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THE SENATE RACE IN MID-SEPTEMBER  
by G. Donald Ferree, Jr.

About one month and a half before the election, Senator Russ Feingold enjoys a 53%-38% lead over his Republican rival Tim Michels, although the latter remains much less known than the incumbent and there is plenty of time for campaigning to make a difference. On the most recent Badger Poll when respondents were reminded of the candidates' names and parties, and asked for whom they would vote, Feingold is named by 47%, Michels by 33%. The margin remains unchanged when those not indicating a preference were asked, "if you had to make up your mind between these two, as of now who would you prefer". Combining these two questions yields the results noted above.

These results are based on the preferences of persons who are either now registered to vote, or say they have definite plans to register and so they can vote this November. Looking at groups defined by their reported likelihood of voting makes virtually no difference in the answers.

As an incumbent, Feingold comes into this race with a good, if not overwhelmingly strong, base. While only seven in ten voters say they know enough about him to have either a favorable or unfavorable opinion, the balance is almost two to one favorable (46%-25%). However, as the cross-time chart indicates, his present favorability profile shows some increase in negative sentiment, for months, just under half had held a favorable impression of him, but the proportion viewing him negatively is now a bit higher.

By contrast, only about four in ten say they know enough about Michels to rate HIM either favorably or unfavorably. The overall balance is 31%-9%. This contains several points of hope for the Republican however. First, he has a very low negative rating, which means that although he must become better known, and try to give those who learn about him a favorable sense, he does not need to "convert" many. This also shows a large jump in awareness since June, before the primary and the modest senatorial advertising preceding it. At that point, only about one in ten had a clear impression of Michels.

Comparing Feingold to other politicians, he is less familiar to Wisconsin voters than President Bush, who is viewed favorably by 54%-38%. This means that he is much more widely known than Feingold, but has a less clearly positive impression on balance. Further, if one compares the favorability of the two men directly, only one in five sees them the same (either both favorably or both unfavorably). More than twice as many come down on opposite sides, and one in

three lack a clear impression of either man, or both.

Feingold is on a rough par with his Senate colleague, Herb Kohl (47%-21%) favorable, whose own popularity has moved around as much or more than Feingold's over recent months. While almost half fail to rate either or both men, among those who do, a strong majority sees them the same way.

Impressions of Candidates and Others

|                        | <-----2004-----> |     |     |     |     | 2003 |
|------------------------|------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|
|                        | Sept             | Jun | Apr | Mar | Jan | Oct  |
| Impression of Bush     |                  |     |     |     |     |      |
| FAVORABLE              | 54%              | 52% | 56% | 52% | 54% | 60%  |
| UNFAVORABLE            | 38               | 42  | 36  | 41  | 39  | 34   |
| DON'T KNOW ENOUGH      | 5                | 6   | 7   | 7   | 6   | 5    |
| DK                     | 1                | *   | 1   | 1   | 1   | 2    |
| REFUSED                | 1                | --  | *   | *   | --  | --   |
| Impression of Feingold |                  |     |     |     |     |      |
| FAVORABLE              | 46%              | 47% | 46% | 47% | 46% | 41%  |
| UNFAVORABLE            | 25               | 17  | 18  | 19  | 16  | 23   |
| DON'T KNOW ENOUGH      | 27               | 35  | 35  | 34  | 36  | 35   |
| DK                     | 1                | 1   | 1   | *   | 2   | 1    |
| REFUSED                | *                | --  | *   | *   | --  | *    |
| Impression of Kohl     |                  |     |     |     |     |      |
| FAVORABLE              | 47%              | 52% | 57% | 54% | 58% | 50%  |
| UNFAVORABLE            | 21               | 17  | 15  | 18  | 16  | 19   |
| DON'T KNOW ENOUGH      | 31               | 31  | 28  | 29  | 25  | 30   |
| DK                     | 1                | 1   | 1   | *   | 1   | 1    |
| REFUSED                | *                | --  | *   | *   | --  | *    |
| Impression of Michels  |                  |     |     |     |     |      |
| FAVORABLE              | 31%              | 7%  |     | 3%  |     | 2%   |
| UNFAVORABLE            | 9                | 4   |     | 3   |     | 5    |
| DON'T KNOW ENOUGH      | 58               | 88  |     | 92  |     | 92   |
| DK                     | 2                | 1   |     | 1   |     | 2    |
| REFUSED                | *                | --  |     | *   |     | *    |

Another general measure of how Feingold is seen is the job rating voters give him. In mid-September, half rate him as either excellent (16%) or good (33%). Less positively, just under four in ten think one of the two lower rankings fair (24%) or poor (14%) is more like it. There is a partisan cast to these views, with two thirds of Democrats rating him at least good, and six in ten Republicans grading him no higher than fair. If anything, his present ratings are up a bit from the past, though modestly.

