

# *AEI STUDIES IN PUBLIC OPINION*

## **Candidates, Presidents, and Compassion** **(updated December 31, 2004)**

Compiled by Karlyn H. Bowman, Resident Fellow and Bryan O'Keefe, Staff/Research Assistant

In 1976, for the first time as far as we can tell, a pollster asked people about various qualities that were important for a president to have *and* included “compassion” as an option people could choose. Seventy-four percent chose “placing the country’s interests above their own,” 73 percent “intelligence,” 68 percent “sound judgment in a crisis” and, separately, “competence or ability to get the job done,” and 67 percent “compassion, concern for little man/average citizen.” [All questions discussed in this introduction appear below.] At about that time, Gallup asked several questions that compared Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford on this quality. Since that time pollsters have compared candidates (and rated presidents) on being compassionate. The National Election Pool exit pollsters compared the Democratic candidates on it in the 2004 primaries. In January 2004, Princeton Survey Research Associates/*Newsweek* interviewers asked whether George W. Bush and, separately, John Kerry cared about people like you. In February, Harris, CNN, and *Time* asked whether each man cared about the average American. Also in February, Gallup, CNN, and *USA Today* interviewers asked which candidate was more in touch with the problems of ordinary Americans.

The data here show that Democratic candidates almost always end up doing better on the compassion questions than Republicans do. Yet, George W. Bush was competitive with Al Gore on this dimension throughout much of the 2000 campaign. On some questions asked during the 2004 campaign, Kerry and Bush had similar ratings, and occasionally, Bush’s ratings were higher than Kerry’s. The data here also show that “winning” the compassion issue doesn’t mean a candidate wins an election.

We look first at candidate matchups and then at questions (organized here in terms of similar wording) about individuals. Another section includes all the questions we have been able to find that ask people about George W. Bush and “compassionate conservatism.” In September 2003, for example, Harris, CNN, and *Time* interviewers reminded people that “President George W. Bush described himself as a compassionate conservative during his campaign.” They then asked people whether the label “compassionate conservative” described him. Forty-four percent said it did, but 50 percent said it did not. A Harris Interactive question from November 2003 found that 62 percent felt George W. Bush had exhibited compassion in “how he has conducted himself in office,” but 33 percent did not think he had.

Using this document it is also possible to compare views of George Herbert Walker Bush and George W. Bush. George W. Bush did considerably better than his father on being in touch and caring when the pollsters started asking about it early in both men’s terms. Both men lost ground as time passed, with the father losing tremendous ground in his re-election year.

Questions from NORC and the University of Michigan show growing doubts over the last half century about public officials’ concern for average Americans.

- Here is a list of personal characteristics or qualities. Would you read off all of those which you feel are important for a President to have?

Sep. 1976	Gallup	Important Characteristic
		74
	Placing country's interest ahead of politics	74
	Intelligence	73
	Sound judgment in crisis	68
	Competence, ability to get job done	68
	<b>Compassion, concern for little man/average citizen</b>	<b>67</b>
	Taking a firm stand on issues	65
	Ability to anticipate the nation's needs	64
	High ethical standards	61
	Experience in public office	60
	Saying what one believes, even if unpopular	60

NOTE: Only top ten responses shown. Adds to more than 100 percent due to multiple responses.

- For each quality, please say how important you think it for a president to have...Cares about the needs of people like you, very important, somewhat important, not too important or not at all important?

Oct. 1999	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	Very Important Characteristic
		92
	Has a vision for the country's future	92
	Is a strong and decisive leader	89
	Can keep the economy strong	89
	<b>Cares about people like you</b>	<b>82</b>
	Knows how to get things done in Washington	82
	Cares about the needs of the poor	81
	Has good moral character	80
	Is an effective manager	76
	Has experience in government	70
	Is inspiring	56

NOTE: Only top ten responses shown. Adds to more than 100 percent due to multiple responses.

## Comparison of Presidential Candidates

### 2004 Election

- Quality that mattered most in deciding how you voted for President

National Election Pool (NEP) survey of voters leaving polling places			
Voters			
	Nationally	Bush	Kerry
Cares about people	9	24	75

Where “cares about people” ranked compared to other qualities included on the exit poll ballot

Will bring change	24
Strong leader	17
Clear stand on issues	17
Honest/trustworthy	11
<b>Cares about people</b>	<b>9</b>
Religious faith	8
Intelligent	7

- Please tell me whether the following statement applies more to Bush or more to Kerry.... He understands the problems of people like you?

		Understand the problems of -----People Like You-----	
		GW Bush	Kerry
June 18-20, 2004	ABC News/Washington Post	36	56
June 18-20, 2004^	ABC News/Washington Post	37	55
July 23-25, 2004^	ABC News/Washington Post	42	46
July 30-August 1, 2004^	ABC News/Washington Post	37	51
August 27-29, 2004^	ABC News/Washington Post	42	48
September 6-8, 2004^	ABC News/Washington Post	44	43
September 24-26, 2004^	ABC News/Washington Post	43	42
September 24-26, 2004*	ABC News/Washington Post	45	41
October 1-3, 2004*	ABC News/Washington Post	44	45
October 8-10, 2004*	ABC News/Washington Post	45	46
October 9-11, 2004*	ABC News/Washington Post	44	46
October 10-12, 2004*	ABC News/Washington Post	43	48

NOTE: ^Registered Voters \*Likely Voters

- Next, thinking about the following characteristics and qualities, please say whether you think each one applies more to John Kerry or more to George W. Bush. How about....Cares about the needs of people like you?

		Cares About -----People Like You-----	
		GW Bush	John Kerry
Jul. 19-21, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	40	48
Jul. 30-Aug.1, 2004	Gallup/ CNN/USA Today	40	52
Aug. 23-25, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	42	45
Sep.3-5, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	41	48
Oct. 1-3, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	44	49
Oct. 9-10, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	42	49
Oct. 14-16, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	43	49
Oct. 22-24, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	43	51

- Which candidate, Bush or Kerry, do you trust more to handle each of the following areas? Understanding the needs of people like yourself?

		Understanding the Needs -----Of People Like Yourself-----	
		GW Bush	John Kerry
Jul. 20-22, 2004	Time/SRBI	40	52
Aug. 3-5, 2004	Time/SRBI	38	53
Aug. 24-26, 2004	Time/SRBI	42	45
Aug. 31-Sep. 2, 2004	Time/SRBI	44	47
Sep 7-9, 2004	Time/SRBI	47	44
Sep. 21-23, 2004	Time/SRBI	41	45
Oct. 6-7, 2004	Time/SRBI	40	49
Oct. 14-15, 2004	Time/SRBI	42	49
Oct. 19-21, 2004	Time/SRBI	44	46

- As I read a list of phrases, tell me if you think each phrase better describes John Kerry or George W. Bush....Cares about people like me?

