March 2004 Statewide Keystone Poll

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

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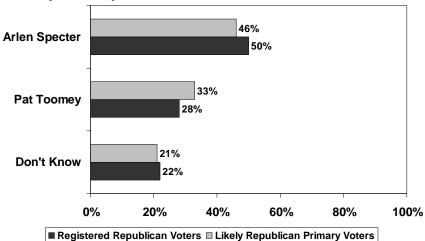


The Republican US Senate Primary

The Republican primary race for Pennsylvania's U.S. Senate seat is being closely watched by political observers throughout the country, as incumbent Arlen Specter battles his strongest primary opponent, US Representative Pat Toomey. The latest Franklin & Marshall Keystone Poll shows Specter holding a large lead among registered Republican voters, 50 percent to 28 percent. Yet, the survey also shows that Specter's lead is much narrower among likely primary voters, 46 percent to 33 percent, with about one in five (21%) undecided (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Republican Primary for US Senate, Vote Choice

If the Republican primary election for U.S. Senate was being held today and the candidates were Arlen Specter and Pat Toomey, would you vote for...



The demographic components of support in the Senate race are interesting to note. Contrary to expectations, Specter does as well among born again Christians as he does among non-born again voters. Further, he also leads among conservatives. These findings suggest that Specter's efforts to inoculate himself against conservative attacks with endorsements from prominent conservative Senator Rick Santorum and President Bush seems to have helped him to this point in the campaign. Geographically, Specter does best in Northwestern, Allegheny, Central, and Southeastern Pennsylvania. Toomey leads in the Northeast and Southwest. Attachment A-1 displays the demographic components of each candidate's support.

A major obstacle to the Toomey campaign has been his relative anonymity among the state's voters. Toomey continues to struggle, although he has shown some improvement since February (see Table 1). Specter's name recognition has held constant. Because this is a primary election, it is appropriate to consider favorability ratings only for Republican voters. Arlen Specter's favorable ratings are at 42 percent for Republicans, while his unfavorable ratings are at 26 percent, which are much the same as

his ratings among all voters. Toomey's ratings among Republicans are better than his ratings among all voters, with 16 percent holding a favorable opinion of the congressman and 14 percent holding an unfavorable opinion of him. Toomey remains unknown to half (51%) of registered Republicans. For both groups of voters, Toomey continues to struggle with his name recognition.

Table 1. Favorability Ratings for Arlen Specter and Pat					
Toomey, Time Ser	ies Favorable	Not Favorable	Undecided	Don't	
ARLEN SPECTER		ravorabic		KIIOW	
March 2004	41%	25%	23%	11%	
February 2004	41%	25%	13%	21%	
November 2003	46%	26%	17%	11%	
April 2003	46%	23%	14%	17%	
September 1998	57%	17%	19%	7%	
July 1998	57%	19%	15%	9%	
March 1998	53%	27%	15%	5%	
October 1997	52%	20%	18%	10%	
April 1995	32%	31%	23%	14%	
October 1992	34%	30%	26%	7%	
April 1992	55%	28%	17%		
PAT TOOMEY					
March 2004	13%	17%	17%	54%	
February 2004	7%	10%	8%	76%	
November 2003	6%	5%	8%	81%	
April 2003	6%	4%	7%	82%	

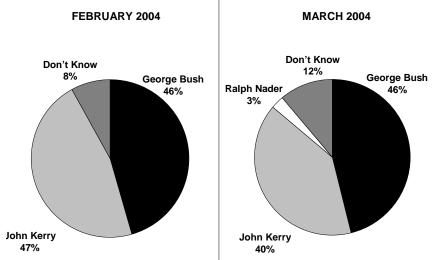
The Presidential Race in Pennsylvania

In the month since the last Keystone Poll, three events have shaped the political environment. Senator John Kerry wrapped up the democratic nomination, the President's re-election campaign

has moved into high gear, and former Bush adviser Richard Clarke's book and public appearances have gained widespread attention. Today, President Bush holds a narrow lead over Democratic challenger John Kerry, 46 percent to 40 percent. The President narrowly trailed Kerry in the February Keystone Poll. In the current poll, the President's support is identical to his February numbers, but Kerry's numbers have slipped a bit, as Figure 2 shows. The demographic components of each candidate's support are presented in Attachment A-2.

Figure 2. Presidential Vote Choice in Pennsylvania

If the election for President was being held today, who would you vote for?



