## EMBARGOED

FOR RELEASE: WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 20, 2004, 4:00 P.M.

## Democrats, Blacks Less Confident in Accurate Vote Count RACE TIGHTENS AGAIN, KERRY'S IMAGE IMPROVES

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:<br>Andrew Kohut, Director<br>Scott Keeter, Director of Survey Research<br>Carroll Doherty, Associate Director<br>Michael Dimock, Associate Director<br>Carolyn Funk, Senior Project Director<br>Nilanthi Samaranayake, Peyton Craighill and Nicole Speulda, Project Directors<br>Jason Owens, Research Assistant<br>Kate DeLuca, Courtney Kennedy, Staff Assistants<br>Pew Research Center for The People \& The Press<br>202/293-3126<br>http://www.people-press.org

## Democrats, Blacks Less Confident in Accurate Vote Count RACE TIGHTENS AGAIN, KERRY'S IMAGE IMPROVES

As the campaign heads into its final stages, the presidential race is again extremely close. The latest Pew Research Center survey of 1,307 registered voters, conducted Oct. 15-19, finds President George W. Bush and Sen. John Kerry tied at 45\%-45\% among registered voters, and 47\%$47 \%$ among likely voters. ${ }^{1}$ These findings represent a gain in support for the Democratic challenger since early October, when he trailed the president among both likely and registered voters.

Kerry's gains in the horse race are tied more to an improving personal image than to growing strength on the issues. In particular, the Democratic challenger has virtually erased Bush's advantage for honesty and having good judgment in a crisis. Kerry is again seen as the more empathetic candidate, an advantage he held earlier in the campaign but lost after the Republican convention. Bush continues to lead by significant but narrowing margins as the stronger leader and as the candidate more willing to take an unpopular stand on the issues.

There has been little movement in how voters assess the candidates on the issues. But a separate Pew Research Center poll of 803 adults shows that Bush's own approval measures have weakened appreciably. Bush's

| Presidential Trial Heat |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Sept | Oct | Oct |
|  | 22-26 | 1-3 | 15-19 |
| Registered Voters |  | \% | \% |
| Bush | 48 | 48 | 45 |
| Kerry | 40 | 41 | 45 |
| Nader | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| Undecided | $\underline{10}$ | $\underline{9}$ | $\underline{9}$ |
|  | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| $\mathrm{N}=$ | (948) | $(1,002)$ | $(1,307)$ |
| Likely Voters ${ }^{1}$ |  |  |  |
| Bush | -- | 49 | 47 |
| Kerry | -- | 44 | 47 |
| Nader | -- | 2 | 1 |
| Undecided | -- | 5 | 5 |
|  |  | 100 | 100 |
| $\mathrm{N}=$ |  | (801) | $(1,070)$ | overall job approval stands at $44 \%$, while solid majorities disapprove of his handling of the situation in $\operatorname{Iraq}$ ( $56 \%$ disapprove) and the economy ( $55 \%$ ). Even on terrorism, the president's strongest issue, his approval rating stands at $49 \%$ - the lowest level since the Sept. 11 attacks.

Despite this erosion, however, most voters continue to believe that Bush, not Kerry, would do a better job of defending the country from future terrorist attacks (by $53 \%-35 \%$ ). Bush also holds a $47 \%-41 \%$ advantage over Kerry as the candidate best able to handle Iraq. As in the past, more voters express confidence in Kerry than Bush to deal with the economy and improve the nation's health care system.

The survey finds that voter opinion is solidifying even as the race tightens. A decreasing
number of supporters of each candidate $-8 \%$ of Kerry voters and $9 \%$ of Bush voters - say they could still change their vote before Nov. 2. Moreover, $80 \%$ of all voters say the candidates take different positions from one another on the issues, far higher than the percentage who expressed that view in June, and at any point in the 2000 campaign.

Voters are broadly aware of most of the character and policy criticisms being traded by the candidates, such as the charge that Kerry "changes his mind too much" and that Bush "misled the public about the war in Iraq." Among swing voters, in particular, the criticism that Kerry changes his mind too much is more damaging than the charges that he supports a return to big government or is "too liberal for the country." By contrast, two major charges against Bush - that he misled the public on Iraq and that he "cares more about the rich" - are about equally troubling to swing voters.

Reflecting the closeness of the presidential race, identical numbers of voters now express favorable opinions of both Bush and Kerry ( $56 \%$ each). As in previous surveys, swing voters have positive impressions of both men - 60\% say that about Bush, $57 \%$ have a favorable opinion of Kerry.

Since the beginning of October, Kerry has achieved notable gains among two key groups of voters - women and

| Issues and Traits |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Trait better | Sept | Oct | Oct |
| describes... | 22-26 | 1-3 | 15-19 |
| Strong leader | \% | \% | \% |
| Bush | 54 | 57 | 50 |
| Kerry | 28 | 32 | 36 |
| Honest \& truthful |  |  |  |
| Bush | 41 | 47 | 40 |
| Kerry | 32 | 34 | 37 |
| Good judgment in a crisis |  |  |  |
| Bush | 49 | 51 | 48 |
| Kerry | 36 | 37 | 41 |
| Cares about people |  |  |  |
| Bush | 38 | 41 | 38 |
| Kerry | 42 | 43 | 48 |
| Willing to take an |  |  |  |
| unpopular stan |  |  |  |
| Bush | 63 | 68 | 63 |
| Kerry | 23 | 23 | 27 |
| Who can best handle... |  |  |  |
| Economy |  |  |  |
| Bush | 39 | 40 | 40 |
| Kerry | 46 | 46 | 47 |
| Situation in Iraq |  |  |  |
| Bush | 46 | 50 | 47 |
| Kerry | 38 | 40 | 41 |
| Terrorism |  |  |  |
| Bush | 54 | 57 | 53 |
| Kerry | 30 | 32 | 35 |
| Health care |  |  |  |
| Bush | 32 | 31 | 34 |
| Kerry | 48 | 49 | 50 |
| Based on registered voters |  |  |  | white Catholics. The gender gap is now about the same as it was in the 2000 exit poll, with women supporting Kerry by 10 points ( $51 \%-41 \%$ ), while men back Bush by about the same margin ( $50 \%-39 \%$ ). Women age 50 and older, who have been about evenly divided in recent Pew polls, now back Kerry by a substantial margin (53\%-36\%). And white Catholic voters, who have consistently favored Bush over the past month, now lean toward Kerry by $50 \%-43 \%$ (see table, pg. 12).

Despite Kerry's improved showing in the horse race, he has yet to fully dispel concerns of voters who believe it would be risky to change leaders with the country facing war and the continuing threat of terrorism. The new survey finds that $41 \%$ of all voters - including a third of
swing voters - believe it is a "major risk" to replace Bush with Kerry at this time. And when voters are asked about the risk of making a change while the U.S. is "threatened by terrorism," slightly more voters (44\%) say replacing Bush with Kerry represents a major risk.

The poll also finds that voters, by two-to-one ( $54 \%-27 \%$ ), believe that Bush will win the election. More than eight-in-ten Bush voters ( $85 \%$ ) believe the president will win, while Kerry supporters are much less confident ( $54 \%$ expect Kerry to win).

Bush Approval Ratings Sag
Overall views of Bush's performance in office continue to sag. Evaluations of the president's handling of Iraq, terrorism and foreign policy moved somewhat higher in the weeks following the Republican convention, but they have returned to levels as low, or lower, as in the late spring and summer.

Currently, $44 \%$ of Americans approve of the president's job overall, while $48 \%$ disapprove. By large margins, majorities disapprove of how the president is handling Iraq ( $56 \%$ disapprove, $37 \%$ approve) and the economy ( $55 \%, 38 \%$ ). Just under half of Americans (49\%) approve of how the president is handling terrorist threats, down from $62 \%$ in early September.

## Voters' Priorities

For the most part, the issue priorities of voters have changed little since August. About three-quarters (78\%) cite the economy as very important to their vote, and roughly the same number mention terrorism (77\%), education (75\%), Iraq (74\%) and health care (73\%). The issue of jobs was not included in the August survey, but that also ranks as a leading priority on the current survey (76\% very important).

While the priorities of committed Bush voters differ markedly from those of certain Kerry voters, swing voters' priorities are much closer to those of Kerry supporters than Bush voters. Nearly nine-in-ten Bush voters (88\%) cite terrorism as very important to their vote, while other issues

| Bush Approval Ratings |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | Early | Mid |
|  | June | Aug |  | Oct |
| Overall job | \% | \% | \% | \% |
| Approve | 48 | 46 | -- | 44 |
| Disapprove | 43 | 45 | -- | 48 |
| Don't know | $\stackrel{9}{100}$ | $\stackrel{9}{100}$ | -- | $\underline{1} \underline{8}$ |
| The economy |  |  |  |  |
| Approve | 43 | 42 | 44 | 38 |
| Disapprove | 50 | 52 | 49 | 55 |
| Don't know | 7 | 6 | 7 | 7 |
|  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Iraq situation |  |  |  |  |
| Approve | 42 | 43 | 47 | 37 |
| Disapprove | 51 | 52 | 45 | 56 |
| Don't know | $\stackrel{7}{100}$ | $\underline{5}$ | $\frac{8}{100}$ | $\frac{7}{100}$ |
| Terrorist threats |  |  |  |  |
| Approve | 56 | 58 | 62 | 49 |
| Disapprove | 35 | 37 | 32 | 40 |
| Don't know | $\underline{9}$ | $\underline{5}$ | 6 | $\underline{11}$ |
|  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Foreign policy |  |  |  |  |
| Approve | 40* | 42 | 47 | 37 |
| Disapprove | 48 | 49 | 42 | 49 |
| Don't know | $\underline{12}$ | $\underline{9}$ | $\underline{11}$ | $\underline{14}$ |
|  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Based on general public. <br> * Trend is from July. |  |  |  |  |

lag well behind in importance. Iraq and moral issues rank second among Bush voters (at $74 \%$ and $73 \%$ respectively), followed by the economy and education ( $67 \%$ each). Both terrorism and moral values rank much lower among the priorities of Kerry supporters and swing voters, which are dominated by bread-and butter issues such as jobs, health care and the economy.

Jobs and health care lead the priorities of committed Kerry voters ( $87 \%$ rank each as "very important"). The economy ranks just behind at $86 \%$, followed by education ( $81 \%$ ), the budget deficit and $\operatorname{Iraq}(77 \%$ each ). Swing voters also rate the economy, education, jobs and health care as most important. Terrorism, the leading issue for committed Bush voters, is a lower priority for Kerry supporters and swing voters, although about seven-in-ten in each group cite terrorism as a very important factor in their vote.

While most voters rate moral values as very important in their vote and this is especially the case for certain Bush voters - they view specific social issues such as gay marriage and stem cell research as much less important. Of 16 issues tested, gay marriage is the lowest rated priority among Kerry supporters ( $26 \%$ very important) and swing voters (29\%). While a somewhat higher percentage of committed Bush voters than others cite gay marriage as very important to their vote, significantly fewer do so now than in early August ( $51 \%$ then, $38 \%$ today).

## Religious Gap on Social Issues

However, social issues do figure heavily in the voting decisions of white evangelical Protestants. About six-in-ten white evangelicals (61\%) say abortion is very important to their vote, and roughly half (49\%) say gay marriage will be a major factor in their vote. About half as many white mainline Protestants, white Catholics, and seculars rate

| Religious Groups Differ Over Importance of Social Issues |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Percent considering each very important... | White | White |  |  |
|  | Prot | Prot | Catholic | Secular |
|  | \% | \% | \% | \% |
| Moral values | 81 | 55 | 58 | 38 |
| Abortion | 61 | 34 | 40 | 36 |
| Gay marriage | 49 | 23 | 21 | 27 |
| Stem cell research | 40 | 39 | 43 | 43 |
| Evangelical Protestants are those who consider themselves to be "born again or evangelical." Mainline Protestants are all others. Seculars are those who say they have no religion when asked. Based on registered voters. |  |  |  |  | the issue of gay marriage as equally important.

Abortion is a slightly bigger factor in the voting decisions of white Catholics than mainline Protestants ( $40 \%$ vs. $34 \%$ ), but ranks below most other issues in importance. There are fewer differences among religious groups over the importance of stem cell research. Roughly four-in-ten members of all major religious groups, including seculars, say it will be very important in their voting decision.

## Reasons for Supporting Bush, Kerry

Supporters of Bush and Kerry offer very different reasons for why they want to see their candidate elected. For Bush voters, positive assessments of the president's character are mentioned nearly as often as his stance on the issues, while for Kerry voters issues are predominant.

About four-in-ten Bush voters (38\%) volunteer the president's position on issues as the reason they most want to see him reelected. But nearly as many ( $34 \%$ ) mention Bush's personal qualities, such as his honesty and integrity, leadership qualities or his moral and Christian values. Roughly a quarter of Bush voters (24\%) cite the president's record in office and support for what he has done so far. Slightly fewer (16\%) focused on negative aspects of Kerry or the need for continuity of leadership during a war.

| Reasons For Backing Bush |  |
| :--- | :---: |
|  |  |
|  | $\%$ |
| NET Issues | $\mathbf{3 8}$ |
| Terrorism/Security | 10 |
| Iraq/War/Military | 7 |
| Like his stand on issues | 6 |
| Abortion/Pro-life | 5 |
| Taxes | 4 |
| Economy/Jobs | 3 |
| NET Positive Qualities | $\mathbf{3 4}$ |
| Moral/Christian values | 12 |
| Honesty/Integrity | 5 |
| Leadership/strong leader | 5 |
| Keeps promises | 4 |
| NET Record | $\mathbf{2 4}$ |
| Done a good job | 17 |
| Finish the job | 3 |
| Knows what he is doing | 3 |
| NET Against Opponent | $\mathbf{1 6}$ |
| Anti Kerry | 6 |
| Wrong time for a change | 4 |
| Total adds to more than 100\% due to |  |
| multiple responses. Based on registered |  |
| voters who plan to vote for Bush. |  |

Issues dominate the reasons Kerry voters give for why they want him to win on Nov. 2. Fully six-in-ten cite issues, including the war in Iraq and military issues, or the economy and jobs. A third of Kerry supporters mention negative factors about Bush as the main reason they want Kerry to prevail. Just $12 \%$ of Kerry voters mention the challenger's personal qualities, far fewer than the $34 \%$ of Bush supporters who cite the president's personal traits as the main reason they want him elected.

## Campaign Themes Resonate

Majorities of voters say they are familiar with the leading criticisms lodged by each candidate against the other. Swing voters are generally less engaged in the presidential campaign, but nearly as many swing voters as committed voters

| Reasons For Favoring Kerry |  |
| :--- | :---: |
|  |  |
| NET Issues | $\mathbf{6 0}$ |
| Iraq/War/Military | 18 |
| Economy/Jobs | 14 |
| Like stand on issues | 8 |
| Health care | 5 |
| For middle class | 4 |
| Democrat/liberal | 4 |
| Foreign policy | 4 |
| NET Against Opponent | $\mathbf{3 4}$ |
| Time for a change | 12 |
| Anti-Bush | 10 |
| Bush did poor job | 6 |
| NET Positive Qualities | $\mathbf{1 2}$ |
| Smart/intelligent | 3 |
| Totals to more than 100\% due to multiple |  |
| responses. Based on registered voters who |  |
| plan to vote for Kerry. |  |
|  |  | say they have heard of criticisms made against Bush and Kerry.

