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FOR RELEASE: SUNDAY, OCTOBER 31, 2004, 4:00 P.M.

No Impact Detected from bin Laden Tape SLIGHT BUSH MARGIN IN FINAL DAYS OF CAMPAIGN

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<u>No Impact Detected from bin Laden Tape</u> SLIGHT BUSH MARGIN IN FINAL DAYS OF CAMPAIGN

President George W. Bush holds a slight edge over Senator John Kerry in the final days of

Campaign 2004. The Pew Research Center's final pre-election poll of 1,925 likely voters, conducted Oct. 27-30, finds Bush with a three-point edge (48% to 45% for Kerry); Ralph Nader draws 1%, and 6% are undecided.

The poll finds indications that turnout will be significantly higher than in the two previous presidential elections, especially among younger people. Yet Bush gets the boost Republican candidates typically receive when the sample is narrowed from the base of 2,408 registered voters to those most likely to vote. (Among all registered voters, Kerry and Bush are in a virtual tie: 46% Kerry, 45% Bush).

Presidential Trial Heat								
	Oct	Oct	Oct	Estimate -				
	<u>1-3</u>	<u>15-19</u>		undecideds				
Likely Voters ¹	%	%	%	allocated				
Bush	49	47	48	51				
Kerry	44	47	45	48				
Nader	2	1	1	<u>1</u>				
Undecided	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	100				
	100	100	100					
N=	(801)	(1,070)	(1,925)					
Registered Voters	%	%	%					
Bush	48	45	45					
Kerry	41	45	46					
Nader	2	1	1					
Undecided	9	9	8					
	100	100	100					
N=	(1,002)	(1,307)	(2,408)					
Likely voters are determined by a nine-question series that measures interest in the election, intention to vote and a respondent's past voting history. For this analysis, it is assumed that 57% of the voting age population will cast a vote in November.								

Pew's final survey suggests that the

remaining undecided vote may break only slightly in Kerry's favor. When both turnout and the probable decisions of undecided voters are taken into account in Pew's final estimate, Bush holds a slight 51%-48% margin. The poll, taken over a four-day period, found the recent video tape from Osama bin Laden had no clear impact on voter preferences. Interviews conducted after the tape was released on Oct. 29 generally resembled the polling conducted on the two previous days.

The potential still exists for changes in voter opinion and, equally important, in the composition of the electorate on Nov. 2. While 6% of likely voters are undecided, another 8% still leave open the possibility of changing their vote.

In that regard, neither campaign has a clear advantage in reaching potential supporters. The survey confirms the extent to which the campaigns are concentrating their efforts in the battleground states. Six-in-ten voters in these contested states say they have been personally contacted – either face-to-face or by telephone – by one or both of the campaigns.

Patterns of Support Among Likely Voters

Bush holds a solid 52%-43% lead among men, but unlike four years ago, women divide their support fairly evenly – 48% support Kerry, while 44% back Bush. Married women and mothers slightly favor the president over Kerry; unmarried women decidedly support the Democratic challenger (see table pg. 4).

Kerry outpolls Bush among likely voters with a postgraduate education, while college graduates divide fairly evenly. Bush is favored by a majority of those who have attended college but have not earned a degree.

Among religious groups, Bush continues to have an overwhelming advantage among white evangelical Protestants, and he also leads among white mainline Protestants. The race is a toss-up among white Catholics. Regionally, Bush wins strong backing in the South and Midwest. Kerry enjoys majority support among voters in the East and West.

Each candidate garners the support of about 90% of their partisans. Kerry holds a slight 48%-44% margin among independent voters. Bush continues to hold a significant advantage among male veterans.

Voter choices are more correlated with views of the war in Iraq and the war on terrorism than with opinions about the state of the national economy.

Early Voters

With 23 states now offering voters the opportunity to vote early – up from just 13 states four years ago – significant numbers say they have already voted or plan to do so before Election Day. Overall, 16% of likely voters say they voted early, and another 8% expect to cast ballots before Nov. 2; 76% say they will vote on Election Day. Nearly three-in-ten voters in western states (27%), where early voting has long been permitted, have already voted.

Both parties have aggressively encouraged early voting and the poll indicates that their efforts have largely balanced each other out. Among those who say they have already cast a ballot, Kerry received 48% and Bush 47%.

Who Are the Early Voters?¹ Already Plan to All voted vote early voters % % % 47 49 48 Bush 45 Kerry 48 46 7 9 New voter 6 91 94 93 Voted in past 18-29 14 14 14 30-49 25 37 38 50-64 27 26 26 20 65 +33 22 39 44 Conservative 38 35 Moderate 39 36 Liberal 17 20 17 (335)(140)(1,925)

¹ Based on likely voters. Likely voters are determined by a nine-question series that measures interest in the election, intention to vote and a respondent's past voting history. For this analysis, it is assumed that 57% of the voting age population will cast a vote in November. Those who say they still plan to vote early divide 49% for Bush and 46% for Kerry.