Note: Ralph Nader was not a response option in the February 2004 Keystone Poll.

Part of the reason for Kerry's decline is that his favorability ratings have shifted in the past month, while the President's favorability ratings have remained stable. More voters now have an unfavorable opinion of Kerry than they did in February (see Table 2).

Table 2. Favorability Ratings for George Bush and John				
Kerry, Time Seri				
	Favorable	Not Favorable	Undecided	Don't know
GEORGE BUSH				
March 2004	45%	42%	12%	2%
February 2004	46%	43%	9%	3%
November 2003	49%	40%	11%	1%
April 2003	63%	25%	10%	2%
October 2000	43%	36%	18%	3%
July 2000	39%	35%	19%	7%
February 2000	32%	38%	24%	7%
July 1999	38%	16%	18%	28
JOHN KERRY				
March 2004	37%	33%	18%	12%
February 2004	36%	26%	13%	25%

Voters say that the economy (31%) and homeland security (22%) are the most important issues for determining their presidential vote, but these issues differ in importance depending on which candidate a respondent supports. More Bush voters place terrorism and homeland security ahead of the economy,

while Kerry voters are most likely to mention the economy as the reason for their vote (see Table 3).

Table 3. Voting Determinants by Presidential Vote Choice					
	George Bush	John Kerry			
Terrorism and Homeland Security	39%	8%			
Economy	21%	42%			
Healthcare (including Medicare)	9%	16%			
American jobs and foreign competition	7%	12%			
Something else	7%	2%			
Situation in Iraq	6%	13%			
Don't know	5%	2%			
Taxes	4%	1%			
Education	3%	5%			

The President's job performance ratings have remained consistent since February (see Table 4). Fewer than half (45%) of the state's voters believe President Bush deserves re-election.

Table 4. President Bush Job Approval Ratings, Time Series					
	Excellent	Good	Only a	Poor	Do Not
	job	job	fair job	job	Know
March 2004	15%	34%	26%	24%	1%
February 2004	13%	32%	26%	28%	1%
November 2003	15%	32%	25%	28%	2%
April 2003	33%	31%	19%	15%	2%

Methodology. This release summarizes the findings of a survey of 565 registered voters in Pennsylvania conducted by Franklin and Marshall College's Center for Opinion Research. The survey interviewing was conducted between March 25 and March 29, 2004. The sample error for the total sample is plus or minus 4.1 percent. Telephone numbers were generated via random digit dialing. A respondent was randomly selected from within each household. Respondents were screened to determine registration status. The Franklin & Marshall Keystone Poll defines likely voters as those who say they are "certain to vote" in the upcoming primary and who also say they have been "very much interested" in following the political campaigns. The survey shows that 35 percent of registered voters qualify as likely primary voters.

Attachment A-1: US Senate Vote Choice, Republican Primary by Demographics

If the Republican primary election for U.S. Senate was being held today and the candidates were Arlen Specter and Pat Toomey, would you vote for...

	A 7	D (D 14
	Arlen Specter	Pat Toomey	Don't know
Region	Speciel	1 oomey	KIIUW
Philadelphia Philadelphia	40%	40%	20%
Northeast	32%	36%	32%
Allegheny	52%	43%	5%
Southwest	23%	54%	23%
Northwest	52%	27%	21%
Central	54%	24%	21%
Southeast	54%	19%	26%
Education	3470	1970	2070
High school graduate or less	53%	26%	21%
Some college	48%	26%	25%
College degree	46%	35%	19%
Likely Voters	+070	3370	17/0
Not certain to vote	52%	26%	23%
Certain to vote	46%	33%	21%
	40%	33%	2170
Religion	4.40/	270/	200/
Catholic	44%	37%	20%
Protestant	51%	27%	22%
Jewish F. L. Ali A	50%	50%	0%
Born Again Christian or Fundamentalist	500/	200/	220/
Yes	50%	28%	22%
No	48%	28%	24%
Political Ideology			
Liberal	40%	40%	20%
Moderate	60%	22%	17%
Conservative	43%	31%	26%
Union Household			
Yes	68%	16%	16%
No	47%	30%	23%
Gun Owner			
Yes	40%	33%	27%
No	55%	25%	19%
Racial Background			
White	49%	28%	23%
Nonwhite	46%	46%	8%
Household Income			
Under \$20,000	39%	35%	26%
\$20 - \$50,000	50%	28%	22%
Over \$50,000	51%	29%	20%
Gender			
Male	48%	32%	19%
Female	50%	26%	24%
Age	3070	2070	21/0
18-24	36%	55%	9%
25-34	57%	22%	22%
35-44	44%	21%	35%
45-54	49%	33%	18%
15 5T			
55-64	56%	31%	13%

Note: Percentage in this table reflect all registered voters.