		Cares About -----People Like Me-----	
		GW Bush	John Kerry
Mid-March 2004	Pew Research Center/PSRA	34	48
Late-March 2004	Pew Research Center/PSRA	38	42
May 2004	Pew Research Center/PSRA	34	45
August 2004	Pew Research Center/PSRA	39	45
Sept. 8-10, 2004	Pew Research Center/PSRA	44	41
Sept. 11-13, 2004	Pew Research Center/PSRA	38	46
Sept. 22-26, 2004	Pew Research Center/PSRA	38	42
Oct. 1-3, 2004	Pew Research Center/PSRA	41	43
Oct. 15-19, 2004	Pew Research Center/PSRA	38	48

- Please tell me whether or not you think each of the following phrases describes (Bush/Kerry). What about... cares about people like you?

		GW Bush Cares About -----People Like You-----		John Kerry Cares About -----People Like You-----	
		Yes	No	Yes	No
Jan. 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	48	48	52	26
Mar. 18-19, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	49	46	52	32
Mar. 25-26, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	46	50	51	33
Jul. 8-9, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	49	46	52	32
Jul. 29-30, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	44	51	57	33
Sep. 2-3, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	53	43	49	38
Sep. 9-10, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	51	45	55	36
Sep. 30-Oct.2, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	49	47	57	34
Oct. 14-15, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	50	46	54	39
Oct. 21-26, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	47	49	55	38
Oct. 27-29, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	50	46	54	40

- Please tell me whether each of the following statements applies more to George Bush or John Kerry...He cares about the needs of people like you?

Cares About the  
-----Needs of People Like You-----

		GW Bush	Kerry
Sep. 2004	Marist	43	50
Oct. 2004	Marist	49	45

- How much do you think George W. Bush cares about the needs and problems of people like yourself – a lot, some, not much, or not at all?

		GW Bush Cares About Needs & Problems Of People Like You				Kerry Cares About Needs & Problems Of People Like You			
		A	Some	Not	Not	A	Some	Not	Not
		Lot		Much	At All	Lot		Much	At All
Feb. 2004	CBS	28	29	20	21	26	41	12	7
Mar. 2004	CBS/NYT	28	35	19	17	25	45	11	10
Jun. 2004	CBS/NYT	27	30	22	20	24	40	19	9
Jul. 2004	CBS/NYT	29	30	19	20	32	40	14	8
Sep. 2004	CBS/NYT	29	29	22	19	25	39	19	12

- Who do you think would be better when it comes to ... being compassionate enough to understand average people – George W. Bush or John Kerry, or do you think that both would be equally good or neither would be good?

		Bush Better	Kerry Better	Both Equally	Neither Would Be Good
May 2004	NBC/WSJ	33	39	16	8
Sep. 2004	NBC/WSJ	35	43	11	9
Oct. 2004	NBC/WSJ	38	39	13	7

NOTE: Asked of registered voters.

- For the next seven questions, do you think each statement applies more to George W. Bush or more to John Kerry...He cares about people like me?

Cares About  
-----People Like You-----

		GW Bush	Kerry
Mar. 2004	LAT	33	43
Jun. 2004	LAT	35	47
Sep. 2004	LAT	42	41

- Now, I would like to read you a list of leadership qualities that some people from this part of the country have said are important to them. Please listen as I read the list and tell me, for each one who better represents the quality – President George W. Bush or John Kerry?

		George W. Bush	John Kerry
Cares about people like me			
Mar. 2004	Battleground	44	49
Jun. 2004	Battleground	41	46
Aug. 2004	Battleground	42	48

- Now I'm going to read you some words that might be used to describe a person. As I read each word, please tell me whether you think the word describes George W. Bush, or not. Now, please tell me whether you think the following words describe John Kerry, or not?

		----- Compassionate-----			
		GW Bush		John Kerry	
		Yes	No	Yes	No
July 5-7, 2004	Ipsos	59	40	60	33

- Please tell me whether the following statement applies to Bush or not...He understands the problems of people like you?

		GW Bush Understands		Kerry Understand	
		--- Problems Of People Like You---		----Problems Of People Like You----	
		Yes	No	Yes	No
Mar. 2004	ABC/WP	41	57	58	34
Apr. 2004	ABC/WP	41	57	51	40
May 2004	ABC/WP	42	57	52	43

- Do you think each of the following applies or does not apply to (Bush/Kerry)...cares about the average American?

		GW Bush Cares About		John Kerry Cares About	
		-----Avg. American -----		-----Avg. American -----	
		Yes	No	Yes	No
Feb. 2004	Harris/CNN/Time	53	45	64	20

- Thinking about the following characteristics and qualities, please say whether you think each one applies more to John Kerry or George W. Bush. How about...is in touch with the problems ordinary Americans face?

		In Touch With Problems Ordinary -----Americans Face -----	
		GW Bush	Kerry
Feb. 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	33	56

- Do each of the following attributes more accurately describe George W. Bush or his father, former President George H.W. Bush...cares about people? (P)

		-----More Accurately Describes-----	
		President George W. Bush	Former President George H.W. Bush
Dec. 2004	SRB/Time	26	30

**2000 Election**

- Thinking about the following characteristics and qualities, please say whether you think each one applies more to Al Gore or George W. Bush. How about...cares about the needs of people like you?

		Cares More About -----People Like You-----	
		GW Bush	Al Gore
Jun. 1999	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	44	44
Apr. 2000	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	39	42
Jul. 2000	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	43	43
Aug. 2000	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	49	39
Aug. 2000	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	35	51
Oct. 2000*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	40	47

NOTE: \*Registered voters.

- As I read a list of phrases, tell me if you think each phrase better describes George W. Bush or Al Gore.... Cares about people like me?

		Cares More About -----People Like Me-----	
		GW Bush	Al Gore
Aug. 2000	PSRA/Pew	31	47
Oct. 2000	PSRA/Pew	35	44
Oct. 2000	PSRA/Pew	40	42
Oct. 2000	PSRA/Pew	40	43

- Which candidate, Bush or Gore, do you think better understands the problems of people like you?

