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IRAQ AND THE CAMPAIGN
by G. Donald Ferree, Jr.

The job ratings Bush receives for his handling of Iraq are modest, and fall between those he receives for two other areas -- dealing with terrorism and handling the economy. Overall, just over four in ten Wisconsin residents rate his job in Iraq as excellent (18%) or good (25%) while just over half feel that either fair (22%) or good (34%) is more like it.

As may be seen in the detailed tables following this summary, women as a group are almost ten points less likely to assign the President a high grade in this area than are men as a group. There is also a strong partisan cast to these views. Nearly nine Democrats in ten go no higher than "fair", while almost eight in ten Republicans grade Bush good or higher. There is also a relationship between intended vote (among those registered or planning to register so they can cast a ballot). Three fourths of those backing Bush at the moment think he is doing a good or excellent job in Iraq, contrasted with the almost nine in ten Kerry backers who give him fair or poor marks. Indeed, seven in ten of this group rate Bush's handling of Iraq as poor.

As noted, ratings of how well Bush is handling the economy tend to be lower than views of his performance in Iraq. Just under four in ten call the former excellent (8%) or good (29%). Two thirds call it fair (28%) or poor (35%). Men and women differ less as groups, but partisan patterns are at least as strong as is the split between the candidate coalitions.

When it comes to terrorism as such, Bush does better. There six in ten rate him either excellent (25%) or good (35%) contrasted with about four in ten who choose one of the lower ratings of fair (20%) or poor (18%). The sharp drop off in the proportion labeling him as poor, in distinction with the other areas is noteworthy. Men are more positive than women as a group, the partisan patterns repeat (but from a more positive base. Nearly half of those now backing Bush rate him excellent in dealing with terror and nine in ten rate him at least good, three times as many as the proportion among Kerry backers who rate him that well.

At the individual level, just over six in ten rate the President identically on Iraq and overall. Those who differentiate break about two to one toward giving him a higher overall rating than for Iraq specifically. This pattern is even more evident on the economy, where four in ten give him different grades overall and on Iraq, but the lion's share of this group rates him higher on the

economy than overall. By contrast, if there is a difference, residents tend to rate Bush better on terrorism than on his handling of his job as President.

Comparisons of the ratings individuals give Bush on the specific areas show that while more than half assign him the same grade on Iraq and the economy, but if there is a difference, residents are about half again as likely to rate Iraq better than the economy than vice versa. The distinction is stronger for terrorism. While a slightly larger proportion grades Bush the same in the two areas, where there is a distinction individuals almost always say he is doing better against terrorism in general than in dealing with Iraq.

Bush's current ratings are in the same ballpark as he has been in for time. September's numbers are very modestly higher than we found on the last survey in June, but the poll to poll shift is quite small and could easily reflect random fluctuation due to sampling rather than any systematic change. On balance, he is now quite close to where he was in April, although there is some tendency for opinion to be more polarized, that is for excellent and poor ratings to be relatively more common and good and fair ratings to be less so.

Overall Presidential Rating
Polls from March 2002 to September 2004

	<-----2004----->					<-----2003----->							<---2002--->			
	SPT	JUN	APR	MAR	JAN	DEC	OCT	AUG	MAY	APR	MAR	FEB	JAN	SPT	JUN	MAR
Overall																
Exc	18%	14%	15%	16%	11%	17%	15%	14%	27%	31%	18%	19%	16%	19%	25%	28%
Good	32	33	35	30	37	35	35	38	35	38	35	39	38	45	44	40
Fair	22	27	25	24	28	26	27	28	24	21	30	25	29	23	22	22
Poor	26	25	23	30	22	19	21	19	13	10	16	16	14	12	8	7

Ratings for dealing with the economy are quite close now to what they were in June. Indeed, perceptions of Bush's performance in this area have simply not moved much over the last year or so. Both dealing with terrorism and handling Iraq have tended to move more from one poll to the next. Their current readings are up a bit from June, which in turn was down slightly from April and March. One should note that dealing with Iraq has consistently been less well evaluated than the general battle with terrorism, with the exception of the aftermath of Baghdad's fall.

While there clearly is a good deal of discontent with what is going on in Iraq, the public has most definitely NOT turned against the war in a wholesale way. Just under two thirds say they believe "the United States originally did the right thing in threatening war if Saddam Hussein refused to give up any weapons of mass destruction he might have had". Just under one in three demur. Democrats are much more split than Republicans, as are Kerry backers compared to Bush supporters, which pattern poses problems for the challenger in taking a position which will energize most of his supporters without alienating a large group.