If the election for President was being held today and the candidates were George Bush, the Republican, John Kerry, the Democrat, and Ralph Nader, the Independent, would you vote for...

	George Bush	John Kerry	Ralph Nader	Don't Know
Region			-	
Philadelphia	31%	56%	2%	10%
Northeast	39%	45%	3%	13%
Allegheny	33%	49%	3%	15%
Southwest	45%	40%	2%	13%
Northwest	51%	39%	3%	7%
Central	55%	32%	2%	11%
Southeast	44%	38%	5%	13%
Education				
High school graduate or less	46%	38%	3%	13%
Some college	45%	43%	1%	11%
College degree	46%	37%	6%	11%
Party Registration				
Republican	74%	15%	2%	9%
Democrat	16%	68%	2%	14%
Independent	39%	34%	13%	13%
Other	36%	36%	0%	29%
Religion				
Catholic	45%	39%	2%	14%
Protestant	55%	33%	2%	10%
Jewish	18%	73%	0%	9%
Born Again Christian or Fundamentalist				
Yes	54%	32%	2%	12%
No	39%	46%	3%	12%
Political Ideology				
Liberal	8%	74%	8%	11%
Moderate	35%	50%	3%	13%
Conservative	77%	14%	1%	8%
Union Household			•	
Yes	41%	48%	0%	11%
No	46%	38%	3%	12%
Gun Owner	1070	3070	- 370	1270
Yes	55%	36%	3%	6%
No	41%	41%	3%	14%
Racial Background	7170	71 /0	370	17/0
White	49%	36%	3%	12%
Nonwhite	49% 17%	68%	5%	10%
	1 / 70	06%	- 3%	10%
Household Income	270/	400/	<i>F</i> 0/	100/
Under \$20,000	27%	48%	5%	19%
\$20 - \$50,000 One \$50,000	46%	40%	4%	10%
Over \$50,000	50%	39%	1%	10%
Gender				
Male	46%	37%	4%	13%
Female	45%	41%	2%	11%
Age				
18-24	30%	44%	7%	19%
25-34	41%	32%	6%	21%
35-44	61%	30%	2%	6%
45-54	52%	39%	1%	7%
55-64	44%	41%	4%	12%
Over 65	37%	48%	2%	13%

Note: Percentage in this table reflect all registered voters.

Attachment A-3: Bush Hard Re-elect by Demographics

Do you believe that George Bush has done a good enough job as President to deserve re-election, or do you believe it is time for a change?

	Deserves Re-election	Time for a change	Don't know
Region			
Philadelphia	32%	60%	9%
Northeast	39%	55%	6%
Allegheny	34%	59%	7%
Southwest	40%	43%	17%
Northwest	46%	46%	8%
Central	55%	39%	6%
Southeast	45%	51%	4%
Education	1370	3170	170
High school graduate or less	46%	46%	8%
Some college	45%	51%	4%
College degree	44%	44%	11%
Party Registration		7770	1170
Republican	71%	22%	7%
Democrat	20%	74%	7%
Independent	35%	50%	15%
Other	21%	71%	7%
Religion	<i>L</i> 1 70	/ 1 70	1 70
Catholic	47%	47%	6%
Protestant	53%	39%	8%
Jewish	18%	82%	0%
Born Again Christian or Fundamentalist	1070	0270	070
Yes	53%	38%	9%
No	38%	55%	7%
Political Ideology	3070	3370	7 /0
Liberal	9%	87%	4%
Moderate	35%	59%	7%
Conservative	76%	16%	8%
Union Household	7070	1070	0 70
Yes	41%	50%	9%
No		47%	7%
	46%	47%	. /%
Gun Owner	520/	420/	<i>C</i> 0/
Yes	52%	42%	6%
No	42%	50%	8%
Racial Background	400/	450/	70/
White	48%	45%	7%
Nonwhite	17%	73%	10%
Household Income	220/	E 00/	100/
Under \$20,000	23%	58%	19%
\$20 - \$50,000	46%	47%	7%
Over \$50,000	50%	45%	5%
Gender			
Male	46%	45%	9%
Female	45%	49%	6%
Age			
18-24	22%	63%	15%
25-34	39%	54%	7%
35-44	60%	37%	4%
45-54	52%	41%	7%
	44%	48%	
55-64	44%	48%	8%

Note: Percentage in this table reflect all registered voters.

