

PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS
VOTER CALLBACK SURVEYS 2004
FINAL TOPLINE
October 21-25, 2004

NOTE: CALLBACK OF SWING VOTERS, CERTAIN KERRY AND CERTAIN BUSH VOTERS FROM THREE SEPTEMBER SURVEYS.

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

		-- Swing Voters --				Sept 2004
Certain	Certain		Now	Still		Swing
<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Total</u>	Dec- <u>ided</u>	Uncom- <u>mitted</u>		<u>Voters</u>
85	85	70	77	64	Quite a lot	61
1	2	3	3	3	Some (VOL)	5
11	11	24	17	30	Only a little	28
1	2	2	1	2	None (VOL)	4
<u>2</u>	*	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>2</u>
100	100	100	100	100		100
(N=241)	(241)	(519)	(269)	(250)		

PLANTO1 All in all, 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?

		-- Swing Voters --				Sept 2004
Certain	Certain		Now	Still		Swing
<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Total</u>	Dec- <u>ided</u>	Uncom- <u>mitted</u>		<u>Voters</u>
96	95	91	92	90	Yes, plan to vote	98
90	93	80	84	76	Absolutely certain	86
4	2	9	8	10	Fairly certain	11
2	*	2	1	4	Not certain/Don't know	1
1	1	3	2	4	No, don't plan to	1
3	3	4	4	3	Already voted (VOL)	0
<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>2</u>
100	100	100	100	100		100

SWING VOTERS

		-- Swing Voters --			
Certain	Certain		Now	Still	
<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Total</u>	Dec- <u>ided</u>	Uncom- <u>mitted</u>	
--	--	22	43	--	Certain Bush
--	--	27	52	--	Certain Kerry
--	--	3	5	--	Certain Nader
--	--	48	--	--	Swing Voter
--	--	16	--	34	Favor Bush, chance might change
--	--	13	--	28	Favor Kerry, chance might change
--	--	3	--	6	Favor Nader, chance might change
--	--	<u>16</u>	--	<u>32</u>	Undecided
		100	100	100	

Q.2 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.2, ASK:

Q.2a Do you support (INSERT PRESIDENTIAL CHOICE FROM Q.2—LAST NAME ONLY, DO NOT READ VP CHOICE) strongly or only moderately?

IF OTHER OR DK (Q.2=4,9), ASK:

Q.2b As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to [READ, ROTATE IN SAME ORDER AS Q.2]?

-- Swing Voters --						Sept 2004
Certain	Certain		Now	Still		Swing
<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Total</u>	Dec-	Uncom-		<u>Voters</u>
			<u>ided</u>	<u>mitted</u>		
97	1	38	43	34	Bush/Lean Bush	34
85	1	13	21	4	Strongly	--
12	0	26	21	30	Only moderately	--
0	0	*	*	0	Don't know	--
2	97	40	52	28	Kerry/Lean Kerry	27
0	73	11	20	1	Strongly	--
2	23	29	31	26	Only moderately	--
0	1	1	1	1	Don't know	--
0	0	6	5	6	Nader/Lean Nader	7
1	2	16	0	32	Other/Don't know	32
100	100	100	100	100		100

THOSE WHO CHOSE KERRY/EDWARDS (Q.2/Q.2b) ASK:

Q.3a 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.2/Q.2b) ASK:

Q.3b Would you say that your choice is more a vote FOR George W. Bush or more a vote AGAINST John Kerry?

-- Swing Voters --					
Certain	Certain		Now	Still	
<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Total</u>	Dec-	Uncom-	
			<u>ided</u>	<u>mitted</u>	
2	97	40	52	28	Kerry/Lean Kerry
1	48	14	17	11	Pro-Kerry
*	43	23	33	14	Anti-Bush
1	6	3	3	3	Undecided
97	1	38	43	34	Bush/Lean Bush
74	1	22	26	18	Pro-Bush
18	0	12	15	9	Anti-Kerry
5	0	4	1	6	Undecided
1	2	22	5	38	Other/Don't know
100	100	100	100	100	

IF RESPONDENT DID NOT CHOOSE KERRY IN Q.2/2b (Q.2=1,3 OR Q.2b=1,3,4,9) ASK:

Q.4a 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?

-- Swing Voters --						Sept 2004
Certain	Certain		Now	Still		Swing
<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>ided</u>	<u>mitted</u>		<u>Voters</u>
2	1	23	0	47	Chance might vote for Kerry	44
96	1	28	47	8	Decided not to vote for Kerry	12
*	<u>1</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>18</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>17</u>
98%	3%	60%	48%	73%		73%

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

Q.4b 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?

