

**NEWS** Release

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# **Strong Interest in Debates KERRY SUPPORT REBOUNDS, RACE AGAIN EVEN**

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#### **Strong Interest in Debates**

### KERRY SUPPORT REBOUNDS, RACE AGAIN EVEN

Voter opinion in the presidential race has seesawed dramatically in the first two weeks of September. Following a successful nominating convention, George W. Bush broke open a deadlocked contest and jumped out to a big lead over John Kerry. However, polling this past week finds that Bush's edge over his Democratic rival has eroded. Reflecting this new volatility in the race, the size of the swing vote has increased slightly since the summer, rather than contracting as it typically does as the election approaches.

The latest national survey of 1,972 registered voters by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, conducted in two waves over a seven-day period, finds that the president's large margin of support in the initial period (Sept. 8-10) dissipated in the polling conducted Sept. 11-14. Among all registered voters Bush initially led Kerry by 52%-40%. However, the second wave of interviewing shows the race even among registered voters, at 46%-46%. When the sample is narrowed to likely voters, Bush holds a statistically insignificant lead of 47%-46% in the second wave, down from a huge 54%-38% advantage he held in the first wave of interviews.

The shifting voter sentiment observed in this poll reflects a number of cross currents in public opinion. Hard-hitting attacks against the Democratic challenger throughout August and during the Republican convention took a heavy toll on Kerry's personal image. Kerry's positive support waned, fewer voters expressed confidence in him to deal with major issues, and perceptions of him as a 'flip-flopper' rose noticeably.

A Roller Coaster September							
Registered Voters Bush Kerry Nader Other/DK	Aug <u>5-10</u> % 45 47 2 <u>6</u>	%	Sept 11-14 % 46 46 1 7				
<b>N</b> T	100	100	100				
N =	(1,166)	(970)	(1,002)				
Likely Vote	ers*						
Bush		54	47				
Kerry		38	46				
Nader		2	1				
Other/DK		<u>6</u> 100	<u>6</u> 100				
N=		(787)	(764)				
* Likely voters based on a six question							

\* Likely voters based on a six question turnout scale which assumes that 55% of the voting age population will go to the polls.

In contrast, Bush improved his personal image in early September and erased or reduced his rival's advantage on most issues. At the same time, however, Bush showed continued vulnerability on Iraq and the economy. A plurality of the public still disapproved of the president's stewardship of the economy. While opinion of his handling of Iraq has inched up since the early summer, nearly six-in-ten voters (58%) say it is not clear what Bush will do about Iraq if he is reelected.

As more time has passed since the Aug. 30-Sept.2 Republican convention, Kerry's unfavorable ratings have receded somewhat. And while Kerry no longer holds the big advantage he once had on most issues, his standing relative to Bush has rebounded slightly on the economy.

The second wave of polling also finds less acceptance of Republican criticism of the Democratic candidate. Fewer voters agree with the statement "John Kerry changes his mind too much." Fewer think the chances of terrorism would increase if Kerry is elected. In addition, a substantial majority of voters (66%) believe Vice President Cheney went too far when he suggested recently that risk of terrorism would increase if voters "make the wrong choice." That opinion remained steady through the polling period.

Favorability Gap Narrows					
	Aug	Sept 8-10	Sept 11-14		
Opinion of Bush	%	%	%		
Favorable	58	55	49		
Unfavorable	39	40	46		
Don't know	<u>3</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100		
Opinion of Kerry					
Favorable	56	50	51		
Unfavorable	36	44	40		
Don't know	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>9</u>		
	100	100	100		
Who's most					
likely to win?*					
Bush	44	59	61		
Kerry	37	22	23		
Don't know	<u>19</u> 100	<u>19</u> 100	<u>16</u> 100		
Based on registered voters. Asked Sept 8-13 only.					

Yet in several other areas, the Democratic contender has not recaptured the ground he lost

in August. A majority of the electorate (52%) believes Bush can best handle the situation in Iraq, while 40% choose Kerry. And Bush's advantage over Kerry on dealing with the threat of terrorism, which widened considerably in the Sept. 8-10 survey, remains undiminished.

Bush's biggest personal asset is his strong leadership image. By roughly two-to-one (58%-30%) voters say the phrase "strong leader" describes Bush rather than Kerry, and that view remained steady through the polling period. Moreover, Bush's supporters cite his leadership abilities as a basis of their vote far more often than did President Clinton's supporters during his reelection campaign in 1996, or former President Bush's backers four years earlier.

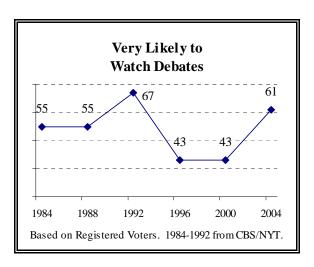
The firm commitment of the president's constituency also stands out. George W. Bush registers a higher proportion of strong support than any other

Kerry Comes Back on Economy, Not on Iraq					
Who can best handle*		Sept	Sept		
Economy	Aug	8-10	11-13		
Bush	37	44	40		
Kerry	52	44	46		
Job situation	32		40		
Bush	35	40	40		
Kerry	53	45	47		
Situation in Iraq	00		• ,		
Bush	44	52	52		
Kerry	46	3 <del>2</del>	40		
Terrorism	10	5,	10		
Bush	49	59	58		
Kerry	39	30	31		
			Sept		
Bush approval	<u>July</u>	Aug	8-14		
Economy	42	42	44		
Foreign policy	40	42	47		
Iraq	42	43	47		
Terrorism	54	58	62		
Based on registered voters					

candidate in elections dating back to 1988. In contrast, Kerry's supporters have lost some zeal since early August, and more continue to say they are voting *against* Bush rather than *for* Kerry.

Kerry's slippage in the post-convention polls also has undermined confidence in his chances of victory, including among Democrats. The percentage of all voters anticipating a Bush victory climbed from 44% in August to 60% in September, a figure that held steady through the polling period. Among Democrats, the number predicting a Kerry victory fell from 66% in August to 43% this month.

The tightening race underscores the stakes for both candidates in the upcoming presidential debates. The public remains highly engaged in the campaign: 71% say they have given a lot of thought to the election and 40% are following election news very closely, up from just 22% four years ago. This increased attentiveness is carrying over into heightened interest in the debates. Six-in-ten voters (61%) say it is very likely they will watch the debates between Bush and Kerry, which is significantly higher than debate interest in the last two elections.



In general, campaign 2004 continues to get high marks from the voters. Nearly all voters (90%) view the campaign as "important," and 63% believe it has been "informative." Moreover, the number who describe the campaign as "interesting" increased sharply over the summer, from 31% in June to 50% currently. Reflecting the campaign's recent nasty turn, however, more voters also characterize the campaign as "too negative" -62% say that now, compared with 46% two months ago.

#### Other key findings of the survey:

- \* Slightly more voters think that President Bush did not meet all of his service obligations while in the National Guard than say he did (43% vs. 33%). But only about a quarter (26%) say it bothers them.
- \* John Edwards' favorable ratings have declined from 58% in August to 49% and he runs about even with Dick Cheney in a match-up of vice-presidential running mates (46% Edwards/44% Cheney).
- \* The questions surrounding Bush and Kerry's service during the Vietnam war have drawn much more attention from committed voters than swing voters. Fewer than one-in-five swing voters are following either story very closely.
- \* More than half of all voters and 64% of swing voters agree with the statement: "It's not clear what George W. Bush is going to do about Iraq if he is reelected."
- \* This month's tragedy at a Russian school, during which scores of children were killed by Chechen separatists, has drawn wide attention in the U.S. About the same number followed the school tragedy very closely as followed the opening of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Soviet Union.

#### SECTION I: CANDIDATE SUPPORT

John Kerry's gains in recent days have helped to bring him back into contention for the support of key voting blocs and to restore his lead among groups that had favored him when the race was deadlocked throughout the summer.

But President Bush continues to enjoy a strong advantage among his base supporters. Significantly, the president also made gains in the battleground states since his convention and has not lost that support in the second wave of September polling.

In the aftermath of the Democratic convention in early August, Kerry led among women, young voters, as well as low-income voters. But during August, many of these advantages were wiped out. The Democrat dropped 18 points among voters making less than \$20,000 a year, and 17 points among young people age 18-29. But in polling over the past several days, Kerry has regained his lead in all of these groups and now holds a lead among those age 65 and older.

A similar seesaw pattern occurred among two contested constituencies. After the Democratic convention, Kerry led by eight points among independent voters and had battled Bush to a draw among white Catholics. In the aftermath of the Republican convention, Kerry trailed Bush by 12 points among independents and by 21 points among white Catholics. But he has now drawn even among

Breakdown of Presidential Support						
		gust <u>Kerry</u> %		Sept 8-10 BushKerry % %		11-14 <u>Kerry</u> %
All voters	45	47	52	40	% 46	46
Men	50	42	56	37	49	43
Women	42	52	48	42	43	48
White	52	42	58	34	52	40
Non-White	15	75	23	69	18	70
Black	6	83	13	78	13	76
White -Evang. ProtestMainline ProtestCatholic Secular	71	23	70	25	74	21
	49	43	57	36	52	40
	47	50	56	35	49	42
	23	67	36	50	23	67
18-29	35	53	55	35	41	55
30-49	50	44	54	39	49	41
50-64	45	50	47	44	50	45
65+	43	48	53	37	37	50
College Grad	46	50	49	44	48	44
Some College	49	43	53	35	52	38
H.S. Grad or Less	43	48	54	39	40	52
\$75K+	54	43	58	36	57	37
\$50K - \$75K	52	42	57	37	56	38
\$30K - \$50K	50	45	54	36	40	54
\$20K - \$30K	37	56	39	57	37	52
<\$20K	26	60	52	42	39	52
Rep States Dem States Battleground	51	42	59	32	50	41
	44	48	45	44	36	53
	41	52	52	42	49	44
Conserv. Rep.	98	1	96	3	97	2
Mod./Lib. Rep.	85	11	90	9	83	9
Independents	40	48	50	39	41	44
Cons./Mod. Dem.	6	91	13	79	12	82
Liberal Dem.	2	93	4	89	3	97
Male veteran	60	34	56	38	51	40
Male, non-vet	45	46	57	36	48	44

independents and trails the president by only seven points among Catholics.

By contrast, President Bush has maintained a strong lead among some of his key base constituencies. After the Democratic convention, he led Kerry among white men by 18 percentage points, an advantage that ballooned to 30 points shortly after the Republican convention. Even with Kerry's recent gains, the president still has a 19 point-lead in this group. Similarly, Bush's advantage among upper-income voters is larger today than it was after the Democratic convention.

Among white evangelical Protestants, another important segment of Bush's base, the events of the past month have had little impact. Bush led by 48 points in early August, by 45 points after the Republican convention, and by 53 points today (74% to 21%).

But the survey suggests that partisan battling over the military service records of Bush and Kerry has not helped the president's standing among male military veterans. Just after the Democratic convention, Pew's poll found Bush leading Kerry by a margin of 60% to 34% among veterans. In the days following the Republican convention, where Kerry's qualifications to be commander-in-chief were questioned by many speakers, Bush's lead among veterans was slightly narrower (56% to 38%). In the most recent polling, it has slipped to 51%-40%.

#### Kerry's Support Still Negative

Throughout the campaign, Kerry's support has been more anti-Bush than pro-Kerry, while Bush's voters have been far more positive about his candidacy than negative about Kerry's. In the

aftermath of the Democratic convention in early August, Kerry registered an uptick in the percentage of his voters who said they are voting *for* him, but that shift has not lasted. Last month 43% of Kerry supporters said they mainly were voting for him, while 51% said they were mainly were voting against President Bush. In the current poll — both in early and later interviewing — negative voters outnumber positive voters by a bigger margin than in August.

Bush Support Overwhelmingly Positive							
Bush Supporters Voting for Bush Voting against Kerry Don't know	Feb % 84 12 4	% 79		% 73 23	% 75	% 76 20	Sept 11-14 % 78 17 5
Warren Carran and ann	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Kerry Supporters Vote for Kerry	33	40	30	37	43	35	34
Voting against Bush Don't know					_	59 <u>6</u> 100	61 <u>5</u> 100

By contrast, the overwhelming majority of Bush voters continue to say that their vote is

mostly a vote *for* the president (78% in the most recent interviewing) rather than against Kerry (17%), a result essentially unchanged from the August poll.

Even with some erosion of support in the second wave of September interviewing, Bush continues to command high levels of strong support: 30% say they support him strongly, down from 36% in the first part of the field period. His current level of strong support exceeds the level of intense support that Bill Clinton had at the same point in 1996 (26%), or that Clinton had against Bush's father in October 1992 (23%). By contrast, fewer of Kerry's voters say they strongly favor him – 22% now, down from 28% in the August survey following the Democratic convention.

#### More Swing Voters

The survey finds a significant number of voters are still not certain about their choice. The percentage of registered voters who fall into the category of "swing"

voters" – those who only lean to one candidate, those who say they might change their mind, and those who are completely undecided – is slightly higher in the most recent interviewing (25%) than it was throughout the late spring and early summer (21-22%).