Similarly, by a three to two margin (58%-36%), Wisconsin residents overall, when reminded both of the UN resolutions against Hussein and the failure to secure a final resolution explicitly authorizing war, nonetheless say they support the decision of the US (and some other countries) to go to war. Roughly one in four Democrats, and the same proportion of Kerry backers still back the

Job Ratings on Specific Areas

	<-----2004----->					<-----2003----->					2002			
	SEP	JUN	APR	MAR	JAN	DEC	OCT	AUG	MAY	APR	MAR	FEB	JAN	SEP
Dealing with the economy														
EXC	8%	7%	5%	6%	6%	12%	5%	3%	4%	7%	5%	4%	4%	6%
GOOD	29	26	24	23	23	28	23	23	34	32	22	26	23	30
FAIR	28	31	35	32	31	34	34	38	30	32	39	38	38	36
POOR	35	34	34	38	39	25	38	35	30	28	32	31	31	25
Dealing with terrorism														
EXC	25%	17%	22%	23%	18%	22%	19%	17%	29%	34%	20%	20%	18%	32%
GOOD	35	37	37	32	35	37	36	42	41	44	46	43	42	40
FAIR	20	24	25	23	27	24	25	23	23	14	25	23	26	17
POOR	18	21	14	20	19	15	18	16	8	7	9	13	12	11
Dealing with Iraq														
EXC	18%	12%	16%	22%	12%	18%	14%	15%	30%	40%	18%	19%	11%	22%
GOOD	25	27	30	24	27	30	31	32	32	35	31	30	31	30
FAIR	22	22	21	24	27	24	24	24	22	13	26	25	28	23
POOR	34	38	32	28	33	27	30	27	13	10	23	24	26	20

Note: Don't Know and Refused omitted for space

decision to go to war.

Looking back at the original policy of threatening force unless Iraq demonstrably fully dismantled any WMD programs (which presupposed they existed), the present balance of opinion resembles what we were finding prior to June of 2004. There had been a slow decline from the period immediately after the end of large scale offensive operations. Support for the idea of the US (and some other countries) acting in the absence of an explicit UN endorsement has tended to be pretty stable, once one moves past Spring of 2004. It is now, and has been, pretty much where it was prior to the outbreak of hostilities.

Iraq Questions from Twelve Surveys

	<-----2004----->					<-----2003----->								
	SEP	JUN	APR	MAR	JAN	DEC	OCT	AUG	MAY	APR	MAR	FEB		
Original threat of war														
YES, DID RIGHT THING			64%	58%	63%	65%	64%	65%	65%	70%	78%	80%	65%	65%
NO, DID NOT			31	35	30	30	28	26	30	26	18	16	26	26
ONLY WITH OTHERS (VOL)			1	--	2	1	1	*	1	*	1	*	1	1
Support US action alone w/o UN														
YES			58%	54%	57%	59%	57%	62%	62%	61%	71%	75%	61%	58%
NO			36	40	35	35	35	31	32	34	25	19	31	32

Note: wording changes, primarily tense, to deal with outbreak of war between 3/03 and 4/03 surveys. Don't know and Refused omitted.

Part of this is that the public has not fully discounted the ULTIMATE threat from Iraq. Six in ten say that -- had we not gone to war -- it is very likely (27%) or somewhat likely (33%) that we would eventually have been attacked with Iraqi weapons of mass destruction. Democrats and Kerry backers are less likely to feel this way than Independents or Bush backers, but the sentiment is not altogether missing there.

The situation is complicated when it comes to the impact of the war on terrorism. "In the long run", the largest group (42%) feels that the US decision to attack Iraq will reduce the risk of terrorism in the world. Two thirds as many (27%) think it will increase, and about the same size group (27%) believes it will not make that much difference. Democrats tend on balance to see this risk being increased, Independents split, Republicans are strongly optimistic. This is also an area where the candidate coalitions differ. More than half of Kerry backers think the long run risks of terror will be increased, seven in ten of those backing Bush think they will be reduced.

The public has tended to be rather divided on the question of the ultimate threat from Iraq, had we not gone to war. Changes over the past few months have been quite small, but there has been some lessening since before and during the war proper when expectations that there were large stockpiles of WMD were more widespread. Opinion on the impact of the war on the long term of terrorism has likewise been divided. The short term trend is an increase of optimism compared to June, which was the first time since before the war that more people expected an increase than a decrease. But this has tended to bounce a bit more.

Trend from March 2003

	<-----2004----->					<-----2003----->					
	SEP	JUN	APR	MAR	JAN	DEC	OCT	AUG	MAY	APR	MAR
Use of WMD against US w/o war											
VERY LIKELY	27%	28%	24%	29%	18%	30%	32%	31%	40%	42%	34%
SOMEWHAT LIKELY	33	33	35	26	34	31	33	31	32	32	33
NOT VERY LIKELY	20	20	24	27	26	23	22	24	19	17	23
NOT LIKELY AT ALL	18	18	15	16	20	13	13	12	8	8	8
Long-term impact of war											
INCREASED TERROR RISK	27%	38%	29%	29%	25%	27%	25%	33%	24%	25%	42%
DECREASED TERROR RISK	42	33	41	39	40	37	39	35	44	46	27
NOT MUCH DIFFERENCE	27	26	27	28	32	32	32	29	31	27	28

Note: wording changes, primarily tense, to deal with outbreak of war between 3/03 and 4/03 surveys. Don't know and Refused omitted.

