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An In-Depth Look

THE DEAN ACTIVISTS: THEIR PROFILE AND PROSPECTS

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An In-Depth Look

THE DEAN ACTIVISTS: THEIR PROFILE AND PROSPECTS

Although former Vermont governor Howard Dean failed to win the Democratic presidential nomination, his campaign left a strong imprint on the political world. It assembled a network of over a half-million active supporters and contributors, raised over \$20 million in mostly small donations online, and demonstrated the power of the internet as a networking and mobilizing tool in politics.

Who are the internet activists – the people widely known as “Deaniacs” – who joined the Dean campaign as it slowly grew from asterisk status in early 2003 polls to the frontrunner position at the beginning of 2004? A new Pew survey provides the first detailed look at the cyber-soldiers of this pioneering campaign. An internet survey with a random sample of 11,568 activists drawn from the online database of those who had contributed money or otherwise worked on behalf of Gov. Dean provides insight into who they are, why they joined, how they reacted to Dean’s loss and President Bush’s reelection, and what they think about the future of the Democratic Party.¹

The survey was conducted in two waves: one before the election (Sept. 13-Oct. 12), and a second after the election (Nov.18-Dec. 14).

As expected, a key rallying point for Dean activists was their shared opposition to the war in Iraq. Two-thirds cited the war as the most important factor in their decision to join the campaign. The perceptions

Dean Activists: Highly Educated and Engaged, But Not So Young

	Dean activists	All Dems*
	%	%
<i>Age</i>		
Under 30	18	18
30-44	26	28
45-64	42	33
65+	14	20
<i>Education</i>		
Less than B.A.	21	74
B.A. degree	25	14
Grad school	54	11
<i>College grad/age 45-64</i>	34	9
		Dean activists
<i>During the primaries</i>		%
Gave money to any candidate		85
Attended a Dean campaign event		47
Contributed to online chats/blogs		33
<i>During general election campaign</i>		
Voted in Nov. 2004		99
Gave money to Kerry		66
Sent campaign e-mails for Kerry		54
Attended a Kerry campaign event		40
<i>Campaign involvement</i>		
First presidential campaign		42
Not first campaign		57
More active in this one		36
Less active		5
Same		16
<i>Social interaction</i>		
Met new people in campaign		71
Still keep up with people they met		45
Median # of new people met		15

*Based on interviews with 11,568 Dean activists conducted Sept. 13-Oct. 12 and Nov. 18-Dec. 14, 2004. *Pew surveys conducted Jan. 2004-Feb. 2005.*

¹ Gov. Dean and his political organization, Democracy for America (formerly known as Dean for America), generously provided the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press with access to their database, from which Pew drew a random sample. Democracy for America then sent an e-mail message to those who had been selected requesting that they participate in the survey. Respondents then completed the survey on a website created by Pew. In order to protect the confidentiality of the respondents, Pew had no access to the names and addresses in the database. Democracy for America officials did not view the completed interviews and did not know who chose to participate in the survey. Neither Gov. Dean nor his organization had any control over the drafting of the questionnaires for this study or the content of this report.

that Dean was willing to speak unpopular truths and would change the direction of country were also strong unifying factors. However, the study's findings belie the popular image of Dean activists as largely young and drawn from college campuses. Instead, the group's overall age distribution is fairly close to that of Democrats in the general public. But Dean activists are far wealthier, better educated, more secular and much less ethnically diverse than other Democrats. A disproportionate number of Dean activists are white, well-educated Baby Boomers – fully a third are college graduates between the ages of 45 and 64, compared with just 9% of Democrats in the general public.

But the image of younger Deaniacs as political newcomers has been borne out. For more than four-in-ten (42%) Dean activists – and two-thirds of those under age 30 – the Dean campaign represented their first foray into active presidential politics. And among those who were political veterans, a sizable number (36%) said they were more engaged this time than in previous campaigns.

The survey also finds that Dean's supporters were not discouraged by his campaign's demise or Kerry's general election loss, but instead constitute an engaged group of citizens who intend to remain active in the Democratic Party and exert significant influence over its future direction. After Dean dropped out of the race, most worked hard on behalf of Kerry (66% donated money to Kerry) and virtually all of them (97%) voted for him. Half (51%) say that Bush's reelection motivates them to be even more politically active in the future.

In many respects, Dean activists resemble other political activists on the left and right. They are more interested and engaged in politics, more ideological, and better educated than the average citizen or their fellow partisans. But they are distinctive in one key respect: As befits a campaign that largely established its identity on the

Ideology and Key Issues			
	Dean	Dem	All
	<u>activists</u>	<u>Convention</u>	<u>Dem</u>
	%	<u>delegates*</u>	<u>Dems</u>
	%	%	%
<i>Ideology</i>			
Liberal	82	41	27
Moderate	16	52	42
Conservative	1	3	26
Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100
<i>War in Iraq</i>			
Right	1	7	26
Wrong	99	86	68
Don't know	<u>*</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100
<i>What to do now</i>			
Keep troops in	45	--	33
Bring troops home	52	--	64
Don't know	<u>3</u>	--	<u>3</u>
	100		100
<i>Gay marriage</i>			
Favor	91	44	38
Oppose	8	48	50
Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>12</u>
	100	99 [^]	100

*Figures from CBS News/New York Times delegate poll conducted June 16 – July 17, 2004 with a random sample of 1,085 delegates. ^Gay marriage was asked as a three-part question. Figures for Democrats based on Pew poll conducted Aug. 2004.

internet, the Dean activists are highly internet-savvy; more than three-quarters (77%) said they go online several times per day and 83% have been using the internet for more than five years.²

Compared with Democrats in the general public, the Dean activists are much more liberal across a range of issues, more dissatisfied with President Bush and with the direction of the country. Their liberalism stands out even when compared with delegates to the 2004 Democratic convention, who themselves were significantly more liberal than rank-and-file Democrats. Roughly eight-in-ten Dean activists (82%) describe themselves as liberal, compared with 41% of the convention delegates and 27% of national Democrats.

The activists are critical of the Democratic Party in a number of respects. Most do not think the party has done well in standing up for its traditional constituencies or for liberal positions. Two-thirds (67%) want the party to change to better reflect liberal and progressive values. By contrast, a majority of members of the Democratic National Committee (52%) said in a CNN/USA Today/Gallup survey in February 2005 that they want the party to move in a moderate direction.

Most activists say a new third party would be a good thing, but voice little enthusiasm for actually abandoning the Democratic Party. The activists are divided about how progressive and liberal causes can best be advanced: 38% think the Democratic Party is best able to do this, but an equal number say privately funded advocacy groups are best (36%). Just 13% think a new political party is preferable. And most believe George Soros and other wealthy liberal philanthropists helped the party and progressive causes in general.

Dean activists were motivated by an intense disapproval of President Bush's job performance (96% strongly disapproved) and by strong opinions on the issues, especially the war in Iraq. They also support gay marriage by more than ten-to-one (91%-8%); half of national Democrats (50%) oppose gay marriage. The activists were attracted to Howard Dean in large part because they believed that he would stand up to Bush and give voice to views widely considered unpopular. Many also believed that he was the best candidate to bring about change inside the Democratic Party.

Most Important Issue in Decision to Support Dean	
	%
War in Iraq	66
Health care	34
Fiscal responsibility	24
Economy/jobs	19
Environment	11
Gay/lesbian rights	9
Education	5
Terrorism	4
Abortion	4
International trade	1
Other	12

Respondents could select up to two issues.

² The Democracy for America online database may overrepresent supporters who were especially active online, but most Dean supporters – whether in the database or not – were internet users. A Nov.-Dec. 2003 Pew survey of likely Dean primary voters found that fully 92% were online (as were 87% of all likely Democratic primary voters).

The war in Iraq was not the only important issue in the activists' decision to support Dean. One third (34%) said health care was important, and about one-fourth (24%) cited fiscal responsibility; both were issues Dean had championed as governor of Vermont.

Although nearly all Dean activists believe that the decision to invade Iraq was wrong, they are divided on the question of what to do now. Compared with national Democrats, the Dean supporters are actually more supportive of keeping troops in Iraq until the situation has stabilized (44% said this, compared with 33% of Democrats in August 2004).

On other questions related to national security, there are far fewer hawks among the Dean activists than among Democrats nationally. Only about one-in-five Dean activists (19%) say military force is often or sometimes justified against countries that may seriously threaten the U.S. but have not yet attacked, compared with 44% of all Democrats. Just 21% of the activists (and 20% of Democrats nationally) would entirely rule out such preemptive military action.

In addition, the activists are much more supportive of giving strong consideration to the interests of U.S. allies than are Democrats generally. More than three-quarters of Dean activists (78%) say U.S. foreign policy should strongly take into account allied interests. A plurality of Democrats (49%) agree, with 38% backing a policy based mostly on U.S. national interests.

Dean Activists Diverge on National Security

	Dean activists	All Dems ¹
<i>Pre-emptive force justified?</i>	%	%
Often/sometimes	19	44
Rarely	60	32
Never	21	20
DK/No answer	*	4
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
<i>U.S. foreign policy should...</i>		
Strongly heed allied interests	78	49
Be based mostly on U.S. interests	20	38
DK/No answer	2	13
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

¹ Figures for Democrats (n=345) from a Pew Research Center survey taken July 2004.

Dean Activists' Generation Gap

	Age group		
	15-29	30-49	50+
<i>War in Iraq</i>	%	%	%
Right decision	3	1	*
Wrong decision	97	99	99
DK/No answer	0	*	1
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
<i>What to do now</i>			
Keep troops in Iraq	61	48	34
Bring troops home	38	50	63
DK/No answer	1	2	3
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
<i>Preemptive force justified?</i>			
Often/Sometimes	31	20	13
Rarely	53	60	62
Never	15	20	24
DK/No answer	1	0	1
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
<i>Gay marriage</i>			
Strongly favor	71	65	46
Favor	24	29	42
Oppose/Strongly oppose	5	6	10
DK/No answer	0	*	2
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

While the Dean campaign drew an amalgam of 1960s liberals and 21st century progressives, there are intriguing generational differences on the war and social issues. Those under age 30 tend to be much more supportive of gay rights, with 71% strongly favoring legalizing gay marriage (compared with 46% among those 50 and older). They also are much more apt to mention gay and lesbian issues as a key reason they joined the campaign (21% vs. 4%).

On military matters, the older activists who came of age in the 1960s are significantly less supportive of keeping troops in Iraq (34%, vs. 61% among the younger group), and less likely to say that the use of pre-emptive military force is sometimes justifiable (13% vs. 31%).

Other Findings

- Dean activists are heavy news consumers and rely on a wide array of sources – the web, newspapers, radio and, to a lesser extent, TV. Nearly as many say they regularly get news from the network and cable news websites as from the news broadcasts themselves. And 58% say they regularly listen to NPR, compared with just 16% of the general public.
- The Dean campaign formed the basis for an extensive – and enduring – social network. Fully 71% of the activists say they met someone in person or online through the campaign, and 45% still keep in touch with a campaign contact. But most activists say they were drawn to the campaign because of politics and the issues, and not mainly by the prospect of forming relationships with people who shared their values.
- The activists remain committed to the Democratic Party, even if some are reluctant supporters. They are clearly dissatisfied with party leaders: 80% of the activists say Democratic leaders supported the war in Iraq because they were afraid to stand up to the president.
- Nine-in-ten Dean activists blame Dean’s loss in the primaries on “negative news coverage.” Many also pointed to perceptions that Dean was not electable (73%). While a third blamed Dean’s campaign performance, just 19% pointed to Dean’s policy stances as a reason he lost.
- The activists overwhelmingly think of themselves as progressives (90%) and most describe themselves as patriots (80%). More than half (55%) call themselves fiscal conservatives.

Guide to the Report

The first section of this report, which begins on p. 7, covers the attitudes of Dean activists toward the Democratic Party and the future of progressive politics. Section II, which starts on p. 12, covers the activists' feelings about the Dean campaign. Section III, which provides a detailed look at the activists' internet activities and news consumption, begins on p. 20. And Section IV (p. 26) looks more closely at the activists' political values and attitudes. A description of the study's methodology begins on p. 31.

I. DEAN ACTIVISTS AND THE DEMOCRATS

Given their numbers, their highly visible role in the 2004 campaign, and their generally strong commitment to political activity, the attitudes of Dean activists toward the Democratic Party will help shape the party's future direction. The Dean activists are highly critical of the Democratic Party in a number of areas. But they are not ready to give up on the party – rather, they want it to reflect, to a much greater degree, their own liberal and progressive positions.

Fewer than a quarter of Dean activists (21%) said the party has done an excellent or good job of standing up for its traditional positions on such things as protecting the interest of minorities, helping the poor and needy, and representing working people. By contrast, Democrats nationally have a much more favorable view of the party's performance in this regard. In a Pew survey last July, nearly half of Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents (49%) said the party was doing an excellent or good job of standing up for minorities and the poor.

Dean activists voice disappointment with the party's efforts as an advocate for progressive and liberal positions. Just 18% rate the party's efforts in this area as good or excellent; most believe the party has done only a fair (46%) or poor (36%) job of promoting progressive positions.

In addition, Dean activists overwhelmingly fault Democratic leaders for going too easy on the president. More than eight-in-ten (86%) said the party has not been critical enough of Bush and his policies. Just 12% said Democratic leaders have criticized Bush the right amount.

Change the Party, Don't Destroy It

Looking at the party's future, Dean activists voice strong sentiment for the Democrats to move to the left. Two-thirds (67%) want the Democratic Party to reflect more progressive or liberal positions, while just 13% would prefer a shift to more centrist positions.

Job Democratic Party is Doing Standing Up For...		
	Dean activists	All Dems
<i>Minorities, poor, and working people*</i>	%	%
Excellent	2	8
Good	19	47
Only fair	51	36
Poor	28	6
No Answer	*	<u>3</u>
	100	100
<i>Progressive, liberal positions</i>		
Excellent	2	
Good	16	
Only fair	46	
Poor	36	
No Answer	*	
	100	

* Based on Democrats and independents that lean Democratic. National Democrats from July 2004 Pew Research Center survey.

Dean Activists Favor Shift to the Left	
<i>What would you like to see happen to the Democratic Party?</i>	%
Reflect more progressive/liberal positions	67
Reflect more centrist positions	13
Die off and be replaced by new party	11
Remain the same	8
No answer	<u>1</u>
	100

Only about one-in-ten (11%) support the more radical approach of letting the Democratic Party die off and be replaced by an entirely new political party. But maintaining the status quo also is seen as unacceptable; just 8% of Dean activists want the party to remain more or less the same.

These attitudes contrast sharply with the opinions of both Democratic officials and rank-and-file Democrats. A Gallup poll of Democratic National Committee members (in February 2005) showed that, by more than two-to-one (52%-23%) the DNC members want the party to become more moderate, rather than more liberal. That view is shared by Democrats nationally; in a January survey, Gallup found that 59% of Democrats wanted the party to take a more moderate course.

Expanding the Democratic Base

Dean activists say the Democrats’ most important political objective should be to broaden the party’s appeal to middle-class parents. Roughly six-in-ten (59%) rate that as a top priority. Smaller but sizable minorities also believe the party should reach out to blue-collar factory workers (44% top priority) and working-class southern whites (39%) – a group that Dean himself has said the party should target. There is less interest in appealing to the military (24%) and evangelical Christians (10%), groups well outside the mainstream of traditional Democratic constituencies.

Democrats Should Target Middle-Class Parents	
<i>Top priority for Democratic party to appeal to...</i>	<i>%</i>
Middle-class parents	59
Blue-collar factory workers	44
Working-class Southern whites	39
Members of the military	24
Evangelical Christians	10

Education is a factor in these opinions. The small percentage of Dean activists who have not attended college – only about 4% overall – place much greater priority on appealing to blue-collar workers than do college-educated Dean activists (62% vs. 43%). The non-college group is also more likely to say it is important for the party to appeal to working-class southern whites (48%) and members of the military (41%).

Positive View of ‘527s’

Despite holding mixed views about Kerry, the vast majority of Dean activists (88%) feel liberal and progressive causes would have been better served if he had won the election. While many of the activists are vowing to intensify their own political efforts in the wake of Bush’s victory, they also feel Bush’s reelection will generally increase support for liberal causes. Two-thirds (66%) said Bush’s reelection will boost support for liberal causes, while 32% said it will decrease support for those causes.

Election’s Impact on Liberalism	
<i>Liberal cause better off if Kerry won?</i>	
Yes	88
No	<u>12</u>
	100
<i>Bush re-election impact on liberal cause?</i>	
Increase support	66
Decrease support	32
No answer	<u>2</u>
	100

Dean activists are divided over how best to champion liberal and progressive goals. Roughly four-in-ten (38%) think the Democratic Party itself can be most effective, but nearly as many (36%) think these issues can best be advanced by privately funded advocacy groups, such as the so-called “527” organizations that played an important role in the 2004 campaign. Smaller numbers think liberal causes would be most effectively advanced by a new political party (13%) or other, unspecified groups (12%).

