# PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS NOVEMBER 2004 ELECTION WEEKEND SURVEY <br> FINAL TOPLINE <br> October 27-30, 2004 <br> General Public $\mathbf{N}=2,804$ <br> Registered Voters $\mathbf{N}=\mathbf{2 , 4 0 8}$ 

## 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 | (VOL.) | Only a | (VOL.) | DK/ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | A lot | Some | Little | None | Ref. |
|  | 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 allClosely 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- <br> Oct | Early <br> Sept | A | Nov | Nov | Late <br> Oct | MidOct | Early | Late <br> Oct | Early <br> Oct | Nov | Late | v |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | 2004 | 2004 | 2004 | $\underline{2002}$ | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 | 1998 | 1998 | 1996 | 1996 | 1994 |
| 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. | * | * | $\underline{0}$ | * | $\stackrel{*}{*}$ | * | $\underline{0}$ | * |  | * | * | * | * |
| $\overline{100}$ |  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

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]:

November, 2004
November, 2000
November, 1996

| Yes, <br> Registered | Absolutely <br> Certain | Chance <br> of Lapse | DK/ | Day of <br> Ref. | No, <br> registration | DK/ <br> Not Reg. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | | Ref. |
| :---: |

## IF RESPONDENT IS IN "DAY OF" STATE \& ANSWERED "NO, NOT REGISTERED" OR "DON’T HAVE TO REGISTER" IN REGIST, ASK: <br> 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]:

| Yes |
| :--- |
| 53 |
| 28 |
| Yo - GO TO Q.4 |
| $\frac{19}{10}$ |$\quad$ Don't know/Refused - GO TO Q.4

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? ${ }^{2}$

November, 2004
Mid-October, 2004
June, 2004
November, 2000
November, 1996

| Most of | Some of | Only Now | Hardly |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| The Time | the Time | and Then | at All | DK/Ref |
| 61 | 27 | 9 | 3 | *=100 |
| 63 | 26 | 8 | 3 | *=100 |
| 49 | 35 | 12 | 4 | *=100 |
| 51 | 32 | 12 | 5 | *=100 |
| 52 | 32 | 12 | 4 | *=100 |
| 43 | 37 | 13 | 6 | $1=100$ |
| 52 | 33 | 12 | 3 | *=100 |

October, 1988
2
$33 \quad 12$
*=100

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

|  |  | Nearly | Part of |  | Never | (VOL.) | (VOL.) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Always | Always | 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 |

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 |
|  |  | $\underline{2002}$ | $\underline{2000}$ | 1998 | 1998 | 1996 | 1996 | 1994 | 1988 | 1988 |
| 85 | Yes - gives answer | 88 | 84 | 90 | 87 | 88 | 85 | 93 | 89 | 86 |
| 15 | No/Don't know/Ref./No Answer | $\underline{12}$ | $\underline{16}$ | 10 | 13 | $\underline{12}$ | 15 | 7 | 11 | 14 |
| 100 |  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

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.
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. | DK | Total | Strongly | Mod. | DK |  |  |
| November, 2004 | 45 | 34 | 11 | * | 46 | 29 | 16 | 1 | 1 | 8=100 |
| 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 |  |
| 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 | $5=100$ |
|  | Bush, Sr./Lean Bush, Sr. |  |  |  | Dukakis/Lean Dukakis |  |  |  |  |  |
| 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 | $7=100$ |

NOTE SPECIAL INSTRUCTION: 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?


| $\underline{2000}$ | ----------- GORE |  |  |  | ------------- BUSH -------------- |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Total | Pro- <br> Gore | 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 |


| 1996 | ----------- CLINTON ----------- |  |  |  | DOLE -------------- |  |  |  | -PEROT--------- |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Total | ProClinton | Anti- <br> other | Un- <br> decid | Total | Pro- <br> Dole | Anti- <br> other | Un- <br> decid | Total |  | Anti- <br> Other | Undecid | Other <br> DK |
| 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 | -- | -- | -- | -- | $6=100$ |


| 1992 | ---------- CLINTON ---------- |  |  |  | ----------- BUSH, SR. ----------- |  |  |  | -------------PEROT---------- |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Total | Pro- <br> Clinton | Antiother | Undecid | Total | Pro- <br> Bush | Antiother | Undecid | Total |  | AntiOther | Un- <br> decid | Other/ DK |
| 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 |


| 1988 | Total | Pro- <br> Dukakis | AntiBush | Undecid |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Oct | 42 | 23 | 15 | 4 |
| Sept | 44 | 21 | 19 | 4 |
| May | 53 | 23 | 26 | 4 |


|  | Pro- | Anti- | Un | Other/ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Total | Bush | Dukakis | decid | DK |
| 50 | 31 | 16 | 3 | $8=100$ |
| 50 | 31 | 15 | 4 | 6=100 |
| 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/ Refused |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 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 <br> vote for Bush | Decided not to <br> vote for Bush | Don't know/ <br> Refused |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 6 | 44 |  | $5=55 \%$ |
| November, 2004 | 5 | 43 | $7=55 \%$ |  |
| Mid-October, 2004 | 9 | 39 | $4=52 \%$ |  |
| Early October, 2004 | 10 | 37 | $5=52 \%$ |  |
| September 22-26, 2004 | 9 | 39 | $7=55 \%$ |  |
| September 17-21, 2004 | 9 |  |  |  |


| Q.6b CONTINUED... | Chance might <br> vote for Bush | Decided not to <br> vote for Bush | Don't know/ <br> Refused |  |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Early September, 2004 | 9 | 38 | $4=51 \%$ <br>  <br>  <br>  <br>  <br>  <br>  <br>  <br>  <br>  <br>  <br>  <br> September 11-14 July, 2004 |

