waiting until we are attacked to respond.

Strongly disagree.....	15%
Somewhat disagree.....	25%
<u>Net: Disagree.....</u>	<u>40%</u>
Neither agree nor disagree.....	27%
Somewhat agree.....	22%
Strongly agree.....	12%
<u>Net: Agree.....</u>	<u>34%</u>
Don't know [DO NOT READ].....	*

28. Protecting the environment should be as high a priority for government as protecting jobs.

Strongly disagree.....	4%
Somewhat disagree.....	12%
<u>Net: Disagree.....</u>	<u>16%</u>
Neither agree nor disagree.....	24%
Somewhat agree.....	37%
Strongly agree.....	23%
<u>Net: Agree.....</u>	<u>60%</u>
Don't know [DO NOT READ].....	*

29. Hard work doesn't generally bring success by itself – its more a matter of luck and connections.

Strongly disagree.....	16%
Somewhat disagree.....	30%
<u>Net: Disagree.....</u>	<u>46%</u>
Neither agree nor disagree.....	26%
Somewhat agree.....	21%
Strongly agree.....	8%
<u>Net: Agree.....</u>	<u>29%</u>
Don't know [DO NOT READ].....	*

30. Homosexual relationships between consenting adults are morally wrong.

Strongly disagree.....	43%
Somewhat disagree.....	14%
<u>Net: Disagree.....</u>	<u>57%</u>
Neither agree nor disagree.....	12%
Somewhat agree.....	9%
Strongly agree.....	21%
<u>Net: Agree.....</u>	<u>30%</u>
Don't know [DO NOT READ].....	1%

31. If parents had more freedom to choose where they could send their children to school, the education system in this country would be much better.

Strongly disagree.....	11%
Somewhat disagree .....	21%
<u>Net: Disagree .....</u>	<u>32%</u>
Neither agree nor disagree .....	29%
Somewhat agree .....	25%
Strongly agree.....	14%
<u>Net: Agree.....</u>	<u>39%</u>
Don't know [DO NOT READ] .....	*

32. I am concerned about the moral direction of the country.

Strongly disagree.....	8%
Somewhat disagree .....	14%
<u>Net: Disagree .....</u>	<u>22%</u>
Neither agree nor disagree .....	21%
Somewhat agree .....	28%
Strongly agree.....	28%
<u>Net: Agree.....</u>	<u>56%</u>
Don't know [DO NOT READ] .....	--

33. Recent immigration into this country has done more good than harm.

Strongly disagree.....	9%
Somewhat disagree .....	19%
<u>Net: Disagree .....</u>	<u>28%</u>
Neither agree nor disagree .....	41%
Somewhat agree .....	22%
Strongly agree.....	8%
<u>Net: Agree.....</u>	<u>30%</u>
Don't know [DO NOT READ] .....	1%

Now I am going to read you a list of behaviors and characteristics. If you were considering a candidate for President whom you would otherwise support and then discovered they had done or believed the following -- would you still vote for them, probably vote for them, probably not vote for them, or definitely not vote for them?

**[ROTATE ORDER]**

34. Cheated on their taxes.

Still vote for them.....	7%
Probably still vote for them .....	17%
<u>Net: Vote For.....</u>	<u>24%</u>
Probably not vote for them.....	54%
Definitely not vote for them.....	21%
<u>Net: Not Vote For.....</u>	<u>75%</u>
Don't know [DO NOT READ] .....	1%

35. Lied on their resume.

Still vote for them.....	7%
Probably still vote for them .....	24%
<u>Net: Vote For.....</u>	<u>31%</u>
Probably not vote for them.....	49%
Definitely not vote for them.....	18%
<u>Net: Not Vote For.....</u>	<u>67%</u>
Don't know [DO NOT READ] .....	3%

36. Received treatment for mental illness.

Still vote for them.....	10%
Probably still vote for them .....	31%
<u>Net: Vote For.....</u>	<u>41%</u>
Probably not vote for them.....	44%
Definitely not vote for them.....	11%
<u>Net: Not Vote For.....</u>	<u>55%</u>
Don't know [DO NOT READ] .....	4%

37. Convicted of drunk driving.

Still vote for them.....	12%
Probably still vote for them .....	35%
<u>Net: Vote For.....</u>	<u>47%</u>
Probably not vote for them.....	40%
Definitely not vote for them.....	12%
<u>Net: Not Vote For.....</u>	<u>52%</u>
Don't know [DO NOT READ] .....	2