The 527 groups have a positive image among Dean activists – 55% approve and 41% disapprove.

Big Donors Good for Liberal Causes				
<i>Impact of big donors on...</i>	Mostly helping	Mostly hurting	No impact	No answer
	%	%	%	%
Progressive/liberal causes	72	6	16	6=100
Democratic Party	57	10	26	7=100
U.S. political system	51	14	28	7=100

These groups have drawn much of their financial support from activist philanthropists. On the Democratic side these include donors such as George Soros, Peter Lewis and Andy Rappaport. Dean activists view these philanthropists as mostly helping (72%) rather than hurting (6%) liberal causes, or having no impact (16%). A sizable majority (57%) also believe that these philanthropists are mostly helping the Democratic Party, compared with 10% who say they are mostly hurting the party and 26% saying they have no impact. Half (51%) judge these big donors as helpful to the U.S. political system in general.

Third Party Favored

Dean activists believe the country should have a third major political party, but most also want the Democratic Party to survive. In the September survey, 65% of Dean activists favored the creation of a third major political party, a number that declined a bit in the follow-up survey in November (to 57%).

This view is not shared by Democrats generally. In June, 43% of Democrats said the country should have a third major political party while 51% disagreed. Independents typically express greater support for a third party than do either Republicans or Democrats. In the June survey, 66% of independents said the nation should have a third political party, which is higher than the percentage of Democrats or Republicans who favor this idea (43% each).

Support for a Third Party. But Not for Nader		
	Dean	All
<i>Third party</i>	<u>activists</u>	<u>Dems</u>
<i>needed*</i>	%	%
Agree	57	43
Disagree	40	51
No answer	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100
<i>Opinion of</i>		
<i>Ralph Nader**</i>		
Favorable	34	24
Unfavorable	66	55
No answer	<u>*</u>	<u>21</u>
	100	100

* Trend from a Pew Research Center survey in June 2004.
** Trend from a Pew Research Center survey in August 2004.

Though virtually all of the Dean activists voted Democratic in the last election, a sizable minority have a positive view of the Green Party. Roughly four-in-ten (42%) said they think of themselves as Green Party supporters, while 51% said they do not.

However, most Dean activists have a negative opinion of Ralph Nader, who was the Green Party's nominee in 2000 but failed to win that party's endorsement in 2004. About two-thirds of Dean activists (66%) said they have an unfavorable opinion of Nader and just 1% said they voted for him last year. Democrats nationally also have low regard for Nader (55% unfavorable).

Candidates for 2008 Presidential Race

Looking ahead to 2008, most Dean activists believe that the governor should again run for president and among this group he is the early, if unsurprising, front-runner for the Democratic nomination.

Nearly half of Dean activists (46%) believe Dean should definitely make another try for the nomination, while another 33% say he probably should run. About one-in-five (18%) think Dean should not run.

Among other possible candidates, freshman Sen. Barack Obama draws strong support. As many say Obama should definitely run (22%) as say that about Sens. John Edwards (22%) and Hillary Clinton (20%), who are much better known. The possibility of presidential campaigns by the Democrats' last two standard-bearers – Sen. John Kerry and Al Gore – generates minimal enthusiasm among Dean activists. Just 8% believe Kerry should definitely run, while 7% favor Gore running; roughly two-thirds of Dean activists think that Kerry and Gore should not make another try for the presidency (66% Kerry, 69% Gore).

Roughly a third (36%) rated Dean (who has since ruled out a presidential race in 2008) as their top choice for the nomination. Obama is second, at 13%, followed by Clinton (10%) and Edwards (9%). Just 3% rate Kerry as their first choice for the nomination, and the same number favor Gore.

Democratic Presidential Nominee in 2008			
	<u>Definitely should run</u>	<u>1st choice</u>	<u>2nd choice</u>
	%	%	%
Howard Dean	46	36	16
Barack Obama	22	13	13
John Edwards	22	9	11
Hillary Clinton	20	10	11
Joseph Biden	11	6	5
Wesley Clark	12	4	6
John Kerry	8	3	4
Al Gore	7	3	5
Nancy Pelosi	6	1	3
Tom Vilsack	3	1	2
Janet Napolitano	2	*	1

Respondents were first asked whether each candidate should run for the nomination, and then asked for their first and second choices for the nomination.

II. ON THE CAMPAIGN TRAIL

Why Dean?

The war in Iraq was by far the most important issue that attracted Dean activists to the campaign. Two-thirds (66%) picked the war as one of the two most important issues in their decision to support Dean, far outpacing health care (at 34%). About a quarter (24%) cited fiscal responsibility as the most important issue in deciding to support Dean, while somewhat fewer mentioned the economy (19%).

Overall, gay rights was a fairly minor consideration for Dean activists (9% most important). But it was significant for young people – 21% of those under age 30 cited gay and lesbian rights as an important factor in their decision to support Dean, compared with just 4% of those 50 and older.

Aside from issues, the activists were drawn by Dean’s willingness to voice unpopular beliefs and his desire to change the party. Asked to choose among several options, 44% found his willingness to stand up for unpopular views most appealing. Many were also drawn by the possibility that he would change the direction of the Democratic Party (39%). Dean’s electability and his attentiveness to young people (8% each) were much less important in drawing activists to the campaign.

Dean activists offered similar sentiments in describing how they felt about their experiences in the campaign. More than eight-in-ten (83%) strongly agreed that Dean “gave me hope that we could change the country.” Large majorities also strongly agreed that Dean “spoke for me” (73%) and that Dean was the only candidate to stand up to Bush (69%).

	Agree <u>a lot</u> %	Agree <u>some</u> %	Dis- <u>agree</u> %	No <u>answer</u> %
Hoped to change the country	83	14	1	2=100
Dean spoke for me	73	23	2	2=100
Dean stood up to Bush	69	23	6	2=100
Felt empowered	59	35	3	3=100

Issues Mattered Most

Dean's stance on issues was by far his most positive trait, according to his activist supporters. More than three-quarters (78%) cited Dean's issue positions as what they most liked about him. Just 14% pointed to Dean's leadership ability, and 7% cited his personality. Almost none of the Dean activists (1%) said the governor's experience was what they liked most about him.

Dean's Strengths and Weaknesses		
	<u>Like most about Dean</u>	<u>Like least about Dean</u>
	%	%
Stand on issues	78	4
Leadership ability	14	13
Personality	7	22
Experience	1	40
No answer	*	21
	100	100

Indeed, a plurality of Dean activists (40%) viewed experience as his weakest attribute. About one-in-five (22%) said Dean's personality was what they liked least about him, and about the same number (21%) gave no answer when asked about Dean's negative traits.

Many Were Campaign First-Timers

While many Dean activists were seasoned veterans of earlier electoral battles, the Dean campaign did attract a sizable number of political newcomers. More than four-in-ten Dean activists (42%) – and 66% of those under 30 – said this was their first political campaign. Of the majority with some previous campaign experience, most (36% of the total) said they were more involved in the Dean campaign than in prior races, compared with 21% who were about as involved, or less involved than in the past.

For the most part, the Dean activists joined the campaign on their own initiative. About eight-in-ten (79%) said they sought out involvement in the campaign on their own, compared with 13% who were encouraged to join the effort. Those under age 30 were about as likely as older people to join the campaign on their own.

Nearly three-quarters (73%) of those who participated in the Dean campaign were encouraged by the experience to participate in the future, with 24% saying it had no effect and just 2% saying that they were discouraged from further political participation. Students and young people (those ages 15-22) were the most encouraged to participate in the future (83% and 87% respectively).

Enthusiastic Campaigners	
<i>Dean activists...</i>	%
Sought out campaign involvement on their own	79
Supported Dean strongly during campaign	77
Felt encouraged to participate in future campaigns	73

Social Side of the Dean Campaign

One of the most interesting aspects of the Dean campaign was the prevalence of social interaction, paradoxically fostered by what many people consider to be a medium of isolation: the internet. Most Dean activists reported meeting several new people through the campaign, and most who did said they still keep up with at least some of the people they met. Among those who came to know new people through the campaign, 82% said they met at least some of them in person. Majorities also say they would feel comfortable turning to other Dean activists for help with issues or problems in their own community, although only 15% said they would do so for help on a personal problem such as a medical emergency or home repair project.

Meeting and Mingling		
	All Dean activists	Among those who met people
	%	%
Met new people	71	100
Met them in person	58	82
Stay in touch	45	63
Contact often*	27	37

*A few times a month or more

The social side of the Dean campaign was not, however, the primary reason people said they involved. More than two-thirds of activists (68%) said their involvement with the campaign was mostly about politics and the issues, rather than about building relationships with people with similar values. Although nearly three-in-ten (29%) said they were motivated to participate by a mixture of both considerations, just 2% said it was mostly about forging relationships with people who shared their values.

Mostly Business, Not Personal	
	Dean activists
	%
<i>Involvement was mostly about...</i>	
Politics and issues	68
Building relationships	2
About half and half	29
No answer	1
	100
<i>Would ask other activist for help...</i>	
On public or community issue	72
On personal issue	15
<i>Dated or considered dating other activist</i>	5
(among those 15-22)	21

Only 5% of all Dean activists dated or considered dating someone they met through the campaign; that figure rises to 21% of those in the youngest age group (15-22). A tiny percentage (0.26%) said they had married, were engaged to, or had become a life partner of someone met through the campaign.

Losing with Dean

Roughly three-quarters of the Dean activists (77%) say they strongly supported the governor during his short-lived campaign; another 20% supported Dean with some reservations.

When it became clear that their candidate would not win the Democratic nomination, most (85%) Dean activists say they were “disappointed” while 43% were “angry.” About a third (36%) were “surprised,” while a small number (4%) registered relief.

About one-in-five (19%) blamed Dean’s policy positions for his loss, and somewhat fewer (16%) attributed it to the strength of his competition in the primaries. A third (32%) blamed his performance during campaign events.

Instead, activists focused much of the blame on forces largely external to the campaign: negative news coverage (90% cited this factor) and TV ads attacking Dean (67%). However a sizable majority (73%) agreed that an important reason for Dean’s loss was that, for whatever reason, he was not seen as electable in the November presidential face-off.

Fighting Hard for Dean...

<i>During Dean’s campaign supported...</i>	<u>Dean activists</u>
	%
Dean strongly	77
Dean with reservations	20
Another candidate	2
No answer	<u>1</u>
	100

...And Losing

<i>Reasons Dean lost the Democratic nomination*</i>	%
Negative news coverage	90
Not seen as electable	73
TV attack ads	67
Performance at events	32
Policy stances	19
Strong competition	16
Attacks on opponents	9

* Respondents could choose as many as they felt applied.

Turning to Kerry, with Reservations

After Dean's campaign ended, his activist supporters overwhelmingly – if somewhat unenthusiastically – turned to John Kerry. Throughout the general election campaign, most Democratic voters consistently characterized their vote as being against Bush rather than for Kerry. This also was the case among Dean activists – 69% said their vote was against Bush, compared with just 30% who said it was a vote for Kerry.

Dean activists gave the Kerry campaign much lower grades than did Democratic voters generally. In the September survey, half of Dean activists gave Kerry's campaign a grade of A or B; just 13% gave the campaign the top grade of A. Democratic voters, by contrast, were more impressed with Kerry's efforts. In mid-October, about three-quarters (74%) gave Kerry's campaign an A or B; 31% of Democratic voters gave the campaign an A.

Dean activists were split over what they liked most about Kerry. While 39% said they most liked his stance on issues, significant numbers cited his experience (32%) and leadership (24%). For Kerry voters generally, the senator's issue positions were by far his most appealing trait; 52% cited these, compared with just 16% who pointed to Kerry's leadership and 13% who cited his experience. Dean activists cited Kerry's personality as his biggest negative – 53% said that was what they liked least about him.

Views of the Campaign

Like the overwhelming majority of voters in both parties, Dean activists viewed the 2004 presidential campaign as important. Fully 97% of Dean activists called the campaign important, as did nearly identical percentages of Democratic and Republican voters nationwide (96% each).

From Dean to Kerry, Reluctantly		
	Dean <u>activists</u>	Dem <u>voters</u>
<i>Presidential vote</i>	%	%
For Kerry	97	89*
For Bush	*	11
For Nader	1	0
Other/Didn't vote	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100
<i>Vote was...</i>		
A vote for Kerry	30	41**
A vote against Bush	69	53
No answer/DK	<u>1</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100
<i>Grading Kerry's campaign...</i>		
A or B	50	74***
C or less	50	24
No answer/DK	<u>*</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100

*NEP exit poll; **Oct. 1-3; ***Oct. 15-19

Assessing Kerry's Strengths, Weaknesses		
<i>Like MOST about John Kerry</i>	Dean <u>activists</u>	Kerry <u>voters*</u>
Stand on issues	39	52
Leadership	24	16
Experience	32	13
Personality	2	8
No answer/DK	<u>3</u>	<u>11</u>
	100	100
<i>Like LEAST about John Kerry</i>	Dean <u>activists</u>	
Personality	53	
Stand on issues	25	
Leadership	9	
Experience	3	
No answer/DK	<u>10</u>	
	100	

*Based on Pew survey conducted Sept. 2004

On other aspects of the campaign – whether the campaign was too negative, dull, or too long – the views of Dean activists are fairly similar to those of Democratic and Republican voters.

But while large majorities of both Republican (79%) and Democratic voters (72%) found the campaign informative, many Dean activists disagreed. A plurality (48%) said the campaign was not informative – which probably reflects the low regard Dean activists had for press coverage of the campaign generally, and for coverage of Dean’s campaign in particular.

Why Kerry Lost

Dean activists generally pointed to the Bush campaign’s tactics as the main reason Kerry lost. Reacting to a list of possible factors, fully three-quarters of Dean activists selected “The Bush campaign scared voters with its focus on terrorism” as a very important factor in Kerry’s defeat.

A solid majority (56%) also selected “The Bush campaign misrepresented Kerry’s record and service in Vietnam” as a very important factor in his defeat. Far fewer Dean activists credited Bush with running a better campaign (33%) – or, alternatively, cited shortcomings by Kerry as major factors in his defeat.

	Dean activists	Dem*	Rep*
<i>Election is...</i>	%	%	%
Important	97	96	96
Unimportant	*	3	3
Too negative	70	61	55
Not too negative	21	35	41
Interesting	65	65	69
Dull	25	28	27
Too long	46	47	54
Not too long	43	46	41
Informative	43	72	79
Not informative	48	23	17

* Pew poll conducted Oct. 15-19, 2004, based on RVs

Notably, most Dean activists did not view Kerry's failure to pay attention to core Democratic groups as very important in his defeat. Just 10% pointed to Kerry's positions as being too conservative, and just 2% mostly attributed Kerry's defeat to the possibility that his positions were too liberal.

Dean Activists Blame Bush Tactics for Kerry's Loss				
<i>Reasons Kerry lost the election</i>	Very important	Somewhat important	Not very/Not at all important	No answer
	%	%	%	%
<i>The Bush campaign...</i>				
Scared voters with terrorism issue	75	20	4	1=100
Distorted Kerry's service record	56	32	11	1=100
Ran a better campaign	33	35	29	3=100
<i>John Kerry...</i>				
Was seen as personally unappealing	24	51	24	1=100
Ran a poor campaign	24	41	33	2=100
Ignored core Democratic groups	21	33	44	2=100
<i>Kerry's positions were...</i>				
Too conservative	10	26	62	2=100
Too liberal	2	18	78	2=100

Election Reactions

Most Dean activists (78%) said they were depressed by the November election result. In a Pew national survey conducted shortly after the election (Nov. 5-8), 29% of Kerry voters – and 47% of liberal Kerry voters – said they were depressed by the election. However, the phrasing of that question offered a wider range of possible reactions to the election – “disappointed,” “worried” and “angry.”

Despite their sadness over the loss, a narrow majority of Dean activists (51%) said that Bush's reelection will make them more politically active. Just 13% said Bush's defeat would make them less politically active, while roughly a third (35%) said they would remain about as active as now.

Post-Election Gloom, Determination	
<i>Election reaction...</i>	Dean activists
Happy	1
Unhappy	21
Depressed	78
	100
<i>Bush's reelection will make me...</i>	
More politically active	51
Less politically active	13
About as active	35
No answer	1
	100

Second -Term Concerns

Dean activists have numerous concerns about what may unfold during Bush’s second term. Overwhelming numbers say they are very concerned about an overly aggressive foreign policy (89%); the blurring of separation between church and state (88%); worsening environmental problems (87%); the growing gap between rich and poor (86%); and restrictions on Americans’ civil liberties (83%).

Roughly three-quarters of Dean activists (74%) expressed a great deal of concern that Social Security and Medicare may be weakened in Bush’s second term. (The survey was completed before Bush began his campaign for private investment accounts in Social Security.) Dean activists are far less concerned that Bush will fail to sufficiently address threats from Iran and North Korea. Fewer than half (46%) were very concerned about this. Asked which concern was most important, 27% selected foreign policy and 23% chose separation of church/state.