		Who Best Understands Problems -----Of People Like You?-----	
		GW Bush	Al Gore
Jun. 2000	ABC/WP	41	44

- Please tell me whether the following statement applies to (Bush/Gore) or not...he understands the problems of people like you?

		GW Bush ----Understands Problems----		Al Gore ---Understands Problems---	
		Of People Like You		Of People Like You	
		Yes	No	Yes	No
Mar. 1999	ABC /WP	52	27	48	41
Jun. 1999	ABC	--	--	44	44
Sep. 1999	ABC/WP	50	39	47	45
Oct. 1999	ABC	54	39	57	38
Dec. 1999	ABC/WP	47	46	55	38
Jan. 2000	ABC/WP	46	49	46	47
Feb. 2000	ABC/WP	43	52	50	47
Feb. 2000	ABC/WP	43	51	49	47
Mar. 2000	ABC/WP	47	47	55	39
Apr. 2000	ABC/WP	48	46	54	40
Jun. 2000	ABC/WP	48	47	53	42
Jul. 2000	ABC/WP	44	51	49	46
Aug. 2000*	ABC/WP	50	46	62	33
Sep. 2000*	ABC/WP	47	49	54	42
Oct. 2000*	ABC/WP	50	44	60	36

Oct. 2000*	ABC/WP	46	46	57	36
Oct. 2000+	ABC	50	46	56	41
Nov. 2000+	ABC	49	46	53	42

NOTE: \*Registered voters. +Likely voters.

- Thinking about the following characteristics and qualities, please say whether you think it applies or doesn't apply to (Bush/Gore). How about... cares about the needs of people like you?

		GW Bush Cares About Needs Of		Al Gore Cares About Needs Of	
		----People Like You----		----People Like You----	
		Yes	No	Yes	No
Aug. 1998	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	--	--	58	31
Jan. 1999	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	--	--	62	28
Mar. 1999	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	59	32	63	31
May. 1999*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	--	--	54	40
Sep. 1999	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	59	32	61	33
Jan. 2000	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	56	33	59	33
Mar. 2000	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	51	42	60	35

NOTE: \*Question wording was, "you think it is true or not true."

- Do you think (Bush/Gore) cares about the needs and problems of people like yourself, or not?

		GW Bush Cares About		Al Gore Cares About	
		Needs & Problems Of		Needs & Problems Of	
		-----People Like You-----		-----People Like You-----	
		Yes	No	Yes	No
Jun. 1999	CBS	56	23	55	30
Oct. 1999	CBS	--	--	58	30
May 2000	CBS/NYT	52	41	61	33
Jul. 2000	CBS/NYT	55	36	63	30
Aug. 2000	CBS	54	37	69	24
Sep. 2000	CBS/NYT	49	41	63	30
Oct. 2000	CBS/NYT	53	39	66	27
Oct. 2000	CBS	52	39	61	31
Oct. 2000	CBS/NYT	55	37	66	28
Nov. 2000	CBS/NYT	53	37	58	32

- I am going to read some statements about the candidates and political parties. For each, tell me if you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it, or completely disagree with it... The Democrats care more about ordinary people than the Republicans?

		-----Democrats Care More About Ordinary People-----			
		Completely	Mostly	Mostly	Completely
		Agree	Agree	Disagree	Disagree
Aug. 2000	PSRA/Pew	26	26	22	19

### 1996 Election

- Regardless of which presidential candidate you support, please tell me whether you think each of the following statements better applies to Bill Clinton, Bob Dole, or Ross Perot. Which one...cares about the needs of people like you?

		-----Cares About Needs Of People Like You-----		
		Clinton	Dole	Perot
Oct. 1996	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	50	30	7

Oct. 1996	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	47	34	7
Oct. 1996	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	48	34	6
Oct. 1996	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	50	30	6
Oct. 1996	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	49	31	6
Oct. 1996	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	49	33	6
Oct. 1996	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	46	34	8
Oct. 1996	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	44	33	10
Oct. 1996	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	46	33	9
Oct. 1996	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	48	32	10
Oct. 1996	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	50	29	9
Oct. 1996	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	50	31	8
Oct. 1996	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	51	29	8
Oct. 1996	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	52	24	9

NOTE: Daily tracking poll of likely voters.

- As I read a list of phrases tell me if you think this phrase better describes Bill Clinton or if it better describes Bob Dole... Cares about people like me?

		Cares More About	
		-----People Like Me-----	
		Clinton	Dole
Mar. 1996	PSRA/Pew	54	28
Jul. 1996	PSRA/Pew	48	30
Sep. 1996	PSRA/Pew	51	29
Oct. 1996	PSRA/Pew	46	31

- Do you think (Clinton/Dole) cares about the needs and problems of people like yourself?

		Clinton Cares About		Dole Cares About	
		Needs & Problems Of		Needs & Problems Of	
		-----People Like Yourself-----		----People Like Yourself----	
		Yes	No	Yes	No
Jan. 1996	CBS/NYT	69	27	49	38
Apr. 1996	CBS/NYT	61	35	51	39
Jul. 1996	CBS/NYT	60	34	43	44
Aug. 1996*	CBS	63	32	50	39
Aug. 1996*	CBS	62	32	51	39
Aug. 1996*	CBS/NYT	--	--	51	39
Aug. 1996*	CBS/NYT	65	32	56	37
Sep. 1996*	CBS/NYT	62	33	51	40
Oct. 1996*	CBS/NYT	65	31	49	44

NOTE: \*Registered voters.

- I'm going to read you some statements. After each please tell me whether or not each applies to each candidate. How about...understands the problems of people like you...does it apply to (Clinton/Dole) or not?

		Clinton		Dole	
		--Understands Problems--		--Understands Problems--	
		Of People Like You		Of People Like You	
		Yes	No	Yes	No
Mar. 1996	ABC/WP	55	43	39	55
Jun. 1996	ABC/WP	56	41	38	55
Aug. 1996	ABC/WP	55	43	39	56
Sep. 1996*	ABC/WP	57	40	43	52

NOTE: \*Registered voters.

- As I read off some statements, please tell me whether you think each applies more to (President) Bill Clinton or more to Republican leaders in Congress. How about... cares about the problems of people like you?

		Cares More About -----People Like You-----	
		Clinton	Republican Leaders
Dec. 1994	PSRA/Newsweek	44	34

### 1992 Election

- Are you satisfied that (Clinton/Bush) understands the problems of the average American well enough to serve effectively as president?