About three-quarters ( $76 \%$ ) of swing voters have heard the criticism that Kerry changes his mind too much, and $64 \%$ have heard the charge that Kerry is too liberal for the country. The president and his supporters also have charged that Kerry would bring big government solutions to issues such as health care, but voters generally - and swing voters in particular - are less aware of this criticism.

Of the criticisms lodged against Kerry, the "flip-flop" charge has the greatest impact. Nearly a third of swing voters (32\%) - and $37 \%$ of all voters say hearing this criticism makes them less likely to vote for Kerry. Even 17\% of Democratic voters say that claim makes them less likely to support Kerry.

Among all voters, the criticism that Bush misled the

| Campaign Themes Familiar to Swing Voters |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | --- Impact on Vote --- |  |  |  |
|  |  | No | (Vol.) <br> More | Total who have |
|  | Likely | Effect | Likely | heard |
| John Kerry ... | \% | \% | \% |  |
| Changes his mind too much | 32 | 42 | 1 | $\Rightarrow 76 \%$ |
| Too liberal for the country | 21 | 42 | 1 | $\Rightarrow 64 \%$ |
| Will bring back big government | 21 | 23 | 0 | $\Rightarrow 44 \%$ |
| George W. Bush ... |  |  |  |  |
| Cares more about the rich | 38 | 40 | 2 | $\Rightarrow 80 \%$ |
| Misled the public about Iraq | 38 | 42 | 2 | $\Rightarrow 82 \%$ |
| Unwilling to admit mistakes | 26 | 43 | 1 | $\Rightarrow 70 \%$ |
| Based on registered voters. |  |  |  |  | public about the war (44\%), and

that he cares more about the rich than average Americans (41\%), are most persuasive. Both of these criticisms have an impact on swing voters, with $38 \%$ saying that each makes them less likely to vote for Bush. Both also appear to be influential among voters in battleground states; $44 \%$ of voters in these states say the charge that Bush misled on Iraq makes them less likely to support him, while $45 \%$ say the same about the criticism that Bush cares more about the rich than average Americans.

## Most Are Confident in Electoral System

A majority of voters (62\%) say they are "very" confident that their vote will be counted accurately in the upcoming election. Another $26 \%$ say they are "somewhat" confident, while small minorities say they are "not too" confident (7\%) or "not at all" confident $(4 \%)$ about their vote being counted.

However, there are wide disparities in voter confidence across political, racial, and other demographic lines. Just $47 \%$ of African American and $52 \%$ of Hispanic voters say they are very confident their vote will be counted, compared with $65 \%$ of white voters. More broadly, while three-quarters of Bush supporters are very confident their vote will be counted, only about half of Kerry supporters (49\%) say the same.

New voters, and younger people in general,

| Confident Your Vote Will be Counted? |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Very | Somewhat | Not too Not at al |  |
|  | \% | \% | \% | \% |
| All RVs | 62 | 26 | 11 | $1=100$ |
| Men | 67 | 21 | 11 | $1=100$ |
| Women | 56 | 32 | 11 | $1=100$ |
| White | 65 | 25 | 9 | $1=100$ |
| Black | 47 | 36 | 15 | $2=100$ |
| Hispanic | 52 | 32 | 16 | $0=100$ |
| 18-29 | 49 | 36 | 14 | $1=100$ |
| 30-49 | 61 | 28 | 10 | 1=100 |
| 50-64 | 67 | 24 | 8 | 1=100 |
| 65+ | 65 | 17 | 14 | $4=100$ |
| Bush voters |  | 20 | 4 | $1=100$ |
| Kerry voters |  | 33 | 17 | $1=100$ |
| First time voting? |  |  |  |  |
| Yes | 47 | 36 |  | 1=100 |
| No | 63 | 25 | 11 | $1=100$ |
| Based on registered voters. |  |  |  |  | express more skepticism than older people about the electoral process. Just half of voters under age $30(49 \%)$ say they are very confident their vote will be counted accurately, and this is about the same among all registered voters who say this year will be the first time they will have ever voted (47\%).

Overall, women are less confident in the voting process than are men. Two-thirds of men are very confident that their vote will be counted ( $67 \%$ ), but only $56 \%$ of women feel this way.

Over seven-in-ten registered voters (72\%) say they have heard about the use of new technology by many states to change the way votes are cast and counted in this year's election, though the public's reaction to these electoral reforms is lukewarm. Among those familiar with the changes, $24 \%$ say technology will make things better; $27 \%$ say they will not make much difference,
and $12 \%$ say the changes will make things worse.

## Ground Game Gearing Up

While get-out-the-vote efforts will move into high gear over the next two weeks, $26 \%$ of registered voters say they already have been contacted over the phone by candidates, campaigns or other groups urging them to vote in a particular way on Nov. 2. Overall, 7\% of voters say they have been contacted only by Republican groups, while another $7 \%$ have been contacted by both Republican and Democratic groups. About as many voters report being contacted by Democratic groups (6\% Democrat only, $7 \%$ both).

The concentration of campaigns' telephone efforts in the battleground states, and among voters who have yet to make up their minds is apparent. Fully $36 \%$ of voters in battleground states say they have been contacted about the election, compared with $21 \%$ of voters in states where
 Kerry is favored, and $19 \%$ in states where Bush is expected to win. In the battleground states, $12 \%$ of registered voters in the battleground states say they have already been contacted by phone from both sides during this campaign, and both Democrats and Republicans appear to be reaching about the same number of voters.

Telephone contacts have been far less common among younger voters than among those over age 50 . Only about one-in-five voters under age 30 (18\%) report having been called by a campaign, party or group, compared with $29 \%$ of those age $50-64$ and $40 \%$ of those age 65 and older. Among voters age 65 and older, about twice as many ( $14 \%$ ) report they have been contacted only by Republican groups as say they have been contacted only by Democratic groups (6\%); 12\% of those 65 and older say they have been contacted by both Republican and Democratic groups.

## Ballot Proposals Attract Interest

Overall, more than four-in-ten voters ( $42 \%$ ) say initiatives, referendums, or state constitutional amendments are on the ballot in their states this fall. In the 34 states where there are statewide proposals on the ballot, $56 \%$ of voters say they are aware of such measures.

Nearly three-quarters (72\%) of voters in Western states are aware of initiatives on their ballot, which reflects the fact that there are statewide measures in every state in that region. By comparison, far fewer voters in the South (43\%), Midwest (35\%) and East (17\%) are aware of ballot initiatives in their states.

Gambling measures are the most visible type of ballot measures, followed by proposed constitutional amendments to ban gay marriage. One-in-five respondents ( $20 \%$ ) who say there are ballot measures up in their states mention some type of gambling issue. Gay marriage is a close second to gambling in its visibility. Eleven states have proposals to amend state constitutions to ban gay marriage. Overall, $15 \%$ of voters aware of ballot measures mentioned gay marriage, and this

| Ballot Measures Go West |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| Aware of any Yes No D | Yes No DK/Ref. |
| ballot measures? \% \% | \% \% \% |
| All RVs 423127 | $423127=100$ |
| East $\begin{array}{lll}17 & 44 & 39\end{array}$ | $174439=100$ |
| Midwest 3539 26 | $353926=100$ |
| South $43 \quad 29 \quad 28$ | 43 29 28=100 |
| West $72 \quad 13 \quad 15$ | $72 \quad 1315=100$ |
| Ballot issues in your state?* | ur state?* \% |
| Gambling/Lottery |  |
| Gay marriage/Gay rights | rights 15 |
| Education/School | 9 |
| Taxes | 7 |
| Malpractice/Tort reform | reform 5 |
| Environmental issues | ues 3 |
| Other local bond issues | issues 4 |
| Public transportation | ion 2 |
| Stem cell research | 2 |
| Immigration issues | s 2 |
| Health care | 2 |
| Politicians/Elections | ns 2 |
| Other | 10 |
| Don't Know | 37 |
| *Asked only of those who said voters in their state will be able to vote on a ballot proposal. |  | figure is $45 \%$ in states with gay marriage proposals on the ballot.

Among voters aware of initiatives and referendums in their state, $41 \%$ say they are very interested in such ballot issues this year; $45 \%$ are fairly interested. Comparable numbers of people across the ideological spectrum - liberals, moderates, conservatives - express interest in ballot measures.

## War Support Wanes

Americans are now closely divided over the decision to go to war in Iraq - $46 \%$ believe it was the right decision while $42 \%$ say it was wrong. In September, a $53 \%$ majority said it was the right decision, compared with $39 \%$ who said it was the wrong decision.

Support for the war has slipped among nearly all demographic and political groups, but the shift has been especially dramatic among young people. Just $43 \%$ of those under age 30 have a positive view of the decision to go to war, down from $59 \%$ in early September.

Other judgments about the war in Iraq

| Decision to Use Force in Iraq |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | ---Early Sept--- <br> Right Wrong DK |  |  | ---Mid Oct--- <br> Right Wrong DK |  |  |
|  | \% | \% | \% | \% | \% | \% |
| Total | 53 | 39 | 8 | 46 | 42 | 12 |
| Men | 60 | 36 | 4 | 51 | 38 | 11 |
| Women | 46 | 43 | 11 | 40 | 47 | 13 |
| 18-29 | 59 | 33 | 8 | 43 | 44 | 13 |
| 30-49 | 55 | 38 | 7 | 50 | 40 | 10 |
| 50-64 | 53 | 41 | 6 | 45 | 46 | 9 |
| 65+ | 42 | 48 | 10 | 39 | 42 | 19 |
| Conserv Rep 86 | 86 | 9 | 5 | 82 | 11 | 7 |
| Mod/Lib Rep 81 | 81 | 15 | 4 | 66 | 22 | 12 |
| Independent 51 | 51 | 41 | 8 | 45 | 41 | 14 |
| Cons/Mod Dem 33 |  | 61 | 6 | 24 | 66 | 10 |
| Liberal Dem 2 | 24 | 72 | 4 | 9 | 85 | 6 |
| Based on general pub | blic. |  |  |  |  |  | have been relatively stable since September. About half (51\%) consider the war in Iraq to be going at least fairly well, while $43 \%$ say it is not going well. These assessments are virtually unchanged from last month. A majority (at 57\%) continue to believe that the U.S. should keep the troops in Iraq until the situation has stabilized, while $36 \%$ say the troops should be brought home as soon as possible.

A plurality of Americans (45\%) say the war in Iraq has helped the war on terrorism, while $40 \%$ believe it has hurt that effort. There is no agreement concerning the war's impact on the risk of terrorism in this country. About a third (36\%) say the war in Iraq has increased the chances of terrorism in the U.S.; $32 \%$ say it has lessened that risk; and $28 \%$ say the war has made no difference.

## Surging Election News Interest

While the intensely fought presidential election is drawing wide attention, the high price of gasoline these days currently tops the American public's list of news interests. Nearly two-thirds (64\%) say they are following news about gas prices very closely, and another $22 \%$ are following somewhat closely. Public attention to this story has not been as high since May 2001. Interest in this issue is high across all parts of the country.

| Record Interest in Election, But Gas Prices Draw Most Attention |  |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | Following very closely |
| News stories... | \% |
| Gasoline prices | 64 |
| Presidential election | 46 |
| Flu vaccine shortages | 44 |
| Situation in Iraq | 42 |
| Economic conditions | 30 |
| Mt. St. Helen rumblings | 20 |
| Based on general public. |  |

Nearly half of Americans (46\%) are following news about candidates for the 2004 presidential election very closely. Looking specifically at registered voters, fully $54 \%$ are following news about the campaign very closely, far higher than the $40 \%$ who closely followed campaign news four years ago or the $34 \%$ who were very interested in campaign news on the eve of the 1996 election. Only in 1992 was voter interest in the campaign as high as it is currently.

| Voters Glued to Election News |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Oct Oct Nov Oct Oct$\underline{1988} \underline{1992} \underline{1996} \underline{2000} \underline{2004}$ |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | \% | \% | \% | \% | \% |
| Very closely | 43 | 55 | 34 | 40 | 54 |
| Fairly closely | 44 | 36 | 45 | 37 | 29 |
| Not too closely | 11 | 7 | 15 | 15 | 11 |
| Not at all closely | 2 | 2 | 6 | 8 | 5 |
| Don't know |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | 100 |
| Based on registered voters. |  |  |  |  |  |

The shortage in the supply of flu vaccines available this year is being followed very closely by $44 \%$ of Americans. Interest is highest among women ( $52 \% \mathrm{vs} .35 \%$ of men), as well as older and lower income Americans.

Despite continuing violence in Iraq, public attention to news from that country has fallen over the past month, from $47 \%$ following very closely in September to $42 \%$ today. There is also a considerable drop in the proportion of Americans closely following economic news. Just three-in-ten report paying very close attention to reports about the condition of the U.S. economy, down from $39 \%$ a month ago.

One-in-five say they are following news about a possible eruption of Mount St. Helens, the largest active volcano in the U.S. that last blew its top in 1980. Not surprisingly, attention is higher in the West ( $28 \%$ very closely) than elsewhere.

| Flu Vaccine Shortage |  |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | Following very closely |
|  | \% |
| Women | 52 |
| Men | 35 |
| 18-29 | 33 |
| 30-49 | 38 |
| 50-64 | 52 |
| 65+ | 60 |
| Under \$20k | 57 |
| \$20-\$50k | 38 |
| \$50-\$75k | 46 |
| \$75k + | 45 |
| Based on general public. |  |

## PRESIDENTIAL VOTE CHOICE

(Based on Registered Voters, with leaners)

|  | Sept. 17-21 2004 |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Sept. 22-26 } \\ 2004 \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { October 1-3 } \\ 2004 \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { October 15-19 } \\ 2004 \end{gathered}$ |  | Change in Bush Oct. 1-3-Oct. 15-19 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Bush | Kerry | Bush | Kerry | Bush | Kerry | Bush | Kerry |  |
|  | \% | \% | \% | \% | \% | \% | \% | \% |  |
| Total | 45 | 42 | 48 | 40 | 48 | 41 | 45 | 45 | -3 |
| Sex |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Male | 47 | 40 | 52 | 37 | 53 | 37 | 50 | 39 | -3 |
| Female | 42 | 44 | 45 | 42 | 43 | 45 | 41 | 51 | -2 |
| Race |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| White | 51 | 37 | 54 | 35 | 53 | 36 | 51 | 40 | -2 |
| Non-white | 14 | 71 | 24 | 64 | 23 | 68 | 22 | 66 | -1 |
| Black | 5 | 83 | 12 | 73 | 7 | 84 | 11 | 75 | +4 |
| Race and Sex |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| White Men | 54 | 34 | 56 | 32 | 57 | 33 | 54 | 37 | -3 |
| White Women | 48 | 39 | 51 | 37 | 49 | 38 | 48 | 44 | -1 |
| Age |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Under 30 | 35 | 53 | 48 | 42 | 46 | 44 | 44 | 47 | -2 |
| 30-49 | 48 | 39 | 51 | 39 | 51 | 40 | 49 | 44 | -2 |
| 50-64 | 42 | 46 | 49 | 38 | 47 | 42 | 43 | 49 | -4 |
| 65+ | 50 | 37 | 44 | 43 | 43 | 41 | 42 | 45 | -1 |
| Sex and Age |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Men under 50 | 46 | 39 | 53 | 37 | 55 | 37 | 51 | 39 | -4 |
| Women under 50 | 42 | 47 | 47 | 43 | 45 | 44 | 44 | 50 | -1 |
| Men 50+ | 49 | 42 | 50 | 38 | 50 | 37 | 49 | 41 | -1 |
| Women 50+ | 42 | 43 | 44 | 42 | 42 | 46 | 36 | 53 | -6 |
| Education |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| College Grad. | 48 | 43 | 47 | 44 | 48 | 45 | 47 | 47 | -1 |
| Some College | 43 | 44 | 48 | 40 | 49 | 44 | 50 | 42 | +1 |
| High School Grad. or Less | 43 | 42 | 50 | 37 | 47 | 37 | 41 | 46 | -6 |
| Family Income |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| \$75,000+ | 53 | 42 | 50 | 43 | 54 | 41 | 48 | 43 | -6 |
| \$50,000-\$74,999 | 49 | 41 | 63 | 28 | 59 | 37 | 57 | 37 | -2 |
| \$30,000-\$49,999 | 42 | 44 | 50 | 42 | 44 | 43 | 46 | 47 | +2 |
| \$20,000-\$29,999 | 42 | 48 | 41 | 45 | 38 | 48 | 45 | 48 | +7 |
| <\$20,000 | 26 | 57 | 36 | 43 | 40 | 44 | 26 | 61 | -14 |

Question: If the presidential election were being held TODAY, would you vote for the Republican ticket of George W. Bush and Dick Cheney, for the Democratic ticket of John Kerry and John Edwards, or for the ticket of Ralph Nader and Peter Camejo? As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to.....