Dean Activists’ Worries over Bush’s Second Term				
	<u>Very concerned</u>	<u>Somewhat concerned</u>	<u>Not too/ Not at all concerned</u>	<u>No answer</u>
<i>How concerned about...</i>	%	%	%	%
Overly aggressive foreign policy	89	9	1	1=100
Blurring of church/state separation	88	9	2	1=100
Worsening environmental problems	87	11	1	1=100
Widening gap between rich and poor	86	12	1	1=100
Restricting Americans’ civil liberties	83	15	1	1=100
Weakening of SS and Medicare	74	22	4	*=100
Failure to deal w/ threats from Iran, North Korea	46	38	15	1=100

III. THE ACTIVISTS, THE MEDIA AND THE INTERNET

Heavy News Consumers

Among the most distinguishing characteristics of Dean activists is their intense interest in the news. Not only are they far more avid consumers of news than the general public but the sources they consult follow a substantially different pattern.

Like many Americans, Dean activists pick the daily newspaper as their single most frequently consulted source, although at a substantially higher rate than the general public (68% regularly to 54%). But they stand far apart from the public in their next most common source, National Public Radio. Nearly six-in-ten (58%) regularly listen to NPR, compared with just 16% among the general public.

Although Dean activists watch cable news channels with the same frequency (38%) as viewers generally, they are more likely to turn to their computers than to turn on the tube. Nearly as many (37%) regularly check the news offered on the home pages of internet service providers and other portal websites such as Yahoo compared with only 13% of the public. By contrast, activists' viewing of the nightly networks news is a little lower, at 30%, than among the general public, 34% of whom regularly watch these broadcasts.

About 45% of Dean activists regularly check the websites of major newspapers and TV networks, and roughly 20%-30% consult other internet news sources including local and foreign news websites, online magazines, and political blogs. By comparison, 10% or fewer of the public regularly tap these sources.

Notwithstanding their taste for online news, Dean activists are also more likely than the general public to read not only print newspapers but also news, literary or political magazines, and to watch television talk shows and C-SPAN.

	Dean activists %	General public %
<i>Regularly watch/read...</i>		
Daily newspaper	68	54
National Public Radio	58	16
Network and cable TV news (NET)	51	54
Major newspaper websites	46	6
Network and cable TV websites	45	10
Cable news channels	38	38
News pages of ISPs	37	13
News magazines	31	13
Nightly network news	30	34
Foreign news websites	30	n/a
Online news magazines	29	3
Daily Show w/Stewart	29	3
Sunday morning shows	25	12
New York Times print	24	n/a
Literary magazines	22	2
Moveon.org	22	n/a
Liberal media websites	22	n/a
Local news website	21	9
Political magazines	20	2
The Daily Kos	18	n/a
C-SPAN	18	5
Online columns/blogs	18	n/a

Entries show percent who regularly watch, listen to, or read each source.
*General public results from June 8, 2004 Pew release
 "News Audiences Increasingly Politicized"*

Broadcast News Sources

Regular consumption of national nightly network news and cable news channels is about the same for both the general public and Dean activists. Public viewership of the Today Show, Good Morning America or the Early Show (22%) is actually higher than among Dean activists (13%).

Aside from these mainstream sources of news, the public and Dean activists have quite distinct news consumption habits. About twice as many Dean activists regularly watch Sunday morning news shows such as Meet the Press, This Week, or Face the Nation as compared with the public (25% vs. 12%). By a margin of nearly four-to-one (18%-5%), Dean activists are more likely to report watching C-SPAN regularly.

As with the public, there is a sizable age gap in the news consumption habits of Dean activists. Fewer than half of those under age 30 (45%) regularly listen to NPR, compared with nearly two-thirds of those age 50 and older (64%). The differences are even greater in the numbers who regularly watch the NewsHour with Jim Lehrer. Just 5% of activists under 30 regularly watch this program, but it is a major news source for those 50 and older (35% regularly).

Regarding comedy shows, the differences run in the opposite direction. Almost four-in-ten Dean activists under 30 (37%) regularly watch the Daily Show with Jon Stewart, compared with 20% of those age 50 and older. This is in keeping with a pattern among the general public (8% among the young watch Stewart compared with 2% or less among older groups). It is notable, however, that even among Dean activists age 65 and over, regular Daily Show viewership, at 13%, is nearly twice that of the youngest age group in the public.

Far less popular among Dean activists are late night TV shows such as David Letterman and Jay Leno. These shows are regularly viewed by roughly the same proportion of activists (9%) and the general public (12%). The age pattern among late show watchers is the mirror image of that among Daily Show fans: Senior citizens in the public regularly watch late night shows nearly twice as often as Dean activists age 18-29 (14% vs. 8%).

Viewership of The Daily Show and Late Night Shows		
	The Daily Show	Late night shows
<i>Regularly watch...</i>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Dean Activists		
Total	29	9
18-29	44	8
30-49	30	11
50-64	26	11
65+	16	2
General Public		
Total	3	12
18-29	8	17
30-49	2	8
50-64	2	11
65+	1	14

General Public results from June 8, 2004 Pew release "News Audiences Increasingly Politicized"

Internet News Sources

As experienced and frequent web users, Dean activists show a marked preference for obtaining news via the internet compared with the general public. Nearly as many go to network and cable news websites (45%) as to the news broadcasts themselves (51%), and nearly half (46%) regularly visit the websites of major national newspapers.

While Dean activists are also much more likely than the general public to read printed news magazines such as Time, U.S. News or Newsweek (31% vs. 13%), nearly as many read online news magazines such as Slate or Salon (29%). Younger and older Dean activists are about equally likely to use these kinds of online sources.

Even concerning local news, Dean activists are also more likely than the general public to get information through the internet. By a two-to-one margin, 21% of activists regularly visit websites of their local newspaper or TV station compared with 9% of the public.

Despite their affinity for internet sources, Dean activists are also heavy consumers of print media. Among this highly literate population, regular consumption of literary and political magazines and the New York Times print edition (24%) is at levels comparable to the general public’s consumption of morning TV shows (22%). A tiny proportion of the general public regularly reads magazines such as The Atlantic, Harper’s or the New Yorker or political magazines such as the New Republic (2%). However, Dean activists are ten times more likely to read these sorts of magazines (22%). On the other hand, Dean activists are no more interested than the general public in business magazines such as Fortune and Forbes (6% and 4% are regular readers of these, respectively.)

	Age <u>18-49</u> %	Age <u>50+</u> %
<i>Regularly read...</i>		
Major newspapers websites	46	45
Network and cable TV websites	44	45
News pages of ISPs	39	32
Online news magazines	31	26
Local news website	25	14
Online columns/blogs	21	13

Extensive Web Use

Dean activists regularly visit specialized news websites at levels similar to their news magazine consumption. Three-in-ten visit foreign news websites such as the BBC and about one-fifth regularly visit liberal media sites such as TheNation.com or AlterNet.org.

A significant number (22%) report regularly visiting MoveOn.org, a leading liberal activist site, but relatively few Dean activists visit the major party websites – and this holds true for the Democratic Party as well as the GOP. When asked in November 2004, 7% reported regularly visiting the website of the Democratic Party, while fewer than 1% went to the GOP’s site. This is slightly less often than internet users in the general public. (See Pew Internet & American Life Project March 6, 2005 release titled “The Internet and Campaign 2004.”)

<i>Percent who regularly visit...</i>	
Foreign news sites	30
Moveon.org	22
Liberal media sites	22
DemocracyforAmerica.com	13
Political video/songs sites	9
Labor/environment sites	9
Democrats.org	7
DrudgeReport.com	5
GOP.com	*

Blogs Popular

Not surprisingly, given their intense interest in politics and the news, Dean activists tend to be blog fans. Four-in-ten report that they at least sometimes read someone else’s blog when they go online. Nearly one-in-five (18%) report regularly accessing blogs such as Talking Points Memo, Kausfiles or the Daily Kos, with 22% sometimes visiting these sites.

Among blog readers, a third (32%) read the Daily Kos (whose founder has acknowledged he was a paid technical adviser to the Dean campaign) at least occasionally. Of all Dean activists, 19% read this blog. Change for America, founded by Dean campaign manager Joe Trippi after leaving the campaign, is the second most popular with 22% of blog readers and 13% of all Dean activists visiting it.

<i>Percent who ever read...</i>	<i>Among...</i>	
	<u>All Dean</u> <u>activists</u>	<u>Blog</u> <u>readers</u>
The Daily Kos	19	32
ChangeforAmerica.com	13	22
Talkingpointsmemo.com	11	19
Wonkette.com	9	15
AndrewSullivan.com	7	12
Eschaton.com	6	10
WashingtonMonthly.com	5	9
Kausfiles	4	6
Instapundit.com	4	6
Buzzmachine.com	4	6
MatthewGross.com	2	3
Other	17	29

Seriously Wired

All of the Dean activists sampled have access to the internet and the great majority are both experienced and intensive internet users, even compared to other internet users in the general population. More than eight-in-ten (83%) have been online for at least six years, and 18% have been online at least 11 years.

Nearly all (96%) go online from home, and two-thirds go online from work (68%). The vast majority (70%) have a broadband connection at home, and 77% say they go online “several times a day.” Even among Dean activists age 65 and older, almost two-thirds (65%) access the internet several times a day. By comparison, among those in the general public who go online, half (50%) have broadband connections, and 44% say they go online several times a day.

Dean activists are also more heavily engaged in a wide range of internet activities. Nearly all Dean activists (96%) get news online compared with 73% among all online Americans. A 60% majority has ever read a blog (only 27% in the online general public have done this). As expected, blog readership is highest among the young—73% of activists age 18-29 have ever read someone else’s web log, compared to a still significant 45% among those age 65 and older. A majority of Dean activists (55%) say they have rated a product, service, or person using an online rating system, compared with 26% among the online general public. Nearly one-in-five (19%) have created a profile at Friendster.com., an online social network.

Dean activists and the online general public are similar in the extent to which they send instant messages (42% each), create blogs (13% vs. 10%), or make phone calls online (6% vs. 7%).

Beyond the internet, the Dean activists kept in touch by cell phone, with fully 81% reporting that they had a cell phone; 71% said they had both a cell phone and a landline phone. Ten percent were cell-only, slightly higher than the 7% found among voters in November according to the National Election Pool exit poll. Nearly one-third (33%) of Dean activists under the age of 30 had only a cell phone, considerably higher than the 19% found among this same age group in the general public.

	Dean activists	Online general public
Accessing the Internet		
<i>Go online...</i>	%	%
From home	96	88
From work	68	48
Several times a day	77	44
<i>Use internet to...</i>		
Get news	96	73
Read a blog	60	27
Send instant message	42	42
Rate products, services	55	26
<small>General Public results from Pew Internet & American Life/PRC Tracking Surveys, Nov. 2004 and January 2005.</small>		

Political Activity Online

By definition, everyone in the Dean activist sample had taken part in at least one specific activity on behalf of the Dean campaign, with much of that activity taking place online or facilitated by the internet. Thus it is not surprising that the vast majority of activists have done such things as signing an online petition (94%), writing to an elected official online (89%), or contributing money to a campaign online (86%). Nearly one-third (30%) have organized a political meeting or event online.

IV. THE DEAN ACTIVISTS

Different Kind of Democrat

Dean activists are a distinctive group within their own party. As a group, they are much more racially homogenous than the general public or Democrats. More than nine-in-ten Dean activists (92%) are white and just 1% are African American. By comparison, the public is 79% white, as are about two-thirds of national Democrats (68%). Over one-in-five Democrats (22%) are African Americans.

Dean activists tend to be not only significantly better educated but also wealthier than other Democrats. Nearly one-in-three Dean activists (29%) report a family income of more than \$100,000 per year, nearly triple the proportion of all Democrats (10%) who fall into that income bracket. An overwhelming majority (79%) are college graduates; 41% have earned a graduate or professional degree. Just a quarter of all Democrats, and 26% of the public, are college graduates.

A relatively large proportion of Dean activists (38%) have no formal religious affiliation. Far fewer Democrats (10%) and members of the public (11%) express no religious preference. Moreover, just 24% of Dean activists describe themselves as a “religious person.” Far more (68%), however, say they think of themselves as a “spiritual person.”

Only about a third of Dean activists are affiliated with either the Catholic or Protestant religious traditions (34%). But one-in-five (21%) identified themselves as Unitarians, non-denominational Christians, Buddhists, Muslims, or did not specify an individual religion.

As noted earlier, however, the age profile of Dean activists is similar to that of other Democrats and the public. While news coverage of the Dean campaign focused on his youthful

Dean Activists: White, Well-Educated, Wealthy			
	Dean activists	All Dems ¹	General public ²
<i>Race</i>	%	%	%
White	92	68	79
Black	1	22	11
Other/no answer	<u>7</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>10</u>
	100	100	100
<i>Income</i>			
\$100,000+	29	10	11
\$75,000-99,999	16	8	10
\$50,000-74,999	20	13	15
\$20,000-49,999	26	35	34
<\$20,000	6	22	17
<i>Education</i>			
College grad	79	25	26
Some college	17	22	24
HS grad or less	4	53	50
<i>Religion</i>			
Protestant	21	53	55
Catholic	13	27	24
Jewish	7	3	2
Other	21	5	6
No religion	38	10	11
<i>Sexuality</i>			
Gay, lesbian, or bisexual	12	6 [^]	4 [^]

¹ Figures for Democrats from Pew surveys fielded Jan. 2004 to Feb. 2005.
² All Census figures from March 2003 Annual Social and Economic Supplement. Religious affiliation from Pew surveys fielded Jan. 2004 to Feb. 2005.
[^]From NEP exit poll Nov. 3, 2004

support, the Dean activists are not especially young; just 6% were under 23 and 12% were 23-29, compared with 8% and 10% among Democrats nationally.

Dean activists were also heavily involved in other political and social issues. Nearly eight-in-ten (77%) had signed petitions for something other than the Dean campaign. About half (48%) had participated in a protest, demonstration or rally for an unrelated cause and a similar number (51%) had boycotted a product or company.

Foreign Policy: Support for Diplomacy, Allies

Beyond their opposition to the war in Iraq, Dean activists are united by a broader skepticism toward the use of military force and strong support for multilateralism. While national Democrats, by roughly two-to-one (60%-33%), say it is acceptable to refuse to fight in war that one believes is morally wrong, this view draws much more support among Dean activists (93%).

There is broad agreement among national Democrats (76%) that effective diplomacy, rather than military strength, is the best way to ensure peace. But this sentiment is almost universally shared among Dean activists (96%).

Dean activists also believe that the Islamic religion does not encourage violence to any greater degree than any other religion (78%). Democrats generally are divided on this point; 44% say Islam is more likely to encourage violence among its believers and about the same number say Islam is no more encouraging of violence than other religions.

National Security Divide		
	Dean activists	All Dems ¹
	%	%
<i>The best way to ensure peace is...</i>		
Good diplomacy	96	76
Military strength	3	15
No answer/DK	<u>1</u>	<u>9</u>
	100	100
OK to refuse to fight in war you believe is wrong	93	60
We should all be willing to fight for U.S., right or wrong	6	33
No answer/DK	<u>1</u>	<u>7</u>
	100	100
<i>The Islamic religion...²</i>		
Does not encourage violence more than other religions	78	40
Is more likely than other religions to encourage violence	21	44
No answer/DK	<u>1</u>	<u>12</u>
	100	100

¹Figures for Democrats (n=641) are from a Pew Research Center survey taken December, 2004
²Figure for Democrats (n=312) from a Pew Research Center survey taken July, 2004.

Libertarian Sentiment

On social issues, Dean activists stand out for their strong support for gay marriage and their near-universal belief that homosexuality should be accepted by society. They are nearly unanimous in their opposition to censoring “dangerous” books from school libraries.

Fully 98% of Dean activists say public school libraries should be able to carry any books they want; just 1% say that public school libraries should ban books “that contain dangerous ideas.” The idea of banning such books draws much more support among all Democrats (41%).

By a similar margin (96%-4%), Dean activists express the view that homosexuality is a way of life that should be accepted, rather than discouraged, by society. Again, there is far less unanimity among rank-and-file Democrats on this point, and a majority of black Democrats (59%) believe that homosexuality should be discouraged.

Most Dean activists (69%) say that churches should keep out of day-to-day social and political matters, but a sizable minority (30%), including nearly a quarter (24%) of those with no religious affiliation, think churches should weigh in on the issues of the day. The difference between the activists and other Democrats is narrower on this question than on some other social issues.

Nearly three-quarters (74%) of Dean activists believe that racial discrimination is the main reason many blacks can’t get ahead, but a majority (52%) of Democrats nationally say that blacks are “mostly responsible for their own condition.”