On the same scale, President Bush does a bit less well (and more are willing or able to give him a job performance grade). His overall ratings were excellent 18%, good 33%, fair 22%, and poor 26%. One can compare the ratings given the two men, as was done for favorability. Here, fewer than one in five grade the Senator and the President the same. One in seven fail to rate one or the other, and among the two thirds who differ, there is a modest tendency for

## Federal Officeholders Across Time

| Rating of                | <-----2004-----> |      |       |       |       | <-----2003-----> |     |     |
|--------------------------|------------------|------|-------|-------|-------|------------------|-----|-----|
|                          | Sept             | June | April | March | Jan'y | Oct              | May | Feb |
| Rating of George W. Bush |                  |      |       |       |       |                  |     |     |
| EXCELLENT                | 18%              | 14%  | 15%   | 16%   | 11%   | 15%              | 25% | 19% |
| GOOD                     | 33               | 33   | 35    | 30    | 37    | 35               | 35  | 39  |
| FAIR                     | 22               | 27   | 25    | 24    | 29    | 27               | 25  | 25  |
| POOR                     | 26               | 25   | 23    | 30    | 22    | 21               | 14  | 16  |
| TOO SOON TO TELL (vol)   | --               | --   | --    | --    | --    | --               | *   | --  |
| DON'T KNOW               | *                | 1    | 1     | 1     | 1     | 1                | 1   | 1   |
| REFUSED                  | *                | *    | 1     | *     | --    | *                | 1   | 1   |
| Rating of Herb Kohl      |                  |      |       |       |       |                  |     |     |
| EXCELLENT                | 8%               | 4%   | 5%    | 7%    | 7%    | 8%               | 6%  | 6%  |
| GOOD                     | 39               | 39   | 42    | 43    | 42    | 42               | 39  | 40  |
| FAIR                     | 30               | 36   | 30    | 28    | 32    | 31               | 32  | 30  |
| POOR                     | 6                | 8    | 5     | 10    | 7     | 9                | 9   | 7   |
| DON'T KNOW               | 15               | 13   | 18    | 12    | 11    | 10               | 14  | 16  |
| REFUSED                  | *                | --   | --    | 1     | *     | *                | 1   | 1   |
| Rating of Russ Feingold  |                  |      |       |       |       |                  |     |     |
| EXCELLENT                | 16%              | 11%  | 8%    | 12%   | 10%   | 10%              | 7%  | 8%  |
| GOOD                     | 33               | 34   | 40    | 36    | 36    | 38               | 38  | 40  |
| FAIR                     | 24               | 31   | 27    | 28    | 31    | 29               | 30  | 27  |
| POOR                     | 14               | 12   | 9     | 11    | 7     | 11               | 11  | 10  |
| DON'T KNOW               | 13               | 12   | 15    | 14    | 15    | 12               | 15  | 15  |
| REFUSED                  | *                | --   | --    | *     | --    | --               | *   | 1   |

more to rate Feingold higher (e.g. good compared to poor, or excellent to good), than to accord Bush a higher grade. Partisanship also seems to have a greater impact on Bush.

Contrasted to Feingold, Kohl is seen roughly comparably to his colleague. balance. Eight in ten give both men a rating, and more than half of them choose identical grades. There is no clear tendency if voters assign them different grades, for one to be higher than the other.

Coincidentally, Feingold does about as well in his matchup with Michels at this point as Bush does against Kerry, although neither race is sewn up by any stretch of the imagination. Feingold is in somewhat better shape when it comes to the basic sense of whether an incumbent has done a good enough job to deserve a second term. Overall, just under half (47%) say they would like to see Feingold re-elected. One third (35%) would rather see someone else (not necessarily a specific person) in the Senate in his place. Potentially more disturbing for him is the fact that this margin has NOT been increasing over time, although as the accompanying chart shows there have not been huge shifts in either direction. (Opinion about Bush on the re-elect question has been hovering around an even split for months.

The race is still early, and not just by the measure that Feingold's just-identified challenger is known to less than half the electorate. Only one in six (16%) say they have so far been paying a lot of attention to the Senate candidates. Including those paying some still brings us to fewer than six voters in ten. (Attention is modestly higher among those inclined now to vote for Michels than those at least tentatively in the Feingold camp.) By contrast,

almost half (47%) have been paying a lot of attention to the presidential candidates, and adding in those paying some attention (37%) yields almost seven in eight.

Overall, when those who expressed a preference between Feingold and Michels were asked about the degree of support they had, just below two thirds (64%) for Feingold and just above that (71%) for Michels described themselves as strongly for their candidate as opposed to "not so strongly" for him.

When they were asked "are you more FOR your candidate, or more AGAINST the others" (emphasis in original), most chose the former. A positive stance was clearly more common in both camps than a negative one, but was slightly higher among those now backing Feingold than those in Michels column, at least for now.

At least three fourths of each camp said they were pretty sure to vote that way, while around one in five said they might change their minds. If anything Michels supporters are a bit stronger in this view. Again, though, it should be noted that whatever voters anticipate or don't anticipate, in many ways the campaign has just begun, and there is plenty of room for views of Michels, in particular, to shift a good deal as he gets better known.

#### A tale of two campaigns

As noted Wisconsin has BOTH a presidential and Senatorial contest this year. Particularly with the volume of political advertising around the presidency, this limits the amount of attention that can be paid to the Senate race, but there could be feedback between the campaigns, particularly where similar issues come up for discussion.