In the initial wave of polling (Sept. 8-10), Bush held an advantage among voters who are certain about their choice, having moved from 38% to 43% since the August poll. At the same time, the number of certain Kerry voters dropped from 40% in August to just 33% in the Sept. 8-10 survey. But Kerry has now regained most of the certain support he had lost (39% say they are sure to vote for him), while Bush's certain support has dropped from 43% to 36%.

#### **Bush Tops Gore, Clinton, and Bush Sr. in Strong Support** moderate Strong /DKTotal Sept 11-14, 2004 % % % Bush **30** 46 16 Kerry 46 22 24 Sept 8-10, 2004 Bush 52 36 16 Kerry 40 22 18 September 2000 George W. Bush 41 21 20 Al Gore 47 25 22 Early Sept 1996 52 26 Bill Clinton 26 Bob Dole 34 17 17 Early Oct 1992

35

48

14

23

21

25

#### Many Voters Yet to be Convinced

George Bush

Bill Clinton

						Sept	Sept
	<u>Feb</u>	Mar	May	<u>June</u>	Aug	8-10	<u>11-14</u>
Registered voters	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Certain Bush	33	34	36	40	38	43	36
Certain Kerry	38	40	42	39	40	33	39
Certain Nader					1	1	1
Swing voters	29	26	22	21	22	24	25
Favor Bush	13	11	9	8	7	9	9
Favor Kerry	10	9	8	7	8	7	7
Favor Nader					1	1	1
Undecided	6	6	5	6	6	7	<u>7</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

"Certain" voters are those who support a candidate and say there is "no chance" they might vote for the opponent. Analysis based on two-way trial heats from Feb through June, three-way trial heats in August and Sept.

#### SECTION II: PERCEPTIONS OF THE CANDIDATES

A large majority of voters (72%) believe that Bush and Kerry take different positions from each other on the issues, compared with 19% who see their positions as similar. That is up slightly from June, when 68% saw differences between the candidates' positions.

Far more voters see clear distinctions between the candidates than did so four years ago. At the end of the 2000 campaign, just 60% said George Bush and Al Gore took different positions on the issues. At this stage in 2000, 56% said the candidates took different positions.

However, while more voters perceive differences in positions taken by the candidates, a sizable minority (31%) says the candidates are not talking about the issues that matter to them. In September 2000, a smaller number (22%) said the candidates were not addressing the issues that matter to them, while 72% said they were talking about those issues.

Committed Bush voters are significantly more satisfied with the focus of the campaign than are Kerry voters or swing voters. Seven-in-ten Bush voters (71%)

Clear Differences in Candidates' Positions					
<u>D</u>	ifferen	t Simila	r <u>DK</u>		
	%	%	%		
Sept 2004	72	19	9=100		
June 2004	68	21	11=100		
Late Oct 2000	60	34	6=100		
Early Oct 2000	61	30	9=100		
Sept 2000	56	32	12=100		
June 2000	51	33	16=100		
Based on registered voters.					

Candidates Talking About Important Issues?						
Certain Certain Swing						
	<u>Total</u>	Bush	Kerry	voter		
	%	%	%	%		
Yes	64	71	63	55		
No	31	25	33	39		
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>		
	100	$1\overline{00}$	$1\overline{00}$	100		
Based on registered voters.						

say the candidates are talking about the issues that are important to them, compared with 63% of certain Kerry voters. Slightly more than half of swing voters (55%) think the campaigns are talking about the important issues.

#### Kerry's Bad Month

Last month, following the Democratic convention, Kerry enjoyed a sizable advantage over Bush on most domestic issues and held his own with the president on foreign policy and Iraq. The only issue on which he trailed Bush by a statistically significant margin was terrorism. For his part, Bush held a decided edge on most positive personal characteristics, including strong leadership.

But the dynamics of the race shifted, and Bush moved out to significant leads on handling Iraq, improving the nation's moral climate and making wise decisions about foreign policy. Equally important, Bush eliminated Kerry's sizable edge on education. However, Bush has been unable to make inroads into Kerry's big advantage on health care.

Bush also continues to lead on most key character traits. By a substantial margin, he is seen as the candidate "willing to take a stand, even if unpopular." He also is widely viewed as "a strong leader"; the candidate who would "use good judgment in a crisis"; and "down to earth." Kerry's standing on these character traits has not improved since August, nor did they change significantly in the second wave of September polling.

Where Kerry has made progress recently is on voter assessments of which candidate is "personally likable." In August, about the same number said that phrase described Bush as said Kerry (43% vs. 41%), but Bush took an 18-point lead on this measure in polling conducted Sept. 8-10 (51%-33%). That lead dissipated in the most recent interviewing, and the candidates are again about even on this question. In addition, a plurality of voters now says the phrase "cares about people like me" better describes Kerry than Bush (46% vs. 38%). Bush had drawn virtually even with Kerry in the initial September polling, but Kerry has regained the small lead he held in

#### **Bush Gains on** Foreign Policy, Morality Sept Sept 8-10 Who can 11-13 Aug best handle... % Foreign policy Bush 43 54 51 Kerry 47 35 39 Morality Bush 41 52 50 Kerry 45 34 32 Education Bush 36 42 43 Kerry 53 43 43 Health care 29 Bush 34 30 55 49 Kerry 53 Based on registered voters.

Bush's Character Edge					
Character trait		Sept	Sept		
better describes	Aug	<u>8-10</u>	<u>11-13</u>		
Stubborn	%	%	%		
Bush	68	72	73		
Kerry	12	12	12		
Takes a stand					
Bush	62	70	67		
Kerry	29	22	23		
Strong leader					
Bush	57	59	57		
Kerry	34	29	30		
Good judgment in cri	isis				
Bush	50	55	52		
Kerry	38	34	33		
Down to earth					
Bush	48	52	48		
Kerry	39	34	39		
Honest and truthful					
Bush	42	44	41		
Kerry	38	35	36		
Changes mind					
Bush	28	20	26		
Kerry	47	58	53		
Based on registered voters	S.				

August.

In terms of negative traits, the vast majority of voters continue to perceive Bush rather than Kerry as "stubborn." And most say the phrase "changes his mind too much" applies to Kerry rather than Bush, though the number declined slightly in the second wave of interviewing.

Some Changing Perceptions					
Character trait		Sept	Sept		
better describes	Aug	8-10	11-13		
Personally likable	%	%	%		
Bush	43	51	42		
Kerry	41	33	40		
Cares about people					
Bush	39	44	38		
Kerry	45	41	46		
Based on registered voters.					

#### Leadership Key for Bush

Typically, voters rate issues as the most important factor – both positively and negatively – in their decision on whom to support. This is certainly the case for Kerry – 52% of his supporters cite his stance on the issues as what they like most about him. And about the same number of Kerry's opponents (53%) say his position on the issues is what they like *least* about him.

But Bush is a singular exception. Among his supporters, Bush's leadership qualities are cited as often as his issue stances as the most important factor shaping their preference (41% leadership, 42% issues). Leadership also is frequently pointed to by Bush's opponents as what they like least about him, although more mention issues (by 46% to 28%).

Dating back to 1992, no candidate's support has been as heavily predicated on his leadership. In 1996, when Clinton ran for reelection, his supporters overwhelmingly cited his stance on issues as the

Bush's Support Based More on Leadership					
E	Bush, Sr	Clinton	Bush	Bush	
	Oct	Sept	June	Sept	
Like <u>most</u>	<u>1992</u>	1996	2004	2004	
about candidate	2 %	%	%	%	
Leadership	26	24	33	41	
Stand on issues	19	49	49	42	
Personality	15	14	8	8	
Experience	35	6	4	4	
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	
	100	100	100	100	
Based on the candidate's supporters. Incumbent candidates in 1992 and 1996 shown for comparison.					

most important factor (49% vs. 24% leadership). And when Bush's father ran for a second term in 1992, a plurality of his supporters cited his experience. Issues were a relatively minor factor in support for Bush Sr. Just 19% mentioned issues, compared with 68% of Clinton's supporters in the 1992 campaign.

#### Candidate Impressions

Overall, most voters agree with the statement: "John Kerry changes his mind too much." But somewhat fewer people expressed this sentiment in the latter stage of polling than in the first phase (53% vs. 59%).

There also was a modest shift in opinion on the statement "The chance of another terrorist attack would increase if John Kerry were elected." Voters disagreed with this statement by a 53%-39% margin in the survey's first wave, but by a greater margin subsequently (60%-30%).

As might be expected, there is a considerable degree of partisanship in these attitudes. A solid majority of Bush supporters (64%) believes that the risk of terrorism would increase if Kerry is selected. Kerry's supporters disagree (86%), and 56% completely disagree.

Most Say Terror Risk No Greater Under Kerry						
Dis-						
<u> </u>	<u>Agree</u>	agree	DK			
Kerry changes his	%	%	%			
mind too much						
Sept 8-10	59	36	5=100			
Sept 11-13	53	41	6=100			
Terror attack great if he is elected	ter					
Sept 8-10	40	53	7=100			
Sept 11-13	30	60	10=100			

A narrow majority of all voters (52%) agree with the statement: "John Kerry is an anti-war candidate." Roughly seven-in-ten certain Bush voters (71%) agree with the statement, but there is a substantial measure of division among committed Kerry voters: 39% agree that he is an "anti-war candidate," while 53% disagree.

A similar pattern is evident in perceptions of Bush, which did not change significantly through the polling period. Roughly six-in-ten voters (58%) agree that it is "not clear what George W. Bush is going to do about Iraq if he is reelected." While a large majority of Kerry voters agree with this statement (82%), so do a sizable minority of committed Bush voters (32%).

Majorities of voters also agree that Bush "seems like a real person rather than a politician," and with the statement: "I like the fact that George W. Bush doesn't over-complicate issues." But committed Kerry supporters overwhelmingly disagree with both of these positive sentiments about Bush.

The statement "I worry that George W. Bush will take America into another war" triggers the most intense reaction among Kerry supporters. Nearly nine-in-ten certain Kerry voters agree with this statement, and 60% completely agree. Committed Bush supporters reject this statement by a five-to-one margin (80%-16%).

#### Swing Voters' Impressions

For the most part, swing voters are not significantly different from the rest of the electorate in their impressions of the candidates. For example, a large majority of swing voters (64%) agree with the statement: "It's not clear what George Bush is going to do about Iraq if he is reelected."

Most swing voters also agree with positive characterizations of Bush's personality – that he does not overcomplicate issues and that he is "a real person rather than a politician."

Swing Voters' Impressions	of the	e Candid	ates
	Agree	Disagree	<u>DK</u>
George W. Bush	%	%	%
Unclear what he'll do on Iraq	64	25	11=100
Real person, not a politician	56	38	6=100
Doesn't over-complicate issues	54	34	12=100
Worry he'll take US into war	52	41	7=100
Too partisan and divisive	45	39	16=100
John Kerry			
Like that he considers many views	60	25	15=100
Changes his mind too much	51	36	13=100
'Anti-war' candidate	43	41	16=100
Chance of terrorism would rise	25	60	15=100
Based on voters who say they are undecided could change their vote.	d or say t	here is a char	nce they

Swing voters also tend to agree with the positive characterization of Kerry: "I like the fact that John Kerry considers many points of view when making a decision." However, about half (51%) also believe he changes his mind too much. Just a quarter of swing voters agree that the chance of terrorism would increase if Kerry is elected president.

#### More Ideological Views of Bush and Kerry

Somewhat more voters view Bush as conservative and Kerry as liberal than did so earlier this year. Among those who can rate President Bush, 60% place him at the conservative end of the six-point conservative-liberal scale (points 1 or 2). This is up from March of this year (53%). Similarly, slightly more voters place John Kerry on the liberal side of the scale (points 5 and 6) now (49%) than in March (44%).

Republicans, Democrats, and independents all see Bush as conservative, though more Republicans today than in March hold this perception (the percentage placing him on the conservative end of the scale rose from 46% to 59%). But views of Kerry's

Bigger Ideological Divide Between the Candidates									
Percent rating Bush									
"conservative" Change									
	Jan March Sept Mar-Sept								
Total	58	53	60	+7					
Republicans	61	47	60	+13					
Democrats	56	59	62	+3					
Independents	56	51	58	+7					
Percent rating Kerry									
	Change								
	Jan ]	March	Sept	Mar-Sept					
Total	30	44	49	+5					
Republicans	39	67	64	-3					
Democrats	24	32	38	+6					
Independents	27	38	47	+9					
* Based on registe				ate the					

<sup>\*</sup> Based on registered voters who could rate the candidates on an ideological scale from 1 to 6, where ratings of 1 or 2 signify "conservative" and ratings of 5 and 6 signify "liberal".

ideological leanings are very different across partisan groups. Just 38% of Democrats see him as liberal (up six points since March), while 64% of Republicans view him this way (down 3 points). Almost half of independents now see him as liberal (47%, up from 38% in March).

#### SECTION III: VIEWS OF THE CAMPAIGN

Views of the campaign, which were already mostly positive in June, have improved over the summer. More voters think the campaign is important (90%) and informative (63%). And the number who say the campaign is interesting, rather than dull, has risen from 35% in June to 50% now.