A similar chasm separates the opinions of Dean activists and national Democrats on immigration. Fully 87% of activists think immigrants are strengthening the country, while national Democrats are split: 43% consider immigrants as a burden, 47% think immigrants strengthen the country.

Social and Cultural Issues		
	Dean activists	All Dems ¹
	%	%
<i>Books with ‘dangerous ideas’...</i>		
Should be permitted in public school libraries	98	54
Should be banned from public school libraries	1	41
No answer/DK	<u>1</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100
<i>Homosexuality should be...</i>		
Accepted by society	96	58
Discouraged by society	4	36
No answer/DK	<u>0</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100
<i>Immigrants today...</i>		
Strengthen the U.S. because of hard work and talents	87	47
Are a burden because they take jobs, housing, health care	12	43
No answer/DK	<u>1</u>	<u>10</u>
	100	100
<i>Churches should...²</i>		
Keep out of political issues	69	45
Express views on politics	30	51
No answer/DK	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100

¹ Figures for Democrats (n=641) are from a Pew Research Center survey taken December, 2004.
² Figure for Democrats (n=237) from Pew Research Center survey taken August, 2004.

Pro-Government, Doubts on Free Trade

Compared with rank-and-file Democrats, Dean activists are more supportive of government solutions to important national problems. While three-quarters of Dean activists feel that the government often does a better job than people give it credit for, nearly half of Democrats nationally (49%) disagree, instead believing that government is almost always wasteful and inefficient.

Fully 96% of activists want the government to step in to protect the environment even if it hurts business profits and results in the loss of some jobs. With respect to poverty, an overwhelming proportion of Dean activists (93%) but a more modest majority (64%) of Democrats think government benefits do not go far enough to help poor people live decently. And over three-quarters (78%) of Dean activists say that businesses make too much profit, a view shared by 64% of national Democrats.

While a majority of Dean activists (58%) think that free trade agreements such as NAFTA and the WTO are a bad thing for the U.S., a sizable minority (36%) have a positive opinion of trade pacts. Dean activists also are divided over the personal impact of such agreements, with 42% believing that the agreements have helped their family’s financial situation and half (50%) believing that they’ve hurt.

Government and Trade		
	Dean activists	All Dems ¹
<i>Government...</i>	%	%
Is almost always wasteful and inefficient	25	49
Often does a better job than people give it credit for	75	45
No answer/DK	<u>0</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100
<i>Poor people...</i>		
Have it easy because of Government benefits	5	24
Have hard lives because Benefits don’t go far enough	93	64
No answer/DK	<u>2</u>	<u>12</u>
	100	100
<i>Free Trade Agreements...</i>		
Good for U.S.	36	43
Bad for U.S.	58	39
No answer/DK	<u>6</u>	<u>18</u>
	100	100

¹ Figures for Democrats (n=641) are from a Pew Research Center survey taken December, 2004.

Preference for “Progressive”

One label that Dean activists embrace even more than “Democrat” or “liberal” is the term “progressive.” Nine-out-of-ten activists say they think of themselves as a progressive. Large majorities also say they consider themselves an “internet enthusiast” (84%) and a “patriot” (80%).

A small proportion of Dean activists (13%) characterize themselves as vegetarian. Still smaller fractions said they think of themselves as an anarchist (4%) or National Rifle Association supporter (3%).

With Gov. Dean's endorsement of civil unions in Vermont, he was able to attract a relatively large number of gays and lesbians to his campaign. The percentage of Dean activists who described themselves as gay, lesbian, or bisexual was double that among Kerry voters, according to the 2004 National Election Pool Exit Poll (12% among Dean activists versus 6% among Kerry voters).

Large majorities of Dean activists express support for federal social programs, but a majority (55%) also describe themselves as fiscal conservatives. In terms of personal finances, equal numbers thought of themselves as working class and financially well-off.

And despite their liberal leanings, many Dean activists do not let their political views interfere with their personal relationships. More than half (53%) reported that they had a strong friendship with someone (excluding close relatives) who is a supporter of George W. Bush.

How the Study Was Conducted

The activists participating in the study were randomly selected from the Democracy for America (formerly Dean for America) volunteer database. Only active members of the campaign³ were eligible for participation. Democracy for America contacted these activists by e-mail on behalf of the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press. Each potential participant received an initial e-mail request; one follow-up message was sent if they had not completed the survey within approximately two weeks. Respondents were directed to a website managed by the Pew Research Center, where they could complete the survey. Interviews were completed from Sept. 13, 2004 through Dec. 14, 2004.

<i>Sample description</i>	Response	
	<u>N</u>	<u>Rate</u>
Pre-election (Wave I)	3,925	13%
Wave I Re-interview*	2,016	(51%)
Post-election (Wave II)	7,643	19%

**Response rate based on respondents who completed the pre-election survey.*

A primary objective of the study was to assess the opinions of Dean activists before and after the Nov. 2 presidential election. Accordingly, two samples were drawn: a sample was interviewed in September and re-interviewed after the election (Wave I); a separate sample was interviewed only after the election (Wave II). The September survey drew 3,925 respondents, for a response rate of 13%. Slightly more than half (51%) of those responding to the September survey also completed the post-election re-interview.

In the second sample, one-in-five (19%) of those invited to participate completed the survey. The lower response rate in September is believed to be due to a server error that prevented some potential respondents from logging on to the survey website during one of the days on which invitations were being sent out.

	<i>Involvement in Dean Campaign*</i>		
	<u>Less engaged</u>	<u>Moderately engaged</u>	<u>Very engaged</u>
Study participants	9	67	24=100%
All Dean activists	14	73	13=100%

**The index of involvement was calculated from three auxiliary variables: number of contributions (coded as 0, 1, 2 or more), membership in MeetUp and membership in Commons.*

Auxiliary information⁴ in the Democracy for America database enabled the Pew Research Center to assess how those who responded in the study compare with all the

³“Active members of the campaign” were defined as those having made a financial contribution or engaged in at least one substantive activity such as attending a MeetUp for Dean.

⁴ The identity of all respondents in the study was kept strictly confidential. The Pew Research Center did not have individual identifying information such as names, mailing addresses, or e-mail addresses. Auxiliary information provided by Democracy for America consisted of records of which activists had participated in various campaign-related activities.

activists the Dean campaign had on file. The most important difference is that the study participants were more likely than the average activist to have contributed money to the campaign. Two-thirds of those participating in the study (66%) contributed money to the campaign compared with only about half (49%) of all activists in the database. Aside from contributions, however, the study participants and the entire pool of activists had similar levels of campaign involvement.

This segment of the most engaged activists, while somewhat overrepresented in the study, tended to mirror the political values and demographic characteristics (gender, race, etc.) of typical members of the Dean campaign. Voting for Dean to opt out of public financing (74% among very active, 45% among less active) was one notable exception, as was the tendency for the most engaged activists to be somewhat older. Half (50%) of Dean’s very engaged activists were age 50 or older, compared to 36% of the less engaged activists.

On major political issues, however, Dean activists tended to hold the same views regardless of how involved they were in the campaign. Very engaged and less engaged Dean activists voted for Kerry in equal proportion (roughly 97%) and were equally likely to believe that using

military force in Iraq was the wrong decision (99%). The two groups of activists also expressed similar opinions on less one-sided questions such as trade agreements, keeping troops in Iraq, and the role of churches in politics. This overall lack of difference between very engaged Dean activists and less engaged ones suggests that the study’s results are generally representative of the intended population: active members of the Dean campaign.

To ease the burden on individual respondents, most questions in the survey were divided across different forms of the questionnaire so that no respondent would have to answer all items.

Less/Very Engaged Dean Activists Hold Similar Views			
	<i>Involvement in Dean Campaign</i>		
	<u>Less engaged</u>	<u>Moderately engaged</u>	<u>Very engaged</u>
	%	%	%
Voted for Kerry in Nov.	96	96	98
Iraq wrong decision	99	99	99
Free trade agreements have been good for the US	39	36	35
Keep troops in Iraq until the situation has stabilized	42	45	42
Churches should keep out of social and political issues	71	69	67
Voted for Dean to opt out of public financing	45	48	74
Dean was first campaign	38	42	46
Boycotted in past 12 months	37	34	34
Age 50+	36	45	50
Non-white	8	8	6
Attend religious services weekly or more	14	14	15
Graduate school degree	34	39	43
Income > \$75,000	38	46	48

Figures show the profile of less, moderately, and very engaged respondents. For example, 96% of “less engaged” respondents voted for Kerry, as did 98% of “very engaged” respondents.

The table below shows the number of interviews in each of the waves and forms of the questionnaire, along with the margin of error for estimates based on each.

	<u>Interview Dates</u>	<u>Sample Size</u>	<u>Margin of Error</u>
Total	Sept 13 – Dec 14, 2004	11,568	+/- 1.0%
Wave 1	Sept 13 – Oct 12, 2004	3,925	+/- 1.7%
Form 1		935	+/- 3.5%
Form 2		877	+/- 3.6%
Form 3		873	+/- 3.6%
Form 4		872	+/- 3.6%
Wave 1 Reinterview	Nov 28 – Dec 14, 2004	2,016	+/- 2.4%
Wave 2	Nov 18 – Dec 14, 2004	7,643	+/- 1.2%
Form 1		1921	+/- 2.4%
Form 2		1876	+/- 2.5%
Form 3		1917	+/- 2.5%
Form 4		1929	+/- 2.5%

PROFILE OF DEAN ACTIVISTS, ALL DEMOCRATS, AND THE GENERAL PUBLIC

	<u>Dean Activists</u>	<u>All Democrats</u>	<u>General Public</u>
	%	%	%
<i>Sex</i>			
Male	50	41	48
Female	49	59	52
No answer	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
	100	100	100
<i>Race</i>			
White	92	68	79
Black	1	22	11
Hispanic	3	12	10
Asian	2	2	2
Other/Multiracial	4	6	6
No answer/DK/Refused	1	2	2
<i>Age</i>			
15-22**	6	8	9
23-29	12	10	12
30-39	17	18	19
40-49	19	20	21
50-59	23	17	16
60+	22	26	22
No answer/DK/Refused	1	1	1
<i>Education</i>			
Post-grad. training/degree	54	11	10
College graduate	25	14	16
Some college	17	22	24
H.S. grad or less	4	52	49
No answer/DK/Refused	*	1	1
<i>Household Income</i>			
\$100,000 +	29	10	11
\$75,000-\$99,999	16	8	10
\$50,000-\$74,999	20	13	15
\$40,000-\$49,999	10	10	10
\$30,000-\$39,999	9	12	12
\$20,000-\$29,999	7	13	12
<\$20,000	6	22	17
No answer/DK/Refused	3	12	13
<i>Marital Status</i>			
Married	50	46	53
Not married	49	54	46
No answer/DK/Refused	1	*	1
<i>Religion</i>			
Total White Protestant	19	31	41
White evangelical Prot.	2	14	21
Wh. Non-evangelical Prot.	17	17	20
White Catholic	12	16	16
Secular	38	10	10

	<u>Dean Activists</u>	<u>All Democrats</u>	<u>General Public</u>
	%	%	%
<i>Church Attendance</i> [†]			
Once a week or more	15	38	39
1-2 times a month	9	16	15
A few times a year	17	20	19
Seldom	27	14	15
Never	32	11	11
No answer/DK/Refused	*	1	1
<i>Party Identification</i>			
Republican	*	--	30
Democrat	69	100	33
Neither/Independent	16	--	30
Something else/DK	15	--	7
<i>Ideology</i>			
Conservative	1	24	36
Moderate	16	42	39
Liberal	82	29	19
No answer/DK/Refused	1	5	6
<i>Veteran in Household</i> [†]			
Yes	10	20	22
No	89	80	77
No answer/DK/Refused	1	*	1
<i>Labor Union member</i>			
Union household	16	17	14
Non-union household	83	82	85
No answer/DK/Refused	1	1	1
<i>Financial Situation</i>			
Excellent	13	5	9
Good	45	35	42
Only fair	32	42	34
Poor shape	9	17	14
No answer/DK/Refused	1	1	1
<i>Employment Status</i> [†]			
Full-time	56	48	52
Part-time	17	12	12
Unemployed	11	40	35
Retired	15	--	--
No answer/DK/Refused	1	*	1

	<u>Dean Activists</u>	<u>All Democrats</u>	<u>General Public</u>
	%	%	%
<i>Iraq war going...?†</i>			
Very well	*	7	14
Fairly well	2	29	42
Not too well	19	35	25
Not at all well	79	25	15
No answer/DK/Refused	*	4	4
<i>Satisfied w/ direction of country†</i>			
Satisfied	1	17	38
Dissatisfied	99	78	56
No answer/DK/Refused	*	5	6
Total number of cases (N)	11,568	10,427	32,097
<i>Certain questions were asked of only a subset of respondents, and therefore have smaller sample sizes.</i>			
†Iraq war going (N)	3,688	8,057	24,905
†Satisfaction w/country (N)	877	2,813	8,811
†Church attendance (N)	11,568	8,093	24,907
†Veteran status (N)	11,568	6,180	18,893
†Employment status (N)	11,568	7,860	24,092
†Financial Situation (N)	11,568	503	1,512

Data for “All Democrats” and “General Public” percentages are from Pew Research Center for the People and the Press surveys conducted January 2004 through February 2005.

** - For “All Democrats” and “General Public,” respondents were at least 18 years of age.

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
SURVEY OF DEAN ACTIVISTS
FINAL TOPLINE
September 13 – December 14, 2004
Total N=11,568**

Wave 1.....Sept. 13 - Oct. 12, 2004 N=3,925.
Wave 1 Reinterview Nov. 28 - Dec. 14, 2004.....N=2,016
Wave 2..... Nov. 18 – Dec. 14, 2004 N=7,643

[ASK ALL]

Q.1N26 Was this the first political campaign that you have been involved in?

[ASK IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED "NO" IN Q1. (Q1=2)]

Q.2N27 How would you describe your involvement in Gov. Dean's presidential primary campaign compared to previous presidential primaries?

<u>Total</u>		<u>Wave 1</u>	<u>Wave 2</u>
42	Yes	44	42
57	No	55	58
36	More involved	36	36
5	Less involved	6	5
16	About as involved	13	17
*	No answer	*	*
<u>1</u>	DK/Ref	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>
100		100	100

[ASK ALL WAVE 1]

Q.3 Which of these feelings describes your experience in Gov. Dean's primary campaign?

[RANDOMIZE a-d]

		<u>Agree a lot</u> %	<u>Agree some</u> %	<u>Disagree</u> %	<u>No answer</u> %
a.	I felt empowered, that my voice really mattered	<i>Wave 1</i> 59	35	3	3=100
b.	Gov. Dean gave me hope that we could change the country	<i>Wave 1</i> 83	14	1	2=100
c.	I felt that Gov. Dean spoke for me, unlike any other candidate	<i>Wave 1</i> 73	23	2	2=100
d.	I thought Gov. Dean was the only candidate who stood up to Pres. Bush	<i>Wave 1</i> 69	23	6	2=100

[WAVE 1 ASK FORM 1 ONLY, WAVE 2 ASK FORM 2 ONLY]

Q.4N28 Which ONE or TWO of the following issues were *most* important in your decision to support Gov. Dean?
[ALLOW UP TO 2 ANSWERS] [RANDOMIZE 1-9]

<u>Total</u>		<u>Wave 1</u>	<u>Wave 2</u>
66	War in Iraq	69	64
34	Health care	35	33
24	Fiscal responsibility	22	25
19	The economy and jobs	20	19
12	Other (Please specify): _____	9	14
11	Environment	11	10
9	Gay/lesbian rights	8	9
5	Education	6	5
4	Terrorism and homeland defense	6	3
4	Abortion	4	4
1	International trade	1	1
*	No answer	0	*

[WAVE 1 FORM 2 ONLY]

Q.5 In your opinion, what is the most important issue facing the country today?

[OPEN-END]

[ASK ALL WAVE 1]

Q.6 Apart from issues, which ONE of the following appealed to you the MOST about Gov. Dean's campaign, compared with the other Democratic candidates? **[RANDOMIZE 1-4]**

Wave 1

39	He would change the direction of the Democratic Party
8	He could defeat President Bush
44	He was willing to stand up for unpopular views
8	He paid attention to young people and those not normally engaged in politics
<u>1</u>	No answer
100	

[WAVE 1 FORM 2 ONLY]

Q.7 All in all, how do you feel about the way things are going in this country today? Are you...?

Wave 1

1	Satisfied
99	Dissatisfied
*	No answer
100	

[ASK ALL WAVE 1]

Q.8 How do you feel about the way George W. Bush is handling his job as president? Do you...?

Wave 1

* Strongly approve
 * Approve
 3 Disapprove
 96 Strongly disapprove
1 No answer
 100

[WAVE 1 FORM 3 ONLY]

Q.9 How much thought have you given to the coming presidential election?