Bush Victory Expected, But More Are Uncertain

By a wide margin, (48%-27%), more registered voters say Bush, rather than Kerry, is most likely to win Tuesday's election. But there is decidedly more uncertainty on this score than at the beginning of the month, or even a few weeks ago. Currently, a quarter of voters decline to project an election outcome, up from 12% in early October.

Registered voters continue to view this election as very significant. More than eight-in-ten voters (84%) call the election outcome especially important, compared with 67% in the days prior to the 2000 election and just 61% at a comparable point in 1996.

As in previous polls, Bush's supporters are much more enthusiastic than those backing Kerry. In fact, Bush registers a higher percentage of strong supporters in the final weekend of the campaign than any candidate since former President Ronald Reagan in 1984. Fully 39% of likely voters support Bush strongly, while 9% back him only moderately. Roughly threein-ten likely voters say they support Kerry strongly (32%), and 13% back him moderately, a pattern more typical of recent presidential candidates.

Strength of Support In Presidential Elections (Based on Likely Voters)							
2004 Bush Kerry	<u>Strong</u> % 39 32	<u>Soft</u> % 9 13	<u>Total</u> % 48 45				
2000 Bush Gore 1996	32 26	14 17	⇒ 46 ⇒ 43				
Dole Clinton	20 29	18 23	⇒ 38 ⇒ 52				
1988* Bush Dukakis	27 22	26 19	⇒ 53 ⇒ 41				
1984 Reagan Mondale	39 25	18 14	⇒ 57 ⇒ 39				
1980 Reagan Carter	25 20	22 24	⇒ 47 ⇒ 44				
1976 Ford Carter	26 26	23 22	$\Rightarrow 49$ $\Rightarrow 48$				
1972 Nixon McGovern	41 19	20 16	 ⇒ 61 ⇒ 35 				
<i>1968</i> Nixon Humphrey	25 22	17 18	$\Rightarrow 42$ $\Rightarrow 40$				
1964 Goldwater Johnson	15 42		⇒ 29 ⇒ 64				
<i>1960</i> Nixon Kennedy	35 33	13 16	\Rightarrow 48 \Rightarrow 49				
* Gallup Poll f	indings 19	960 - 19	88.				

PRESIDENTIAL TRIAL HEAT

(Based on Likely Voters*)

				Undecided/	
	Bush	Kerry	<u>Nader</u>	Other	<u>(N)</u>
	%	%	%	%	
Total	48	45	1	6=100	(1925)
Sex					
Male	52	43	1	4	(889)
Female	44	48	1	7	(1036)
Race					· · · ·
White	54	40	1	5	(1647)
Non-white	18	40 75	1	6	(243)
Black	7	86	0	0 7	(2+3) (150)
Hispanic†	, 47	49	1	3	(81)
	17	12	1	5	(01)
Race and Sex		20			(7.62)
White Men	57	38	1	4	(763)
White Women	51	42	*	7	(884)
Age					
Under 30	51	45	2	2	(188)
30-49	50	45	1	4	(649)
50-64	50	45	0	5	(590)
65+	44	46	1	9	(464)
Age Detailed					
18-24	45	50	2	3	(100)
25-34	58	39	1	2	(220)
35-44	49	45	1	5	(324)
45-54	48	46	*	6	(430)
55-64	49	46	0	5	(353)
65-74	48	42	*	10	(266)
75+	39	51	1	9	(198)
Sex and Age					
Men under 50	53	42	2	3	(423)
Women under 50	47	48	1	4	(414)
Men 50+	52	44	0	4	(460)
Women 50+	43	47	*	10	(594)
Region					
East	38	56	*	6	(392)
Midwest	51	43	*	6	(452)
South	55	38	1	6	(492)
West	44	51	1	4	(384)
		••	-	•	(00.)

* Includes leaners. Likely voters are determined by a nine-question series that measures interest in the election, intention to vote and a respondent's past voting history. For this analysis, it is assumed that 57% of the voting age population will cast a vote in November.

+ The designation Hispanic is unrelated to the white-black categorization. Note small sample size.
 ♦ Note small sample size.

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.....

Continued...