Although voters are more engaged in the campaign, an increasing number also view it as excessively negative. Fully 62% say the campaign is too negative, up from 46% in June.

Since then, more voters believe that both candidates have been too personally critical but the change has been more apparent in evaluations of Bush. About half of voters (49%) now believe Bush has been too personally critical of Kerry, up from 33% in June. A similar percentage (52%) says Kerry has been too personally critical of Bush, compared with 44% in June.

This represents a significant change from the 2000 campaign. In early October 2000, just 29% said Al Gore was being too critical of Bush, while somewhat more (40%) felt Bush was being too personally critical of Gore. Current evaluations of the tone of the campaign are similar to the 1988 contest. In October 1988, 52% of voters felt that George Bush Sr. was being too critical of Michael Dukakis, while 45% said the same about Dukakis's criticisms of Bush.

#### Swing Voters View the Campaign

As expected, Bush and Kerry supporters overwhelmingly blame the opposing candidate for being too personally critical. By contrast, swing voters blame both Bush and Kerry for being excessively critical (59% say Bush, 57% Kerry).

<b>Mostly Thumbs</b>	Up F	or Ca	ampaign
	<u>June</u>	<u>Sept</u>	<u>Change</u>
Describing	%	%	
the election			
Important	82	90	+8
Informative	48	63	+15
Interesting	35	50	+15
Too negative	46	62	+16
Too long	53	53	0
Hard to follow	30	21	-9
Candidates too personally critical			
Bush has been	33	49	+16
Kerry has been	44	52	+8
Based on registered vote	ers.		

#### Fewer Swing Voters See Campaign as Interesting

	Vote Preference						
	Certain	Swing					
Candidates too	Bush	Kerry	Voter*				
personally critical	%	%	%				
Bush has been	20	72	59				
Kerry has been	75	23	57				
Election is							
Too negative	58	65	64				
Too long	53	56	48				
Hard to follow	16	23	28				
Important Informative	92 70 57	92 61 49	87 55 40				
Interesting	51	49	40				

<sup>\*</sup> Based on voters who are undecided or say there is a chance they could change their vote.

In general, the campaign perceptions of swing voters are not markedly different from those of committed voters. However, swing voters tend to find the campaign less interesting than other voters. Four-in- ten swing voters say the campaign is interesting, while 50% say it is dull. In addition, somewhat more swing voters than either Bush or Kerry voters say they find the campaign hard to follow. But swing voters are less likely than committed voters to say the campaign is too long.

#### Battleground Ad Wars

Ad penetration is extensive in this election, especially in the battleground states where most voters have seen at least some campaign ads. The greater visibility of the campaign in the battleground states appears to be contributing to voter weariness with the election. More voters in the battleground say the election is too long and too negative compared with those in other states.

Exposure to the campaign advertisements is reaching saturation level in the ad-intensive battleground states. Four-in-ten voters in battleground states say they have seen a lot of Kerry's campaign commercials, and the same number (40%) report seeing a lot of Bush's ads. That compares with 17% in other states who have seen a lot of Kerry ads, and 18% who report seeing a lot of Bush's ads.

Ads Blanket the Battleground States								
Kerry campaign ads	Battle- ground %	Other states %						
Seen a lot Some	40 33	17 28						
Once or twice None	18 8	24 30						
DK/Ref  Bush campaign ads	100	$\frac{1}{100}$						
Seen a lot Some	40 32	18 28						
Once or twice None	19 9	24 30						
DK/Ref	* 100	* 100						
include: AZ, AR, FL, IA, L	Based on registered voters. Battleground states include: AZ, AR, FL, IA, LA, ME, MI, MN, MO, NV, NM, NH, OH, OR, PE, TN, WA, WV, WI.							

Three-in-ten voters in non-battleground states say they have seen *no* ads for Kerry and the same percentage of voters say they have not seen any of Bush's ads. Fewer than one-in-ten voters in the battleground have not seen ads for Kerry and Bush.

#### Voter Weariness in the Battleground

The intensive exposure to the campaign in battleground states is taking its toll on the voters there. Nearly six-in-ten (58%) voters in battleground states say the campaign is too long compared with 48% of voters in other states.

Moreover, the intensity of negative campaign advertising in battleground states may be fueling perceptions that the election is too negative. Two-thirds of voters (67%) in the battleground states say the campaign is too negative, compared with 59% of voters elsewhere. But in battleground states, as in other states, about equal portions of voters say that Bush and Kerry have been too personally critical.

Battleground Election as							
	Battle-	Other					
	ground	<u>states</u>					
The election is	%	%					
Too negative	67	59					
Too long	58	48					
Hard to follow	21	21					
Important	91	90					
Informative	62	64					
Interesting	49	50					
Based on registered voters. Battleground states include: AZ, AR, FL, IA, LA, ME, MI, MN, MO, NV, NM, NH, OH, OR, PE, TN, WA, WV, WI.							

Other evaluations of the campaign are fairly similar across battleground and other states. Like voters elsewhere, about six-in-ten voters (62%) in battleground states say that the campaign is informative and about half (49%) view it as interesting. There is broad agreement among all voters that the election is important.

#### Frequent Ad Viewers

Voters who have seen a lot of campaign ads, regardless of where they live, tend to view the overall campaign as having an excessively negative tone.

More than two-thirds (68%) of frequent ad viewers describe the campaign as "too negative," compared with 55% of those who have seen campaign ads only once or twice. Those who have seen a lot or some campaign ads are significantly more likely than less frequent viewers to say the campaign has been too negative.

#### Frequent Ad Viewers See Campaign as Too Negative

	Seen Campaign Ads*						
	A lot	Some	<u>1or 2</u>	Never			
	%	%	%	%			
Campaign too negative	68	64	55	56			
Bush too critical	53	47	45	46			
Kerry too critical	53	54	49	46			

<sup>\*</sup> Exposure to ads produced by either candidate, based on registered voters.

#### Increased Engagement in Campaign

This presidential election continues to engage more voters than the campaigns of four and eight years ago. More than seven-in-ten voters (71%) say they have given quite a lot of thought to the coming election. That is a significant increase from comparable points in the two previous

campaigns. Four years ago at this point in the campaign, about six-in-ten voters (59%) said they had given quite a lot of thought to the election. The current level of electoral attentiveness is similar to 1992, when 69% of voters reported giving the election a lot of thought. Engagement with the campaign is up across all subgroups this election.

Similarly, more voters are paying close attention to news about the election compared with past elections. Four-in-ten voters are paying very close attention to election news. This is almost double the number at this stage four years ago (22%), although somewhat below election news interest at this point in 1992 (47%). Overall, about three-quarters of voters (74%) are following election news at least fairly closely.

Thought given to election** % Quite a lot 57 Some/Only a little A1 None 2 Don't know/Ref * 100 1 Following election news Very closely 43 Fairly closely 34	92 96 % % 69 56 29 39 1 4 1 1	%     %       59     71       37     25       3     3
news Very closely 43 Fairly closely 34		
Not at all closely 2 Don't know/Ref. * 100 1 Based on registered voters. **1988 data from Gallup	11 23 6 17 * *	42 34

#### Hurricanes Top News Interest Index

News reports on hurricanes and the Russian school tragedy dominated this month's news interest index. Fully half of Americans (52%) followed news of Hurricanes Charley, Frances and Ivan. As expected, attention to the storms was greatest in the South, with two-thirds tracking the hurricanes very closely.

Nearly as many Americans (48%) paid very close attention to the killing of Russian school children by Chechen rebels. Among past stories about Russia and the former Soviet bloc, only the opening of the Berlin Wall in 1989 (50% very closely), the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991 (47%), and the Chernobyl nuclear accident in 1986 (46%) have attracted comparable interest.

Public interest in news from Iraq has risen over the past month. Nearly half of Americans (47%) followed reports on Iraq very closely, up from 39% in August.

Four-in-ten paid very close attention to election news in September. That is nearly twice the level of

interest at comparable points in 2000 and 1996 (22% and 24%, respectively), but is lower than attention at this stage in the 1992 campaign (47% among registered voters).

Russian school killings 48 Situation in Iraq 47 Presidential election 40 Economic conditions 39 Summer Olympics 25 'Swift Boat' campaign ads 25 Republican convention 22 Bush's National Guard service 21 Clinton's heart surgery

Hurricanes, Russian School

**Tragedy Top News Interest** 

News stories...

Recent hurricanes

Following

very closely

%

52

Interest in the Republican convention (22%) was on par with attention to the Democratic convention last month (23%). Four-in-ten Republicans followed the convention very closely, which is nearly identical to the proportion of Democrats who paid close attention to their convention (41%). Similar proportions of swing voters followed these conventions (16% Republican convention, 17% Democratic convention).

Overall, one-quarter of Americans say they have paid very close attention to campaign ads in which 'Swift Boat' veterans have criticized John Kerry's Vietnam service. Male veterans and committed Bush voters express strong interest in this story (40% and 34%, respectively). Democrats and Republicans are about even in their levels of attention, although conservative Republicans are paying the most attention (36%).

Slightly fewer Americans (21%) closely followed reports on President Bush's service in the National Guard during the Vietnam War. This story has attracted the same level of interest from

certain Kerry voters (34% very closely) as the Swift Boat reports have drawn from committed Bush voters. Significantly fewer male veterans (28%) are following this story than are following stories about the 'Swift Boat' criticisms of Kerry.

About four-in-ten Americans (39%) are following news about the economy very closely, which is on par with measures over the past three years. A quarter of Americans tracked news from the summer Olympics in Athens very closely, which far below the 45% who paid close attention to the summer games in Atlanta in 1996.

Roughly one-in-five Americans (19%) followed former President Bill Clinton's heart surgery. This story drew much more interest from Democrats than Republicans (31% vs. 12%). More than twice as many African Americans as whites followed news on Clinton's surgery very closely (39% vs. 17%), and blacks showed more interest in this story than any other demographic group.

#### **ABOUT THE SURVEY**

Results for the September 2004 News Interest Index survey are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International among a nationwide sample of 2,494 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period September 8-14, 2004. The survey was conducted in two waves: September 8-10, with 1,219 adults (and 970 registered voters); September 11-14, with 1,275 adults (and 1,002 registered voters). Many questions in the report were asked only during the period of September 8-13 (a total of 2,003 adults and 1,580 registered voters); a much shorter questionnaire was used for interviewing on the night of September 14.

For results based on the total sample of 2,494 adults, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling is plus or minus 2.5 percentage points. For results based on registered voters (N=1,972) the sampling error is plus or minus 2.5 percentage points; sampling error for registered voters interviewed Sept. 8-10 (N=970), and for those interviewed Sept. 11-14 (N=1,002) is plus or minus 3.5 percentage points. For results based on interviews conducted Sept. 8-13 with either Form 1 (N=994) or Form 2 (N=1,009), the sampling error is plus or minus 3.5 percentage points. If based on Form 1 or Form 2 registered voters only (N=773 or N=807), the sampling error is plus or minus 4 percentage points.

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

#### SURVEY METHODOLOGY IN DETAIL

The sample for this survey is a random digit sample of telephone numbers selected from telephone exchanges in the continental United States. The random digit aspect of the sample is used to avoid "listing" bias and provides representation of both listed and unlisted numbers (including not-yet-listed). The design of the sample ensures this representation by random generation of the last two digits of telephone numbers selected on the basis of their area code, telephone exchange, and bank number.

The telephone exchanges were selected with probabilities proportional to their size. The first eight digits of the sampled telephone numbers (area code, telephone exchange, bank number) were selected to be proportionally stratified by county and by telephone exchange within county. That is, the number of telephone numbers randomly sampled from within a given county is proportional to that county's share of telephone numbers in the U.S. Only working banks of telephone numbers are selected. A working bank is defined as 100 contiguous telephone numbers containing three or more residential listings.

The sample was released for interviewing in replicates. Using replicates to control the release of sample to the field ensures that the complete call procedures are followed for the entire sample. The use of replicates also insures that the regional distribution of numbers called is appropriate. Again, this works to increase the representativeness of the sample.

At least 10 attempts were made to complete an interview at every sampled telephone number. The calls were staggered over times of day and days of the week to maximize the chances of making a contact with a potential respondent. All interview breakoffs and refusals were re-contacted at least once in order to attempt to convert them to completed interviews. In each contacted household, interviewers asked to speak with the "youngest male 18 or older who is at home." If there is no eligible man at home, interviewers asked to speak with "the oldest woman 18 or older who is at home." This systematic respondent selection technique has been shown empirically to produce samples that closely mirror the population in terms of age and gender.

Non-response in telephone interview surveys produces some known biases in survey-derived estimates because participation tends to vary for different subgroups of the population, and these subgroups are likely to vary also on questions of substantive interest. In order to compensate for these known biases, the sample data are weighted in analysis.

The demographic weighting parameters are derived from a special analysis of the most recently available Annual Social & Economic Supplement data from the Census Bureau (March 2003). This analysis produced population parameters for the demographic characteristics of households with adults 18 or older, which are then compared with the sample characteristics to construct sample weights. The analysis only included households in the continental United States that contain a telephone. The weights are derived using an iterative technique that simultaneously balances the distributions of all weighting parameters.