		Clinton Understands Problems Of Average American Well Enough To Serve Effectively		GHW Bush Understands Problems Of Average American Well Enough To Serve Effectively	
		Yes	No	Yes	No
Mar. 1992	ABC/WP	51	37	38	60
Jul. 1992	ABC/WP	69	25	34	64
Aug. 1992	ABC/WP	--	--	34	65
Aug. 1992*	ABC/WP	59	36	44	53
Aug. 1992*	ABC	--	--	42	55

NOTE: \*Registered voters.

- Regardless of which candidate you prefer, do you think George Bush or Bill Clinton is better described by each of the following... Cares about people like you?

		Better Described As Caring About -----People Like You-----	
		GHW Bush	Clinton
Mar. 1992*	Gallup/Newsweek	34	45
Aug. 1992	Gallup/Newsweek	29	56
Aug. 1992+	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	34	49

NOTE: \*Question wording was, "Please tell me whether each of the following applies more to Bush or Clinton... Understands people like you?" +Question wording was, "As I read some phrases, please tell me whether or not you think each one better describes George Bush or Bill Clinton...cares about people like you?"

- From what you know of the following presidential candidates, do these descriptions apply? Do you think... cares about people...applies to (Clinton/Bush)?

		Clinton -----Cares About People-----		GHW Bush ----Cares About People----	
		Yes	No	Yes	No
Feb. 1992	Gallup/Newsweek	60	24	66	32
Jul. 1992	Gallup/Newsweek	74	19	61	37

- I'm going to read off some personal characteristics and qualities. As I read each one, tell me if you think it strongly applies to (Clinton/Bush), somewhat applies, or doesn't apply...Cares about the needs of people like you?

Clinton

Bush

		---Cares About People Like You---			---Cares About People Like You---		
		Strongly Applies	Somewhat Applies	Doesn't Apply	Strongly Applies	Somewhat Applies	Doesn't Apply
Mar. 1992	Gallup/Newsweek	33	45	15	25	41	32

- Who is more likely to care about the needs and problems of people like you, George Bush or Bill Clinton?

		Cares More About	
		-----People Like You-----	
		Bush	Clinton
Mar. 1992	CBS/NYT	32	44

- Who is more likely to care about the needs and problems of people like you, George Bush or a Democratic president?

		Cares More About	
		-----People Like You-----	
		Bush	Democrat
Mar. 1992	CBS/NYT	29	52

### **1988 Election**

- Do you think (Bush/Dukakis) really cares about people like you, or not?

		GHW Bush Really Cares About		Dukakis Really Cares About	
		-----People Like You-----		-----People Like You-----	
		Yes	No	Yes	No
Jun. 1988	NBC/WSJ	43	43	55	26
Jul. 1988	NBC/WSJ	44	40	62	23
Aug. 1988	NBC/WSJ	43	44	59	26
Aug. 1988	NBC/WSJ	51	37	59	24
Sep. 1988	NBC/WSJ	52	38	59	28
Oct. 1988	NBC/WSJ	54	38	56	34
Nov. 1988*	NBC/WSJ	42	48	55	33

NOTE: Registered voters. \*Likely voters.

- Does the statement: he cares about the concerns of people like you, apply to (Bush/Dukakis) or not?

		GHW Bush Cares About Concern		Dukakis Cares About Concerns	
		-----Of People Like You-----		----Of People Like You----	
		Yes	No	Yes	No
May 1988	ABC/WP	51	43	69	24
Oct. 1988	ABC/WP	52	39	63	28
Oct. 1988*	ABC/WP	52	41	56	36
Nov. 1988*	ABC/WP	52	42	63	32

NOTE: Question wording varies slightly. \*Asked of registered voters who said they were absolutely certain to vote.

- I am going to read some phrases. For each, tell me whether you feel it better describes George Bush or Michael Dukakis... Cares about people like me?

		Better Described As Caring About -----People Like You-----	
		GHW Bush	Dukakis
Jul. 1988	Gallup/Newsweek	26	54
Aug. 1988	Gallup/Newsweek	42	41

- Do you think George Bush or Michael Dukakis cares more about the needs and problems of people like yourself?

		Cares More About Needs & Problems Of -----People Like You-----	
		GHW Bush	Dukakis
Oct. 1988	CBS/NYT	38	42

### 1984 Election

- As I read a list of words and phrases that people use to describe political figures, please tell me if it applies to (Reagan/Mondale) or not. ...Compassionate?

		Reagan ----Compassionate?----		Mondale ----Compassionate?----	
		Yes	No	Yes	No
Jan. 1984*	Gallup/Newsweek	56	44	70	30
Jul. 1984	Gallup/Newsweek	50	38	59	14

NOTE: \*Registered voters with “no” and “don’t know” coded together.

- Suppose the candidates for President in November turn out to be former Vice President Walter Mondale and President Ronald Reagan. Which candidate do you think cares more about people like yourself – Mondale or Reagan – or don’t you think there would be any difference between them?

		-----Cares More About People Like Yourself-----		
		Reagan	Mondale	No Difference
Feb. 1984	LAT	23	34	37
Apr. 1984	LAT	22	34	41

- Does the following better describe Mondale or Reagan...Cares about people like me?

		Cares About -----People Like You-----	
		Reagan	Mondale
Jul. 1984*	Gallup/Newsweek	32	52
Sep. 1984	Gallup	41	46
Oct. 1984	Gallup/Newsweek	44	33

NOTE: \*Question wording was, “Is each of the following phrases a better description of Reagan or Mondale...?”

- Putting aside how you might vote, I'd like to ask you to compare Mondale with Reagan in some ways. Which one do you think best understands the problems of people like you, Mondale or Reagan?

		Best Understands Problems -----Of People Like You-----	
		Reagan	Mondale
Dec. 1983	ABC	38	53

- Which one do you think cares more about the concerns of people like you, Reagan or Mondale?

		Cares More About -----People Like You-----	
		Reagan	Mondale
Sep. 1984	ABC/WP	43	49

### 1980 Election

- Do you think (Reagan/Carter)... cares about ordinary people?

		Reagan Cares About ----Ordinary People----		Carter Cares About ----Ordinary People----	
		Yes	No	Yes	No
Sep. 1980	CBS/NYT	58	34	77	18

- Regardless of how you may or may not vote, which one of them – Carter or Reagan – do you think best understand the problems of people like you?