	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Nader</u>	Undecided/ Other	<u>(N)</u>
Total	% 48	% 45	% 1	% 6=100	(1925)
Education					
Post Grad.	41	54	*	5	(299)
College Grad.	49	45	1	5	(525)
Some College	54	41	1	4	(514)
H.S. Grad	49	44	1	6	(492)
Less than H.S.∻	38	55	0	7	(84)
Family Income					
\$100,000+	55	39	0	6	(284)
\$75,000-\$100,000	56	41	1	2	(262)
\$50,000-\$74,999	52	44	1	3	(312)
\$30,000-\$49,999	51	45	0	4	(379)
\$20,000-\$29,999	38	56	2	4	(182)
<\$20,000	39	53	1	7	(192)
Religious Affiliation					
All Catholics	46	49	1	4	(427)
All Protestants	57	37	1	5	(1081)
Total White Protestant	65	30	*	5	(918)
White Protestant Evangelical	05 75	30 20	*	5	(459)
White Prot. Non-Evangelical	7 <i>5</i> 54	40	1	5	(459)
White Catholic	49	46	*	5	(355)
Secular	24	67	2	7	(208)
Church Attendance					
More than Once a Week	68	24	0	8	(291)
Once a Week	55	40	*	5	(573)
Once or Twice a Month	51	45	*	4	(289)
A Few Times a Year	43	53	1	3	(307)
Seldom/Never	31	62	1	6	(427)
Community Type					
Urban	34	59	1	6	(472)
Suburban	52	42	*	6	(1012)
Rural	56	37	1	6	(441)
Marital Status					
Married	56	39	*	5	(1208)
Men	61	35	*	4	(623)
Women	51	43	*	6	(585)
Unmarried	36	56	1	7	(717)
Men	35	58	2	5	(266)
Women	36	54	1	9	(451)
Parental Status					~ /
Parental Status Parent	56	40	*	4	(589)
Father	50 61	40 35	1	4	(298)
Mother	50	45	0	5	(291)
Non-Parent Men	44 48	48 47	1 1	7 4	(1336) (590)
Women	48	47 49	1	4 8	(738)
W OHICH	74	77	1	0	(150)

				Undecided/	
	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	Nader	<u>Other</u>	<u>(N)</u>
	%	%	%	%	%
Total	48	45	1	6=100	(1925)
Party ID					
Republican	93	4	*	3	(718)
Democrat	6	90	*	4	(647)
Independent	44	48	2	6	(464)
Party and Ideology					
Conservative Republican	96	2	0	2	(512)
Moderate/Liberal Republican	86	10	*	4	(186)
Cons./Moderate Democrat	8	88	0	4	(405)
Liberal Democrat	2	96	*	2	(214)
Military Force in Iraq					
Right Decision	83	12	1	4	(972)
Wrong Decision	7	89	*	4	(789)
War on Terrorism					()
Winning	79	18	*	3	(928)
Losing	9	85	1	5	(581)
Neither/DK	35	51	1	13	(416)
Election Outcome					
Especially Important	49	46	*	5	(1700)
No More Important	46	37	4	13	(211)
-					(/
<i>Country's Economy</i> Excellent/Good	85	11	*	4	(774)
Only Fair/Poor	83 24	69	1	4 6	
-	24	09	1	0	(1129)
Labor Union	<i></i>				
Union Household	34	62	0	4	(264)
Non-Union Household	51	42	1	6	(1638)
Male Veteran	_ .				
Male Veteran	56	40	*	4	(275)
Male Non-Veteran	51	44	1	4	(609)
Battleground States					
Republican State	63	31	*	6	(608)
Democratic State	38	56	*	6	(534)
Battleground*	45	48	1	6	(783)
Early Voting					
NET Plan to Vote Early	48	45	1	6	(475)
Already Voted	46	48	1	5	(335)
Plan to	50	46	0	4	(140)
Voting on Election Day	48	45	1	6	(1446)

PROFILE OF REGISTERED AND LIKELY VOTERS

(1996, 2000 and 2004)

