

PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS
EARLY OCTOBER 2004 POLITICAL SURVEY
FINAL TOPLINE
October 1-3, 2004
General Public N=1233
Registered Voters N =1002

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 <u>A lot</u>	(VOL.) <u>Some</u>	Only a <u>Little</u>	(VOL.) <u>None</u>	DK/ <u>Ref.</u>
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
<i>September 11-14</i>	69	3	23	4	1=100
<i>September 8-10</i>	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

Q.1 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.1, ASK:

Q.1a Do you support (INSERT PRESIDENTIAL CHOICE FROM Q.1—LAST NAME ONLY, DO NOT READ VP CHOICE) strongly or only moderately?

IF OTHER OR DK (Q.1=4,9), ASK:

Q.1b As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to [READ, ROTATE IN SAME ORDER AS Q.1]?

	<i>Bush/Lean Bush</i>				<i>Kerry/Lean Kerry</i>				<i>Nader/Lean</i>	<i>Other/Don't</i>	
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Mod.</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Mod.</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Nader</u>	<u>Know</u>	
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	
<i>September 11-14</i>	46	30	15	1	46	22	24	*	1	7=100	
<i>September 8-10</i>	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	
		<i>Bush/Lean Bush</i>				<i>Gore/Lean Gore</i>				<i>Nader</i>	
Late October, 2000	45	29	16	*	43	24	19	*	4	8=100 ¹	
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	
		<i>Dole/Lean Dole</i>				<i>Clinton/Lean Clinton</i>				<i>Perot</i>	
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	
		<i>Bush, Sr./Lean Bush, Sr.</i>				<i>Clinton/Lean Clinton</i>				<i>Perot</i>	
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	

¹ 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.1/Q.1b) ASK:

Q.2a 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.1/Q.1b) ASK:

Q.2b Would you say that your choice is more a vote FOR George W. Bush or more a vote AGAINST John Kerry?

----- KERRY -----					----- BUSH -----				Other/ DK
2004	Total	Pro- Kerry	Anti- Bush	Un- decid	Total	Pro- Bush	Anti- Kerry	Un- decid	
Early Oct	41	15	23	3	48	36	10	2	11=100
Early Sept	43	15	26	2	49	38	9	2	8=100
9/11-14	46	16	28	2	46	35	8	3	8=100
9/8-10	40	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

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

----- CLINTON -----					----- DOLE -----				----- PEROT -----				Other/ DK
1996	Total	Pro- Clinton	Anti- other	Un- decid	Total	Pro- Dole	Anti- other	Un- decid	Total	Pro- Perot	Anti- Other	Un- decid	
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 -----				----- PEROT -----				Other/ DK
1992	Total	Pro- Clinton	Anti- other	Un- decid	Total	Pro- Bush	Anti- other	Un- decid	Total	Pro- Perot	Anti- Other	Un- decid	
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

----- DUKAKIS -----					----- BUSH -----				Other/ DK
1988	Total	Pro- Dukakis	Anti- Bush	Un- decid	Total	Pro- Bush	Anti- Dukakis	Un- decid	
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.1/1b (Q.1=1,3 OR Q.1b=1,3,4,9) ASK:

Q.3a 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?

	<u>Chance might vote for Kerry</u>	<u>Decided not to vote for Kerry</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
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%
<i>September 11-14</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>38</i>	<i>5=54%</i>
<i>September 8-10</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>46</i>	<i>3=60%</i>
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: 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.1/1b (Q.1=2,3 OR Q.1b=2,3,4,9) ASK:

Q.3b 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?

	<u>Chance might vote for Bush</u>	<u>Decided not to vote for Bush</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
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%
<i>September 11-14</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>5=54%</i>
<i>September 8-10</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>35</i>	<i>4=48%</i>
August, 2004	10	42	3=55%
July, 2004	10	41	5=56%

Q.3b CONTINUED...

	<u>Chance might vote for Bush</u>	<u>Decided not to vote for Bush</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
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: 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%

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS:

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

IF YES IN PLANTO1, ASK:

PLANTO2 How certain are you that you will vote? Are you absolutely certain, fairly certain, or not certain?

