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BUSH PERCEPTIONS AND THE USE OF FORCE
by G. Donald Ferree, Jr.

Wisconsin residents view George W. Bush's job performance differently depending on which aspect of his presidency is being focused on. State residents like him personally but are more divided on policy grounds, moreover there seems to have been some decline from his very high ratings of a year ago. These are some of the conclusions from the most recent Badger Poll™, which interviewed 514 randomly chosen state residents by phone from January 7 to 15.

Overall, Bush's current ratings are respectable in an absolute sense, but definitely seem to have lost some luster over the past months. At the moment, rather more than half give him either "excellent" (16%) or "good" (38%) grades overall. Some four in ten chose one of the weaker ratings "fair" (29%) or "poor" (14%). There is very little "gender gap", although women show something of a greater tendency to cluster in the middle of the grading scale (more goods and fairs, fewer excellent or goods). Partisanship makes a tremendous difference. Almost nineteen out of twenty Republicans rate Bush as good or higher. The comparable figure for Democrats is between one in four and three in ten, while Independents are in the middle. The most enthusiastic age group is made up of those residents between thirty and forty-four years of age. The oldest group is somewhat more polarized than most.

Each of the Badger Polls™ since the first one last March have included this question, and the accompanying table shows the results. (Those from the pre-election survey, done only with registered voters planning to vote, are omitted. As may be seen, while the June ratings were quite similar to those from March, there has been a modest drop on each of the successive surveys. Using one measure, ten percent fewer now give the President ratings of good or higher now compared to March, a somewhat larger dip than was evident from June to September.

Cross-Time Comparisons (March, June, and September)

	JAN	SEPT	JUNE	MARCH
Rating of GW Bush				
EXCELLENT	16%	19%	25%	28%
GOOD	38	45	44	40
FAIR	29	23	22	22
POOR	14	12	8	7

Because views of presidents blend perceptions of them as human beings with appreciations of them as policy leaders, it can be enlightening to ask how respondents view Bush on both dimensions simultaneously. Accordingly, residents were asked to say how they stood BOTH in terms of liking or disliking Bush as a person and in terms of supporting or opposing his policies. This would likely NOT produce the same results as if one first asked about policies, say, and then the person, because the first question is "tainted" by perceptions of the second dimension.

The largest single group (46%) say they like Bush AND support most of his policies. Half as many chose the second alternative, that they liked him as a person but opposed most of his policies. One in six disliked him as a person and opposed his policies, and only one in twenty were positive on policy grounds but negative when it came to him as a person. The remainder said explicitly they could rate him on only one dimension, or chose not to answer the question.

Combining the answers, one finds that seven in ten (70%) like Bush personally, ignoring their policy stances, while one in four (22%) do not. Clearly, his personal likeability is a potential asset, especially as he seeks to explain policy positions. On the other side, if one considers how respondents stand on policy in general, the public is much more split. Just over half (53%) support his policies, ignoring how they react to the President personally, four in ten (41%) oppose him on policy.

Men and women are similar in the profile of their views of Bush. Women are at least as likely as men to like Bush personally, and on balance they are about as positive on policy grounds too (slightly less likely to say they oppose him). The second youngest age group is more pro-Bush than others, and is the only one in which a majority both likes him personally AND supports him. The distinction comes largely from the fact that two thirds of this group (as opposed to roughly half of the others) supports him on policy, regardless of their personal reaction. Nine in ten Republicans like Bush and support him, dwarfing the comparable percentages for Independents and even more strikingly Democrats. The two most common opinions among the latter are to like Bush but oppose him or to both dislike and oppose him. Still majorities (ranging from 56% among Democrats to 92% among Republicans like the President personally, at the same time as reactions to his policies move from three to one opposition among Democrats, to an even split among Independents, to overwhelming backing among GOP adherents.

This question was asked twice before here in Wisconsin, in March and June of last year. On both occasions, majorities (59% in March, and 64% in June) both liked Bush and supported his policies. Other answers then, as shown in the accompanying chart, split relatively evenly. Combining answers the same way we did in this survey, last March, the public liked Bush personally as much or slightly more than now (73%-19% in March, 75%-19% in June).