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#### PRESIDENTIAL VOTE CHOICE

(Based on Registered Voters, with leaners)

	August	± 2004	Sept. 2004		Sept. 2004		Change in Kerry
	Bush	Kerry		Kerry	Bush	Kerry	(1st-2nd)
	%	%	%	%	%	%	·
Total	45	47	52	40	46	46	+6
Sex							
Male	50	42	56	37	49	43	+6
Female	42	52	48	42	43	48	+6
Race							
White	52	42	58	34	52	40	+6
Non-white	15	75	23	69	18	70	+1
Black	6	83	13	78	13	76	-2
Race and Sex							
White Men	56	38	62	32	56	37	+5
White Women	49	45	54	36	49	43	+7
Age							
Under 30	35	53	55	35	41	55	+20
30-49	50	44	54	39	49	41	+2
50-64	45	50	47	44	50	45	+1
65+	43	48	53	37	37	50	+13
Sex and Age							
Men under 50	52	38	59	34	50	40	+6
Women under 50	41	53	50	41	43	49	+8
Men 50+	47	47	53	40	47	46	+6
Women 50+	43	51	47	43	42	48	+5
Education							
College Grad.	46	50	49	44	48	44	0
Some College	49	43	53	35	52	38	+3
High School Grad. or Less	43	48	54	39	40	52	+13
Family Income							
\$75,000+	54	43	58	36	57	37	+1
\$50,000-\$74,999	52	42	57	37	56	38	+1
\$30,000-\$49,999	50	45	54	36	40	54	+18
\$20,000-\$29,999	37	56	39	57	37	52	-5
<\$20,000	26	60	52	42	39	52	+10

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 on next page...

	Augus Bush %	t 2004 <u>Kerry</u> %	Sept. 2004 <u>Bush</u> %			11-14 (2nd) <u>Kerry</u> %	Change in Kerry (1st-2nd)
Total	45	47	52	40	% 46	46	+6
Region							
East	44	50	46	45	35	52	+7
Midwest	42	52	49	40	48	43	+3
South	45	47	57	36	52	40	+4
West	52	41	52	40	43	51	+11
Religious Affiliation							
Total White Protestant	61	32	64	30	63	31	+1
- Evangelical	71	23	70	25	74	21	-4
- Non-Evangelical	49	43	57	36	52	40	+4
White Catholic	47	50	56	35	49	42	+7
Secular	23	67	36	50	23	67	+17
Community Size							
Large City	34	57	40	49	38	56	+7
Suburb	50	45	52	38	50	42	+4
Small City/Town	47	45	53	40	42	48	+8
Rural Area	47	48	62	32	56	37	+5
Party ID							
Republican	93	4	94	5	92	4	-1
Democrat	5	91	10	82	10	86	+4
Independent	40	48	50	39	41	44	+5
Party and Ideology							
Conservative Republican	98	1	96	3	97	2	-1
Moderate/Liberal Rep.	85	11	90	9	83	9	0
Conservative/Mod. Dem.	6	91	13	79	12	82	+3
Liberal Democrat	2	93	4	89	3	97	+8
Male Veterans							
Yes	60	34	56	38	51	40	+2
No	45	46	57	36	48	44	+8
Labor Union							
Union Household	34	56	46	46	36	53	+7
Non-Union Household	47	46	53	38	48	44	+6
	77	40	33	30	40		10
Force in Iraq	7.4	21	92	10	7.0	10	
Right Decision	74	21	82	12	76	18	+6
Wrong Decision	8	84	13	77	13	77	0
<b>Battleground States</b>							_
Republican States	51	42	59	32	50	41	+9
Democratic States	44	48	45 52	44	36	53	9
Battleground States	41	52	52	42	49	44	+2

### WHICH CANDIDATE COULD DO A BETTER JOB

	Defending the country from future attacks Neither/				decisions do in Iraq Neither/	Improving economic conditions Neither/				
	Bush	Kerry 0/	$\frac{DK}{Q'}$	Bush	<u>Kerry</u>	$\frac{DK}{Q'}$		<u>Kerry</u>	$\frac{DK}{O}$	(N)
Total	% 58	% 31	% 11=100	% 51	% 39	% 10=100	% 42	% 45	% 13=100	(1580)
Sex										
Male	63	28	9	55	37	8	47	42	11	(725)
Female	54	33	13	47	41	12	37	48	15	(855)
Race										
White	64	26	10	57	33	10	46	40	14	(1360)
Non-white	33	51	16	23	67	10	20	72	8	(200)
Black	26	59	15	17	73	10	15	77	8	(131)
Hispanic*	48	39	13	39	53	8	32	59	9	(86)
Race and Sex										
White Men	70	23	7	62	30	8	53	36	11	(623)
White Women	58	30	12	53	36	11	41	43	16	(737)
Age										
Under 30	60	32	8	52	41	7	39	52	9	(173)
30-49	61	28	11	54	36	10	44	42	14	(592)
50-64	57	33	10	49	40	11	39	47	14	(460)
65+	53	32	15	50	40	10	43	43	14	(339)
Sex and Age										
Men under 50	66	24	10	58	35	7	48	41	11	(340)
Women under 50	56	33	11	50	39	11	39	47	14	(425)
Men 50+	60	31	9	54	38	8	47	42	11	(380)
Women 50+	51	34	15	45	42	13	35	48	17	(419)
Education										
College Grad.	54	33	13	50	41	9	41	46	13	(650)
Some College	60	30	10	53	36	11	43	44	13	(403)
High School Grad. or Less	60	29	11	51	39	10	42	45	14	(525)
Family Income										
\$75,000+	63	26	11	58	34	8	48	42	10	(423)
\$50,000-\$74,999	68	27	4	63	31	6	49	39	12	(244)
\$30,000-\$49,999	60	30	10	51	41	8	41	46	13	(375)
\$20,000-\$29,999	48	42	10	37	49	14	29	59	12	(144)
<\$20,000	51	34	15	46	41	13	40	46	14	(191)

<sup>\*</sup> The designation Hispanic is unrelated to the white-black categorization. Note small sample size.

Question: 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...

		Defending the country from future attacks Neither/		Making wise decisions about what to do in Iraq Neither/			Impr			
	Bush %	Kerry %	DK %	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	DK	Bush	Kerry	Neither/ DK	(N)
Total	58	31	11=100	51	39	10=100	42	45	13=100	(1580)
Region										
East	53	34	13	46	42	12	37	48	15	(342)
Midwest	57	30	13	52	39	9	40	47	13	(355)
South	62	28	10	53	37	10	46	41	13	(560)
West	57	32	11	51	40	9	41	48	11	(323)
Religious Affiliation										
Total White Protestant	70	21	9	64	27	9	52	33	15	(769)
- Evangelical	78	16	6	71	20	9	60	26	14	(382)
- Non-Evangelical	62	26	12	56	33	11	43	41	16	(387)
White Catholic	63	30	7	56	36	8	48	41	11	(319)
Secular	46	39	15	37	54	9	28	59	13	(128)
Community Size										
Large City	51	36	13	41	49	10	35	52	13	(299)
Suburb	59	28	13	52	36	12	43	43	14	(396)
Small City/Town	60	30	10	53	37	10	44	45	11	(538)
Rural Area	62	28	10	58	34	8	44	40	16	(334)
Party ID										
Republican	94	3	3	92	4	4	79	10	11	(548)
Democrat	23	63	14	15	76	9	10	82	8	(519)
Independent	59	27	14	47	38	15	37	46	17	(437)
Party and Ideology										
Conservative Republican	97	1	2	95	2	3	83	7	10	(372)
Moderate/Liberal Rep.	89	7	4	85	8	7	71	15	14	(168)
Conservative/Mod. Dem.	26	56	18	17	73	10	11	79	10	(322)
Liberal Democrat	18	75	7	11	84	5	7	88	5	(184)
Force in Iraq										
Right Decision	86	9	5	82	11	7	66	21	13	(851)
Wrong Decision	24	60	16	13	77	10	12	78	10	(646)
Labor Union										
Union Household	56	35	9	46	43	11	35	54	11	(245)
Non-Union Household	58	30	12	52	38	10	43	43	14	(1326)
2004 Vote Preference (RVs)										
Bush/Lean Bush	96	1	3	92	2	6	78	9	13	(800)
Kerry/Lean Kerry	17	69	14	7	86	7	3	92	5	(642)
Battleground States										, ,
Republican States	60	27	13	53	37	10	45	41	14	(481)
Democratic States	56	32	12	48	42	10	38	49	13	(463)
Battleground States	58	32	10	52	39	9	42	45	13	(636)

#### PERCENT FOLLOWING EACH NEWS STORY "VERY CLOSELY"

		Killing									
	Hurricanes					Summer	Swift		Bush's	Bill	
	Charley,	Russian	News	2004	Reports	Olympics	Boat			Clinton's	
	Frances,	school	about	Pres.	about the	in	Veteran		in Nat'l	heart	
	and Ivan*		<u>Iraq</u>	Election			<u>Ads</u>	Conv.	Guard*	surgery*	<u>(N)</u>
_	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Total	51	48	46	40	39	25	25	22	21	19	(2003)
Sex											
Male	46	44	51	42	41	24	28	23	22	16	(924)
Female	55	52	42	39	37	26	21	20	20	22	(1079)
Race											
White	49	49	47	39	37	24	24	23	20	17	(1684)
Non-white	59	45	43	46	44	30	26	15	26	28	(295)
Black	70	53	48	52	49	36	31	14	29	39	(173)
Hispanic**	51	50	40	36	32	27	25	25	25	13	(122)
Race and Sex											
White Men	45	44	51	39	39	20	27	24	20	15	(776)
White Women	53	53	44	39	36	28	22	22	21	19	(908)
Age											
Under 30	43	31	34	27	20	27	18	14	14	11	(299)
30-49	46	47	44	40	37	27	21	20	19	16	(758)
50-64	56	59	55	45	50	25	30	25	26	24	(538)
65+	65	55	55	49	51	17	35	29	30	29	(392)
Education											
College Grad.	41	55	56	51	46	28	25	26	25	19	(743)
Some College	51	40	47	42	36	30	25	22	21	16	(495)
H.S. Grad.	59	51	42	35	37	24	26	19	21	20	(612)
<h.s. grad.<="" td=""><td>49</td><td>42</td><td>37</td><td>30</td><td>34</td><td>14</td><td>20</td><td>17</td><td>15</td><td>24</td><td>(150)</td></h.s.>	49	42	37	30	34	14	20	17	15	24	(150)
Region											
East	52	51	49	46	40	29	26	23	23	22	(428)
Midwest	45	51	45	40	39	19	26	23	22	18	(450)
South	67	47	48	41	39	26	25	20	22	22	(711)
West	30	45	42	35	36	27	21	20	18	13	(414)
Party ID											
Republican	55	50	50	46	36	29	30	40	18	12	(624)
Democrat	52	49	46	43	42	24	27	11	28	31	(639)
Independent	46	46	45	35	38	23	19	16	19	15	(620)

<sup>\*</sup> Items were split form or not asked for entire field period; Ns do not apply.

Question:

Now I will read a list of some stories covered by news organizations this past month. As I read each item, tell me if you happened to follow this news story very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely?

<sup>\*\*</sup> The designation Hispanic is unrelated to the white-black categorization.

# PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS SEPTEMBER 2004 POLITICAL SURVEY

#### FINAL TOPLINE

September 8 - 13, 2004 Total N=2003; RV N=1580 September 8 - 14, 2004 Total N=2494; RV N=1972

## NOTE: UNLESS OTHERWISE NOTED, MOST QUESTIONS IN THIS SURVEY ARE BASED ON INTERVIEWS CONDUCTED SEPTEMBER 8 - 13, 2004 TOTAL N=2003; RV N=1580

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

		Quite	(VOL.)	Only a	(VOL.)	DK/	
		A lot	Some	<u>Little</u>	None	Ref.	
	September, 2004	71	3	22	3	1=100	
	September 11-14	69	3	23	4	1 = 100	(N=1002)
	September 8-10	73	3	21	2	1 = 100	(N=970)
	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.2 Now I will read a list of some stories covered by news organizations this past month. As I read each item, tell me if you happened to follow this news story very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely. [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE WITH ITEMS a and b FIRST, FOLLOWED BY RANDOMIZED ITEMS c THRU i; OBSERVE FORM SPLITS]

	Very	Fairly	Not too	Not at al	1
<b>ASKED SEPTEMBER 8 - 14 [N=2494]:</b>	Closely	Closely	Closely	Closely	DK/Ref
a. News about candidates for the 2004 presidential election	40	34	14	11	1 = 100
August, 2004	32	38	16	14	*=100
July, 2004	29	37	18	15	1 = 100
June, 2004	28	34	19	18	1 = 100
April, 2004	31	33	19	16	1 = 100
Mid-March, 2004	35	34	18	13	*=100
Late February, 2004	24	40	23	12	1 = 100
Early February, 2004 <sup>1</sup>	29	37	20	13	1 = 100
Mid-January, 2004	16	30	27	26	1 = 100
Early January, 2004	14	32	30	23	1 = 100
December, 2003	16	26	27	30	1 = 100
November, 2003	11	26	34	28	1 = 100
October, 2003	12	27	28	32	1 = 100
September, 2003	17	25	30	27	1 = 100
Mid-August, 2003	12	27	27	33	1=100
May, 2003	8	19	31	41	1=100
January, 2003	14	28	29	28	1=100
September, 2000	22	42	21	15	*=100
July, 2000	21	38	20	20	1=100
June, 2000	23	32	23	21	1=100
April, 2000	18	39	22	20	1=100
March, 2000	26	41	19	13	1=100
February, 2000	26	36	21	17	*=100
January, 2000	19	34	28	18	1=100
Early September, 1996	24	36	23	17	*=100
July, 1996	22	40	23	14	1=100
April, 1996	23	35	25	17	*=100
March, 1996	26	41	20	13	*=100
January, 1996	10	34	31	24	1=100
September, 1992 (RVs)	47	36	11	6	*=100
August, 1992 ( <i>RVs</i> )	36	51	11	2	0 = 100
July, 1992	20	45	26	9	*=100
May, 1992	32	44	16	8	*=100
March, 1992	35	40	16	9	*=100
January, 1992	11	25	36	27	1=100
October, 1988 ( <i>RVs</i> )	43	44	11	2	*=100
August, 1988 (RVs)	39	45	13	3	*=100
May, 1988	22	46	23	6	3=100

From May 2003 to Early February 2004 and in March 1992, the story was listed as "The race for the Democratic nomination." In January 2003, the story was listed as "Recent announcements by prominent Democrats about plans to run for president in 2004." In September 2000, Early September and July 1996, and May 1992, the question asked about the "presidential election campaign." In January, March and April 1996, the story was listed as "News about the Republican presidential candidates." In August 1992, the story was listed as "News about the presidential election." In July 1992, the story was listed as "News about the presidential campaign." In January 1992, the story was listed as "News about the Democratic candidates for the presidential nomination." In 1988, the story was introduced as being from "this past year" and was listed as "News about the presidential campaign in 1988."

Q.2 CONTINUED	Very			Not at al	
ASKED SEPTEMBER 8 - 14 [N=2494]:	Closely	Closely	Closely	Closely	DK/Ref
b. News about the current situation in Iraq	47	37	9	6	1=100
August, 2004	39	42	12	6	1=100
July, 2004	43	40	11	6	*=100
June, 2004	39	42	12	6	1=100
April, 2004	54	33	8	5	*=100
Mid-March, 2004	47	36	12	4	1=100
Early February, 2004	47	38	10	4	1=100
Mid-January, 2004	48	39	9	4	*=100
December, 2003	44	38	11	6	1=100
November, 2003	52	33	9	5	1=100
October, 2003	38	40	14	7	1=100
September, 2003	50	33	10	6	1=100
Mid-August, 2003	45	39	10	5	1=100
Early July, 2003	37	41	13	8	1=100
June, 2003	46	35	13	6	*=100
May, 2003	63	29	6	2	*=100
April 11-16, 2003 <sup>2</sup>	47	40	10	2	1=100 1=100
April 2-7, 2003	54	34	9	2	1=100
March 20-24, 2003	57	33	7	2	1=100
March 13-16, 2003 <sup>3</sup>	62	27	6	4	1=100
February, 2003	62	25	8	4	1=100
	55	29 29	0 10	4	2=100
January, 2003	53 51	32	10	6	1=100
December, 2002	53	33	8	5	
Late October, 2002	60			5	1=100
Early October, 2002	48	28 29	6 15	5 6	1=100 2=100
Early September, 2002	40	29	13	0	2=100
<b>ASKED SEPTEMBER 8 - 14 [N=2494]:</b>					
c. Reports about the condition of the U.S. economy	39	34	15	11	1 = 100
January, 2004	37	41	15	7	*=100
December, 2003	35	38	14	11	2 = 100
November, 2003	40	34	15	10	1 = 100
October, 2003	32	39	16	12	1 = 100
September, 2003	39	30	18	12	1=100
March, 2003	40	35	16	8	1=100
February, 2003	42	33	15	10	*=100
January, 2003	40	35	13	11	1=100
December, 2002	38	34	17	10	1=100
February, 2002	35	40	15	9	1=100
January, 2002	30	44	16	9	1=100
December, 2001	37	40	13	8	2=100
Mid-November, 2001	41	36	15	7	1=100
June, 2001	24	41	18	16	1=100
May, 2001	34	36	15	15	0 = 100
•					

From March 20 to April 16, 2003 the story was listed as "News about the war in Iraq."

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

#### Q.2 CONTINUED...

Q.2 COTTITUEED					
	Very	•		Not at all	
	Closely		Closely	Closely	DK/Ref
April, 2001	36	34	16	13	1=100
February, 2001	30	39	18	12	1=100
January, 2001	32	38	17	11	2 = 100
June, 1995	26	41	22	11	*=100
March, 1995	27	45	19	9	*=100
February, 1995	23	41	22	13	1=100
December, 1994	28	43	20	9	*=100
October, 1994	27	40	20	12	1=100
June, 1994	25	42	23	10	*=100
May, 1994	33	40	16	10	1=100
January, 1994	34	39	16	10	1=100
Early January, 1994	36	44	13	7	*=100
December, 1993	35	41	15	8	1=100
October, 1993	33	38	20	9	*=100
September, 1993	37	40	14	8	1=100
Early September, 1993	39	39	14	9	*=100
August, 1993	41	36	14	9	*=100
May, 1993	37	38	18	6	1=100
February, 1993	49	36	10	5	*=100
January, 1993	42	39	12	7	*=100
September, 1992	43	37	13	6	1=100
May, 1992	39	39	15	6	1=100
March, 1992	47	38	11	4	*=100
February, 1992	47	37	10	6	*=100
January, 1992	44	40	11	5	*=100
October, 1991	36	38	16	9	1=100
Getobel, 1991	30	30	10		1-100
d. The Republican convention	22	23	21	34	*=100
August, 2004 ( <i>Democratic</i> )	23	26	19	31	1=100
September, 1996 ( <i>Republican and Democratic</i> )	14	31	29	26	*=100
August, 1988 <sup>4</sup> (RVs) (Democratic)	30	29	22	19	*=100
August, 1988 (RVs) (Republican)	27	32	24	17	0=100
riagasi, 1500 (1175) (110puonean)	2,	32	2.	17	0 100
ASK FORM 1 [N=994]:					
e.F1 The summer Olympics in Athens, Greece	25	25	21	29	*=100
August, 2004 <sup>5</sup>	10	22	29	38	1=100
February, 2002 (Winter Olympics/Salt Lake City)	22	30	21	26	1=100
Early October, 2000 (Summer Olympics/Sydney)	27	28	24	21	*=100
Early September, 1996 (Summer Olympics/Atlanta)	32	34	20	14	*=100
July, 1996 (Summer Olympics/Atlanta)	45	30	13	11	1=100
February, 1992 (Winter Olympics)	33	30	19	17	1=100
1 columny, 1772 (manter organization)	55	30	• /	11	1 100
ASK FORM 1 SEPTEMBER 8 - 13 AND BOTH FORMS SEPTE	EMBER 1	4 [N=148	51:		
f.F1 Hurricanes Charley, Frances and Ivan	52	32	10	5	1=100
	- =		-	-	

#### **ASK FORM 2 [N=1009]:**

In August 1988, the story was introduced as being from "this past year" and was asked only of registered voters.

In August 2004, the story was listed as "Preparations for the summer Olympics in Athens, Greece."

Q.2 CC	ONTINUED	Very	Fairly		Not at al	
		<u>Closely</u>		Closely		DK/Ref
g.F2	The killing of Russian school children by Chechen rebels	48	30	11	10	1=100
ASK A	LL: Campaign ads in which 'Swift Boat' veterans have criticized					
	John Kerry's Vietnam service	25	25	21	28	1=100
ASK F	ORM 2 [N=1009]:					
i.F2	Former President Bill Clinton's heart surgery	19	31	25	24	1=100
ASK A	LL SEPTEMBER 10-13 [N=1069]:					
j.	Questions about President Bush's service in the					
	National Guard during the Vietnam War	21	26	21	30	2 = 100
	February, 2004	19	25	25	29	2 = 100

Q.3 How have you been getting most of your news about the presidential election campaign? 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]

		Early Jan	June	Feb	Jan	Sept	April	Feb	Sept	Jun	May	March	Feb
		<u>2004</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u> 1996</u>	<u> 1996</u>	<u> 1996</u>	<u> 1992</u>	<u> 1992</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u> 1992</u>	<u>1992</u>
80	Television	79	65	73	75	75	81	85	83	84	86	83	80
41	Newspapers	39	27	33	31	44	48	56	49	55	51	48	49
18	Radio	15	11	15	12	14	21	21	13	18	17	14	18
3	Magazines	2	2	2	3	5	6	5	5	7	6	4	4
17	Internet	13	5	7	6	2	2	2	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
3	Other	2	2	2	3	2	3	1	4	4	3	3	3
1	Don't know/Re	ef. 2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	*	1	*	1

## IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' TELEVISION AS EITHER 1ST OR 2ND RESPONSE IN Q.3 ASK Q.3a. IF NOT, SKIP TO REGIST.

Q.3a Do you get most of your news about the presidential election campaign 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 TOTAL:							
	2004						
Local news programming	17						
ABC Network news	15						
CBS Network news	11						
NBC Network news	14						
CNN Cable news	22						
MSNBC Cable news	7						
The Fox News Cable Channel	20						
CNBC Cable news	3						
Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	3						
	Local news programming ABC Network news CBS Network news NBC Network news CNN Cable news MSNBC Cable news The Fox News Cable Channel CNBC Cable news						

REGIST These days, many people are so busy they can't find time to register to vote, or move around so often they don't get a chance to re-register. Are you NOW registered to vote in your precinct or election district or haven't you been able to register so far?

#### IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' YES IN REGIST ASK:

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

# **ASKED SEPTEMBER 8 - 14 [N=2494]:**Sept Sept

	Sept	Sept	
<b>Total</b>	<u>11-14</u>	<u>8-10</u>	
77	77	78	Yes, registered
74	74	74	Absolutely certain
3	3	3	Chance registration has lapsed
*	*	1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
23	23	22	No, not registered
*	*	*	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100	100	100	
(N=)	(1275)	(1219)	

#### IF 'ABSOLUTELY CERTAIN' IN REGICERT ASK:

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

						Early	Late	Mid-	Early	Late	Early		Late	
	Sept	Sept		Aug	Nov	Nov	Oct	Oct	Oct	Oct	Oct	Nov	Sept	Nov
<u>Total</u>	<u>11-14</u>	<i>8-10</i>		2004	<u>2002</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u> 1998</u>	<u> 1998</u>	<u> 1996</u>	<u> 1996</u>	<u> 1994</u>
83	81	84	Yes	88	86	83	81	82	84	86	87	85	85	91
17	19	16	No	12	14	17	19	18	16	14	13	15	15	9
*	<u>0</u>	*	Don't know/Ref.	0	*	*	*	0	*	*	*	*	*	*
100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(N=)	(1002)	(970)												

- 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]?

	Bus	sh/Lean B	ush		Keri	ry/Lean K	erry		Nader/	Other/
			Only				Only		Lean	Don't
	<u>Total</u>	Strongly	Mod.	<u>DK</u>	<u>Total</u>	Strongly	Mod.	<u>DK</u>	<u>Nader</u>	Know
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 (N = 1002)
September 8-10	52	36	15	1	40	22	17	1	1	7 = 100 (N = 970)
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
	Bus	sh/Lean B	ush		Gor	re/Lean C	Gore		Nader	
September, 2000	41	21	19	1	47	25	21	1	2	10=100
July, 2000	42				41				6	11=100
	Do	le/Lean D	ole		Clinto	n/Lean C	Clinton		Perot	
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
	r.	Clinto	n/Lean C	Clinton		Perot				
Early October, 1992	35	14	21		48	23	25		8	9=100
June, 1992	31				28				36	5=100

#### THOSE WHO CHOSE KERRY/EDWARDS (IN 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 (IN 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?

		Pro-	Anti-			Pro-	Anti-	Un-	Other/				
2004	Total	Kerry		decid	<b>Total</b>		Kerry	decid	DK				
Sept	43	15	26	2	49	38	9	2	8=100				
9/11-14	46	16	28	2	46	35	8	3	<i>8=100</i>	(N=	1002)		
9/8-10	40	14	23	3	52	40	10	2	<i>8=100</i>	(N=	970)		
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				
		<i>GORE</i>	7			RI	<i>USH</i>						
		Pro-	Anti-				Anti-	Un-	Other/				
2000	<b>Total</b>			decid	<b>Total</b>			decid	DK				
Nov	45	29	14	2	41	27	12	2	14=100				
Sept	47	30	14	3	41	24	14	3	12=100				
1													
		CLIN	TON			De	OLE			PI	EROT		
		Pro-	Anti-	_			Anti-	Un-			- Anti-		Other/
<u>1996</u>	<u>Total</u>	Clinton	other	decid	<u>Total</u>		<u>other</u>	decid	<u>Total</u>	Pero	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
		CLINT	ON			Bl	USH			PI	EROT		
		Pro-	Anti-				Anti-	Un-				Un-	Other/
<u>1992</u>	<b>Total</b>	Clinton	other	decid	<b>Total</b>	Bush	other	decid	<b>Total</b>	Pero	ot Other	decid	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
		DUKA	VIC			DI	USH						
		Pro-	Anti-				Anti-	Un-	Other/				
1988	Total			decid	Total		<u>Dukaki</u>		DK				
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?

#### BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS SEPTEMBER 8 - 14 [N=1972]:

	September, 2004 September 11-14 September 8-10 August, 2004 July, 2004 June, 2004 May, 2004 Late March, 2004 Mid-March, 2004 Late February, 2004	Chance might vote for Kerry  11  11  11  11  13  10  11  13  13  13	Decided not to vote for Kerry  42  38  46  39  36  41  35  37  32  36	Don't know/  Refused 4=57% 5=54% (N=1002) 3=60% (N=970) 3=53% 5=54% 3=54% 4=50% 3=53% 3=48% 3=52%
	Early February, 2004	15	33	5=53%
Gore: Gore: Gore: Gore: Gore:	November, 2000 Late October, 2000 Mid-October, 2000 Early October, 2000 September, 2000 June, 2000	8 9 10 11 13 14	41 44 40 38 35 34	6=55% 4=57% 5=55% 7=56% 5=53% 6=54%
Clinton: Clinton: Clinton:	Late September, 1996 Early September, 1996 July, 1996	11 10 8	35 34 36	3=49% 4=48% 4=48%
Clinton: Clinton: Clinton:	September, 1992 August, 1992 May, 1992	12 14 11	28 26 38	6=46% 3=43% 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	
September, 2004	9	38	4=51%	
September 11-14	8	41	5=54% (N=100)	2)
September 8-10	9	35	4=48% (N=970)	)
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%	

Q.6b CON	NTINUED	Chance might	Decided not to	Don't know/
		vote for Bush	vote for Bush	Refused
<b>Bush:</b>	November, 2000	8	44	7=59%
<b>Bush:</b>	Late October, 2000	10	41	4=55%
<b>Bush:</b>	Mid-October, 2000	12	40	5=57%
<b>Bush:</b>	Early October, 2000	11	39	7=57%
<b>Bush:</b>	September, 2000	15	38	6=59%
Bush:	June, 2000	15	33	6=54%
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:	September, 1992	12	44	6=62%
Bush, Sr:	August, 1992	15	45	4=64%
Bush, Sr:	May, 1992	8	40	5=53%

# ASK IF BUSH, KERRY OR NADER NAMED IN Q.4 OR Q.4b:

Q.7 What do you like most about (**INSERT NAME CHOSEN FROM Q.4 OR Q.4b**) — his personality, his leadership ability, his experience, or his stand on issues?

# BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS WHO CHOSE BUSH OR KERRY IN Q.4/4b:

		<b>Personality</b>	Leadership	<b>Experience</b>	Stand on issues	Don't know	
John Ke	rry	8	16	13	52	11=100	(N=642)
	June, 2004	7	20	16	45	12=100	
George \	W. Bush	8	41	4	42	5=100	(N=800)
	June, 2004	8	33	4	49	6=100	
Gore	Late October, 2000	4	16	27	48	5=100	
	Mid-October, 2000	8	16	29	44	3=100	
	Early October, 2000	6	16	23	49	6=100	
	September, 2000	9	15	22	48	6=100	
	June, 2000	7	13	29	42	9=100	
	May, 2000	10	13	30	40	7=100	
	March, 2000	10	14	28	40	8=100	
	October, 1999	8	11	32	43	6=100	
Bush	Late October, 2000	10	21	5	59	5=100	
	Mid-October, 2000	13	18	9	55	5=100	
	Early October, 2000	8	20	7	58	7=100	
	September, 2000	9	19	9	55	8=100	
	June, 2000	10	19	11	50	10=100	
	May, 2000	12	22	8	51	7=100	
	March, 2000	14	24	10	42	10=100	
	October, 1999	13	25	11	42	9=100	
Clinton	Early September, 1996	5 14	24	6	49	7=100	
Dole	Early September, 1996	5 3	25	33	35	4=100	
Clinton	Late October, 1992 <sup>6</sup>	11	13	4	68	4=100	
	Late October, 1992	15	26	35	19	5=100	
Perot	Late October, 1992	12	25	9	53	1=100	

In 1992, results were based on respondents who said their vote was pro-candidate, rather than anti-candidate. Category was worded "personality and character."

# ASK IF BUSH NAMED IN Q.4 OR Q.4b:

Q.8a What do you like LEAST about John Kerry — his personality, his leadership ability, his experience, or his stand on issues?

## ASK IF KERRY NAMED IN Q.4 OR Q.4b:

Q.8b What do you like LEAST about George W. Bush — his personality, his leadership ability, his experience, or his stand on issues?

## BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS WHO CHOSE BUSH OR KERRY IN Q.4/4b:

		Personality	Leadership	Experience	Stand on Issues	Don't know	
John K	erry	16	12	8	53	11=100	(N=800)
	June, 2004	16	11	6	52	15=100	
George	W. Bush	13	28	4	46	9=100	(N=642)
George	June, 2004	12	35	3	41	9=100	(11-0-12)
Gore	Late October, 2000	27	15	6	43	9=100	
3010	Mid-October, 2000	27	18	5	43	7=100	
	Early October, 2000	26	14	4	44	12=100	
	September, 2000	17	17	7	48	11=100	
	June, 2000	17	19	6	43	15=100	
	May, 2000	22	22	6	41	9=100	
	March, 2000	22	20	5	43	10 = 100	
	October, 1999	24	22	5	39	10=100	
Bush	Late October, 2000	21	14	15	37	13=100	
	Mid-October, 2000	18	16	15	43	8=100	
	Early October, 2000	25	11	15	37	12=100	
	September, 2000	20	12	11	43	14=100	
	June, 2000	26	13	10	34	17=100	
	May, 2000	25	13	13	35	14=100	
	March, 2000	33	8	13	35	11 = 100	
	October, 1999	19	11	13	41	16=100	

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?

### BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS SEPTEMBER 8 - 14 [N=1972]:

	Yes, Plan	Absolutely	Fairly	Not	No, Don't	Don't know/
	To Vote	Certain	Certain	<u>Certain</u>	Plan To	Refused
September, 2004	98	91	6	1	1	1=100
September 11-14	<i>97</i>	89	7	1	2	<b>1=100</b> (N=1002)
September 8-10	99	93	6	*	1	* <b>=100</b> (N=970)
August, 2004	98	89	8	1	2	*=100
June, 2004	96	85	10	1	2	2=100
Early November, 2002 <sup>7</sup> *	90				8	2=100
Early October, 2002*	95				3	2=100

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		Absolutely	•	Not		Don't know/
E. 1. N	To Vote	<u>Certain</u>	Certain	<u>Certain</u>	Plan To	Refused
Early November, 2000	96 07				3	1=100
Late October, 2000	97				2	1=100
Mid-October, 2000	96				2	2=100
Early October, 2000	<b>97</b>	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
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

<sup>\*</sup> Non-Presidential elections

# IF YES IN PLANTO1, ASK:

PLANTO3 In the presidential election this fall, do you plan to vote BEFORE election day, that is through the mail or with an absentee ballot, or will you probably vote at your polling place on election day?

# BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS SEPTEMBER 8 - 14 [N=1972]:

	Sept	Sept		June
<u>Total</u>	<u>11-14</u>	<u>8-10</u>		2004
13	12	15	Plan to vote BEFORE election day	19
84	83	83	Will vote on election day	77
*	*	0	Already voted (VOL.)	n/a
1	2	1	Don't know/Refused	*
_2	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	Don't Plan to Vote/Don't Know	<u>4</u>
100	100	100		100
	(1002)	(970)		

# **ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS:**

Q.9 Regardless of who you might support, who do you think is most likely to win the coming presidential election? [READ]

# **BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1580]:**

	George W. Bush	John Kerry	Other/DK
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, 200	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
Late October, 2000	48 Bush	38 Gore	14=100
Early October, 2000	33 Bush	46 <i>Gore</i>	21=100
June, 2000	51 Bush	33 Gore	16=100
October, 1999	70 Bush	23 Gore	7=100
Late September, 199	96 <sup>8</sup> 12 <i>Dole</i>	79 Clinton	9=100
Early September, 19	96 16 <i>Dole</i>	75 Clinton	9=100
July, 1996	19 Dole	72 Clinton	9=100
October, 1992	30 Bush, S	Sr. 61 Clinton	9=100
March, 1992	72 Bush, S	Sr. 20 Dem Candidate	8=100
February, 1992	66 Bush, S	Sr. 25 Dem Candidate	9=100
October, 1991	78 Bush, S	Sr. 11 Dem Candidate	11=100

Q.10 If you had to make a choice strictly on the basis of the vice presidential candidates, who would you choose: Dick Cheney, the Republican or John Edwards, the Democrat?

# **BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1580]:**

		Early	Late
		Oct 2000	Sept 1996
44	Cheney	41 (Cheney)	36 ( <i>Kemp</i> )
46	Edwards	42 (Lieberman)	49 ( <i>Gore</i> )
n/a	Other	n/a	3 (Choate)
<u>10</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>17</u>	<u>12</u>
100		100	100

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

Q.11 How much would you say you know about John Kerry and what he stands for – a lot, a fair amount, just some, or very little?

# **BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1580]:**

			NBC/Wall St. Journal			
		Aug	June	May	March	
		<u>2004</u>	<u>2004</u>	2004	<u>2004</u>	
25	A lot	23	15	18	21	
46	A fair amount	47	42	44	44	
16	Just some	18	28	25	18	
11	Very little	11	15	12	16	
2	Don't know/Refused	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	
100		100	100	100	100	

Q.12 Have the presidential candidates been talking about the issues that are important to you in this campaign, or not?

# **BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1580]:**

		Sept	Oct
		2000	1996
64	Yes	72	59
31	No	22	35
<u>5</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>6</u>	6
100		100	100

Q.13 What's your impression... do George W. Bush and John Kerry take different positions on the issues, or are they pretty similar in their positions on the issues?

## **BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1580]:**

			Bush/Gore						
		June	Late Oct	Early Oct	Sept	June	July		
		<u>2004</u>	2000	2000	2000	2000	1999		
72	Different	68	60	61	56	51	47		
19	Similar	21	34	30	32	33	24		
9	Don't know/Refused	<u>11</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>29</u>		
100		100	100	100	100	100	100		

Q.14 As I read a list of phrases, tell me if you think each phrase better describes John Kerry or George W. Bush.

	BASED ON REGISTERED VOTE	(VOL.)				
		George	John	(VOL.)	Both	
		W. Bush	Kerry <sup>9</sup>	<u>Neither</u>	<b>Equally</b>	DK/Ref.
a	Would use good judgment in a crisis	53	34	2	4	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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> In 2000 the question asked about Al Gore.

O.14 CO	ONTINUED				(VOL.)	
		George	John	(VOL.)	Both	
		W. Bush	Kerry <sup>10</sup>	Neither	<b>Equally</b>	DK/Ref.
	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
ASK FO	ORM 1 [N=773]:					
	Personally likable	47	36	4	9	4=100
0.1 1	August, 2004	43	41	2	8	6=100
	May, 2004	42	39	6	8	5=100
	Late March, 2004	40	40	5	8	7=100
	Mid-March, 2004	40	44	4	8	4=100
	Late-October, 2000	48	39	5	5	3=100
	Mid-October, 2000	44	38	5	9	4=100
	Early October, 2000	41	38	4	12	5=100
	September, 2000	37	44	3	12	4=100
	June, 2000	42	36	7	9	6=100
1 077 17	L DEGLAMENTE MAMPINA					
	L REGISTERED VOTERS:	40	25	10	4	c 100
c.	Honest and truthful	43	35	12	4	6=100
	August, 2004	42	38	12	2	6=100
	May, 2004	34	36	17	4	9=100
	Late March, 2004	37 25	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 25	32	17	8	7=100
	September, 2000	35 25	37	13	9	6=100
	June, 2000	35	31	19	7	8=100
d.	Cares about people like me	41	43	6	5	5=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
e.	A strong leader	58	30	4	3	5=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
	. ,					

In 2000 the question asked about Al Gore.