	<u>Yes, Plan To Vote</u>	<u>Absolutely Certain</u>	<u>Fairly Certain</u>	<u>Not Certain</u>	<u>No, Don't Plan To</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
Early October, 2004	98	91	6	1	1	1=100
Early September, 2004	98	91	6	1	1	1=100
<i>September 11-14</i>	97	89	7	1	2	1=100
<i>September 8-10</i>	99	93	6	*	1	*=100
August, 2004	98	89	8	1	2	*=100
June, 2004	96	85	10	1	2	2=100
Early November, 2002 ^{2*}	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	87	9	1	2	1=100
September, 2000	95	84	10	1	3	2=100
June, 2000	95	84	10	1	2	3=100
Late October, 1998*	91	--	--	--	6	3=100
Early October, 1998*	92	--	--	--	4	4=100

² 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.

PLANTO1/2 CONTINUED...

	Yes, Plan To Vote	Absolutely Certain	Fairly Certain	Not Certain	No, Don't Plan To	Don't know/ Refused
Early September, 1998*	95	--	--	--	2	3=100
Late August, 1998*	93	75	17	1	3	4=100
June, 1998*	95	74	19	2	3	2=100
November, 1996	96	--	--	--	2	2=100
October, 1996	98	87	10	1	1	1=100
Late September, 1996	98	89	8	1	1	1=100
Early September, 1996	96	83	11	2	2	2=100
July, 1996	95	82	12	1	3	2=100
June, 1996	96	84	11	1	2	2=100
November, 1994*	93	--	--	--	5	2=100
October, 1994*	95	--	--	--	3	2=100
October, 1992	98	91	6	1	1	1=100
September, 1992	98	85	11	2	1	1=100
August, 1992	97	89	8	*	1	2=100
June, 1992	97	88	8	1	1	2=100
Gallup: November, 1988	97	87	9	1	2	1=100
October, 1988	98	--	--	--	1	1=100

* Non-Presidential elections

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS:

Q.4 Did you happen to watch the presidential debate between John Kerry and George W. Bush (last night/this past Thursday night), or didn't you get a chance to see it? **IF YES, ASK:** How much of the debate did you watch: all of it, some of it, or only a little?

		Gore/Bush Early Oct 2000
69	Yes (NET)	63
41	Yes, all	32
22	Yes, some	24
6	Yes, a little	7
31	No, didn't watch	37
*	Don't know/Refused	*
100		100

IF RESPONDENT WATCHED (Q.4=1-3) ASK [N=727]:

Q.5 Regardless of which presidential candidate you support, who do you think did the better job in the presidential debate — George W. Bush or John Kerry?

		Early Oct 2000
26	Bush	32 <i>Bush</i>
58	Kerry	41 <i>Gore</i>
9	Neither/Both (VOL.)	22
7	Don't know/Refused	5
100		100

IF RESPONDENT WATCHED (Q.4=1-3) ASK [N=727]:

ROTATE Q.6 AND Q.7

Q.6 Please tell me what one word best describes your impression of John Kerry in the debate. Tell me just the ONE best word that described him. (**OPEN-END. PROBE ONCE ONLY IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS “DON’T KNOW.”**)

47	Confident
25	Prepared
19	Intelligent
17	Presidential
16	Strong/Strength
14	Good
12	Knowledgeable
11	Arrogant
11	Wishy-washy
11	Articulate
10	Indecisive
9	Flip-flop
8	Politician
7	Untrustworthy
7	Polished
7	Thoughtful

The numbers listed represent the number of respondents who offered each response; they are not percentages.

Q.7 Please tell me what one word best describes your impression of George W. Bush in the debate. Tell me just the ONE best word that described him. (**OPEN-END. PROBE ONCE ONLY IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS “DON’T KNOW.”**)

33	Honest
23	Strong/Strength
14	Sincere
14	Confident
13	Defensive
11	Determined
11	Good
11	Steady/Steadfast
11	Adequate
11	Liar
11	Nervous
10	Tired/Fatigued/Exhausted
9	Leader/Leadership
9	Repetitive
8	Angry
8	Confused
8	Resolute
8	Frustrated
8	Uncertain
7	Stubborn
7	Flustered
7	Unprepared
7	Consistent
7	Integrity

The numbers listed represent the number of respondents who offered each response; they are not percentages.

**ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS:
ROTATE QUESTIONS 8-9**

Q.8 In your opinion, has George W. Bush made major misjudgments in his handling of security issues such as the war on terrorism and Iraq, or don't you think so?

47 Yes, made major misjudgments
47 No, don't think so
6 Don't know/Refused
100

Q.9 Do you think John Kerry changes his mind too much to be a good commander in chief, or don't you think so?