But there have been bigger shifts on the policy front. Roughly seven in ten supported his policies in general last year (by a slightly stronger margin in June than in March), whereas opinion is more closely split now. This could be because sentiment on particular policies has moved, or because the attention paid to various aspects of policy has changed, or both.

As noted, while views of Bush seem less positive, on an absolute scale, they remain quite upbeat. Moreover, on balance the public thinks Bush compares favorably with his predecessor. Roughly half (49%) believe Bush is doing a better job than Bill Clinton did. One in three (34%) say it is worse. The remainder either volunteered that he was doing about as well or otherwise expressed no opinion.

Dimensions of View of President Bush

	JAN	JUNE	MARCH
Attitude to Bush			
LIKE PERSON/SUPPORT	46%	64%	59%
LIKE PERSON/OPPOSE	23	9	13
DISLIKE PERSON/SUPPORT	5	7	8
DISLIKE PERSON/OPPOSE	16	12	11
SUPPORT POLICIES ONLY	3	2	2
OPPOSE POLICIES ONLY	2	1	1
LIKE PERSON ONLY	2	2	1
DISLIKE PERSON ONLY	*	*	*
View of Bush as person			
LIKE BUSH	70%	75%	73%
DISLIKE BUSH	22	19	19
View of Bush policies			
SUPPORT POLICIES	53%	73%	69%
OPPOSE POLICIES	41	21	25

Responses such as Don't Know or Refused are omitted

Partisanship clearly differentiates among respondents. Two thirds of Democrats feel Bush is worse than Clinton, while one in five think he is doing better (for a 67%-19% margin). Republicans are even more onesidedly (84%-6%) of the view that Bush is doing better. Views of Independents are closely divided. Men and women did not sharply differ, while those between thirty and forty-four were (modestly) more likely to make the comparison favorably to Bush.

In September this question was directly put -- earlier we had asked respondents to rate Clinton on the same scale. That survey found 54% calling Bush better, 31% Clinton. The difference between the two is consistent with the slippage in Bush's overall ratings, assuming memories of Clinton have not shifted as well, but are small enough that one can have only limited confidence they reflect a real shift in Bush's comparative ratings.

These overall assessments are a composite of many more specific evaluations. Presidents have many responsibilities and the public (or groups within it) may change in their assessment of how important each is, sometimes quite rapidly. (Just ask George W. Bush's father how quickly he moved from triumphant world leader to uncaring bumbler with the economy).

Respondents were presented with a list of areas and asked to apply the same rating scale to each. There are clear differences. To begin with Bush was rated on "handling foreign policy". Narrowing the focus lowered people's appreciation of the President. Overall, four in ten rated the Chief Executive excellent (12%) or good (32%); just over half felt he deserved only fair (34%) or poor (20%). Thus this area found the public more critical. In September, ratings were higher (six in ten calling his performance good or better, and under four in ten fair or worse). It should of course be noted that "foreign

policy" may have a somewhat different content in January 2003, than it did in September, including the notion of juggling multiple trouble spots. In any event, where in September, this area produced very similar results to the overall rating, now there is a relative weakness in this area, and assessments of Bush have deteriorated more in this specific area.

Turning back to the patterns in the present survey, women are a bit more critical than men. Thirty to forty-four year olds are more positive than other groups; those under thirty are especially critical. There are sharp partisan distinctions. Only about one in six Democrats call Bush's performance in foreign policy good or better, comparable figures for Independents are about four in ten, while eight in ten Republicans feel it is at least good.

The general field of "problems here at home" is NOT an area of special strength for Bush. Overall, just a bit over one in three credit him with performance they call excellent or good. Almost two in three choose one of the lower ratings. Men as a group are slightly more critical than women. Again, partisans clearly differ (one in seven Democrats, but three fourths of Republicans rate Bush as good or higher. As before, those thirty to forty-four are most pro-Bush. The months since September have seen an especially clear drop in this area, although it was markedly lower than either overall ratings or general assessments of foreign policy then as well.

