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Bush 49%-Kerry 44% Among Likely Voters
KERRY WINS DEBATE, BUT LITTLE CHANGE IN CANDIDATE IMAGES

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Bush 49%-Kerry 44% Among Likely Voters

KERRY WINS DEBATE, BUT LITTLE CHANGE IN CANDIDATE IMAGES

By two-to-one, voters who watched the first presidential debate believe that John Kerry prevailed. But the widely viewed Sept. 30 showdown did not result in a sea change in opinions of the candidates. As a consequence, George W. Bush continues to have a much stronger personal image than his Democratic challenger, while voters express more confidence in Kerry on key domestic issues like the economy and health care.

The latest national poll by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, conducted Oct. 1-3 among 1,002 registered voters, finds Bush maintaining a 48%-41% lead over Kerry among all voters. However, the internals of the poll suggest that Bush's margin slipped somewhat over the course of the weekend, as a growing number of voters came to see Kerry as the debate winner.

When the sample is narrowed to likely voters, Bush holds a modest 49%-44% edge in voting intentions. This marks the first time in 16 years of Pew Research Center polling that a Democratic candidate has made a better showing on a likely voter base than on the basis of all registered voters.¹

The high level of Democratic motivation to vote is surprising given that only half of Democratic voters think that Kerry will win in November. By comparison, fully 85% of Republicans and even 60% of independents expect Bush will win the election.

Overall voter engagement in the campaign and the debates continues to be unusually strong. Roughly six-in-ten voters (59%) say they are very likely to tune into Friday's second presidential debate. That is nearly as many as said would watch the first debate (61%), which drew a huge television audience. However, significantly fewer voters (41%) intend to watch Tuesday night's debate between Vice President Dick Cheney and his Democratic opponent John Edwards.

While there is general agreement that Kerry won the initial debate, voters are divided in their

Presidential Trial Heat		
	Sept 22-26	Oct 1-3
<i>Registered Voters</i>	%	%
Bush	48	48
Kerry	40	41
Nader	2	2
Undecided	<u>10</u>	<u>9</u>
	100	100
N=	(948)	(1002)
<i>Likely Voters¹</i>		
Bush	--	49
Kerry	--	44
Nader	--	2
Undecided	--	<u>5</u>
		100
N=		(801)

¹ Likely voters are determined by a six-question series that measures interest in the election, intention to vote and a respondent's past voting history. For this analysis, it is assumed that 55% of the voting age population will cast a vote in November.

views of major criticisms raised by the candidates during that encounter. The charge that Kerry changes his mind too much to be an effective commander in chief – a familiar Bush theme in the debate – rings true for nearly half (49%) of all voters who watched the debate. But swing voters who watched the debate are evenly split over the criticism that Kerry changes his mind too much to be a good commander in chief (37% agree, 36% do not).

Voters who watched the debate are divided as to whether Kerry would give the allies too much of a say over U.S. foreign policy, as Bush contended. However, this criticism fell flat among swing voters who tuned into the debates – only about a quarter (26%) think Kerry would cede too much control to the allies, compared with 44% who disagree.

The charge that President Bush has made major misjudgements in his handling of foreign policy and security issues – a favorite Kerry theme – also divided all debate watchers. But half of swing voters who watched the debate accept this view, while 42% do not. On balance, however, swing voters who watched the debate do not believe Bush is too inflexible in his thinking about foreign policy. Just 38% of this group thinks that Bush is too rigid in foreign policy, while 49% disagree.

The general belief that Kerry won the debate has not appreciably improved his overall image. A 53% majority of all voters say they have a positive impression of the Massachusetts Democrat, while 41% express a negative opinion. Despite the fact that debate watchers view Kerry more favorably than those who did not see the debate (56% vs. 48%), Kerry's overall favorability rating is little changed from the survey conducted Sept. 11-14 (54% favorable/39% unfavorable).

Debate Perceptions and Candidate Impressions				
	-----Vote Preference-----			
	Total	Bush	Kerry	Swing voters
<i>Who won the debate?</i>	%	%	%	%
Kerry	58	28	95	60
Bush	26	52	1	12
Neither/Both	9	13	2	13
Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>15</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Kerry changes mind too much to be good commander in chief</i>				
Yes	49	88	8	37
No	41	7	86	36
Don't know	<u>10</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>27</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Kerry would give too much say to U.S. allies</i>				
Yes	43	79	7	26
No	44	11	86	44
Don't know	<u>13</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>30</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Bush made major misjudgments on Iraq and terrorism</i>				
Yes	46	11	87	50
No	50	85	10	42
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>8</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Bush too inflexible on foreign policy</i>				
Yes	41	9	82	38
No	53	88	14	49
Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>13</u>
	100	100	100	100
Number of cases:	(727)	(334)	(247)	(144)
* Based on registered voters who watched the debates.				

Compared to his all-time low 50% favorability rating in mid-September, perceptions of the president have improved. Currently, 57% rate George W. Bush favorably, while 40% view him unfavorably; this is slightly better than Kerry's 53%-41% favorability margin.

Both Dick Cheney and John Edwards enter Tuesday's vice-presidential debate with generally favorable overall ratings, though the vice president's unfavorable marks are significantly higher than those of his less well-known challenger. Roughly half of registered voters rank both Cheney (48%) and Edwards (50%) favorably. But 41% rate Cheney unfavorably, compared with just 28% for John Edwards. Nearly a quarter of voters (22%) say they do not know enough about Edwards to offer an opinion.