48 Yes, changes his mind too much
38 No, don't think so
14 Don't know/Refused
100

ROTATE QUESTIONS 10-11

Q.10 Do you think John Kerry would give our allies too much say in U.S. foreign policy decisions, or don't you think so?

39 Yes, would give allies too much say
43 No, don't think so
18 Don't know/Refused
100

Q.11 Do you think George W. Bush is too inflexible in his thinking about foreign policy decisions, or don't you think so?

39 Yes, is too inflexible
51 No, don't think so
10 Don't know/Refused
100

Q.12 How likely is it that you will watch either of the upcoming presidential debates between Bush and Kerry this coming Friday, or next Wednesday?

		Early Sept <u>2004</u>	Early Oct <u>2000</u>	Late Sept <u>2000</u>	Sept <u>1996</u>	----- CBS/NYT ³ -----		
		<u>1992</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1984</u>				
59	Very likely	61	49	43	43	67	55	55
29	Somewhat likely, OR	27	31	31	34	24	27	27
11	Not likely	11	19	22	22	8	17	16
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL)	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100

³ Field dates of the trend surveys are comparable to the current survey. The 1988 survey is based on the probable electorate. CBS/NYT surveys asked, "How likely is it that you will watch next/this Sunday's debate between ...?"

- Q.13 How likely is it that you will watch this Tuesday's vice presidential debate between Dick Cheney and John Edwards?
- 41 Very likely
 29 Somewhat likely, OR
 29 Not likely
1 Don't know/Refused (**DON'T READ**)
 100
- Q.14 Thinking about the news coverage about the presidential debate, do you think news organizations have been more favorable to George W. Bush in their coverage of the debate, more favorable to John Kerry, or have they treated both about equally?
- 11 More favorable to Bush
 26 More favorable to Kerry
 52 Treated both about equally
11 Don't know/Refused (**VOL.**)
 100
- Q.15 All in all, how would you rate the job the press has done in covering the presidential debate? Excellent, good, only fair, or poor?
- 13 Excellent
 45 Good
 25 Only fair
 8 Poor
9 Don't know/Refused (**VOL.**)
 100
- Q.16 In reporting about the presidential debate, do you think news organizations paid [**READ AND ROTATE**]?
- 56 More attention to the personal qualities of the candidates
 24 More attention to the issues and policy plans of the candidates
 7 [**DO NOT READ**] Both/Neither (**VOL.**)
13 [**DO NOT READ**] Don't know/Refused (**VOL.**)
 100
- Q.17 How have you been getting most of your news about the presidential debate? From television, from newspapers, from radio, from magazines, or from the Internet? [**ACCEPT TWO ANSWERS: IF ONLY ONE RESPONSE IS GIVEN, PROBE FOR ONE ADDITIONAL RESPONSE**]
- 76 Television
 41 Newspapers
 18 Radio
 2 Magazines
 15 Internet
 2 Other (**VOL.**)
 * Do not follow news about presidential debates (**VOL.**)
 * Don't know/Refused (**VOL.**)

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' TELEVISION AS EITHER 1ST OR 2ND RESPONSE IN Q.17 ASK:

Q.18 Did you get most of your news about the presidential debate from [READ, RANDOMIZE ITEMS 2 THRU 4 AND 5 THRU 8 SEPARATELY, AND RANDOMIZE SETS OF ITEMS (LOCAL; NETWORK; CABLE). ACCEPT MULTIPLE ANSWERS BUT DO NOT PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL]

BASED ON ALL REGISTERED VOTERS:

- 13 Local news programming
- 13 ABC Network news
- 9 CBS Network news
- 13 NBC Network news
- 17 CNN Cable news
- 5 MSNBC Cable news
- 18 The Fox News Cable Channel
- 2 CNBC Cable news
- 5 Don't know/Refused (VOL. DO NOT READ)

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS:

Q.19 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)

		George	John	(VOL.)	(VOL.)	
		<u>W. Bush</u>	<u>Kerry⁴</u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>Both</u>	<u>DK/Ref.</u>
					<u>Equally</u>	
a	Would use good judgment in a crisis	51	37	2	3	7=100
	September 22-26, 2004	49	36	3	3	9=100
	Early September, 2004	53	34	2	4	7=100
	<i>September 11-13, 2004</i>	52	33	3	4	8=100
	<i>September 8-10, 2004</i>	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.	Honest and truthful	47	34	10	3	6=100
	September 22-26, 2004	41	32	15	3	9=100
	Early September, 2004	43	35	12	4	6=100
	<i>September 11-13, 2004</i>	41	36	13	4	6=100
	<i>September 8-10, 2004</i>	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

⁴ In 2000 the question asked about Al Gore.