When the focus further narrows to handling the economy, the public is especially critical. Overall, barely one in four give the President either good or excellent ratings. Just below six in ten opt for fair or poor. Democrats are the most negative. Nine in ten rate him fair or worse, including over half who opt for the lowest possible rating of poor. But partisan distinctions are evident. Seven in ten Republicans call him good or higher, and only one in three say fair or worse. Groups tend to agree that however they rated Bush on domestic matters generally, the economy specifically warrants more critical appraisal. (It should be noted that Bush's tax and stimulus package was unveiled formally on the first day of interviewing).

If the economy in particular seems to be at the moment an area of weakness, the President is not without strengths. Specifically, "dealing with terrorism" produces much more positive results than foreign policy or general or specific domestic concerns. Six in ten residents call Bush's handling of terrorism excellent or good. Men, who were more critical on the economy than women were viewed more positively by them on this dimension. Backing increases as one moves across the partisan spectrum, but all groups view this area as relatively positive. Still, since September of last year, the public is less endorsing of Bush in this area. At that point, three in four called it good or excellent.

"Dealing with Iraq" produces ratings a bit lower than handling terrorism, but clearly better than domestic areas. Four in ten now say the President is doing either a good or excellent job dealing with Iraq, down clearly from September's half, albeit this is by no means a collapse. Men are more upbeat than women, about ten points more likely to choose good or excellent.

As on the other issues, views of Bush have a clear partisan tint. Three Republicans in four, but fewer than one in four among Democrats see Bush's handling of Iraq as good or higher. Those thirty to forty-four occupy their "familiar" place.=jhos

This survey added another specific country, North Korea. Assessments fall off again. One in three call Bush's performance here good or better. Half opt for no better than fair, and a notably high one in six are not sure. Women are

more likely than men not to be able (or willing) to rate Bush's handling of North Korea, and the balance of views among those who DO rate it is less positive. There is essentially no age pattern. Six in ten self-described Republicans but only one in six Democrats rate Bush good or higher.

When attention is turned to Bush's "dealing with leaders of other countries", he rebounds again. Half call him good or excellent at that, almost as many say it is fair or poor. Men are more positive than women. Partisan cleavages are quite clear. Those thirty to forty-four are joined by those in the next higher group in being modestly more positive than others.

Many of the decisions Bush must make both at home and abroad involve the use of force or attempts to deflect it from the United States. Overall, there is some concern about the consequences of focusing on force. Specifically, "if the United States is willing to use force to protect its interests", what will be the impact on other nations' view of us? There is a fair amount of uncertainty, but certainly no endorsement of a more "proactive" dependence on military power. Roughly one in three (36%) feel a willingness to use force will not make much difference in the views of other countries. But approximately as many believe it make them "respect us less". Fewer than one in five look to an increase in the respect with which we are held.

Men and women do NOT differ significantly, which is noteworthy since the former are usually less concerned with the consequences and more sanguine about its effectiveness. All age groups, on balance, think that the willingness to use force will -- if it makes a difference at all -- likely lessen respect, but the thirty to forty-four year olds are most closely divided. Partisan patterns are about what one might expect: about a third of each group sees little impact, but Democrats think the willingness to use force lessens respect (by about four to one), while Republicans think it will increase it by a three to one margin (and are the most likely to see no impact). Independents fall in the middle. In any event, it is clear that force is not seen as a panacea.

At the same time, there is, on balance, little dissatisfaction with the degree to which this country HAS used force. Reminded that "the United States has great military power", respondents were asked about our readiness actually to use force to protect our vital interests. Six in ten (58%) said that we had "generally shown good judgement about its use. One in four (25%) said we had been too ready to resort to force, and only one in seven (14%) felt the US had been "not ready enough".

Republicans were most satisfied (three in four thinking we had shown good judgement), and evenly split on the direction they would have changed things. About half of the other partisan groups felt appropriate judgement had been used, but were more likely to feel we had been too ready to use force than that we had been too reticent. Youngest respondents were most critical, those in the middle age groups least. Men and women, again, did not substantially differ.