Trends in Favorability			
	Sept <u>8-10</u>	Sept <u>11-14</u>	Oct <u>1-3</u>
<i>Opinion of Bush</i>			
	%	%	%
Favorable	58	50	57
Unfavorable	40	46	40
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100
<i>Opinion of Kerry</i>			
Favorable	51	54	53
Unfavorable	46	39	41
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100
<i>Opinion of Cheney</i>			
Favorable	54	44	48
Unfavorable	41	43	41
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>11</u>
	100	100	100
<i>Opinion of Edwards</i>			
Favorable	57	53	50
Unfavorable	30	31	28
Don't know	<u>13</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>22</u>
	100	100	100

Based on registered voters.

One-word Impressions

When asked to describe in a single word the impression each candidate made in the debates, both Bush and Kerry received a mix of positive and negative remarks. Among voters who watched the debate, half (51%) used positive terms to characterize Kerry’s debate performance, compared with 30% who used negative words. Assessments of Bush’s debate performance are more mixed (37% positive, 47% negative).

The positive words most frequently used to describe Bush’s debate performance were general assessments like “honest” (33 mentions) and “strong” (23 mentions). Positive one-word descriptions of Kerry, by contrast, seem more directly related to his debate performance; 47 respondents say Kerry was “confident,” by far the most frequently used word to describe his performance. Other frequently mentioned words for Kerry are “prepared” (25 mentions) and “intelligent” (19 mentions).

A number of negative assessments were provided, and there is a clear pattern to these responses. One-word evaluations of Bush – such as “defensive” and “nervous” – appear to be more reflective of his debate performance. Negative assessments of Kerry – “arrogant,” “wishy-washy,” and “indecisive” are the leading mentions – seem to be more general assessments of his character rather than specific descriptions of his debate performance.

Debate Impressions	
<i>What <u>one</u> word describes the candidate in the debate</i>	
Positives words	
<u>George W. Bush</u>	<u>John Kerry</u>
33 Honest	47 Confident
23 Strong	25 Prepared
14 Confident	19 Intelligent
14 Sincere	17 Presidential
11 Adequate	16 Strong
11 Determined	14 Good
11 Good	12 Knowledgeable
11 Steady	11 Articulate
Negative words	
<u>George W. Bush</u>	<u>John Kerry</u>
13 Defensive	11 Arrogant
11 Liar	11 Wishy-washy
11 Nervous	10 Indecisive
10 Tired	9 Flip-flop
9 Repetitive	8 Politician
8 Angry	7 Untrustworthy
8 Confused	
8 Uncertain	

Figures show the number of debate watchers who offered each response; the figures are not percentages.

Bush Support Strong, Positive

As has been the case throughout the campaign, President Bush's support is stronger and more positive than is Kerry's. Strong Bush supporters outnumber moderate supporters by nearly three-to-one (35% strong support, 12% moderate support). By comparison, 24% of Kerry's supporters back him strongly, while 17% support him only moderately.

Similarly, Bush's supporters overwhelmingly say they are voting *for* him, rather than against Kerry (76% for, 20% against Kerry). By contrast, Kerry's vote remains largely an anti-Bush vote. A majority of Kerry's supporters continue to say their vote is more against Bush (56%) than for Kerry (37%).

The pattern of support for the candidates across different demographic groups is little changed from last week's survey (see demographic table, p. 11). Bush continues to lead among men (53%-37%), while running about even among women (43% Bush, 45% Kerry). Young voters and independents continue to divide their support about equally.

Bush continues to run well among white Catholics, white evangelical Protestants, and voters in the South and Midwest. Kerry has shored up his support among African Americans (84% now vs. 73% last week), and is doing as well among conservative and moderate Democrats (81%-11%) as Bush is among moderate to liberal Republicans (80%-7%).

	<u>June</u>	<u>Aug</u>	<u>Sept 8-10</u>	<u>Sept 11-14</u>	<u>Oct 1-3</u>
<i>Bush Supporters</i>	%	%	%	%	%
Voting <i>for</i> Bush	73	75	76	78	76
Voting <i>against</i> Kerry	23	19	20	17	20
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Kerry Supporters</i>					
Vote <i>for</i> Kerry	37	43	35	34	37
Voting <i>against</i> Bush	59	51	59	61	56
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>
	100	100	100	100	100

	<u>Feb</u>	<u>Mar</u>	<u>May</u>	<u>June</u>	<u>Aug</u>	<u>Sept 8-10</u>	<u>Sept 11-14</u>	<u>Oct 1-3</u>
<i>Registered voters</i>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Certain Bush	33	34	36	40	38	43	36	42
Certain Kerry	38	40	42	39	40	33	39	35
Certain Nader	--	--	--	--	1	1	1	1
Swing voters	29	26	22	21	22	24	25	22
Favor Bush	13	11	9	8	7	9	9	5
Favor Kerry	10	9	8	7	8	7	7	6
Favor Nader	--	--	--	--	1	1	1	2
Undecided	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>9</u>
	100	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, Sept. and Oct.