Q.19 CONTINUED...

	<u>George W. Bush</u>	<u>John Kerry</u>	(VOL.) <u>Neither</u>	<u>Both Equally</u>	<u>DK/Ref.</u>
September, 2000	35	37	13	9	6=100
June, 2000	35	31	19	7	8=100
c. Cares about people like me	41	43	7	4	5=100
September 22-26, 2004	38	42	8	3	9=100
Early September, 2004	41	43	6	5	5=100
<i>September 11-13, 2004</i>	38	46	6	4	6=100
<i>September 8-10, 2004</i>	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. A strong leader	57	32	3	2	6=100
September 22-26, 2004	54	28	5	3	10=100
Early September, 2004	58	30	4	3	5=100
<i>September 11-13, 2004</i>	57	30	4	4	5=100
<i>September 8-10, 2004</i>	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. Willing to take a stand, even if it's unpopular	68	23	1	3	5=100
September 22-26, 2004	63	23	3	3	8=100
Early September, 2004	69	23	1	3	4=100
<i>September 11-13, 2004</i>	67	23	1	4	5=100
<i>September 8-10, 2004</i>	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

Q.20 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...");**?

	George W. Bush	John Kerry ⁵	(VOL.) Neither	DK/Ref.
a. Improving economic conditions	40	46	5	9=100
September 22-26, 2004	39	46	5	10=100
Early September, 2004	42	45	4	9=100
<i>September 11-13, 2004</i>	40	47	4	9=100
<i>September 8-10, 2004</i>	43	44	4	9=100
August, 2004	37	52	3	8=100
May, 2004	38	48	5	9=100
Late March, 2004	39	44	6	11=100
Mid-March, 2004	37	53	2	8=100
Late-October, 2000 ⁶	40	46	6	8=100
Mid-October, 2000	37	49	3	11=100
Early October, 2000	35	47	6	12=100
September, 2000	38	46	5	11=100
June, 2000	38	41	5	16=100
March, 2000	42	46	4	8=100
b. Improving the health care system	31	49	8	12=100
September 22-26, 2004	32	48	7	13=100
Early September, 2004	32	50	8	10=100
<i>September 11-13, 2004</i>	30	53	8	9=100
<i>September 8-10, 2004</i>	34	49	7	10=100
August, 2004	29	55	5	11=100
May, 2004	29	51	7	13=100
Late March, 2004	33	46	6	15=100
Mid-March, 2004	29	57	4	10=100
Late-October, 2000	38	47	5	10=100
Mid-October, 2000	37	48	4	11=100
Early October, 2000	36	49	5	10=100
September, 2000	32	51	6	11=100
June, 2000	31	44	6	19=100
March, 2000	31	51	6	12=100
c. Making wise decisions about what to do in Iraq	50	40	2	8=100
September 22-26, 2004	46	38	5	11=100
Early September, 2004	51	39	3	7=100
<i>September 11-13, 2004</i>	52	40	2	6=100
<i>September 8-10, 2004</i>	52	37	4	7=100
August, 2004	44	46	3	7=100
May, 2004	44	41	4	11=100
Late March, 2004	49	37	4	10=100
Mid-March, 2004	47	45	2	6=100

⁵ In 2000 the question asked about Al Gore.

⁶ In 2000 the item was listed as "Keeping the economy strong."

Q.20 CONTINUED...

	George <u>W. Bush</u>	John <u>Kerry</u>	(VOL.) <u>Neither</u>	<u>DK/Ref.</u>
d. Defending the country from future terrorist attacks	57	32	3	8=100
September 22-26, 2004	54	30	4	12=100
Early September, 2004	58	31	3	8=100
<i>September 11-13, 2004</i>	57	31	4	8=100
<i>September 8-10, 2004</i>	59	30	3	8=100
August, 2004	49	39	4	8=100
May, 2004	52	33	5	10=100
Late March, 2004	53	29	4	14=100
Mid-March, 2004	57	32	4	7=100