The dynamics of the two races are different, with the Democratic challenger in the presidential race better known than his Republican counterpart for the Senate. Bush seems to excite more passion (both in any event, right now, voters do not necessarily feel constrained to vote a straight ticket. Bush's margin over Kerry on this survey is about the same as Feingold's over Michels, which right favorably and unfavorably) than Feingold, but his opponent is more of an issue himself than Michels so far is.

The detailed tables following this summary show, among other things results for those currently favoring Bush or Kerry in the presidential race (among those who said they were at least "probably" going to vote) as well as those favoring Feingold or Michels. Right now, almost nine in ten (88%) of those in Michels' camp say they prefer Bush over Kerry, over against fewer than one in ten (8%) who prefer the challenger in both races. However, nearly one third (30%) of those now saying they prefer Feingold would prefer Bush over Kerry. Two thirds (67%) would vote a straight ticket. Looking at it the other way (that is senatorial preference compared for the two presidential camps) yields about the same results.

The campaigns are in different stages -- after all, the Kerry/Bush matchup has been clear for more than six months, while the Michels/Feingold one is brand new. There is plenty of room for people to change opinions (or especially in Michel's case to form them) between now and November 2. One final wild card could be what, if anything the presidential campaigns have to say about the Senate and whether the prospect of voting for a Republican incumbent for one post and a Democratic incumbent for another is a barrier or a positive attraction for some.

## Predisposition to Re-Elect Incumbents

|                             | <-----2004-----> |     |     |     |     | <--2003--> |     |
|-----------------------------|------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|------------|-----|
|                             | Sept             | Jun | Apr | Mar | Jan | Oct        | May |
| Like Feingold re-elected    |                  |     |     |     |     |            |     |
| LIKE TO SEE FEINGOLD        | 47%              | 50% | 50% | 51% | 52% | 50%        | 42% |
| LIKE SOMEONE ELSE           | 35               | 32  | 29  | 29  | 26  | 30         | 33  |
| DON'T KNOW                  | 17               | 17  | 21  | 19  | 22  | 20         | 24  |
| REFUSED                     | *                | 1   | *   | 1   | *   | *          | 1   |
| Like to see Bush re-elected |                  |     |     |     |     |            |     |
| LIKE TO SEE BUSH            | 49%              | 43% | 47% | 45% | 42% | 46%        | 52% |
| LIKE SOMEONE ELSE           | 46               | 51  | 48  | 50  | 49  | 45         | 43  |
| DON'T KNOW                  | 4                | 4   | 5   | 4   | 9   | 9          | 4   |
| REFUSED                     | 1                | 1   | 1   | 1   | *   | *          | 1   |

## Statewide Marginals and Percentages for Key Groups

What follows is the exact question wording for each of the items referred to in the release. (Order reflects the order of items on the original questionnaire, not the order of discussion above). The first six columns are based on eligible voters -- persons who either say they are currently registered to vote or have definite plans to register on or before election day in order to vote. The groups are the full set of such persons, men and women separately, and persons grouped by their self-described party identification. Following this are four columns which reflect persons who said -- after they had answered the political questions -- that they were either certain to cast a ballot or would probably vote this November. The groups under this heading are all such persons (claiming to be probable voters), those who said they were absolutely certain to vote, and those who expressed a preference, when pushed for either Bush or Kerry in the two person race, and for Feingold or Michels in the Senate.

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

|        | REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY |      |     |     |     |     | PROBABLE VOTERS |     |     |     |     |     |
|--------|------------------------|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
|        | TOT                    | M    | F   | D   | I   | R   | TOT             | CRT | GWB | JK  | RF  | TM  |
| MALE   | 48%                    | 100% | --% | 40% | 61% | 48% | 49%             | 50% | 52% | 47% | 52% | 52% |
| FEMALE | 52                     | --   | 100 | 60  | 39  | 52  | 51              | 50  | 48  | 53  | 48  | 48  |

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

|            | REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY |     |     |    |    |     | PROBABLE VOTERS |     |     |     |    |     |
|------------|------------------------|-----|-----|----|----|-----|-----------------|-----|-----|-----|----|-----|
|            | TOT                    | M   | F   | D  | I  | R   | TOT             | CRT | GWB | JK  | RF | TM  |
| EXCELLENT  | 18%                    | 20% | 17% | 1% | 9% | 43% | 19%             | 21% | 35% | --% | 4% | 41% |
| GOOD       | 33                     | 34  | 31  | 13 | 30 | 46  | 33              | 32  | 53  | 6   | 24 | 41  |
| FAIR       | 22                     | 22  | 23  | 28 | 31 | 9   | 21              | 18  | 12  | 32  | 29 | 12  |
| POOR       | 26                     | 24  | 27  | 58 | 28 | 1   | 26              | 28  | --  | 61  | 43 | 6   |
| DON'T KNOW | *                      | --  | 1   | -- | -- | 1   | *               | *   | *   | --  | *  | --  |
| REFUSED    | *                      | --  | 1   | *  | 1  | --  | 1               | 1   | --  | *   | *  | -   |