Ralph Nader was asked about only in 32 states where he is on the ballot.

|  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Sept. 17-21 } \\ & 2004 \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Sept. 22-26 } \\ 2004 \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { October 1-3 } \\ 2004 \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { October 15-19 } \\ 2004 \end{gathered}$ |  | Change in Bush Oct. 1-3-Oct. 15-19 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Bush | Kerry | Bush | Kerry | Bush | Kerry | Bush | Kerry |  |
|  | \% | \% | \% | \% | \% | \% | \% | \% |  |
| Total | 45 | 42 | 48 | 40 | 48 | 41 | 45 | 45 | -3 |
| Region |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| East | 40 | 46 | 43 | 45 | 39 | 49 | 35 | 56 | -4 |
| Midwest | 45 | 38 | 53 | 37 | 53 | 38 | 48 | 42 | -5 |
| South | 48 | 42 | 49 | 38 | 51 | 37 | 51 | 38 | 0 |
| West | 41 | 46 | 47 | 42 | 43 | 44 | 43 | 50 | 0 |
| Religious Affiliation |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Total White Protestant | 59 | 31 | 61 | 29 | 60 | 30 | 59 | 34 | -1 |
| - Evangelical | 68 | 23 | 74 | 18 | 73 | 21 | 70 | 22 | -3 |
| - Non-Evangelical | 49 | 39 | 45 | 43 | 47 | 40 | 49 | 45 | +2 |
| White Catholic | 47 | 38 | 49 | 39 | 49 | 33 | 43 | 50 | -6 |
| Secular | 22 | 56 | 30 | 54 | 31 | 55 | 32 | 59 | +1 |
| Party ID |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Republican | 91 | 4 | 90 | 3 | 90 | 3 | 89 | 7 | -1 |
| Democrat | 8 | 85 | 10 | 81 | 9 | 85 | 7 | 88 | -2 |
| Independent | 40 | 41 | 46 | 38 | 42 | 39 | 43 | 43 | +1 |
| Party and Ideology |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Conservative Republican | 95 | 3 | 94 | 1 | 95 | 1 | 93 | 4 | -2 |
| Moderate/Liberal Rep. | 85 | 8 | 85 | 6 | 80 | 7 | 80 | 16 | 0 |
| Conservative/Mod. Dem. | 9 | 84 | 14 | 75 | 11 | 81 | 9 | 84 | -2 |
| Liberal Democrat | 7 | 90 | 4 | 92 | 3 | 95 | 2 | 96 | -1 |
| Battleground States* |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Republican States |  |  |  |  |  |  | 56 | 34 |  |
| Democratic States |  |  |  |  |  |  | 36 | 53 |  |
| Battleground States |  |  |  |  |  |  | 43 | 49 |  |

[^0]
## ABOUT THE SURVEYS

Results for the Mid-October 2004 political survey are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International among a nationwide sample of 1,568 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period October 15-19, 2004. For results based on the total sample, one can say with $95 \%$ confidence that the error attributable to sampling is plus or minus 3 percentage points. For results based on either Form $1(\mathrm{~N}=772)$ or Form $2(\mathrm{~N}=796)$, the sampling error is plus or minus 4 percentage points. For results based on registered voters $(\mathrm{N}=1,307)$ the sampling error is plus or minus 3 percentage points. If based on Form 1 or Form 2 registered voters only (Form $1 \mathrm{~N}=633$ or Form $2 \mathrm{~N}=674$ ), the sampling error is plus or minus 4.5 percentage points. For results based on likely voters $(\mathrm{N}=1,070)$ the sampling error is plus or minus 3.5 percentage points.

The Mid-October Omnibus survey was conducted concurrently with a nationwide sample of 803 adults during the period October $15-19,2004$. This survey included questions on presidential approval and news interest. The sampling error for this survey is plus or minus 4 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. Form 1 and Form 2 interviews were weighted separately on these parameters and on the overall presidential vote preference in order to ensure equivalence between the two forms.

# PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS <br> MID-OCTOBER 2004 POLITICAL SURVEY <br> FINAL TOPLINE <br> October 15-19, 2004 <br> General Public N=1568 <br> Registered Voter $\mathbf{N}=1307$ 

## NOTE: ALL NUMBERS IN SURVEY, INCLUDING TREND FIGURES, ARE BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS EXCEPT WHERE NOTED

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

|  |  | Quite | (VOL.) | Only a | (VOL.) | DK/ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | A lot | Some | Little | None | Ref. |
|  | Mid-October, 2004 | 76 | 5 | 15 | 3 | $1=100$ |
|  | Early October, 2004 | 74 | 4 | 19 | 2 | $1=100$ |
|  | September 22-26, 2004 | 68 | 4 | 23 | 4 | $1=100$ |
|  | September 17-21, 2004 | 66 | 4 | 25 | 4 | $1=100$ |
|  | Early September, 2004 | 71 | 3 | 22 | 3 | $1=100$ |
|  | September 11-14 | 69 | 3 | 23 | 4 | $1=100$ |
|  | September 8-10 | 73 | 3 | 21 | 2 | $1=100$ |
|  | August, 2004 | 69 | 2 | 26 | 2 | $1=100$ |
|  | July, 2004 | 67 | 2 | 28 | 2 | $1=100$ |
|  | 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 | * $=100$ |
| 2000 | 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 | * $=100$ |
| 1996 | 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 | $1=100$ |
| 1992 | 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 | $1=100$ |
| 1988 | Gallup: November, 1988 | 73 | 8 | 17 | 2 | $0=100$ |
|  | Gallup: October, 1988 | 69 | 9 | 20 | 2 | $0=100$ |
|  | Gallup: August, 1988 | 61 | 10 | 27 | 2 | $0=100$ |
|  | Gallup: September, 1988 | 57 | 18 | 23 | 2 | $0=100$ |

## QUESTION 1 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

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?

83 Yes, registered
80 Absolutely certain
2 Chance registration has lapse - SKIP TO Q. 40
1 Don't know/Refused (VOL.) - SKIP TO Q. 40
17 No, not registered - SKIP TO Q. 40

* Don't know/Refused (VOL.) - SKIP TO Q. 40


## ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS:

PRECINCT Have you ever voted in your precinct or election district?

|  |  | Early |  |  | Early | Late | Mid- | Early | Late | Early |  | Late |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Sept | Aug | Nov | Nov | Oct | Oct | Oct | Oct | Oct | Nov | Sept | Nov |
|  |  | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2002}$ | 2000 | 2000 | $\underline{2000}$ | $\underline{2000}$ | 1998 | 1998 | $\underline{1996}$ | 1996 | $\underline{1994}$ |
| 79 | Yes | 83 | 88 | 86 | 83 | 81 | 82 | 84 | 86 | 87 | 85 | 85 | 91 |
| 21 | No | 17 | 12 | 14 | 17 | 19 | 18 | 16 | 14 | 13 | 15 | 15 | 9 |
| * | Don't know/Ref. | $\stackrel{*}{*}$ | $\underline{0}$ | - | - |  | $\underline{0}$ | - | - | - | * | * | * |
| 100 |  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

FOLGOV 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? ${ }^{2}$

|  | Most of The Time | Some of the Time | Only Now and Then | Hardly at All | DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mid-October, 2004 | 63 | 26 | 8 | 3 | * $=100$ |
| June, 2004 | 49 | 35 | 12 | 4 | * $=100$ |
| August, 2003 | 56 | 31 | 10 | 3 | *=100 |
| Early November, 2000 | 51 | 32 | 12 | 5 | * $=100$ |
| November, 1996 | 52 | 32 | 12 | 4 | *=100 |
| October, 1996 | 43 | 37 | 13 | 6 | $1=100$ |
| October, 1988 | 52 | 33 | 12 | 3 | * $=100$ |

[^1]OFTVOTE How often would you say you vote... (READ) ${ }^{3}$

|  | Always | (VOL.) |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Nearly | Part of |  | Never | (VOL.) |  |
|  |  | Always | The time | Seldom | Vote | Other | DK/Ref. |
| Mid-October, 2004 | 63 | 22 | 7 | 5 | 2 | 1 | * $=100$ |
| Early November, 2000 | 57 | 26 | 8 | 6 | 2 | 1 | * $=100$ |
| Late October, 2000 | 52 | 30 | 9 | 6 | 1 | 2 | $0=100$ |
| Mid-October, 2000 | 54 | 27 | 10 | 6 | * | 3 | * $=100$ |
| Early October, 2000 | 51 | 29 | 10 | 6 | 3 | 1 | * $=100$ |
| November, 1996 | 55 | 28 | 8 | 6 | 2 | 1 | * $=100$ |
| October, 1996 | 52 | 30 | 9 | 5 | 2 | 2 | * $=100$ |
| Early October, 1992 | 54 | 33 | 8 | 4 | * | 1 | * $=100$ |
| October, 1988 | 51 | 37 | 8 | 3 | 1 | * | * $=100$ |

## NO QUESTIONS 2 THROUGH 3

NOTE: IN 32 STATES WHERE NADER IS ON THE BALLOT, INCLUDE NADER. IN STATES WHERE NADER IS NOT ON THE BALLOT, NADER NOT INCLUDED.
Q. 4 If the presidential election were being held TODAY, would you vote [INSERT, ROTATE

REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC TICKETS WITH NADER TICKET LAST] for the Republican ticket of George W. Bush and Dick Cheney, for the Democratic ticket of John Kerry and John Edwards, or for the ticket of Ralph Nader and Peter Camejo?
IF CHOSE BUSH, KERRY OR NADER IN Q.4, ASK:
Q.4a Do you support (INSERT PRESIDENTIAL CHOICE FROM Q.4—LAST NAME ONLY, DO NOT READ VP CHOICE) strongly or only moderately?
IF OTHER OR DK (Q.4=4,9), ASK:
Q.4b As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to [READ, ROTATE IN SAME ORDER AS Q.4]?

|  | Bush/Lean Bush |  |  |  | Kerry/Lean Kerry |  |  |  | Nader Lean Nader | Other/ <br> Don't <br> Know |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Only |  |  |  | Only |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Total | Strongly | Mod. | $\underline{\text { DK }}$ | Total | Strong | Mod. | DK |  |  |
| Mid-October, 2004 | 45 | 32 | 13 | * | 45 | 28 | 16 | 1 | 1 | $9=100$ |
| Early October, 2004 | 48 | 35 | 12 | 1 | 41 | 24 | 17 | * | 2 | $9=100$ |
| September 22-26, 2004 | 48 |  |  |  | 40 |  |  |  | 2 | $10=100$ |
| September 17-21, 2004 | 45 |  |  |  | 42 |  |  |  | 3 | $10=100$ |
| Early September, 2004 | 49 | 33 | 15 | 1 | 43 | 22 | 20 | 1 | 1 | $7=100$ |
| September 11-14 | 46 | 30 | 15 | 1 | 46 | 22 | 24 | * | 1 | $7=100$ |
| September 8-10 | 52 | 36 | 15 | 1 | 40 | 22 | 17 | 1 | 1 | $7=100$ |
| August, 2004 | 45 | 32 | 13 | * | 47 | 28 | 19 | * | 2 | $6=100$ |
| July, 2004 | 44 |  |  |  | 46 |  |  |  | 3 | $7=100$ |
| June, 2004 | 46 |  |  |  | 42 |  |  |  | 6 | $6=100$ |
| May, 2004 | 43 |  |  |  | 46 |  |  |  | 6 | $5=100$ |
| Late March, 2004 | 44 |  |  |  | 43 |  |  |  | 6 | $7=100$ |
| Mid-March, 2004 | 42 |  |  |  | 49 |  |  |  | 4 | $5=100$ |
|  | Bush/Lean Bush |  |  |  | Gore/Lean Gore |  |  |  | Nader |  |
| Early November, 2000 | 41 | 26 | 15 | * | 45 | 25 | 19 | 1 | 4 | $10=100^{4}$ |
| Late October, 2000 | 45 | 29 | 16 | * | 43 | 24 | 19 | * | 4 | $8=100$ |
| Mid-October, 2000 | 43 | 25 | 18 | * | 45 | 22 | 23 | * | 4 | $8=100$ |
| Early October, 2000 | 43 | 26 | 17 | * | 44 | 22 | 22 | * | 5 | $8=100$ |
| September, 2000 | 41 | 21 | 19 | 1 | 47 | 25 | 21 | 1 | 2 | $10=100$ |
| July, 2000 | 42 |  |  |  | 41 |  |  |  | 6 | $11=100$ |
|  | Dole/Lean Dole |  |  |  | Clinton/Lean Clinton |  |  |  | Perot |  |
| November, 1996 | 32 | 17 | 15 | * | 51 | 26 | 24 | 1 | 9 | $8=100$ |
| October, 1996 | 34 | 17 | 16 | 1 | 51 | 25 | 26 | * | 8 | $7=100$ |
| Late September, 1996 | 35 | 16 | 18 | 1 | 51 | 26 | 25 | * | 7 | $7=100$ |
| Early September, 1996 | 34 | 17 | 17 | * | 52 | 26 | 26 | 0 | 8 | $6=100$ |
| July, 1996 | 34 |  |  |  | 44 |  |  |  | 16 | $6=100$ |
|  | Bush, Sr./Lean Bush, Sr. |  |  |  | Clinton/Lean Clinton |  |  |  | Perot |  |
| Late October, 1992 | 34 | 20 | 14 | -- | 44 | 26 | 18 | -- | 19 | $3=100$ |
| Early October, 1992 | 35 | 14 | 21 | -- | 48 | 23 | 25 | -- | 8 | $9=100$ |
| June, 1992 | 31 |  |  |  | 28 |  |  |  | 36 | $5=100$ |

4 For trends from 2000, results for "The Reform Party ticket headed by Pat Buchanan" are included in the "Other/DK" category.