Q.14 C	CONTINUED				(VOL.)	
		George	John	(VOL.)	Both	
		W. Bush	Kerry <sup>11</sup>	Neither	<b>Equally</b>	DK/Ref.
f.	Willing to take a stand,	<u> </u>			<del></del>	
	even if it's unpopular	69	23	1	3	4=100
	August, 2004	62	29	1	5	3=100
	May, 2004	65	23	3	4	5=100
	Late March, 2004	59	28	3	3	7=100
	Mid-March, 2004	63	27	1	5	4=100
	Late-October, 2000	49	35	7	4	5=100
	Mid-October, 2000	49	35	6	5	5=100
	Early October, 2000	43	35	8	6	8=100
	September, 2000	45	37	8	5	5=100
	June, 2000	46	32	9	5	8=100
ASK F	ORM 1 [N=773]:					
g.F1	Is down to earth	50	36	5	5	4=100
Ü	August, 2004	48	39	5	4	4=100
	May, 2004	43	40	8	3	6=100
	Late March, 2004	44	36	7	5	8=100
	Mid-March, 2004	43	42	5	5	5=100
	May, 2000	41	46	5	2	6=100
h.F1	Stubborn	72	12	3	5	8=100
	August, 2004	68	12	4	5	11=100
	May, 2004	68	12	4	5	11=100
i.F1	Changes his mind too much	23	56	5	6	10=100
1.1 1	August, 2004	28	47	7	5	13=100
	May, 2004	30	42	8	5	15=100

Q.15 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..."; OBSERVE FORM SPLITS)?

# **BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1580]:**

	George	John	(VOL.)	
	W. Bush	Kerry <sup>12</sup>	Neither	DK/Ref.
a. Improving economic conditi	ions 42	45	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 <sup>13</sup>	40	46	6	8=100

In 2000 the question asked about Al Gore.

In 2000 the question asked about Al Gore.

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

Q.15 C	ONTINUED	George	John	(VOL.)	
	1010 1 2000	W. Bush	Kerry		DK/Ref.
	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	32	50	8	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
ASK FO	ORM 2 [N=807]:				
c.F2	Improving education	43	43	5	9=100
0.1 2	August, 2004	36	53	3	8=100
	May, 2004	35	50	5	10=100
	Late March, 2004	39	43	5	13=100
	Mid-March, 2004	36	52	3	9=100
	Late-October, 2000	41	45	4	10=100
	Mid-October, 2000	40	46	3	11=100
	Early October, 2000	41	43	6	10=100
	•	39	45	4	10=100
	September, 2000				
	June, 2000	34	44	5	17=100
	March, 2000	42	44	3	11=100
d.F2	Improving the job situation	40	46	5	9=100
	August, 2004	35	53	5	7=100
	May, 2004	35	50	5	10=100
	Late March, 2004	37	45	7	11 = 100
	Mid-March, 2004	30	57	5	8=100
e.F2	Improving morality in the country	51	33	7	9=100
	August, 2004	41	45	4	10=100
ASK A	LL REGISTERED VOTERS:				
f.	Making wise decisions about				
	what to do in Iraq	51	39	3	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
σ	Defending the country from future				
g.	terrorist attacks	58	31	3	8=100
	August, 2004	49	39	4	8=100
	May, 2004	52	33	5	10=100
	141ay, 2007	34	55	5	10-100

Q.15 CO	NTINUED	George	John	(VOL.)	
		W. Bush	<b>Kerry</b>	Neither	DK/Ref.
	Late March, 2004	53	29	4	14=100
	Mid-March, 2004	57	32	4	7=100
ASK FO	RM 2 [N=807]:				
h.F2	Making wise decisions about foreign policy	7 53	37	3	7=100
	August, 2004	43	47	2	8=100
	May, 2004	43	42	4	11=100
	Late March, 2004	44	38	4	14=100
	Mid-March, 2004	44	45	3	8=100
	March, 2000	40	46	4	10=100

D.1 How likely is it that you will watch the upcoming presidential debates between John Kerry and George W. Bush? (**READ**)

# **BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1580]:**

		Early Oct	Late Sept	Sept		CBS/NYT	14
		2000	2000	1996	<u>1992</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1984</u>
61	Very likely	49	43	43	67	55	55
27	Somewhat likely, OR	31	31	34	24	27	27
11	Not likely	19	22	22	8	17	16
_1	Don't know/Refused (VOL	) <u>1</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	2	<u>1</u>	2
100		100	100	100	100	100	100

D.2 Will the debates matter in deciding who you will vote for or is your mind already made up?

## **BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1580]:**

		Sept 2000	Sept 1996
29	Debate matters	29	30
68	Mind made up	60	65
<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>11</u>	<u>5</u>
100		100	100

Q.16 How would you describe the presidential election campaign so far – is it interesting to you, or would you say it is dull?

# BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1580]:

		June 2004	June 2000	July 1996
50	Interesting	35	31	21
42	Dull	56	63	73
6	Neither (VOL.)	4	4	3
_2	Don't know/Refused	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100	100

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.17 And thus far, is the presidential election .... [READ AND RANDOMIZE]

# **BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1580]:**

			June 2004	Mid- March 2004
a.	90	Important OR	82	83
	9	Unimportant	16	16
	*	Neither applies (VOL.)	1	*
	<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
	100		100	100
b.	63	Informative OR	48	54
	33	Not informative	47	42
	1	Neither applies (VOL.)	2	2
	_3	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>
	100		100	2 <u>2</u> 100
c.	53	Too long OR	53	53
	42	Not too long	42	43
	2	Neither applies (VOL.)	2	1
	_3	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
	100		100	100
d.	62	Too negative OR	46	49
	32	Not too negative	46	46
	1	Neither applies (VOL.)	2	1
	_5	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>
	100		100	100
e.	21	Hard to follow OR	30	25
	75	Easy to follow	66	72
	2	Neither applies (VOL.)	2	1
	_2	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
	100		100	100

## **ASK ALL GENERAL PUBLIC:**

# ASK FORM 1 SEPTEMBER 8 - 13 AND BOTH FORMS SEPTEMBER 14 [N=1485]:

Q.18F1 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."]

		FavorableUnfavorable		Never	Can't				
		<u>Total</u>	Very	<i>Mostly</i>	<u>Total</u>	Very	Mostly	Heard o	f Rate
a.F1	John Kerry	49	17	32	43	19	24	*	8=100
	September 11-14	51	17	34	40	19	21	*	9=100(N=899)
	September 8-10	50	18	32	44	18	26	0	6=100(N=586)
	August, 2004	56	23	33	36	14	22	1	7=100
	June, 2004	50	11	39	41	16	25	0	9=100
	Early February, 2004	58	14	44	28	8	20	1	13=100
	January, 2003	30	6	24	16	4	12	36	18=100
	Clinton: August, 1992 (RVs)	63	16	47	35	11	24	0	2=100
	Clinton: July, 1992	59	17	42	34	9	25	0	7=100
	<b>Dukakis:</b> September, 1988 (RVs)	51	18	33	42	19	23	7=1	100
	<b>Dukakis:</b> August, 1988 (RVs)	59	17	42	33	11	22	8=	100

Q.18F1 CONTINUED		Favorable		Unfavorable Never Can't			Can't		
<b>C</b>		Total		Mostly	Total Very Mostly Heard of R				
									<del>-</del>
b.F1 Ge	eorge W. Bush	52	25	27	43	24	19	*	5=100
	September 11-14	49	24	25	46	27	19	0	5=100(N=899)
	September 8-10	55	28	27	40	21	19	*	5=100(N=586)
	August, 2004	58	27	31	39	22	17	0	3=100
	June, 2004	52	19	33	45	22	23	*	3=100
	Early February, 2004	53	21	32	44	25	19	0	3=100
Gallup:	January 29 - February 1, 2004	52			47				1=100
Gallup:	January 2-5, 2004	65			35				*=100
Gallup:	October 6-8, 2003	60			39				1=100
Gallup:	June 9-10, 2003	66			33				1=100
•	April, 2003	72	37	35	25	11	14	0	3=100
	December, 2002	68	35	33	27	11	16	0	5=100
	July, 2001	61	22	39	35	14	21	*	4=100
	January, 2001	60	24	36	33	12	21	0	7=100
	May, 2000	58	18	40	31	12	19	1	10=100
	March, 1999 <sup>15</sup>	61	21	40	21	7	14	4	14=100
	November, 1997	54	13	41	18	6	12	9	19=100
c.F1 Die	ck Cheney	43	13	30	42	23	19	2	13=100
	September 11-14	41	13	28	44	24	20	1	14=100 (N=899)
	September 8-10	48	14	34	40	23	17	2	10=100 (N=586)
	August, 2004	47	13	34	41	20	21	2	10=100
	April, 2003	60	21	39	27	12	15	3	10=100
	December, 2002	59	20	39	26	10	16	5	10=100
	July, 2001	58	19	39	26	6	20	6	10=100
	January, 2001	62	20	42	18	5	13	2	18=100
	December, 1994	42	10	32	19	5	14	21	18=100
	March, 1991 <sup>16</sup>	68	33	35	6	2	4	10	16=100
	May, 1990	20	3	17	11	3	8	44	25=100
d.F1 Jol	hn Edwards	49	16	33	31	11	20	3	17=100
	September 11-14	49	16	33	31	13	18	3	17=100 (N=899)
	September 8-10	50	16	34	30	9	21	4	16=100 (N=586)
	August, 2004	58	22	36	24	6	18	4	14=100
	Early February, 2004	42	9	33	24	7	17	8	26=100
	January, 2003	22	4	18	14	4	10	43	21=100
	Gore: August, 1992 (RVs)	66	22	44	20	5	15	2	12=100
	<b>Gore:</b> July, 1992	47	15	32	19	5	14	6	28=100
	<b>Bentsen:</b> September, 1988 (RVs)	50	11	39	22	7	15	28=	=100
	Bentsen: August, 1988 (RVs)	48	12	36	18	5	13	34=	=100

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

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

# **ASK FORM 2 [N=1009]:**

Thinking now about the president...

Q.19F2 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]? [IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF "DEPENDS" PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling [ITEM]? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]

		<u>Approve</u>	<b>Disapprove</b>	DK/Ref.
a.F2 The	e economy	44	49	7=100
	August, 2004	42	52	6=100
	July, 2004	42	52	6=100
	June, 2004	43	50	7=100
	Early April, 2004	39	53	8=100
	Mid-January, 2004	47	47	6=100
	September, 2003	43	48	9=100
	February, 2003	43	48	9=100
	January, 2003	47	45	8=100
	Early October, 2002	49	40	11 = 100
	June, 2002	53	36	11 = 100
	January, 2002	60	28	12=100
	Early September, 2001	47	44	9=100
	February, 2001	50	22	28 = 100
Clinton:	Early September, 1998	71	23	6=100
Clinton:	September, 1997	60	34	6=100
Clinton:	January, 1996	50	42	8=100
Clinton:	June, 1995	46	46	8=100
Clinton:	October, 1994	45	46	9=100
Clinton:	July, 1994	38	56	6=100
	August, 1990	40	52	8=100
Bush, Sr:	May, 1990	42	47	11=100
1 E2 Th	:tti.a i.a. Tua.a.	47	45	0 100
b.F2 The	e situation in Iraq	47	45 52	8=100 5-100
	August, 2004	43	52 53	5=100 5 100
	July, 2004 June, 2004	42 42	53 51	5=100 7-100
				7=100 8=100
	Late April, 2004	44 40	48 53	7=100
	Early April, 2004 Mid-January, 2004	59	33 37	4=100
			40	4=100 8=100
	September, 2003 April 10-16, 2003 <sup>17</sup>	52 77	40 17	6=100 6=100
	April 8-9, 2003	71	23	6=100 6=100
	April 9, 2003	76	23 18	6=100
	April 8, 2003	65	28	7=100
	April 2-7, 2003	73	21	6=100
	March 28-April 1, 2003	69	26	5=100
	March 25-27, 2003	73	23	3=100 4=100
	March 23-24, 2003	73 72	23	6=100
	March 20-22, 2003	72	23	7=100
	February, 2003	70 56	23 37	7=100 7=100
	January, 2003	56	36	8=100
	Early October, 2002	56	36 34	8=100 10=100
	Larry October, 2002	50	JĦ	10-100

From March to April 2003 the item was worded: "... dealing with the war in Iraq?" The 1991 Gallup trend was worded "...George Bush is handling the situation in the Persian Gulf region."