Sex Male Female	- Nov I <u>RV</u> % 47 <u>53</u> 100	1996 - <u>LV</u> % 48 <u>52</u> 100	$ - Nov 2000 - \frac{RV}{\%} \frac{LV}{\%} \\ 47 49 \\ 53 51 \\ 100 100 $	- <i>Nov</i> <u>RV</u> % 47 <u>53</u> 100	2004 - <u>LV</u> % 47 <u>53</u> 100
<i>Race</i> White	86	88	85 88	81	83
Black	10	9	10 8	10	9
Hispanic†	4	3	8 6	9	7
Age Under 30 30-49 50-64 65+	18 41 21 19	11 42 24 22	$ \begin{array}{rrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrr$	19 38 24 18	14 38 26 20
<i>Education</i> College Grad. Some College High School Grad <h.s. grad.<="" td=""><td>26 24 37 12</td><td>28 26 37 8</td><td>28 32 25 26 35 33 11 8</td><td>30 26 35 9</td><td>34 26 32 7</td></h.s.>	26 24 37 12	28 26 37 8	28 32 25 26 35 33 11 8	30 26 35 9	34 26 32 7
Family Income					
\$75,000+	10	12	19 21	23	26
\$50,000-\$74,999	14	15	15 16	15	16
\$30,000-\$49,999	26	28	21 22	21	20
\$20,000-\$29,999 <\$20,000	16 20	16 16	$ 12 11 \\ 14 11 $	11 14	10 12
<\$20,000	20	10	14 11	14	12
Religious Affiliation					
Total White Protestant	48	49	46 48	43	45
White Evangelical Protest.	24	25	23 24	22	23
White mainline Protest.	24	24	23 24	21	22
White Catholic Secular	23 7	25 6	19 21 9 8	17 13	18 11
Secular	,	0	9 0	15	11
Party ID					
Republican	28	31	29 33	33	37
Democrat	37	37	36 35	35	35
Independent	29	27	28 25	26	23
Marital Status					
Married	57	60	58 63	57	61
Divorced/Separated/Widowed		24	21 21	22	22
Never Married	19	16	18 15	20	16
Parental Status					
Parent	32	31	36 34	35	34
Non-Parent	68	69	63 65	65	65

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

ABOUT THE SURVEY

Results for the **November 2004 election weekend survey** are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International among a nationwide sample of 2,804 adults, 18 years of age or older, from Wednesday evening, October 27, through Saturday evening, October 30, 2004. For results based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling is plus or minus 2 percentage points. For results based on registered voters (N=2,408) the sampling error is plus or minus 2.5 percentage points. For results based on likely voters (N=1925) the sampling error is plus or minus 2.5 percentage points.

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

PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS NOVEMBER 2004 ELECTION WEEKEND SURVEY FINAL TOPLINE October 27 - 30, 2004 General Public N=2,804 Registered Voters N=2,408

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

THOUGHT How much thought have you given to next Tuesday's election, quite a lot, or only a little?

		Quite <u>A lot</u>	(VOL.) Some	Only a <u>Little</u>	(VOL.) <u>None</u>	DK/ <u>Ref.</u>
	November, 2004	82	3	12	2	1 = 100
	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	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	Early 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

Q.2 How closely have you been following news about the presidential election... very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely?

	Very	Fairly	Not too	Not at all	l
	Closely	Closely	Closely	Closely	DK/Ref
November, 2004	52	36	8	4	*=100
Mid-October, 2004 ¹	54	29	11	5	1=100
Early September, 2004	40	34	14	11	1=100
November, 2000	39	44	12	5	*=100
Mid-October, 2000	40	37	15	8	*=100
Early October, 2000	42	36	15	6	1=100
September, 2000	27	46	18	8	1=100
November, 1996	34	45	15	6	*=100
Early September, 1996	29	39	19	13	*=100
October, 1992	55	36	7	2	0=100
September, 1992	47	36	11	6	*=100
August, 1992	36	51	11	2	0=100
October, 1988	43	44	11	2	*=100
August, 1988	39	45	13	3	*=100

PRECINCT

Have you ever voted in your precinct or election district?

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

¹

Complete trend for Q.2 not shown; comparable election year trends are presented. Previously in 2004 and in 2000, the question asked "News about candidates for the [2004/2000] presidential election." In 1988, the story was introduced as being from "this past year" and was listed as "News about the presidential campaign in 1988."

RESPONDENTS IN NORTH DAKOTA SHOULD BE SKIPPED TO FOLGOV.

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 ANSWERED "1" IN REGIST AND IS NOT IN "DAY OF REGISTRATION" STATE, ASK:

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

BASED ON TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION [N=2804]:

	Yes,	Absolutely	Chance	DK/	Day of	No,	DK/
	Registered	<u>Certain</u>	of Lapse	Ref.	<u>registration</u>	Not Reg.	Ref.
November, 2004	83	76	2	*	5	16	1=100
November, 2000	80	73	2	*	5	20	*=100
November, 1996	76	69	2	1	4	24	*=100

IF RESPONDENT IS IN "DAY OF" STATE & ANSWERED "NO, NOT REGISTERED" OR "DON'T HAVE TO REGISTER" IN REGIST, ASK:

PLANREG Next Tuesday, do you plan to register so that you can vote in the election?