VOTE01. Up to now, how much attention have you paid to the candidates running for President in 2004? A lot, some, only a little, or none at all?

|               | REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY |     |     |     |     |     | PROBABLE VOTERS |     |     |     |     |     |
|---------------|------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
|               | TOT                    | M   | F   | D   | I   | R   | TOT             | CRT | GWB | JK  | RF  | TM  |
| A LOT         | 47%                    | 45% | 49% | 46% | 45% | 53% | 48%             | 52% | 50% | 46% | 44% | 56% |
| SOME          | 37                     | 41  | 34  | 38  | 39  | 39  | 38              | 37  | 39  | 37  | 40  | 34  |
| ONLY A LITTLE | 12                     | 11  | 12  | 13  | 12  | 6   | 10              | 7   | 8   | 13  | 12  | 7   |
| NONE AT ALL   | 4                      | 4   | 5   | 3   | 4   | 2   | 4               | 3   | 3   | 4   | 4   | 3   |
| DON'T KNOW    | --                     | --  | --  | --  | --  | --  | --              | --  | --  | --  | --  | --  |
| REFUSED       | --                     | --  | --  | --  | --  | --  | --              | --  | --  | --  | --  | --  |

VOTE03. I'm going to read you a list of people in public life. For each of them, please tell me if you have a favorable impression of them, an unfavorable impression, or don't know enough to make up your mind. George W. Bush

|                   | REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY |     |     |     |     |     | PROBABLE VOTERS |     |     |    |     |     |
|-------------------|------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----------------|-----|-----|----|-----|-----|
|                   | TOT                    | M   | F   | D   | I   | R   | TOT             | CRT | GWB | JK | RF  | TM  |
| FAVORABLE         | 54%                    | 56% | 53% | 15% | 47% | 93% | 55%             | 55% | 91% | 9% | 28% | 88% |
| UNFAVORABLE       | 38                     | 38  | 38  | 76  | 45  | 5   | 39              | 40  | 5   | 84 | 64  | 10  |
| DON'T KNOW ENOUGH | 5                      | 5   | 6   | 8   | 5   | 1   | 4               | 3   | 2   | 6  | 7   | 1   |
| DON'T KNOW        | 1                      | 1   | 2   | 1   | 2   | --  | 1               | 1   | *   | *  | *   | --  |
| REFUSED           | 1                      | 1   | 1   | 1   | 1   | 1   | 1               | 1   | 1   | 1  | 1   | 1   |

VOTE06. Russ Feingold (PROMPT FOR CATEGORIES AS NECESSARY)

|                   | REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY |     |     |     |     |     | PROBABLE VOTERS |     |     |     |     |     |
|-------------------|------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
|                   | TOT                    | M   | F   | D   | I   | R   | TOT             | CRT | GWB | JK  | RF  | TM  |
| FAVORABLE         | 46%                    | 49% | 43% | 64% | 59% | 24% | 47%             | 49% | 31% | 69% | 74% | 13% |
| UNFAVORABLE       | 25                     | 29  | 22  | 3   | 17  | 50  | 26              | 28  | 41  | 5   | 1   | 63  |
| DON'T KNOW ENOUGH | 27                     | 21  | 33  | 33  | 23  | 24  | 26              | 21  | 26  | 25  | 24  | 23  |
| DON'T KNOW        | 1                      | 1   | 1   | 1   | 1   | 2   | 1               | 1   | 1   | 2   | 1   | --  |
| REFUSED           | *                      | --  | *   | --  | --  | --  | *               | *   | --  | --  | --  | --  |

VOTE07. Herb Kohl (PROMPT FOR CATEGORIES AS NECESSARY)

|                   | REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY |     |     |     |     |     | PROBABLE VOTERS |     |     |     |     |     |
|-------------------|------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
|                   | TOT                    | M   | F   | D   | I   | R   | TOT             | CRT | GWB | JK  | RF  | TM  |
| FAVORABLE         | 47%                    | 47% | 48% | 63% | 51% | 31% | 48%             | 50% | 37% | 62% | 64% | 28% |
| UNFAVORABLE       | 21                     | 28  | 14  | 4   | 20  | 37  | 21              | 21  | 31  | 7   | 8   | 41  |
| DON'T KNOW ENOUGH | 31                     | 25  | 36  | 32  | 28  | 31  | 30              | 28  | 32  | 29  | 26  | 31  |
| DON'T KNOW        | 1                      | --  | 2   | 1   | 1   | 1   | 1               | 1   | *   | 2   | 1   | 1   |
| REFUSED           | *                      | --  | *   | --  | --  | --  | *               | *   | --  | --  | --  | --  |

