

NPR NATIONAL
Interview Schedule

Project #05091
February 15-17, 2005
Public Opinion Strategies/Greenberg, Quinlan, Rosner Research

N=800 Likely Voters
Margin of Error \pm 3.46%

** Denotes result less than 0.5%*

^ Denotes rounding. Due to rounding, some figures may be higher or lower by less than one-half of one percent.

A. Are you registered to vote at this address?

100% YES

B. Are you, or is anyone in your household, employed by a newspaper, television or radio station, a political party, or by a candidate for political office?

100% NO

C. Many people were not able to vote in the 2004 election for President between **(ROTATE)** George W. Bush, and John Kerry. How about you? Were you able to vote, or for some reason were you unable to vote?

(IF UNABLE/DID NOT VOTE, ASK:) Did you not vote because you were ineligible, too young, or was there some other reason?

99% VOTED

1% INELIGIBLE/TOO YOUNG TO VOTE

D. I know it's a long way off, but what are the chances of you voting in the election for Congress in November of 2006: are you almost certain to vote, will you probably vote, are the chances 50-50, or don't you think you will vote?

83% ALMOST CERTAIN
17% PROBABLY

1. Now, generally speaking, would you say that things in the COUNTRY are going in the right direction, or have they pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?

42% RIGHT DIRECTION
51% WRONG TRACK

6% DON'T KNOW (**DO NOT READ**)
1% REFUSED (**DO NOT READ**)

<u>3/02</u>	<u>10/02</u>	<u>5/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>11/03</u>	<u>12/03</u>	<u>2/04</u>	<u>6/04</u>	<u>7/04</u>	<u>8/04</u>	
58%	39%	53%	39%	43%	42%	40%	40%	40%	38%	RIGHT DIRECTION
35%	51%	39%	53%	49%	48%	54%	54%	54%	55%	WRONG TRACK
5%	8%	7%	8%	6%	10%	5%	7%	5%	6%	DON'T KNOW
2%	2%	1%	-	2%	-	1%	-	1%	--	REFUSED

2. Do you approve or disapprove of the job George W. Bush is doing as President?

(IF CHOICE, ASK) And would you say you STRONGLY (choice) or just SOMEWHAT (choice)?

31% STRONGLY APPROVE
50% 19% SOMEWHAT APPROVE
47% 13% SOMEWHAT DISAPPROVE
 34% STRONGLY DISAPPROVE

2% DON'T KNOW **(DO NOT READ)**
 1% REFUSED **(DO NOT READ)**

<u>3/02</u>	<u>10/02</u>	<u>5/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>11/03</u>	<u>12/03</u>	<u>2/04</u>	<u>6/04</u>	<u>7/04</u>	<u>8/04</u>	
79%	66%	66%	53%	55%	56%	53%	50%	49%	49%	TOTAL APPROVE
18%	30%	31%	43%	42%	41%	45%	48%	49%	48%	TOTAL DISAPPROVE

3. If the 2006 elections for United States Congress were being held today, for whom would you vote...
(ROTATE)

(IF UNDECIDED, ASK:) Well, if the election for Congress were held today and you had to decide right now in your own district where you live which candidate would you lean...**(ROTATE)**

the Republican candidate

...or...

the Democratic candidate

...in this district?

30% REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE
36% 6% LEAN REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE
42%^ 8% LEAN DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE
 33% DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE

21% UNDECIDED **(DO NOT READ)**
 1% REFUSED **(DO NOT READ)**

4. And, which ONE of the following issue areas would be MOST important to you in deciding how to vote for a candidate for Congress? Is it... **(RANDOMIZE)**

- 9% Education
- 20% Social Security and Medicare
- 4% Taxes
- 12% Moral values
- 17% The economy and jobs
- 9% Affordable health care
- 9% Terrorism and National Security
- 5% Federal spending
- 9% The war in Iraq
- * Crime and Illegal Drugs

- 1% NONE OF THESE **(DO NOT READ)**
 - 5% DON'T KNOW/REFUSED **(DO NOT READ)**
-

Thinking now about Social Security...

5. How familiar would you say you are with President Bush's Social Security plan...are you...**(ROTATE TOP TO BOTTOM/BOTTOM TO TOP:)**

- 23% Very familiar
- 77%** 54% Somewhat familiar
- 22%** 14% Not very familiar
- 8% Not at all familiar?