		Who Best ----Understands Problems---- Of People Like You	
		Reagan	Carter
Apr. 1980	WP	34	50

- Now, I would like to read you a list of sentences that people have used about candidates for public office. For each sentence, I would like you to tell me whether it fits John Anderson best, Jimmy Carter best, or Ronald Reagan best. If you feel the sentence fits none of them, or fits all of them about equally, just say so....'He cares about people like me'?

		-----Cares About People Like Me-----		
		Reagan	Carter	Anderson
Oct. 1980	LAT	29	35	12

- As far as you personally are concerned, who do you think was more effective in the debate on... being a warm person who really cares about people... Reagan or Carter?

		In Debate -----Who Was More Effective----- On Being Warm & Caring?	
		Reagan	Carter
Oct. 1980	ABC/Harris	41	42

NOTE: Asked of likely voters.

**1976 Election**

- Now I would like to read you a list of sentences that people have used about candidates for public office. For each sentence, I would like you to tell me whether it fits Gerald Ford or Jimmy Carter better. If you feel the sentence fits neither person, or fits both people equally, just say so...I think he really cares about people like me?

		Cares More About -----People Like You-----	
		Carter	Ford
Sep. 1976	CBS/NYT	50	25
Oct. 1976	CBS/NYT	52	24
Oct. 1976	CBS/NYT	52	26

NOTE: Asked of registered voters.

**Individual Candidates, Presidents, and Compassion**

**Cares About The Needs And Problems Of People Like Yourself**

- How much do you think George W. Bush cares about the needs and problems of people like yourself – a lot, some, not much, or not at all?

		GW Bush Cares About Needs & -----Problems Of People Like You-----			
		A Lot	Some	Not Much	Not At All
Mar. 2001	CBS/NYT	33	34	20	11
Jun. 2001	CBS/NYT	23	37	21	16
Jan. 2002	CBS/NYT	34	42	16	7
Nov. 2002	CBS/NYT	32	32	22	12
Jan. 2003	CBS/NYT	28	38	20	13
May 2003	CBS/NYT	33	34	20	12
Jul. 2003	CBS/NYT	29	32	22	15
Oct. 2003	CBS/NYT	25	33	21	19
Jan. 2004	CBS/NYT	23	36	21	19
Feb. 2004	CBS	27	35	20	18
Feb. 2004	CBS	28	29	20	21
Mar. 2004	CBS/NYT	28	35	19	17
Jun. 2004	CBS/NYT	27	30	22	20
Jul. 2004	CBS/NYT	29	30	19	20
Sept. 2004	CBS/NYT	29	29	22	19

- Do you think George W. Bush cares about the needs and problems of people like yourself, or not?

		GW Bush Cares About Needs & Problems Of -----People Like You-----	
		Yes	No
Jun. 1999	CBS	56	23
May 2000	CBS/NYT	52	41
Jul. 2000	CBS/NYT	55	36
Aug. 2000	CBS	54	37
Sep. 2000	CBS/NYT	49	41
Oct. 2000	CBS/NYT	53	39
Oct. 2000	CBS	52	39
Oct. 2000	CBS/NYT	55	37
Nov. 2000	CBS/NYT	53	37

Dec. 2000	CBS	57	34
Jan. 2001	CBS	53	38
Feb. 2001	CBS	56	36
Apr. 2001	CBS	51	42
Jan. 2002	CBS	68	25
Jun. 2002	CBS	61	33
Jul. 2002	CBS/NYT	68	27

- Do you think Bill Clinton cares about the needs and problems of people like yourself?

		Bill Clinton Cares About Needs & Problems Of -----People Like You-----	
		Yes	No
Sep. 1992	CBS/NYT	67	22
Oct. 1992	CBS/NYT	65	25
May 1993	CBS/NYT	58	35
Jan. 1993	CBS/NYT	74	19
Jun. 1993	CBS/NYT	62	31
Nov. 1993	CBS/NYT	65	31
Jun. 1993	CBS/NYT	64	31
Aug. 1994	CBS	57	38
Jan. 1994	CBS/NYT	58	36
Feb. 1995	CBS/NYT	60	36
Apr. 1995	CBS/NYT	61	33
Aug. 1996	CBS	63	32
Aug. 1996	CBS	62	32
Jan. 1996	CBS/NYT	69	27
Mar. 1996	CBS/NYT	61	35
Jul. 1996	CBS/NYT	60	34
Aug. 1996	CBS/NYT*	65	32
Sep. 1996	CBS/NYT*	62	33
Oct. 1996	CBS/NYT*	65	31
Jan. 1997	CBS	63	32
Jun. 1997	CBS	58	36
Jan. 1999	CBS	70	28
May 2000	CBS/NYT	59	38
Jan. 2001	CBS	64	33

NOTE: \*Registered voters.

- Do you think George Bush cares about the needs and problems of people like yourself?

		GHW Bush Cares About Needs & Problems Of -----People Like You-----	
		Yes	No
Mar. 1988	CBS/NYT	49	40
May 1988	CBS/NYT	46	41
Jul. 1988	CBS/NYT	49	37
Sep. 1988	CBS/NYT	53	34
Jan. 1989	CBS/NYT	63	29
Sep. 1989	CBS/NYT	69	26
Feb. 1992*	CBS/NYT	49	47
Sep. 1992	CBS/NYT	44	51
Oct. 1992	CBS/NYT	48	45

NOTE: \*Question wording began, "Regardless of how you intend to vote..."

- How much do you think George Bush cares about the needs and problems of people like yourself – a great deal, some, or not much?

		GHW Bush Cares About Needs & -----Problems Of People Like You-----		
		Great Deal	Some	Not Much
Mar. 1990	CBS/NYT	23	44	30
Jan. 1990	CBS/NYT	27	43	27
Mar. 1991	CBS/NYT	28	46	25
Jan. 1992	CBS/NYT	18	45	35
Jul. 1992	CBS/NYT	17	40	36

- How much do you think Ronald Reagan cares about the needs and problems of people like yourself – a great deal, some, or not much?

		Ronald Reagan Cares About Needs & -----Problems Of People Like You-----		
		Great Deal	Some	Not Much
Apr. 1980	CBS/NYT	28	41	23
Jun. 1980	CBS/NYT	31	40	18
Jan. 1981	CBS/NYT	42	36	18
Apr. 1981	CBS/NYT	35	36	27
Jan. 1982	CBS/NYT	22	34	41
Jun. 1983	CBS/NYT	24	32	41
Jan. 1984	CBS/NYT	26	39	33
Feb. 1984	CBS/NYT	28	35	34

- How much do you think Jimmy Carter cares about the needs and problems of people like yourself – a great deal, some, or not much?