Wave 1

99 Quite a lot
 1 Only a little
 * No answer
1
 100

[WAVE 1 ASK ALL, WAVE 2 ASK FORM 1 ONLY]

Q.10N29 Which of the following activities did you do during the Democratic *primary* campaign while Gov. Dean was actively pursuing the nomination? **[RANDOMIZE a-h]**

		Yes, did <u>this</u> %	No, did not <u>do this</u> %	No <u>answer</u> %
a. Contributed money to any of the Democratic presidential candidates	<i>Total</i>	85	13	2=100
	<i>Wave 1</i>	84	14	2=100
	<i>Wave 2</i>	86	13	1=100
b. Attended a Dean campaign event such as a fundraiser or rally	<i>Total</i>	47	47	6=100
	<i>Wave 1</i>	47	46	7=100
	<i>Wave 2</i>	46	49	5=100
c. Contributed to online discussions or "blogs" about the campaign	<i>Total</i>	33	59	8=100
	<i>Wave 1</i>	33	58	9=100
	<i>Wave 2</i>	33	61	6=100
d. Met with other Dean supporters who you didn't know before (e.g., at a Meetup)	<i>Total</i>	49	45	6=100
	<i>Wave 1</i>	48	45	7=100
	<i>Wave 2</i>	51	45	4=100
e. Sent e-mails urging voters to support Dean	<i>Total</i>	62	33	5=100
	<i>Wave 1</i>	62	32	6=100
	<i>Wave 2</i>	60	36	4=100

Q.10N29 CONTINUED...

		Yes, did <u>this</u> %	No, did not <u>do this</u> %	No <u>answer</u> %
f. Wrote a letter to a voter in a primary or caucus state urging them to support Dean	<i>Total</i>	35	58	7=100
	<i>Wave 1</i>	35	57	8=100
	<i>Wave 2</i>	34	61	5=100
g. Traveled to another primary or caucus state to campaign for Dean	<i>Total</i>	6	84	10=100
	<i>Wave 1</i>	6	82	12=100
	<i>Wave 2</i>	5	88	7=100
h. Made phone calls to voters urging them to support Dean	<i>Total</i>	23	69	8=100
	<i>Wave 1</i>	22	68	10=100
	<i>Wave 2</i>	23	71	6=100

[ASK ALL WAVE 1 AND WAVE 2]

Q.11N30 Which of the following activities have you engaged in since Gov. Dean dropped out of the race?

Note Modification: Wave 2 and Wave 1 Re-interview wording was “Which of the following activities did you engage in on behalf of John Kerry in the General Election?” [RANDOMIZE a-g]

		Yes, did <u>this</u> %	No, did not <u>do this</u> %	No <u>answer</u> %
a. Contributed money to the Kerry campaign	<i>Wave 1</i>	55	41	4=100
	<i>Wave 2</i>	66	31	3=100
b. Attended a Kerry campaign event such as a fundraiser or rally	<i>Wave 1</i>	28	64	8=100
	<i>Wave 2</i>	40	54	6=100
c. Visited the Kerry website	<i>Wave 1</i>	78	19	3=100
	<i>Wave 2</i>	85	12	3=100
d. Met with other Kerry supporters who you didn’t know before (e.g., at a Meetup)	<i>Wave 1</i>	27	66	7=100
	<i>Wave 2</i>	40	54	6=100
e. Talked with someone face-to-face to try to get them to support Kerry	<i>Wave 1</i>	73	23	4=100
	<i>Wave 2</i>	84	14	2=100
f. Sent emails urging voters to support Kerry	<i>Wave 1</i>	40	53	7=100
	<i>Wave 2</i>	54	41	5=100
g. Contributed to online discussions or “blogs” about the campaign	<i>Wave 1</i>	22	70	8=100
	<i>Wave 2</i>	27	65	8=100

[ASK ALL WAVE 1]

Q12. And which of the following have you done in the past 12 months? **[RANDOMIZE a-c]**

		Yes, did <u>this</u> %	No, did not <u>do this</u> %	No <u>answer</u> %	
a.	Signed petitions for something other than the Dean campaign	<i>Wave 1</i>	77	21	2=100
b.	Participated in a protest, demonstration, march, or rally for something other than the Dean campaign	<i>Wave 1</i>	48	48	4=100
c.	Boycotted a product or company	<i>Wave 1</i>	51	44	5=100

[ASK ALL WAVE 1]

Q12b. Thinking about publicly-elected office, do the following phrases apply to you?

		<u>Yes</u> %	<u>No</u> %	No <u>answer</u> %	
a.	Currently hold office	<i>Wave 1</i>	2	97	2=100
b.	Currently running for office	<i>Wave 1</i>	1	97	2=100
c.	Ran for office in the past	<i>Wave 1</i>	6	92	2=100

[WAVE 1 ASK FORM 2 ONLY]

Q12c2. Have you or are you currently volunteering for a political action committee or other group, such as your state Democratic Party, the DNC, ACT, America Votes, Progressive Majority, and the like?

<u>Wave 1</u>	
53	Yes
30	Currently volunteering
11	Volunteered in past 12 months
12	Volunteered but not in past 12 months
46	No, never volunteered for such a group
<u>1</u>	No answer
100	

[WAVE 1 ASK FORM 2 ONLY]

Q12d2. Have you received political training from groups or organizations such as 21st Century Democrats, Latinos for America, Wellstone Action, SEIU, or Democratic GAIN?

Wave 1

8 Yes
5 Received training in past 12 months
3 Received training but not in past 12 months
90 No, never received training from such a group
2 No answer
100

[ASK ALL WAVE 1]

Q.13 Now, suppose the 2004 presidential election were being held TODAY. Who would you vote for?

[ROTATE KERRY AND BUSH WITH NADER ALWAYS Third.]

[IF Someone Else OR Don't Know (4,9 IN Q.13) ASK:]

Q.13a As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to...?

[ROTATE IN SAME ORDER AS Q.13.]

Wave 1

1 Bush/Lean Bush
96 Kerry/Lean Kerry
2 Nader/Lean Nader
* Someone else/Don't know
1 No answer
100

THOSE WHO CHOSE KERRY (IN Q.13/Q.13a) ASK:

Q.14 Would you say that your choice is more a vote FOR John Kerry or more a vote AGAINST George W. Bush?

THOSE WHO CHOSE BUSH (IN Q.13 /Q.13a) ASK:

Q.15 Would you say that your choice is more a vote FOR George W. Bush or more a vote AGAINST John Kerry?

THOSE WHO CHOSE NADER (IN Q.13/Q.13a) ASK:

Q.16 Would you say that your choice is more a vote FOR Ralph Nader or more a vote AGAINST the other candidates?
[Too Few "Bush" and "Nader" results to tabulate]

Wave 1

29 Pro-Kerry
71 Against Bush
* DK/Ref
1
100

[IF RESPONDENT DID NOT CHOOSE KERRY IN Q.13/13a (Q.13=1,3 OR Q.13a=1,3,4,9) ASK:]

Q.17 Is there a chance that you might vote for John Kerry in November, or have you definitely decided not to vote for him?

Wave 1

2 Chance I might vote for Kerry
1 Definitely decided not to vote for Kerry
1 No answer
96 [Chose Kerry]
100

[IF RESPONDENT DID NOT CHOOSE BUSH IN Q.13/13a (Q.13=2,3 OR Q.13a=2,3,4,9) ASK:]

Q.18 Is there a chance that you might vote for George W. Bush in November, or have you definitely decided not to vote for him?

Wave 1

* Chance I might vote for Bush
98 Definitely decided not to vote for Bush
1 No answer
1 [Chose Bush]
100

[IF RESPONDENT DID NOT CHOOSE NADER IN Q.13/13a (Q.13=1,2 OR Q.13a=1,2,4,9) ASK:]

Q.19 Is there a chance that you might vote for Ralph Nader in November, or have you definitely decided not to vote for him?

Wave 1

4 Chance I might vote for Nader
93 Definitely decided not to vote for Nader
1 No answer
2 Chose Nader
100

[ASK ALL WAVE 1]

REGIST Are you NOW registered to vote in your precinct or election district or haven't you been able to register so far?

Wave 1

95 Yes, certain I'm registered
2 Yes, pretty sure I registered
2 No, not registered
* Don't have to register in my state
1 Don't know if registered
100

[IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '3' NO OR '9' NOT SURE IN REGIST ASK:]

Q.21 Do you plan to register to vote, or is there a chance that you may not register?

[Based on "No, not registered" and "Don't know if registered"]

Wave 1

32 Plan to register
8 Chance may not
14 Not old enough
13 Definitely will not register
33 No answer
100 N=101

[ASK ALL WAVE 1:]

Q.22 Do you, yourself, plan to vote in the election this November?

Wave 1

97	Yes, absolutely certain I will vote
1	Yes, fairly certain I will vote
*	Plan to vote but not certain about it
1	Do not plan to vote
<u>1</u>	No answer
100	

[WAVE 1 FORM 4 ONLY]

Q.23 Below are pairs of opposite phrases. For each pair, please check the ONE phrase that best describes the presidential election so far. **[DO NOT RANDOMIZE.]**

Sept 2004 Registered Voters Nationwide

	<u>Wave 1</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
	%	%	%	%	%
a. Important	97	90	92	92	88
Unimportant	*	9	8	7	10
No answer	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	*	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
b. Informative	43	63	70	63	56
Not informative	48	33	27	33	40
No answer	<u>9</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
c. Too long	46	53	49	55	54
Not too long	43	42	46	42	41
No answer	<u>11</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
d. Too negative	70	62	59	63	66
Not too negative	21	31	36	29	29
No answer	<u>9</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
e. Interesting	65	--	--	--	--
Dull	25	--	--	--	--
No answer	<u>10</u>	--	--	--	--
	100				

[WAVE 1 FORM 1, WAVE 1 REINTERVIEW, AND WAVE 2 FORM 3]

Q.24/N.12R.12 Some people say we should have a third major political party in this country in addition to the Democrats and Republicans. Do you...?

[Re-interview data combined with Wave 1]

	<u>Wave 1</u>	<u>Wave 2</u>
Agree	65	57
Disagree	32	40
No answer	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100

[WAVE 1 FORM 4 ONLY]

Q.25 What do you like *most* about John Kerry? Is it his...?

<u>Wave 1</u>		<i>Sept 2004 RV's who supported Kerry</i>
2	Personality	<u>8</u>
24	Leadership ability	16
32	Experience	13
39	Stand on issues	52
<u>3</u>	No answer	<u>11</u>
100		100

[WAVE 1 FORM 4 ONLY]

Q.26 What do you like *least* about John Kerry? Is it his...?

<u>Wave 1</u>	
53	Personality
9	Leadership ability
3	Experience
25	Stand on issues
<u>10</u>	No answer
100	

[ASK ALL WAVE 1]

Q.27 What effect did your experience in the Dean campaign have?

<u>Wave 1</u>	
73	It encouraged me to participate in future campaigns
2	It discouraged me from participating in future campaigns
24	Neither
<u>1</u>	No answer
100	

[ASK ALL WAVE 1]

Q27b. During the time Gov. Dean was actively campaigning for the nomination, would you say you...

Wave 1

77	Supported Dean strongly
20	Supported him, but with reservations
2	Supported another Democratic candidate?
<u>1</u>	No answer
100	

[ASK ALL WAVE 1]

Q.28 For whom did you vote in your state's Democratic primary or caucus this year? **[RANDOMIZE]**

Wave 1

54	Howard Dean
14	John Kerry
6	John Edwards
4	Dennis Kucinich
2	Wesley Clark
*	Al Sharpton
*	Carol Moseley Braun
*	Richard Gephardt
*	Joe Lieberman
1	Other
18	Did not vote
<u>1</u>	No answer
100	

[ASK IF DID NOT VOTE (Q.28=1)]

Q28a. If you had voted, which candidate would you have chosen?

[Based on "Did not vote"]

Wave 1

15	Howard Dean
1	John Kerry
1	John Edwards
1	Dennis Kucinich
*	Wesley Clark
*	Al Sharpton
*	Carol Moseley Braun
*	Joe Lieberman
*	Richard Gephardt
*	Other
<u>*</u>	No answer
18	

N=712

[ASK ALL WAVE 1]

Q28b. And who would have been your second choice? **[KEEP SAME ORDER AS Q.28]**

Wave 1

26	John Edwards
22	John Kerry
14	Howard Dean
14	Dennis Kucinich
12	Wesley Clark
3	Carol Moseley Braun
2	Richard Gephardt
1	Al Sharpton
1	Joe Lieberman
2	Other
<u>3</u>	No answer
100	

[WAVE 1 FORM 4 ONLY]

Q.29 How would you judge the news media coverage of the Dean campaign?

Wave 1

*	It was too easy on Gov. Dean
89	It was too tough on Gov. Dean
10	It was fair
<u>1</u>	No answer
100	

[WAVE 1 FORM 1 ONLY]

Q.30 Check how you felt when it became clear to you that Gov. Dean would not win the Democratic nomination. Were you...? **[RANDOMIZE a-d]**

		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>No answer</u>
		%	%	%
a. Angry	<i>Wave 1</i>	43	34	23=100
b. Disappointed	<i>Wave 1</i>	85	7	8=100
c. Relieved	<i>Wave 1</i>	4	66	30=100
d. Surprised	<i>Wave 1</i>	36	37	27=100

[WAVE 1 FORM 2 ONLY]

Q.31 Which of the following were important reasons why Gov. Dean did not win the Democratic presidential nomination? **[RANDOMIZE a-f]**

		<u>A reason</u>	<u>Not a reason</u>	<u>No answer</u>	
		%	%	%	
a.	The field of candidates was unusually strong	<i>Wave 1</i>	16	76	8=100
b.	Gov. Dean's performance in campaign events	<i>Wave 1</i>	32	61	7=100
c.	Gov. Dean's policy stances	<i>Wave 1</i>	19	72	9=100
d.	Negative news coverage	<i>Wave 1</i>	90	8	2=100
e.	Gov. Dean's attacks on other candidates	<i>Wave 1</i>	9	82	9=100
f.	Gov. Dean was not seen as electable	<i>Wave 1</i>	73	23	4=100
g.	TV ads attacking Gov. Dean	<i>Wave 1</i>	67	28	5=100

[WAVE 1 FORM 3 ONLY]

Q.32 What do you like most about Gov. Dean? Is it his...?

Wave 1

7	Personality
14	Leadership ability
1	Experience
78	Stand on issues
*	No answer
100	

[WAVE 1 FORM 3 ONLY]

Q.33 What do you like least about Gov. Dean? Is it his...?

Wave 1

22	Personality
13	Leadership ability
40	Experience
4	Stand on issues
21	No answer
100	

[ASK ALL]

PARTY In politics today, what do you consider yourself to be?

<u>Total</u>		<u>Wave 1</u>	<u>Wave 2</u>
*	Republican	*	*
*	Strong	*	*
*	Not Strong	*	*
16	Independent	17	16
69	Democrat	70	69
50	Strong	49	51
19	Not Strong	21	18
14	Something else: Please specify	12	15
<u>1</u>	No answer	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>
100		100	100

[IF ANSWERED 3 (INDEPENDENT) OR 6 (SOMETHING ELSE) IN PARTY, ASK:]

PARTYLN As of today do you lean more to the Republican Party or more to the Democratic Party?

<u>Total</u>		<u>Wave 1</u>	<u>Wave 2</u>
*	Republican	1	1
27	Democrat	90	88
3	Neither	9	11
*	No answer	*	*
<u>30</u>		<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

[WAVE 1, WAVE 1 RE-INTERVIEW, AND WAVE 2 FORM 1 ASK DEMOCRATS AND DEMOCRATIC LEANERS ONLY (PARTY=4,5 OR PARTYLN=2)]

Q.36/N.10R.10 How good a job is the Democratic Party doing these days in standing up for its traditional positions on such things as protecting the interests of minorities, helping the poor and needy, and representing working people?

	<u>Wave 1</u>	<u>Wave 2</u>	<i>(Based on Dem./Dem leaners)</i> <u>July 2004 General Public</u>
Excellent	3	2	6
Good	27	20	43
Only fair	51	50	40
Poor	19	28	8
No answer	*	*	<u>3</u>
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	100
N=	3,760	3,759	969

[WAVE 1 FORM 2 ONLY]

Q.37 Thinking about the 2004 presidential campaign, what grade would you give John Kerry as to how good a job he is doing in convincing you to vote for him?

<u>Wave 1</u>		<i>Registered Voters Nationwide</i> <u>October 2004</u>
13	A	15
37	B	31
35	C	21
11	D	12
4	F	18
*	No answer	<u>3</u>
<u>100</u>		100

[WAVE 1 FORM 3 ONLY]

Q.38 How do you think the leaders of the Democratic Party are responding to George W. Bush's policies and proposals? Do you think there is...?

