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Moral Values: How Important?
VOTERS LIKED CAMPAIGN 2004, BUT TOO MUCH 'MUD-SLINGING'

Also Inside...

- Internet surging as campaign news source
- Liberals angry, depressed about outcome
- Most expect successful 2nd term
- Two-in-three voters contacted by campaigns

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Moral Values: How Important?

VOTERS LIKED CAMPAIGN 2004, BUT TOO MUCH ‘MUD-SLINGING’

Campaign 2004 receives generally favorable marks from the voters. An overwhelming 86% say they learned enough about the candidates to make an informed choice, while two-thirds express satisfaction with the choice of candidates. However, voters also believe this campaign was more negative than previous contests – 72% say there was more mud-slinging in this campaign compared with past elections, up from just 34% who said that four years ago.

The Pew Research Center’s quadrennial post-election survey, conducted among 1,209 voters who were originally interviewed in October, finds that a third of all voters say they are *very* satisfied with their choice of candidates – the highest percentage expressing that view in post-election surveys dating to 1988. That reflects extraordinary enthusiasm among Republicans, 63% of whom express a high degree of satisfaction with the candidates. As a point of comparison, in 1996 just 34% of Democrats said they were very satisfied with the candidates after Bill Clinton’s easy reelection victory.

For their part, supporters of Sen. John Kerry are struggling with a range of emotions following their candidate’s defeat. The dominant reaction to Bush’s reelection among Kerry’s supporters is disappointment (82%), but about a third (35%) say they feel angry over the election outcome. Liberals, in particular, express intense feelings as a result of the election. Roughly half of Kerry’s liberal supporters say they feel angry (53%) or depressed (47%) because of Bush’s victory.

In contrast, large majorities of Bush voters say they feel reassured, relieved and safer as a consequence of the president’s reelection. However, while 72% of Bush’s conservative

Campaign 2004					
	1988	1992	1996	2000	2004
<i>Satisfied with choice of candidates?</i>	%	%	%	%	%
Satisfied	62	61	51	68	66
Not satisfied	37	37	46	27	32
Don’t know	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Learned enough to make informed choice?</i>					
Learned enough	59	77	75	83	86
Didn’t learn enough	39	20	23	15	13
Don’t know	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Was there more or less mudslinging?</i>					
More	--	68	49	34	72
Less	--	16	36	46	14
Same (VOL.)	--	14	12	16	12
Don’t know	--	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>
		100	100	100	100
<i>How helpful were debates?</i>					
Very/somewhat	48	70	41	62	62
Not too/Not at all	49	24	48	30	33
Didn’t watch (VOL.)	3	5	10	7	4
Don’t know	*	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Was there more or less discussion of issues?</i>					
More	--	59	25	46	47
Less	--	34	65	36	42
Same (VOL.)	--	4	6	13	7
Don’t know	--	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>
		100	100	100	100

All results based on people who voted in the election.

supporters say they feel a sense of excitement as a result of Bush's win, just 48% of moderate and liberal Republicans share that sentiment.

Most voters (61%) believe that Bush's second term will be successful. While this opinion is nearly universal among Republicans, most independents (58%) and a sizable minority of Democrats (30%) also thinks that Bush's second term will be a success. However, by 52%-42%, Democrats favor the party's leaders standing up to the GOP, rather than working with Republicans if that means disappointing some Democratic groups.

The survey findings parallel exit poll results showing that moral values is a top-tier issue for voters. But the relative importance of moral values depends greatly on how the question is framed. The post-election survey finds that, when moral values is pitted against issues like Iraq and terrorism, a plurality (27%) cites moral values as most important to their vote. But when a separate group of voters was asked to name – in their own words – the most important factor in their vote, significantly fewer (14%) mentioned moral values. Regardless of how the question is asked, the survey shows that moral values is the most frequently cited issue for Bush voters, but is seldom mentioned by Kerry voters.

In addition, those who cite moral values as a major factor offer varying interpretations of the concept. More than four-in-ten (44%) of those who chose moral values as the most important factor in their vote from the list of issues say the term relates to specific concerns over social issues, such as abortion and gay marriage. However, others did not cite specific policy issues, and instead pointed to factors like the candidates' personal qualities or made general allusions to religion and values.

The survey shows that both parties were successful in reaching their voters, which led to a substantial rise in turnout this year. Fully 64% of all voters say they were contacted by the Bush and Kerry campaigns or other groups by phone, in person, or by email. More than half (55%) were contacted by telephone, significantly more than in 2000 (42%). In the end, neither side gained the upper hand in reaching voters – as many say they were contacted by Kerry and his supporters as by

What Mattered Most in Your Vote?		
	Fixed List*	Open- end**
	%	%
Moral values (Net)	27	14
Moral values	--	9
Social issues^	--	3
Candidate's morals	--	2
Iraq	22	25
Economy/Jobs	21	12
Terrorism	14	9
Health Care	4	2
Education	4	1
Taxes	3	1
Other	4	31
Honesty/integrity	--	5
Like/dislike Bush	--	5
Like/dislike Kerry	--	3
Direction of country	--	2
Leadership	--	2
Foreign policy	--	2
Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100

* First choice among the seven items provided on the exit poll list.
 ** Unprompted verbatim first response to open-ended question.
 ^ Abortion, gay marriage, stem cells

Bush and his supporters.