Certain Voters vs. Swing Voters

As the race now stands, 42% of registered voters say they are certain to vote for Bush, while 35% are certain to vote for Kerry. About one-in-ten (9%) say they are undecided. The number of swing voters – those who are undecided or are still not certain of their choice – has edged downward since September. Today, 22% of registered voters fall into the swing category, compared with 25% in mid-September. Among those most likely to vote, 17% are swing voters.

The size of the swing vote varies among groups in the population. More women than men are not yet certain of their vote (26% vs. 18%), and the same is true for people with a high school education versus the college educated (27% vs. 18%). Relatively few white evangelicals are uncertain (14%) compared with white Catholics and mainline Protestants (27%, 26%). People living in the so-called “battleground states” also apt to be certain about their choices at this point in the campaign (only 16% of those in battleground states are swing voters, compared with 24% of those in Republican states and 28% in Democratic states).

Who's Swinging?				
	---- Certain ----			
	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Nader</u>	<u>Swing</u>
	%	%	%	%
All voters	42	35	1	22=100
Men	49	33	*	18=100
Women	36	37	1	26=100
White				
–Evang. Protest.	69	17	0	14=100
–Mainline Protest.	41	33	*	26=100
–Catholic	42	29	2	27=100
Secular	26	48	0	26=100
18-29	37	37	2	24=100
30-49	47	34	*	19=100
50-64	42	36	0	22=100
65+	39	35	2	25=100
College Grad	43	39	*	18=100
Some College	43	38	0	18=100
H.S. Grad or Less	41	31	1	27=100
Rep States	48	28	0	24=100
Dem States	27	44	1	28=100
Battleground	49	34	1	16=100
Conserv. Rep.	93	1	*	6=100
Mod./Lib. Rep.	69	4	0	27=100
Independents	35	33	2	30=100
Cons./Mod. Dem.	8	70	*	22=100
Liberal Dem.	1	88	0	11=100

Based on registered voters

Liberal Democrats and conservative Republicans express great certainty about their vote choices (only 11% and 6%, respectively, fall in the swing-voter category). But other partisans are more unsettled: 22% of conservative and moderate Democrats are not yet certain, as are 27% of moderate to liberal Republicans. Not surprisingly, a relatively high proportion of independents fall into the swing category (30%).

Candidate Images Unchanged

Despite being widely perceived as the debate winner, John Kerry’s overall image has not improved. The percentage viewing the Democratic challenger favorably is unchanged from mid-September (53% now, 54% Sept 11-14) and Kerry continues to trail Bush on most key issues and personal qualities by large margins. President Bush is seen as more honest, a stronger leader, and as better able to protect the nation against terror attacks. Overall favorability ratings of George W. Bush, which reached a low of 50% in mid-September, have risen to 57% in the post-debate survey.

The issue of health care continues to be a strong point for John Kerry, and he also holds a small 46% to 40% lead over the president with respect to who can best improve the nation’s economy. Despite his strong debate performance, Kerry has not shaken the impression that he vacillates on issues too much. Just under half (48%) say they believe John Kerry “changes his mind too much to be a good commander in chief,” while 38% disagree.

This view is reflected in other candidate ratings as well. By a 51% to 37% margin President Bush is rated as the candidate who would use better judgment in a crisis, and by three-to-one (68% to 23%) voters say Bush is the candidate willing to take a stand, even if it is unpopular.

Debate Point-Counterpoint

More generally, the criticisms lodged by the candidates during the debates do not appear to have had a major impact on overall voter impressions. Most voters (51%) reject the idea that Bush is “too inflexible” in his thinking about foreign policy – a charge made by Kerry during the debates – while about four-in-ten (39%) disagree.

Issues and Traits				
Who can best handle...	Sept 8-10	Sept 11-13	Sept 22-26	Oct 1-3
<i>Economy</i>	%	%	%	%
Bush	43	40	39	40
Kerry	44	47	46	46
<i>Situation in Iraq</i>				
Bush	52	52	46	50
Kerry	37	40	38	40
<i>Terrorism</i>				
Bush	59	57	54	57
Kerry	30	31	30	32
<i>Health care</i>				
Bush	34	30	32	31
Kerry	49	53	48	49
<hr/>				
Trait better describes...				
<i>Strong leader</i>				
Bush	59	57	54	57
Kerry	29	30	28	32
<i>Honest & truthful</i>				
Bush	44	41	41	47
Kerry	35	36	32	34
<i>Good in a crisis</i>				
Bush	55	52	49	51
Kerry	34	33	36	37
<i>Cares about people</i>				
Bush	44	38	38	41
Kerry	41	46	42	43
<i>Willing to take an unpopular stand</i>				
Bush	70	67	63	68
Kerry	22	23	23	23
Based on registered voters				

Voters are divided over whether Bush has made “major misjudgments” on Iraq and the war on terror – 47% say he has, while 47% believe he has not. And there is a similar split on the question of whether Kerry would give America’s allies too much say in U.S. foreign policy decisions: 39% think Kerry would give the allies too much say, while slightly more (43%) say he would not.

As expected, there are wide partisan gaps in reactions to debate criticisms made by Bush and Kerry. Voters who watched the debate do not differ markedly from those who did not, indicating that the claims made during the debate did not fundamentally change voters’ perceptions of the candidates.