Assessments of the war are mixed. Overall, one in three now calls it a complete success (2%) or mostly a success (29%). The largest group (39%) says it is only partly a success. One in five call it mostly (19%) or completely (9%) a failure. More than half of all Democrats, and almost two thirds of Kerry backers call the war at least mostly a failure, however. Republicans strongly avoid characterizing the war as a failure.

Perhaps a striking finding is that there remains widespread that the Iraqis at least used to have WMD. Respondents were reminded that no evidence of WMD had yet been found and were asked what they considered the best explanation. One in four (27%) said the US was wrong about Iraq having such weapons, one in

ten felt they had existed but had been destroyed secretly. But more than half (53%) say "they remain hidden somewhere.

As might be expected, belief that WMD still exist was strongest (two in three) among Republicans, with about half of Independents and four in the Democrats agreeing. The distinction is especially strong along lines of candidate support, with more than half of Kerry supporters saying the US had been wrong, and two thirds of those backing Bush believing in the continued existence of these weapons.

Asked to imagine that the government had originally thought that Iraq no longer had WMD, the public splits (34%-38%) on whether "it was a good idea to go to war with Iraq for other reasons". One in four (26%) said they had no opinion. On balance, Republicans think it was a good idea, Democrats at least as strongly think it was a bad idea. Independents come down on the bad idea side, but more narrowly than either partisan group. The candidate coalitions look roughly like their party bases, with similarly one-sided margins in opposite directions from one another.

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	<-----2004----->					<-----2003----->					
	SEP	JUN	APR	MAR	JAN	DEC	OCT	AUG	MAY	APR	MAR
Use of WMD against US w/o war											
VERY LIKELY	27%	28%	24%	29%	18%	30%	32%	31%	40%	42%	34%
SOMEWHAT LIKELY	33	33	35	26	34	31	33	31	32	32	33
NOT VERY LIKELY	20	20	24	27	26	23	22	24	19	17	23
NOT LIKELY AT ALL	18	18	15	16	20	13	13	12	8	8	8
Long-term impact of war											
INCREASED TERROR RISK	27%	38%	29%	29%	25%	27%	25%	33%	24%	25%	42%
DECREASED TERROR RISK	42	33	41	39	40	37	39	35	44	46	27
NOT MUCH DIFFERENCE	27	26	27	28	32	32	32	29	31	27	28

Note: wording changes, primarily tense, to deal with outbreak of war between 3/03 and 4/03 surveys. Don't know and Refused omitted.

Even as there is growing consensus among experts, if not necessarily the public at large, that Iraqi WMD was not a current threat (because they apparently did not exist), this leaves open the question whether the war was objectively justified in general -- about which as we have seen there is substantial sentiment on either side -- and whether or not the Administration misled the public specifically. To get to the heart of this concern, one question reminded respondents that "before the start of the war, President Bush said that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction which would pose a real threat to the US" and then asked, "do you think he believed at the time this was true".

Overall, three respondents in four (76%) said he did, which may leave the President vulnerable on a charge of being misinformed, but should protect him from the consequences were he to be seen as lying -- a charge Kerry has not directly made, but some of his supporters have. One in five (19%) do not believe Bush believed the arguments he was making.

Sentiment that the President was telling the truth as he saw it increases as one moves across the partisan spectrum. But, just over half of all Democrats, and the same proportion among Kerry backers believes Bush was telling the truth, while just under four in ten in these most critical groups think he was deliberately misleading the public.

On the one hand, this suggests that the Democrats need to be careful of accusing Bush of deliberate falsehood in this matter. But it also suggests that if something were to convince many people that the President did misrepresent the Iraqi situation on purpose, there could be major political consequences.

Overall assessments of the success of the war have moved around in a narrow range once the initial military victory was not followed up by sudden pacification. Since that time, the proportion calling it mostly or completely a success has moved in a range from the high 30's (mostly earlier) to the low 30's (mostly recently). There has been a similar (reversed) pattern in the proportion labeling it mostly or completely a failure. This position, however, remains a clearly minority one.

Consistently, at least half of the respondents have said they believe that WMD continue to exist but are hidden. This has tended to move in a narrow range, with one exception, since the beginning of this year. Current results are close to both June and April, but mean that only about one resident in four believes now that the fundamental US assumption about these weapons was wrong from the start.

Ever since May of 2003, opinion has been pretty closely divided on whether the war was a good idea in the absence of WMD. Only once, in June, did those who thought it a bad idea outnumber those who believed it was still a good idea by more than a few percentage points. That means that September looks more pro-Bush than June, but the former seems to stick out as an especially weak sounding for the President.

Views on whether or not President Bush believed the rationale for the war he was using in the spring of 2003 -- that the Iraqis had WMD and that the threat of their being used or given to terrorists was imminent -- have been remarkably stable across the four surveys where the question has now appeared. Clearly the public differentiates between the accuracy of those statements, about which other answers demonstrate a considerable doubt, and the honesty of the President in making his case. "Mistaken but honest in his mistake" might best sum it up, and the stability of this sentiment is quite remarkable.