Q.19F2 CON	TINUED	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	DK/Ref.
c.F2 Te	rorist threats	62	32	6=100
	August, 2004	58	37	5=100
	July, 2004	54	40	6=100
	June, 2004	56	35	9=100
	Late April, 2004	55	36	9=100
	Early April, 2004	53	38	9=100
	Gallup: December, 2003	65	33	2 = 100
	September, 2003	64	28	8=100
	February, 2003	67	25	8=100
	January, 2003	69	23	8=100
	Early October, 2002	71	22	7=100
	June, 2002	74	18	8=100
	Mid-September, 2001 <sup>18</sup>	85	6	9=100
Clinton:	Early September, 1998	72	20	8=100
d.F2 The	e nation's foreign policy	47	42	11=100
	August, 2004	42	49	9=100
	July, 2004	40	48	12=100
	Mid-January, 2004	53	36	11=100
	March, 2003	53	36	11=100
	Early April, 2002	69	20	11=100
	Gallup: October, 2001	81	14	5=100
	Early September, 2001	46	34	20=100
	August, 2001 <sup>19</sup>	45	32	23=100

### **ASK ALL GENERAL PUBLIC:**

Q.20 If "6" represents someone who is very liberal in politics and "1" represents someone who is very conservative, where on this scale of 6 to 1 would you rate (INSERT ITEM; ROTATE ITEMS a. AND b. WITH ITEM c. ALWAYS LAST? [IF ANSWERS "DON'T KNOW"/"NEVER HEARD OF" DO NOT PROBE.] [IF R IS CONFUSED, REPEAT ANCHORS "6 IS VERY LIBERAL, 1 IS VERY CONSERVATIVE"]

		Based on Those Who Could Rate								
		Coi	nservat	ive		Liberal			Never heard of/	
		<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>		<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	DK/Refused	$(N)^{20}$
a.	George W. Bush	28	27	18		10	8	9=100	8%	(1840)
	Mid-March, 2004	26	24	20		13	7	9=100	8%	
	Mid-January, 2004	28	28	16		10	8	10 = 100	10%	
	January, 2000	13	26	30		14	10	7=100	16%	
	May, 1999	15	24	27		15	10	9=100	15%	
b.	John Kerry	7	6	18		23	19	27 = 100	13%	(1772)
	Mid-March, 2004	5	5	18		32	20	20 = 100	12%	
	Mid-January, 2004	6	9	27		30	17	11=100	45%	

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

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

Numbers listed are the number of respondents who could rate each candidate or themselves and on which all percentages are based, except for the percentage of "Never heard of/Don't know/Refused" which is based on total.

#### Q.20 CONTINUED... Based on Those Who Could Rate -- Conservative ------ Liberal ----Never heard of/ c. Yourself 15 13 30 17 12 13=100 8% (1854)Mid-March, 2004 12 12 30 20 14 12=100 6% Mid-January, 2004 27 5% 15 15 18 14 11=100 January, 2000 8% 15 16 31 16 10 12=100 May, 1999 13 12 30 20 11 14=100 7% September, 1996 17 10 31 18 13 11=100 6% September, 1988 14 15 29 20 12 10=100 6% Newsweek: 1984 19 16 9 31 12 13=100 6%

## **ASK FORM 1:**

# ROTATE Q.21aF1 AND Q.21bF1

Q.21aF1 In the presidential campaign so far, do you think John Kerry has been too personally critical of George W. Bush, or not?

### **BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=773]:**

				Gore Critical	Clinton Critical	Dukakis Critical
			Mid-	of Bush	of Dole	of Bush, Sr.
		June	March	Early Oct	Late Sept	Oct
		<u>2004</u>	<u>2004</u>	2000	<u>1996</u>	<u>1988</u>
52	Too personally critical	44	48	29	21	45
45	Not too personally critical	48	46	61	70	50
<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused	8	<u>6</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>5</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100

Q.21bF1 In the presidential campaign so far, do you think George W. Bush has been too personally critical of John Kerry, or not?

## **BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=773]:**

				Bush Critical	Dole Critical	Bush, Sr Critical
			Mid-	Of Gore	of Clinton	of Dukakis
		June	March	Early Oct	Late Sept	Oct
		<u>2004</u>	2004	<u>2000</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1988</u>
49	Too personally critical	33	33	40	53	52
47	Not too personally critical	58	58	50	40	43
4	Don't know/Refused	<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100

#### **ASK FORM 2:**

# ROTATE Q.22aF2 AND Q.22bF2

Q.22aF2 In the presidential campaign so far, do you think John Kerry's campaign has been too personally critical of George W. Bush, or not?

# **BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=807]:**

- 54 Too personally critical
- 42 Not too personally critical
- 4 Don't know/Refused (**VOL.**)

100

Q.22bF2 In the presidential campaign so far, do you think George W. Bush's campaign has been too personally critical of John Kerry, or not?

## **BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=807]:**

- 51 Too personally critical
- 44 Not too personally critical
- 5 Don't know/Refused (**VOL.**)

100

## **ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS SEPTEMBER 10-13:**

Q.CAM1 Vice President Dick Cheney recently said that if voters "make the wrong choice" on election day, then the danger is, quote, "we'll get hit again." Is this a reasonable charge to make, or do you think it goes too far?

## **BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=829]:**

- 28 Reasonable charge
- 66 Goes too far
- 6 Don't know/Refused

100

## **ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS SEPTEMBER 10-13:**

Q.CAM2 From what you have heard or read, do you think George W. Bush met all of his service obligations while he was in the National Guard, or don't you think so?

## IF "DID NOT" MEET OBLIGATIONS ("2" IN Q.CAM2), ASK:

Q.CAM3 Is this something that bothers you, or not?

## **BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=829]:**

- 33 Met all service obligations
- 43 Did not meet obligations
- 26 Bothers me
- 17 Not
- \* Don't know/Refused
- 24 Don't know/Refused

100

## **ROTATE Q.23/23a WITH Q.24/24a**

Q.23 So far, have you seen any of Kerry's campaign commercials on TV, or not? **IF YES (1 IN Q.23) ASK:** 

Q.23a Have you seen Kerry's commercials a lot, some or only once or twice?

#### BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1580]: ----- Clinton -----In "past few days" only 21 Mid-Gore Clinton Oct Oct Oct Sept June March Early Oct Late Sept 14-18 9-13 2-6 25-29 1992 1992 1992 1996 1992 2004 2004 2000 79 57 59 Yes 73 60 57 63 64 75 26 A lot 21 14 30 Some 29 20 22 22 Only once or twice 26 Don't know/Refused 1 1 ------39 35 40 39 34 20 No 26 41 24 1 Don't know/Refused 1 1 100 100 100 100 100 100 100 100

Q.24 So far, have you seen any of Bush's campaign commercials on TV, or not? **IF YES (1 IN Q.24) ASK:** 

Q.24a Have you seen Bush's commercials a lot, some or only once or twice?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1580]:							Bush, Sr			
						In "past	few da	ys" onl	y	
		Mid-			Dole	Oct	Oct	Oct	Sept	
		June	March l	Early Oct	Late Sept	14-18	9-13	2-6	25-29	
		<u>2004</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1992</u>	1992	<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>	
79	Yes	69	65	61	70	60	66	68	78	
27	A lot	20	15							
29	Some	30	21							
22	Only once or twice	19	28							
1	Don't know/Refused	*	1							
20	No	30	34	37	29	38	32	30	21	
1	Don't know/Refused	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	

NO Q.25 OR Q.26

In October 1992 the question was worded: "In the PAST FEW DAYS have you seen any television commercials on behalf of (Bill Clinton's/George Bush's) candidacy? Only tell me 'yes' if you have seen paid commercials for (Clinton/Bush) on TV in the past few days." In September 1992 the question was worded: "So far, have you seen any television commercials on behalf of (Bill Clinton's/George Bush's) candidacy, or not?"

Q.27 Here are some statements about the candidates and political parties. For each, please tell me if you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly DISagree, or completely DISagree with it. (The first one is...) (INSERT ITEM; ROTATE ITEMS)

# **BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS:**

		IS a THRU f OF FORM 1 [N=773]:	Completely <u>Agree</u>	Mostly Agree	Mostly <u>Disagree</u>	Completely <u>Disagree</u>	Don't know/ Refused
	.F1	John Kerry changes his mind too much.	29	26	27	12	6=100
b	.F1	It's not clear what George W. Bush is going to do about Iraq if he is reelected.	25	33	20	17	5=100
c.	.F1	Religious conservatives have too much control over the Republican Party.	17	26	30	18	9=100
d	.F1	I worry that George W. Bush will take America into another war.	28	23	28	17	4=100
e.	.F1	John Kerry is an anti-war candidate.	20	32	29	10	9=100
f.	.F1	I like the fact that George W. Bush doesn't over-complicate issues.	22	32	23	18	5=100
	TEM F.F2	IS g THRU k OF FORM 2 [N=807]: George W. Bush is too partisan and too divisive.	18	26	28	17	11=100
h	.F2	George W. Bush seems like a real person rather than a politician.	26	32	18	21	3=100
i.	.F2	Liberal special interests have too much control over the Democratic Party.	22	32	25	10	11=100
j.	.F2	The chance of another terrorist attack wou increase if John Kerry were elected.	ıld 15	21	26	30	8=100
k	.F2	I like the fact that John Kerry considers me points of view when making a decision.	nany 21	33	22	17	7=100

# **QUESTIONS 28-41 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE**

# **ASK ALL GENERAL PUBLIC:**

Now, just a few questions for statistical purposes only.

INT1 Do you use a computer at your workplace, at school, at home, or anywhere else on at least an occasional basis?

INT2 Do you ever go online to access the Internet or World Wide Web or to send and receive email?

				Based on T	otal Re	espondents:		
	Co	Computer User			Goes Online			
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	DK/Ref	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	DK/Ref		
September, 2004	78	22	*=100	72	28	*=100		
August, 2004	75	25	*=100	68	32	0 = 100		
April, 2004	73	27	0 = 100	66	34	*=100		
March, 2004 <sup>22</sup>	75	25	*=100	68	32	*=100		
August, 2003	77	23	*=100	67	33	*=100		
Mid-July, 2003	75	25	*=100	65	35	*=100		
January, 2003	76	24	0 = 100	67	33	*=100		
December, 2002	76	24	*=100	67	33	*=100		
Early October, 2002	75	25	*=100	63	37	*=100		
August, 2002	78	22	*=100	69	31	*=100		
June, 2002	74	26	*=100	66	34	*=100		
May, 2002	75	25	*=100	66	34	*=100		
April, 2002	71	29	*=100	62	38	0 = 100		
February, 2002	71	29	*=100	62	38	0 = 100		
January, 2002	73	27	0 = 100	62	38	0 = 100		
Mid-November, 2001	73	27	0 = 100	62	38	0 = 100		
Mid-September, 2001	72	28	*=100	62	38	*=100		
June, 2001	72	28	*=100	62	38	0 = 100		
May, 2001	75	25	*=100	64	36	0 = 100		

Beginning in 2004, the online use question is asked of all respondents (in previous years it was asked only of those who identified themselves as computer users). This modification was made to adjust to changes in technology and means of access to the Internet, and increases the percent who are classified as Internet users by 1-2 percentage points.

IN	T1	/IN'	$\Gamma 2.6$	CON	ITIN	UED
117		/1117.	4	$-\mathbf{o}_{\Gamma}$	1111	ULD

# **Based on Total Respondents:**

INTI/INTZ CONTINUED				Daseu on 1	based on Total Respondents:			
	Co	mputer U	User	$G_{\epsilon}$	oes Onli	ine		
	Yes	No.	DK/Ref	Yes	No	DK/Ref		
April, 2001	72	28	*=100	62	38	0=100		
February, 2001	72	28	0 = 100	60	40	*=100		
January, 2001	71	29	*=100	61	39	0 = 100		
July, 2000	68	31	1=100	55	45	*=100		
June, 2000	68	31	1=100	56	44	*=100		
April, 2000	68	32	*=100	54	46	*=100		
March, 2000 <sup>23</sup>	72	28	0 = 100	61	39	0 = 100		
February, 2000	67	33	*=100	52	48	0 = 100		
January, 2000	68	32	*=100	52	48	*=100		
December, 1999	67	33	*=100	53	47	0 = 100		
October, 1999	67	33	*=100	50	50	0 = 100		
Late September, 1999	68	32	*=100	52	48	*=100		
September, 1999	70	30	*=100	53	47	0 = 100		
August, 1999	67	33	*=100	52	48	0 = 100		
July, 1999	68	32	*=100	49	51	0 = 100		
June, 1999	64	35	1=100	50	50	*=100		
May, 1999	66	33	1=100	48	52	0 = 100		
April, 1999	71	29	*=100	51	49	*=100		
March, 1999	68	32	*=100	49	51	*=100		
February, 1999	68	32	*=100	49	51	*=100		
January, 1999	69	31	*=100	47	53	*=100		
Early December, 1998	64	36	*=100	42	58	0 = 100		
November, 1998				37	63	*=100		
Early September, 1998	64	36	*=100	42	58	*=100		
Late August, 1998	66	34	0 = 100	43	57	*=100		
Early August, 1998	66	34	*=100	41	59	*=100		
April, 1998	61	39	*=100	36	64	0 = 100		
January, 1998	65	35	*=100	37	63	0 = 100		
November, 1997	66	34	*=100	36	63	1=100		
June, 1997	60	40	0 = 100	29	71	0 = 100		
Early September, 1996	56	44	*=100	22	78	0 = 100		
July, 1996	56	44	*=100	23	77	0 = 100		
April, 1996	58	42	*=100	21	79	*=100		
March, 1996	61	39	*=100	22	78	0 = 100		
February, 1996	60	40	0=100	21	79	*=100		
January, 1996	59	41	0=100	21	79	0 = 100		
June, 1995 <sup>24</sup>				14	86	*=100		

In March 2000, "or anywhere else" was added to the question wording.

The 1995 figure combines responses from two separate questions: (1) Do you or anyone in your household ever use a modem to connect to any computer bulletin boards, information services such as CompuServe or Prodigy, or other computers at other locations? (IF YES, PROBE: Is that you, someone else or both?) (2) Do you, yourself, ever use a computer at (work) (school) (work or school) to connect with computer bulletin boards, information services such as America Online or Prodigy, or other computers over the Internet?