REG Some people are registered to vote, and many others are not. Are you currently registered to vote at your present address?

100% Yes

PARTY Are you currently registered as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or something else?

Feb.	March	
n=412	n=565	
45%	47%	Republican
40%	44%	Democrat
13%	7%	Independent
2%	3%	Other

Q3 Many people will vote in the upcoming primary election in April; however, many other people will not. What would you say are the chances of your voting in the upcoming primary election? Are you certain to vote, will you probably vote, are the chances fifty-fifty you will vote, or don't you think that you will vote in the primary election?

64% Certain to vote 17% Probably will vote 8% 50-50 chance of voting 8% Will not vote 2% Do not know

Q4 Some people don't pay much attention to political campaigns. How about you? Would you say that you have been very much interested, somewhat interested, or not very interested in following the political campaigns so far this year?

45% Very much interested45% Somewhat interested10% Not very interested

Q5 All in all, do you think things in Pennsylvania are generally headed in the right direction or off on the wrong track?

33% Headed in the right direction
50% Off on the wrong track
18% Do not know

Int I'd like to ask you a few questions about some people involved in politics today. Please tell me if your opinion of the person is favorable, not favorable, undecided, or if you haven't heard enough about the person to have an opinion. First, is your opinion of [FILL] ...

	Favorable	Not Favorable	Undecided	Don't know
GEORGE BUSH				
March 2004	45%	42%	12%	2%
February 2004	46%	43%	9%	3%
November 2003	49%	40%	11%	1%
April 2003	63%	25%	10%	2%
October 2000	43%	36%	18%	3%
July 2000	39%	35%	19%	7%
February 2000	32%	38%	24%	7%
July 1999	38%	16%	18%	28
ARLEN SPECTER				
March 2004	41%	25%	23%	11%
February 2004	41%	25%	13%	21%
November 2003	46%	26%	17%	11%
April 2003	46%	23%	14%	17%
September 1998	57%	17%	19%	7%
July 1998	57%	19%	15%	9%
March 1998	53%	27%	15%	5%
October 1997	52%	20%	18%	10%
April 1995	32%	31%	23%	14%
October 1992	34%	30%	26%	7%
April 1992	55%	28%	17%	
PAT TOOMEY				
March 2004	13%	17%	17%	54%
February 2004	7%	10%	8%	76%
November 2003	6%	5%	8%	81%
April 2003	6%	4%	7%	82%
JOHN KERRY				
March 2004	37%	33%	18%	12%
February 2004	36%	26%	13%	25%

Q10 If the Republican primary election for U.S. Senate was being held today and the candidates were Arlen Specter and Pat Toomey, would you vote for...

<u>Feb</u> . n=176	March n=258	
55%	50%	Arlen Specter
17%	28%	Pat Toomey
28%	22%	Do not know

Q11 Are you absolutely certain you will vote for [FILL] in the election, or are you still making up your mind?

n=193

65%	Absolutely certain
33%	Still making up mind
2%	Do not know

Q12 As of today, do you lean more to...

n=54

19% Arlen Specter15% Pat Toomey67% Do not know

Q13 If the election for President was being held today and the candidates were George Bush, the Republican, John Kerry, the Democrat, and Ralph Nader, the Independent, would you vote for...

(Ralph Nader was not a response option in Feb. poll)

<u>Feb</u> .	<u>March</u>	
n=398	n=558	
46%	46%	George Bush
47%	40%	John Kerry
	3%	Ralph Nader
8%	12%	Do not know

Q14 Are you absolutely certain you will vote for [FILL] in the election, or are you still making up your mind?

n = 486

82% Absolutely certain 18% Still making up mind 1% Do not know

As of today, do you lean more to...

n=65

Q15

28% George Bush
28% John Kerry
6% Ralph Nader
39% Do not know

What is the main reason you plan to vote for [FILL]? Is it because you like him as a person, you prefer his stand on some issues, you dislike the other candidates, you usually vote for [FILL], or is there some other reason you plan to vote for [FILL]?