Three final questions on this topic asked respondents to imagine how things might have been different in the war on terror and the conflict with Iraq if John Kerry had been president. These perceptions could be crucial as those who question Bush's policy ask themselves if the challenger could be counted on to be different.

Specifically, respondents were asked whether "if John Kerry had been President instead of George W. Bush, do you think the US would have gone to war in Afghanistan, or do you think the Taliban would still be in power there". The short answer is that the public is not clear. Overall, half (48%) believe we

Looking Back at War

	<-----2004----->					<-----2003----->			
	SEP	JUN	APR	MAR	JAN	DEC	OCT	AUG	MAY
Assessment of war									
COMPLETE SUCCESS	2%	1%	2%	5%	4%	2%	4%	3%	9%
MOSTLY A SUCCESS	29	25	29	34	33	35	32	35	52
ONLY PARTLY A SUCCESS	39	44	46	39	42	38	45	43	29
MOSTLY A FAILURE	19	21	14	14	14	15	14	13	6
A COMPLETE FAILURE	9	6	7	7	5	7	1	3	1
Why no WMD found									
US WAS WRONG	27%	26%	24%	23%	29	18%	17%	17%	10%
IRAQIS DESTROYED	11	13	15	11	15	17	16	14	14
IRAQIS HID THEM	53	54	52	53	45	54	60	61	66
If US thought no WMD									
GOOD IDEA ANYWAY	34%	32%	34%	40%	39%	36%	38%	35%	47%
BAD IDEA	38	43	37	36	39	35	33	37	26
DON'T HAVE OPINION	26	24	27	22	19	26	27	28	25
Did Bush believe WMD threat									
YES	76%	76%	76%	73%					
NO	19	19	18	22					

Note: Answers such as Don't know and Refused omitted

would not have gone to war and the Taliban would still be in power, but three in ten (29%) believe we would have gone to war under Kerry. Democrats narrowly think the US would have gone into Afghanistan under a President Kerry, while Republicans more onesidedly think we would not. Independents feel we would not have gone in by about the same margin that Democrats doubt it. This is generally mirrored in the coalitions. In any event, it means the public is on balance unclear on a policy question where Kerry has essentially said he would have waged war in Afghanistan and indeed has criticized Bush for letting that war, in his view take a back seat.

What about Iraq? Here there is more clarity, if not necessarily accuracy. By almost five to one (71%-15%) the Wisconsin public says we would not have gone to war in Iraq under Kerry and that Saddam Hussein would still be in power. Partisan differences are relatively small, though Republicans take this position somewhat more onesidedly than do Democrats. Differences between the coalitions are quite modest. Granted that there is a fair amount of pro-war sentiment among potential Kerry supporters, this could be a problem.

Another key question has been the level of international support or lack of it for what has been US policy. Here, too, there is evidence that the Kerry campaign has had trouble giving Wisconsinites a clear picture. When they were asked about the amount of international support Kerry would have been able to secure, the largest group (43%) thought he would have done about the same as Bush. Moreover, those who perceived a difference between the two men were evenly split (24%-27%) on whether Kerry would have been able to get more or less support.

These overall results conceal quite a partisan split. While around one third to four in ten of each partisan group thinks Kerry would have done about what

Bush has, about half of Democrats think Kerry would have done better, and about half of Republicans think he would have done worse. Independents tended, if they saw a difference (fewer than half did), to think Kerry would have secured more international backing. In any event, the Kerry campaign would probably dearly like these numbers to change towards conviction that there would be more international backing for Kerry.

Overall then, the public's views on Iraq continue to be mixed. There is criticism of Bush's performance, though it is better than on the economy and worse than on terror. But there continues to be backing for much of the administration's rationale for getting into Iraq, and doubts that Kerry would have handled the situation any better. Changes in sentiment -- clearer rejection of the war, belief that Bush misled the public, or conviction that Kerry would have pursued a policy more to the liking of citizens -- could be a big plus for Kerry. Its absence leaves an advantage in this area to the incumbent.

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 the complete sample of Wisconsin residents, regardless of their registration status or intention to vote. These are next repeated for those persons who said they either were 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 persons, men and women separately, and persons grouped by their self-described party identification. Following this are two columns showing those who both said they were probably or certainly actually going to vote and expressed a preference between Bush and Kerry.

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

	<----ALL RESIDENTS----->						<----REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY---->							
	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	GWB	JK
MALE	49%	100%	--%	41%	62%	49%	48%	100%	--%	40%	61%	48%	52%	47%
FEMALE	51	--	100	59	38	51	52	--	100	60	39	52	48	53

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

	<----ALL RESIDENTS----->						<----REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY---->							
	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	GWB	JK
EXCELLENT	18%	20%	16%	1%	9%	43%	18%	20%	17%	1%	9%	43%	35%	--%
GOOD	32	33	31	13	29	46	33	34	31	13	30	46	53	6
FAIR	22	22	23	28	31	9	22	22	23	28	31	9	12	32
POOR	26	25	28	58	29	1	26	24	27	58	28	1	--	61
DON'T KNOW	1	--	1	--	--	1	*	--	1	--	--	1	*	--
REFUSED	1	--	1	*	2	--	*	--	1	*	1	--	--	*

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?