Overall, then, Bush enjoys ratings overall which many politicians would be quite happy with. At the same time, public rating of his performance particularly at home, and related to the economy, is relatively critical and he has declined in the estimation of the public over the past year or so. Naturally what has gone down could come back up, and -- absent some "warning signs" (particularly with the economy), his situation is certainly respectable in the absolute sense. Much will depend on what happens both domestically and in the various international hotspots with which he must contend.

Statewide Marginals and Percentages for Key Groups

What follows is the exact question wording for each of the items referred to in the release. All results shown are for the basic sample of state residents. The first column is the percentage of the entire sample giving each response. The second and third reports the percentages for men and women separately. The fourth, fifth, and sixth columns show self-described Democrats, Independents, and Republicans. Columns seven through ten group respondents by age.

Q01. INTERVIEWER: (DO NOT ASK) Enter respondent's gender

	TOT	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS			
		M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+
MALE	49%	100%	--%	43%	58%	55%	38%	52%	56%	44%
FEMALE	51	--	100	57	42	45	62	48	44	56

Q02. How would you rate the job George W. Bush is doing as President?
Excellent, good, fair or poor?

	TOT	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS			
		M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+
Excellent	16%	19%	14%	2%	10%	47%	8%	20%	14%	22%
Good	38	38	38	25	39	47	40	43	38	31
Fair	29	25	33	49	32	6	42	30	30	19
Poor	14	17	11	22	15	--	7	6	17	21
TOO SOON (vol.)	*	--	1	1	1	--	--	--	--	2
DON'T KNOW	2	1	3	1	3	--	2	2	1	3
REFUSED	1	1	1	1	1	--	--	--	1	2

&br;.cp end;.cp begin;.sp;BUSH01. Which of the following comes closest to how you feel about George W. Bush?

- * I like him as a person AND I also support most of his policies
- * I like him as a person BUT I oppose most of his policies
- * I don't like him as a person BUT I support most of his policies
- * I don't like him as a person AND I oppose most of his policies

	TOT	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS			
		M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+
LIKE PERSON/SUPPORT	46%	45%	46%	18%	37%	88%	37%	55%	44%	43%
LIKE PERSON/OPPOSE	23	23	23	37	27	3	30	15	28	21
DISLIKE PERSON/SUPPORT	5	6	4	5	7	4	4	5	6	4
DISLIKE PERSON/OPPOSE	16	18	15	34	15	2	19	12	15	23
SUPPORT POLICIES ONLY	3	3	2	1	3	1	3	4	1	2
OPPOSE POLICIES ONLY	2	2	1	2	2	--	1	2	1	2
LIKE PERSON ONLY	2	1	3	1	4	*	2	2	1	3
DISLIKE PERSON ONLY	*	--	1	1	--	--	2	--	--	1
DON'T KNOW	2	*	3	1	3	--	2	2	1	--
REFUSED	2	2	3	1	3	--	1	3	3	1

BUSH01X. (CONSTRUCTED ITEM from BUSH01) Attitude to person, ignoring policies

	TOT	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS			
		M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+
LIKE BUSH	70%	69%	72%	56%	68%	92%	69%	72%	73%	67%
DISLIKE BUSH	22	24	19	40	22	7	24	18	21	27
DK/REF LIKE	8	7	9	4	10	1	7	10	6	6

BUSH01Y. (CONSTRUCTED ITEM from BUSH01) Attitude to policies, ignoring person

	TOT	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS			
		M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+
SUPPORT POLICIES	53%	53%	53%	23%	47%	94%	44%	64%	52%	49%
OPPOSE POLICIES	41	44	39	73	44	6	49	29	44	46
DK/REF POLICIES	6	3	9	4	10	*	7	7	4	5

GWB01. So far, has George W. Bush done better than you expected, worse, or about as well as you expected?

	TOT	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS			
		M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+
BETTER	25%	28%	22%	19%	18%	39%	25%	20%	26%	28%
WORSE	11	10	12	17	12	2	10	8	13	12
ABOUT AS WELL	63	60	65	64	68	60	64	69	59	59
DON'T KNOW	1	2	*	*	1	--	2	2	1	1
REFUSED	1	1	1	--	1	--	--	*	1	1

GWB02. Do you think Bush has been doing a better or worse job than Bill Clinton did?