-- Swing Voters --						Sept 2004
Certain	Certain		Now	Still		Swing
<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>ided</u>	<u>mitted</u>		<u>Voters</u>
2	3	18	0	37	Chance might vote for Bush	34
1	93	34	56	10	Decided not to vote for Bush	13
*	<u>3</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>19</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>18</u>
3%	99%	62%	57%	66%		65%

ASK ALL:

Many people have been telling us that they've learned a lot about the candidates during this campaign.

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF CANDIDATES BETWEEN Q.5a AND Q.5b

Q.5a Thinking first about [George W. Bush/John Kerry], has anything happened or have you seen, or read, or heard anything over the past month that has made you think differently about him? [OPEN END: PROBE

ONCE IF "NO"/"DON'T KNOW"; NO PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL RESPONSES]

Q.5b How about [George W. Bush/ John Kerry]? Has anything happened or have you seen, or read, or heard anything over the past month that has made you think differently about him?

-- Swing Voters --					
Certain	Certain		Now	Still	
<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>ided</u>	<u>mitted</u>	
18	33	30	34	25	Debates
9	4	8	9	7	Stories (NET)
5	12	11	11	11	Media (NET)
27	41	40	39	41	Issues (NET)
4	16	14	11	17	Iraq
33	23	23	25	19	Qualities (NET)
21	21	21	18	23	Other/Don't know

NO QUESTION 6

Q.7 Would you say it has been **[INSERT ITEM; ROTATE]** to make a decision about who to vote for this year, or has it been **[NEXT ITEM]** to make a decision?

		-- Swing Voters --			
		Now	Still		
Certain	Certain	Dec-	Uncom-		
<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>ided</u>	<u>mitted</u>	
13	15	63	49	78	Hard
87	83	35	50	20	Easy
<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	100	100	100	100	

ASK SWING VOTERS ONLY:

Q.8 As I read a statement, please tell me if you agree or disagree. First, **[INSERT ITEM; ROTATE]**

a. I still don't know enough about Bush and Kerry.

		-- Swing Voters --			
		Now	Still		
Certain	Certain	Dec-	Uncom-		
<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>ided</u>	<u>mitted</u>	
--	--	42	34	50	Agree
--	--	54	65	43	Disagree
--	--	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>7</u>	Don't know/Refused
		100	100	100	

b. I find myself agreeing with George W. Bush on SOME important issues, and agreeing with John Kerry on OTHER important issues.

		-- Swing Voters --			
		Now	Still		
Certain	Certain	Dec-	Uncom-		
<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>ided</u>	<u>mitted</u>	
--	--	66	58	76	Agree
--	--	29	40	17	Disagree
--	--	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>7</u>	Don't know/Refused
		100	100	100	

c. I think EITHER Bush or Kerry would make a good president.

		-- Swing Voters --			
		Now	Still		
Certain	Certain	Dec-	Uncom-		
<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>ided</u>	<u>mitted</u>	
--	--	37	30	45	Agree
--	--	51	63	37	Disagree
--	--	<u>12</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>18</u>	Don't know/Refused
		100	100	100	

NO QUESTION 9

ASK ALL:

Q.10 As far as making progress on the important issues facing the country is concerned, does it really matter who wins the 2004 presidential election, or will things be pretty much the same regardless of who is elected president?

		-- Swing Voters --			
		Now		Still	
Certain	Certain	Total	Dec-	Uncom-	
<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>ided</u>	<u>mitted</u>	
83	82	63	71	53	Really matters who wins the 2004 presidential election
14	14	31	24	39	Things will pretty much be the same regardless
<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>8</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	100	100	100	100	

Q.11 Did you happen to watch any of the presidential debates this year, or didn't you get a chance to see them?
IF YES, ASK: Did you watch a lot, some, or only a little?

		-- Swing Voters --			
		Now		Still	
Certain	Certain	Total	Dec-	Uncom-	
<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>ided</u>	<u>mitted</u>	
85	85	75	79	71	YES, watched debates NET
49	51	36	43	30	<i>Watched a lot / all of them</i>
28	17	26	25	27	<i>Watched some</i>
8	17	13	11	14	<i>Watched a little</i>
14	15	25	21	29	No, didn't watch
<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>*</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	100	100	100	100	

IF 'YES' (1-3 IN Q.11) ASK:

Q.12 Overall, who do you think did the better job in the presidential debates — George W. Bush or John Kerry?

		-- Swing Voters --			
		Now		Still	
Certain	Certain	Total	Dec-	Uncom-	
<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>ided</u>	<u>mitted</u>	
43	1	13	14	12	Bush
27	76	44	52	37	Kerry
13	7	12	10	13	Neither/Both (VOL.)
2	1	6	3	9	Don't know/Refused
<u>15</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>29</u>	No, didn't watch debate/Don't know/Refused
100	100	100	100	100	

Q.13 Which one of the following issues would you say is most important to you as you decide who to vote for this year... [READ AND RANDOMIZE ITEMS 1 THRU 4 WITH 5 ALWAYS LAST] [PROBE IF SAYS MORE THAN ONE: I understand... do you think there is ONE that is MOST important?]