BASED ON TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION IN "DAY OF" STATE [N=30]:

- 53 Yes
- 28 No GO TO O.4
- <u>19</u> Don't know/Refused GO TO Q.4
- 100

PROGRAMMING NOTE: A PERSON IS COUNTED AS "REGISTERED" AT THIS POINT IF THEY: (1) ARE IN NORTH DAKOTA

(2) ANSWERED "YES" TO REGIST AND LIVE IN A "DAY OF REGISTRATION" STATE (3) ANSWERED "YES" TO REGICERT

(4) ANSWERED "YES" TO PLANREG

NON-REGISTERED VOTERS GET SKIPPED TO Q.4/4a/4b AND FROM THERE, SKIPPED TO SEX ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS:

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	Some of	Only Now	Hardly	
	The Time	the Time	and Then	<u>at All</u>	DK/Ref
November, 2004	61	27	9	3	*=100
Mid-October, 2004	63	26	8	3	*=100
June, 2004	49	35	12	4	*=100
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

Complete trend for FOLGOV not shown; comparable election year trends are presented.

		(VOL.)						
		Nearly	Part of		Never	(VOL.)	(VOL.)	
	Always	<u>Always</u>	The time	Seldom	Vote	Other	DK/Ref.	
November, 2004	62	21	7	6	3	1	*=100	
Mid-October, 2004	63	22	7	5	2	1	*=100	
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	

OFTVOTE How often would you say you vote... (**READ**)³

Q.3 Do you happen to know where people in your neighborhood go to vote?

				Late	Early				Gallup		
		Nov	Nov	Oct	Oct	Nov	Oct	Nov	Nov	Oct	
		2002	2000	<u>1998</u>	<u>1998</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1988</u>	
85	Yes — gives answer	88	84	90	87	88	85	93	89	86	
<u>15</u>	No/Don't know/Ref./No Answer	12	<u>16</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>15</u>	7	<u>11</u>	<u>14</u>	
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	

Complete trend for OFTVOTE not shown; comparable election year trends are presented.

NOTE: IN 33 STATES (PLUS WASHINGTON, D.C.) WHERE NADER IS ON THE BALLOT, INCLUDE NADER. IN STATES WHERE NADER IS NOT ON THE BALLOT, NADER NOT INCLUDED.

If the presidential election were being held TODAY, would you vote [INSERT, ROTATE Q.4 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:

Do you support (INSERT PRESIDENTIAL CHOICE FROM Q.4-LAST NAME ONLY, DO NOT Q.4a READ VP CHOICE) strongly or only moderately? IF OTHER OR DK (Q.4=4,9), ASK:

As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to [READ, ROTATE IN SAME ORDER AS Q.4]? Q.4b . .

	Bush/Lean Bush			Kori	y/Lean I		Nader/	Other/		
	Dust	" Dean 1	Only		nen	y Dean 1	Only		Lean	Don't
	Total	Strongly	•	DK	Total	Strongl	•	DK	Nader	Know
November, 2004	45	<u>34</u>	<u>11</u>	*	<u>10tar</u> 46	<u>29</u>	<u>9 1100.</u> 16	$\frac{DR}{l}$	1	$\frac{100}{8}$
Mid-October, 2004	45	32	13	*	40	29	16	1	1	9=100 9=100
Early October, 2004	48	32 35	12	1	41	20 24	17	*	2	9=100 9=100
September 22-26, 2004	48	55	12	1	40	27	17		2	10=100
September 17-21, 2004	45				40				3	10=100 10=100
Early September, 2004	49	33	15	1	43	22	20	1	1	7=100
September 11-14	46	30	15	1	45 46	22	20	*	1	7 = 100 7 = 100
September 8-10	40 52	36	15	1	40 40	22	17	1	1	7 = 100 7 = 100
August, 2004	45	30	13	*	40 47	22	19	*	2	6=100
July, 2004	43	52	15		47	20	19	-	3	7=100
June, 2004	44				40				6	6=100
	40				42 46				6	5=100
May, 2004 Late March, 2004	43 44				40				6	3 = 100 7 = 100
Mid-March, 2004	44 42				43 49				0 4	5=100
Mid-March, 2004	42				49				4	5=100
	Bush	h/Lean l	Bush		Gor	e/Lean	Gore		Nader	
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
	Dal	a /L a grad	Dala		Clinto	n/Lean	Clinton		Perot	
November, 1996	32	e/Lean I 17	15	*	51	n/Lean 26	24	1	9	8=100
October, 1996	32 34	17	15	1	51	20 25	24 26	1 *	8	
<i>,</i>			10 18	1	51	25 26	20 25	*	8 7	7 = 100 7 = 100
Late September, 1996	35	16 17	18	1 *	51 52	20 26	23 26			7=100
Early September, 1996	34 34	17	17	4	52 44	20	20	0	8 16	6=100
July, 1996	54				44				10	6=100
	Bush, Sr	./Lean l	Bush, Si	r.	Clinto	n/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
	Bush, Sr	./Lean l	Bush, Si	r.	Dukak	is/Lean	Dukakis	5		
October, 1988	50	24	26		42	20	22		n/a	8=100
September, 1988	50	26	24		44	19	25		n/a	6=100
May, 1988	40	12	28		53	14	38		n/a	7=100
. .										