	George Bush	John Kerry
	n=252	n=217
You like him as a person	20%	8%
You prefer his stand on some issues	63%	39%
You dislike the other candidates	4%	33%
You usually vote for [FILL]	2%	11%
Some other reason	9%	9%
Do not know	2%	1%

Q17 What is it you like most about him?

	George Bush	John Kerry
	n=51	n=16
Religious beliefs	16%	0%
His sincerity	12%	6%
Character	12%	6%
Morals	10%	0%
He is going his best	8%	0%
Party affiliation	6%	0%
Issues with the war	6%	0%
General positive comment	6%	13%
Working class, relates to people	4%	6%
Stability	4%	0%
Everything	4%	0%
Other	4%	19%
Stand on abortion	2%	6%
Tax issues	2%	0%
Family values	2%	0%
Handling of 9-11	2%	0%
Helping the economy	2%	0%
Job Performance in MASS	0%	6%
Vision for the country	0%	13%
Public speaking skills	0%	6%
Skilled in foreign policy	0%	6%
Work ethic	0%	6%
General negative comment	0%	6%

Q18 Which of his issue positions are most important?

	George Bush	John Kerry
	n=154	n=82
Assault on terrorism	21%	4%
Defense, war	12%	6%
Abortion, women's rights	10%	1%
Economy policy, taxes	9%	26%
Foreign policies	6%	2%
Gay marriage	5%	0%
Family values	5%	0%
National security	4%	0%
Homeland security	4%	0%
Don't know	4%	10%
Unemployment	3%	15%
Religious issues	3%	0%
Education	3%	3%
Handling of 9-11	3%	0%
International issues	2%	2%
Good of the country	2%	1%
Other	2%	7%
Healthcare	1%	7%
Conservative values	1%	1%
Do not like any	1%	2%
Getting soldiers out of Iraq	0%	5%
Environment	0%	5%
War vets	0%	1%

Q19 What do you dislike about [FILL]?

	George Bush	John Kerry
	n=11	n=66
Not trustworthy	27%	21%
Not credible	18%	2%
Negative campaigning	18%	0%
Just like Bush better	9%	3%
Poor management of war	9%	12%
Do not like as a person	9%	9%
Other	9%	11%
Do not trust campaigns	0%	3%
His policies	0%	5%
Not leading country in the right direction	0%	6%
Taxes	0%	3%
Weakening the economy	0%	11%
Poor handling of 9-11	0%	2%
Environment program	0%	2%
War on Iraq	0%	5%
No real change	0%	0%
Spending	0%	2%
Everything	0%	2%
Issue with Kerry and Vietnam	0%	0%
General negative comment	0%	2%
Don't know	0%	3%

- Q20 Which of the following issues do you think will be most important in determining your vote for President this year the economy, terrorism and homeland security, health care (including Medicare), American jobs and foreign competition, the situation in Iraq, education, taxes, or something else?
 - 31% The economy
 - 22% Terrorism and homeland security
 - 12% Health care (including Medicare)
 - 10% American jobs and foreign competition
 - 8% The situation in Iraq
 - 5% Education
 - 3% Taxes
 - 5% Something else
 - 3% Do not know
- Q21 Do you believe that George Bush has done a good enough job as President to deserve re-election, or do you believe it is time for a change?
 - 45% Deserves re-election
 - 48% Time for a change
 - 7% Do not know
- Would you re-elect George Bush no matter who ran against him?
 - n=244
 - 62% Yes
 - 29% No
 - 9% Do not know
- Q23 How would you rate the way George Bush is handling his job as President? Would you say he is doing an excellent job, a good job, only a fair job, or a poor job as President?

Feb.	<u>March</u>	
n=398	n=560	
13%	15%	Excellent job
32%	34%	Good job
26%	26%	Only a fair job
28%	24%	Poor job
1%	1%	Do not know

Int2 I'm going to read you a list of characteristics that some might use to describe George Bush. Please tell me how well you think each statement describes George Bush. Very well, pretty well, not so well, or not at all?