VOTE12. John Kerry (PROMPT FOR CATEGORIES AS NECESSARY)

|                   | REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY |     |     |     |     |    | PROBABLE VOTERS |     |     |     |     |    |
|-------------------|------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|----|-----------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|----|
|                   | TOT                    | M   | F   | D   | I   | R  | TOT             | CRT | GWB | JK  | RF  | TM |
| FAVORABLE         | 36%                    | 33% | 40% | 79% | 30% | 7% | 36%             | 37% | 6%  | 79% | 58% | 9% |
| UNFAVORABLE       | 48                     | 51  | 45  | 8   | 45  | 85 | 49              | 50  | 83  | 4   | 22  | 83 |
| DON'T KNOW ENOUGH | 15                     | 15  | 14  | 13  | 24  | 8  | 14              | 12  | 11  | 17  | 19  | 7  |
| DON'T KNOW        | 1                      | 1   | 1   | --  | 1   | -- | *               | *   | --  | 1   | 1   | -- |
| REFUSED           | *                      | --  | 1   | --  | --  | -- | *               | *   | --  | --  | --  | 1  |

VOTE18. Tim Michels (MIKE-uls) (PROMPT FOR CATEGORIES AS NECESSARY)

|                   | REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY |     |     |    |     |     | PROBABLE VOTERS |     |     |     |     |     |
|-------------------|------------------------|-----|-----|----|-----|-----|-----------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
|                   | TOT                    | M   | F   | D  | I   | R   | TOT             | CRT | GWB | JK  | RF  | TM  |
| FAVORABLE         | 31%                    | 33% | 30% | 8% | 29% | 54% | 32%             | 35% | 47% | 11% | 11% | 61% |
| UNFAVORABLE       | 9                      | 10  | 8   | 16 | 5   | 5   | 9               | 11  | 4   | 17  | 14  | 3   |
| DON'T KNOW ENOUGH | 58                     | 56  | 60  | 74 | 63  | 41  | 57              | 53  | 48  | 69  | 73  | 36  |
| DON'T KNOW        | 2                      | 1   | 2   | 1  | 3   | --  | 2               | 1   | *   | 3   | 2   | --  |
| REFUSED           | *                      | --  | *   | -- | --  | --  | *               | *   | --  | --  | --  | --  |

GBRF2. (CONSTRUCTED ITEM) Comparison of Bush favorability to Feingold

|                 | REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY |     |     |    |     |     | PROBABLE VOTERS |     |     |    |     |     |
|-----------------|------------------------|-----|-----|----|-----|-----|-----------------|-----|-----|----|-----|-----|
|                 | TOT                    | M   | F   | D  | I   | R   | TOT             | CRT | GWB | JK | RF  | TM  |
| BUSH HIGHER     | 22%                    | 24% | 20% | *% | 14% | 47% | 23%             | 26% | 40% | 1% | --% | 57% |
| BOTH SAME       | 20                     | 24  | 17  | 8  | 28  | 25  | 20              | 19  | 28  | 9  | 21  | 17  |
| FEINGOLD HIGHER | 25                     | 26  | 25  | 55 | 27  | 2   | 26              | 30  | 3   | 59 | 48  | 2   |
| ONE/BOTH DK     | 32                     | 26  | 38  | 37 | 31  | 26  | 31              | 26  | 29  | 31 | 31  | 24  |

HKRF2. (CONSTRUCTED ITEM) Comparison of Kohl favorability to Feingold

|                 | REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY |    |    |    |    |     | PROBABLE VOTERS |     |     |    |    |     |
|-----------------|------------------------|----|----|----|----|-----|-----------------|-----|-----|----|----|-----|
|                 | TOT                    | M  | F  | D  | I  | R   | TOT             | CRT | GWB | JK | RF | TM  |
| KOHL HIGHER     | 7%                     | 6% | 7% | 1% | 4% | 12% | 7%              | 7%  | 10% | 1% | 1% | 15% |
| BOTH SAME       | 45                     | 51 | 40 | 51 | 47 | 43  | 46              | 50  | 41  | 51 | 53 | 41  |
| FEINGOLD HIGHER | 4                      | 6  | 2  | 1  | 7  | 5   | 4               | 4   | 5   | 3  | 6  | 2   |
| ONE/BOTH DK     | 44                     | 37 | 51 | 47 | 41 | 41  | 43              | 39  | 43  | 44 | 40 | 42  |

VOTE24. This November, the ballot for President will be George W. Bush as a Republican, John Kerry as a Democrat, and Ralph Nader as an Independent. As of now, which one, if any, do you plan to vote for?

|                    | REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY |     |     |    |     |     | PROBABLE VOTERS |     |     |     |     |     |
|--------------------|------------------------|-----|-----|----|-----|-----|-----------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
|                    | TOT                    | M   | F   | D  | I   | R   | TOT             | CRT | GWB | JK  | RF  | TM  |
| GEORGE W. BUSH     | 47%                    | 51% | 44% | 6% | 36% | 91% | 48%             | 50% | 89% | --% | 23% | 85% |
| JOHN KERRY         | 34                     | 31  | 37  | 79 | 29  | 4   | 35              | 34  | --  | 86  | 60  | 6   |
| RALPH NADER        | 3                      | 4   | 2   | 3  | 7   | 1   | 3               | 3   | 2   | 3   | 4   | 2   |
| NONE OF THEM       | 4                      | 5   | 3   | 1  | 11  | --  | 3               | 2   | 1   | 4   | 3   | 2   |
| INSISTS ON "OTHER" | *                      | --  | *   | -- | --  | --  | --              | --  | --  | --  | --  | --  |
| WILL NOT VOTE      | 1                      | *   | 2   | 1  | 2   | --  | --              | --  | --  | --  | --  | --  |
| DON'T KNOW         | 8                      | 7   | 9   | 7  | 14  | 2   | 8               | 8   | 6   | 5   | 9   | 3   |
| REFUSED            | 3                      | 2   | 5   | 3  | 1   | 2   | 3               | 4   | 2   | 2   | 2   | 2   |