<u>Wave 1</u>	
2	Too much criticism of Bush
86	Too little criticism of Bush
12	About the right amount of criticism of Bush
*	No answer
100	

[WAVE 1 FORM 4 ONLY]

Q.39 Do you think most of the Democratic leaders in Washington voted for the war in Iraq...?

<u>Wave 1</u>	
19	Because they thought it was the right thing to do
80	Because they were afraid to stand up and oppose the President
1	No answer
100	

[F1=ASK WAVE 1 FORM 1 ONLY; F2=ASK WAVE 1 FORM 2 ONLY; F1,F2=ASK WAVE 1 FORM 1 AND FORM 2 ONLY]

Q.40 How often do you watch or listen to the following news sources?

[ASK a, then b, then, RANDOMIZE c-i]

		<u>Regularly</u> %	<u>Some- times</u> %	<u>Hardly ever</u> %	<u>No answer</u> %
a.F1,F2	National nightly network news on CBS, ABC or NBC (This is different from local news shows about the area where you live)	<i>Wave 1</i> 30	33	36	1=100
b.F1,F2	Cable news channels such as CNN, MSNBC, or the Fox News CABLE Channel	<i>Wave 1</i> 38	28	32	2=100
c.F1,F2	National Public Radio (NPR)	<i>Wave 1</i> 58	23	17	2=100
d.F1	C-SPAN	<i>Wave 1</i> 18	37	42	3=100
e.F1	NewsHour with Jim Lehrer	<i>Wave 1</i> 21	34	42	3=100
f.F2	Late night TV shows such as David Letterman and Jay Leno	<i>Wave 1</i> 9	27	62	2=100
g.F1	Today Show, Good Morning America or The Early Show	<i>Wave 1</i> 13	15	68	4=100
h.F2/N53	The Daily Show with Jon Stewart	<i>Wave 1</i> 27 <i>Wave 2</i> 29	24 27	46 17	3=100 26
i.F2	Sunday morning news shows such as <i>Meet the Press</i> , <i>This Week</i> or <i>Face the Nation</i>	<i>Wave 1</i> 25	31	42	2=100

[F3=ASK WAVE 1 FORM 3 ONLY; F4=ASK WAVE 1 FORM 4 ONLY; F3,F4=ASK WAVE 1 FORM 3 AND FORM 4 ONLY]

Q.41 How often do you read the following news sources? **[ASK a FIRST, RANDOMIZE b-k]**

			<u>Regularly</u> %	<u>Some- times</u> %	<u>Hardly ever</u> %	<u>No answer</u> %
a.F3,F4	A daily newspaper	<i>Wave 1</i>	68	22	10	*=100
b.F3	<i>The New York Times</i> print edition	<i>Wave 1</i>	24	33	40	3=100
c.F3	News magazines such as <i>Time</i> , <i>U.S. News</i> , or <i>Newsweek</i>	<i>Wave 1</i>	31	40	27	2=100
d.F3	Business magazines such as <i>Fortune</i> and <i>Forbes</i>	<i>Wave 1</i>	6	23	67	4=100
e.F3	Magazines such as <i>The Atlantic</i> , <i>Harper's</i> or <i>The New Yorker</i>	<i>Wave 1</i>	22	35	41	2=100
f.F3	Political magazines such as <i>The Nation</i> or <i>The New Republic</i>	<i>Wave 1</i>	20	32	45	3=100
g.F4	The news pages of Internet service providers such as AOL News or Yahoo News	<i>Wave 1</i>	37	26	35	2=100
h.F4	Network TV news Web sites such as CNN.com, ABCnews.com, or MSNBC.com	<i>Wave 1</i>	45	28	25	2=100
i.F4	The Web sites of major national newspapers such as the USA Today.com, New York Times.com, or the Wall Street Journal online	<i>Wave 1</i>	46	34	19	1=100
j.F4	The Web sites of your local newspaper or TV stations	<i>Wave 1</i>	21	35	42	2=100
k.F4	Other kinds of online news magazine and opinion sites such as Slate.com or Salon.com	<i>Wave 1</i>	29	33	36	2=100
l.F4	Online columns or blogs such as Talking Points Memo, Kausfiles or the Daily Kos	<i>Wave 1</i>	18	22	57	3=100

[F1=ASK WAVE 1 FORM 1 ONLY; F2=ASK WAVE 1 FORM 2 ONLY; F3=ASK WAVE 1 FORM 3 ONLY, F4=ASK WAVE 1 FORM 4 ONLY]

Q.42 For each of the following pairs of statements, please select the statement that comes *closest* to your own views -- even if neither is exactly right. **[ROTATE ORDER OF RESPONSE OPTIONS]**

			<i>Dec 2004 General Public</i>			
	<u>Wave 1</u>		<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
[F1]						
a.	25	Government is almost always wasteful and inefficient	47	46	49	49
	75	Government often does a better job than people give it credit for	45	48	45	42
	*	No answer	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>9</u>
	100		100	100	100	100
			<i>August 2004 General Public</i>			
[F1,F2, F3,4]	<u>Wave 1</u>		<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
b.	69	Churches should keep out of day-to-day social and political matters	44	37	51	45
	30	Churches should express their views on day-to-day social and political matters	51	58	45	51
	<u>1</u>	No answer	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>
	100		100	100	100	100
			<i>Dec 2004 General Public</i>			
[F2]	<u>Wave 1</u>		<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
c.	5	Poor people today have it easy because they can get government benefits without doing anything in return	34	50	24	29
	93	Poor people have hard lives because government benefits don't go far enough to help them live decently	52	36	64	57
	<u>2</u>	No answer	<u>14</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>14</u>
	100		100	100	100	100
			<i>Dec 2004 General Public</i>			
[F3]	<u>Wave 1</u>		<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
d.	74	Racial discrimination is the main reason why many black people can't get ahead these days	27	17	37	26
	23	Blacks who can't get ahead in this country are mostly responsible for their own condition	60	72	52	59
	<u>3</u>	No answer	<u>13</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>15</u>
	100		100	100	100	100
			<i>Dec 2004 General Public</i>			
[F4]	<u>Wave 1</u>		<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
e.	87	Immigrants today strengthen our country because of their hard work and talents	45	43	47	47
	12	Immigrants today are a burden on our country because they take our jobs, housing and health care	44	44	43	43
	<u>1</u>	No answer	<u>11</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>10</u>
	100		100	100	100	100

Q.42 CONTINUED...

			<i>Dec 2004 General Public</i>			
	<u>Wave 1</u>		<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
[F1]						
f.	78	Business corporations make too much profit	54	46	64	53
	21	Most corporations make a fair and reasonable amount of profit	39	48	29	40
	<u>1</u>	No answer	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>
	100		100	100	100	100
			<i>July 2003 General Public</i>			
[F2]	<u>Wave 1</u>		<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
g.	21	The Islamic religion is more likely than others to encourage violence among its believers	44	53	44	34
	78	The Islamic religion does not encourage violence more than others	41	33	42	53
	<u>1</u>	No answer	<u>15</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>14</u>
	100		100	100	100	100
			<i>Dec 2004 General Public</i>			
[F3]	<u>Wave 1</u>		<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
h.	17	Most elected officials care what people like me think	32	43	24	29
	82	Most elected officials don't care what people like me think	63	53	71	65
	<u>2</u>	No answer	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>
	100		100	100	100	100
			<i>Dec 2004 General Public</i>			
[F4]	<u>Wave 1</u>		<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
i.	96	Homosexuality is a way of life that should be accepted by society	49	36	58	54
	4	Homosexuality is a way of life that should be discouraged by society	44	57	36	37
	<u>*</u>	No answer	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>9</u>
	100		100	100	100	100
			<i>Dec 2004 General Public</i>			
[F1]	<u>Wave 1</u>		<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
j.	1	Books that contain dangerous ideas should be banned from public school libraries	44	53	41	40
	98	Public school libraries should be allowed to carry any books they want	51	43	54	56
	<u>1</u>	No answer	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>
	100		100	100	100	100
[F2]	<u>Wave 1</u>					
k.	96	The government should step in to protect the environment even if it means less business profits and the loss of some jobs	--	--	--	--
	3	Protecting the environment is not as important as jobs and business interests	--	--	--	--
	<u>1</u>	No answer	--	--	--	--
	100		--	--	--	--

Q.42 CONTINUED...

		<i>Dec 2004 General Public</i>			
	<u>Wave 1</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
[F3]					
l.	3	30	51	15	26
	96	55	32	76	58
	<u>1</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>16</u>
	100	100	100	100	100

		<i>Dec 2004 General Public</i>			
	<u>Wave 1</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
[F4]					
m.	6	46	66	33	44
	93	46	27	60	50
	<u>1</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>
	100	100	100	100	100

[WAVE 1 FORM 1 ONLY]

Q.43 All in all, how should the U.S. determine its foreign policy?

		<i>July 2004 General Public</i>			
	<u>Wave 1</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
	20	37	44	38	32
	78	49	46	49	54
	<u>2</u>	<u>14</u> ⁵	<u>10</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>14</u>
	100	100	100	100	100

[WAVE 1 FORM 2 ONLY]

Q.44 Do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally?

		<i>August 2004 General Public</i>			
	<u>Wave 1</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
	58	8	3	12	11
	33	21	13	26	25
	6	25	26	24	24
	2	35	51	26	28
	<u>1</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>12</u>
	100	100	100	100	100

[WAVE 1 FORMS 3 & 4 ONLY]

Q.45 In general, do you think free trade agreements like NAFTA (the North American Free Trade Agreement) and the WTO (World Trade Organization) have been...?

		<i>July 2004 General Public</i>			
	<u>Wave 1</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
	36	47	52	43	48
	58	34	28	39	36
	<u>6</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>16</u>
	100	100	100	100	100

⁵ The "No answer" category includes volunteered "Both" and "Neither" categories from July 2004.

[WAVE 1 FORMS 3 & 4 ONLY]

Q.46 Thinking about the financial situation of you and your family... Do you think these free trade agreements have...?

<u>Wave 1</u>		<i>July 2004 General Public</i>			
		<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
3	Definitely helped	3	6	2	2
39	Probably helped	31	37	28	29
40	Probably hurt	25	22	25	28
10	Definitely hurt	16	8	22	19
<u>8</u>	No answer ⁶	<u>25</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>22</u>
100		100	100	100	100

[WAVE 1 FORMS 1 & 2 ONLY]

Q.47 Would you say that using military force against countries that may seriously threaten the U.S., but have not attacked us, can...?

<u>Wave 1</u>		<i>July 2004 General Public</i>			
		<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
1	Often be justified	20	38	7	18
18	Sometimes be justified	40	50	37	36
60	Rarely be justified	22	7	32	27
21	Never be justified	14	4	20	16
<u>*</u>	No answer	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100	100	100

[WAVE 1 FORMS 1 & 2 ONLY]

Now thinking about Iraq...

Q.48 Check below which best describes your opinion about the U.S. decision to use military force against Iraq.

<u>Wave 1</u>		<i>August 2004 General Public</i>			
		<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
1	Right decision	53	87	26	51
99	Wrong decision	41	10	68	43
<u>*</u>	No answer	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>
100		100	100	100	100

[WAVE 1 FORMS 1 & 2 ONLY, WAVE 2 FORM 2 ONLY]

Q.49N62 How well is the U.S. military effort in Iraq going?

<u>Total</u>		<i>August 2004 General Public</i>					
		<u>Wave 1</u>	<u>Wave 2</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
*	Very well	*	*	12	19	5	12
2	Fairly well	1	2	41	61	27	39
19	Not too well	19	19	28	16	40	26
79	Not at all well	80	79	16	2	25	20
<u>*</u>	No answer	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100

⁶ The "No answer" category includes volunteered "Neither" and "Don't Know/Refused" categories from July 2004.

[WAVE 1 FORMS 1 AND 2, WAVE 2 FORM 2 ONLY:]

Q.50N63 Do you think the U.S. should keep military troops in Iraq until the situation has stabilized, or do you think the U.S. should bring its troops home as soon as possible?

		<i>August 2004 General Public</i>					
<u>Total</u>		<u>Wave 1</u>	<u>Wave 2</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
44	Keep troops in Iraq	45	42	54	79	33	54
54	Bring troops home	52	56	42	19	64	41
<u>2</u>	No answer	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100

[F3=ASK FORM 3 ONLY; F4=ASK FORM 4 ONLY]

Q.51N57 Do you think of yourself as...? Please check all that apply.

		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>No answer</u>	
		<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	
a.	A National Rifle Association supporter	<i>Wave 1 F3</i>	3	96	1=100
b.	A patriot	<i>Wave 1 F4</i>	80	15	5=100
c.	Financially well off	<i>Wave 1 F3</i>	46	52	2=100
d.	Working class	<i>Wave 1 F4</i>	52	42	6=100
e.	An Internet enthusiast	<i>Wave 1 F3</i>	84	15	1=100
f.	Vegetarian	<i>Wave 1 F4</i>	13	77	10=100
g.	A supporter of the anti-globalization movement	<i>Wave 1 F3</i>	35	58	7=100
h.	A libertarian	<i>Total</i>	18	72	10=100
		<i>Wave 1 F4</i>	18	71	11=100
		<i>Wave 2 F3</i>	18	72	9=100
i.	A spiritual person	<i>Total</i>	68	29	3=100
		<i>Wave 1 F3</i>	64	33	3=100
		<i>Wave 2 F3</i>	70	27	3=100
j.	Gay, lesbian, or bisexual	<i>Total</i>	12	69	19=100
		<i>Wave 1 F4</i>	12	77	11=100
		<i>Wave 2 F4</i>	12	65	23=100

[WAVE 1 RE-INTERVIEW, WAVE 2 ASK ALL:]

N1aR1a Overall, what was your reaction to the outcome of the November 2 elections?

<u>Total</u>		<u>Wave 1</u> <u>Re-Interview</u>	<u>Wave 2</u>
*	Elated	*	*
1	Happy	1	1
21	Unhappy	21	21
78	Depressed	78	78
*	No answer	*	*
<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

[WAVE 1 RE-INTERVIEW, WAVE 2 ASK ALL:]

N1bR1b Which phrase best describes your reaction to George W. Bush's re-election?

<u>Total</u>		<u>Wave 1</u> <u>Re-Interview</u>	<u>Wave 2</u>
13	I'm so discouraged I may be less politically active in the future	15	13
51	I'm motivated to be more politically active in the future	48	51
35	Neither, I'll remain as active as I am now	37	35
<u>1</u>	No answer	*	<u>1</u>
100		100	100

[WAVE 1 RE-INTERVIEW ASK ALL, WAVE 2 ASK FORM 2 ONLY:]

N2R2 Thinking about why John Kerry lost the election...how important were each of the following factors?
[RANDOMIZE]

		<u>Very</u> <u>important</u> %	<u>Somewhat</u> <u>important</u> %	<u>Not very</u> <u>important</u> %	<u>Not at all</u> <u>important</u> %	<u>No</u> <u>answer</u> %
a. Kerry did not pay enough attention to core Democratic groups	<i>Total</i>	21	33	33	11	2=100
	<i>Wave 1 Re-Interview</i>	23	33	33	10	1=100
	<i>Wave 2</i>	20	33	32	12	3=100
b. People found Kerry personally unappealing	<i>Total</i>	24	51	18	6	1=100
	<i>Wave 1 Re-Interview</i>	24	52	18	6	*=100
	<i>Wave 2</i>	24	50	18	6	2=100
c. Kerry's positions were too liberal	<i>Total</i>	2	18	44	34	2=100
	<i>Wave 1 Re-Interview</i>	2	17	45	34	2=100
	<i>Wave 2</i>	2	19	43	34	2=100
d. Kerry ran a poor campaign	<i>Total</i>	24	41	23	10	2=100
	<i>Wave 1 Re-Interview</i>	25	40	23	10	2=100
	<i>Wave 2</i>	25	42	22	9	2=100
e. Kerry's positions were too conservative	<i>Total</i>	10	26	35	27	2=100
	<i>Wave 1 Re-Interview</i>	11	26	34	27	2=100
	<i>Wave 2</i>	10	25	34	28	3=100
f. The Bush campaign misrepresented Kerry's record and service in Vietnam	<i>Total</i>	56	32	9	2	1=100
	<i>Wave 1 Re-Interview</i>	54	34	10	1	1=100
	<i>Wave 2</i>	57	31	9	2	1=100
g. The Bush campaign scared voters with its focus on terrorism	<i>Total</i>	75	20	3	1	1=100
	<i>Wave 1 Re-Interview</i>	74	21	3	1	1=100
	<i>Wave 2</i>	76	19	3	1	1=100
h. Bush ran a better campaign	<i>Total</i>	33	35	18	11	3=100
	<i>Wave 1 Re-Interview</i>	32	34	19	12	3=100
	<i>Wave 2</i>	34	34	18	11	3=100

[WAVE 1 RE-INTERVIEW ASK ALL, WAVE 2 ASK FORM 1 ONLY:]

N3R3 Some critics of George W. Bush have raised concerns about what *may* happen during his second term in office. How concerned, if at all, are you about each of the following with regard to Bush's second term?

