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FOR RELEASE: THURSDAY, JULY 8, 2004, 8:00 A.M.

**Choice of President Matters More in 2004**  
**VOTERS MORE ENGAGED BUT CAMPAIGN GETS LUKEWARM RATINGS**

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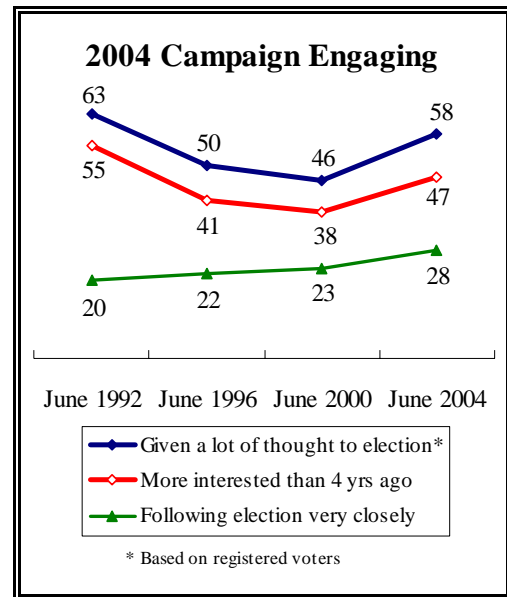
- Voters see clear differences between Bush, Kerry
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## **Choice of President Matters More in 2004** **VOTERS MORE ENGAGED BUT CAMPAIGN GETS LUKEWARM RATINGS**

The presidential election is capturing the public's attention much more now than it did at this point four and eight years ago. Nearly half of Americans (47%) say they are more interested in politics than they were four years ago, up from 38% who expressed that view in June 2000. Public attention to election news is greater now than at a comparable point in the last three campaigns. And this is translating into a more focused electorate – nearly six-in-ten voters (58%) say they are giving “quite a lot” of thought to the election, compared with 46% who said that four years ago at this time.



The rise in campaign interest is directly related to a growing sense of the election's importance. The contrast with the last campaign is striking – four years ago fewer than half of Americans (45%) said it “really matters” who wins the election; today, 63% say the election result really matters. The shift in opinion has been especially notable among Democrats and independents. Fully two-thirds of Democrats and 56% of independents now say they election really matters; fewer than half in both groups expressed that view in June 2000 (46%, 39%).

These measures bode well for a possible increase in voter turnout from the 51% of Americans age 18 and older who cast ballots in 2000. But other indicators show that the public, despite viewing the presidential contest as more important, has a typically skeptical view of the campaign and the way it is being conducted. As in 1996 and 2000, most Americans (57%) say they find the campaign “dull,” and the Bush and Kerry campaigns, on average, only receive a grade of C from the potential electorate.

In a similar vein, while most (79%) say the 2004 election is important, roughly half of Americans are already voicing unhappiness with the campaign,

	Total	-- Party ID --		
		Rep	Dem	Ind
<i>2004 presidential race</i>	%	%	%	%
Really matters who wins	63	70	67	56
Things will be the same	32	26	28	40
Don't know	5	4	5	4
	100	100	100	100
<i>2000 presidential race</i>				
Really matters who wins	45	56	46	39
Things will be the same	49	41	45	58
Don't know	6	3	9	3
	100	100	100	100

Based on general public

saying it is too long (52%), uninformative (48%) and too negative (45%). And swing voters – those who are undecided or still may change their mind – do not view this election as particularly consequential. Only about four-in-ten swing voters (39%) think it really matters who wins in the fall, barely half the number of committed Bush voters (75%) and Kerry voters (74%) who say the election outcome really matters.

The latest national survey by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, conducted June 3-13 among 1,806 Americans (1,426 registered voters), shows that large majorities in both parties, as well as 63% of independents, perceive clear differences between the candidates, which is a marked departure from 2000. Overall, 68% of voters believe President Bush and Sen. John Kerry take different positions on issues, while 21% view their issue positions as similar. That is greater than the percentage of voters who saw significant differences between Bush and Al Gore at the *end* of the 2000 campaign (60%). At this stage four years ago, just 51% believed there were obvious differences in Bush and Gore’s positions.

The survey finds that voters continue to say that Kerry has been more critical of Bush, rather than vice versa. More than four-in-ten voters (44%) think that Kerry has been too personally critical of Bush, while 33% say Bush has been too personally critical of Kerry. Interestingly, there are no differences in these opinions in the battleground states, where both campaigns have been bombarding the airwaves with political ads. In general, people in the battleground states express fairly similar views of the campaign as those living elsewhere.

Overall, Republican voters are about as satisfied with the presidential candidates as they were four years ago, but there is a schism within the ranks of the GOP this year. Conservatives express more satisfaction with the candidates than they did in 2000. However, moderate and liberal Republicans are significantly less positive, and along with independents, are among the least satisfied with their options this year.

Democratic voters also express about the same level of satisfaction with the choice of candidates as in 2000 (64% satisfied now, 67% in June 2000). If anything, liberal Democrats are a bit less satisfied with the choice of candidates than four years ago (70% in 2000, 63% now).

<b>Conservative Republicans Happier With Choices This Year</b>			
	<i>Satisfied with candidates</i>		
	<u>2000</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>Change</u>
	%	%	
Total	64	65	+1
Conserv. Repub.	75	83	+8
Mod./Lib. Repub.	70	57	-13
Independent	53	54	+1
Conserv./Mod. Dem.	66	66	0
Liberal Democrat	70	63	-7

Based on registered voters

Democrats also give the Kerry campaign fairly anemic grades. Just 54% of Democratic voters say the Kerry campaign merits a letter grade of A or B in convincing them to vote for him; that is about the same evaluation Al Gore received from Democrats in June 2000 (57% A or B). By contrast, Republicans are more positive about Bush's campaign than they were in 2000. More than seven-in-ten (73%) give his campaign a grade of A or B, compared with 64% four years ago.

<b>Reps Like Bush Campaign Better</b>				
<i>Grade election campaign an A or B</i>	<u>Total</u>	<i>---Party ID---</i>		
		<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
	%	%	%	%
2004 Kerry campaign	31	11	54	26
2000 Gore campaign	35	15	57	29
<i>Change</i>	-4	-4	-3	-3
2004 Bush campaign	39	73	13	33
2000 Bush campaign	39	64	24	35
<i>Change</i>	0	+9	-11	-2

Based on registered voters

Moreover, more than four-in-ten Democratic voters (42%) give Kerry a grade of C or below for convincing them to vote for him. Only about a quarter of Republican voters (26%) grade Bush at C or worse for his efforts at convincing them to vote for him.

***Campaign Seen as 'Dull'***

By a wide margin (57%-33%), Americans describe the presidential election campaign as "dull" rather than "interesting." Still, somewhat more people say they find the campaign interesting than at this stage in 2000 (28%).

While more Republicans describe the campaign as interesting than did so four years ago (42% vs. 32%), there has been less change among Democrats and independents. Independents stand out for their generally negative opinions of the campaign. Fully six-in-ten independents (61%) describe the campaign as "too long," compared with only about half of Republicans and Democrats (48%, 47% respectively). Similarly, far more independents than Republicans or Democrats believe the campaign has been "not informative."

<b>Independents Already See Campaign as Too Long</b>				
<i>Describing the election...</i>	<u>Total</u>	<i>---Party ID---</i>		
		<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
	%	%	%	%
Interesting	33	42	34	25
Dull	57	50	57	67
Neither/DK	<u>10</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>
	100	100	100	100
Informative	48	55	50	40
Not informative	46	41	44	55
Neither/DK	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100	100
Too long	52	48	47	61
Not too long	42	47	47	34
Neither/DK	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100	100
Too negative	45	48	39	50
Not too negative	46	47	50	42
Neither/DK	<u>9</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>8</u>
	100	100	100	100

Based on general public

### ***Young People More Interested***

Overall, 58% of voters say they have given quite a lot of thought to the election. As in previous elections, older people and the best educated are more engaged in the election than the young and those with less education.

Nonetheless, young voters today are significantly more likely to be giving the election a lot of thought than they were four years ago, with 53% of registered voters age 18-29 saying they have thought a lot about the election (up 18 percentage points).

In addition, 58% of young people say they are more interested in politics this year than they were in 2000. Four years ago, a smaller number of those age 18-29 (45%) said they were more interested in politics compared with the previous (1996) campaign.