	TOT	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS			
		M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+
BETTER	49%	50%	47%	19%	41%	84%	49%	51%	47%	49%
WORSE	34	34	35	67	36	6	38	28	36	37
ABOUT THE SAME (VOL.)	9	11	7	6	14	7	5	12	9	8
DON'T KNOW	6	3	9	6	6	2	7	8	5	3
REFUSED	3	3	3	2	4	1	--	3	3	3

GWB04. How would you rate the job George W. Bush is doing handling foreign policy? Excellent, good, fair or poor?

	TOT	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS			
		M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+
EXCELLENT	12%	14%	10%	1%	5%	31%	8%	14%	14%	11%
GOOD	32	34	30	16	34	48	25	44	28	30
FAIR	34	30	38	45	34	21	41	24	39	33
POOR	20	21	19	37	22	--	22	18	19	23
DON'T KNOW	2	1	2	1	4	--	4	1	*	2
REFUSED	1	1	1	--	1	--	--	*	1	1

GWB05. How would you rate the job George W. Bush is doing dealing with problems here at home? (PROMPT FOR CATEGORIES AS NECESSARY)

	TOT	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS			
		M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+
EXCELLENT	6%	7%	5%	1%	2%	15%	3%	7%	6%	7%
GOOD	30	29	31	13	21	60	31	39	22	31
FAIR	39	35	42	42	47	24	50	36	41	31
POOR	24	28	19	43	26	1	13	17	31	30
DON'T KNOW	1	*	2	1	2	--	4	--	*	1
REFUSED	1	1	1	--	2	--	--	1	1	1

GWB06. How about the job he is doing handling the economy? (PROMPT FOR CATEGORIES AS NECESSARY)

	TOT	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS			
		M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+
EXCELLENT	4%	4%	3%	--%	1%	13%	--%	5%	4%	6%
GOOD	23	22	24	7	16	51	20	26	21	26
FAIR	38	34	41	37	38	30	56	40	35	26
POOR	31	36	27	53	41	3	19	27	39	35
DON'T KNOW	3	3	4	3	2	3	5	1	*	7
REFUSED	1	1	1	--	1	--	--	*	2	1

GWB07. Dealing with terrorism? (PROMPT FOR CATEGORIES AS NECESSARY)

	TOT	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS			
		M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+
EXCELLENT	18%	23%	14%	6%	13%	40%	19%	21%	19%	16%
GOOD	42	44	40	32	43	51	33	47	41	43
FAIR	26	23	30	38	33	8	38	18	28	26
POOR	12	9	15	21	9	1	8	13	12	13
DON'T KNOW	1	*	1	2	*	--	2	--	*	1
REFUSED	1	1	1	--	1	--	--	2	1	1

GWB08. Dealing with Iraq? (PROMPT FOR CATEGORIES AS NECESSARY)

	TOT	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS			
		M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+
EXCELLENT	11%	15%	8%	3%	7%	28%	11%	14%	11%	9%
GOOD	31	32	31	19	31	46	26	35	32	30
FAIR	28	24	31	30	32	20	36	21	29	28
POOR	26	24	28	45	28	3	25	26	25	27
DON'T KNOW	2	3	1	3	1	2	1	2	2	4
REFUSED	1	1	2	1	1	--	--	2	1	2

GWB08A. Dealing with North Korea? (PROMPT FOR CATEGORIES AS NECESSARY)

	TOT	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS			
		M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+
EXCELLENT	7%	9%	5%	1%	4%	18%	7%	7%	8%	6%
GOOD	26	28	24	15	28	41	24	25	28	28
FAIR	31	32	29	30	38	22	31	27	34	31
POOR	21	20	22	39	18	3	23	22	17	24
DON'T KNOW	14	11	17	14	10	17	16	18	12	10
REFUSED	2	1	2	1	3	--	--	2	1	2