[ROTATE]

		Very concerned	Somewhat concerned	Not very concerned	Not at all concerned	No answer
		%	%	%	%	%
a. Overly aggressive U.S. foreign policy	<i>Total</i>	89	9	1	*	1=100
	<i>Wave 1 Re-Interview</i>	89	10	1	*	*=100
	<i>Wave 2</i>	90	8	1	1	*=100
b. Blurring of separation between church and state	<i>Total</i>	88	9	2	*	1=100
	<i>Wave 1 Re-Interview</i>	89	9	2	*	*=100
	<i>Wave 2</i>	88	10	2	*	*=100
c. Restricting of Americans' civil liberties	<i>Total</i>	83	15	1	*	1=100
	<i>Wave 1 Re-Interview</i>	85	14	1	*	1=100
	<i>Wave 2</i>	82	16	1	*	*=100
d. Widening of the gap between rich and poor	<i>Total</i>	86	12	1	*	1=100
	<i>Wave 1 Re-Interview</i>	88	11	1	*	*=100
	<i>Wave 2</i>	84	14	1	*	1=100
e. Weakening of Social Security and Medicare	<i>Total</i>	74	22	3	1	*=100
	<i>Wave 1 Re-Interview</i>	74	22	3	*	1=100
	<i>Wave 2</i>	73	23	3	1	*=100
f. Worsening of environmental problems	<i>Total</i>	87	11	1	*	1=100
	<i>Wave 1 Re-Interview</i>	88	10	1	*	1=100
	<i>Wave 2</i>	86	12	1	*	1=100
g. Failure to sufficiently address threats from Iran and North Korea	<i>Total</i>	46	38	12	3	1=100
	<i>Wave 1 Re-Interview</i>	47	36	13	3	1=100
	<i>Wave 2</i>	46	39	12	3	*=100

[WAVE 1 RE-INTERVIEW ASK ALL, WAVE 2 ASK FORM 1 ONLY:]

[ASK IF 2 OR MORE RATED “Very concerned” at N3R3]

N4R4 Which, if any, of these concerns you the *most* about Bush’s second term?

<u>Total</u>		<u>Wave 1 Re-Interview</u>	<u>Wave 2</u>
27	Overly aggressive U.S. foreign policy	26	29
23	Blurring of separation between church and state	23	23
16	Restricting of Americans’ civil liberties	16	15
16	Widening of the gap between rich and poor	16	15
8	Worsening of environmental problems	8	8
6	Weakening of Social Security and Medicare	6	6
	Failure to sufficiently address threats from Iran and North Korea		
1	North Korea	2	1
1	No answer	1	1
<u>2</u>	[Not concerned about 2 or more things]	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
100		100	100

[WAVE 1 RE-INTERVIEW ASK ALL, WAVE 2 ASK FORM 2 ONLY:]

N5R5 Thinking ahead to 2008, which of the following people should run for the Democratic presidential nomination? **[RANDOMIZE]**

		<u>Definitely should run</u>	<u>Probably should run</u>	<u>Should not run</u>	<u>DK/Haven’t heard of/No answer</u>
		%	%	%	%
a.	Hillary Clinton				
	<i>Total</i>	20	29	46	5=100
	<i>Wave 1 Re-Interview</i>	19	30	47	4=100
	<i>Wave 2</i>	21	27	46	6=100
b.	Barack Obama				
	<i>Total</i>	22	34	36	8=100
	<i>Wave 1 Re-Interview</i>	21	36	35	8=100
	<i>Wave 2</i>	22	32	37	9=100
c.	Howard Dean				
	<i>Total</i>	46	33	18	3=100
	<i>Wave 1 Re-Interview</i>	48	33	16	3=100
	<i>Wave 2</i>	44	33	19	4=100
d.	Joseph Biden				
	<i>Total</i>	11	27	41	21=100
	<i>Wave 1 Re-Interview</i>	11	28	41	20=100
	<i>Wave 2</i>	10	27	42	21=100
e.	Tom Vilsack				
	<i>Total</i>	3	16	24	57=100
	<i>Wave 1 Re-Interview</i>	3	17	24	56=100
	<i>Wave 2</i>	3	15	24	58=100
f.	Wesley Clark				
	<i>Total</i>	12	30	50	8=100
	<i>Wave 1 Re-Interview</i>	12	31	49	8=100
	<i>Wave 2</i>	12	29	50	9=100

NR5 CONTINUED...

		<u>Definitely should run</u>	<u>Probably should run</u>	<u>Should not run</u>	<u>DK/Haven't heard of/No answer</u>
g. Janet Napolitano	<i>Total</i>	2	10	21	67=100
	<i>Wave 1 Re-Interview</i>	2	10	20	68=100
	<i>Wave 2</i>	2	11	21	66=100
h. John Edwards	<i>Total</i>	22	41	31	6=100
	<i>Wave 1 Re-Interview</i>	22	40	32	6=100
	<i>Wave 2</i>	23	41	30	6=100
i. John Kerry	<i>Total</i>	8	19	66	7=100
	<i>Wave 1 Re-Interview</i>	7	19	68	6=100
	<i>Wave 2</i>	9	19	65	7=100
j. Al Gore	<i>Total</i>	7	16	69	8=100
	<i>Wave 1 Re-Interview</i>	6	18	69	7=100
	<i>Wave 2</i>	8	14	70	8=100
k. Nancy Pelosi	<i>Total</i>	6	23	51	20=100
	<i>Wave 1 Re-Interview</i>	6	23	51	20=100
	<i>Wave 2</i>	5	24	51	20=100

[WAVE 1 RE-INTERVIEW ASK ALL, WAVE 2ASK FORM 2 ONLY:]

N6oR6o If you would like to see someone else run for the Democratic Nomination in 2008, please provide their name below. Otherwise select "No one else I would like to see run."

No one else I would like to see run

[WAVE 1 RE-INTERVIEW ASK ALL, WAVE 2 ASK FORM 2 ONLY:]

N7R7 Of these individuals, who would be your first choice for the Democratic Nomination in 2008?

<u>Total</u>		<u>Wave 1</u> <u>Re-Interview</u>	<u>Wave 2</u>
36	Howard Dean	37	35
13	Barack Obama	13	12
10	Hillary Clinton	10	11
9	John Edwards	9	9
6	Joseph Biden	6	5
4	Wesley Clark	4	5
3	John Kerry	3	4
3	Al Gore	3	3
1	Nancy Pelosi	1	1
1	Tom Vilsack	1	1
*	Janet Napolitano	*	*
<u>14</u>	DK/Haven't heard of/No answer	<u>13</u>	<u>14</u>
100		100	100

[WAVE 1 RE-INTERVIEW ASK ALL, WAVE 2 ASK FORM 2 ONLY:]

N9R9 Who would be your second choice?

[KEEP SAME ORDER AS Q.N5R5] [LIST ALL EXCEPT FIRST CHOICE]

<u>Total</u>		<u>Wave 1</u> <u>Re-Interview</u>	<u>Wave 2</u>
16	Howard Dean	18	14
13	Barack Obama	13	14
11	Hillary Clinton	10	12
11	John Edwards	10	11
6	Wesley Clark	6	7
5	Joseph Biden	6	5
5	Al Gore	5	5
4	John Kerry	4	4
3	Nancy Pelosi	3	3
2	Tom Vilsack	2	2
1	Janet Napolitano	1	*
9	No answer	9	9
<u>14</u>	Did not report first choice	<u>13</u>	<u>14</u>
100		100	100

[WAVE 1 RE-INTERVIEW ASK ALL, WAVE 2 ASK FORM 2 ONLY:]

N11R11 How good a job is the Democratic Party doing these days in standing up for *progressive/liberal* positions?

<u>Total</u>		Wave 1 <u>Re-Interview</u>	<u>Wave 2</u>
2	Excellent	1	2
17	Good	18	16
45	Only fair	44	46
36	Poor	37	36
*	No answer	*	*
<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

[WAVE 2 ASK FORM 2 ONLY:]

N13 In the long run, do you think progressive/liberal causes would be better off if Kerry had won the election?

<u>Wave 2</u>	
88	Yes
12	No
*	No answer
<u>100</u>	

[WAVE 1 RE-INTERVIEW ASK ALL, WAVE 2 ASK FORM 1 ONLY:]

N14R14 In the long run, do you think Bush's re-election will increase or decrease public support for progressive/liberal causes?

<u>Total</u>		Wave 1 <u>Re-Interview</u>	<u>Wave 2</u>
66	Increase support	69	63
32	Decrease support	29	34
<u>2</u>	No answer	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100

[WAVE 1 RE-INTERVIEW ASK ALL, WAVE 2 ASK FORMS 1 AND 2 ONLY:]

N15R15 Which of the following best describes what you would like to see happen with the Democratic Party?

<u>Total</u>		Wave 1 <u>Re-Interview</u>	<u>Wave 2</u>
8	Remain more or less the same	6	8
13	Change to reflect more centrist positions	13	13
67	Change to reflect more progressive/liberal positions	70	66
11	Die off and be replaced by an entirely new political party (or parties)	10	11
<u>1</u>	No answer	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
100		100	100

[WAVE 2 ASK FORMS 2 AND 3 ONLY:]

N16 Through which of the following organizations can advocates of progressive/liberal causes be most effective in advancing their issues?

Wave 2

38	The Democratic Party
36	Privately-funded advocacy group(s), some of which are known as “527’s”
13	A new political party
12	Other (Please specify) _____
<u>1</u>	No answer
100	

[WAVE 1 RE-INTERVIEW ASK ALL, WAVE 2 ASK FORMS 1 AND 4 ONLY:]

N17R17 Do you approve or disapprove of the role of privately funded advocacy groups (some of which are known as “527’s”) in elections today?

<u>Total</u>		<u>Wave 1 Re-Interview</u>	<u>Wave 2</u>
55	Approve	53	56
41	Disapprove	44	39
<u>4</u>	No answer	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>
100		100	100

[WAVE 1 RE-INTERVIEW ASK ALL, WAVE 2 ASK FORMS 1 AND 2 ONLY:]

N18R18 Do you think liberal philanthropists, such as George Soros, Peter Lewis and Andy Rappaport, are mostly helping, mostly hurting, or are they having no impact on each of the following?

		<u>Mostly helping</u>	<u>Mostly hurting</u>	<u>Having no impact</u>	<u>No answer</u>
		%	%	%	%
a. Progressive/liberal causes	<i>Total</i>	72	6	16	6=100
	<i>Wave 1 Re-Interview</i>	71	7	17	5=100
	<i>Wave 2</i>	73	5	15	7=100
b. Democratic Party	<i>Total</i>	57	10	26	7=100
	<i>Wave 1 Re-Interview</i>	58	11	25	6=100
	<i>Wave 2</i>	57	9	26	8=100
c. U.S. political system	<i>Total</i>	51	14	28	7=100
	<i>Wave 1 Re-Interview</i>	48	17	29	6=100
	<i>Wave 2</i>	52	12	28	8=100

[WAVE 1 RE-INTERVIEW ASK ALL, WAVE 2 ASK FORM 1 ONLY:]

N19R19 In terms of expanding its appeal, how much of a *priority* should the Democratic Party put on each of the following groups?

		<u>Top Priority</u> %	<u>High but not top priority</u> %	<u>Some priority</u> %	<u>No priority</u> %	<u>No answer</u> %	
Q19_1	Blue-collar factory workers	<i>Total</i>	44	44	10	1	1=100
		<i>Wave 1 Re-Interview</i>	44	45	9	1	1=100
		<i>Wave 2</i>	44	43	10	1	2=100
Q19_2	Working-class Southern whites	<i>Total</i>	39	39	17	3	2=100
		<i>Wave 1 Re-Interview</i>	39	39	18	3	1=100
		<i>Wave 2</i>	39	39	17	3	2=100
Q19_3	Middle-class parents	<i>Total</i>	59	32	6	1	2=100
		<i>Wave 1 Re-Interview</i>	60	32	6	*	2=100
		<i>Wave 2</i>	58	32	6	1	3=100
Q19_4	Evangelical Christians	<i>Total</i>	10	17	35	36	2=100
		<i>Wave 1 Re-Interview</i>	10	17	34	38	1=100
		<i>Wave 2</i>	10	19	35	34	2=100
Q19_5	Members of the military	<i>Total</i>	24	44	27	4	1=100
		<i>Wave 1 Re-Interview</i>	25	44	27	3	1=100
		<i>Wave 2</i>	24	44	26	4	2=100

[WAVE 1 RE-INTERVIEW ASK ALL, WAVE 2 ASK ALL:]

PVOTE04 In the 2004 presidential election, which of the following best describes what you did?

<u>Total</u>		<u>Wave 1 Re-Interview</u>	<u>Wave 2</u>
97	Voted for Kerry	97	97
*	Voted for Bush	*	*
1	Voted for Nader	1	1
1	Voted for another candidate	1	1
1	Did not vote	1	1
*	Was not old enough to vote	*	*
*	No answer	*	*
<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

[IF RESPONDENT CHOSE JOHN KERRY (1 IN PVOTE04) ASK:]

N21R21 Would you say that your choice was more ...?

<u>Total</u>		<u>Wave 1 Re-Interview</u>	<u>Wave 2</u>
31	A vote FOR John Kerry	30	31
66	A vote AGAINST George W. Bush	67	66
*	DK/Ref	*	*
<u>3</u>	Didn't Choose Kerry	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100

[WAVE 2 ASK ALL:]

N24 Would you say your overall opinion of Ralph Nader is...?

Wave 2

5	Very favorable
29	Mostly favorable
36	Mostly unfavorable
30	Very unfavorable
*	No answer
100	

[WAVE 2 ASK ALL:]

N24a How confident are you that the votes across the country were accurately counted?

Asked November 18 – December 14, 2004

Wave 2

3	Very confident
24	Somewhat confident
34	Not too confident
39	Not at all confident
100	N=1680

Thinking now about your involvement in the Dean campaign ...

[WAVE 2 ASK ALL:]

N25 Which of the following best describes how you got involved in the Dean campaign?

Wave 2

13	Someone encouraged me to get involved
79	I sought out involvement on my own
9	Neither of these describes me
*	No answer
100	

[ASK ALL WAVE 1 RE-INTERVIEW, WAVE 2 ASK FORM 4 ONLY:]

N31R31 Overall, how many people did you meet either in person or online for the first time through the Dean campaign?

Number: _____ [Open-end] [RANGE: 0 - 400]

Wave 2

23	None
17	1-5
26	6-20
16	21-50
12	51+
<u>6</u>	No answer
100	

[ASK ONLY IF N31R31>0 AND (WAVE 1 RE-INTERVIEW OR WAVE 2 FORM 4):]

N33R33 How many of these people do you still keep in touch with?

Number: _____ [Open-end]

Wave 2

25	None
14	1-2
13	3-5
8	6-10
10	11+
1	No answer
<u>29</u>	[Didn't meet anyone through the campaign]
100	

Based on "met someone"

36
19
19
11
14
1
--
100
(N=2813)

[ASK ONLY IF N33R33>0 AND WAVE 2 FORM 4:]

N34 How often do you communicate with these Dean supporters? Is it closer to...?

Wave 2

1	A few times a day
7	A few times a week
19	A few times a month
19	Less often
<u>54</u>	[Didn't meet anyone/ Have not kept in touch]
100	

Based on "still keep in touch"

2
14
42
42
--
100
(N=884)

[WAVE 1 RE-INTERVIEW AND WAVE 2 FORM 4 ASK ONLY IF N31R31>0:]

N32R32 Thinking about the Dean supporters you came to know, did you meet any of them in person?

<u>Wave 2</u>		<i>Based on "met someone"</i>
58	Yes	82
13	Met, but not in person	18
*	No answer	*
<u>29</u>	[Didn't meet anyone]	<u>==</u>
100		100 (N=2813)

[WAVE 2 ASK FORM 4 ONLY:]

N36 Which of the following best describes your involvement in the Dean campaign?

<u>Wave 2</u>	
2	Mostly about building relationships with people who share my values
68	Mostly about the politics/issues
29	About half and half
<u>1</u>	No answer
100	

[WAVE 2 ASK FORM 4 ONLY:]

N37 Suppose there was a public issue or problem in your community that you were concerned about. Do you feel that you would be able to turn to Dean supporters for help?

<u>Wave 2</u>	
72	Yes
25	No
<u>3</u>	No answer
100	

[WAVE 2 ASK FORM 4 ONLY:]

N38 If you had a personal problem, such as a medical emergency or home repair project, is there anyone you met in the Dean campaign you would feel comfortable asking for help?

<u>Wave 2</u>	
15	Yes
81	No
<u>4</u>	No answer
100	

[WAVE 2 ASK FORM 4 ONLY:]

N39 Have you dated or considered dating anyone you met through the Dean campaign?