However, only about one-in-five (21%) of those under age 30 say they are following news about the campaign very closely. That is up modestly from 2000 (16%), but the gap in campaign news interest between young Americans and older people is as large as it was four years ago, and larger than at this stage of the 1996 campaign.

### ***Independents, Liberals Tuned In***

Much of the increased attention to the election is coming among independents and Democrats, especially liberals, who are significantly more engaged than they were at this time four years ago. By contrast, Republicans show a more modest increase in interest, with nearly all of the growth occurring among conservatives within the party.

Nearly two-thirds of liberal Democrats (65%) say they have given a lot of thought to the election. This matches the level of attention among conservative Republicans (67%), and is fully 16 percentage points higher than in June 2000. Conservative and moderate Democrats are also more interested (57% say they have thought a lot about the election), but the change from four years ago

<b>Election Interest Up Among Young People</b>				
	18-29	30-49	50-64	65+
<i>Quite a lot of thought given to election<sup>^</sup></i>	%	%	%	%
2004	53	54	65	62
2000	35	41	54	55
1996	43	52	61	61
<i>'00-'04 Change</i>	+18	+13	+11	+7
<i>More interested in politics than four years ago</i>				
2004	58	46	42	41
2000	45	35	35	35
1996	51	41	38	37
<i>'00-'04 Change</i>	+13	+11	+7	+6
<i>Following election news very closely</i>				
2004	21	25	34	36
2000	16	19	29	33
1996	22	18	24	32
<i>'00-'04 Change</i>	+5	+6	+5	+3

Based on general public except <sup>^</sup> based on registered voters.

is slightly more modest (up 11%). Moderate and liberal Republicans are no more engaged today than they were four years ago.

Although much commentary on the election has focused on the strong opposition of liberals to President Bush, and the comparable intensity of support for him by conservatives, independents are much more engaged in the election than they were four years ago. The percentage of independents who have given a lot of thought to the election (56%) is now nearly

comparable to that of Democrats (59%) and Republicans (61%). Four years ago, independents fell far below partisans on this indicator (37% for independents, compared with 45% for Democrats and 56% for Republicans).

Beyond the presidential election, the poll finds 44% of Americans saying that they follow developments in government and public affairs most of the time, a figure that is somewhat higher than at a comparable point in the 2000 election cycle (38%). Independents, in particular, say they are following more often than in 2000: 44% say they are following government and public affairs most of the time, up from 33% at this stage four years ago.

### Independents, Liberal Democrats Paying More Attention

	Cons Rep	Mod/Lib Rep	Indep- endent	Cons/Mod Lib Dem	Lib Dem
<i>Quite a lot of thought given to election<sup>^</sup></i>	%	%	%	%	%
2004	67	48	56	57	65
2000	60	48	37	46	49
'00-'04 Change	+7	0	+19	+11	+16
<i>More interested in politics than four years earlier</i>					
2004	51	44	42	53	47
2000	45	43	32	39	42
'00-'04 Change	+6	+1	+10	+14	+5
<i>Following election news very closely</i>					
2004	36	21	24	30	35
2000	29	26	19	24	26
'00-'04 Change	+7	-5	+5	+6	+9

Based on general public except <sup>^</sup> based on registered voters.

### More Interest in Government and Public Affairs

	— 2000 —			— 2004 —		
<i>Follow govt and public affairs...</i>	Rep	Dem	Ind	Rep	Dem	Ind
Most of the time	46	39	<b>33</b>	49	41	<b>44</b>
Some of the time	32	32	31	36	37	30
Only now and then	16	18	24	10	16	16
Hardly at all	6	11	12	5	5	10
Don't know	*	*	*	0	1	0
	100	100	100	100	100	100

Based on general public

**Higher Stakes in 2004**

Interest in the election is higher today than four years ago because far more people believe that the election really matters. More than six-in-ten Americans (63%) now say that, on the important issues facing the country, it “really matters who wins” the presidential election. This is almost 20 percentage points higher than in June 2000, when less than half of the public (45%) expressed that view. Similarly, more than three-quarters of the public (78%) say it does make a difference who is elected, up nine points from 2000 and comparable to the 1992 level.

Feelings about the importance of the election have grown among nearly all groups in the population since 2000, but especially among Democrats (up 21 points, from 46% to 67%). Voters who say they are certain to vote for John Kerry are 21 percentage points more likely than Gore voters in 2000 to say it really matters who wins. Bush voters today are 15 points more likely than Bush voters four years ago to say the election matters (75% now, 60% in 2000).

Swing voters are far less likely to think the election matters, and only among this voter group do we see little change in the sense of importance of the election (39% now, 36% in 2000). It is important to note, however, the size of the swing vote has declined markedly since June 2000 (from 32% to 21%).

An important reason why the public believes the election matters is that far more voters see a clear choice between the candidates. About two-thirds of registered voters (68%) say that George W. Bush and John Kerry take different positions on the issues; just 21% say they are fairly similar in their positions. In June 2000, just 51% saw differences between Bush and Al Gore. Perceptions of differences between Bush and Gore grew during the 2000 campaign, but never exceeded 61% that year.

	Certain <u>Bush</u>	Certain Gore/ <u>Kerry</u>	Swing <u>voter</u>
	%	%	%
<i>2004 presidential race</i>			
Really matters who wins	75	74	39
Things will be the same	22	22	53
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>8</u>
	100	100	100
<i>2000 presidential race</i>			
Really matters who wins	60	53	36
Things will be the same	37	40	57
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>
	100	100	100

Based on registered voters

	<u>Different</u>	<u>Similar</u>	<u>DK</u>
	%	%	%
June 2004	68	21	11=100
Late Oct 2000	60	34	6=100
Early Oct 2000	61	30	9=100
Sept 2000	56	32	12=100
June 2000	51	33	16=100
July 1999	47	24	29=100

Based on registered voters.

***Judging the Field***

In general, most voters (65%) say they are at least moderately satisfied with the choice of presidential candidates: 17% are very satisfied and 48% are fairly satisfied. This is comparable to the 62% satisfied with the choice between Bush and Gore at the same point in the 2000 campaign, and considerably higher than the level of satisfaction with the choice between Bill Clinton and Bob Dole in June 1996 (46%) or between George H. W. Bush and Bill Clinton in 1992 (37%).

Greater satisfaction with the choice of candidates is also reflected in the dwindling number of voters who say that *neither* Bush nor Kerry would make a good president. This year, only 29% agree with this negative sentiment, compared with 37% four years ago. This change reflects declines among both Republicans (from 23% in 2000 to 13% today) and independents (49%, down to 40%). But as in 2000, a sizable minority of Democrats think neither candidate would do a good job.

And in another sign that voters see clear differences between the candidates, just 22% say it is difficult to choose between Bush and Kerry because *either* one would make a good president. In 2000, more voters (32%) said that either Bush or Gore would make a good president.

***Democrats More Focused on Congress***

Voters currently favor Democratic over Republican candidates for Congress (48% Democratic, 41% Republican), with partisans saying almost unanimously that they will vote for a candidate of their own party and independents tilting Democratic (43% to 36%).

But the question of which party controls Congress appears to matter more to Democrats than Republicans. Currently, 53% of Democrats compared with 45% of Republicans say party control of Congress will be a factor in their vote this fall. Just 32% of independents say that party will matter to them.

	<b>Control of Congress More Important to Democrats</b>				
	<i>Party control a factor?</i>		<i>Generic ballot</i>		
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No/DK</u>	<u>Favor Dem</u>	<u>Favor Rep</u>	<u>Other/ Undec</u>
	%	%	%	%	%
Total	43	57=100	48	41	11=100
Democrat	53	47=100	91	5	4=100
Republican	45	55=100	5	91	4=100
Independent	32	68=100	43	36	21=100
Certain Kerry	52	48=100	87	6	7=100
Certain Bush	41	59=100	10	81	9=100
Swing	30	70=100	46	31	23=100

Based on registered voters



***Campaign Views Similar in Battleground***

The presidential campaigns have been focusing heavy attention on the battleground states, and this is reflected in the relatively high percentage of voters in these states who have seen campaign ads. Roughly a third of registered voters in battleground states (34%) say they have seen a lot of Kerry’s ads, compared with just 12% in other states. There is a similar disparity regarding exposure to Bush’s campaign ads – 33% of voters in battleground states report seeing an ad for the president, compared with 13% of those elsewhere.

Kerry is seen as the more negative campaigner in both battleground and non-battleground states. In both regions, 44% say Kerry has been too personally critical in his discussion of the president, while 33% say Bush has been too critical of Kerry. This is comparable to polling conducted in mid-March, when 47% said Kerry was being too critical, and 33% said this applied to Bush.