	<----ALL RESIDENTS----->						<----REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY---->							
	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	GWB	JK
GEORGE W. BUSH	46%	49%	43%	6%	35%	91%	47%	51%	44%	6%	36%	91%	89%	--%
JOHN KERRY	34	32	37	79	29	4	34	31	37	79	29	4	--	86
RALPH NADER	3	4	2	3	6	1	3	4	2	3	7	1	2	3
NONE OF THEM	4	5	3	1	11	*	4	5	3	1	11	--	1	4
INSISTS ON "OTHER"	*	--	*	--	--	--	*	--	*	--	--	--	--	--
WILL NOT VOTE	2	1	2	2	4	--	1	*	2	1	2	--	--	--
DON'T KNOW	8	7	9	7	14	2	8	7	9	7	14	2	6	5
REFUSED	3	2	5	3	1	2	3	2	5	3	1	2	2	2

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

	<----ALL RESIDENTS----->						<----REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY---->							
	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	GWB	JK
NOT ASKED	83%	85%	81%	87%	70%	96%	84%	86%	82%	88%	72%	96%	91%	89%
GEORGE W. BUSH	5	4	5	3	9	2	5	4	5	3	9	2	8	--
JOHN KERRY	4	5	4	4	7	1	4	5	4	4	7	1	--	9
RALPH NADER	2	2	1	1	4	*	1	1	2	1	4	--	1	1
NONE OF THEM	2	3	1	1	4	--	1	2	1	--	4	--	--	--
INSISTS ON "OTHER"	*	--	*	--	1	--	*	--	*	--	1	--	--	--
DON'T KNOW	3	2	4	4	3	*	3	2	3	4	2	*	*	1
REFUSED	1	1	2	*	1	1	2	1	2	*	1	1	--	--

VOTE26. Suppose you were choosing just between Bush and Kerry? Which would you prefer?

	<----ALL RESIDENTS----->						<----REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY---->							
	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	GWB	JK
NOT ASKED	89%	90%	89%	91%	81%	98%	90%	91%	89%	92%	81%	98%	97%	95%
GEORGE W. BUSH	2	3	2	3	4	*	2	2	2	3	4	--	3	--
JOHN KERRY	2	3	1	1	6	1	2	3	1	1	6	1	--	5
NONE OF THEM	2	3	1	--	6	--	2	2	1	--	5	--	--	--
INSISTS ON "OTHER"	*	--	*	--	1	--	*	--	*	--	1	--	--	--
DON'T KNOW	3	1	4	4	2	*	2	1	3	4	2	*	--	--
REFUSED	2	1	3	1	1	1	2	1	3	1	1	1	--	--

PUSH3WAY. (CONSTRUCTED ITEM FROM VOTE24, VOTE25) ADDING IN LEANERS If you had to make up your mind among these three, as of now

	<----ALL RESIDENTS----->						<----REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY---->							
	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	GWB	JK
GEORGE W. BUSH	51%	53%	48%	8%	44%	93%	52%	55%	49%	8%	45%	93%	97%	--%
JOHN KERRY	38	36	40	83	36	5	38	35	40	83	36	5	--	95
RALPH NADER	4	5	3	3	10	1	4	5	3	4	10	1	3	4
NONE OF THEM	2	3	1	1	4	--	1	2	1	--	4	--	--	--
INSISTS ON "OTHER"	*	--	*	--	1	--	*	--	*	--	1	--	--	--
DON'T KNOW	3	2	4	4	3	*	3	2	3	4	2	*	*	1
REFUSED	1	1	2	*	1	1	2	1	2	*	1	1	--	--

PUSH2WAY. (CONSTRUCTED ITEM, COMBINING VOTE24-25) Choice between Bush and Kerry

	<-----ALL RESIDENTS----->						<-----REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY---->							
	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	GWB	JK
GEORGE W. BUSH	53%	56%	50%	11%	48%	93%	54%	57%	51%	11%	49%	93%	100%	--%
JOHN KERRY	41	39	42	84	42	6	40	38	42	84	42	6	--	100
NONE OF THEM	2	3	1	--	6	--	2	2	1	--	5	--	--	--
INSISTS ON "OTHER"	*	--	*	--	1	--	*	--	*	--	1	--	--	--
DON'T KNOW	3	1	4	4	2	*	2	1	3	4	2	*	--	--
REFUSED	2	1	3	1	1	1	2	1	3	1	1	1	--	--

GWB06. How would you rate the job George W. Bush is doing handling the economy?
(PROMPT FOR CATEGORIES AS NECESSARY)