THOSE WHO CHOSE KERRY/EDWARDS (Q.4/Q.4b) ASK:
Q.5a Would you say that your choice is more a vote FOR John Kerry or more a vote AGAINST George W. Bush? THOSE WHO CHOSE BUSH/CHENEY (Q.4/Q.4b) ASK:
Q.5b Would you say that your choice is more a vote FOR George W. Bush or more a vote AGAINST John Kerry?


| $\underline{2000}$ | ----------- GORE ----------- |  |  |  | BUSH ------------- |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Total | ProGore | Anti- <br> Bush | Undecid | Total | Pro- <br> Bush | AntiGore | Undecid | Other/ <br> DK |
| Nov | 45 | 29 | 14 | 2 | 41 | 27 | 12 | 2 | 14=100 |
| Sept | 47 | 30 | 14 | 3 | 41 | 24 | 14 | 3 | 12=100 |




| $\underline{1988}$ | ---------- DUKAKIS --------- |  |  |  | ----------- BUSH, SR. --------- |  |  |  | Other <br> DK |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Total | ProDukakis | AntiBush | Undecid | Total | Pro- <br> Bush | AntiDukakis | Undecid |  |
| Oct | 42 | 23 | 15 | 4 | 50 | 31 | 16 | 3 | 8=100 |
| Sept | 44 | 21 | 19 | 4 | 50 | 31 | 15 | 4 | $6=100$ |
| May | 53 | 23 | 26 | 4 | 40 | 26 | 11 | 3 | $7=100$ |

## IF RESPONDENT DID NOT CHOOSE KERRY IN Q.4/4b (Q.4=1,3 OR Q.4b=1,3,4,9) ASK:

Q.6a Do you think there is a chance that you might vote for John Kerry in November, or have you definitely decided not to vote for him?

|  |  | Chance might <br> vote for Kerry | Decided not to <br> vote for Kerry | Don't know/ <br> Refused |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Mid-October, 2004 | 6 | 42 | $7=55 \%$ |
|  | Early October, 2004 | 9 | 45 | $5=59 \%$ |
|  | September 22-26, 2004 | 14 | 41 | $5=60 \%$ |
|  | September 17-21, 2004 | 10 | 40 | $7=57 \%$ |
|  | Early September, 2004 | 11 | 42 | $4=57 \%$ |
|  | September 11-14 | 11 | 38 | $5=54 \%$ |
|  | September 8-10 | 11 | 46 | $3=60 \%$ |
|  | August, 2004 | 11 | 39 | $3=53 \%$ |
|  | July, 2004 | 13 | 36 | $5=54 \%$ |
|  | May, 2004 2004 | 10 | 41 | $3=54 \%$ |
|  | Late March, 2004 | 11 | 35 | $4=50 \%$ |
|  | Mid-March, 2004 | 13 | 37 | $3=53 \%$ |
|  | Late February, 2004 | 13 | 13 | 32 |
| Garly February, 2004 | 15 | 36 | $3=48 \%$ |  |
|  |  |  | 33 | $3=52 \%$ |
| Gore: | Early November, 2000 | 8 |  | $5=53 \%$ |
| Gore: | Late October, 2000 | 9 | 41 |  |
| Gore: | Mid-October, 2000 | 10 | 44 | $6=55 \%$ |
| Gore: | Early October, 2000 | 11 | 40 | $4=57 \%$ |
| Gore: | September, 2000 | 13 | 38 | $5=55 \%$ |
| Gore: | June, 2000 | 14 | 35 | $7=56 \%$ |
|  |  |  | 34 | $5=53 \%$ |
| Clinton: | November, 1996 | 6 | $6=54 \%$ |  |

## IF RESPONDENT DID NOT CHOOSE BUSH IN Q.4/4b (Q.4=2,3 OR Q.4b=2,3,4,9) ASK:

Q.6b Do you think there is a chance that you might vote for George W. Bush in November, or have you definitely decided not to vote for him?

|  | Chance might vote for Bush | Decided not to vote for Bush | Don't know Refused |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mid-October, 2004 | 5 | 43 | 7=55\% |
| Early October, 2004 | 9 | 39 | $4=52 \%$ |
| September 22-26, 2004 | 10 | 37 | 5=52\% |
| September 17-21, 2004 | 9 | 39 | $7=55 \%$ |
| Early September, 2004 | 9 | 38 | $4=51 \%$ |
| September 11-14 | 8 | 41 | $5=54 \%$ |


| Q.6b CON | NTINUED... | Chance might vote for Bush | Decided not to vote for Bush | Don't know/ Refused |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | September 8-10 | 9 | 35 | $4=48 \%$ |
|  | August, 2004 | 10 | 42 | $3=55 \%$ |
|  | July, 2004 | 10 | 41 | $5=56 \%$ |
|  | June, 2004 | 9 | 41 | $2=52 \%$ |
|  | May, 2004 | 9 | 42 | $4=55 \%$ |
|  | Late March, 2004 | 11 | 40 | $3=54 \%$ |
|  | Mid-March, 2004 | 11 | 44 | $2=57 \%$ |
|  | Late February, 2004 | 10 | 43 | $3=56 \%$ |
|  | Early February, 2004 | 10 | 41 | $2=53 \%$ |
| Bush: | Early November, 2000 | 8 | 44 | $7=59 \%$ |
| Bush: | Late October, 2000 | 10 | 41 | $4=55 \%$ |
| Bush: | Mid-October, 2000 | 12 | 40 | 5=57\% |
| Bush: | Early October, 2000 | 11 | 39 | $7=57 \%$ |
| Bush: | September, 2000 | 15 | 38 | $6=59 \%$ |
| Bush: | June, 2000 | 15 | 33 | $6=54 \%$ |
| Dole: | November, 1996 | 8 | 54 | $6=68 \%$ |
| Dole: | October, 1996 | 11 | 51 | $4=66 \%$ |
| Dole: | Late September, 1996 | 16 | 44 | 5=65\% |
| Dole: | Early September, 1996 | 14 | 47 | $5=66 \%$ |
| Dole: | July, 1996 | 15 | 40 | $3=58 \%$ |
| Bush, Sr: | Late October, 1992 | 11 | 53 | $2=66 \%$ |
| Bush, Sr: | Early October, 1992 | 13 | 46 | 6=65\% |
| Bush, Sr: | September, 1992 | 12 | 44 | $6=62 \%$ |
| Bush, Sr: | August, 1992 | 15 | 45 | $4=64 \%$ |
| Bush, Sr: | May, 1992 | 8 | 40 | $5=53 \%$ |

## ASKED OCTOBER 15-18 ONLY:

IF RESPONDENT NAMED A PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE IN Q.4/4b, ASK:
Q. $7 \quad$ What is the main reason why you would like to see (CHOICE FROM Q.4/4b LAST NAME

ONLY; DO NOT READ VP CHOICE) win the presidential election? (OPEN - END)

|  |  | Late Sept |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: |
|  |  | July <br> VOTERS WHO SAID THEY WOULD VOTE FOR KERRY [N=494]: | Clinton |  |
| $\mathbf{5 9}$ | STANDS ON ISSUES (NET) | $\mathbf{1 9 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 4}$ |  |
| 18 | Iraq/War/military | -- | -- |  |
| 14 | Economy/jobs | -- | -- |  |
| 8 | Like his stand on the issues/platform/domestic issues (general) | 16 | 12 |  |
| 5 | Health/medical care/medicare | -- | -- |  |
| 4 | Middle class/for the little person/in touch with the people | -- | -- |  |
| 4 | Democrat/liberal (positive) | -- | -- |  |
| 3 | Foreign policy/foreign affairs | -- | -- |  |
| 3 | Plan to move forward/will do a better job | -- | -- |  |
| 3 | Education | 3 | 1 |  |
| 2 | Negative on issues of other candidate | -- | -- |  |
| 2 | Environment | -- | -- |  |
| 2 | Taxes | -- | -- |  |
| 7 | Other | -- | -- |  |

## Q. 7 CONTINUED...

| Late Sept | July |
| :---: | :---: |
| $\frac{1996}{27}$ | $\frac{1996}{\mathbf{3 1}}$ |
| -- | -- |
| 17 | 13 |
| -- | -- |
| -- | -- |
| -- | -- |
| -- | -- |
| -- | -- |
| $\mathbf{1 6}$ | $\mathbf{2 6}$ |
| -- | - |
| 3 | 7 |
| 1 | $*$ |
| -- | -- |
| -- | -- |
| -- | -- |
| -- | -- |
| -- | -- |
| -- | -- |
| $\mathbf{3 1}$ | $\mathbf{3 0}$ |
| $\mathbf{3}$ | $\mathbf{3}$ |
| $\mathbf{6}$ | $\mathbf{4}$ |

VOTERS WHO SAID THEY WOULD VOTE FOR BUSH [N=481]: Dole
37 STANDS ON ISSUES (NET) 33

10
Terrorism/Security/9-11
Iraq/War/military
$\begin{array}{lll}\text { Like his stand on the issues/platform/domestic issues } & 18 & 14\end{array}$
Abortion/Pro-Life 4
Taxes 9
Economy/Jobs -- --
Republican/conservative --
Foreign policy/foreign affairs -- --
Other -- --
POSITIVE QUALITIES (NET) 15
Moral/Christian values -- --
Honesty/integrity $\quad 9 \quad 9$
Leadership/strong leader/great leader -- --
Keeps promises/man of his word/does what he stands for -- --
Just like him --
Best qualified/better man/better candidate -- --
Other -- --
RECORD (NET) n/a n/a
Done a good job/good president/agree with what he is doing -- --
Finish the job/finish the war
-- --

He's been there/done the job/knows what he's doing -- --
Other --
NEGATIVE COMMENT ABOUT KERRY (NET) 47 47
Anti Kerry 27
Wrong time for a change/need continuity -- --
Dishonest/misleading
$4 \quad 6$
Other
OTHER (NET)
$3-$
DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

## ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS:

PLANTO1 Do you yourself plan to vote in the election this November?

|  | Yes, Plan To Vote | No, Don't Plan To | Don't know Refused |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mid-October, 2004 ${ }^{5}$ | 98 | 1 | $1=100$ |
| Early October, 2004 | 98 | 1 | $1=100$ |
| Early September, 2004 | 98 | 1 | $1=100$ |
| September 11-14 | 97 | 2 | $1=100$ |
| September 8-10 | 99 | 1 | * $=100$ |
| August, 2004 | 98 | 2 | * $=100$ |
| June, 2004 | 96 | 2 | $2=100$ |
| Early November, 2002 ${ }^{\text {* }}$ | 90 | 8 | $2=100$ |
| Early October, 2002* | 95 | 3 | $2=100$ |
| Early November, 2000 | 96 | 3 | $1=100$ |
| Late October, 2000 | 97 | 2 | $1=100$ |
| Mid-October, 2000 | 96 | 2 | $2=100$ |
| Early October, 2000 | 97 | 2 | $1=100$ |
| September, 2000 | 95 | 3 | $2=100$ |
| June, 2000 | 95 | 2 | $3=100$ |
| Late October, 1998* | 91 | 6 | $3=100$ |
| Early October, 1998* | 92 | 4 | $4=100$ |
| Early September, 1998* | 95 | 2 | $3=100$ |
| Late August, 1998* | 93 | 3 | $4=100$ |
| June, 1998* | 95 | 3 | $2=100$ |
| November, 1996 | 96 | 2 | $2=100$ |
| October, 1996 | 98 | 1 | $1=100$ |
| Late September, 1996 | 98 | 1 | $1=100$ |
| Early September, 1996 | 96 | 2 | $2=100$ |
| July, 1996 | 95 | 3 | $2=100$ |
| June, 1996 | 96 | 2 | $2=100$ |
| November, 1994* | 93 | 5 | $2=100$ |
| October, 1994* | 95 | 3 | $2=100$ |
| October, 1992 | 98 | 1 | $1=100$ |
| September, 1992 | 98 | 1 | $1=100$ |
| August, 1992 | 97 | 1 | $2=100$ |
| June, 1992 | 97 | 1 | $2=100$ |
| October, 1988 | 98 | 1 | $1=100$ |

* Non-Presidential elections

[^2]SCALE10 I'd like you to rate your chance of voting in November on a scale of 10 to 1 . If 10 represents a person who definitely will vote and 1 represents a person who definitely will not vote, where on this scale of 10 to 1 would you place yourself?

Mid-October, 2004
Early November, 2002*7
Early October, 2002*
Early November, 2000
Late October, 2000
Mid-October, 2000
Early October, 2000
Late October, 1998*
Early October, 1998*
November, 1996
October, 1996
Late September, 1996
November, 1994*
October, 1994*
Gallup: September, 1992
Gallup: November, 1988
Gallup: October, 1988

| Definitely <br> will vote |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | Definitely <br> will not vote |  |  |  |  |
| ---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\frac{10}{87}$ | $\frac{9}{4}$ | $\frac{8}{3}$ | $\frac{7}{1}$ | $\frac{6}{1}$ | $\frac{5}{1}$ | $\frac{4}{*}$ | $\frac{3}{*}$ | $\frac{2}{*}$ | $\frac{1}{2}$ | $\frac{\text { DK/Ref }}{1=100}$ |  |  |  |
| 66 | 9 | 9 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 5 | $1=100$ |  |  |  |
| 64 | 10 | 10 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 1 | $*$ | $*$ | 2 | $2=100$ |  |  |  |
| 80 | 6 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 3 | $*$ | $*$ | $*$ | 3 | $1=100$ |  |  |  |
| 83 | 5 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 2 | $*$ | 1 | 1 | 1 | $*=100$ |  |  |  |
| 80 | 7 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 1 | $*$ | $*$ | 1 | $1=100$ |  |  |  |
| 78 | 7 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 2 | $*$ | 1 | 1 | 1 | $1=100$ |  |  |  |
| 70 | 6 | 7 | 4 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 4 | $1=100$ |  |  |  |
| 64 | 9 | 10 | 4 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | $1=100$ |  |  |  |
| 77 | 7 | 7 | 2 | 1 | 2 | $*$ | 1 | $*$ | 2 | $1=100$ |  |  |  |
| 77 | 9 | 7 | 2 | 2 | 2 | $*$ | $*$ | $*$ | 1 | $*=100$ |  |  |  |
| 78 | 10 | 6 | 2 | 1 | 1 | $*$ | $*$ | $*$ | 1 | $1=100$ |  |  |  |
| 67 | 9 | 8 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 | $2=100$ |  |  |  |
| 66 | 10 | 9 | 4 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 1 | $*$ | 2 | $1=100$ |  |  |  |
| 77 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 4 | $*$ | 1 | $*$ | 4 | $*=100$ |  |  |  |
| 77 | 7 | 6 | 2 | 1 | 3 | $*$ | $*$ | $*$ | 2 | $2=100$ |  |  |  |
| 73 | 8 | 7 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 1 | $*$ | $*$ | 1 | $2=100$ |  |  |  |

* Non-Presidential elections


## IF YES IN PLANTO1, ASK:

PLANTO3 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, OR have you already cast your vote?

|  |  | Early <br> Sept | June |
| ---: | :--- | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2004}$ |
| 16 | Plan to vote BEFORE Election Day | 13 | 19 |
| 78 | Will vote at polling place on Election Day | 84 | 77 |
| 3 | Already voted ${ }^{8}$ | $*$ | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ |
| 1 | Don't know/Refused | 1 | $*$ |
| $\frac{2}{100}$ | Don't Plan to Vote/Don't Know | $\underline{2}$ | $\underline{4}$ |
| 100 | 100 |  |  | option in the previous month.

## ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS:

C. 1 Recently, have you been contacted over the phone by any candidates, campaigns or other groups urging you to vote in a particular way in the upcoming elections?
IF YES, ASK:
C. 2 And were you urged to vote for George W. Bush and/or other Republican candidates OR John Kerry and/or other Democratic candidates?

|  | Nov | Early <br> Nov |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $\underline{2002}$ | $\frac{2000}{23}$ |
| 26 | Yes | 7 Republicans | 8 Bush |
| 7 | Bush/Republicans | 8 Democrats | 6 |
| 6 | Kerry/Democrats | 1 | 2 |
| 2 | Other (VOL.) | 12 | 6 |
| 7 | Both (VOL.) | 5 | 4 |
| 4 | Don't know/Refused | 66 | 73 |
| 73 | No | $\underline{1}$ | $\underline{1}$ |
| $\frac{1}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused | 100 | 100 |

## ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS:

Q. 8 From what you have heard or read, will voters in your state this November be voting on any ballot initiatives, referendums, or state constitutional amendments, or not?

| 42 | Yes |
| :--- | :--- |
| 31 | No |
| $\frac{27}{100}$ | Don't know |

## IF 'YES' (1 IN Q.8) ASK [N=566]:

Q. 9 Can you think of any particular issues on the ballot that are up for a vote in your state? [OPEN-END, PRECODED RESPONSES BELOW, DO NOT READ. ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES BUT DO NOT PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL]

20

Gambling / lottery / casinos
Gay marriage / gay rights
Education/Schools/school bonds
Taxes
Medical malpractice reform / tort reform
Other Bond issues/local development
Environment issues
Transportation
Stem cell research
Politicians/elections
Immigration issues
Health care
Other [SPECIFY: $\qquad$
No / Don't know / No others

## IF 'YES' (1 IN Q.8) ASK [N=566]:

Q. 10 How interested are you in the ballot issues in your state this year? [READ]

| 41 | Very interested |
| ---: | :--- |
| 45 | Fairly interested |
| 11 | Not too interested |
| 2 | Not at all interested |
| $\frac{1}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused (VOL. DO NOT READ) |

## ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS OCTOBER 18-19 ONLY [N=496]:

Thinking again about the presidential election...
Q. 11 Regardless of who you might support, who do you think is most likely to win the coming presidential election? [READ]

|  | George W. Bush | John Kerry | Other/DK |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mid-October, 2004 | 54 | 27 | $19=100$ |
| Early October, 2004 | 61 | 27 | $12=100$ |
| Early September, 2004 | 460 | 22 | $18=100$ |
| August, 2004 | 44 | 37 | $19=100$ |
| July, 2004 | 42 | 38 | $20=100$ |
| June, 2004 | 51 | 35 | $14=100$ |
| May, 2004 | 52 | 31 | $17=100$ |
| Early February, 2004 | 56 Bush | 32 Dem Candidate | $12=100$ |
| Mid-January, 2004 | 61 Bush | 21 Dem Candidate | $18=100$ |
| September, 2003 | 47 Bush | 34 Dem Candidate | $19=100$ |
| June, 2003 | 66 Bush | 22 Dem Candidate | $12=100$ |
| Late October, 2000 | 48 Bush | 38 Gore | $14=100$ |
| Early October, 2000 | 33 Bush | 46 Gore | $21=100$ |
| June, 2000 | 51 Bush | 33 Gore | $16=100$ |
| October, 1999 | 70 Bush | 23 Gore | $7=100$ |
| Late September, $1996{ }^{9}$ | $6^{9} 12$ Dole | 79 Clinton | $9=100$ |
| Early September, 1996 | 616 Dole | 75 Clinton | $9=100$ |
| July, 1996 | 19 Dole | 72 Clinton | $9=100$ |
| October, 1992 | 30 Bush, Sr. | 61 Clinton | $9=100$ |
| March, 1992 | 72 Bush, Sr. | 20 Dem Candidate | $8=100$ |
| February, 1992 | 66 Bush, Sr. | 25 Dem Candidate | $9=100$ |
| October, 1991 | 78 Bush, Sr. | 11 Dem Candidate | $11=100$ |

## QUESTION 12 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

9 In 1996 and October 1992, the question also asked about Ross Perot. Results here are included in the "Other/DK" category.

## ASK FORM 2 REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY [N=674]:

Q.13F2 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?

|  |  | Early |  | ----------- Bush/Gore |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Sept | June | Late Oct | Early Oct | Sept | June | July |
|  |  | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2000}$ | $\underline{2000}$ | $\underline{2000}$ | $\underline{2000}$ | 1999 |
| 80 | Different | 72 | 68 | 60 | 61 | 56 | 51 | 47 |
| 14 | Similar | 19 | 21 | 34 | 30 | 32 | 33 | 24 |
| 6 | Don't know/Ref | $\underline{9}$ | 11 | 6 | $\underline{9}$ | $\underline{12}$ | $\underline{16}$ | $\underline{29}$ |
| 100 |  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

## ASK FORM 1 REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY [N=633]:

Q.14F1 As I read a list of phrases, tell me if you think each phrase better describes John Kerry or George W. Bush. (INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE)

| a.F1 |  | George W. Bush | John Kerry $^{10}$ | (VOL.) <br> Neither | (VOL.) <br> Both <br> Equally | DK/Ref. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Would use good judgment in a crisis | 48 | 41 | 3 | 2 | 6=100 |
|  | Early October, 2004 | 51 | 37 | 2 | 3 | $7=100$ |
|  | Mid-September 22-26, 2004 | 49 | 36 | 3 | 3 | $9=100$ |
|  | Early September, 2004 | 53 | 34 | 2 | 4 | $7=100$ |
|  | September 11-13, 2004 | 52 | 33 | 3 | 4 | $8=100$ |
|  | September 8-10, 2004 | 55 | 34 | 1 | 3 | $7=100$ |
|  | August, 2004 | 50 | 38 | 2 | 3 | $7=100$ |
|  | May, 2004 | 47 | 35 | 4 | 5 | $9=100$ |
|  | Late March, 2004 | 46 | 36 | 2 | 3 | $13=100$ |
|  | Mid-March, 2004 | 48 | 39 | 2 | 5 | $6=100$ |
|  | Late-October, 2000 | 43 | 42 | 2 | 5 | $8=100$ |
|  | Mid-October, 2000 | 40 | 42 | 5 | 8 | $5=100$ |
|  | Early October, 2000 | 36 | 43 | 4 | 10 | $7=100$ |
|  | September, 2000 | 38 | 44 | 3 | 8 | $7=100$ |
|  | June, 2000 | 44 | 37 | 5 | 6 | $8=100$ |
| b.F1 | Honest and truthful | 40 | 37 | 14 | 3 | $6=100$ |
|  | Early October, 2004 | 47 | 34 | 10 | 3 | $6=100$ |
|  | Mid-September 22-26, 2004 | 41 | 32 | 15 | 3 | $9=100$ |
|  | Early September, 2004 | 43 | 35 | 12 | 4 | $6=100$ |
|  | September 11-13, 2004 | 41 | 36 | 13 | 4 | $6=100$ |
|  | September 8-10, 2004 | 44 | 35 | 12 | 3 | $6=100$ |
|  | August, 2004 | 42 | 38 | 12 | 2 | $6=100$ |
|  | May, 2004 | 34 | 36 | 17 | 4 | $9=100$ |
|  | Late March, 2004 | 37 | 38 | 12 | 3 | $10=100$ |
|  | Mid-March, 2004 | 35 | 39 | 16 | 5 | $5=100$ |
|  | Late-October, 2000 | 43 | 32 | 15 | 5 | $5=100$ |
|  | Mid-October, 2000 | 38 | 30 | 19 | 6 | $7=100$ |
|  | Early October, 2000 | 36 | 32 | 17 | 8 | $7=100$ |
|  | September, 2000 | 35 | 37 | 13 | 9 | $6=100$ |
|  | June, 2000 | 35 | 31 | 19 | 7 | $8=100$ |

[^3]| Q.14F1 CONTINUED... |  |  |  | (VOL.) |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | George | John | (VOL.) | Both |  |
|  |  | W. Bush | Kerry | Neither | Equally | DK/Ref. |
| c.F1 | Cares about people like me | 38 | 48 | 7 | 3 | $4=100$ |
|  | Early October, 2004 | 41 | 43 | 7 | 4 | $5=100$ |
|  | Mid-September 22-26, 2004 | 38 | 42 | 8 | 3 | $9=100$ |
|  | Early September, 2004 | 41 | 43 | 6 | 5 | $5=100$ |
|  | September 11-13, 2004 | 38 | 46 | 6 | 4 | $6=100$ |
|  | September 8-10, 2004 | 44 | 41 | 6 | 5 | $4=100$ |
|  | August, 2004 | 39 | 45 | 7 | 3 | $6=100$ |
|  | May, 2004 | 34 | 45 | 8 | 5 | $8=100$ |
|  | Late March, 2004 | 38 | 42 | 9 | 3 | $8=100$ |
|  | Mid-March, 2004 | 34 | 48 | 8 | 4 | $6=100$ |
|  | Late-October, 2000 | 40 | 43 | 8 | 5 | $4=100$ |
|  | Mid-October, 2000 | 40 | 42 | 7 | 7 | $4=100$ |
|  | Early October, 2000 | 35 | 44 | 11 | 5 | $5=100$ |
|  | September, 2000 | 31 | 47 | 9 | 7 | $6=100$ |
| d.F1 | A strong leader | 50 | 36 | 5 | 4 | $5=100$ |
|  | Early October, 2004 | 57 | 32 | 3 | 2 | $6=100$ |
|  | Mid-September 22-26, 2004 | 54 | 28 | 5 | 3 | $10=100$ |
|  | Early September, 2004 | 58 | 30 | 4 | 3 | $5=100$ |
|  | September 11-13, 2004 | 57 | 30 | 4 | 4 | $5=100$ |
|  | September 8-10, 2004 | 59 | 29 | 3 | 3 | $6=100$ |
|  | August, 2004 | 57 | 34 | 2 | 3 | $4=100$ |
|  | May, 2004 | 50 | 31 | 8 | 4 | $7=100$ |
|  | Late March, 2004 | 51 | 33 | 4 | 2 | $10=100$ |
|  | Mid-March, 2004 | 52 | 34 | 4 | 4 | $6=100$ |
|  | Late-October, 2000 | 44 | 41 | 6 | 6 | $3=100$ |
|  | Mid-October, 2000 | 42 | 39 | 9 | 6 | $4=100$ |
|  | Early October, 2000 | 41 | 38 | 7 | 10 | $4=100$ |
|  | September, 2000 | 44 | 38 | 7 | 6 | $5=100$ |
| e.F1 | Willing to take a stand, even if it's unpopular | 63 | 27 | 2 | 4 | $4=100$ |
|  | Early October, 2004 | 68 | 23 | 1 | 3 | $5=100$ |
|  | Mid-September 22-26, 2004 | 63 | 23 | 3 | 3 | $8=100$ |
|  | Early September, 2004 | 69 | 23 | 1 | 3 | $4=100$ |
|  | September 11-13, 2004 | 67 | 23 | 1 | 4 | $5=100$ |
|  | September 8-10, 2004 | 70 | 22 | 1 | 3 | $4=100$ |
|  | August, 2004 | 62 | 29 | 1 | 5 | $3=100$ |
|  | May, 2004 | 65 | 23 | 3 | 4 | $5=100$ |
|  | Late March, 2004 | 59 | 28 | 3 | 3 | $7=100$ |
|  | Mid-March, 2004 | 63 | 27 | 1 | 5 | $4=100$ |
|  | Late-October, 2000 | 49 | 35 | 7 | 4 | $5=100$ |
|  | Mid-October, 2000 | 49 | 35 | 6 | 5 | $5=100$ |
|  | Early October, 2000 | 43 | 35 | 8 | 6 | $8=100$ |
|  | September, 2000 | 45 | 37 | 8 | 5 | $5=100$ |
|  | June, 2000 | 46 | 32 | 9 | 5 | $8=100$ |

## ASK FORM 2 REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY [N=674]:

Q.15F2 Regardless of who you support, which one of the presidential candidates - George W. Bush or John Kerry - do you think would do the best job of (INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE. IF RESPONDENT MENTIONS ANYONE OTHER THAN BUSH OR KERRY PROBE ONCE: "IF YOU HAD TO CHOOSE BETWEEN BUSH AND KERRY. . .') ?
a.F2 Improving economic conditions

Early October, 2004
September 22-26, 2004
Early September, 2004
September 11-13, 2004
September 8-10, 2004
August, 2004
May, 2004
Late March, 2004
Mid-March, 2004
Late-October, $2000^{12}$
Mid-October, 2000
Early October, 2000
September, 2000
June, 2000
March, 2000

| George | John | (VOL.) |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| W. Bush | Kerry ${ }^{11}$ | Neither | DK/Ref. |
| 40 | 47 | 4 | $9=100$ |
| 40 | 46 | 5 | $9=100$ |
| 39 | 46 | 5 | $10=100$ |
| 42 | 45 | 4 | $9=100$ |
| 40 | 47 | 4 | $9=100$ |
| 43 | 44 | 4 | $9=100$ |
| 37 | 52 | 3 | $8=100$ |
| 38 | 48 | 5 | $9=100$ |
| 39 | 44 | 6 | $11=100$ |
| 37 | 53 | 2 | $8=100$ |
| 40 | 46 | 6 | $8=100$ |
| 37 | 49 | 3 | $11=100$ |
| 35 | 47 | 6 | $12=100$ |
| 38 | 46 | 5 | $11=100$ |
| 38 | 41 | 5 | $16=100$ |
| 42 | 46 | 4 | $8=100$ |
| 34 | 50 | 8 | $8=100$ |
| 31 | 49 | 8 | $12=100$ |
| 32 | 48 | 7 | $13=100$ |
| 32 | 50 | 8 | $10=100$ |
| 30 | 53 | 8 | $9=100$ |
| 34 | 49 | 7 | $10=100$ |
| 29 | 55 | 5 | $11=100$ |
| 29 | 51 | 7 | $13=100$ |
| 33 | 46 | 6 | $15=100$ |
| 29 | 57 | 4 | $10=100$ |
| 38 | 47 | 5 | $10=100$ |
| 37 | 48 | 4 | $11=100$ |
| 36 | 49 | 5 | $10=100$ |
| 32 | 51 | 6 | $11=100$ |
| 31 | 44 | 6 | $19=100$ |
| 31 | 51 | 6 | $12=100$ |
| 47 | 41 | 4 | $8=100$ |
| 50 | 40 | 2 | $8=100$ |
| 46 | 38 | 5 | $11=100$ |
| 51 | 39 | 3 | $7=100$ |
| 52 | 40 | 2 | $6=100$ |
| 52 | 37 | 4 | $7=100$ |
| 44 | 46 | 3 | $7=100$ |

[^4]Q.15F2 CONTINUED...