38. Had a homosexual relationship.

Still vote for them.....	30%
Probably still vote for them .....	34%
<u>Net: Vote For.....</u>	<u>64%</u>
Probably not vote for them.....	21%
Definitely not vote for them.....	12%
<u>Net: Not Vote For.....</u>	<u>33%</u>
Don't know [DO NOT READ] .....	3%

39. Had an extramarital affair.

Still vote for them.....	18%
Probably still vote for them .....	40%
<u>Net: Vote For.....</u>	<u>58%</u>
Probably not vote for them.....	33%
Definitely not vote for them.....	7%
<u>Net: Not Vote For.....</u>	<u>40%</u>
Don't know [DO NOT READ] .....	2%

40. Abused drugs.

Still vote for them.....	12%
Probably still vote for them .....	28%
<u>Net: Vote For.....</u>	<u>40%</u>
Probably not vote for them.....	43%
Definitely not vote for them.....	15%
<u>Net: Not Vote For.....</u>	<u>58%</u>
Don't know [DO NOT READ] .....	3%

41. Avoided military service during time of war.

Still vote for them.....	11%
Probably still vote for them .....	31%
<u>Net: Vote For.....</u>	<u>44%</u>
Probably not vote for them.....	41%
Definitely not vote for them.....	14%
<u>Net: Not Vote For.....</u>	<u>55%</u>
Don't know [DO NOT READ] .....	3%

42. Did not believe in God.

Still vote for them.....	25%
Probably still vote for them .....	30%
<u>Net: Vote For.....</u>	<u>55%</u>
Probably not vote for them.....	27%
Definitely not vote for them.....	16%
<u>Net: Not Vote For.....</u>	<u>43%</u>
Don't know [DO NOT READ] .....	3%

43. When it comes to your feelings about being an American, do you consider yourself very patriotic, somewhat patriotic, not very patriotic, or not at all patriotic?

Very patriotic .....	32%
Somewhat patriotic .....	55%
Net: Patriotic.....	87%
Not very patriotic.....	10%
Not at all patriotic.....	2%
Net: Not Patriotic .....	12%
Don't know/Refused.....	2%

Switching gears for a moment, before we wrap up ...

44. Who would you rather have had as a college roommate, [ROTATE] George W. Bush or John Kerry?

George W. Bush .....	43%
John Kerry.....	42%
Don't know .....	15%

45. On which of the following reality shows would you most like to be a contestant? [ROTATE CHOICES]

The Real Word .....	38%
The Apprentice .....	25%
Fear Factor .....	16%
The Bachelor - Bachelorette.....	10%
Other – SPECIFY (VOL).....	*
None (VOL).....	8%
Don't know .....	4%

**DEMOGRAPHICS**

46. In which year of college are you?

First/Freshman .....	33%
Second/Sophomore .....	23%
Third/Junior.....	19%
Fourth/Senior .....	22%
Fifth .....	3%

47. Please indicate your race:

White .....	78%
African American .....	8%
Asian .....	4%
Hispanic.....	3%
Native American .....	*
Other .....	4%
Refused .....	2%

48. For tabulation purposes only, please tell me which of the following income categories includes your parents' total household income for 2003 – just stop me when I read the correct category: less than \$20,000; \$20,000 - \$29,999; \$30,000 - \$39,999; \$40,000 - \$49,999; \$50,000 - \$74,999; or \$75,000 - \$99,999; or \$100,000 or over?

Less than \$20,000 .....	6%
\$20,000 - \$29,999.....	7%
\$30,000 - \$39,999.....	9%
\$40,000 - \$49,999.....	11%
\$50,000 - \$74,999.....	17%
\$75,000 - \$99,999.....	17%
\$100,000 or over .....	20%
Don't Know/Refused .....	13%

**[IF REFUSED]**

49. Well, can you just tell me whether the total income is below \$50,000 or \$50,000 or above? **N = 161**

Below \$50,000.....	33%
\$50,000 or above.....	65%
Still refused .....	2%

50. Do you consider yourself a born-again Christian, or not?

Yes.....	33%
No .....	65%
Don't know/Refused.....	2%

51. How important would you say religion is in your life?

Very important.....	42%
Somewhat important part .....	34%
<u>Net: Important.....</u>	<u>76%</u>
Not very important part.....	15%
Not at all important part.....	9%
<u>Net: Not Important .....</u>	<u>24%</u>
Don't know .....	*

52. Code Gender.

Male .....	48%
Female.....	52%

53. Do you attend a public or private educational institution?

Public.....	72%
Private .....	28%

54. Code Region.

East.....	12%
Midwest .....	42%
South.....	32%
West.....	13%