Q.21 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."]**

	-----Favorable-----			-----Unfavorable-----			Never Heard of	Can't Rate
	Total	Very	Mostly	Total	Very	Mostly		
a. John Kerry	53	16	37	41	16	25	*	6=100
Early September, 2004	53	18	35	41	19	22	0	6=100
<i>September 11-14</i>	54	18	36	39	19	20	0	7=100
<i>September 8-10</i>	51	18	33	46	26	20	0	3=100
August, 2004	56	25	31	39	17	22	*	5=100
June, 2004	51	11	40	41	16	25	0	8=100
Early February, 2004	58	14	44	29	9	20	1	12=100
January, 2003	33	6	27	16	3	13	32	19=100
Clinton: August, 1992	63	16	47	35	11	24	0	2=100
Clinton: July, 1992	61	18	43	32	9	23		7=100
Dukakis: September, 1988	51	18	33	42	19	23		7=100
Dukakis: August, 1988	59	17	42	33	11	22		8=100
b. George W. Bush	57	27	30	40	20	20	0	3=100
Early September, 2004	53	27	26	44	25	19	*	3=100
<i>September 11-14</i>	50	25	25	46	28	18	0	4=100
<i>September 8-10</i>	58	30	28	40	20	20	*	2=100
August, 2004	57	30	27	41	24	17	0	2=100
June, 2004	52	21	31	45	22	23	*	3=100
Early February, 2004	55	23	32	44	26	18	0	1=100
<i>Gallup:</i> Jan 29 - Feb 1, 2004 (GP)	52	--	--	47	--	--	--	1=100
<i>Gallup:</i> January 2-5, 2004 (GP)	65	--	--	35	--	--	--	*=100
<i>Gallup:</i> October 6-8, 2003 (GP)	60	--	--	39	--	--	--	1=100
<i>Gallup:</i> June 9-10, 2003 (GP)	66	--	--	33	--	--	--	1=100
April, 2003	73	40	33	24	11	13	0	3=100
January, 2003	70	29	41	29	10	19	0	1=100
December, 2002	69	36	33	28	11	17	0	3=100
July, 2001	62	23	39	35	14	21	*	3=100
January, 2001	61	27	34	32	11	21	0	7=100
April, 2000	60	18	42	32	13	19	1	7=100
March, 1999 ⁷	62	22	40	22	8	13	3	13=100
November, 1997	57	13	44	18	6	12	7	18=100

⁷

In March 1999 and November 1997 the category was listed: "Texas Governor George W. Bush."

Q.21 CONTINUED...

	-----Favorable-----			-----Unfavorable-----			Never Heard of	Can't Rate
	Total	Very	Mostly	Total	Very	Mostly		
c. Dick Cheney	48	14	34	41	20	21	*	11=100
Early September, 2004	48	15	33	42	24	18	1	9=100
<i>September 11-14</i>	44	15	29	43	25	18	1	12=100
<i>September 8-10</i>	54	15	39	41	23	18	1	4=100
August, 2004	48	14	34	43	22	21	1	8=100
April, 2003	64	23	41	25	12	13	2	9=100
December, 2002	62	22	39	27	10	17	3	8=100
July, 2001	63	23	40	26	7	19	4	7=100
January, 2001	66	22	44	18	5	13	1	15=100
December, 1994	46	11	35	17	4	13	19	18=100
March, 1991 ⁸	69	35	34	6	2	4	9	16=100
May, 1990	23	4	19	11	3	8	40	26=100
d. John Edwards	50	16	34	28	11	17	2	20=100
Early September, 2004	54	18	36	30	10	20	2	14=100
<i>September 11-14</i>	53	18	35	31	11	20	1	15=100
<i>September 8-10</i>	57	19	38	30	9	21	2	11=100
August, 2004	61	24	37	25	6	19	2	12=100
Early February, 2004	45	9	36	25	8	17	5	24=100
January, 2003	23	4	19	14	3	11	40	23=100
Gore: August, 1992	66	22	44	20	5	15	2	12=100
Gore: July, 1992	50	18	32	17	4	13	4	29=100
Bentsen: September, 1988	50	11	39	22	7	15		28=100
Bentsen: August, 1988	48	12	36	18	5	13		34=100

Q.22 Regardless of who you might support, who do you think is most likely to win the coming presidential election? [READ]