	<-----ALL RESIDENTS----->						<-----REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY---->							
	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	GWB	JK
EXCELLENT	8%	11%	5%	1%	3%	21%	8%	11%	5%	1%	3%	20%	16%	--%
GOOD	29	27	31	2	24	56	30	28	32	3	24	57	53	3
FAIR	28	26	29	30	29	19	27	25	29	29	28	19	25	23
POOR	35	36	33	66	44	4	34	35	33	67	44	4	5	74
DON'T KNOW	*	--	*	*	--	--	*	--	*	*	--	--	--	--
REFUSED	*	--	1	--	1	--	*	--	1	--	1	--	--	--

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

	<-----ALL RESIDENTS----->						<-----REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY---->							
	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	GWB	JK
EXCELLENT	25%	33%	19%	5%	19%	50%	26%	33%	19%	5%	20%	50%	47%	3%
GOOD	35	34	36	27	35	40	36	35	36	28	35	40	44	27
FAIR	20	17	23	35	22	7	20	16	23	32	23	7	8	33
POOR	18	16	20	30	23	2	17	15	20	31	22	2	1	37
DON'T KNOW	1	*	2	2	--	1	1	*	2	3	--	1	*	1
REFUSED	*	--	*	--	--	--	*	--	*	--	--	--	--	--

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

	<-----ALL RESIDENTS----->						<-----REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY---->							
	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	GWB	JK
EXCELLENT	18%	22%	14%	3%	9%	41%	19%	23%	15%	3%	10%	41%	35%	1%
GOOD	25	25	24	7	29	36	25	26	24	7	29	37	39	9
FAIR	22	19	25	22	22	18	22	18	25	22	23	17	23	17
POOR	34	33	34	66	39	5	33	32	33	65	38	5	2	71
DON'T KNOW	1	1	2	3	--	--	1	1	2	3	--	--	*	2
REFUSED	*	--	1	1	--	--	*	--	1	1	--	--	--	1

GWBX3. (CONSTRUCTED ITEM) Comparison of overall rating with handling economy

	<-----ALL RESIDENTS----->						<-----REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY---->							
	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	GWB	JK
OVERALL HIGHER	34%	36%	32%	22%	37%	41%	34%	36%	32%	22%	38%	42%	44%	21%
BOTH SAME	58	58	58	70	56	52	58	58	59	70	55	52	50	71
ECONOMY HIGHER	6	6	7	8	6	6	6	6	7	8	6	6	5	8
ONE/BOTH DK	1	--	3	1	2	1	1	--	2	1	1	1	*	*

GWBX4. (CONSTRUCTED ITEM) Comparison of overall rating with dealing with terrorism

	<-----ALL RESIDENTS----->						<-----REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY----->							
	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	GWB	JK
OVERALL HIGHER	8%	6%	11%	5%	8%	8%	8%	5%	11%	5%	9%	8%	8%	5%
BOTH SAME	60	60	61	49	55	76	61	61	61	50	55	76	70	51
TERRORISM HIGHER	29	34	25	43	35	15	29	34	24	43	35	15	22	43
ONE/BOTH DK	2	*	4	3	2	1	2	*	3	3	1	1	*	1

GWBX5. (CONSTRUCTED ITEM) Comparison of overall rating with dealing with Iraq

	<-----ALL RESIDENTS----->						<-----REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY----->							
	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	GWB	JK
OVERALL HIGHER	24%	23%	25%	19%	23%	27%	23%	21%	25%	18%	23%	27%	26%	18%
BOTH SAME	63	65	61	67	62	61	63	66	61	68	62	61	62	69
IRAQ HIGHER	11	12	9	10	14	11	11	12	10	10	14	11	12	11
ONE/BOTH DK	3	1	4	4	2	1	2	1	4	4	1	1	1	3

GWBI3. (CONSTRUCTED ITEM) Comparison of Iraq rating with handling economy

	<-----ALL RESIDENTS----->						<-----REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY----->							
	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	GWB	JK
IRAQ HIGHER	27%	31%	24%	17%	36%	33%	28%	31%	24%	17%	36%	34%	38%	17%
BOTH SAME	55	54	56	67	46	49	55	54	56	66	45	50	47	67
ECONOMY HIGHER	16	15	16	13	18	17	15	14	16	13	18	17	16	13
ONE/BOTH DK	2	1	3	4	1	--	2	1	3	4	1	--	*	2

GWBI4. (CONSTRUCTED ITEM) Comparison of Iraq rating with dealing with terrorism

	<-----ALL RESIDENTS----->						<-----REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY----->							
	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	GWB	JK
IRAQ HIGHER	2%	3%	2%	2%	1%	4%	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%	4%	4%	1%
BOTH SAME	60	58	63	46	64	69	61	59	63	46	64	70	66	54
TERRORISM HIGHER	35	39	31	48	34	27	34	38	31	47	34	26	29	43
ONE/BOTH DK	2	1	4	4	--	1	2	1	4	4	--	1	1	2

IRAQ01. Do you think the United States originally did the right thing in threatening war if Saddam Hussein refused to give up any weapons of mass destruction he might have had?