VOTE25. If you had to make up your mind among these three, as of now who would you prefer?

|                    | REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY |     |     |     |     |     | PROBABLE VOTERS |     |     |     |     |     |
|--------------------|------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
|                    | TOT                    | M   | F   | D   | I   | R   | TOT             | CRT | GWB | JK  | RF  | TM  |
| NOT ASKED          | 84%                    | 86% | 82% | 88% | 72% | 96% | 86%             | 87% | 91% | 89% | 86% | 93% |
| GEORGE W. BUSH     | 5                      | 4   | 5   | 3   | 9   | 2   | 4               | 3   | 8   | --  | 4   | 3   |
| JOHN KERRY         | 4                      | 5   | 4   | 4   | 7   | 1   | 4               | 4   | --  | 9   | 6   | 1   |
| RALPH NADER        | 1                      | 1   | 2   | 1   | 4   | --  | 1               | 1   | 1   | 1   | 2   | *   |
| NONE OF THEM       | 1                      | 2   | 1   | --  | 4   | --  | 1               | *   | --  | --  | *   | 1   |
| INSISTS ON "OTHER" | *                      | --  | *   | --  | 1   | --  | *               | *   | --  | --  | --  | --  |
| DON'T KNOW         | 3                      | 2   | 3   | 4   | 2   | *   | 2               | 2   | *   | 1   | 1   | 1   |
| REFUSED            | 2                      | 1   | 2   | *   | 1   | 1   | 2               | 2   | --  | --  | --  | 1   |





BUSH06. As of now, do you think you would like to see President Bush reelected in 2004, or would you rather see someone else in the White House?

|                      | REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY |     |     |    |     |     | PROBABLE VOTERS |     |     |    |     |     |
|----------------------|------------------------|-----|-----|----|-----|-----|-----------------|-----|-----|----|-----|-----|
|                      | TOT                    | M   | F   | D  | I   | R   | TOT             | CRT | GWB | JK | RF  | TM  |
| LIKE BUSH RE-ELECTED | 49%                    | 51% | 47% | 9% | 37% | 93% | 49%             | 51% | 90% | 1% | 22% | 86% |
| LIKE SOMEONE ELSE    | 46                     | 46  | 47  | 88 | 57  | 6   | 46              | 44  | 8   | 97 | 74  | 12  |
| DON'T KNOW           | 4                      | 3   | 4   | 2  | 5   | 1   | 3               | 3   | 2   | 2  | 4   | 1   |
| REFUSED              | 1                      | --  | 2   | -- | 1   | *   | 1               | 1   | --  | -- | --  | 1   |

RATE04. How would you rate the job Herb Kohl is doing as US Senator from Wisconsin? (PROMPT FOR CATEGORIES AS NECESSARY)

|            | REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY |    |    |     |    |    | PROBABLE VOTERS |     |     |     |     |    |
|------------|------------------------|----|----|-----|----|----|-----------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|----|
|            | TOT                    | M  | F  | D   | I  | R  | TOT             | CRT | GWB | JK  | RF  | TM |
| EXCELLENT  | 8%                     | 8% | 8% | 15% | 8% | 3% | 9%              | 9%  | 4%  | 13% | 14% | 1% |
| GOOD       | 39                     | 36 | 42 | 45  | 46 | 29 | 39              | 38  | 35  | 46  | 49  | 26 |
| FAIR       | 30                     | 37 | 24 | 21  | 28 | 39 | 31              | 32  | 37  | 24  | 21  | 47 |
| POOR       | 6                      | 9  | 4  | 1   | 8  | 12 | 6               | 7   | 9   | 1   | 2   | 12 |
| DON'T KNOW | 15                     | 10 | 20 | 17  | 10 | 17 | 15              | 14  | 15  | 16  | 14  | 14 |
| REFUSED    | *                      | -- | 1  | 1   | -- | -- | *               | *   | --  | 1   | --  | -- |

RATE05. How about the job Russ Feingold is doing as US Senator from Wisconsin? (PROMPT FOR CATEGORIES AS NECESSARY).

|            | REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY |     |     |     |     |    | PROBABLE VOTERS |     |     |     |     |    |
|------------|------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|----|-----------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|----|
|            | TOT                    | M   | F   | D   | I   | R  | TOT             | CRT | GWB | JK  | RF  | TM |
| EXCELLENT  | 16%                    | 16% | 15% | 28% | 18% | 4% | 16%             | 19% | 6%  | 30% | 30% | 1% |
| GOOD       | 33                     | 32  | 34  | 38  | 43  | 22 | 33              | 31  | 27  | 41  | 48  | 12 |
| FAIR       | 24                     | 27  | 21  | 17  | 21  | 31 | 24              | 24  | 29  | 17  | 13  | 41 |
| POOR       | 14                     | 18  | 10  | 2   | 10  | 29 | 14              | 16  | 23  | 2   | *   | 35 |
| DON'T KNOW | 13                     | 7   | 18  | 14  | 8   | 14 | 12              | 11  | 13  | 10  | 9   | 11 |
| REFUSED    | *                      | --  | 1   | 1   | --  | -- | *               | *   | --  | 1   | --  | -- |