Otherwise, voters in the battleground states have similar opinions of the candidates and the campaign as do those living in other states. Satisfaction with the candidates and perceptions of their differences are similar in the battleground and non-battleground states. But in the battleground states, in particular, more voters give good grades to the Bush campaign than to the Kerry campaign.

For the most part, the ads are reaching more people who have already made up their minds about the campaign than the all-important swing voters. In the battleground states, fully eight-in-ten Kerry supporters who say there is no chance they will change their minds have seen at least some campaign

<b>Ads Hit the Battleground States...</b>		
	<u>Battle-</u> <u>ground</u>	<u>Other</u> <u>states</u>
<i>Kerry Campaign Ads</i>		
Seen a lot	34	12
Some	35	25
Once or twice	18	26
None	13	35
DK/Ref	<u>*</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100
<i>Bush Campaign Ads</i>		
Seen a lot	33	13
Some	35	26
Once or twice	16	21
None	16	39
DK/Ref	<u>*</u>	<u>1</u>
	100	100
<b>...But Campaign Feels the Same</b>		
<i>Candidates too personally critical</i>		
Kerry has been	44	44
Bush has been	33	33
<i>Good grades (A or B) to the campaign</i>		
Kerry	29	33
Bush	41	38
<i>Attention to campaign</i>		
Followed very closely	36	30
Given a lot of thought	59	57
Satisfied with the candidates	65	64
Real differences	69	67
Really matters who wins	65	68
<i>The election is...</i>		
Important	79	84
Informative	46	49
Interesting	34	35
Too long	53	53
Too negative	48	46
Hard to follow	28	30
Based on registered voters.		

ads, and 77% of committed Bush supporters also report seeing at least some ads. This compares with just 66% of swing voters.

***Kerry, Bush Equally Negative to Frequent Ad Viewers***

Voters who report seeing a lot of campaign ads, regardless of the state in which they live, are significantly more likely to see the Bush campaign as overly negative than do less frequent viewers of ads. While more voters overall say the tone of Kerry’s campaign has been overly harsh (44% say Kerry has been too critical of Bush, 33% say the same of Bush) – voters who have seen a lot of ads are equally likely to criticize both Kerry (44%) and Bush (42%) for being too personally negative. By comparison, only about three-in-ten voters who have seen fewer ads believe the president has been overly critical of his opponent, and just 26% of those who have seen no ads take this view of Bush’s campaign.

Unlike views of the Bush campaign, the belief that Kerry has been too personally critical is unrelated to how many ads voters have seen. Voters who have seen few or no ads are about as likely to see Kerry’s campaign as overly negative as those who have seen a lot of Kerry ads.

Aside from evaluations of each campaign individually, voters who have watched a lot of campaign ads view the entire campaign as having an excessively negative tone. A 56% majority of frequent campaign ad viewers describe the campaign as “too negative,” compared with fewer than half of those who have seen fewer or none of the campaign ads.

	Bush has been too <u>critical</u> %	Kerry has been too <u>critical</u> %	Overall campaign is <u>too negative</u> %
Total	33	44	46
<i>Seen campaign ads<sup>^</sup></i>			
A lot	42	44	56
Some	32	47	46
Once or twice	31	44	42
Never	26	39	41

<sup>^</sup> Exposure to ads produced by either candidate, based on registered voters.

***Voter Registration Indicators Stable***

Despite the higher level of interest in the 2004 presidential campaign, measures of registration and voting intentions remain stable. Roughly three-quarters (76%) of Americans say they are certain they are registered to vote, which is comparable to previous elections. Among those who say they are registered, 85% say they are “absolutely certain” to vote in November, virtually the same number that said this in June of 2000 (84%) and 1992 (88%).

Age, as well as education, income, and party identification, are among the most important factors in registration and voting intentions. Since 1992, modest majorities of those age 18-29 report being registered to vote, compared to over eight-in-ten people aged 50 and over. Currently, 56% of those under age 30 say they are registered, compared with 85% of those age 50 and older.

	<u>18-29</u>	<u>30-49</u>	<u>50-64</u>	<u>65+</u>
	%	%	%	%
Registered to vote	56	77	85	85
Not registered				
Have been in past	14	15	10	11
Never have been	30	8	5	4
Plan to register	27	14	10	6
Certain to vote				
2004	64	76	83	75
2000	53	68	81	78
1996	54	72	81	82
1992	61	78	81	81
Based on general public				

But there has been an increase in the number of young people who say they are certain to vote in the November election. Currently, 64% of those age 18-29 are certain to vote in November, up 11% from June 2000 and 1996 (54% each year). While these numbers are rising for younger Americans, a significant gap remains between younger and older people’s voting intentions. Nearly eight-in-ten (79%) people over 50 say they are certain to vote.

***Nontraditional Voting***

The increased prevalence of voting by mail and absentee ballot has not replaced the traditional civic activity of voting at a local polling place for most Americans. More than three-quarters (77%) of registered voters say they intend to vote at their polling place on Election Day, compared with 19% who plan to vote early, through the mail or with an absentee ballot.

Voters living in the West are far more likely than those in other regions to say they will be voting in a nontraditional fashion. Fully 41% of those in the West plan to vote before Election Day by mail or absentee ballot, compared with 13% in the rest of the country. Voters in battleground states (20%) and more secure Democratic states (21%) also are more likely to vote before Election Day than those in solidly Republican states (14%).

***Voting Preferences – More Like the Booth***

Given the choice, a majority of Americans (52%) continue to choose voting in a booth, rather than over the Internet (28%) or by mail (17%). This is largely unchanged since 1996 when 54% chose voting in a booth over voting by mail. Young people are the most interested in voting over the Internet, but interest is slipping in this age cohort. In June 2000, 43% of young people preferred the idea of Internet voting and only 32% chose the polling booth. Today those numbers have switched, with a plurality (42%) of those under 30 opting for the polling booth over Internet voting (38%).

	<u>Polling Booth</u>	<u>Internet Voting</u>	<u>Mail Voting</u>	<u>None/DK</u>
<i>Among...%</i>	%	%	%	
18-29	42	38	17	3=100
30-49	45	36	16	3=100
50-64	58	21	18	3=100
65+	70	3	21	6=100
Democrats	58	23	16	3=100
Republicans	51	30	17	2=100
Independents	45	31	19	5=100

Based on general public

By comparison, there has been modest growth in interest in Internet voting among older age groups. In the 30-49 age group, interest in Internet voting increased by 7% (from 29% to 36%) since 2000; interest among those 50 and older doubled, from 7% in 2000 to 14% today.

**THOUGHT GIVEN TO UPCOMING ELECTION**  
(Based on Registered Voters)

	-----June 2000-----					-----June 2004-----					
	Quite a					Quite a					(N)
	<u>lot</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>Little</u>	<u>None</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>	<u>lot</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>Little</u>	<u>None</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%			%	
<b>Total</b>	46	6	43	5	*=100	58	3	36	2	1=100	(1426)
<b>Sex</b>											
Male	46	5	43	5	1	62	4	32	1	1	(669)
Female	46	6	43	4	1	55	3	38	3	1	(757)
<b>Race</b>											
White	47	6	42	4	1	60	3	34	2	1	(1196)
Non-white	40	6	46	7	1	51	3	43	2	1	(215)
Black	36	6	49	8	1	58	3	35	3	1	(155)
Hispanic*	43	2	51	4	0	51	2	45	1	1	(78)
<b>Race and Sex</b>											
White Men	48	5	42	5	*	62	4	32	1	1	(563)
White Women	46	7	42	4	1	58	3	36	2	1	(633)
<b>Age</b>											
Under 30	35	5	55	5	0	53	2	44	1	0	(182)
30-49	41	6	47	6	*	54	3	41	2	*	(557)
50-64	54	6	37	3	*	65	3	29	2	1	(392)
65+	55	5	34	4	2	62	6	28	3	1	(285)
<b>Sex and Age</b>											
Men under 50	41	6	47	6	*	57	4	39	*	*	(345)
Women under 50	37	7	51	5	0	51	2	44	3	*	(394)
Men 50+	53	4	38	3	2	67	4	25	3	1	(321)
Women 50+	55	7	33	4	1	61	4	32	2	1	(356)
<b>Education</b>											
College Grad.	52	10	36	2	*	69	2	27	1	1	(562)
Some College	50	4	42	4	*	56	4	36	3	1	(344)
High School Grad.	43	5	47	5	*	52	3	42	2	1	(442)
< H.S. Grad.	34	5	49	10	2	55	1	38	4	2	(74)
<b>Family Income</b>											
\$75,000+	54	8	35	3	0	64	3	30	2	1	(368)
\$50,000-\$74,999	47	7	42	4	0	62	1	36	1	*	(256)
\$30,000-\$49,999	47	5	44	4	*	59	4	35	2	*	(304)
\$20,000-\$29,999	37	5	50	7	1	57	4	36	2	1	(156)
<\$20,000	44	5	44	6	1	51	4	40	5	0	(164)

\* The designation Hispanic is unrelated to the white-black categorization.