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

NOTE <u>SPECIAL INSTRUCTION</u>: NON-REGISTERED VOTERS ('2' IN REGIST AND NOT IN "DAY OF REGISTRATION" STATE, OR '9' IN REGIST, OR '2' OR '9' IN REGICERT, OR '2' OR '9' IN PLANREG) SHOULD NOW SKIP TO SEX]

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?

		KERK	Y						
		Pro-	Anti-	Un-		Pro-	Anti-	Un-	Other/
<u>2004</u>	<u>Total</u>	Kerry	Bush	decid	<u>Total</u>	Bush	Kerry	decid	<u>DK</u>
Nov	46	20	23	3	45	34	9	2	9=100
Mid-Oct	45	18	24	3	45	32	10	3	10=100
Early Oct	41	15	23	3	48	36	10	2	11=100
Early Sept	t 43	15	26	2	49	38	9	2	8=100
9/11-14	<i>46</i>	16	28	2	<i>46</i>	35	8	3	8=100
9/8-10	<i>40</i>	14	23	3	52	40	10	2	8=100
Aug	47	20	24	3	45	34	8	3	8=100
June	46	17	27	2	48	35	11	2	6=100
May	50	15	32	3	45	33	10	2	5=100
Late Mar	47	17	27	3	46	36	8	2	7=100
Mid-Mar	52	21	29	2	43	34	7	2	5=100
Feb	47	15	30	2	47	39	6	2	6=100

		GORI	Ξ			BUSH					
		Pro-	Anti-	Un-		Pro-	Anti-	Un-	Other/		
<u>2000</u>	<u>Total</u>	Gore	Bush	decid	<u>Total</u>	Bush	Gore	decid	DK		
Nov	45	29	14	2	41	27	12	2	14=100		
Sept	47	30	14	3	41	24	14	3	12=100		

	CLINTON			DOLE									
		Pro-	Anti-	Un-		Pro-	Anti-	Un-		Pro-	Anti-	Un-	Other/
<u>1996</u>	<u>Total</u>	Clinton	other	decid	<u>Total</u>	Dole	other	decid	<u>Total</u>	Perc	ot Other	decid	<u>DK</u>
Nov	51	33	15	3	32	15	15	2	9	4	5	*	8=100
Oct	51	33	16	2	34	15	18	1	8	4	4	*	7=100
Sept	52	35	15	2	34	16	17	1	8	3	5	0	6=100
Mar	53	30	20	3	41	15	25	1					6=100

	CLINTON				BUSH, SR					PEROT			
		Pro-	Anti-	Un-		Pro-	Anti-	Un-		Pro-	Anti-	Un-	Other/
<u>1992</u>	<u>Total</u>	Clinton	other	decid	<u>Total</u>	Bush	other	decid	<u>Total</u>	Perc	ot Other	decid	<u>DK</u>
Late Oct	44	25	17	2	34	19	13	2	19	10	7	2	3=100
Early Oct	48	23	22	3	35	19	13	3	8	3	5	*	9=100
Sept	53	21	29	3	38	20	16	2					9=100
Aug	57	27	28	2	37	20	16	1					6=100
Mar	44	13	29	2	49	32	15	2					7=100

		DUKA	KIS			BUSH, SR					
		Pro-	Anti-	Un-		Pro-	Anti-	Un-	Other/		
<u>1988</u>	<u>Total</u>	Dukakis	<u>Bush</u>	decid	<u>Total</u>	Bush	Dukakis	decid	<u>DK</u>		
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 vote for Kerry	Decided not to vote for Kerry	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
	November, 2004	6	43	5=54%
	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%
	June, 2004	10	41	3=54%
	May, 2004	11	35	4=50%
	Late March, 2004	13	37	3=53%
	Mid-March, 2004	13	32	3=48%
	Late February, 2004	13	36	3=52%
	Early February, 2004	15	33	5=53%
Gore:	November, 2000	8	41	6=55%
Gore:	Late October, 2000	9	44	4=57%
Gore:	Mid-October, 2000	10	40	5=55%
Gore:	Early October, 2000	11	38	7=56%
Gore:	September, 2000	13	35	5=53%
Gore:	June, 2000	14	34	6=54%
Clinton:	November, 1996	6	37	6=49%
Clinton:	October, 1996	10	35	4=49%
Clinton:	Late September, 1996	11	35	3=49%
Clinton:	Early September, 1996	10	34	4=48%
Clinton:	July, 1996	8	36	4=48%
Clinton:	Late October, 1992	11	43	2=56%
Clinton:	Early October, 1992	14	32	6=52%
Clinton:	September, 1992	12	28	6=46%
Clinton:	August, 1992	14	26	3=43%
Clinton:	May, 1992	11	38	6=55%