		Jimmy Carter Cares About Needs & -----Problems Of People Like You-----		
		Great Deal	Some	Not Much
Apr. 1977	CBS/NYT	50	31	15
Jan. 1978	CBS/NYT	38	36	21
Jun. 1978	CBS/NYT	38	36	21
Feb. 1979	CBS/NYT	30	42	24
Apr. 1980	CBS/NYT	36	36	25
Jun. 1980	CBS/NYT	34	36	28

### **Understands The Problems Of People Like You**

- Please tell me whether the following statement applies to Bush or not...He understands the problems of people like you?

		GW Bush Understands ---- Problems Of People Like You----	
		Yes	No
Mar. 1999	ABC /WP	52	27
Sep. 1999	ABC/WP	50	39
Oct. 1999	ABC	54	39
Dec. 1999	ABC/WP	47	46
Jan. 2000	ABC/WP	46	49
Feb. 2000	ABC/WP	43	52
Feb. 2000	ABC/WP	43	51

Mar. 2000	ABC/WP	47	47
Apr. 2000	ABC/WP	48	46
Jun. 2000	ABC/WP	48	47
Jul. 2000	ABC/WP	44	51
Aug. 2000*	ABC/WP	50	46
Sep. 2000*	ABC/WP	47	49
Oct. 2000*	ABC/WP	50	44
Oct. 2000*	ABC/WP	46	46
Oct. 2000+	ABC	50	46
Nov. 2000+	ABC	49	46
Apr. 2001	ABC/WP	47	51
Jul. 2001	ABC/WP	45	54
Jan. 2002	ABC/WP	61	37
Jul. 2002	ABC/WP	57	41
Dec. 2002	ABC/WP	51	47
Apr. 2003	ABC/WP	51	48
Sep. 2003	ABC	48	51
Oct. 2003	ABC/WP	40	58
Dec. 2003	ABC/WP	45	53
Jan. 2004	ABC/WP	43	56
Feb. 2004	ABC/WP	41	57
Mar. 2004	ABC/WP	41	57
Apr. 2004	ABC/WP	41	57
May 2004	ABC/WP	42	57

NOTE: \*Registered voters. +Likely voters.

- Please tell me whether the following statement applies to Clinton or not...He understands the problems of people like you?

		Bill Clinton Understands -----Problems of People Like You-----	
		Yes	No
Apr. 1992	ABC	49	42
Jan. 1993	ABC/WP	76	20
Jan. 1994	ABC/WP	55	39
Jun. 1994	ABC/WP	52	46
Mar. 1995	ABC/WP	55	43
Apr. 1995	ABC/WP	50	49
Jun. 1995	ABC	51	45
Mar. 1996	ABC/WP	55	43
Jun. 1996	ABC/WP	56	41
Aug. 1996	ABC/WP	55	43
Sep. 1996*	ABC/WP	57	40
Jan. 1997	ABC/WP	50	49
Jun. 1997	ABC/WP	52	45
Feb. 1998	ABC	63	35
Mar. 1998	ABC	62	36
May 1998	ABC	65	34
Jul. 1998	ABC/WP	54	43
Aug. 1998	ABC	54	44
Aug. 1998	ABC/WP	63	36
Aug. 1998	ABC	59	38
Jan. 2001	ABC/WP	54	43

NOTE: \*Registered voters.

- Do you think George Bush does or does not understand the problems of people like you?

		GHW Bush Understands ---- Problems of People Like You----	
		Does	Does Not
Apr. 1992	ABC/WP	36	61
Jan. 1993	ABC/WP	38	59

### **Cares about The Needs Of People Like You**

- Thinking about the following characteristics and qualities, please say whether you think it applies or doesn't apply to George W. Bush. How about... cares about the needs of people like you?

		GW Bush Cares About Needs Of -----People Like You-----	
		Yes	No
Mar. 1999	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	59	32
Sep. 1999	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	59	32
Jan. 2000	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	56	33
Mar. 2000	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	51	42
Feb. 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	56	39
Apr. 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	59	39
Jul. 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	57	40
Oct. 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	69	29
Apr. 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	66	31
Jul. 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	60	36
Nov. 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	60	38
Jan. 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	56	41
Apr. 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	65	34
Jun. 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	57	42
Nov. 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	49	50

- I'm going to read off some personal characteristics and qualities. As I read each one, please tell me whether you think it applies or doesn't apply to Bill Clinton...Cares about the needs of people like you?

		Bill Clinton Cares About Needs Of -----People Like You-----	
		Yes	No
Apr. 1993	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	64	33
Jun. 1993	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	56	41
Jan. 1994	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	53	43
Jan. 1994	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	65	32
Mar. 1994	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	60	38
Apr. 1994	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	55	41
Jul. 1994	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	51	47
Dec. 1994	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	54	44
Jan. 1996	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	56	42
Mar. 1996	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	57	41
Jun. 1996	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	64	32
Aug. 1996	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	62	36
Feb. 1997	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	62	35
Aug. 1998	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	65	33
Aug. 1998	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	65	33

Aug. 1998	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	62	36
Jan. 1999	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	65	33

**Compassion and Understanding Ratings**

- How would you rate George W. Bush on the following qualities, using a five-point scale on which a “5” means a very good rating, a “1” means a very poor rating, and a “3” means a mixed rating? When it comes to... being compassionate enough to understand average people... how would you rate President Bush?

		GW Bush Is Compassionate & -----Understands Average People-----				
		5	4	3	2	1
		Very Good				Very Poor
		Rating				Rating
Dec. 1999	NBC/WSJ	22	24	28	10	12
Jan. 2001	NBC/WSJ	26	40	21	15	17
Apr. 2001	NBC/WSJ	21	21	27	14	16
Jan. 2002	NBC/WSJ	44	21	20	6	8
Jun. 2002	NBC/WSJ	33	23	21	10	12
Jan. 2003	NBC/WSJ	27	22	19	12	19
May 2003	NBC/WSJ	34	17	19	9	20
Nov. 2003	NBC/WSJ	29	17	19	9	25
Jun. 2004	NBC/WSJ	24	16	22	13	25

- Now, I would like to read you a list of qualities. For each item, I would like you to tell me how you would rate Bill Clinton in that area using a scale from 1 to 5, on which a ‘5’ means you would give him a very good rating, a ‘1’ means you would give him a very poor rating, and a ‘3’ means you would give him a mixed rating. You can use any number between 1 and 5, depending on how strongly you feel... Staying in touch with the American people?