The War in Iraq

The war in Iraq remains a vulnerability for the president, but Kerry has yet to take advantage of it. Only about a third of voters (35%) believe Bush has a clear plan for bringing the situation in Iraq to a successful conclusion, a rating that has been virtually unchanged throughout the year.

But Kerry has yet to convince voters that he provides a viable alternative. Just 26% of voters believe Kerry has a clear plan for how to deal with Iraq. Moreover, Kerry continues to trail the president in terms of who can best handle the situation in Iraq today – 50% say Bush would make better decisions about Iraq than Kerry, while only 40% say the reverse.

The continuing violence in Iraq has not affected public opinion on the conflict. Half of Americans say the decision to go to war was the right one, while 39% say it was wrong. In September, the public backed the decision to go to war by 53%-39%.

Since last month, there has been a modest decline in the number of Americans who say the U.S. is winning the war on terrorism; 46% say that now, compared with 52% in early September. On balance, however, the public continues to say the U.S. is winning rather than losing the war on terrorism (by 46%-31%).

Bringing Iraq to a Successful Conclusion?						
	<u>April</u>	<u>June</u>	<u>July</u>	<u>Aug</u>	<u>Sept</u>	<u>Oct</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%
George W. Bush						
Has a clear plan	36	37	34	36	36	35
Does not	54	55	59	58	55	55
Don't know	<u>10</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100
John Kerry						
Has a clear plan	--	--	--	--	--	26
Does not	--	--	--	--	--	59
Don't know	--	--	--	--	--	<u>15</u>
						100

Based on general public.

Debate Interest High

Overall, 69% of voters say they watched the first Bush-Kerry debate. That compares with 63% who watched the first debate between Bush and Al Gore in early October 2000. Four-in-ten voters (41%) say they watched the entire debate, up from 32% four years ago.

Voters who are locked into their choice of candidates watched the debate in higher numbers than did swing voters. And significantly fewer swing voters than committed voters stayed with the debate through to the end. Just 29% of swing voters watched the entire debate, compared with 45% of certain Bush voters and 42% of committed Kerry voters.

Broad Debate Audience Gives Kerry Edge				
<i>Watched the debate?</i>	<u>Total</u> %	-----Vote Preference-----		
		<u>Bush</u> %	<u>Kerry</u> %	<u>Swing voters</u> %
Yes, watched	69	72	70	60
<i>All of it</i>	41	45	42	29
No, didn't watch	31	27	30	40
Don't know	-	1	0	0
	100	100	100	100
<i>Who won?*</i>				
Kerry	58	28	95	60
Bush	26	52	1	12
Neither/Both	9	13	2	13
Don't know	7	7	2	15
	100	100	100	100

* Based on registered voters who watched the debates.

The perception that Kerry won the debate is widely shared. By five-to-one, swing voters who watched the debate (60%-12%) say Kerry prevailed. More than a quarter of committed Bush supporters (28%) also believe Kerry won the debate, while a narrow majority (52%) think that Bush won. Kerry voters almost unanimously believe that their candidate won the debate.

The vice presidential debate provides an opportunity for the candidates to define their image with voters, especially with swing voters who are less familiar with them. About a quarter of swing voters (27%) do not know enough about Cheney to hold an opinion, and roughly four-in-ten (42%) swing voters are unable to rate John Edwards.

ABOUT THE SURVEY

Results for the early October 2004 political survey are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International among a nationwide sample of 1,233 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period October 1-3, 2004. For results based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling is plus or minus 3.5 percentage points. For results based on registered voters (N=1,002) the sampling error is plus or minus 3.5 percentage points. For results based on 801 likely voters, 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.

PRESIDENTIAL VOTE CHOICE
(Based on Registered Voters, with leaners)

	Sept. 8-10 2004 (1st)		Sept. 11-14 2004 (2nd)		Sept. 17-21 2004		Sept. 22-26 2004		October 1-3 2004	
	Bush	Kerry	Bush	Kerry	Bush	Kerry	Bush	Kerry	Bush	Kerry
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total	52	40	46	46	45	42	48	40	48	41
Sex										
Male	56	37	49	43	47	40	52	37	53	37
Female	48	42	43	48	42	44	45	42	43	45
Race										
White	58	34	52	40	51	37	54	35	53	36
Non-white	23	69	18	70	14	71	24	64	23	68
Black	13	78	13	76	5	83	12	73	7	84
Race and Sex										
White Men	62	32	56	37	54	34	56	32	57	33
White Women	54	36	49	43	48	39	51	37	49	38
Age										
Under 30	55	35	41	55	35	53	48	42	46	44
30-49	54	39	49	41	48	39	51	39	51	40
50-64	47	44	50	45	42	46	49	38	47	42
65+	53	37	37	50	50	37	44	43	43	41
Sex and Age										
Men under 50	59	34	50	40	46	39	53	37	55	37
Women under 50	50	41	43	49	42	47	47	43	45	44
Men 50+	53	40	47	46	49	42	50	38	50	37
Women 50+	47	43	42	48	42	43	44	42	42	46
Education										
College Grad.	49	44	48	44	48	43	47	44	48	45
Some College	53	35	52	38	43	44	48	40	49	44
High School Grad. or Less	54	39	40	52	43	42	50	37	47	37
Family Income										
\$75,000+	58	36	57	37	53	42	50	43	54	41
\$50,000-\$74,999	57	37	56	38	49	41	63	28	59	37
\$30,000-\$49,999	54	36	40	54	42	44	50	42	44	43
\$20,000-\$29,999	39	57	37	52	42	48	41	45	38	48
<\$20,000	52	42	39	52	26	57	36	43	40	44

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...