<u>Wave 2</u>	
5	Yes
93	No
<u>2</u>	No answer
100	

[WAVE 2 ASK ONLY IF FORM 4 AND ‘DATED DEAN PERSON’ (Q.39=1):]

N40 Are you engaged or married to (or a life partner of) someone you met through the Dean campaign?

<u>Wave 2</u>		<i>Based on “dated or considered dating”</i>
*	Yes	5
5	No	95
<u>95</u>	[Didn’t date anyone]	=
100		100
		(N=96)

[WAVE 2 ASK ONLY IF FORM 4:]

N41 What was the longest distance you traveled (one-way) to participate in a Dean campaign-related activity?

<u>Wave 2</u>	
39	Did not go to a Dean campaign activity
26	Less than 10 miles
21	Between 10 and 49 miles
6	Between 50 and 100 miles
7	Over 100 miles
<u>1</u>	No answer
100	

[WAVE 1 REINTERVIEW, WAVE 2 ASK ALL:]

N42R42 When Gov. Dean was actively seeking the Democratic Nomination, how well did the campaign leadership listen to its supporters?

<u>Total</u>		<u>Wave 1 Re-Interview</u>	<u>Wave 2</u>
34	Very well	40	33
46	Pretty well	45	46
12	Not too well	9	13
5	Not well at all	4	5
<u>3</u>	No answer	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100

[WAVE 2 IF N42R42= (3 OR 4) ASK:]

N42a How could the Dean campaign leadership have done a better job of listening to its supporters? Please provide comments below *or* select “Not sure.”

_____ [OPEN-END]

[WAVE 2 ASK ALL:]

N43 Did you vote in the online referendum on whether the Dean campaign should opt out of public financing?

<u>Wave 2</u>	
54	Yes, voted to opt out
8	Yes, voted to keep receiving public financing
37	No, didn’t vote
<u>1</u>	No answer
100	

[WAVE 2 ASK ALL:]

N44 Did you ever think the Dean campaign asked you to contribute money too often?

Wave 2

28	Yes
71	No
<u>1</u>	No answer
100	

[WAVE 1 REINTERVIEW, WAVE 2 ASK FORM 3 ONLY:]

N45R45 About how many years have you had access to the Internet? _____ [RANGE: 0-15]

Wave 2

2	1-2
15	3-5
65	6-10
18	11-15
<u>*</u>	No answer
100	

[WAVE 2 ASK FORM 3 ONLY:]

N46 Do you go online from the following places?

		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>No answer</u>
		%	%	%
a. Home	<i>Wave 2</i>	96	3	1=100
b. Workplace	<i>Wave 2</i>	68	21	11=100
c. School	<i>Wave 2</i>	20	45	35=100
d. Somewhere else	<i>Wave 2</i>	33	36	31=100

[WAVE 2 ASK IF FORM 3 AND Q46d(Somewhere else)=1(Yes)]

N46aa You mentioned that you go online from somewhere else. Please describe that other place.

[OPEN END]

WAVE 1 RE-INTERVIEW, WAVE 2 FORM 3 ASK ONLY IF (Q46a(Home)=1(Yes)):

N47R47 How do you connect to the Internet when you are at home? [SINGLE RESPONSE]

<u>Total</u>		<u>Wave 1</u> <u>Re-Interview</u>	<u>Wave 2</u>
27	Standard telephone line	28	27
25	DSL-enabled phone line	25	25
37	Cable modem	37	38
5	Wireless connection (either "landline" or "satellite")	5	4
2	T-1 or fiber optic connection	2	1
1	Other	2	*
1	No answer	1	1
<u>2</u>	Not online at home	<u>=</u>	<u>4</u>
100		100	100

[WAVE 2 ASK FORM 3 ONLY:]

N48 In general, how often do you go online?

<u>Wave 2</u>	
77	Several times a day
16	About once a day
5	3-5 days a week
1	1-2 days a week
*	Every few weeks
*	Less often
<u>1</u>	No answer
100	

[WAVE 2 ASK FORM 3 ONLY:]

N49 How often, if ever, do you visit each of the following web sites? [RANDOMIZE]

		<u>Regularly</u>	<u>Sometimes</u>	<u>Hardly</u> <u>ever</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>No</u> <u>answer</u>	
		%	%	%	%	%	
a.	MoveOn.org	<i>Wave 2</i>	22	48	19	10	1=100
b.	DemocracyforAmerica.com	<i>Wave 2</i>	13	44	26	15	2=100
c.	Democrats.org (web site of the Democratic National Committee)	<i>Wave 2</i>	7	33	33	25	2=100
d.	GOP.com (web site of the Republican National Committee)	<i>Wave 2</i>	*	4	21	72	3=100
e.	Liberal media sites such as TheNation.com or AlterNet.org	<i>Wave 2</i>	22	31	20	25	2=100
f.	Sites of foreign news organizations such as BBC	<i>Wave 2</i>	30	35	18	15	2=100
g.	Sites of labor unions or environmental groups	<i>Wave 2</i>	9	32	30	27	2=100

N49 CONTINUED...

		<u>Regularly</u>	<u>Sometimes</u>	<u>Hardly ever</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>No answer</u>	
h.	Sites that have media presentations such as videos or songs about politics	<i>Wave 2</i>	9	39	28	22	2=100
i.	DrudgeReport.com	<i>Wave 2</i>	5	8	21	62	4=100

[WAVE 2 ASK FORM 3 ONLY:]

N50 Please indicate if you ever do any of the following when you go online.

[RANDOMIZE C THROUGH H; A SHOULD ALWAYS APPEAR IMMEDIATELY BEFORE B, THIS PAIR SHOULD BE RANDOMIZED IF POSSIBLE.]

			<u>Yes %</u>	<u>No %</u>	<u>No answer %</u>
a.	Read someone else's web log or blog	<i>Wave 2</i>	60	38	2=100
b.	Create a web log or blog that others can read on the web	<i>Wave 2</i>	13	85	2=100
c.	Create or update personal web page(s)	<i>Wave 2</i>	25	73	2=100
d.	Get news online	<i>Wave 2</i>	96	3	1=100
e.	View video clips you have heard about	<i>Wave 2</i>	78	21	1=100
f.	Send "instant messages" to someone who's online at the same time	<i>Wave 2</i>	42	57	1=100
g.	Rate a product, service or person using an online rating system	<i>Wave 2</i>	55	43	2=100
h.	Make a phone call using the Internet	<i>Wave 2</i>	6	92	2=100

[WAVE 2 ASK FORM 3:]

N51 Please indicate which of the following you have *ever* done online.

			<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>No answer</u>
			%	%	%
a.	Written to an elected official	Wave 2	89	11	*=100
b.	Contributed money to a political campaign	Wave 2	86	13	1=100
c.	Signed a petition	Wave 2	94	5	1=100
d.	Organized a political meeting or event	Wave 2	30	68	2=100
e.	Created a profile at Friendster.com or a similar web site	Wave 2	19	79	2=100

[WAVE 2 ASK IF (FORM3) & (Q50a(Read someone else's web log or blog)=1(Yes)) ONLY:]

N52 Which of the following blogs do you read on at least an occasional basis? Check all that apply.

		<u>Based on total</u>	<u>Based on "have ever read someone else's web log or blog"</u>
a.	Kausfiles	4	6
b.	The Daily Kos	19	32
c.	Talkingpointsmemo.com	11	19
d.	Wonkette.com	9	15
e.	AndrewSullivan.com	7	12
f.	Eschaton.com	6	10
g.	Instapundit.com	4	6
h.	WashingtonMonthly.com	5	9
i.	Buzzmachine.com	4	6
j.	MatthewGross.com	2	3
k.	ChangeforAmerica.com	13	22
l.	Other	17	29
			N=1155

[WAVE 2 ASK FORM 3 ONLY:]

N54 /N55 Do you personally use a cell phone? Does your household have a regular telephone – other than a cell phone – on which you make and receive calls?

<u>Wave 2</u>	
81	Yes
71	Yes, have a regular telephone
10	No, don't have a regular telephone
19	No
*	No answer
<u>100</u>	

[WAVE 2 ASK ALL:]

N56 Do you have a strong friendship with anyone – other than a close relative – who is a supporter of George W. Bush?

<u>Wave 2</u>	
53	Yes
46	No
<u>1</u>	No answer
100	

[WAVE 2 ASK FORM 3 & 4 ONLY:]

N57 Do you think of yourself as...? [Q57gF3, Q57iF3, and Q57kF4 asked in Wave 1 also]

			<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>No answer</u>
			%	%	%
a.F3	A fiscal conservative	Wave 2	55	39	6=100
b.F4	A social conservative	Wave 2	5	71	24=100
c.F3	A Green Party supporter	Wave 2	42	51	7=100
d.F4	A Socialist	Wave 2	18	58	24=100
e.F3	An anarchist	Wave 2	4	87	9=100
f.F4	A progressive	Wave 2	90	6	4=100
g.F3	A libertarian	Wave 2	19	72	9=100
h.F4	A populist	Wave 2	35	41	24=100
i.f3	A spiritual person	Wave 2	70	27	3=100
j.F3	A religious person	Wave 2	24	69	7=100
k.F4	Gay, lesbian, or bisexual	Wave 2	12	65	23=100

[WAVE 1 RE-INTERVIEW, WAVE 2 FORM 2 ONLY:]

N60R60 Thinking about some possible international concerns for the United States... Do you think each of the following countries is a major threat, a minor threat or not a threat to the well being of the United States?

			<u>Major threat</u>	<u>Minor threat</u>	<u>Not a threat</u>	<u>No answer</u>
			%	%	%	%
a.	China	<i>Total</i>	29	43	27	1=100
		<i>Wave 1 Re-Interview</i>	29	45	25	1=100
		<i>Wave 2</i>	29	40	29	2=100
b.	North Korea	<i>Total</i>	53	38	8	1=100
		<i>Wave 1 Re-Interview</i>	55	38	7	*=100
		<i>Wave 2</i>	52	37	10	1=100
c.	Iran	<i>Total</i>	33	50	16	1=100
		<i>Wave 1 Re-Interview</i>	35	50	14	1=100
		<i>Wave 2</i>	31	49	19	1=100

[ASK ALL:]

You are almost finished with the survey. There are just a few more questions about your personal characteristics.

SEX What is your gender?

<u>Total</u>		<u>Wave 1</u>	<u>Wave 2</u>
50	Male	49	51
49	Female	50	49
<u>1</u>	No answer	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>
100		100	100

[ASK ALL:]

AGE What is your age? If you would prefer not to answer, enter 99. [NUMERIC TEXT BOX. RANGE 15-99. IF ANSWER > 97, THEN DATA TEAM RECODES IT AS 97.]

_____ years
 [Code 97 for 97 years of age or older, Code 99 for Don't Know/Refused]

<u>Total</u>		<u>Wave 1</u>	<u>Wave 2</u>
6	15-22	7	6
12	23-29	12	11
17	30-39	19	17
19	40-49	19	19
23	50-59	23	24
22	60+	19	23
<u>1</u>	No answer	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>
100		100	100

[ASK ALL:]

SCHOOL Which of the following best describes your highest level of education?

<u>Total</u>		<u>Wave 1</u>	<u>Wave 2</u>
*	Didn't finish high school	1	*
2	High school graduate	2	2
2	Business, Technical, or vocational school after high school	2	2
17	Some college	17	17
25	College graduate	25	25
13	Post-graduate training or professional schooling after college	15	12
41	Graduate or professional degree	38	42
<u>*</u>	No answer	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>
100		100	100

[ASK ALL:]

HISP Are you, yourself, of Hispanic origin or descent, such as Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, or some other Spanish background?

<u>Total</u>		<u>Wave 1</u>	<u>Wave 2</u>
3	Yes	4	3
96	No	95	96
<u>1</u>	No answer	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
100		100	100

[ASK ALL:]

RACE What is your race?

<u>Total</u>		<u>Wave 1</u>	<u>Wave 2</u>
92	White	91	92
1	Black	2	1
2	Asian	2	2
4	Other or multiracial	4	4
<u>1</u>	No answer	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
100		100	100

[ASK ALL:]

MARITAL Which best describes you?

<u>Total</u>		<u>Wave 1</u>	<u>Wave 2</u>
50	Married	48	51
11	Divorced	11	11
1	Separated	1	1
2	Widowed	2	2
10	Living as married	10	9
25	Never been married	27	25
<u>1</u>	No answer	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
100		100	100

[ASK ALL:]

RELIG What is your religious preference?

Note Modification: Buddhist, Nondenominational Christian, and Unitarian Universalist options presented only to Wave 2 respondents.

<u>Total</u>		<u>Wave 1</u>	<u>Wave 2</u>
21	Protestant	27	18
13	Roman Catholic	14	12
7	Jewish	8	7
*	Mormon	*	*
*	Orthodox Church (Greek or Russian)	*	1
1	Islam/Muslim	*	1
2	Buddhist	N/A	3
4	Nondenominational Christian	N/A	5
5	Unitarian Universalist	N/A	7
9	Other religion (Please specify) _____	8	10
38	No religion	40	37
<u>10</u>	No answer	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
100		100	100

[IF RELIG = 1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 9, 11 ASK:]

BORN Would you describe yourself as a "born again" or evangelical Christian, or not?

<u>Total</u>		<u>Wave 1</u>	<u>Wave 2</u>
7	Yes, would	7	7
93	No, would not	93	93
*	No answer	*	*
100		100	100

[ASK ALL:]

ATTEND Aside from weddings and funerals, how often do you attend religious services?

<u>Total</u>		<u>Wave 1</u>	<u>Wave 2</u>
3	More than once a week	2	3
12	Once a week	12	12
9	Once or twice a month	9	9
17	A few times a year	18	17
27	Seldom	26	27
32	Never	32	33
*	No answer	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
100		100	100

[ASK ALL:]

INCOME In what category was your total family income from all sources, before taxes, in 2003?

<u>Total</u>		<u>Wave 1</u>	<u>Wave 2</u>
2	Less than \$10,000	2	2
4	\$10,000 to under \$20,000	5	4
7	\$20,000 to under \$30,000	8	7
9	\$30,000 to under \$40,000	9	8
10	\$40,000 to under \$50,000	10	9
20	\$50,000 to under \$75,000	19	20
16	\$75,000 to under \$100,000	16	16
16	\$100,000 to under \$150,000	16	16
13	\$150,000 or more	13	14
<u>3</u>	No answer	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
100		100	100

[ASK ALL:]

IDEO In general, would you describe your political views as...?

<u>Total</u>		<u>Wave 1</u>	<u>Wave 2</u>
*	Very conservative	*	*
1	Conservative	1	1
16	Moderate	18	15
43	Liberal	44	43
39	Very liberal	36	41
<u>1</u>	No answer	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>
100		100	100

[ASK ALL:]

PVOTE00

In the 2000 presidential election, which of the following best describes what you did?

<u>Total</u>		<u>Wave 1</u>	<u>Wave 2</u>
78	Voted for Gore	76	78
2	Voted for Bush	2	2
10	Voted for Nader	10	11
*	Voted for Buchanan	*	*
1	Voted for another candidate	1	1
4	Did not vote	5	4
5	Was not old enough to vote	5	4
*	Don't remember if I voted	*	*
*	No answer	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>
100		100	100

[ASK ALL:]

VETERAN

Are you, yourself, a veteran of the armed forces?

<u>Total</u>		<u>Wave 1</u>	<u>Wave 2</u>
10	Yes, a veteran	10	11
*	Yes, still active in the military	*	*
89	No	89	89
<u>1</u>	No answer	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>
100		100	100

[ASK ALL:]

[INCLUDE '(or is your spouse)' FOR MARRIED PEOPLE ONLY (MARITAL=1,3)]

LABOR

Are you (or is your spouse) a member of a labor union?

<u>Total</u>		<u>Wave 1</u>	<u>Wave 2</u>
10	Yes, I am	9	11
4	Yes, my spouse is	4	4
2	Yes, both	2	2
83	No, (neither)	84	83
<u>1</u>	No answer	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>
100		100	100

[ASK ALL:]

RATEFIN How would you rate your own, personal financial situation? Would you say you are in...?

<u>Total</u>		<u>Wave 1</u>	<u>Wave 2</u>
13	Excellent shape	12	13
45	Good shape	44	46
32	Only fair shape	34	31
9	Poor shape	9	9
<u>1</u>	No answer	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
100		100	100

[ASK ALL:]

SCHO Were you enrolled in school during any of your involvement in the Dean campaign?

<u>Total</u>		<u>Wave 1</u>	<u>Wave 2</u>
17	Yes	17	17
83	No	82	83
<u>*</u>	No answer	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>
100		100	100

[ASK ALL:]

EMPLOY Are you now...?

<u>Total</u>		<u>Wave 1</u>	<u>Wave 2</u>
56	Employed full-time	57	56
17	Employed part-time	17	17
11	Laid off, unemployed or not employed	10	11
15	Retired	14	15
<u>1</u>	No answer	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
100		100	100