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	Decided not to	Don't know/
	vote for Bush	vote for Bush	Refused
November, 2004	6	44	5=55%
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%

Q.6b CO	NTINUED	Chance might vote for Bush	Decided not to vote for Bush	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
	Early September, 2004	9	38	4=51%
	September 11-14	8	41	5=54%
	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:	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%
	Early October, 1992	13	46	6=65%
· · ·	September, 1992	12	44	6=62%
,	August, 1992	15	45	4=64%
	May, 1992	8	40	5=53%

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS:

PLANTO1 Do you yourself plan to vote in the election this year, or not?

	Yes, Plan To Vote	No, Don't <u>Plan To</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
November, 2004	97	2	1=100
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
November, 2002 ⁶ *	90	8	2=100
Early October, 2002*	95	3	2=100
November, 2000	96	3	1=100
Late October, 2000	97	2 2	1=100
Mid-October, 2000	96		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

5

In November and Mid-October 2004 and November 2002, the volunteer category "already voted" was added and is presented in the "Yes, Plan to vote" category.

In November 2002, 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?"

ASK IF 'VOL. ALREADY VOTED' (3 IN PLANTO1) [N=187]:

- EARLY Just to be sure I understand are you saying you have ALREADY mailed in your vote or cast your vote early at your local election office, or do you mean that you PLAN TO do so?
 - 97 Already voted GO TO Q.7
 - 3 Plan to vote early GO TO SCALE10
 - 0 Other (VOL.) GO TO SCALE10
 - * Don't know/Refused GO TO SCALE10
 - 100

ASK IF DID NOT ALREADY VOTE (2,3,9 IN EARLY):

SCALE10 I'd like you to rate your chance of voting in this year's election 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?

BASED ON ALL REGISTERED VOTERS:

	Definitely										finitely
	will vote									wil	l not vote
	<u>10</u>	9	<u>8</u> 3	$\frac{7}{1}$	<u>6</u> 1	$\frac{5}{1}$	4	<u>3</u> *	2	1	DK/Ref
November, 2004^7	87	4	3	1	1	1	*	*	*	2	1=100
Mid-October, 2004	87	4	3	1	1	1	*	*	*	2	1=100
November, 2002 ⁸ *	66	9	9	3	1	4	1	1	1	5	1=100
Early October, 2002*	64	10	10	4	3	4	1	*	*	2	2=100
November, 2000	80	6	5	2	1	3	*	*	*	3	1=100
Late October, 2000	83	5	5	1	1	2	*	1	1	1	*=100
Mid-October, 2000	80	7	4	3	1	3	1	*	*	1	1=100
Early October, 2000	78	7	5	2	2	2	*	1	1	1	1=100
Late October, 1998*	70	6	7	4	1	4	1	1	1	4	1=100
Early October, 1998*	64	9	10	4	2	4	1	2	1	2	1=100
November, 1996	77	7	7	2	1	2	*	1	*	2	1=100
October, 1996	77	9	7	2	2	2	*	*	*	1	*=100
Late September, 1996	78	10	6	2	1	1	*	*	*	1	1=100
November, 1994*	67	9	8	2	2	4	1	1	1	3	2=100
October, 1994*	66	10	9	4	2	4	1	1	*	2	1=100
Gallup: September, 1992	77	5	4	3	2	4	*	1	*	4	*=100
Gallup: November, 1988	77	7	6	2	1	3	*	*	*	2	2=100
Gallup: October, 1988	73	8	7	3	2	3	1	*	*	1	2=100

* Non-Presidential elections

7

In November 2004 and November 2002 the volunteer category "already voted" was added and is presented in the "10 – definitely will vote" category.

In previous November election surveys, the question asked about "Tuesday's election."

IF YES IN PLANTO1, ASK:

PLANTO3 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?

BASED ON ALL REGISTERED VOTERS:	Mid-	Early	
	Oct	Sept	June
	2004	2004	2004
9 Before Election Day/By Mail/Absentee	16	13	19
75 Will vote at polling place on Election Day	78	84	77
13 Already voted ⁹	3	*	n/a
* Don't know/Refused	1	1	*
<u>3</u> Don't Plan to Vote/Don't Know	2	2	4
100	100	100	100

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS:

10

Q.7 In your opinion, is the outcome of this presidential election especially important, or is it no more important than any other presidential election?