GBRF1. (CONSTRUCTED ITEM) Comparison of Bush rating with Feingold rating

|                 | REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY |     |     |    |     |     | PROBABLE VOTERS |     |     |    |    |     |
|-----------------|------------------------|-----|-----|----|-----|-----|-----------------|-----|-----|----|----|-----|
|                 | TOT                    | M   | F   | D  | I   | R   | TOT             | CRT | GWB | JK | RF | TM  |
| BUSH HIGHER     | 31%                    | 35% | 27% | 4% | 24% | 62% | 31%             | 34% | 56% | 1% | 5% | 69% |
| BOTH SAME       | 18                     | 19  | 17  | 11 | 16  | 19  | 17              | 15  | 21  | 10 | 20 | 14  |
| FEINGOLD HIGHER | 37                     | 39  | 36  | 70 | 51  | 5   | 38              | 39  | 9   | 78 | 66 | 5   |
| ONE/BOTH DK     | 14                     | 7   | 20  | 15 | 9   | 14  | 13              | 12  | 14  | 11 | 10 | 11  |

HKRF1. (CONSTRUCTED ITEM) Comparison of Kohl rating with Feingold rating

|                 | REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY |     |     |     |     |     | PROBABLE VOTERS |     |     |    |    |     |
|-----------------|------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----------------|-----|-----|----|----|-----|
|                 | TOT                    | M   | F   | D   | I   | R   | TOT             | CRT | GWB | JK | RF | TM  |
| KOHL HIGHER     | 17%                    | 19% | 14% | 10% | 16% | 25% | 17%             | 17% | 23% | 7% | 7% | 32% |
| BOTH SAME       | 46                     | 49  | 44  | 44  | 50  | 45  | 46              | 46  | 44  | 50 | 48 | 46  |
| FEINGOLD HIGHER | 16                     | 18  | 15  | 24  | 18  | 9   | 17              | 19  | 13  | 24 | 28 | 5   |
| ONE/BOTH DK     | 20                     | 14  | 26  | 21  | 15  | 21  | 20              | 18  | 20  | 19 | 18 | 17  |

FEING01. As of now, do you think you would like to see Senator Feingold re-elected in 2004, or would you rather see someone else in the Senate instead?

|                      | REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY |     |     |     |     |     | PROBABLE VOTERS |     |     |     |     |    |
|----------------------|------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|----|
|                      | TOT                    | M   | F   | D   | I   | R   | TOT             | CRT | GWB | JK  | RF  | TM |
| LIKE TO SEE FEINGOLD | 47%                    | 51% | 43% | 69% | 60% | 20% | 47%             | 47% | 28% | 73% | 80% | 7% |
| LIKE SOMEONE ELSE    | 35                     | 37  | 34  | 13  | 28  | 63  | 36              | 38  | 54  | 11  | 6   | 80 |
| DON'T KNOW           | 17                     | 13  | 22  | 17  | 12  | 17  | 17              | 15  | 18  | 15  | 15  | 13 |
| REFUSED              | *                      | --  | 1   | 1   | --  | *   | 1               | *   | --  | 1   | --  | -- |

SEN01. Up to now, how much attention have you paid to the candidates running for US Senator from Wisconsin this year? A lot, some, only a little, or none at all?

|               | REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY |     |     |     |    |     | PROBABLE VOTERS |     |     |     |     |     |
|---------------|------------------------|-----|-----|-----|----|-----|-----------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
|               | TOT                    | M   | F   | D   | I  | R   | TOT             | CRT | GWB | JK  | RF  | TM  |
| A LOT         | 16%                    | 18% | 14% | 17% | 9% | 22% | 17%             | 19% | 18% | 17% | 13% | 23% |
| SOME          | 41                     | 39  | 43  | 28  | 53 | 45  | 42              | 44  | 44  | 36  | 41  | 45  |
| ONLY A LITTLE | 31                     | 34  | 29  | 42  | 31 | 23  | 31              | 28  | 26  | 37  | 38  | 22  |
| NONE AT ALL   | 12                     | 9   | 14  | 12  | 8  | 10  | 11              | 9   | 12  | 9   | 8   | 10  |
| DON'T KNOW    | *                      | --  | *   | *   | -- | --  | *               | *   | --  | *   | *   | --  |
| REFUSED       | --                     | --  | --  | --  | -- | --  | --              | --  | --  | --  | --  | --  |

SEN06. This November, the ballot for Senate will be Russ Feingold as a Democrat and Tim Michels as a Republican. As of now, which one, if either, do you plan to vote for?