May, 2004
Late March, 2004
Mid-March, 2004
d.F2 Defending the country from future terrorist attacks

Early October, 2004
September 22-26, 2004
Early September, 2004
September 11-13, 2004
September 8-10, 2004
August, 2004
May, 2004
Late March, 2004
Mid-March, 2004

| George | John | (VOL.) |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| W. Bush | Kerry | Neither | DK/Ref. |
| 44 | 41 | 4 | $11=100$ |
| 49 | 37 | 4 | $10=100$ |
| 47 | 45 | 2 | $6=100$ |
| 53 | 35 | 4 | $8=100$ |
| 57 | 32 | 3 | $8=100$ |
| 54 | 30 | 4 | $12=100$ |
| 58 | 31 | 3 | $8=100$ |
| 57 | 31 | 4 | $8=100$ |
| 59 | 30 | 3 | $8=100$ |
| 49 | 39 | 4 | $8=100$ |
| 52 | 33 | 5 | $10=100$ |
| 53 | 29 | 4 | $14=100$ |
| 57 | 32 | 4 | $7=100$ |

## ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS:

Q. 16 In making your decision about who to vote for, will the issue of [INSERT ITEM, RANDOMIZE OBSERVE FORM SPLITS] be very important, somewhat important, or not too important, or not at all important? ... How important will the issue of [NEXT ITEM] be?
a. The economy

August, 2004
b. Iraq

August, 2004
c. Terrorism

August, 2004
d. Gay marriage

August, 2004
e. Moral values

August, 2004
f. Abortion

August, 2004
ASK FORM 1 ONLY [ $\mathrm{N}=633$ ]:
g.F1 The federal budget deficit

August, 2004
h.F1 Energy

August, 2004
ASK FORM 2 ONLY [ $\mathbf{N = 6 7 4 ] :}$
i.F2 Health care

August, 2004

Very Somewhat Not too Not at all Don't Know/ Important Important Important Important Refused

| 78 | 18 | 3 | 1 | *=100 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 76 | 22 | 1 | 1 | * $=100$ |
| 74 | 20 | 3 | 2 | $1=100$ |
| 70 | 24 | 3 | 2 | $1=100$ |
| 77 | 17 | 3 | 2 | $1=100$ |
| 75 | 19 | 3 | 2 | $1=100$ |
| 32 | 22 | 19 | 24 | $3=100$ |
| 34 | 19 | 15 | 30 | $2=100$ |
| 63 | 23 | 8 | 4 | $2=100$ |
| 64 | 25 | 6 | 4 | $1=100$ |
| 47 | 27 | 12 | 11 | $3=100$ |
| 45 | 25 | 13 | 14 | $3=100$ |
| 57 | 32 | 7 | 3 | $1=100$ |
| 55 | 35 | 7 | 3 | * $=100$ |
| 54 | 37 | 6 | 2 | $1=100$ |
| 53 | 40 | 6 | * | $1=100$ |
| 73 | 22 | 4 | 1 | * $=100$ |
| 72 | 21 | 5 | 2 | * $=100$ |

Q. 16 CONTINUED...
j.F2 Education

August, 2004
k.F2 The environment

August, 2004
ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS:

1. Stem cell research $\quad 43 \quad 31 \quad 14 \quad 7 \quad 5$

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=633]:
m.F1 Taxes

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=674]:
n.F2 Jobs

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [ $\mathrm{N}=633$ ]:
o.F1 Social Security

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [ $\mathbf{N}=674$ ]:
p.F2 Gun control

Very Somewhat Not too Not at all Don't Know/ Important Important Important Important Refused

| 75 | 20 | 3 | 2 | *=100 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 70 | 26 | 3 | 1 |  |


| 53 | 37 | 7 | 2 | $1=100$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

$\begin{array}{lllll}55 & 35 & 7 & 3 & *=100\end{array}$
$43 \quad 31 \quad 14 \quad 7 \quad 5=100$

| 59 | 31 | 7 | 2 | $1=100$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |


| 76 | 19 | 4 | 1 | $*=100$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

$65 \quad 27 \quad 6 \quad 2 \quad *=100$

## QUESTION 17 THROUGH 30 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

## ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS:

On a different subject...
Q. 31 How confident are you that your vote will be accurately counted in the upcoming election? [READ]

62 Very confident
26 Somewhat confident
7 Not too confident
4 Not at all confident
1 Don't know/Refused
Q. 32 Have you heard anything about some states using new technology to change how people cast their votes and the way the votes are counted in this year's election, or haven't you heard about this?

## IF HEARD (1 IN Q.32) ASK:

Q.32a Do you think these changes will make things better, make things worse, or not make much difference in how accurately votes are counted?

72 Yes, heard
24 Make things better
12 Make things worse
27 Not make much difference
9 Don't know/Refused
27 No, have not heard
$\frac{1}{100}$ Don't know/Refused

## ASK FORM 1 REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY [ $\mathbf{N}=633$ ]:

Q.33F1 Now I'd like your views on some people. (First,) would you say your overall opinion of... [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE] is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? [INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE."]

a.F1 John Kerry<br>Early October, 2004<br>Early September, 2004<br>September 11-14 September 8-10<br>August, 2004<br>June, 2004<br>Early February, 2004<br>January, 2003<br>b.F1 George W. Bush<br>Early October, 2004<br>Early September, 2004<br>September 11-14<br>September 8-10<br>August, 2004<br>June, 2004<br>Early February, 2004<br>Gallup: Jan 29 - Feb 1, 2004 (GP)<br>Gallup: January 2-5, 2004 (GP)<br>Gallup: October 6-8, 2003 (GP)<br>Gallup: June 9-10, 2003 (GP)<br>April, 2003<br>January, 2003<br>December, 2002<br>July, 2001<br>January, 2001<br>April, 2000<br>March, $1999^{13}$<br>November, 1997

c.F1 Dick Cheney

Early October, 2004
Early September, 2004
September 11-14
September 8-10
August, 2004
April, 2003
December, 2002
July, 2001
January, 2001
December, 1994

| -------Favorable---- |  |  | -----Unfavorable----- |  |  | Never Can't |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Total | Very | Mostly | Total |  | Mostly | Heard | of Rate |
| 56 | 21 | 35 | 40 | 16 | 24 | 0 | $3=100$ |
| 53 | 16 | 37 | 41 | 16 | 25 | * | $6=100$ |
| 53 | 18 | 35 | 41 | 19 | 22 | 0 | $6=100$ |
| 54 | 18 | 36 | 39 | 19 | 20 | 0 | $7=100$ |
| 51 | 18 | 33 | 46 | 26 | 20 | 0 | $3=100$ |
| 56 | 25 | 31 | 39 | 17 | 22 | * | $5=100$ |
| 51 | 11 | 40 | 41 | 16 | 25 | 0 | $8=100$ |
| 58 | 14 | 44 | 29 | 9 | 20 | 1 | $12=100$ |
| 33 | 6 | 27 | 16 | 3 | 13 | 32 | $19=100$ |
| 56 | 26 | 30 | 42 | 23 | 19 | * | $2=100$ |
| 57 | 27 | 30 | 40 | 20 | 20 | 0 | $3=100$ |
| 53 | 27 | 26 | 44 | 25 | 19 | * | $3=100$ |
| 50 | 25 | 25 | 46 | 28 | 18 | 0 | $4=100$ |
| 58 | 30 | 28 | 40 | 20 | 20 | * | $2=100$ |
| 57 | 30 | 27 | 41 | 24 | 17 | 0 | $2=100$ |
| 52 | 21 | 31 | 45 | 22 | 23 | * | $3=100$ |
| 55 | 23 | 32 | 44 | 26 | 18 | 0 | $1=100$ |
| 52 | -- | -- | 47 | -- | -- | -- | $1=100$ |
| 65 | -- | -- | 35 | -- | -- | -- | * $=100$ |
| 60 | -- | -- | 39 | -- | -- | -- | $1=100$ |
| 66 | -- | -- | 33 | -- | -- | -- | $1=100$ |
| 73 | 40 | 33 | 24 | 11 | 13 | 0 | $3=100$ |
| 70 | 29 | 41 | 29 | 10 | 19 | 0 | $1=100$ |
| 69 | 36 | 33 | 28 | 11 | 17 | 0 | $3=100$ |
| 62 | 23 | 39 | 35 | 14 | 21 | * | $3=100$ |
| 61 | 27 | 34 | 32 | 11 | 21 | 0 | $7=100$ |
| 60 | 18 | 42 | 32 | 13 | 19 | 1 | $7=100$ |
| 62 | 22 | 40 | 22 | 8 | 13 | 3 | $13=100$ |
| 57 | 13 | 44 | 18 | 6 | 12 | 7 | $18=100$ |
| 48 | 17 | 31 | 46 | 25 | 21 | * | $6=100$ |
| 48 | 14 | 34 | 41 | 20 | 21 | * | $11=100$ |
| 48 | 15 | 33 | 42 | 24 | 18 | 1 | $9=100$ |
| 44 | 15 | 29 | 43 | 25 | 18 | 1 | $12=100$ |
| 54 | 15 | 39 | 41 | 23 | 18 | 1 | $4=100$ |
| 48 | 14 | 34 | 43 | 22 | 21 | 1 | $8=100$ |
| 64 | 23 | 41 | 25 | 12 | 13 | 2 | $9=100$ |
| 62 | 22 | 39 | 27 | 10 | 17 | 3 | $8=100$ |
| 63 | 23 | 40 | 26 | 7 | 19 | 4 | $7=100$ |
| 66 | 22 | 44 | 18 | 5 | 13 | 1 | $15=100$ |
| 46 | 11 | 35 | 17 | 4 | 13 | 19 | $18=100$ |

Q.33F1 CONTINUED...

|  | March, 1991 14 |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | May, 1990 |
| d.F1 $\quad$ John Edwards |  |
|  | Early October, 2004 |
| Early September, 2004 |  |
|  | September 11-14 |
|  | September 8-10 |
|  | August, 2004 |
| Early February, 2004 |  |
|  | January, 2003 |


| -------Favorable------ |  |  | -----Unfavorable----- |  |  | Never Can't Heard of Rate |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Total | Very | Mostly | Total | Very | Mostly |  |  |
| 69 | 35 | 34 | 6 | 2 | 4 | 9 | $16=100$ |
| 23 | 4 | 19 | 11 | 3 | 8 | 40 | $26=100$ |
| 58 | 18 | 40 | 31 | 13 | 18 | 1 | $10=100$ |
| 50 | 16 | 34 | 28 | 11 | 17 | 2 | $20=100$ |
| 54 | 18 | 36 | 30 | 10 | 20 | 2 | $14=100$ |
| 53 | 18 | 35 | 31 | 11 | 20 | 1 | $15=100$ |
| 57 | 19 | 38 | 30 | 9 | 21 | 2 | $11=100$ |
| 61 | 24 | 37 | 25 | 6 | 19 | 2 | $12=100$ |
| 45 | 9 | 36 | 25 | 8 | 17 | 5 | $24=100$ |
| 23 | 4 | 19 | 14 | 3 | 11 | 40 | $23=100$ |

## ASK FORM 1 REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY [N=633]:

Q.34F1 How much of a risk to the country is there in replacing George W. Bush with John Kerry at this time? In your opinion, does this represent a major risk, a minor risk, or no risk at all?

| 41 | Major risk |
| :--- | :--- |
| 23 | Minor risk |
| 32 | No risk at all |
| $\frac{4}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) |

## ASK FORM 2 REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY [N=674]:

Q.35F2 How much of a risk to the country is there in replacing George W. Bush with John Kerry while the U.S. is threatened by terrorism? In your opinion, does this represent a major risk, a minor risk, or no risk at all?

| 44 | Major risk |
| :--- | :--- |
| 26 | Minor risk |
| 27 | No risk at all |
| $\frac{3}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) |

## ASK FORM 1 REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY [ $\mathrm{N}=633$ ]:

ROTATE Q. 36 AND Q. 37
Q.36F1 Now I'd like to read a few concerns critics of Senator John Kerry have raised during the campaign. Have you heard critics say that... [READ AND ROTATE.] IF RESPONDENT HAS HEARD STATEMENT, ASK:
Would you say this has made you LESS likely to vote for Kerry, or hasn't this had any effect on your vote?

|  |  | Of Those Who Heard Statement |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | (NET) |  | No | (VOL.) | Have |  |
|  |  | Have | Less likely |  | More likely | NOT | DK/ |
|  |  | Heard | to support | Effect | to support | Heard | Ref. |
| a.F1 | Kerry changes his mind too much | 88 | 37 | 50 | 1 | 10 | $2=100$ |
| b.F1 | Kerry is too liberal for the country | 79 | 28 | 48 | 3 | 20 | $2=100$ |
| c.F1 | Kerry wants to bring back the era of big government | 51 | 21 | 29 | 1 | 47 | $2=100$ |
|  | (Gore) Mid-October, 2000 | 54 | 21 | 32 | 1 | 43 | $3=100$ |

Q.37F1 Now I'd like to read a few concerns critics of President George W. Bush have raised during the campaign. Have you heard critics say that... [READ AND ROTATE].
IF RESPONDENT HAS HEARD STATEMENT, ASK:
Would you say this has made you LESS likely to vote for Bush, or hasn't this had any effect on your vote?


## NO QUESTIONS 38 THROUGH 39

## ASK ALL GENERAL PUBLIC:

Now thinking about Iraq...
Q. 40 Do you think the U.S. made the right decision or the wrong decision in using military force against Iraq?

## BASED ON GENERAL PUBLIC [N=1568]:

|  | Right <br> decision | Wrong <br> decision | Don't know/ <br> Mid-October, 2004 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 46 | 42 |  | $12=100$ |
| Early October, 2004 | 50 | 39 | $11=100$ |
| Early September, 2004 | 53 | 39 | $8=100$ |
| August, 2004 | 53 | 41 | $6=100$ |
| July, 2004 | 52 | 43 | $5=100$ |


| Q.40 CONTINUED... | Right <br> decision | Wrong <br> decision | Don't know/ <br> Refused |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| June, 2004 | 51 | 38 | $7=100$ |
| May, 2004 | 54 | 72 | $7=100$ |
| Late April, 2004 | 57 | 35 | $9=100$ |
| Early April, 2004 | 55 | 39 | $6=100$ |
| Mid-March, 2004 | 60 | 32 | $8=100$ |
| Late February, 2004 | 56 | 39 | $5=100$ |
| Early February, 2004 | 65 | 30 | $5=100$ |
| Mid-January, 2004 | 62 | 28 | $10=100$ |
| Early January, 2004 | 67 | 26 | $7=100$ |
| December, 2003 | 60 | 33 | $7=100$ |
| October, 2003 | 63 | 31 | $6=100$ |
| September, 2003 | 63 | 30 | $7=100$ |
| August, 2003 | 67 | 24 | $9=100$ |
| Early July, 2003 | 74 | 20 | $6=100$ |
| May, 2003 | 74 | 19 | $7=100$ |
| April 10-16, 2003 | 74 | 19 | $7=100$ |
| April 8-9, 2003 | 72 | 20 | $8=100$ |
| April 2-7, 2003 | 69 | 25 | $6=100$ |
| March 28-April 1, 2003 | 74 | 21 | $5=100$ |
| March 25-27, 2003 | 74 | 21 | $5=100$ |
| March 23-24, 2003 | 71 | 22 | $7=100$ |
| March 20-22, 2003 | 77 | 15 | $9=100$ |

Q. 41 How well is the U.S. military effort in Iraq going? [READ IN ORDER]

BASED ON GENERAL PUBLIC [ $\mathbf{N}=1568$ ]:

|  | Very <br> well | Fairly <br> well | Not too <br> well | Not at all <br> well | Don't know/ <br> Mefused |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mid-October, 2004 | $\frac{13}{}$ | $\frac{38}{}$ | 26 | 17 | $6=100$ |
| Early September, 2004 | 12 | 40 | 26 | 18 | $4=100$ |
| August, 2004 | 12 | 41 | 28 | 16 | $3=100$ |
| July, 2004 | 13 | 42 | 26 | 16 | $3=100$ |
| June, 2004 | 16 | 41 | 25 | 14 | $4=100$ |
| May, 2004 | 10 | 36 | 32 | 19 | $3=100$ |
| Late April, 2004 | 12 | 43 | 26 | 15 | $4=100$ |
| Early April, 2004 | 14 | 43 | 26 | 13 | $4=100$ |
| Mid-March, 2004 | 16 | 45 | 26 | 11 | $2=100$ |
| Early February, 2004 | 17 | 46 | 23 | 11 | $3=100$ |
| Mid-January, 2004 | 22 | 51 | 18 | 6 | $3=100$ |
| Early January, 2004 | 23 | 47 | 18 | 7 | $5=100$ |
| December, 2003 | 28 | 47 | 16 | 6 | $3=100$ |
| October, 2003 | 16 | 44 | 25 | 11 | $4=100$ |
| September, 2003 | 15 | 47 | 26 | 9 | $3=100$ |
| August, 2003 | 19 | 43 | 24 | 11 | $3=100$ |
| Early July, 2003 | 23 | 52 | 16 | 5 | $4=100$ |
| April 10-16, 2003 | 61 | 32 | 3 | 1 | $3=100$ |
| April 8-9, 2003 | 60 | 32 | 3 | 3 | $2=100$ |
| April 2-7, 2003 | 55 | 37 | 3 | 2 | $3=100$ |
| March 25-April 1, 2003 | 39 | 46 | 8 | 2 | $5=100$ |

Q. 41 CONTINUED... Very Fairly Not too Not at all Don't know/

March 23-24, 2003
March 20-22, 2003

| Very <br> well | Fairly <br> 45 | well | Not too <br> well | Not at all <br> well |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | | Don't know/ |
| :---: |
| 65 |

Q. 42 Do you think the U.S. should keep military troops in Iraq until the situation has stabilized, or do you think the U.S. should bring its troops home as soon as possible?