	Sept. 8-10 2004 (1st)		Sept. 11-14 2004 (2nd)		Sept. 17-21 2004		Sept. 22-26 2004		October 1-3 2004	
	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total	52	40	46	46	45	42	48	40	48	41
Region										
East	46	45	35	52	40	46	43	45	39	49
Midwest	49	40	48	43	45	38	53	37	53	38
South	57	36	52	40	48	42	49	38	51	37
West	52	40	43	51	41	46	47	42	43	44
Religious Affiliation										
Total White Protestant	64	30	63	31	59	31	61	29	60	30
- Evangelical	70	25	74	21	68	23	74	18	73	21
- Non-Evangelical	57	36	52	40	49	39	45	43	47	40
White Catholic	56	35	49	42	47	38	49	39	49	33
Secular	36	50	23	67	22	56	30	54	31	55
Party ID										
Republican	94	5	92	4	91	4	90	3	90	3
Democrat	10	82	10	86	8	85	10	81	9	85
Independent	50	39	41	44	40	41	46	38	42	39
Party and Ideology										
Conservative Republican	96	3	97	2	95	3	94	1	95	1
Moderate/Liberal Rep.	90	9	83	9	85	8	85	6	80	7
Conservative/Mod. Dem.	13	79	12	82	9	84	14	75	11	81
Liberal Democrat	4	89	3	97	7	90	4	92	3	95
Battleground States										
Republican States	59	32	50	41	50	38	55	35	53	34
Democratic States	45	44	36	53	36	48	39	50	34	51
Battleground States	52	42	49	44	46	42	50	37	54	39

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

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

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

	Quite <u>A lot</u>	(VOL.) <u>Some</u>	Only a <u>Little</u>	(VOL.) <u>None</u>	DK/ <u>Ref.</u>
Early October, 2004	74	4	19	2	1=100
September 22-26, 2004	68	4	23	4	1=100
September 17-21, 2004	66	4	25	4	1=100
Early September, 2004	71	3	22	3	1=100
<i>September 11-14</i>	69	3	23	4	1=100
<i>September 8-10</i>	73	3	21	2	1=100
August, 2004	69	2	26	2	1=100
July, 2004	67	2	28	2	1=100
June, 2004	58	3	36	2	1=100
May, 2004	59	6	30	4	1=100
Late March, 2004	60	4	31	4	1=100
Mid-March, 2004	65	2	31	2	*=100
2000 Early November, 2000	72	6	19	2	1=100
Late October, 2000	66	6	24	4	*=100
Mid-October, 2000	67	9	19	4	1=100
Early October, 2000	60	8	27	4	1=100
September, 2000	59	8	29	3	1=100
July, 2000	46	6	45	3	*=100
June, 2000	46	6	43	5	*=100
May, 2000	48	4	42	5	1=100
April, 2000	45	7	41	7	*=100
1996 November, 1996	67	8	22	3	*=100
October, 1996	65	7	26	1	1=100
Late September, 1996	61	7	29	2	1=100
Early September, 1996	56	3	36	4	1=100
July, 1996	55	3	41	1	*=100
June, 1996	50	5	41	3	1=100
1992 October, 1992	77	5	16	1	1=100
September, 1992	69	3	26	1	1=100
August, 1992	72	4	23	1	*=100
June, 1992	63	6	29	1	1=100
1988 Gallup: November, 1988	73	8	17	2	0=100
Gallup: October, 1988	69	9	20	2	0=100
Gallup: August, 1988	61	10	27	2	0=100
Gallup: September, 1988	57	18	23	2	0=100

Q.1 If the presidential election were being held TODAY, would you vote [INSERT, ROTATE REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC TICKETS WITH NADER TICKET LAST] for the Republican ticket of George W. Bush and Dick Cheney, for the Democratic ticket of John Kerry and John Edwards, or for the ticket of Ralph Nader and Peter Camejo?

IF CHOSE BUSH, KERRY OR NADER IN Q.1, ASK:

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

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

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

	<i>Bush/Lean Bush</i>				<i>Kerry/Lean Kerry</i>				<i>Nader/Lean</i>	<i>Other/Don't</i>	
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Mod.</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Mod.</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Nader</u>	<u>Know</u>	
Early October, 2004	48	35	12	1	41	24	17	*	2	9=100	
September 22-26, 2004	48				40				2	10=100	
September 17-21, 2004	45				42				3	10=100	
Early September, 2004	49	33	15	1	43	22	20	1	1	7=100	
<i>September 11-14</i>	46	30	15	1	46	22	24	*	1	7=100	
<i>September 8-10</i>	52	36	15	1	40	22	17	1	1	7=100	
August, 2004	45	32	13	*	47	28	19	*	2	6=100	
July, 2004	44				46				3	7=100	
June, 2004	46				42				6	6=100	
May, 2004	43				46				6	5=100	
Late March, 2004	44				43				6	7=100	
Mid-March, 2004	42				49				4	5=100	
		<i>Bush/Lean Bush</i>				<i>Gore/Lean Gore</i>				<i>Nader</i>	
Late October, 2000	45	29	16	*	43	24	19	*	4	8=100 ²	
Mid-October, 2000	43	25	18	*	45	22	23	*	4	8=100	
Early October, 2000	43	26	17	*	44	22	22	*	5	8=100	
September, 2000	41	21	19	1	47	25	21	1	2	10=100	
July, 2000	42				41				6	11=100	
		<i>Dole/Lean Dole</i>				<i>Clinton/Lean Clinton</i>				<i>Perot</i>	
October, 1996	34	17	16	1	51	25	26	*	8	7=100	
Late September, 1996	35	16	18	1	51	26	25	*	7	7=100	
Early September, 1996	34	17	17	*	52	26	26	0	8	6=100	
July, 1996	34				44				16	6=100	
		<i>Bush, Sr./Lean Bush, Sr.</i>				<i>Clinton/Lean Clinton</i>				<i>Perot</i>	
Late October, 1992	34	20	14	--	44	26	18	--	19	3=100	
Early October, 1992	35	14	21	--	48	23	25	--	8	9=100	
June, 1992	31				28				36	5=100	

² For trends from 2000, results for "The Reform Party ticket headed by Pat Buchanan" are included in the "Other/DK" category.

THOSE WHO CHOSE KERRY/EDWARDS (Q.1/Q.1b) ASK:

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

THOSE WHO CHOSE BUSH/CHENEY (Q.1/Q.1b) ASK:

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

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

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

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

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

----- DUKAKIS -----					----- BUSH -----				Other/ DK
1988	Total	Pro- Dukakis	Anti- Bush	Un- decid	Total	Pro- Bush	Anti- Dukakis	Un- decid	
Oct	42	23	15	4	50	31	16	3	8=100
Sept	44	21	19	4	50	31	15	4	6=100
May	53	23	26	4	40	26	11	3	7=100

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

Q.3a Do you think there is a chance that you might vote for John Kerry in November, or have you definitely decided not to vote for him?

	<u>Chance might vote for Kerry</u>	<u>Decided not to vote for Kerry</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
Early October, 2004	9	45	5=59%
September 22-26, 2004	14	41	5=60%
September 17-21, 2004	10	40	7=57%
Early September, 2004	11	42	4=57%
<i>September 11-14</i>	<i>11</i>	38	5=54%
<i>September 8-10</i>	<i>11</i>	46	3=60%
August, 2004	11	39	3=53%
July, 2004	13	36	5=54%
June, 2004	10	41	3=54%
May, 2004	11	35	4=50%
Late March, 2004	13	37	3=53%
Mid-March, 2004	13	32	3=48%
Late February, 2004	13	36	3=52%
Early February, 2004	15	33	5=53%
Gore: November, 2000	8	41	6=55%
Gore: Late October, 2000	9	44	4=57%
Gore: Mid-October, 2000	10	40	5=55%
Gore: Early October, 2000	11	38	7=56%
Gore: September, 2000	13	35	5=53%
Gore: June, 2000	14	34	6=54%
Clinton: October, 1996	10	35	4=49%
Clinton: Late September, 1996	11	35	3=49%
Clinton: Early September, 1996	10	34	4=48%
Clinton: July, 1996	8	36	4=48%
Clinton: Late October, 1992	11	43	2=56%
Clinton: Early October, 1992	14	32	6=52%
Clinton: September, 1992	12	28	6=46%
Clinton: August, 1992	14	26	3=43%
Clinton: May, 1992	11	38	6=55%

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

Q.3b Do you think there is a chance that you might vote for George W. Bush in November, or have you definitely decided not to vote for him?

	<u>Chance might vote for Bush</u>	<u>Decided not to vote for Bush</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
Early October, 2004	9	39	4=52%
September 22-26, 2004	10	37	5=52%
September 17-21, 2004	9	39	7=55%
Early September, 2004	9	38	4=51%
<i>September 11-14</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>5=54%</i>
<i>September 8-10</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>35</i>	<i>4=48%</i>
August, 2004	10	42	3=55%
July, 2004	10	41	5=56%

Q.3b CONTINUED...	<u>Chance might vote for Bush</u>	<u>Decided not to vote for Bush</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
June, 2004	9	41	2=52%
May, 2004	9	42	4=55%
Late March, 2004	11	40	3=54%
Mid-March, 2004	11	44	2=57%
Late February, 2004	10	43	3=56%
Early February, 2004	10	41	2=53%
Bush: November, 2000	8	44	7=59%
Bush: Late October, 2000	10	41	4=55%
Bush: Mid-October, 2000	12	40	5=57%
Bush: Early October, 2000	11	39	7=57%
Bush: September, 2000	15	38	6=59%
Bush: June, 2000	15	33	6=54%
Dole: October, 1996	11	51	4=66%
Dole: Late September, 1996	16	44	5=65%
Dole: Early September, 1996	14	47	5=66%
Dole: July, 1996	15	40	3=58%
Bush, Sr: Late October, 1992	11	53	2=66%
Bush, Sr: Early October, 1992	13	46	6=65%
Bush, Sr: September, 1992	12	44	6=62%
Bush, Sr: August, 1992	15	45	4=64%
Bush, Sr: May, 1992	8	40	5=53%