GWB09. Dealing with leaders of other countries? (PROMPT FOR CATEGORIES AS NECESSARY)

	TOT	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS			
		M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+
EXCELLENT	10%	12%	9%	1%	6%	26%	13%	12%	10%	8%
GOOD	39	43	34	23	43	58	31	41	42	38
FAIR	35	29	41	51	35	13	43	32	31	36
POOR	9	9	9	14	10	--	4	10	9	11
DON'T KNOW	6	6	6	9	5	3	8	4	7	5
REFUSED	1	1	2	1	1	--	--	2	1	2

FORCE02. In general, if the United States is willing to use force to protect its interests, do you think that will make other countries respect us more, respect us less, or won't it make much of a difference?

	TOT	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS			
		M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+
RESPECT US MORE	18%	19%	18%	12%	16%	29%	16%	22%	18%	18%
RESPECT US LESS	34	32	36	47	39	17	40	32	33	34
NOT MUCH DIFFERENCE	36	39	33	34	34	42	37	35	40	31
DEPENDS (VOL.)	6	8	5	6	3	7	4	8	6	6
DON'T KNOW	4	1	7	1	5	5	1	3	2	9
REFUSED	2	1	2	--	3	--	2	--	2	2

FORCE03. The United States has great military power. Do you think that on the whole, we've been too ready to use it to protect our vital interests, not ready enough, or have we generally shown good judgement about its use?

	TOT	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS			
		M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+
TOO READY TO USE	25%	24%	26%	29%	32%	11%	40%	17%	20%	28%
NOT READY ENOUGH	14	14	13	14	10	13	11	20	10	13
GOOD JUDGEMENT	58	59	57	54	53	74	48	61	64	53
DON'T KNOW	3	2	3	3	4	2	1	2	3	5
REFUSED	1	1	1	--	2	--	--	*	3	1

QD05. Generally speaking, do you consider yourself a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or something else?

	TOT	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS			
		M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+
Democrat	30%	26%	34%	100%	--%	--%	34%	26%	35%	26%
Republican	26	29	23	--	--	100	19	28	23	32
Independent	24	29	20	--	100	--	22	24	25	26
Other	13	11	14	--	--	--	23	11	14	5
None	3	3	3	--	--	--	--	7	1	5
DON'T KNOW	2	*	3	--	--	--	1	4	*	1
REFUSED	3	1	4	--	--	--	2	2	2	5

QD11. In what year were you born? (ENTER FOUR-DIGIT YEAR) (Calculated and grouped as below)

	TOT	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS			
		M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+
18-29	18%	14%	21%	20%	16%	13%	100%	--%	--%	--%
30-44	26	28	25	22	25	28	--	100	--	--
45-59	32	37	28	38	33	29	--	--	100	--
60 and over	23	21	25	20	24	28	--	--	--	100
DK/REFUSED	2	1	2	1	2	2	--	--	--	--

* denotes less than .5%

-- denotes 0%

HOW THE POLL WAS DONE

This BADGER POLL™ was conducted by the University of Wisconsin Survey Center as part of its ongoing program of research designed to benefit the research community and the people of Wisconsin, under the direction of G. Donald Ferree, Jr., Associate Director for Public Opinion Research of the Center. The media sponsors of the survey are the (Madison) Capital Times, and the Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel. The BADGER POLL™ is intended to be a "poll of record" for the state, investigating matters of concern to Wisconsinites including politics, culture, and their daily lives, adhering to the highest standards of polling methodology and rigorous independence.

A total of 514 randomly chosen state residents were interviewed for this survey by telephone between January 7 and 15th, inclusive. Telephone numbers were generated by computer in proportion to the number of adults living in each area of the state. Theoretically, results from this survey have a "margin of error" of a little over +/- 4%. This means that, had we asked every eligible resident in Wisconsin, exactly these questions at the time the survey was conducted, there is only a one in twenty chance that the answers would differ by more than that in either direction from what we report here. There could be differences because of changes in question wording, events occurring in the meantime, or any of the practical difficulties involved in taking a scientific survey. Results based on subgroups are subject to a larger "margin of error".