## BASED ON GENERAL PUBLIC [N=1568]:

|  |  | MidSept <br> 2004 | Early <br> Sept <br> 2004 | $\begin{gathered} \text { Aug } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { July } \\ 2004 \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { June }^{15} \\ & \underline{2004} \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { May } \\ 2004 \end{gathered}$ | Late April 2004 | Early April 2004 | Early <br> Jan <br> 2004 | $\begin{array}{r} \text { Oct } \\ \underline{2003} \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} \text { Sept } \\ 2003 \\ \hline \end{array}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 57 | Keep troops in Iraq | 50 | 54 | 54 | 53 | 51 | 53 | 53 | 50 | 63 | 58 | 64 |
| 36 | Bring troops home | 40 | 40 | 42 | 43 | 44 | 42 | 40 | 44 | 32 | 39 | 32 |
| 7 | Don't know/Refused | $\underline{10}$ | $\underline{6}$ | $\underline{4}$ |  | $\underline{5}$ | $\underline{5}$ | 7 | 6 | 5 | 3 | 4 |
| 100 |  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

## ASK FORM 1 ONLY [ $\mathbf{N}=772$ ]:

Q.43F1 Do you think the war in Iraq has helped the war on terrorism, or has it hurt the war on terrorism?

## BASED ON GENERAL PUBLIC:

|  |  | Early Sept <br> 2004 | $\begin{gathered} \text { Aug } \\ 2004 \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{r} \text { July } \\ \underline{2004} \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} \text { June } \\ 2004 \\ \hline \end{array}$ | MidMarch 2004 | Late Feb 2004 | Early Feb <br> 2004 | $\begin{array}{r} \text { Dec } \\ \underline{2003} \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Sept } \\ 2003 \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { May } \\ 2003 \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { April } \\ 2003^{16} \end{gathered}$ | Early Oct <br> 2002 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 45 | Helped | 46 | 45 | 43 | 43 | 50 | 62 | 55 | 59 | 54 | 65 | 63 | 52 |
| 40 | Hurt | 40 | 44 | 45 | 44 | 37 | 28 | 32 | 26 | 31 | 22 | 22 | 34 |
| 6 | No effect (VOL) | 6 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 3 | 7 | 6 | 7 | 6 | -- | -- |
| 9 | Don't know/Refused | $\underline{8}$ | 7 | 7 | $\underline{\sim}$ | $\underline{8}$ | 7 | 6 | 9 | 8 | 7 | $\underline{15}$ | 14 |
| 100 |  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

[^5]
## ASK FORM 2 ONLY [ $\mathbf{N = 7 9 6 ] :}$

Q.44F2 In the long run, do you think the war in Iraq has increased the chances of terrorist attacks in the U.S., lessened the chances, or has it made no difference?

BASED ON GENERAL PUBLIC:

|  |  | Early Sept <br> $\frac{2004}{3}$ | Nov <br> 36 <br> 32 |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Increased | 34 |  |  |
| 32 | Lessened | 32 | 18 |
| 28 | No difference | 31 | 30 |
| $\frac{4}{100}$ | Don't know | $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{7}$ |
|  |  | 100 | 100 |

## ASK ALL GENERAL PUBLIC:

Thinking about the issue of terrorism for a moment...
Q. 45 How worried are you that there will soon be another terrorist attack in the United States? [READ]

## BASED ON GENERAL PUBLIC [ $\mathbf{N}=1568$ ]:

|  | Very <br> worried | Somewhat <br> worried | Not too <br> worried | Not at all <br> worried | Don't know/ <br> Refused |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mid-October, 2004 | 17 |  | 43 |  | 27 |
|  | 20 |  | 54 |  | 12 |

[^6]
## PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS MID-OCTOBER 2004 OMNIBUS <br> October 15-19, 2004 <br> $\mathrm{N}=803$

## ON FORM ONE Q. 1 PRECEDES Q. 2 --- ON FORM TWO, Q. 2 PRECEDES Q. 1

Q. 1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling his job as president? [IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF DEPENDS PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling his job as president? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]

|  | Approv | Dispprove | Don't know |  | Approve | Disprove | Don't know |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mid-October, 2004 | 44 | 48 | $8=100$ | June, 2002 | 70 | 20 | $10=100$ |
| August, 2004 | 46 | 45 | $9=100$ | April, 2002 | 69 | 18 | $13=100$ |
| July, 2004 | 46 | 46 | $8=100$ | Early April, 2002 | 74 | 16 | $10=100$ |
| June, 2004 | 48 | 43 | $9=100$ | February, 2002 | 78 | 13 | $9=100$ |
| May, 2004 | 44 | 48 | $8=100$ | January, 2002 | 80 | 11 | $9=100$ |
| Late April, 2004 | 48 | 43 | $9=100$ | 2001 |  |  |  |
| Early April, 2004 | 43 | 47 | $10=100$ | Mid-November, 2001 | 84 | 9 | $7=100$ |
| Late March, 2004 | 47 | 44 | $9=100$ | Early October, 2001 | 84 | 8 | $8=100$ |
| Mid-March, 2004 | 46 | 47 | $7=100$ | Late September, 2001 | 86 | 7 | $7=100$ |
| February, 2004 | 48 | 44 | $8=100$ | Mid-September, 2001 | 80 | 9 | $11=100$ |
| Mid-January, 2004 | 56 | 34 | $10=100$ | Early September, 2001 | 51 | 34 | $15=100$ |
| Early January, 2004 | 58 | 35 | $7=100$ | August, 2001 | 50 | 32 | $18=100$ |
| 2003 |  |  |  | July, 2001 | 51 | 32 | $17=100$ |
| December, 2003 | 57 | 34 | $9=100$ | June, 2001 | 50 | 33 | $17=100$ |
| November, 2003 | 50 | 40 | $10=100$ | May, 2001 | 53 | 32 | $15=100$ |
| October, 2003 | 50 | 42 | $8=100$ | April, 2001 | 56 | 27 | $17=100$ |
| September, 2003 | 55 | 36 | $9=100$ | March, 2001 | 55 | 25 | $20=100$ |
| Mid-August, 2003 | 56 | 32 | $12=100$ | February, 2001 | 53 | 21 | $26=100$ |
| Early August, 2003 | 53 | 37 | $10=100$ |  |  |  |  |
| Mid-July, 2003 | 58 | 32 | $10=100$ |  |  |  |  |
| Early July, 2003 | 60 | 29 | $11=100$ |  |  |  |  |
| June, 2003 | 62 | 27 | $11=100$ |  |  |  |  |
| May, 2003 | 65 | 27 | $8=100$ |  |  |  |  |
| April 10-16, 2003 | 72 | 22 | $6=100$ |  |  |  |  |
| April 9, 2003 | 74 | 20 | $6=100$ |  |  |  |  |
| April 2-7, 2003 | 69 | 25 | $6=100$ |  |  |  |  |
| March 28-April 1, 2003 | 71 | 23 | $6=100$ |  |  |  |  |
| March 25-27, 2003 | 70 | 24 | $6=100$ |  |  |  |  |
| March 20-24, 2003 | 67 | 26 | $7=100$ |  |  |  |  |
| March 13-16, 2003 | 55 | 34 | $11=100$ |  |  |  |  |
| February, 2003 | 54 | 36 | $10=100$ |  |  |  |  |
| January, 2003 | 58 | 32 | $10=100$ |  |  |  |  |
| 2002 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| December, 2002 | 61 | 28 | $11=100$ |  |  |  |  |
| Late October, 2002 | 59 | 29 | $12=100$ |  |  |  |  |
| Early October, 2002 | 61 | 30 | $9=100$ |  |  |  |  |
| Mid-September, 2002 | 67 | 22 | $11=100$ |  |  |  |  |
| Early September, 2002 | 63 | 26 | $11=100$ |  |  |  |  |
| Late August, 2002 | 60 | 27 | $13=100$ |  |  |  |  |
| August, 2002 | 67 | 21 | $12=100$ |  |  |  |  |
| Late July, 2002 | 65 | 25 | $10=100$ |  |  |  |  |
| July, 2002 | 67 | 21 | $12=100$ |  |  |  |  |

Q. 2 All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in this country today?

|  | Satisfied | Dis- satisfied | No Opinion |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mid-October, 2004 | 36 | 58 | 6=100 |
| July, 2004 | 38 | 55 | $7=100$ |
| May, 2004 | 33 | 61 | $6=100$ |
| Late February, 2004 | 39 | 55 | $6=100$ |
| Early January, 2004 | 45 | 48 | $7=100$ |
| December, 2003 | 44 | 47 | $9=100$ |
| October, 2003 | 38 | 56 | $6=100$ |
| August, 2003 | 40 | 53 | $7=100$ |
| April, $2003{ }^{18}$ | 50 | 41 | $9=100$ |
| January, 2003 | 44 | 50 | $6=100$ |
| November, 2002 | 41 | 48 | $11=100$ |
| September, $2002{ }^{19}$ | 41 | 55 | $4=100$ |
| Late August, 2002 | 47 | 44 | $9=100$ |
| May, 2002 | 44 | 44 | $12=100$ |
| March, 2002 | 50 | 40 | $10=100$ |
| Late September, 2001 | 57 | 34 | $9=100$ |
| Early September, 2001 | 41 | 53 | $6=100$ |
| June, 2001 | 43 | 52 | $5=100$ |
| March, 2001 | 47 | 45 | $8=100$ |
| February, 2001 | 46 | 43 | $11=100$ |
| January, 2001 | 55 | 41 | $4=100$ |
| October, 2000 (RV's) | 54 | 39 | $7=100$ |
| September, 2000 | 51 | 41 | $8=100$ |
| June, 2000 | 47 | 45 | $8=100$ |
| April, 2000 | 48 | 43 | $9=100$ |
| August, 1999 | 56 | 39 | $5=100$ |
| January, 1999 | 53 | 41 | $6=100$ |
| November, 1998 | 46 | 44 | $10=100$ |
| Early September, 1998 | 54 | 42 | $4=100$ |
| Late August, 1998 | 55 | 41 | $4=100$ |
| Early August, 1998 | 50 | 44 | $6=100$ |
| February, 1998 | 59 | 37 | $4=100$ |
| January, 1998 | 46 | 50 | $4=100$ |
| September, 1997 | 45 | 49 | $6=100$ |
| August, 1997 | 49 | 46 | $5=100$ |
| January, 1997 | 38 | 58 | $4=100$ |
| July, 1996 | 29 | 67 | $4=100$ |
| March, 1996 | 28 | 70 | $2=100$ |
| October, 1995 | 23 | 73 | $4=100$ |
| June, 1995 | 25 | 73 | $2=100$ |
| April, 1995 | 23 | 74 | $3=100$ |
| July, 1994 | 24 | 73 | $3=100$ |
| March, 1994 | 24 | 71 | $5=100$ |


|  | Sat- <br> isfied | Dissatisfied | No Opinion |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| October, 1993 | 22 | 73 | 5=100 |
| September, 1993 | 20 | 75 | $4=100$ |
| May, 1993 | 22 | 71 | $7=100$ |
| January, 1993 | 39 | 50 | $11=100$ |
| January, 1992 | 28 | 68 | $4=100$ |
| November, 1991 | 34 | 61 | $5=100$ |
| Late Feb, 1991 (Gallup) | 66 | 31 | $3=100$ |
| August, 1990 | 47 | 48 | $5=100$ |
| May, 1990 | 41 | 54 | $5=100$ |
| January, 1989 | 45 | 50 | $5=100$ |
| September, 1988 (RVS) | 50 | 45 | $5=100$ |
| May, 1988 | 41 | 54 | $5=100$ |
| January, 1988 | 39 | 55 | $6=100$ |

18 Asked April 8, 2003 only; N=395.

More specifically..
Q. 3 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]?

|  |  | Approve | Disapprove | DK/Ref. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| a. | The economy | 38 | 55 | $7=100$ |
|  | Early September, 2004 | 44 | 49 | $7=100$ |
|  | August, 2004 | 42 | 52 | $6=100$ |
|  | July, 2004 | 42 | 52 | $6=100$ |
|  | June, 2004 | 43 | 50 | $7=100$ |
|  | Early April, 2004 | 39 | 53 | $8=100$ |
|  | Mid-January, 2004 | 47 | 47 | $6=100$ |
|  | September, 2003 | 43 | 48 | $9=100$ |
|  | February, 2003 | 43 | 48 | $9=100$ |
|  | January, 2003 | 47 | 45 | $8=100$ |
|  | Early October, 2002 | 49 | 40 | $11=100$ |
|  | June, 2002 | 53 | 36 | $11=100$ |
|  | January, 2002 | 60 | 28 | $12=100$ |
|  | Early September, 2001 | 47 | 44 | $9=100$ |
|  | February, 2001 | 50 | 22 | $28=100$ |
| b. | The situation in Iraq | 37 | 56 | $7=100$ |
|  | Early September, 2004 | 47 | 45 | $8=100$ |
|  | August, 2004 | 43 | 52 | $5=100$ |
|  | July, 2004 | 42 | 53 | $5=100$ |
|  | June, 2004 | 42 | 51 | $7=100$ |
|  | Late April, 2004 | 44 | 48 | $8=100$ |
|  | Early April, 2004 | 40 | 53 | $7=100$ |
|  | Mid-January, 2004 | 59 | 37 | $4=100$ |
|  | September, 2003 | 52 | 40 | $8=100$ |
|  | April 10-16, $2003{ }^{20}$ | 77 | 17 | $6=100$ |
|  | April 8-9, 2003 | 71 | 23 | $6=100$ |
|  | --April 9, 2003 | 76 | 18 | $6=100$ |
|  | --April 8, 2003 | 65 | 28 | $7=100$ |
|  | April 2-7, 2003 | 73 | 21 | $6=100$ |
|  | March 28-April 1, 2003 | 69 | 26 | $5=100$ |
|  | March 25-27, 2003 | 73 | 23 | $4=100$ |
|  | March 23-24, 2003 | 72 | 22 | $6=100$ |
|  | March 20-22, 2003 | 70 | 23 | $7=100$ |
|  | February, 2003 | 56 | 37 | $7=100$ |
|  | January, 2003 | 56 | 36 | $8=100$ |
|  | Early October, 2002 | 56 | 34 | $10=100$ | "...George Bush is handling the situation in the Persian Gulf region."