- 1% DON'T KNOW **(DO NOT READ)**
 - REFUSED **(DO NOT READ)**
-

6. Do you favor or oppose President Bush's proposed changes to Social Security?

(IF FAVOR/OPPOSE, ASK:) And do you STRONGLY (favor/oppose) or just SOMEWHAT (favor/oppose) it?

- 13% STRONGLY FAVOR
- 30%[^]** 18% SOMEWHAT FAVOR
- 53%** 15% SOMEWHAT OPPOSE
- 38% STRONGLY OPPOSE

- 17% DON'T KNOW/NOT SURE **(DO NOT READ)**
 - * REFUSED **(DO NOT READ)**
-

(SPLIT SAMPLE, ASK SAMPLE A:) (N=404)

7. Do you favor or oppose President Bush's proposal to create voluntary Personal Retirement Accounts as part of the Social Security system?

(IF FAVOR/OPPOSE, ASK:) And do you STRONGLY (favor/oppose) or just SOMEWHAT (favor/oppose) it?

	22%	STRONGLY FAVOR
41%	19%	SOMEWHAT FAVOR
49%	15%	SOMEWHAT OPPOSE
	34%	STRONGLY OPPOSE
	9%	DON'T KNOW/NOT SURE (DO NOT READ)
	1%	REFUSED (DO NOT READ)

(SPLIT SAMPLE, ASK SAMPLE B:) (N=396)

8. Do you favor or oppose President Bush's proposal to privatize Social Security and divert part of the Social Security system into private accounts?

(IF FAVOR/OPPOSE, ASK:) And do you STRONGLY (favor/oppose) or just SOMEWHAT (favor/oppose) it?

	17%	STRONGLY FAVOR
34%[^]	16%	SOMEWHAT FAVOR
58%	13%	SOMEWHAT OPPOSE
	45%	STRONGLY OPPOSE
	8%	DON'T KNOW/NOT SURE (DO NOT READ)
	1%	REFUSED (DO NOT READ)

9. Would you say that Social Security is facing **(ROTATE TOP TO BOTTOM, BOTTOM TO TOP:)** a crisis, has major problems, has minor problems, or is there not a problem at all with Social Security?

	17%	CRISIS
63%	46%	MAJOR PROBLEMS
35%[^]	29%	MINOR PROBLEMS
	5%	NOT A PROBLEM AT ALL
	2%	DON'T KNOW (DO NOT READ)
	*	REFUSED (DO NOT READ)

10. When do you see problems occurring with the Social Security system? Do you think that...**(ROTATE TOP TO BOTTOM, BOTTOM TO TOP:)**

	30%	It already has problems now
58%	28%	It will have problems when the baby boomers start retiring in a few years
35%	27%	It will start to have problems in ten to twenty years
	8%	It will start to have problems in forty to fifty years ...or...
	3%	The program will not have any problems at all
	4%	DON'T KNOW (DO NOT READ)
	*	REFUSED (DO NOT READ)

(SPLIT SAMPLE, ASK SAMPLE A: Q11-16:) (N=404)

Now I would like to read you a list of phrases related to Social Security and after I read each phrase, please tell me whether you believe the phrase best describes **(ROTATE)** President Bush or the Democrats.

	BUSH	DEMS	BOTH (DNR)	NEITHER (DNR)	UNSURE (DNR)	REF (DNR)
The (first/next) one is...(RANDOMIZE)						
11. Watching out for the interests of current retirees.	40%	46%	5%	4%	5%	1%
12. Watching out for the interests of young people.	45%	42%	2%	5%	5%	1%
13. Trust to make the right kinds of changes.	48%	40%	2%	6%	4%	1%
14. Is offering the right kind of ideas.	44%	38%	3%	8%	6%	1%
15. Is willing to work with both political parties to find a solution.	51%	33%	3%	7%	4%	1%
16. Has proposals and positions that would protect Social Security into the future.	44%	40%	2%	8%	4%	1%

(SPLIT SAMPLE, ASK SAMPLE B: Q17-22:) (N=396)

Now I would like to read you a list of phrases related to Social Security and after I read each phrase, please tell me whether you believe the phrase best describes **(ROTATE)** the Republicans in Congress or the Democrats in Congress.