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS:

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

IF YES IN PLANTO1, ASK:

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

	<u>Yes, Plan To Vote</u>	<u>Absolutely Certain</u>	<u>Fairly Certain</u>	<u>Not Certain</u>	<u>No, Don't Plan To</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
Early October, 2004	98	91	6	1	1	1=100
Early September, 2004	98	91	6	1	1	1=100
<i>September 11-14</i>	97	89	7	1	2	1=100
<i>September 8-10</i>	99	93	6	*	1	*=100
August, 2004	98	89	8	1	2	*=100
June, 2004	96	85	10	1	2	2=100
Early November, 2002 ^{3*}	90	--	--	--	8	2=100
Early October, 2002*	95	--	--	--	3	2=100
Early November, 2000	96	--	--	--	3	1=100
Late October, 2000	97	--	--	--	2	1=100
Mid-October, 2000	96	--	--	--	2	2=100
Early October, 2000	97	87	9	1	2	1=100
September, 2000	95	84	10	1	3	2=100
June, 2000	95	84	10	1	2	3=100
Late October, 1998*	91	--	--	--	6	3=100
Early October, 1998*	92	--	--	--	4	4=100

³ In Early November 2002, Early November, 2000, Late October 1998, November 1996 and November 1994 the question was worded: "Do you yourself plan to vote in the election this Tuesday, or not?" In Early November 2002 "Yes, Plan to Vote" category includes people who volunteered that they already voted.

PLANTO1/2 CONTINUED...

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

* Non-Presidential elections

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS:

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

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

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

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

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

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

ROTATE Q.6 AND Q.7

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ROTATE QUESTIONS 10-11

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁴ Field dates of the trend surveys are comparable to the current survey. The 1988 survey is based on the probable electorate. CBS/NYT surveys asked, "How likely is it that you will watch next/this Sunday's debate between ...?"

Q.13 How likely is it that you will watch this Tuesday's vice presidential debate between Dick Cheney and John Edwards?

41 Very likely
 29 Somewhat likely, OR
 29 Not likely
1 Don't know/Refused (**DON'T READ**)
 100

Q.14 THROUGH Q.18 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS:

Q.19 As I read a list of phrases, tell me if you think each phrase better describes John Kerry or George W. Bush. (**INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE**)

		George W. Bush	John Kerry ⁵	(VOL.) Neither	(VOL.) Both Equally	DK/Ref.
a	Would use good judgment in a crisis	51	37	2	3	7=100
	September 22-26, 2004	49	36	3	3	9=100
	Early September, 2004	53	34	2	4	7=100
	<i>September 11-13, 2004</i>	52	33	3	4	8=100
	<i>September 8-10, 2004</i>	55	34	1	3	7=100
	August, 2004	50	38	2	3	7=100
	May, 2004	47	35	4	5	9=100
	Late March, 2004	46	36	2	3	13=100
	Mid-March, 2004	48	39	2	5	6=100
	Late-October, 2000	43	42	2	5	8=100
	Mid-October, 2000	40	42	5	8	5=100
	Early October, 2000	36	43	4	10	7=100
	September, 2000	38	44	3	8	7=100
	June, 2000	44	37	5	6	8=100
b.	Honest and truthful	47	34	10	3	6=100
	September 22-26, 2004	41	32	15	3	9=100
	Early September, 2004	43	35	12	4	6=100
	<i>September 11-13, 2004</i>	41	36	13	4	6=100
	<i>September 8-10, 2004</i>	44	35	12	3	6=100
	August, 2004	42	38	12	2	6=100
	May, 2004	34	36	17	4	9=100
	Late March, 2004	37	38	12	3	10=100
	Mid-March, 2004	35	39	16	5	5=100
	Late-October, 2000	43	32	15	5	5=100
	Mid-October, 2000	38	30	19	6	7=100
	Early October, 2000	36	32	17	8	7=100
	September, 2000	35	37	13	9	6=100
	June, 2000	35	31	19	7	8=100

⁵ In 2000 the question asked about Al Gore.

Q.19 CONTINUED...