Question: How much thought have you given to the coming presidential election. Quite a lot or only a little?

*Continued on next page...*

	-----June 2000-----					-----June 2004-----					
	Quite a					Quite a					
	<u>lot</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>Little</u>	<u>None</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>	<u>lot</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>Little</u>	<u>None</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>	<u>(N)</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
<b>Total</b>	46	6	43	5	*=100	58	3	36	2	1=100	(1426)
<b>Region</b>											
East	46	6	43	5	*	62	3	34	1	0	(260)
Midwest	43	6	47	4	*	55	4	38	2	1	(350)
South	47	6	41	5	1	57	4	35	3	1	(524)
West	49	6	41	4	0	60	3	35	1	1	(292)
<b>Religious Affiliation</b>											
Total White Protestant	49	6	40	4	1	60	3	34	2	1	(698)
- Evangelical	55	5	37	3	*	65	3	29	3	1	(389)
- Non-Evangelical	44	7	44	4	1	54	3	41	1	*	(309)
White Catholic	45	8	43	4	*	61	4	33	1	1	(272)
Secular	41	6	46	6	1	56	3	35	5	1	(129)
<b>Community Size</b>											
Large City	46	7	43	4	*	55	4	38	2	1	(291)
Suburb	49	7	40	3	1	62	3	33	1	1	(367)
Small City/Town	45	5	45	4	1	58	3	36	2	1	(467)
Rural Area	45	5	43	7	*	58	2	36	3	1	(290)
<b>Party ID</b>											
Republican	56	5	35	3	1	61	3	33	2	1	(472)
Democrat	45	6	44	4	1	59	2	36	2	1	(495)
Independent	37	5	51	7	*	56	4	37	3	*	(406)
<b>Party and Ideology</b>											
Conservative Republican	60	5	31	3	1	67	4	27	2	*	(339)
Moderate/Liberal Rep.	48	6	42	3	1	48	4	46	1	1	(130)
Conservative/Mod. Dem.	46	6	44	3	1	57	2	38	2	1	(334)
Liberal Democrat	49	8	40	3	0	65	2	32	1	0	(147)
<b>Clinton/Bush Approval</b>											
Approve	40	6	49	5	*	55	3	39	2	1	(708)
Disapprove	59	7	31	3	*	68	3	27	2	*	(625)
<b>Use of Force in Iraq</b>											
Right Decision	--	--	--	--	--	52	4	42	2	*	(773)
Wrong Decision	--	--	--	--	--	68	2	27	2	1	(560)
<b>Labor Union</b>											
Union Household	45	6	44	5	0	62	1	35	1	1	(237)
Non-Union Household	46	6	43	4	1	58	4	36	2	*	(1181)
<b>Battleground States</b>											
Republican States	--	--	--	--	--	59	2	37	1	1	(429)
Democratic States	--	--	--	--	--	56	4	37	2	1	(419)
Battleground States						59	4	34	3	*	(578)

## CANDIDATES' POSITIONS ON THE ISSUES

(Based on Registered Voters)

	-----June 2000-----			-----June 2004-----			(N)
	<u>Different</u>	<u>Similar</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>	<u>Different</u>	<u>Similar</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
<b>Total</b>	51	33	16=100	68	21	11=100	(1426)
<b>Sex</b>							
Male	51	38	11	66	24	10	(669)
Female	51	29	20	70	18	12	(757)
<b>Race</b>							
White	51	33	16	68	21	11	(1196)
Non-white	50	36	14	67	20	13	(215)
Black	51	33	16	72	17	11	(155)
Hispanic*	54	38	8	63	20	17	(78)
<b>Race and Sex</b>							
White Men	51	38	11	65	25	10	(563)
White Women	51	28	21	71	18	11	(633)
<b>Age</b>							
Under 30	58	28	14	67	25	8	(182)
30-49	48	36	16	69	20	11	(557)
50-64	55	32	13	74	17	9	(392)
65+	45	37	18	59	26	15	(285)
<b>Sex and Age</b>							
Men under 50	51	39	10	68	23	9	(345)
Women under 50	52	28	20	69	20	11	(394)
Men 50+	52	36	12	65	25	10	(321)
Women 50+	49	32	19	70	17	13	(356)
<b>Education</b>							
College Grad.	58	31	11	78	15	7	(562)
Some College	54	30	16	67	23	10	(344)
High School Grad.	49	36	15	62	25	13	(442)
< H.S. Grad.	38	36	26	64	19	17	(74)
<b>Family Income</b>							
\$75,000+	56	34	10	73	19	8	(368)
\$50,000-\$74,999	60	26	14	72	20	8	(256)
\$30,000-\$49,999	54	32	14	69	23	8	(304)
\$20,000-\$29,999	47	36	17	66	18	16	(156)
<\$20,000	40	39	21	63	24	13	(164)

\* The designation Hispanic is unrelated to the white-black categorization.

Question:           What's your impression...do George W. Bush and Al Gore take different positions on the issues, or are they pretty similar in their positions on the issues?

*Continued on next page...*

	-----June 2000-----			-----June 2004-----			(N)
	<u>Different</u>	<u>Similar</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>	<u>Different</u>	<u>Similar</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
<b>Total</b>	51	33	16	68	21	11=100	(1426)
<b>Region</b>							
East	53	30	17	65	25	10	(260)
Midwest	48	32	20	71	20	9	(350)
South	49	36	15	65	21	14	(524)
West	56	34	10	72	18	10	(292)
<b>Religious Affiliation</b>							
Total White Protestant	54	30	16	69	20	11	(698)
- Evangelical	58	28	14	69	20	11	(389)
- Non-Evangelical	49	33	18	68	22	10	(309)
White Catholic	47	36	17	67	24	9	(272)
Secular	46	33	21	64	22	14	(129)
<b>Community Size</b>							
Large City	50	33	17	71	20	9	(291)
Suburb	56	31	13	69	22	9	(367)
Small City/Town	50	36	14	65	21	14	(467)
Rural Area	49	32	19	70	20	10	(290)
<b>Party ID</b>							
Republican	60	27	13	74	17	9	(472)
Democrat	48	35	17	69	20	11	(495)
Independent	47	41	12	63	26	11	(406)
<b>Party and Ideology</b>							
Conservative Republican	65	23	12	78	15	7	(339)
Moderate/Liberal Rep.	53	33	14	65	22	13	(130)
Conservative/Mod. Dem.	49	36	15	66	22	12	(334)
Liberal Democrat	51	34	15	76	17	7	(147)
<b>Clinton/Bush Approval</b>							
Approve	48	37	15	70	20	10	(708)
Disapprove	58	30	12	70	22	8	(625)
<b>Use of Force in Iraq</b>							
Right Decision	--	--	--	68	20	12	(773)
Wrong Decision	--	--	--	71	22	7	(560)
<b>Labor Union</b>							
Union Household	51	34	15	68	24	8	(237)
Non-Union Household	51	33	16	68	20	12	(1181)
<b>Battleground States</b>							
Republican States	--	--	--	66	21	13	(429)
Democratic States	--	--	--	69	20	11	(419)
Battleground States	--	--	--	69	21	10	(578)