	GOPERS	DEMS	BOTH (DNR)	NEITHER (DNR)	UNSURE (DNR)	REF (DNR)	
The (first/next) one is...(RANDOMIZE)							
17.	Watching out for the interests of current retirees.	32%	49%	4%	5%	8%	1%
18.	Watching out for the interests of young people.	34%	48%	4%	6%	8%	—
19.	Trust to make the right kinds of changes.	40%	44%	4%	5%	7%	*
20.	Is offering the right kind of ideas.	37%	41%	6%	7%	9%	*
21.	Is willing to work with both political parties to find a solution.	38%	36%	7%	13%	5%	1%
22.	Has proposals and positions that would protect Social Security into the future.	35%	41%	6%	8%	11%	*

Thinking more about Social Security...

23. Which of the following would you say is the biggest problem facing Social Security?
(RANDOMIZE)

- 6% Current benefits are not high enough
- 37% There will not be enough money to maintain benefit levels for future retirees
- 15% The Social Security Trust Fund will start running an annual deficit in the future
- 20% Federal deficits are making the system financially unsound
- 16% The creation of private retirement accounts are putting the system at risk for both current and future retirees
- OTHER (SPECIFY: _____) **(DO NOT READ)**
- 5% DON'T KNOW **(DO NOT READ)**
- 1% REFUSED **(DO NOT READ)**

24. Now, I'd like to read you two descriptions of the proposed changes to Social Security, and please tell me which description is closer to your own point of view on how you would describe the changes. **(ROTATE)**

Republicans say President Bush has proposed allowing workers under the age of fifty-five to voluntarily redirect a portion of their current Social Security taxes into voluntary personal retirement accounts. This is an account that individuals would own and control and they could invest in certified bonds, mutual funds, or stock funds that follow basic standards of safety and soundness. The money could only be used for retirement, or passed along as an inheritance. If you are able generate an average return rate of more than three percent on your voluntary personal retirement account investment, you would get more money than you would under the traditional system. Anyone over the age of fifty-five would not be affected by this proposal.

...or...

Democrats say President Bush's proposed changes to Social Security undermine the future security of the program for everyone. To finance it, the Republicans will add two trillion dollars to the deficit and continue to spend down the Social Security Trust Fund. Democrats say Republicans pass on the debts and interest costs to the next generation. Their plan would cut benefits for future retirees by up to forty percent, even if you do not switch over to a private account. With fees paid to Wall Street, this plan reduces benefits by thirty billion dollars, helping stock brokers more than seniors. We would be better off making the right kinds of changes that would maintain the guaranteed retirement income offered by Social Security.

(PROMPT:) Which statement comes closest to your own point of view?

43% Republican
51% Democrat

5% DON'T KNOW **(DO NOT READ)**
1% REFUSED **(DO NOT READ)**

25. Thinking further about this...I am going to read you two more statements and please tell me which description is closer to your own point of view on how you would describe the changes. **(ROTATE)**

Republicans say that voluntary personal accounts are a good idea because it is voluntary and will allow younger workers to earn more for their retirement while saving Social Security for future generations. Republicans say that people currently on Social Security or about to go on Social Security will not be affected at all. They say that if no changes to the program are made, the Social Security system will either have to significantly cut benefits or significantly raise taxes on workers. Republicans say Democrats have no plan to save Social Security, and that Democrats are wrong to say that there is no problem with Social Security.

...while...

Democrats say we should make changes in Social Security to guarantee its long term security, but the Republicans are greatly exaggerating the problem to make sweeping changes that endanger the program. Democrats say the President's plan adds two trillion dollars to the deficit and continues to spend down the Social Security Trust Fund. Their plan would cut benefits for future retirees by up to forty percent and helps Wall Street more than seniors. Democrats recognize the shortfall that will emerge in forty years, but believe we should act carefully, and create a bi-partisan commission, to make the right kind of changes to continue Social Security's guaranteed benefits for future retirees.

(PROMPT:) Which statement comes closest to your own point of view?

41% Republican
53% Democrat

5% DON'T KNOW **(DO NOT READ)**
1% REFUSED **(DO NOT READ)**

Now, I have just a few more questions for statistical purposes only...