|                        | REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY |     |     |     |     |     | PROBABLE VOTERS |     |     |     |     |     |
|------------------------|------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
|                        | TOT                    | M   | F   | D   | I   | R   | TOT             | CRT | GWB | JK  | RF  | TM  |
| FEINGOLD               | 47%                    | 51% | 43% | 84% | 57% | 13% | 47%             | 48% | 23% | 82% | 90% | --% |
| MICHELS                | 33                     | 33  | 33  | 6   | 21  | 67  | 34              | 35  | 55  | 7   | --  | 86  |
| NEITHER                | 1                      | 2   | 1   | --  | 2   | 1   | 1               | *   | *   | 1   | 1   | 1   |
| INSISTS ON "OTHER"     | *                      | 1   | --  | --  | 1   | --  | *               | *   | *   | --  | --  | 1   |
| WILL NOT VOTE FOR SEN. | 2                      | 2   | 3   | 2   | 2   | 1   | 1               | *   | 1   | 1   | *   | 1   |
| DON'T KNOW             | 15                     | 12  | 18  | 6   | 17  | 18  | 15              | 15  | 20  | 8   | 9   | 11  |
| REFUSED                | 1                      | *   | 2   | 1   | 1   | 1   | 1               | 1   | --  | 1   | --  | --  |

SEN07. If you had to make up your mind between these two, as of now, who would you prefer?

|                        | REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY |     |     |     |     |     | PROBABLE VOTERS |     |     |     |     |     |
|------------------------|------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
|                        | TOT                    | M   | F   | D   | I   | R   | TOT             | CRT | GWB | JK  | RF  | TM  |
| NOT ASKED              | 80%                    | 84% | 76% | 90% | 78% | 80% | 81%             | 83% | 78% | 89% | 90% | 86% |
| FEINGOLD               | 6                      | 5   | 7   | 4   | 7   | 4   | 5               | 5   | 6   | 5   | 10  | --  |
| MICHELS                | 5                      | 7   | 3   | 1   | 3   | 9   | 5               | 5   | 8   | 1   | --  | 14  |
| INSISTS ON "OTHER"     | --                     | --  | --  | --  | --  | --  | --              | --  | --  | --  | --  | --  |
| WILL NOT VOTE FOR SEN. | *                      | --  | 1   | --  | 1   | --  | *               | --  | --  | --  | --  | --  |
| DON'T KNOW             | 8                      | 4   | 11  | 4   | 10  | 6   | 7               | 6   | 8   | 4   | --  | --  |
| REFUSED                | 1                      | *   | 2   | 1   | 1   | 1   | 1               | 1   | --  | 1   | --  | --  |



QD03A. Do you have definite plans to register on or before November 2 so you can vote in this year's election?

|            | REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY |     |     |     |     |     | PROBABLE VOTERS |     |     |     |     |     |
|------------|------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
|            | TOT                    | M   | F   | D   | I   | R   | TOT             | CRT | GWB | JK  | RF  | TM  |
| NOT ASKED  | 93%                    | 94% | 92% | 90% | 94% | 94% | 92%             | 96% | 93% | 91% | 91% | 94% |
| YES        | 7                      | 6   | 8   | 10  | 6   | 6   | 7               | 3   | 6   | 8   | 8   | 5   |
| NO         | --                     | --  | --  | --  | --  | --  | *               | --  | *   | --  | --  | --  |
| DON'T KNOW | --                     | --  | --  | --  | --  | --  | 1               | *   | --  | 1   | 1   | --  |
| REFUSED    | --                     | --  | --  | --  | --  | --  | *               | *   | *   | --  | --  | 1   |

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

|             | REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY |     |     |      |     |     | PROBABLE VOTERS |     |     |     |     |    |
|-------------|------------------------|-----|-----|------|-----|-----|-----------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|----|
|             | TOT                    | M   | F   | D    | I   | R   | TOT             | CRT | GWB | JK  | RF  | TM |
| DEMOCRAT    | 29%                    | 24% | 33% | 100% | --% | --% | 28%             | 28% | 5%  | 60% | 48% | 5% |
| REPUBLICAN  | 36                     | 36  | 36  | --   | --  | 100 | 37              | 40  | 63  | 5   | 12  | 73 |
| INDEPENDENT | 25                     | 32  | 19  | --   | 100 | --  | 25              | 23  | 23  | 26  | 31  | 16 |
| OTHER       | 8                      | 8   | 8   | --   | --  | --  | 8               | 7   | 7   | 8   | 7   | 5  |
| NONE        | 1                      | 1   | 2   | --   | --  | --  | 1               | 1   | 2   | 1   | 2   | -- |
| DON'T KNOW  | *                      | --  | 1   | --   | --  | --  | --              | --  | --  | --  | --  | -- |
| REFUSED     | 1                      | --  | 2   | --   | --  | --  | 1               | 1   | *   | *   | *   | 1  |

\* 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 508 randomly chosen state residents were interviewed for this survey by telephone between September 15, the day after the Senatorial primary, and September 21, inclusive, of these 485 either were registered to vote or said they had definite plans to register so they could vote in the election on November 2. Some 468 also said they would either certainly or probably actually cast ballots. 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 potential voter 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".