		Bill Clinton Is Staying In Touch -----With the American People-----				
		5	4	3	2	1
		Very Good				Very Poor
		Rating				Rating
Jan. 1993	NBC/WSJ	46	27	20	4	2
Jun. 1993	NBC/WSJ	25	25	29	10	10
Oct. 1993	NBC/WSJ	28	29	25	11	7
May 1994	NBC/WSJ	29	29	23	11	7
Jun. 1994	NBC/WSJ	30	27	23	10	9
Oct. 1994	NBC/WSJ	22	29	26	12	10
Jan. 1994	NBC/WSJ	34	33	19	2	5
Oct. 1995	NBC/WSJ	8	30	25	12	24

**Cares About People Like You**

- Please tell me whether or not you think each of the following phrases describes George W. Bush. What about... cares about people like you?

		GW Bush Cares About -----People Like You-----	
		Yes	No
May 1999	PSRA/Newsweek	58	26

Jun. 1999	PSRA/Newsweek	52	20
Mar. 2000	PSRA/Newsweek	54	37
Jul. 2000	PSRA/Newsweek	55	34
Aug. 2000	PSRA/Newsweek	59	32
Aug. 2000	PSRA/Newsweek	55	31
Aug. 2000	PSRA/Newsweek	47	41
Aug. 2000	PSRA/Newsweek	51	39
Aug. 2000	PSRA/Newsweek	49	41
Sep. 2000	PSRA/Newsweek	47	40
Sep. 2000	PSRA/Newsweek	44	41
Sep. 2000	PSRA/Newsweek	51	34
Sep. 2000	PSRA/Newsweek	51	39
Oct. 2000	PSRA/Newsweek	48	42
Oct. 2000	PSRA/Newsweek	53	38
Oct. 2000	PSRA/Newsweek	53	39
Oct. 2000	PSRA/Newsweek	53	37
Nov. 2000	PSRA/Newsweek	51	41
Jan. 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	48	43
Jan. 2004*	PSRA/Newsweek	48	48
Mar. 18-19, 2004*	PSRA/Newsweek	49	46
Mar. 25-26, 2004*	PSRA/Newsweek	46	50
Jul. 8-9, 2004*	PSRA/Newsweek	49	46
Jul. 29-30, 2004*	PSRA/Newsweek	44	51
Sept. 2-3, 2004*	PSRA/Newsweek	53	43
Sept. 9-10, 2004*	PSRA/Newsweek	51	45
Sept. 30-Oct.2, 2004*	PSRA/Newsweek	49	47

NOTE: Question wording varies slightly. \*Asked of registered voters.

- I am going to read you a list of words and phrases which people use to describe political figures. For each word or phrase, please tell me whether it describes George W. Bush very well, well, not too well, or not well at all... Cares about people like you?

		-----GW Bush Cares About People Like You-----			
		Very Well	Well	Not Too Well	Not Well At All
Apr. 2001	Democracy Corps (Dem)	22	31	20	23
Sep. 2001	Democracy Corps (Dem)	21	33	23	20
Jun. 2001	Democracy Corps (Dem)	20	32	23	23
Jul. 2002	Democracy Corps (Dem)	26	34	22	17
Sep. 2003	Democracy Corps (Dem)	22	26	25	25
Oct. 2003	Democracy Corps (Dem)	26	26	19	26
Feb. 2004	Democracy Corps (Dem)	24	26	23	26
Mar. 2004*	Democracy Corps (Dem)	24	27	20	28
Apr. 2004*	Democracy Corps (Dem)	25	23	24	27

NOTE: \*Likely voters.

- Please tell me whether you think each of the following phrases applies to Bill Clinton. How about... cares about people like me... Does this apply to Clinton, or not?

		Bill Clinton Cares About -----People Like Me-----	
		Yes	No
Apr. 1993	PSRA/Newsweek	65	29
May 1993	PSRA/Newsweek	55	38
Jun. 1993	PSRA/Newsweek	56	40

- How much do you think George Bush cares about people like you?

		-----GHW Bush Cares About People Like You-----		
		Great Deal	Some	Not Much
Mar. 1991	Gallup/Newsweek	37	40	21

- Does the statement: he cares about the concerns of people like you, apply to George Bush or not?

		GHW Bush Cares About Concerns Of -----People Like You-----	
		Yes	No
May 1988	ABC/WP	51	43
Oct. 1988	ABC/WP	52	39
Oct. 1988*	ABC/WP	52	41
Nov. 1988*	ABC/WP	52	42
Jun. 1992	ABC/WP	39	61

NOTE: Question wording varies slightly. \*Asked of registered voters who said they were absolutely certain to vote.

- Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Ronald Reagan has shown he really cares about people like me?

		Ronald Reagan Has Shown He Cares About -----People Like Me-----	
		Agree	Disagree
Jul. 1981	NBC/AP	56	36
Sep. 1981	NBC/AP	52	41
Oct. 1981	NBC/AP	47	46
Jan. 1982	NBC/AP	47	49
Mar. 1982	NBC/AP	43	50
Aug. 1983	NBC/WP	40	54

- Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Jimmy Carter has shown he really cares about people like me?

		Jimmy Carter Has Shown He Cares About -----People Like Me-----	
		Agree	Disagree
Nov. 1979	NBC/AP	62	30

NOTE: Asked of Democrats.

- From each pair of opposites, would you select the term which you feel best describes Reagan...“cares” or “doesn’t care?”

		-----Ronald Reagan-----	
		Cares	Doesn't Care
May 1982	Gallup	39	51
Feb. 1983	Gallup	45	55
Jan. 1984	Gallup	48	52
Sep. 1984	Gallup	48	38

- Do you think that...Reagan cares about people like you?

		Ronald Reagan Cares About -----People Like You-----	
		Yes	No
Sep. 1984	CBS/NYT	52	43
Oct. 1984*	CBS/NYT	52	39
Oct. 1984*	CBS/NYT	56	37

NOTE: \*Registered voters.

- Jimmy Carter really cares about people like me...Agree, disagree?

		Jimmy Carter Cares About -----People Like Me-----	
Jul. 1976	Cambridge Reports	48	22
Jan. 1977	Cambridge Reports	72	11

- Would you agree or disagree with each of the following statements...Gerald Ford really cares about people like me?