26. First, in what year were you born?

3% 18 - 24
 9% 25 - 34
 17% 35 - 44
 23% 45 - 54
 24% 55 - 64
 22% 65 AND ABOVE
 1% REFUSED

<u>5/03</u>	<u>11/03</u>	<u>12/04</u>	<u>3/04</u>	<u>6/04</u>	<u>7/04</u>	<u>8/04</u>	
4%	3%	6%	3%	6%	6%	6%	18-24
13%	10%	15%	11%	14%	14%	15%	25-34
18%	18%	17%	19%	21%	15%	19%	35-44
24%	27%	22%	25%	20%	23%	23%	45-54
20%	21%	17%	21%	17%	21%	15%	55-64
20%	20%	20%	20%	21%	20%	21%	65 and above
1%	1%	2%	1%	2%	1%	2%	REFUSED

27. And in politics today, do you consider yourself... **(ROTATE)**

a Republican,
a Democrat,
or something else?

(IF REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRAT, ASK:) Would you call yourself a STRONG (REPUBLICAN/DEMOCRAT) or a NOT-SO-STRONG (REPUBLICAN/ DEMOCRAT)?

(IF SOMETHING ELSE, ASK:) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or to the Democratic party?

24% STRONG REPUBLICAN
9% NOT-SO-STRONG REPUBLICAN
39%[^] 5% LEAN TO REPUBLICANS

17% SOMETHING ELSE/INDEPENDENT

43%[^] 7% LEAN TO DEMOCRATS
8% NOT-SO-STRONG DEMOCRAT
27% STRONG DEMOCRAT

* DON'T KNOW **(DO NOT READ)**
1% REFUSED **(DO NOT READ)**

<u>5/03</u>	<u>11/03</u>	<u>12/03</u>	<u>2/04</u>	<u>6/04</u>	<u>7/04</u>	<u>8/04</u>	
41%	39%	45%	40%	45%	39%	45%	TOTAL REPUBLICAN
37%	44%	45%	41%	48%	43%	49%	TOTAL DEMOCRAT
25%	26%	23%	26%	27%	25%	25%	STRONG REPUBLICAN
11%	7%	14%	9%	10%	8%	11%	NOT-SO-STRONG REPUBLICAN
5%	6%	8%	5%	8%	6%	9%	LEAN TO REPUBLICANS
21%	15%	9%	17%	8%	16%	7%	SOMETHING ELSE/INDEPENDENT
10%	8%	8%	5%	10%	5%	12%	LEAN TO DEMOCRATS
9%	11%	14%	9%	13%	10%	11%	NOT-SO-STRONG DEMOCRAT
18%	25%	23%	27%	25%	28%	26%	STRONG DEMOCRAT
1%	1%	1%	1%	*	--	*	DON'T KNOW
*	1%	*	1%	*	2%	--	REFUSED

28. And do you consider yourself to be...(ROTATE TOP TO BOTTOM, BOTTOM TO TOP)

conservative,
moderate
...or...
liberal

(IF CONSERVATIVE/LIBERAL, ASK:) And would you consider yourself to be VERY (CONSERVATIVE/LIBERAL), or just SOMEWHAT (CONSERVATIVE/LIBERAL)?

19% VERY CONSERVATIVE
41% 22% SOMEWHAT CONSERVATIVE

39% MODERATE

17%[^] 11% SOMEWHAT LIBERAL
5% VERY LIBERAL

2% UNDECIDED/NOT SURE(**DO NOT READ**)
1% REFUSED (**DO NOT READ**)

<u>5/03</u>	<u>11/03</u>	<u>12/03</u>	<u>2/04</u>	<u>6/04</u>	<u>7/04</u>	<u>8/04</u>	
43%	40%	37%	39%	41%	40%	41%	TOTAL CONSERVATIVE
16%	19%	20%	16%	19%	23%	18%	TOTAL LIBERAL
19%	19%	15%	17%	20%	19%	19%	VERY CONSERVATIVE
24%	21%	22%	22%	22%	21%	22%	SOMEWHAT CONSERVATIVE
36%	37%	38%	41%	37%	35%	38%	MODERATE
10%	12%	12%	10%	13%	15%	10%	SOMEWHAT LIBERAL
6%	7%	8%	6%	6%	8%	8%	VERY LIBERAL
4%	4%	4%	3%	3%	2%	4%	NOT SURE
1%	*	*	1%	*	1%	--	REFUSED

29. And what was the last grade you completed in school? **(DO NOT READ CATEGORIES)**

- 1% SOME GRADE SCHOOL (1-8)
 - 4% SOME HIGH SCHOOL (9-11)
 - 35%** 30% GRADUATED HIGH SCHOOL (9-12)
 - 2% TECHNICAL OR VOCATIONAL SCHOOL (12)
 - 27%** 25% SOME COLLEGE (13-15)
 - 26% GRADUATED COLLEGE (16)
 - 38%** 12% GRADUATE/PROFESSIONAL SCHOOL (16+)
 - * REFUSED **(DO NOT READ)**
-