Q. 3 CONTINUED...
c. Terrorist threats

Early September, 2004
August, 200458
July, $2004 \quad 54$
June, $2004 \quad 56$
Late April, 200455
Early April, 200453
Gallup: December, 200365
September, 200364
February, 200367
January, 200369
Early October, 200271
June, 200274
Mid-September, 2001 ${ }^{21} 85$
Clinton: Early September, 199872
d. The nation's foreign policy 37

Early September, 200447
August, 200442
July, 200440
Mid-January, 200453
March, 200353
Early April, 200269
Gallup: October, 200181
Early September, 200146
August, 200122 45

Disapprove

| 40 | $11=100$ |
| :---: | :---: |
| 32 | $6=100$ |
| 37 | $5=100$ |
| 40 | $6=100$ |
| 35 | $9=100$ |
| 36 | $9=100$ |
| 38 | $9=100$ |
| 33 | $2=100$ |
| 28 | $8=100$ |
| 25 | $8=100$ |
| 23 | $8=100$ |
| 22 | $7=100$ |
| 18 | $8=100$ |
| 6 | $9=100$ |
| 20 | $8=100$ |
|  |  |
| 49 | $14=100$ |
| 42 | $11=100$ |
| 49 | $9=100$ |
| 48 | $12=100$ |
| 36 | $11=100$ |
| 36 | $11=100$ |
| 20 | $11=100$ |
| 14 | $5=100$ |
| 34 | $20=100$ |
| 32 | $23=100$ |

Q. 4 As I read a list of some stories covered by news organizations this past month, tell me if you happened to follow the news story very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely. [INSERT ITEM;
RANDOMIZE ITEMS a. THRU c. FOLLOWED BY RANDOMIZED ITEMS d. THRU f.]
a. News about the current situation in Iraq

Early September, 2004
August, 2004
July, 2004

| Very <br> Closely | Fairly <br> Closely | Not too <br> Closely | Not at all <br> Closely |  | $\underline{\text { DK/Ref }}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |

[^7]
## Q. 4 CONTINUED...

September, 2003
Mid-August, 2003
Early July, 2003
June, 2003
May, 2003
April 11-16, $2003^{23}$
April 2-7, 2003
March 20-24, 2003
March 13-16, 2003 ${ }^{24}$
February, 2003
January, 2003
December, 2002
Late October, 2002
Early October, 2002
Early September, 2002
b. Reports about the condition of the U.S. economy

Early September, 2004
January, 2004
December, 2003
November, 2003
October, 2003
September, 2003
March, 2003
February, 2003
January, 2003
December, 2002
February, 2002
January, 2002
December, 2001
Mid-November, 2001
June, 2001
May, 2001
April, 2001
February, 2001
January, 2001
June, 1995
March, 1995
February, 1995
December, 1994
October, 1994
June, 1994
May, 1994
January, 1994
Early January, 1994

| Very | Fairly | Not too | Not at all |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Closely | Closely | Closely | Closely | DK/Ref |
| 50 | 33 | 10 | 6 | 1=100 |
| 45 | 39 | 10 | 5 | $1=100$ |
| 37 | 41 | 13 | 8 | $1=100$ |
| 46 | 35 | 13 | 6 | * $=100$ |
| 63 | 29 | 6 | 2 | * $=100$ |
| 47 | 40 | 10 | 2 | $1=100$ |
| 54 | 34 | 9 | 2 | $1=100$ |
| 57 | 33 | 7 | 2 | $1=100$ |
| 62 | 27 | 6 | 4 | $1=100$ |
| 62 | 25 | 8 | 4 | $1=100$ |
| 55 | 29 | 10 | 4 | $2=100$ |
| 51 | 32 | 10 | 6 | $1=100$ |
| 53 | 33 | 8 | 5 | $1=100$ |
| 60 | 28 | 6 | 5 | $1=100$ |
| 48 | 29 | 15 | 6 | $2=100$ |
| 30 | 43 | 16 | 10 | $1=100$ |
| 39 | 34 | 15 | 11 | $1=100$ |
| 37 | 41 | 15 | 7 | * $=100$ |
| 35 | 38 | 14 | 11 | $2=100$ |
| 40 | 34 | 15 | 10 | $1=100$ |
| 32 | 39 | 16 | 12 | $1=100$ |
| 39 | 30 | 18 | 12 | $1=100$ |
| 40 | 35 | 16 | 8 | $1=100$ |
| 42 | 33 | 15 | 10 | * $=100$ |
| 40 | 35 | 13 | 11 | $1=100$ |
| 38 | 34 | 17 | 10 | $1=100$ |
| 35 | 40 | 15 | 9 | $1=100$ |
| 30 | 44 | 16 | 9 | $1=100$ |
| 37 | 40 | 13 | 8 | $2=100$ |
| 41 | 36 | 15 | 7 | $1=100$ |
| 24 | 41 | 18 | 16 | $1=100$ |
| 34 | 36 | 15 | 15 | $0=100$ |
| 36 | 34 | 16 | 13 | $1=100$ |
| 30 | 39 | 18 | 12 | $1=100$ |
| 32 | 38 | 17 | 11 | $2=100$ |
| 26 | 41 | 22 | 11 | * $=100$ |
| 27 | 45 | 19 | 9 | * $=100$ |
| 23 | 41 | 22 | 13 | $1=100$ |
| 28 | 43 | 20 | 9 | * $=100$ |
| 27 | 40 | 20 | 12 | $1=100$ |
| 25 | 42 | 23 | 10 | * $=100$ |
| 33 | 40 | 16 | 10 | $1=100$ |
| 34 | 39 | 16 | 10 | $1=100$ |
| 36 | 44 | 13 | 7 | * $=100$ |

[^8]
## Q. 4 CONTINUED...

December, 1993
October, 1993
September, 1993
Early September, 1993
August, 1993
May, 1993
February, 1993
January, 1993
September, 1992
May, 1992
March, 1992
February, 1992
January, 1992
October, 1991
c. News about candidates for the 2004 presidential election

Early September, 2004
August, 2004
July, 2004
June, 2004
April, 2004
Mid-March, 2004
Late February, 2004
Early February, $2004^{25}$
Mid-January, 2004
Early January, 2004
December, 2003
November, 2003
October, 2003
September, 2003
Mid-August, 2003
May, 2003
January, 2003
Early November, 2000 ( $R V s$ )
Mid-October, 2000 (RVS)
Early October, 2000 ( $R V s$ )
September, 2000
July, 2000
June, 2000
May, 2000
April, 2000
March, 2000
February, 2000
January, 2000

| Very | Fairly | Not too | Not at all |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Closely | Closely | Closely | Closely | DK/Ref |
| 35 | 41 | 15 | 8 | $1=100$ |
| 33 | 38 | 20 | 9 | *=100 |
| 37 | 40 | 14 | 8 | $1=100$ |
| 39 | 39 | 14 | 9 | * $=100$ |
| 41 | 36 | 14 | 9 | *=100 |
| 37 | 38 | 18 | 6 | $1=100$ |
| 49 | 36 | 10 | 5 | * $=100$ |
| 42 | 39 | 12 | 7 | *=100 |
| 43 | 37 | 13 | 6 | $1=100$ |
| 39 | 39 | 15 | 6 | $1=100$ |
| 47 | 38 | 11 | 4 | * $=100$ |
| 47 | 37 | 10 | 6 | *=100 |
| 44 | 40 | 11 | 5 | * $=100$ |
| 36 | 38 | 16 | 9 | $1=100$ |
| 46 | 30 | 12 | 11 | $1=100$ |
| 40 | 34 | 14 | 11 | $1=100$ |
| 32 | 38 | 16 | 14 | * $=100$ |
| 29 | 37 | 18 | 15 | $1=100$ |
| 28 | 34 | 19 | 18 | $1=100$ |
| 31 | 33 | 19 | 16 | $1=100$ |
| 35 | 34 | 18 | 13 | * $=100$ |
| 24 | 40 | 23 | 12 | $1=100$ |
| 29 | 37 | 20 | 13 | $1=100$ |
| 16 | 30 | 27 | 26 | $1=100$ |
| 14 | 32 | 30 | 23 | $1=100$ |
| 16 | 26 | 27 | 30 | $1=100$ |
| 11 | 26 | 34 | 28 | $1=100$ |
| 12 | 27 | 28 | 32 | $1=100$ |
| 17 | 25 | 30 | 27 | $1=100$ |
| 12 | 27 | 27 | 33 | $1=100$ |
| 8 | 19 | 31 | 41 | $1=100$ |
| 14 | 28 | 29 | 28 | $1=100$ |
| 39 | 44 | 12 | 5 | * $=100$ |
| 40 | 37 | 15 | 8 | $8=100$ |
| 42 | 36 | 15 | 6 | $1=100$ |
| 22 | 42 | 21 | 15 | *=100 |
| 21 | 38 | 20 | 20 | $1=100$ |
| 23 | 32 | 23 | 21 | $1=100$ |
| 18 | 33 | 26 | 23 | * $=100$ |
| 18 | 39 | 22 | 20 | $1=100$ |
| 26 | 41 | 19 | 13 | $1=100$ |
| 26 | 36 | 21 | 17 | * $=100$ |
| 19 | 34 | 28 | 18 | $1=100$ | story was listed as "News about the presidential campaign." In January 1992, 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 CONTINUED...

November, 1996 (RVs)
October, 1996
Early September, 1996
July, 1996
April, 1996
March, 1996
January, 1996
October, 1992 ( $R V s$ )
September, 1992 ( $R V s$ )
August, 1992 ( $R V_{S}$ )
July, 1992
May, 1992
March, 1992
January, 1992
October, 1988 ( $R V s$ )
August, 1988 ( $R V_{S}$ )
May, 1988
d. The high price of gasoline these days

August, 2004
July, 2004
June, 2004
April, 2004
Early April, 2004
Mid-March, 2004
September, 2003
March, 2003
February, 2003
June, 2001
May, 2001
Early October, 2000
June, $2000^{26}$
March, 2000
October, 1990
September, 1990
August, 1990
e. A shortage in the supply of flu vaccines available this year
f. The possibility that Mount St. Helens might erupt again

| Very | Fairly | Not too | Not at all |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Closely | Closely | Closely | Closely | DK/Ref |
| 34 | 45 | 15 | 6 | * $=100$ |
| 31 | 39 | 18 | 12 | * $=100$ |
| 24 | 36 | 23 | 17 | *=100 |
| 22 | 40 | 23 | 14 | $1=100$ |
| 23 | 35 | 25 | 17 | *=100 |
| 26 | 41 | 20 | 13 | *=100 |
| 10 | 34 | 31 | 24 | $1=100$ |
| 55 | 36 | 7 | 2 | $0=100$ |
| 47 | 36 | 11 | 6 | * $=100$ |
| 36 | 51 | 11 | 2 | $0=100$ |
| 20 | 45 | 26 | 9 | *=100 |
| 32 | 44 | 16 | 8 | * $=100$ |
| 35 | 40 | 16 | 9 | *=100 |
| 11 | 25 | 36 | 27 | $1=100$ |
| 43 | 44 | 11 | 2 | *=100 |
| 39 | 45 | 13 | 3 | * $=100$ |
| 22 | 46 | 23 | 6 | $3=100$ |
| 64 | 22 | 8 | 5 | $1=100$ |
| 52 | 29 | 10 | 8 | $1=100$ |
| 56 | 25 | 11 | 7 | $1=100$ |
| 58 | 26 | 9 | 6 | $1=100$ |
| 46 | 30 | 15 | 8 | $1=100$ |
| 58 | 23 | 10 | 8 | $1=100$ |
| 47 | 27 | 14 | 10 | $2=100$ |
| 45 | 27 | 15 | 11 | $1=100$ |
| 52 | 27 | 11 | 9 | $1=100$ |
| 53 | 25 | 12 | 9 | $1=100$ |
| 56 | 31 | 7 | 5 | $1=100$ |
| 61 | 26 | 6 | 6 | $1=100$ |
| 56 | 25 | 12 | 6 | $1=100$ |
| 61 | 25 | 9 | 5 | * $=100$ |
| 58 | 28 | 10 | 4 | * $=100$ |
| 62 | 26 | 8 | 4 | * $=100$ |
| 56 | 28 | 11 | 5 | *=100 |
| 57 | 27 | 10 | 5 | $1=100$ |
| 44 | 27 | 14 | 14 | $1=100$ |
| 20 | 33 | 25 | 21 | $1=100$ |


[^0]:    * New definition of battleground states being applied in this survey.

[^1]:    2 Complete trend for FOLGOV not shown; comparable election year trends are presented.

[^2]:    5 In Mid-October 2004, the volunteer category "already voted" was added and is presented in the "Yes, Plan to vote" category.

    6 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.

[^3]:    10
    In 2000 the question asked about Al Gore.

[^4]:    11
    In 2000 the question asked about Al Gore.

    12 In 2000 the item was listed as "Keeping the economy strong."

[^5]:    15 In June 2004 and earlier, the question was worded: "Do you think the U.S. should keep military troops in Iraq until a stable government is established there, or do you think the U.S. should bring its troops home as soon as possible?"

    16 In April 2003, the question was worded: "Do you think the war in Iraq will help the war on terrorism, or will it hurt the war on terrorism?" In Early October 2002 the question was worded: "If the U.S. uses military force in Iraq, do you think this will help the war on terrorism, or will it hurt the war on terrorism?"

[^6]:    17 The question from the November 2002 Global Attitudes survey was worded: "In the long run, do you think a war with Iraq to end Saddam Hussein's rule is likely to increase the chances of terrorist attacks in the U.S., lessen the chances, or will it make no difference?"

[^7]:    21
    In Mid-September, 2001 the question was worded: "...dealing with the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon in Washington." In Early September 1998 the question was worded: "Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling current threats from international terrorist groups?"

    22 In August 2001 roughly half of the U.S. sample was asked about Bush's handling of international policy, while the other half was asked about the handling of the nation's foreign policy. Results did not differ between question wordings.

[^8]:    23 From March 20 to April 16, 2003 the story was listed as "News about the war in Iraq."

    24 From October 2002 to March 13-16, 2003 the story was listed as "Debate over the possibility that the U.S. will take military action in Iraq." In Early September 2002 the story was listed as "Debate over the possibility that the U.S. will invade Iraq."