		<u>Nov 2000</u>	<u>Nov 1996</u>
84	Especially important	67	61
15	No more important than the others	31	38
1	Don't Know/Refused	<u>2</u>	<u> </u>
100		100	100

Q.8 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
November, 2004	48	27	25=100
Mid-October, 2004	54	27	19=100
Early October, 2004	61	27	12=100
Early September, 20	04 60	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	4 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
November, 2000	43 Bush	32 Gore	25=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, 199	$12 \ Dole$	79 Clinton	9=100
Early September, 19	96 16 Dole	75 Clinton	9=100

⁹ In Mid-October 2004, "or have you already cast your vote" was added to the question wording, but had been a volunteer option in the previous month.

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

Q.8 CONTINUED...

	George W. Bush	John Kerry	Other/DK
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

Q.9 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 (1 IN Q.9), ASK:

Q.9a And were you urged to vote for George W. Bush and/or other Republican candidates OR John Kerry and/or other Democratic candidates?

		Mid-Oct	Nov	Nov
		<u>2004</u>	2002	2000
34	Yes	26	33	26
8	Bush/Republicans	7	7 Republi	cans 8 Bush
8	Kerry/Democrats	6	8 Democi	rats 6 Gore
2	Other (VOL.)	2	1	2
12	Both (VOL.)	7	12	6
4	Don't know/Refused	4	5	4
65	No	73	66	73
1	Don't know/Refused	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
100		100	100	100

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS:

- Q.10 Has anyone from a campaign or other group contacted you IN PERSON such as by coming to your door to urge you to vote in a particular way in the election?
 - 11 Yes
 - 89 No
 - * Don't know/Refused
 - 100

Q.11 Will this election be the FIRST time that you have voted, or have you voted before?

		Mid-Oct
		2004^{11}
13	First time	11
87	Have voted before	89
*	Don't Know/Refused	*
100		100

NO QUESTION 12

¹¹

In Mid-October 2004, the question was asked as part of a series of items about whether they applied to the respondent.

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED "UNDECIDED" ("9" IN Q.4b), ASK BASED ON NADER STATE:

One last question about your opinion of the candidates...

Q.13a/b I have been asked to try to get a choice for president from everyone I interview. Even though you may not have made up your mind, could you make a guess so I will have something to put down? The candidates are Bush and Cheney, the Republicans, Kerry and Edwards, the Democrats, [and the ticket of Ralph Nader and Peter Camejo.]

BASED ON ALL REGISTERED VOTERS:

- 1 Bush/Cheney
- 1 Kerry/Edwards
- * Nader/Camejo
- * (VOL.) Not going to vote
- 4 Undecided/Other
- <u>94</u> Question not asked
- 100

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS:

I have just a couple questions about broader issues beyond the election...

Thinking about Iraq for a moment...

Q.14 Do you think the U.S. made the right decision or the wrong decision in using military force against Iraq?

	Right	Wrong	Don't know/
	decision	decision	Refused
November, 2004	48	41	11=100
Mid-October, 2004	47	45	8=100
Early October, 2004	53	41	6=100
Early September, 2004	54	41	5=100
August, 2004	55	40	5=100
July, 2004	52	43	5=100
June, 2004	54	39	7=100
May, 2004	49	44	7=100
Early April, 2004	57	36	7=100
Mid-March, 2004	54	40	6=100
Late February, 2004	58	35	7=100
Early February, 2004	57	38	5=100
Mid-January, 2004	66	29	5=100
Early January, 2004	62	28	10=100
December, 2003	69	26	5=100
October, 2003	59	34	7=100
September, 2003	62	33	5=100
August, 2003	65	29	6=100
Early July, 2003	67	25	8=100
May, 2003	76	20	4=100

Q.15 How would you rate economic conditions in this country today... as excellent, good, only fair, or poor?

			Only	Γ	Oon't know/
	Excellent	t Good	Fair	Poor	Refused
November, 2004	5	31	37	26	1=100
Mid-September, 2004	5	35	39	20	1=100
August, 2004	3	32	45	20	*=100
Late February, 2004	2	29	42	26	1=100

And thinking about the war on terrorism...

Do you think the United States is winning or losing the war on terrorism? Q.16

		Early	Early Sept
		<u>Oct 2004</u>	2004
45	Winning	48	54
31	Losing	33	28
10	Neither (VOL)	9	9
<u>14</u>	Don't Know/Refused	<u>10</u>	<u>19</u>
100		100	100

- Q.17 How much of a risk to the country is there, if any, 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?
 - 37 Major risk
 - Minor risk 26
 - 30 No risk at all
 - $\frac{7}{100}$ Don't know/Refused (VOL.)