30. And for statistical purposes only...is your total annual household income greater or less than \$60,000 dollars?

(IF LESS THAN \$60,000, ASK:) Is it...
(ROTATE FROM TOP TO BOTTOM/BOTTOM TO TOP)

- 30%** TOTAL UNDER \$40,000
- 32%[^]** TOTAL \$40,000-\$80,000
- 27%** TOTAL OVER \$80,000

- 9% UNDER \$20,000
- 21% BETWEEN \$20,000 - \$40,000
- 17% OVER \$40,000

(IF GREATER THAN \$60,000, ASK:) Is it...
(ROTATE FROM TOP TO BOTTOM/BOTTOM TO TOP)

- 16% UNDER \$80,000
 - 13% BETWEEN \$80,000 - \$100,000
 - 14% OVER \$100,000

 - 10% REFUSED **(DO NOT READ)**
-

31. And, for which of the following candidates did you vote for President... **(ROTATE FIRST TWO CANDIDATES)**

(IF REFUSED, ASK) I understand the confidentiality of your vote and the privacy of the voting booth, but I want to assure you that this poll is being completed for research purposes only and that all responses given will remain strictly confidential. In order to help me do the best research possible, would you now please reconsider and tell me how you voted? **(READ AND ROTATE IF NECESSARY:)**

N=800 N=760*

48% 51% George W. Bush
46% 48% John Kerry
...OR...
1% 1% Ralph Nader

* * SOMEONE ELSE **(DO NOT READ)** (Specify: _____)

* -- DID NOT VOTE **(DO NOT READ)**

5% -- REFUSED **(DO NOT READ)**

* Recalculated ballot excluding did not vote and refused.

32. Other than being an American, what is your main ethnic or racial heritage? **(READ CHOICES)**

10% AFRICAN AMERICAN OR BLACK
80% WHITE
7% HISPANIC AMERICAN OR LATINO
1% ASIAN AMERICAN
1% OTHER **(DO NOT READ)**

1% REFUSED **(DO NOT READ)**

<u>5/03</u>	<u>11/03</u>	<u>12/03</u>	<u>2/04</u>	<u>6/04</u>	<u>7/04</u>	<u>8/04</u>	
10%	10%	10%	9%	9%	9%	10%	AFRICAN AMERICAN OR BLACK
80%	80%	80%	80%	80%	80%	79%	WHITE
7%	7%	7%	7%	7%	7%	7%	HISPANIC AMERICAN OR LATINO
*	*	1%	*	*	1%	--	ASIAN AMERICAN
2%	1%	2%	2%	3%	2%	2%	OTHER
2%	2%	--	2%	1%	1%	--	REFUSED

33. What is your current marital status?

36% TOTAL NOT MARRIED

13% Single, never married
63% Now married
2% Living together, not married
9% Divorced
2% Separated
9% Widowed
1% Refused (**DO NOT READ**)

34. Gender (**BY OBSERVATION, BUT ASK EVERYONE**) Are you employed outside of the home, are you a homemaker, or are you retired?

(IF EMPLOYED OUTSIDE THE HOME, ASK:) And, are you paid on an hourly basis or do you draw a yearly salary?

17% MALE/EMPLOYED/HOURLY
13% MALE/EMPLOYED/SALARY
1% MALE/HOMEMAKER
15% MALE/RETIRED
48% 2% MALE/NOT IN LABOR FORCE

52% 17% FEMALE/EMPLOYED/HOURLY
10% FEMALE/EMPLOYED/SALARY
9% FEMALE/HOMEMAKER
13% FEMALE/RETIRED
3% FEMALE/NOT IN LABOR FORCE

* MALE REFUSED (**DO NOT READ**)
* FEMALE REFUSED (**DO NOT READ**)

35. And finally, it is possible that a reporter for National Public Radio may do a news story based on some of these topics and may want to ask a few follow-up questions of some of the people we spoke to tonight. Would you be willing to have an NPR reporter have your responses on the questions about the issues we discussed and possibly call you for a brief interview?

53% YES
46% NO
1% DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

IF YES, COLLECT NAME AND PHONE NUMBER