## 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 Plan To | Don't know Refused |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 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 | $1=100$ |
| 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 | $1=100$ |

[^0][^1]6 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
$\frac{*}{100}$ Don't know/Refused - GO TO SCALE10

## 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 <br> will vote |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | Definitely <br> will not vote |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\frac{10}{87}$ | $\frac{9}{4}$ | $\frac{8}{3}$ | $\frac{7}{1}$ | $\frac{6}{1}$ | $\frac{5}{1}$ | $\frac{4}{*}$ | $\frac{3}{*}$ | $\frac{2}{*}$ | $\frac{1}{2}$ | $\frac{\text { DK/Ref }}{1=100}$ |  |
| 87 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | $*$ | $*$ | $*$ | 2 | $1=100$ |  |
| 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 | $2=100$ |  |

November, $2004^{7}$
Mid-October, 2004
November, 2002 ${ }^{8 *}$
Early October, 2002*
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

[^2][^3]
## 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- <br> Oct | Early <br> Sept | June |  |
| ---: | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2004}$ |
| 9 | Before Election Day/By Mail/Absentee | 76 | 13 | 19 |
| 75 | Will vote at polling place on Election Day | 78 | 84 | 77 |
| 13 | Already voted |  |  |  |
| * | Don't know/Refused | 3 | $*$ | n/a |
| $\frac{3}{100}$ | Don't Plan to Vote/Don't Know | $\underline{2}$ | 1 | $*$ |
|  | $\underline{2}$ | $\underline{4}$ |  |  |
| 100 | 100 | 100 |  |  |

## ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS:

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?

|  |  | Nov 2000 |  | Nov 1996 |
| :---: | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Especially important | 67 |  | 61 |
| 15 | No more important than the others | 31 |  | 38 |
| $\frac{1}{10}$ | Don't Know/Refused | $\underline{\underline{2}}$ |  | $\underline{1}$ |
| 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, 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 |
| 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, 1996 ${ }^{10}$ | $1{ }^{10} 12$ Dole | 79 Clinton | $9=100$ |
| Early September, 1996 | 616 Dole | 75 Clinton | $9=100$ |

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

July, 1996
October, 1992
March, 1992
February, 1992
October, 1991

| George W. Bush |  | John Kerry |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 19 Dole | 72 Clinton | $9=100$ |
| 30 Bush, Sr. | 61 Clinton | $9=100$ |
| 72 Bush, Sr. | 2 2 Dem Candidate | $8=100$ |
| 66 Bush, Sr. | 25 Dem Candidate | $9=100$ |
| 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 |  | No |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2002}$ |  | $\underline{200}$ |  |
| 34 | Yes | 26 | 33 |  | 26 |  |
| 8 | Bush/Republicans | 7 | 7 | Republicans | 8 | Bush |
| 8 | Kerry/Democrats | 6 | 8 | Democrats | 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 | $\underline{1}$ | $\underline{1}$ |  | 1 |  |
| 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 <br> $\frac{2004}{11}$ |  |
| :---: | :--- | :---: |
| 13 | First time | 11 |
| 87 | Have voted before | 89 |
| $\frac{*}{100}$ | Don't Know/Refused | $\frac{*}{4}$ |

## NO QUESTION 12

## 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 |
| $\frac{94}{100}$ | Question not asked |

## 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 <br> decision | Wrong <br> decision | Don't know/ <br> Refused |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| November, 2004 | 48 | 41 |  |
| Mid-October, 2004 | 47 | 45 |  |
| Early October, 2004 | 53 | 41 | $8=100$ |
| 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?

|  | Excellent | Only |  | Don't know/ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | 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...
Q. 16 Do you think the United States is winning or losing the war on terrorism?

|  |  | Early <br> Oct 2004 | Early Sept <br> $\underline{2004}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: |
| 45 | Winning | 48 | 54 |
| 31 | Losing | 33 | 28 |
| 10 | Neither (VOL) | 9 | 9 |
| $\frac{14}{100}$ | Don't Know/Refused | $\underline{10}$ | $\underline{19}$ |

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 |
| :---: | :--- |
| 26 | Minor risk |
| 30 | No risk at all |
| $\frac{7}{100}$ | Don’t know/Refused (VOL.) |


[^0]:    * Non-Presidential elections

[^1]:    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.

[^2]:    * Non-Presidential elections

[^3]:    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."

[^4]:    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.