## ELECTION OUTCOME MATTERS

	-----June 2000-----			-----June 2004-----			(N)
	Really matters who <u>wins</u> %	Things will pretty much <u>be the same</u> %	<u>DK/Ref</u> %	Really matters who <u>wins</u> %	Things will pretty much <u>be the same</u> %	<u>DK/Ref</u> %	
<b>Total</b>	45	49	6=100	63	32	5=100	(1806)
<b>Sex</b>							
Male	43	52	5	63	33	4	(863)
Female	47	47	6	63	32	5	(943)
<b>Race</b>							
White	46	48	6	64	31	5	(1485)
Non-white	42	50	8	59	36	5	(297)
Black	41	52	7	66	29	5	(199)
Hispanic*	38	57	5	55	40	5	(118)
<b>Race and Sex</b>							
White Men	45	50	5	64	32	4	(704)
White Women	48	46	6	65	30	5	(781)
<b>Age</b>							
Under 30	38	59	3	57	40	3	(316)
30-49	45	50	5	67	31	2	(697)
50-64	49	44	7	65	30	5	(453)
65+	50	39	11	60	29	11	(326)
<b>Sex and Age</b>							
Men under 50	39	58	3	63	34	3	(498)
Women under 50	46	49	5	64	33	3	(515)
Men 50+	52	39	9	64	30	6	(361)
Women 50+	47	44	9	62	30	8	(418)
<b>Education</b>							
College Grad.	59	38	3	72	26	2	(644)
Some College	51	45	4	66	30	4	(423)
High School Grad.	38	57	5	59	35	6	(606)
< H.S. Grad.	34	54	12	51	40	9	(127)
<b>Family Income</b>							
\$75,000+	51	42	6	72	26	2	(424)
\$50,000-\$74,999	49	49	2	65	33	2	(303)
\$30,000-\$49,999	51	44	5	67	30	3	(383)
\$20,000-\$29,999	49	43	8	62	34	4	(205)
<\$20,000	32	63	5	55	36	9	(262)

\* The designation Hispanic is unrelated to the white-black categorization.

Question: As far as making progress on the important issues facing the country is concerned, does it really matter who wins the 2004 presidential election, or will things be pretty much the same regardless of who is elected president?

*Continued on next page...*

	-----June 2000-----			-----June 2004-----			(N)
	Really matters who wins	Things will pretty much be the same	DK/Ref	Really matters who wins	Things will pretty much be the same	DK/Ref	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
<b>Total</b>	45	49	6=100	63	32	5=100	(1806)
<b>Region</b>							
East	40	56	4	58	37	5	(325)
Midwest	46	49	5	60	35	5	(430)
South	44	49	7	65	30	5	(659)
West	51	43	6	68	28	4	(392)
<b>Religious Affiliation</b>							
Total White Protestant	48	47	5	65	30	5	(841)
- Evangelical	48	48	4	65	29	6	(452)
- Non-Evangelical	48	47	5	63	33	4	(389)
White Catholic	50	44	6	66	30	4	(333)
Secular	35	58	7	60	35	5	(177)
<b>Community Size</b>							
Large City	41	52	7	64	32	4	(371)
Suburb	50	46	4	69	29	2	(452)
Small City/Town	45	48	7	60	34	6	(616)
Rural Area	45	50	5	62	33	5	(351)
<b>Party ID</b>							
Republican	56	41	3	70	26	4	(561)
Democrat	46	45	9	67	28	5	(597)
Independent	39	58	3	56	40	4	(554)
<b>Party and Ideology</b>							
Conservative Republican	66	30	4	76	21	3	(391)
Moderate/Liberal Rep.	41	57	2	58	37	5	(164)
Conservative/Mod. Dem.	45	45	10	65	30	5	(401)
Liberal Democrat	55	42	3	72	25	3	(176)
<b>Clinton/Bush Approval</b>							
Approve	43	51	6	64	32	4	(887)
Disapprove	51	45	4	67	29	4	(779)
<b>Use of Force in Iraq</b>							
Right Decision	--	--	--	63	33	4	(988)
Wrong Decision	--	--	--	67	29	4	(691)
<b>Labor Union</b>							
Union Household	48	47	5	67	31	2	(272)
Non-Union Household	45	49	6	63	32	5	(1523)
<b>Battleground States</b>							
Republican States	--	--	--	65	31	4	(554)
Democratic States	--	--	--	63	32	5	(527)
Battleground States	--	--	--	62	33	5	(725)

## **ABOUT THE SURVEYS**

Results for the June 2004 Voter Attitudes survey are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International among a nationwide sample of 1,806 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period June 3-13, 2004. For results based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling is plus or minus 2.5 percentage points. For results based on registered voters (N=1426) the sampling error is plus or minus 3 percentage points. For results based on either Form 1 (N=891) or Form 2 (N=915) general public, the sampling error is plus or minus 3.5 percentage points.

In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

### **SURVEY METHODOLOGY IN DETAIL**

The sample for this survey is a random digit sample of telephone numbers selected from telephone exchanges in the continental United States. The random digit aspect of the sample is used to avoid "listing" bias and provides representation of both listed and unlisted numbers (including not-yet-listed). The design of the sample ensures this representation by random generation of the last two digits of telephone numbers selected on the basis of their area code, telephone exchange, and bank number.

The telephone exchanges were selected with probabilities proportional to their size. The first eight digits of the sampled telephone numbers (area code, telephone exchange, bank number) were selected to be proportionally stratified by county and by telephone exchange within county. That is, the number of telephone numbers randomly sampled from within a given county is proportional to that county's share of telephone numbers in the U.S. Only working banks of telephone numbers are selected. A working bank is defined as 100 contiguous telephone numbers containing three or more residential listings.

The sample was released for interviewing in replicates. Using replicates to control the release of sample to the field ensures that the complete call procedures are followed for the entire sample. The use of replicates also insures that the regional distribution of numbers called is appropriate. Again, this works to increase the representativeness of the sample.

At least 10 attempts were made to complete an interview at every sampled telephone number. The calls were staggered over times of day and days of the week to maximize the chances of making a contact with a potential respondent. All interview breakoffs and refusals were re-contacted at least once in order to attempt to convert them to completed interviews. In each contacted household, interviewers asked to speak with the "youngest male 18 or older who is at home." If there is no eligible man at home, interviewers asked to speak with "the oldest woman 18 or older who is at home." This systematic respondent selection technique has been shown empirically to produce samples that closely mirror the population in terms of age and gender.

Non-response in telephone interview surveys produces some known biases in survey-derived estimates because participation tends to vary for different subgroups of the population, and these subgroups are likely to vary also on questions of substantive interest. In order to compensate for these known biases, the sample data are weighted in analysis.

The demographic weighting parameters are derived from a special analysis of the most recently available Annual Social & Economic Supplement data from the Census Bureau (March 2003). This analysis produced population parameters for the demographic characteristics of households with adults 18 or older, which are then compared with the sample characteristics to construct sample weights. The analysis only included households in the continental United States that contain a telephone. The weights are derived using an iterative technique that simultaneously balances the distributions of all weighting parameters.

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS**  
**JUNE 2004 VOTER ATTITUDES SURVEY**  
**FINAL TOPLINE**  
**June 3-13, 2004**  
**N=1806**

Q.3 Now I will read a list of some stories covered by news organizations this past month. As I read each item, tell me if you happened to follow this news story very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely. [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]

	Very <u>Closely</u>	Fairly <u>Closely</u>	Not too <u>Closely</u>	Not at all <u>Closely</u>	DK/Ref
a. News about candidates for the 2004 presidential election	28	34	19	18	1=100
April, 2004	31	33	19	16	1=100
Mid-March, 2004	35	34	18	13	*=100
Late February, 2004	24	40	23	12	1=100
Early February, 2004 <sup>1</sup>	29	37	20	13	1=100
Mid-January, 2004	16	30	27	26	1=100
Early January, 2004	14	32	30	23	1=100
December, 2003	16	26	27	30	1=100
November, 2003	11	26	34	28	1=100
October, 2003	12	27	28	32	1=100
September, 2003	17	25	30	27	1=100
Mid-August, 2003	12	27	27	33	1=100
May, 2003	8	19	31	41	1=100
January, 2003	14	28	29	28	1=100
June, 2000	23	32	23	21	1=100
April, 2000	18	39	22	20	1=100
March, 2000	26	41	19	13	1=100
February, 2000	26	36	21	17	*=100
January, 2000	19	34	28	18	1=100
July, 1996	22	40	23	14	1=100
April, 1996	23	35	25	17	*=100
March, 1996	26	41	20	13	*=100
January, 1996	10	34	31	24	1=100
July, 1992	20	45	26	9	*=100
May, 1992	32	44	16	8	*=100
March, 1992	35	40	16	9	*=100
January, 1992	11	25	36	27	1=100
May, 1988	22	46	23	6	3=100
November, 1987	15	28	35	21	1=100

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<sup>1</sup> From May 2003 to Early February 2004 and in March 1992, the story was listed as "The race for the Democratic nomination." In January 2003, the story was listed as "Recent announcements by prominent Democrats about plans to run for president in 2004." In 2000, the story was listed as "News about candidates for the 2000 presidential election." In January, March and April 1996, the story was listed as "News about the Republican presidential candidates." In January 1992 and 1987, the story was listed as "News about the Democratic candidates for the Presidential nomination." In 1988, the story was introduced as being from "this past year" and was listed as "News about the presidential campaign in 1988."