	<u>George W. Bush</u>	<u>John Kerry</u>	<u>(VOL.) Neither</u>	<u>Both Equally</u>	<u>DK/Ref.</u>
c. Cares about people like me	41	43	7	4	5=100
September 22-26, 2004	38	42	8	3	9=100
Early September, 2004	41	43	6	5	5=100
<i>September 11-13, 2004</i>	38	46	6	4	6=100
<i>September 8-10, 2004</i>	44	41	6	5	4=100
August, 2004	39	45	7	3	6=100
May, 2004	34	45	8	5	8=100
Late March, 2004	38	42	9	3	8=100
Mid-March, 2004	34	48	8	4	6=100
Late-October, 2000	40	43	8	5	4=100
Mid-October, 2000	40	42	7	7	4=100
Early October, 2000	35	44	11	5	5=100
September, 2000	31	47	9	7	6=100
d. A strong leader	57	32	3	2	6=100
September 22-26, 2004	54	28	5	3	10=100
Early September, 2004	58	30	4	3	5=100
<i>September 11-13, 2004</i>	57	30	4	4	5=100
<i>September 8-10, 2004</i>	59	29	3	3	6=100
August, 2004	57	34	2	3	4=100
May, 2004	50	31	8	4	7=100
Late March, 2004	51	33	4	2	10=100
Mid-March, 2004	52	34	4	4	6=100
Late-October, 2000	44	41	6	6	3=100
Mid-October, 2000	42	39	9	6	4=100
Early October, 2000	41	38	7	10	4=100
September, 2000	44	38	7	6	5=100
e. Willing to take a stand, even if it's unpopular	68	23	1	3	5=100
September 22-26, 2004	63	23	3	3	8=100
Early September, 2004	69	23	1	3	4=100
<i>September 11-13, 2004</i>	67	23	1	4	5=100
<i>September 8-10, 2004</i>	70	22	1	3	4=100
August, 2004	62	29	1	5	3=100
May, 2004	65	23	3	4	5=100
Late March, 2004	59	28	3	3	7=100
Mid-March, 2004	63	27	1	5	4=100
Late-October, 2000	49	35	7	4	5=100
Mid-October, 2000	49	35	6	5	5=100
Early October, 2000	43	35	8	6	8=100
September, 2000	45	37	8	5	5=100
June, 2000	46	32	9	5	8=100

Q.20 Regardless of who you support, which one of the presidential candidates — George W. Bush or John Kerry — do you think would do the best job of **(INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE. IF RESPONDENT MENTIONS ANYONE OTHER THAN BUSH OR KERRY PROBE ONCE: "IF YOU HAD TO CHOOSE BETWEEN BUSH AND KERRY...");**?

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

⁶ In 2000 the question asked about Al Gore.

⁷ In 2000 the item was listed as "Keeping the economy strong."

Q.20 CONTINUED...

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

Q.21 Now I'd like your views on some people. (First,) would you say your overall opinion of... **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]** is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? **[INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE."]**

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

⁸

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

Q.21 CONTINUED...

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

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

	<u>George W. Bush</u>	<u>John Kerry</u>	<u>Other/DK</u>
Early October, 2004	61	27	12=100
Early September, 2004	60	22	18=100
August, 2004	44	37	19=100
July, 2004	42	38	20=100
June, 2004	51	35	14=100
May, 2004	52	31	17=100
Early February, 2004	56 <i>Bush</i>	32 <i>Dem Candidate</i>	12=100
Mid-January, 2004	61 <i>Bush</i>	21 <i>Dem Candidate</i>	18=100
September, 2003	47 <i>Bush</i>	34 <i>Dem Candidate</i>	19=100
June, 2003	66 <i>Bush</i>	22 <i>Dem Candidate</i>	12=100
Late October, 2000	48 <i>Bush</i>	38 <i>Gore</i>	14=100
Early October, 2000	33 <i>Bush</i>	46 <i>Gore</i>	21=100
June, 2000	51 <i>Bush</i>	33 <i>Gore</i>	16=100
October, 1999	70 <i>Bush</i>	23 <i>Gore</i>	7=100
Late September, 1996 ¹⁰	12 <i>Dole</i>	79 <i>Clinton</i>	9=100
Early September, 1996	16 <i>Dole</i>	75 <i>Clinton</i>	9=100

⁹ In March 1991 and May 1990 the category was listed: "Richard Cheney."

¹⁰ In 1996 and October 1992, the question also asked about Ross Perot. Results here are included in the "Other/DK" category.

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

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

Now thinking about Iraq...

Q.23 Do you think the U.S. made the right decision or the wrong decision in using military force against Iraq?

BASED ON GENERAL PUBLIC [N=1233]:

	<u>Right</u> <u>decision</u>	<u>Wrong</u> <u>decision</u>	<u>Don't know/</u> <u>Refused</u>
Early October, 2004	50	39	11=100
Early September, 2004	53	39	8=100
August, 2004	53	41	6=100
July, 2004	52	43	5=100
June, 2004	55	38	7=100
May, 2004	51	42	7=100
Late April, 2004	54	37	9=100
Early April, 2004	57	35	8=100
Mid-March, 2004	55	39	6=100
Late February, 2004	60	32	8=100
Early February, 2004	56	39	5=100
Mid-January, 2004	65	30	5=100
Early January, 2004	62	28	10=100
December, 2003	67	26	7=100
October, 2003	60	33	7=100
September, 2003	63	31	6=100
August, 2003	63	30	7=100
Early July, 2003	67	24	9=100
May, 2003	74	20	6=100
<i>April 10-16, 2003</i>	<i>74</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>7=100</i>
<i>April 8-9, 2003</i>	<i>74</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>7=100</i>
<i>April 2-7, 2003</i>	<i>72</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>8=100</i>
<i>March 28-April 1, 2003</i>	<i>69</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>6=100</i>
<i>March 25-27, 2003</i>	<i>74</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>5=100</i>
<i>March 23-24, 2003</i>	<i>74</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>5=100</i>
<i>March 20-22, 2003</i>	<i>71</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>7=100</i>
Late January, 1991	77	15	9=100

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

BASED ON GENERAL PUBLIC [N=1233]:

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

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

BASED ON GENERAL PUBLIC [N=1233]:

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

And, thinking about the war on terrorism...

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

BASED ON GENERAL PUBLIC [N=1233]:

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