		Gerald Ford Cares About -----People Like Me-----	
Jul. 1976	Cambridge Reports	47	35

### **In Touch/Out Of Touch With Americans**

- Would you say President Bush is in touch or out of touch with the problems ordinary Americans face in their daily lives?

		GW Bush Is In Touch With Problems Of ---- Ordinary Americans----	
		Yes	No
Jul. 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	47	50
May 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	62	36
Jan. 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	50	48
Apr. 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	50	48

- Do you think President Bush is in touch or out of touch with the problems people like you face in their daily lives?

		GW Bush Is In Touch With Problems Of ----- People Like You-----	
		In Touch	Out Of Touch
		Yes	No
Feb. 2003	Harris/CNN/Time	39	55
Jan. 2004	Harris/CNN/Time	40	5

- In your view, which of these descriptions apply and which do not apply to Bill Clinton...out of touch with the American people?

		Bill Clinton Is Out Of Touch With ----- American People-----	
		Applies Yes	Does Not Apply No
May 1993	Yankelovich/CNN/Time	43	52
Jan. 1994	Yankelovich/CNN/Time	37	59
Aug. 1994	Yankelovich/CNN/Time	45	51

- Recently, there has been a lot of discussion about whether Bill Clinton has kept “in touch” with the average person or has lost touch. Since becoming President, do you think Bill Clinton has kept in touch with what average people think, or has he lost touch with what average people thinking?

		Bill Clinton Has Kept In Touch -----With Average People-----	
		In Touch	Lost Touch
May 1993	CBS	41	52
Jun. 1993	CBS/NYT	43	50
Jun. 1993	CBS/NYT	41	54

**Is He Compassionate?**

- I would like to read you a list of qualities of traits. For each one of these traits, please tell me, using a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is “not at all describes” and 10 is “very well describes”, how well that particular trait describes Bill Clinton. Compassionate?

Jun. 1996	Battleground	
	Point 0-2 = Not at all describes	10
	Point 3-4 = A little	8
	Point 5 = Neutral	15
	Point 6-8 = Somewhat	38
	Point 9-10 = Very well describes	28

- In your opinion does the phrase “compassionate” describe George Bush extremely well, quite well, not too well or not well at all?

		Extremely Well	Quite Well	Not Too Well	Not Well At All
Feb. 1992	ABC/WP	11	39	32	16

- Here are some statements about President Reagan. Will you tell me for each one whether you mostly agree or mostly disagree...He is a compassionate and caring man?

		Agree	Disagree
Dec. 1982	Time/Yankelovich	62	31

**“Compassionate Conservatism”**

- George W. Bush has frequently described himself as a “compassionate conservative.” Do you think Bush has -- or has not-- governed in a way that is truly compassionate?

		Yes, Has	No, Has Not
Feb. 2003+	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	64	34
Feb. 2003+	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	68	29

NOTE: +Same question asked of different half-samples.

- George W. Bush has frequently described himself as a “compassionate conservative.” Do you think Bush will or will not govern in a way that is truly compassionate?

		Will	Will Not
Jan. 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	58	39

- Do you think George W. Bush has exhibited “compassion” in how he has conducted himself in office, or don’t you feel that way?

		Yes, Describes Him	No, Does Not Describe Him
Nov. 2003	Harris/CNN/Time	62	33

- As you may know, during his campaign for president George W. Bush described himself as a compassionate conservative. Do you think the label “compassionate conservative” describes George W. Bush or don’t you think it describes him?

		Yes	No
Sep. 2003	Harris/CNN/Time	44	50

NOTE: When broken down by party, 72 percent of Republicans, 27 percent of Democrats, and 39 percent of Independents thought the label “compassionate conservative” described Bush.

- Please tell me whether you think each of the following applies or does not apply to George W. Bush... Is compassionate?

		Applies	Does Not Apply
Jul. 2001	Harris/CNN/Time	58	35

- While the presidential campaign has just begun, the candidates are already beginning to talk about certain issues. As I read from a list tell me whether or not you have heard of each theme or issue. Have you heard about... compassionate conservatism... or not?

		Have Heard Of	Have Not Heard Of
Dec. 1999	PSRA/Pew	29	71

- As you may know, George W. Bush has called himself a compassionate conservative. What do you think he means by the term?

Nov. 1999	LAT	Don’t Know	46
		Cares about all Americans	17
		It means nothing	13
		Fiscal conservative/	
		Moderate on social issues	8
		Moderate/Not rightwing	4

Understands other points of view	3
Racial/Ethnic inclusiveness	2
Wants everyone's vote	1
Lip-service/No follow through	1
Other	5

NOTE: Asked of registered voters.

- Whatever you think compassionate conservative means, would you say George W. Bush is a compassionate conservative or not?

		Yes	No
Jun. 1999*	PSRA/Pew	51	18
Nov. 1999+	LAT	38	24

NOTE: \*Question wording was, "please tell me whether or not you think each of the following phrases describes Texas Governor George W. Bush. What about...compassionate conservative? Does this describe George W. Bush, or not? +Asked of registered voters.

## Public Officials

- Now I'd like your opinions on a number of different things. As I read each one, tell me whether you more or less agree with it, or more or less disagree...Most public officials (people in public office) are not really interested in the problems of the average man? (NORC)
- Do you agree or disagree with the following statements...I don't think public officials care much what people like me think? (NES)

	Most Public Officials Not Interested In Problems -----Of Average Man-----		Public Officials Don't Care Much What People -----Like Me Think-----	
	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
1952			35	63
1956			26	71
1960			25	73
1963*	31	69		
1964	44	48	36	62
1966			34	57
1968			43	55
1970			47	50
1972			49	49
1974	64	33	50	46
1976	65	33	51	44
1977	63	34		
1978			51	45
1980	71	26	52	43
1982	66	31	47	50
1984	68	30	42	57
1985	63	34		
1986			52	43
1987	68	30		
1988	66	31	51	37
1989	64	33		
1990	67	30	63	23
1991	67	29		
1992			52	37
1993	74	24		
1994	74	24	66	22

1996	61	24
1998	62	25
2000	56	33
2002	31	46

NOTE: NES questions are asked after Election Day. \*"Disagree" and "don't know" are coded together.

For comments or questions, contact Karlyn H. Bowman ([kbowman@aei.org](mailto:kbowman@aei.org)) or Bryan O'Keefe ([bokeefe@aei.org](mailto:bokeefe@aei.org)).

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