Q.4 How much thought have you given to the coming presidential election . . . Quite a lot or only a little?

**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1426]:**

	Quite <u>A lot</u>	(VOL.) <u>Some</u>	Only a <u>Little</u>	(VOL.) <u>None</u>	DK/ <u>Ref.</u>
June, 2004	58	3	36	2	1=100
May, 2004	59	6	30	4	1=100
Late March, 2004	60	4	31	4	1=100
Mid-March, 2004	65	2	31	2	*=100
Early November, 2000	72	6	19	2	1=100
Late October, 2000	66	6	24	4	*=100
Mid-October, 2000	67	9	19	4	1=100
Early October, 2000	60	8	27	4	1=100
September, 2000	59	8	29	3	1=100
July, 2000	46	6	45	3	*=100
June, 2000	46	6	43	5	*=100
May, 2000	48	4	42	5	1=100
April, 2000	45	7	41	7	*=100
November, 1996	67	8	22	3	*=100
October, 1996	65	7	26	1	1=100
Late September, 1996	61	7	29	2	1=100
Early September, 1996	56	3	36	4	1=100
July, 1996	55	3	41	1	*=100
June, 1996	50	5	41	3	1=100
October, 1992	77	5	16	1	1=100
September, 1992	69	3	26	1	1=100
August, 1992	72	4	23	1	*=100
June, 1992	63	6	29	1	1=100
<b>Gallup:</b> November, 1988	73	8	17	2	0=100
<b>Gallup:</b> October, 1988	69	9	20	2	0=100
<b>Gallup:</b> August, 1988	61	10	27	2	0=100
<b>Gallup:</b> September, 1988	57	18	23	2	0=100

Q.5 Are you more interested or less interested in politics this year than you were in 2000 — the last presidential election year?<sup>2</sup>

	June <u>2000</u>	July <u>1996</u>	June <u>1996</u>	June <u>1992</u>	March <u>1992</u>
47	More	38	42	41	55
28	Less	38	38	35	24
23	Same (VOL.)	22	19	22	19
<u>2</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
100		100	100	100	100

<sup>2</sup> In 2000 the question referenced politics in 1996; in 1996 it referenced politics in 1992; in 1992 it referenced politics in 1988.

Q.6 Now, suppose the 2004 presidential election were being held TODAY. If you had to choose between George W. Bush, the Republican, John Kerry, the Democrat, and Ralph Nader [ROTATE KERRY AND BUSH WITH NADER ALWAYS LAST] — who would you vote for?

IF OTHER OR DK (Q.6 =4,9), ASK:

Q.6a As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to [READ, ROTATE IN SAME ORDER AS Q.6]?

**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1426]:**

		May <u>2004</u>	Late March <u>2004</u>	Mid- March <u>2004</u>
46	George W. Bush, the Republican/Lean Bush	43	44	42
42	John Kerry, the Democrat/Lean Kerry	46	43	49
6	Ralph Nader/Lean Nader	6	6	4
<u>6</u>	Other/DK (VOL.)	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>
100		100	100	100

ASK ALL:

Q.7 Suppose there were only two major candidates for president and you had to choose between George W. Bush, the Republican and John Kerry, the Democrat [ROTATE]. Who would you vote for?

IF OTHER OR DK (3,9 IN Q.7) ASK:

Q.7a As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to [READ, ROTATE IN SAME ORDER AS Q.7]?

**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1426]:**

	Bush/ <u>Lean Bush</u>	Kerry/ <u>Lean Kerry</u>	Other/ <u>DK</u>
June, 2004	48	46	6=100
May, 2004	45	50	5=100
Late March, 2004	46	47	7=100
Mid-March, 2004	43	52	5=100
Late February, 2004	44	48	8=100
Early February, 2004	47	47	6=100
Early January, 2004	52	41	7=100
October, 2003	50	42	8=100
<b>Selected Trends:</b> June, 2000	45 <i>Bush</i>	46 <i>Gore</i>	9=100
June, 1996	40 <i>Dole</i>	55 <i>Clinton</i>	5=100
June, 1992	45 <i>Bush, Sr.</i>	41 <i>Clinton</i>	14=100
May, 1988	40 <i>Bush, Sr.</i>	53 <i>Dukakis</i>	7=100

Q.17 As it's shaping up so far, what's your opinion of the likely presidential candidates for this year? Would you say that you are very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not too satisfied, or not at all satisfied with the likely choices?

Total	RVs		--- RVs ---								
			June 2000	March 2000	July 1999	Late Oct 1996 <sup>3</sup>	Late Sept 1996	June 1996	Oct 1992	Aug 1992	June 1992
15	17	Very satisfied	13	12	11	11	11	9	10	11	6
47	48	Fairly satisfied	49	48	42	48	50	37	41	42	31
20	19	Not too satisfied	22	26	22	27	26	31	33	31	35
13	12	Not at all satisfied	12	11	13	11	10	19	14	15	26
<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>
100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

(N=1426)

Q.18 What's your impression...do George W. Bush and John Kerry take different positions on the issues, or are they pretty similar in their positions on the issues?

**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1426]:**

		----- Bush/Gore -----				
		Late Oct 2000	Early Oct 2000	Sept 2000	June 2000	July 1999
68	Different	60	61	56	51	47
21	Similar	34	30	32	33	24
<u>11</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>6</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>29</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100

Q.19 As far as making progress on the important issues facing the country is concerned, does it really matter who wins the 2004 presidential election, or will things be pretty much the same regardless of who is elected president?

		<i>Opinion Research Corporation</i>		
		Mid-March 2004	June 2000	Aug 1976
63	Really matters who wins the 2004 presidential election	63	45	45
32	Things will pretty much be the same regardless	32	49	46
<u>5</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>9</u>
100		100	100	100

<sup>3</sup> In previous years the question was worded "What's your opinion of the presidential candidates this year? Would you say that you are very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not too satisfied, or not at all satisfied with the choices?"

**ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=891]:**

Q.20F1 Some people feel it is difficult to choose between John Kerry and George W. Bush because EITHER ONE would make a good president. Do you agree, or disagree?

		<u>June 2000</u>
22	Agree	32
73	Disagree	61
<u>5</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>7</u>
100		100

**ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=915]:**

Q.21F2 Some people feel it is difficult to choose between John Kerry and George W. Bush because NEITHER ONE would make a good president. Do you agree, or disagree?

		<u>June 2000</u>
29	Agree	37
64	Disagree	55
<u>7</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>8</u>
100		100

**NO QUESTION 22**

**ASK ALL:**

REGIST These days, many people are so busy they can't find time to register to vote, or move around so often they don't get a chance to re-register. Are you NOW registered to vote in your precinct or election district or haven't you been able to register so far?

**IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' YES IN REGIST ASK:**

REGICERT Are you absolutely certain that you are registered to vote, or is there a chance that your registration has lapsed because you moved or for some other reason?

	<u>Yes,</u> <u>Registered</u>	<u>Absolutely</u> <u>Certain</u>	<u>Chance</u> <u>lapsed</u>	<u>Don't know/</u> <u>Refused</u>	<u>Not</u> <u>Registered</u>	<u>Don't know/</u> <u>Refused</u>
June, 2004	79	76	3	*	20	1=100
June, 2000	79	75	4	*	21	*=100
June, 1992	76	73	3	0	23	1=100
<b>Yearly Averages:</b>						
2003	76	73	3	*	23	1=100
2002	77	74	3	*	22	1=100
2001	77	74	3	*	22	1=100
2000	77	74	3	*	22	1=100
1999	76	72	3	1	23	1=100
1998	77	73	3	1	22	1=100
1997	77	74	3	*	22	1=100
1996	76	73	3	*	23	1=100



**IF '2' NO OR '9' NOT SURE IN REGIST OR '2' CHANCE OR '9' NOT SURE IN REGICERT ASK:**

Q.23 Do you plan to register to vote, or is there a chance that you may not register?

**IF '2' NO OR '9' NOT SURE IN REGIST OR '2' CHANCE OR '9' NOT SURE IN REGICERT ASK:**

Q.24 Have you ever, at any time, been registered to vote, or haven't you ever had the chance to register?