-- Swing Voters --					
		Now		Still	
Certain	Certain		Dec-	Uncom-	
<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>ided</u>	<u>mitted</u>	
15	41	32	36	29	The economy
9	17	18	18	19	Health care
16	24	16	18	13	Iraq
43	6	16	14	18	Terrorism
14	9	12	10	14	Or something else [SPECIFY: _____]
<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>7</u>	Don't know/Refused [VOL.]
100	100	100	100	100	

ROTATE Q.14 AND Q.15

Q.14 Would you say your overall opinion of John Kerry is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? [INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE."]

-- Swing Voters --						Sept 2004
		Now		Still		Swing
Certain	Certain		Dec-	Uncom-		<u>Voters</u>
<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>ided</u>	<u>mitted</u>		
7	93	54	56	52	FAVORABLE	45
*	39	10	13	6	Very	6
6	54	44	42	47	Mostly	39
92	2	35	42	28	UNFAVORABLE	33
47	1	9	11	7	Very	8
45	2	26	31	21	Mostly	25
0	0	0	0	0	Never heard of (VOL)	*
<u>1</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>20</u>	Can't Rate/Refused (VOL)	<u>22</u>
100	100	100	100	100		100

Q.15 Would you say your overall opinion of George W. Bush is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? [INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE."]

-- Swing Voters --						Sept 2004
		Now		Still		Swing
Certain	Certain		Dec-	Uncom-		<u>Voters</u>
<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>ided</u>	<u>mitted</u>		
96	6	50	47	52	FAVORABLE	54
48	1	9	13	5	Very	12
48	5	41	35	47	Mostly	42
3	91	41	51	31	UNFAVORABLE	30
1	57	15	19	11	Very	11
2	34	26	32	19	Mostly	19
0	0	0	0	0	Never heard of (VOL)	0
<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>17</u>	Can't Rate/Refused (VOL)	<u>16</u>
100	100	100	100	100		100

Q.16 Do you happen to know which candidate... [INSERT ITEM, ROTATE] George W. Bush, John Kerry, both or neither?

a. Favors allowing workers to invest some of their Social Security contributions in the stock market?

		-- Swing Voters --			
			Now	Still	
Certain	Certain		Dec-	Uncom-	
<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>ided</u>	<u>mitted</u>	
66	61	44	48	40	Bush
9	6	14	13	15	Kerry
3	5	2	2	2	Both
3	5	7	5	8	Neither
<u>20</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>34</u>	Don't know (VOL)
100	100	100	100	100	

b. Favors federal funding of medical research using stem cells from human embryos?

		-- Swing Voters --			
			Now	Still	
Certain	Certain		Dec-	Uncom-	
<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>ided</u>	<u>mitted</u>	
6	6	8	8	7	Bush
66	74	59	62	56	Kerry
13	4	7	9	5	Both
3	1	4	5	3	Neither
<u>12</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>29</u>	Don't know (VOL)
100	100	100	100	100	

Thinking about Iraq for a moment...

Q.17 Do you think the U.S. made the right decision or the wrong decision in using military force against Iraq?

		-- Swing Voters --				Sept 2004
			Now	Still		Swing
Certain	Certain		Dec-	Uncom-		Voters
<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>ided</u>	<u>mitted</u>		<u>Voters</u>
89	11	43	40	46	Right decision	45
4	84	44	51	36	Wrong decision	41
7	5	13	9	18	Don't know/Refused	14
100	100	100	100	100		100

And finally...

PARTY In politics today, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat or Independent?

		-- Swing Voters --				Sept 2004
Certain	Certain		Now	Still		Swing
<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Dec-</u>	<u>Uncom-</u>		<u>Voters</u>
66	4	18	18	18	Republican	19
6	66	27	28	24	Democrat	23
26	28	46	49	44	Independent	44
1	1	6	4	8	No Preference (VOL.)	7
0	0	1	*	1	Other (VOL.)	*
<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>5</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>7</u>
100	100	100	100	100		100

IF ANSWERED 3, 4, 5 OR 9 IN PARTY, ASK:

PARTYLN As of today do you lean more to the Republican Party or more to the Democratic Party?

		-- Swing Voters --				Sept 2004
Certain	Certain		Now	Still		Swing
<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>ided</u>	<u>mited</u>		<u>Voters</u>
23	*	20	20	19	Republican	16
1	26	17	22	13	Democrat	19
<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>26</u>	Other/Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>22</u>
28%	29%	56%	54%	58%		57%