	<-----ALL RESIDENTS----->						<-----REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY----->							
	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	GWB	JK
YES, DID RIGHT THING	64%	66%	61%	41%	59%	89%	64%	67%	62%	40%	60%	89%	90%	35%
NO, DID NOT	31	30	32	50	37	9	31	30	31	51	37	9	8	60
ONLY WITH OTHERS (VOL)	1	1	*	2	--	--	1	1	*	2	--	--	--	2
DON'T KNOW	4	2	6	6	3	2	4	2	6	6	3	2	2	3
REFUSED	*	*	1	*	--	1	*	*	1	*	--	1	*	--

IRAQ09Z. Although the UN had passed many resolutions demanding that Iraq disarm, the US was not able to get a final resolution explicitly calling for war. Do you support or oppose the decision of the US and other countries to use force anyway?

	<----ALL RESIDENTS----->						<----REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY---->							
	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	GWB	JK
SUPPORT	58%	63%	53%	27%	54%	87%	58%	64%	53%	26%	56%	87%	86%	24%
OPPOSE	36	34	38	66	40	7	36	34	38	67	39	7	8	72
DON'T KNOW	5	3	8	7	6	5	5	2	8	6	5	5	5	4
REFUSED	1	*	1	*	--	*	1	*	1	*	--	*	*	--

IRAQ10X. If the US had decided NOT to go to war, how likely do you think it is that we would eventually have been attacked with Iraqi weapons of mass destruction? Very likely, somewhat likely, not very likely, or not likely at all?

	<----ALL RESIDENTS----->						<----REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY---->							
	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	GWB	JK
VERY LIKELY	27%	23%	31%	8%	23%	45%	28%	23%	32%	8%	24%	46%	42%	10%
SOMEWHAT LIKELY	33	32	33	28	28	40	33	34	33	29	29	40	44	19
NOT VERY LIKELY	20	20	20	30	23	9	19	19	20	30	23	9	8	34
NOT LIKELY AT ALL	18	24	12	30	25	4	17	23	11	29	23	4	4	35
DON'T KNOW	2	1	3	4	1	2	2	1	3	3	1	2	2	1
REFUSED	*	--	*	--	--	--	*	--	*	--	--	--	--	--

IRAQ10Y. In the long run, will the US decision to attack Iraq increase the risk of terrorism in the world, reduce it, or not make that much difference one way or the other?

	<----ALL RESIDENTS----->						<----REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY---->							
	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	GWB	JK
INCREASE	27%	28%	26%	47%	34%	6%	26%	27%	26%	48%	32%	6%	6%	53%
REDUCE	42	43	41	19	33	70	43	44	42	18	34	70	70	13
NOT MUCH DIFFERENCE	27	26	27	30	30	21	27	27	27	30	31	21	22	31
DON'T KNOW	3	2	5	4	3	2	3	2	4	3	3	2	2	2
REFUSED	1	1	*	*	--	*	1	1	*	*	--	*	*	1

IRAQ10Z. Would you call the US led war in Iraq a complete success, mostly a success, only partly a success, mostly a failure, or a complete failure?

	<----ALL RESIDENTS----->						<----REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY---->							
	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	GWB	JK
COMPLETE SUCCESS	2%	2%	2%	--%	*%	5%	2%	2%	2%	--%	1%	5%	4%	--%
MOSTLY A SUCCESS	29	32	25	6	24	52	29	32	26	5	25	52	49	6
ONLY PARTLY A SUCCESS	39	38	40	37	43	35	39	40	39	38	44	35	43	32
MOSTLY A FAILURE	19	21	18	37	19	4	18	20	17	37	18	4	2	41
A COMPLETE FAILURE	9	7	11	18	12	1	9	7	11	18	12	1	--	21
DON'T KNOW	2	1	4	2	*	3	2	1	4	2	*	3	2	*
REFUSED	*	--	1	--	--	1	*	--	1	--	--	1	*	--

IRAQ12A. So far, the United States has not found clear evidence of Iraqi weapons of mass destruction. If it turns out that none are found, do you think this means the US was wrong about Iraq having such weapons, that the Iraqis destroyed them secretly, or that they remain hidden somewhere?

	<----ALL RESIDENTS----->						<----REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY---->							
	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	GWB	JK
US WAS WRONG	27%	33%	22%	47%	31%	10%	27%	31%	23%	46%	29%	11%	7%	54%
IRAQIS DESTROYED	11	10	12	5	12	14	11	10	12	5	12	14	16	5
IRAQIS HID THEM	53	47	58	39	48	66	53	49	57	40	50	67	68	33
DON'T KNOW	7	8	7	9	7	8	8	9	7	9	8	8	8	6
REFUSED	1	2	1	*	1	1	1	2	1	*	1	1	1	1

IRAQ12B. If the US government had thought the Iraqis didn't actually have weapons of mass destruction anymore, do you think it was a good idea to go to war with Iraq for other reasons, a bad idea, or don't you have an opinion?