		<u>June 2000</u>	<u>June 1992</u>
24%	Not registered	25%	27%
11	Never have been	11	11
13	Have been in the past	14	16
*	Not sure if ever	*	*
14	Plan to register	13	17
9	Chance may not	11	9
1	Don't know/Refused	1	1

**ASK ALL:**

Q.25 Do you, yourself, plan to vote in the election this November?

**IF YES IN Q.25, ASK:**

Q.26 How certain are you that you will vote? Are you absolutely certain, fairly certain, or not certain?

**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1426]:**

	<u>Yes, Plan To Vote</u>	<u>Absolutely Certain</u>	<u>Fairly Certain</u>	<u>Not Certain</u>	<u>No, Don't Plan To</u>	<u>Don't know/Refused</u>
June, 2004	<b>96</b>	85	10	1	<b>2</b>	<b>2=100</b>
Early November, 2002 <sup>4*</sup>	<b>90</b>	--	--	--	<b>8</b>	<b>2=100</b>
Early October, 2002*	<b>95</b>	--	--	--	<b>3</b>	<b>2=100</b>
Early November, 2000	<b>96</b>	--	--	--	<b>3</b>	<b>1=100</b>
Late October, 2000	<b>97</b>	--	--	--	<b>2</b>	<b>1=100</b>
Mid-October, 2000	<b>96</b>	--	--	--	<b>2</b>	<b>2=100</b>
Early October, 2000	<b>97</b>	87	9	1	<b>2</b>	<b>1=100</b>
September, 2000	<b>95</b>	84	10	1	<b>3</b>	<b>2=100</b>
June, 2000	<b>95</b>	84	10	1	<b>2</b>	<b>3=100</b>
Late October, 1998*	<b>91</b>	--	--	--	<b>6</b>	<b>3=100</b>
Early October, 1998*	<b>92</b>	--	--	--	<b>4</b>	<b>4=100</b>
Early September, 1998*	<b>95</b>	--	--	--	<b>2</b>	<b>3=100</b>
Late August, 1998*	<b>93</b>	75	17	1	<b>3</b>	<b>4=100</b>
June, 1998*	<b>95</b>	74	19	2	<b>3</b>	<b>2=100</b>
November, 1996	<b>96</b>	--	--	--	<b>2</b>	<b>2=100</b>
October, 1996	<b>98</b>	87	10	1	<b>1</b>	<b>1=100</b>
Late September, 1996	<b>98</b>	89	8	1	<b>1</b>	<b>1=100</b>
Early September, 1996	<b>96</b>	83	11	2	<b>2</b>	<b>2=100</b>
July, 1996	<b>95</b>	82	12	1	<b>3</b>	<b>2=100</b>
June, 1996	<b>96</b>	84	11	1	<b>2</b>	<b>2=100</b>
November, 1994*	<b>93</b>	--	--	--	<b>5</b>	<b>2=100</b>
October, 1994*	<b>95</b>	--	--	--	<b>3</b>	<b>2=100</b>
October, 1992	<b>98</b>	91	6	1	<b>1</b>	<b>1=100</b>
September, 1992	<b>98</b>	85	11	2	<b>1</b>	<b>1=100</b>

4

In Early November 2002, Early November, 2000, Late October 1998, November 1996 and November 1994 the question was worded: "Do you yourself plan to vote in the election this Tuesday, or not?" In Early November 2002 "Yes, Plan to Vote" category includes people who volunteered that they already voted.

**Q.25/26 CONTINUED...**

	<b>Yes, Plan To Vote</b>	<b>Absolutely Certain</b>	<b>Fairly Certain</b>	<b>Not Certain</b>	<b>No, Don't Plan To</b>	<b>Can't Say/ Don't know</b>
August, 1992	<b>97</b>	89	8	*	<b>1</b>	<b>2=100</b>
June, 1992	<b>97</b>	88	8	1	<b>1</b>	<b>2=100</b>
<b>Gallup:</b> November, 1988	<b>97</b>	87	9	1	<b>2</b>	<b>1=100</b>
October, 1988	<b>98</b>	--	--	--	<b>1</b>	<b>1=100</b>

\* Non-Presidential elections

**NO QUESTION 27**

**ASK ALL:**

Q.28 How would you describe the presidential election campaign so far – is it interesting to you, or would you say it is dull?

		<u>June 2000</u>	<u>July 1996</u>
33	Interesting	28	21
57	Dull	65	73
4	Neither (VOL.)	4	3
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100

Q.29 Here are a few other pairs of opposite phrases, please tell me which ONE phrase you feel best describes the presidential election so far. **[READ AND RANDOMIZE]**

		<u>Mid-March 2004</u>	
a.	79	Important OR	81
	18	Unimportant	17
	1	Neither applies (VOL.)	1
	<u>2</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>1</u>
	100		100

**no item b**

		<u>Mid-March 2004</u>	
c.	48	Informative OR	53
	46	Not informative	42
	2	Neither applies (VOL.)	2
	<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>3</u>
	100		100

		<u>Mid-March 2004</u>	
d.	52	Too long OR	52
	42	Not too long	44
	2	Neither applies (VOL.)	1
	<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>3</u>
	100		100

		<u>Mid-March 2004</u>	
e.	45	Too negative OR	47
	46	Not too negative	47
	2	Neither applies (VOL.)	2
	<u>7</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>4</u>
	100		100

			<u>Mid-March 2004</u>
f.	32	Hard to follow OR	28
	63	Easy to follow	68
	2	Neither applies (VOL.)	2
	<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>2</u>
	100		100

**ROTATE ORDER OF Q.30 AND Q.31**

Q.30 What grade would you give John Kerry as to how good a job he is doing in convincing you to vote for him? Would you grade his election campaign: A, B, C, D, or F?

**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1426]:**

		<i>Gore</i>	<i>Clinton</i>
		<u>June 2000</u>	<u>July 1996</u>
6	A	9	9
25	B	26	28
30	C	31	30
16	D	13	12
18	F	16	18
<u>5</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100

Q.31 What grade would you give George W. Bush as to how good a job he is doing in convincing you to vote for him? Would you grade his election campaign: A, B, C, D, or F?

**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1426]:**

		<i>Bush</i>	<i>Dole</i>
		<u>June 2000</u>	<u>July 1996</u>
13	A	10	3
26	B	30	19
23	C	29	36
12	D	13	19
23	F	13	20
<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100

Q.32 All in all, how would you rate the job the press has done in covering the presidential campaign so far — excellent, good, only fair, or poor?

		Early										
		<u>Feb</u>	<u>June</u>	<u>Mar</u>	<u>Feb</u>	<u>Sept</u>	<u>July</u>	<u>Feb</u>	<u>Sept</u>	<u>May</u>	<u>Mar</u>	<u>Feb</u>
		<u>2004</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>
10	Excellent	11	7	10	13	13	7	16	12	10	12	11
37	Good	43	41	46	50	44	35	45	45	44	51	45
34	Only fair	30	38	32	25	29	42	25	27	33	28	32
15	Poor	12	10	9	7	11	14	10	11	10	6	7
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

**ROTATE Q.33 AND Q.34**

Q.33 In the presidential campaign so far, do you think John Kerry has been too personally critical of George W. Bush, or not?

**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1426]:**

		Mid-March <u>2004</u>	<i>Gore Critical of Bush</i> Early Oct <u>2000</u>	<i>Clinton Critical of Dole</i> Late Sept <u>1996</u>	<i>Dukakis Critical of Bush, Sr.</i> Oct <u>1988</u>
44	Too personally critical	48	29	21	45
48	Not too personally critical	46	61	70	50
<u>8</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>6</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>5</u>
100		100	100	100	100

Q.34 In the presidential campaign so far, do you think George W. Bush has been too personally critical of John Kerry, or not?

**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1426]:**

		Mid-March <u>2004</u>	<i>Bush Critical Of Gore</i> Early Oct <u>2000</u>	<i>Dole Critical of Clinton</i> Late Sept <u>1996</u>	<i>Bush, Sr Critical of Dukakis</i> Oct <u>1988</u>
33	Too personally critical	33	40	53	52
58	Not too personally critical	58	50	40	43
<u>9</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>
100		100	100	100	100

**ROTATE Q.35/35a WITH Q.36/36a**

Q.35 So far, have you seen any of Kerry's campaign commercials on TV, or not?

**IF YES (1 IN Q.35) ASK:**

Q.35a Have you seen Kerry's commercials a lot, some or only once or twice?