	Very	Pretty	Not so	Not at	Do not
	well	well	well	all	know
Shows strong leadership qualities	35%	32%	20%	11%	3%
Honest and ethical	32%	25%	24%	16%	4%
Cares about people like you	26%	24%	23%	24%	3%
Personally likable	33%	36%	13%	15%	4%
Says what he believes, not what people want to	38%	31%	12%	13%	6%
hear					
Can be trusted to make the right decisions in	29%	25%	16%	25%	5%
international crises					
Too conservative	23%	23%	23%	24%	8%

Int3 I'm going to read you a list of characteristics that some might use to describe John Kerry. Please tell me how well you think each statement describes John Kerry. Very well, pretty well, not so well, or not at all?

	Very	Pretty	Not so	Not at	Do not
	well	well	well	all	know
Shows strong leadership qualities	13%	37%	21%	8%	21%
Honest and ethical	14%	34%	19%	10%	24%
Cares about people like you	17%	35%	17%	10%	22%
Personally likable	20%	36%	16%	10%	18%
Says what he believes, not what people want to	15%	29%	19%	16%	22%
hear					
Can be trusted to make the right decisions in	12%	22%	19%	13%	34%
international crises					
Too liberal	23%	17%	19%	18%	23%

CNTY What is the name of the county you live in?

9% Philadelphia

12% Northeast

11% Allegheny

9% Southwest

11% Northwest

30% Central

19% Southeast

AGE What was your age on your last birthday?

5% 18-24

13% 25-34

15% 35-44

24% 45-54

19% 55-64

24% 65 and over

EDUC What was the last grade level of schooling you have completed?

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5%
      Non high school graduate
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33% High school graduate

12% Some college

11% Two year or tech degree

Four year college degree 24%

16% Postgraduate degree

MAR What is your current marital status?

21% Single, never married

57% Married

2% Separated

6% Divorced

14% Widow, widower

LAB Are you or is any member of your household a member of a labor union?

13% Yes

86% No

1% Do not know

Politically speaking, do you consider yourself to be a liberal, a moderate, or a conservative?

<u>Feb.</u> n=398	March n=564	
20%	16%	Liberal
41%	44%	Moderate
33%	34%	Conservative
7%	6%	Do not know

ABRT Do you think that abortion should be...

16% Legal under any circumstances

58% Legal under certain circumstances

24% Illegal in all circumstances

Don't know 3%

Are you a gun owner? Q45

29% Yes 71% No

Q46 Generally speaking, do you favor or oppose creating more laws that regulate gun ownership? Is that strongly or somewhat favor/oppose?

42% Strongly favor

17% Somewhat favor

14% Somewhat oppose

Strongly oppose 21%

7% Do not know

HISP Are you Hispanic or Latino?

2% Yes 98% No

RACE Which of the following categories best describes your racial background?

89% White 11% Non white

REL Do you consider yourself to be Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, or something else?

41% Catholic
56% Protestant
3% Jewish
1% Something else
0% Do not know

BAC Do you consider yourself to be a born-again Christian or fundamentalist?

Feb.	March	
40%	37%	Yes
56%	60%	No
4%	3%	Do not know

Q51 Do you believe that religion can answer all or most of today's problems?

<u>Feb.</u>	<u>March</u>	
39%	41%	Yes
56%	53%	No
5%	5%	Do not know

Which of these statements comes closest to describing your feelings about the Bible? The Bible is the actual word of God and is to be taken literally, word for word, OR the Bible is the inspired word of God but not everything in it should be taken literally, word for word, OR the Bible is an ancient book of fables, legends, history, and moral precepts recorded by men.

Feb.	March	
25%	28%	The Bible is the actual word of God and is to be taken literally, word for word
57%	54%	The Bible is the inspired word of God but not everything in it should be taken
		literally, word for word
15%	15%	The Bible is an ancient book of fables, legends, history, and moral precepts
		recorded by men
3%	4%	Do not know

Q53 Do you or members of your household participate in a retirement plan that invests in stocks and other securities?

Feb.	<u>March</u>	
67%	67%	Yes
30%	32%	No
3%	1%	Do not know

Q54 In the past year, have you personally had an increase, a decrease, or no change in your household income? Would you say it was a small, moderate, or large increase/decrease?

Large increase 3% 17% Moderate increase 24% Small increase 33% No change 8% Small decrease 7% Moderate decrease 7% Large decrease 1% Do not know

INC1 Total family income

4% Under \$10,000 11% \$10,000-\$20,000 13% \$20,000-\$30,000 15% \$30,000-\$40,000 10% \$40,000-\$50,000 42% Over \$50,000 4% Do not know

DONE Gender of respondent

40% Male 60% Female