	<----ALL RESIDENTS----->						<----REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY---->							
	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	GWB	JK
GOOD IDEA ANYWAY	34%	39%	30%	14%	28%	57%	35%	39%	31%	13%	29%	57%	56%	10%
BAD IDEA	38	39	36	64	42	12	37	38	36	64	41	12	14	69
DON'T HAVE OPINION	26	21	32	21	29	28	26	22	31	21	29	29	28	19
DON'T KNOW	1	1	1	1	--	2	1	1	1	1	--	2	1	1
REFUSED	1	1	1	1	1	*	1	1	1	1	1	*	1	1

IRAQ12C. Before the start of the war, President Bush said that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction which would pose a real threat to the US. Do you think he believed at the time this was true?

	<----ALL RESIDENTS----->						<----REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY---->							
	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	GWB	JK
YES, BELIEVED WAS TRUE	76%	79%	73%	53%	72%	95%	77%	81%	73%	54%	75%	95%	96%	53%
NO, DID NOT	19	16	21	37	25	2	18	15	21	36	22	2	1	39
DON'T KNOW	5	4	6	10	3	2	5	4	6	10	3	2	2	7
REFUSED	*	1	*	--	--	1	*	1	*	--	--	1	*	--

ADS09. IF John Kerry had been President instead of George W. Bush, Do you think the US would have gone to war in Afghanistan, or do you think the Taliban would still be in power there?

	<----ALL RESIDENTS----->						<----REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY---->							
	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	GWB	JK
WOULD HAVE GONE TO WAR	29%	33%	25%	43%	35%	17%	29%	33%	26%	43%	34%	17%	19%	46%
TALIBAN WD BE THERE	48	53	44	30	42	70	48	53	43	29	43	70	66	27
DON'T KNOW	21	13	28	25	22	12	21	13	29	26	22	12	14	25
REFUSED	2	1	2	2	*	1	2	1	2	3	*	1	1	3

ADS10. And if Kerry had been President instead of Bush, Do you think the US would have gone to war in IRAQ, or do you think Saddam Hussein would still be in power?

	<----ALL RESIDENTS----->						<----REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY---->							
	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	GWB	JK
WOULD HAVE GONE TO WAR	15%	14%	17%	13%	21%	12%	15%	14%	17%	12%	22%	12%	14%	15%
HUSSEIN WD BE THERE	71	79	63	66	65	83	71	79	63	66	65	83	79	67
DON'T KNOW	13	7	18	19	14	4	12	6	18	19	13	4	7	16
REFUSED	1	*	2	2	--	1	1	*	2	3	--	1	1	2

ADS11. And do you think Kerry would have been able to get more international support in Iraq than Bush has, less, or about the same?

	<-----ALL RESIDENTS----->						<-----REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY---->							
	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	GWB	JK
KERRY GET MORE	24%	27%	21%	50%	30%	1%	23%	26%	21%	49%	28%	1%	3%	55%
KERRY GET LESS	27	27	28	8	16	53	28	28	28	8	16	54	49	1
ABOUT THE SAME	43	41	46	35	52	41	44	41	46	35	53	41	46	38
DON'T KNOW	5	4	5	6	3	4	5	4	5	6	3	3	2	5
REFUSED	1	1	1	2	--	*	1	1	1	2	--	*	*	1

QD03. Are you currently registered to vote in Wisconsin?

	<-----ALL RESIDENTS----->						<-----REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY---->							
	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	GWB	JK
YES	89%	89%	90%	87%	90%	93%	93%	94%	92%	90%	94%	94%	93%	91%
NO	10	10	10	13	10	6	7	6	8	10	6	5	6	9
DON'T KNOW	1	1	1	--	--	1	*	1	*	--	--	1	1	1
REFUSED	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

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

	<-----ALL RESIDENTS----->						<-----REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY---->							
	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	GWB	JK
NOT ASKED	89%	89%	90%	87%	90%	93%	93%	94%	92%	90%	94%	94%	93%	91%
YES	7	6	8	9	6	6	7	6	8	10	6	6	6	8
NO	2	3	1	3	2	*	--	--	--	--	--	--	*	--
DON'T KNOW	1	1	1	1	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1
REFUSED	*	1	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	*	--

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

	<-----ALL RESIDENTS----->						<-----REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY---->							
	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	TOT	M	F	D	I	R	GWB	JK
DEMOCRAT	29%	24%	33%	100%	--%	--%	29%	24%	33%	100%	--%	--%	5%	60%
REPUBLICAN	35	35	35	--	--	100	36	36	36	--	--	100	63	5
INDEPENDENT	25	32	19	--	100	--	25	32	19	--	100	--	23	26
OTHER	9	9	9	--	--	--	8	8	8	--	--	--	7	8
NONE	1	1	2	--	--	--	1	1	2	--	--	--	2	1
DON'T KNOW	1	--	1	--	--	--	*	--	1	--	--	--	--	--
REFUSED	1	--	2	--	--	--	1	--	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 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. 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".