<u>Total</u>	<u>RVs</u>		----- Registered Voters -----			In "past few days" only <sup>5</sup>			
			Mid-March <u>2004</u>	<i>Gore</i> Early Oct <u>2000</u>	<i>Clinton</i> Late Sept <u>1996</u>	Oct 14-18 <u>1992</u>	Oct 9-13 <u>1992</u>	Oct 2-6 <u>1992</u>	Sept 25-29 <u>1992</u>
71	73	Yes	60	57	63	57	59	64	75
19	21	A lot	14	--	--	--	--	--	--
27	29	Some	20	--	--	--	--	--	--
24	22	Only once or twice	26	--	--	--	--	--	--
1	1	Don't know/Refused	*	--	--	--	--	--	--
28	26	No	39	41	35	40	39	34	24
<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100

(N=1426)

<sup>5</sup>

In October 1992 the question was worded: "In the PAST FEW DAYS have you seen any television commercials on behalf of (Bill Clinton's/George Bush's) candidacy? Only tell me 'yes' if you have seen paid commercials for (Clinton/Bush) on TV in the past few days." In September 1992 the question was worded: "So far, have you seen any television commercials on behalf of (Bill Clinton's/George Bush's) candidacy, or not?"

**ASK ALL:**

Q.36 So far, have you seen any of Bush's campaign commercials on TV, or not?

**IF YES (1 IN Q.36) ASK:**

Q.36a Have you seen Bush's commercials a lot, some or only once or twice?

		----- Registered Voters -----			In "past few days" only			
		Mid-	<i>Bush</i>	<i>Dole</i>	Oct	Oct	Oct	Sept
		March	Early Oct	Late Sept	14-18	9-13	2-6	25-29
<u>Total</u>	<u>RVs</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>
67	69	65	61	70	60	66	68	78
20	20	15	--	--	--	--	--	--
27	30	21	--	--	--	--	--	--
20	19	28	--	--	--	--	--	--
*	*	1	--	--	--	--	--	--
32	30	34	37	29	38	32	30	21
<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(N=1426)								

**ASK ALL:**

Q.37 Suppose there was a place on the ballot where you could refuse to vote for any of the candidates – a vote of no confidence in all of the candidates running for office? How likely is it that you would vote that way?

**(READ LIST)**

		June	June	<i>Newsweek</i>
		<u>2000</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1976</u>
14	Very likely	19	24	21
21	Possibly likely	27	30	32
62	Not at all likely	51	43	41
<u>3</u>	<b>(DO NOT READ)</b> Don't know/Refused	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>
100		100	100	100

Q.38 In your opinion, does it really make much difference who is elected President?

		June	June	<i>Newsweek</i>
		<u>2000</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1976</u>
78	Yes	69	80	80
20	No	30	18	18
<u>2</u>	Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
100		100	100	100

Q.39 Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election or not. Other's aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, some of the time, only now and then, or hardly at all?

	Most of	Some of	Only Now	Hardly	<b>(VOL.)</b>
	<u>The Time</u>	<u>the Time</u>	<u>and Then</u>	<u>at All</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
June, 2004	44	34	15	7	*=100
August, 2003	48	33	12	6	1=100
November, 2002	49	27	14	9	1=100
August, 2002	54	30	11	5	*=100
March, 2001	49	27	13	10	1=100
Early November, 2000 (RVs)	51	32	12	5	*=100

**Q.39 CONTINUED...**

	<u>Most of The Time</u>	<u>Some of the Time</u>	<u>Only Now and Then</u>	<u>Hardly at All</u>	<b>(VOL.) DK/Ref</b>
September, 2000 (RVs)	51	34	10	4	1=100
June, 2000	38	32	19	11	*=100
Late September, 1999	39	32	20	9	*=100
August, 1999	40	35	17	8	*=100
November, 1998	46	27	14	13	*=100
Late October, 1998 (RVs)	57	29	10	4	*=100
Early October, 1998 (RVs)	51	33	11	5	*=100
Early September, 1998	45	34	15	6	*=100
June, 1998	36	34	21	9	*=100
November, 1997	41	36	16	7	*=100
November, 1996 (RVs)	52	32	12	4	*=100
October, 1996 (RVs)	43	37	13	6	1=100
June, 1996	41	34	17	8	*=100
October, 1995	46	35	14	5	*=100
April, 1995	43	35	16	6	*=100
November, 1994	49	30	13	7	1=100
October, 1994	45	35	14	6	*=100
July, 1994	46	33	15	6	*=100
May, 1990	39	34	18	9	*=100
February, 1989	47	34	14	4	1=100
October, 1988	52	33	11	4	*=100
September, 1988	58	32	8	2	*=100
May, 1988	37	37	17	6	3=100
January, 1988	37	35	18	8	2=100
November, 1987	49	32	14	4	1=100
May, 1987	41	35	15	7	2=100
July, 1985	36	33	18	12	1=100

**ASK ALL:**

Q.40 There are many ways for people to vote, and some prefer one way over another. If you had the choice of voting in a booth at a polling place on election day, OR over the Internet, OR through the mail during the weeks leading up to election day, which would you prefer?

	<u>June 2000</u>	<u>March 2000</u>	<u>Feb 1996<sup>6</sup></u>	
52	Voting in booth	50	52	54
28	Voting over Internet	24	26	n/a
17	Voting by mail	23	20	43
1	None (VOL)	1	1	2
<u>2</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
100		100	100	100

6

In February 1996 the question was worded "There are different ways for people to vote, and some prefer one way over another. If you had the choice of voting in a booth at a polling place on election day OR voting through the mail during the weeks leading up to election day, which would you prefer?"

**IF PLANS TO VOTE (Q.25=1), ASK:**

Q.41 In the presidential election this fall, do you plan to vote BEFORE election day, that is through the mail or with an absentee ballot, or will you probably vote at your polling place on election day?

**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1426]:**

19 Plan to vote BEFORE election day  
 77 Will vote on election day  
 \* Don't know/Refused  
4 Don't Plan to Vote/Don't Know  
 100

**NO QUESTIONS 42 OR 43**

**ASK ALL [FIELD PERIOD JUNE 7-13 ONLY] [N=1333]:**

P.1 Does the phrase [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE] better describe John Kerry, George W. Bush or don't you think it describes either of them?

		John <u>Kerry</u>	George W. <u>Bush</u>	(VOL) <u>Neither</u>	<u>Both</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
a.	He twists the facts and misleads people	28	33	23	8	8=100
b.	He is a wealthy elitist	20	27	24	14	15=100
c.	He flip-flops on issues	36	22	24	9	9=100
d.	He is strong and decisive	18	48	21	6	7=100
e.	He is stubborn and doesn't admit mistakes	13	44	25	7	11=100
f.	He is personally tough and doesn't give up in the face of adversity	15	53	17	8	7=100

**ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=891]:**

Q.49F1 This year, have Republicans and Democrats in Washington been working together more to solve problems OR have they been bickering and opposing one another more than usual?

		Oct <u>2003</u>	May <u>2002</u>	July <u>2001</u>	May <u>2001</u>	July <u>2000</u>	Aug <u>1999</u>	Aug <u>1998</u>	Nov <u>1997</u>	Aug <u>1997</u>	June <u>1997</u>	Oct <u>1995</u>	Aug <u>1993</u>
21	Working together more	21	44	30	34	21	20	27	38	43	34	21	20
60	Opposing each other more	55	31	46	41	54	68	51	45	46	49	72	57
7	Same as in past (VOL)	10	8	10	9	10	4	8	7	3	6	3	13
<u>12</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>14</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>10</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

**ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=915]:**

Q.50F2 Some people say we should have a third major political party in this country in addition to the Democrats and Republicans. Do you agree or disagree?

		Early						<i>ABC/ Washington Post</i> <sup>7</sup>				
		Oct	June	Aug	Sept	Aug	July	Oct	April	July	Jan	Sept
		<u>2003</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>1999</u>	<u>1998</u>	<u>1997</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1984</u>	<u>1982</u>
50	Agree	46	52	54	46	47	58	59	57	53	41	44
43	Disagree	44	42	40	47	46	37	37	38	43	48	44
<u>7</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>10</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

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<sup>7</sup>

In January 1984, the *ABC/Washington Post* trend was worded: "Can you please tell me if you tend to agree or disagree with the following statement, of if, perhaps, you have no opinion about the statement: We should have a third major political party in this country in addition to the Democrats and Republicans."

In September 1982, the *ABC/Washington Post* trend was worded: "I'm going to read a few statements. For each, can you please tell me if you tend to agree or disagree with it, or if, perhaps, you have no opinion about the statements... We should have a third party in this country in addition to the Democrats and Republicans."