	<u>George W. Bush</u>	<u>John Kerry</u>	<u>Other/DK</u>
Early October, 2004	61	27	12=100
Early September, 2004	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	56 <i>Bush</i>	32 <i>Dem Candidate</i>	12=100
Mid-January, 2004	61 <i>Bush</i>	21 <i>Dem Candidate</i>	18=100
September, 2003	47 <i>Bush</i>	34 <i>Dem Candidate</i>	19=100
June, 2003	66 <i>Bush</i>	22 <i>Dem Candidate</i>	12=100
Late October, 2000	48 <i>Bush</i>	38 <i>Gore</i>	14=100
Early October, 2000	33 <i>Bush</i>	46 <i>Gore</i>	21=100
June, 2000	51 <i>Bush</i>	33 <i>Gore</i>	16=100
October, 1999	70 <i>Bush</i>	23 <i>Gore</i>	7=100
Late September, 1996 ⁹	12 <i>Dole</i>	79 <i>Clinton</i>	9=100
Early September, 1996	16 <i>Dole</i>	75 <i>Clinton</i>	9=100

⁸ In March 1991 and May 1990 the category was listed: "Richard Cheney."

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

Q.20 CONTINUED...	<u>George W. Bush</u>	<u>John Kerry</u>	<u>Other/DK</u>
July, 1996	19 <i>Dole</i>	72 <i>Clinton</i>	9=100
October, 1992	30 <i>Bush, Sr.</i>	61 <i>Clinton</i>	9=100
March, 1992	72 <i>Bush, Sr.</i>	20 <i>Dem Candidate</i>	8=100
February, 1992	66 <i>Bush, Sr.</i>	25 <i>Dem Candidate</i>	9=100
October, 1991	78 <i>Bush, Sr.</i>	11 <i>Dem Candidate</i>	11=100

Q.23 THROUGH Q.26 BASED ON GENERAL PUBLIC:

Now thinking about Iraq...

Q.23 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=1233]:

	<u>Right</u> <u>decision</u>	<u>Wrong</u> <u>decision</u>	<u>Don't know/</u> <u>Refused</u>
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
June, 2004	55	38	7=100
May, 2004	51	42	7=100
Late April, 2004	54	37	9=100
Early April, 2004	57	35	8=100
Mid-March, 2004	55	39	6=100
Late February, 2004	60	32	8=100
Early February, 2004	56	39	5=100
Mid-January, 2004	65	30	5=100
Early January, 2004	62	28	10=100
December, 2003	67	26	7=100
October, 2003	60	33	7=100
September, 2003	63	31	6=100
August, 2003	63	30	7=100
Early July, 2003	67	24	9=100
May, 2003	74	20	6=100
<i>April 10-16, 2003</i>	<i>74</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>7=100</i>
<i>April 8-9, 2003</i>	<i>74</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>7=100</i>
<i>April 2-7, 2003</i>	<i>72</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>8=100</i>
<i>March 28-April 1, 2003</i>	<i>69</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>6=100</i>
<i>March 25-27, 2003</i>	<i>74</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>5=100</i>
<i>March 23-24, 2003</i>	<i>74</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>5=100</i>
<i>March 20-22, 2003</i>	<i>71</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>7=100</i>
Late January, 1991	77	15	9=100

Q.24 Do you think George W. Bush has a clear plan for bringing the situation in Iraq to a successful conclusion, or don't you think so?

BASED ON GENERAL PUBLIC [N=1233]:

		Early			Late		Early			
		Sept	Aug	July	June	April	April	Dec	Oct	Sept
		<u>2004</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2003</u>	<u>2003</u>	<u>2003</u>
35	Has a clear plan	36	36	34	37	36	32	44	35	32
55	Doesn't have a clear plan	55	58	59	55	54	57	45	54	58
<u>10</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>9</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>10</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.25 Do you think John Kerry has a clear plan for bringing the situation in Iraq to a successful conclusion, or don't you think so?

BASED ON GENERAL PUBLIC [N=1233]:

26	Has a clear plan
59	Doesn't have a clear plan
<u>15</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100	

And, thinking about the war on terrorism...

Q.26 Do you think the United States is winning or losing the war on terrorism?

BASED ON GENERAL PUBLIC [N=1233]:

		Early Sept	<i>ABC News/Wash Post</i>	
		<u>2004</u>	<u>July 2004</u>	<u>October 2002</u>
46	Winning	52	51	47
31	Losing	28	34	24
9	Neither (VOL)	9	10	21
<u>14</u>	Don't Know/Refused	<u>11</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>9</u>
100		100	100	101