With little fanfare, the Internet has broken through as a major source of campaign news in 2004. Overall, 41% voters say they got at least some of their news about the 2004 election online. Further, 21% relied on the Internet for *most* of their election news – nearly double the number in 2000 (11%).

Bush, Kerry Voters Agree – Campaign More Negative

Throughout the campaign, voters consistently said they thought the election was informative, and this remains the case today. More than eight-in-ten voters (86%) say they learned enough about the candidates and the issues to make an informed choice. That is about the same as in 2000 (83%) and far higher than in prior campaigns.

But there also has been a dramatic increase in perceptions that the campaign was excessively negative. Fully 72% say there was more mud-slinging or negative campaigning in this election compared with previous campaigns. That is more than double the percentage who expressed this opinion in the post-election survey four years ago (34%).

While the electorate is deeply divided on many issues, the sense that the campaign was more negative is shared by comparable numbers of Kerry voters (74%) and Bush voters (70%). This perception is widely shared across the demographic spectrum.

Grading the Campaign

When voters are asked to grade various players in the campaign, they award the highest grades to themselves. More than six-in-ten (64%) give “the voters” a grade of A or B for the job they did this year, up slightly from 60% in 2000. A 56% majority gives Bush an A or B, while 47% grade Kerry at A or B. Bush’s grade is about the same as the mark Clinton received following his reelection in 1996. Kerry’s grade is relatively high for a losing candidate.

Campaign Ratings						
(Among those who gave an answer)						
	<i>% Who Rated</i>					<i>Avg. Grade</i>
	<i>Each an A or B:</i>					
	<u>1988</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>2004</u>	
	%	%	%	%	%	
Voters	52	67	43	60	64	B
George W. Bush*	50	31	34	53	56	B
John Kerry**	39	66	58	54	47	C+
Rep Party	46	30	29	48	51	C+
Dem Party	34	60	50	49	37	C
Campaign consultants	30	44	30	43	48	C+
Pollsters	46	53	40	34	45	C+
Talk show hosts	--	49	28	41	37	C
Press	30	37	29	29	33	C

* Bush’s numbers are compared to past Republican candidates.
 ** Kerry’s numbers are compared to past Democratic candidates.

Just 37% give the Democratic Party and A or B. That represents a sharp decline from 2000 (49%), although it is important to note that the post-election survey in 2000 was conducted before the election result was known. The Democratic Party's rating is about the same as it was in 1988, after Michael Dukakis's loss to George Bush Sr. (34% A or B).

Roughly half of voters (48%) give campaign consultants a grade of A or B, a modest increase from 2000 (43%). Pollsters have a much better image now than during the overtime election of four years ago, when there was considerable frustration with erroneous calls on election night. Currently, 45% give pollsters a grade of A or B, compared with 34% in 2000.

Talk show hosts and the press continue to receive relatively low grades. Fewer than four-in-ten (37%) give talk show hosts a grade of A or B, while just a third award those marks to the press.

Reactions to Election Outcome

Overall, a majority of voters (53%) are happy that George W. Bush was reelected, a proportion that tracks closely with voters' choice for president. In 1996, an identical percentage said they were happy over Clinton's reelection.

Understandably, attitudes toward the election result are highly polarized – 94% of Republicans say they are happy with Bush's win, while 86% of Democrats are unhappy. Voters are similarly split in their reactions to the Republicans maintaining control over Congress.

Emotional Reactions of...			
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK</u>
<i>Bush Voters</i>	%	%	%
Relieved	90	10	*=100
Reassured	90	9	1=100
Safer	88	9	3=100
Excited	64	34	2=100
<i>Kerry Voters</i>			
Disappointed	88	12	*=100
Worried	74	25	1=100
Angry	35	64	1=100
Depressed	29	70	1=100

Nine-in-ten Bush voters say they are “relieved” at the election outcome, while about as many say they are “reassured” and that they feel “safer.” A smaller majority of Bush voters say they are “excited” over Bush's victory (64%).

While disappointment is the leading reaction among Kerry voters to the outcome, about three-quarters of those voters (74%) say they are “worried.” Roughly a third of Kerry voters say they are “angry” (35%) and somewhat fewer say they are “depressed” (29%).

Intense Reactions Among Conservatives, Liberals

Voters at opposite ends of the ideological spectrum express the most intense reactions to the election. Among Bush voters, more than nine-in-ten conservatives say they feel relieved, reassured and safer. And many more conservatives than moderates or liberals say they feel excited because of Bush's victory.

Among Kerry voters, nearly twice as many liberals as moderates or conservatives say they feel angry as a consequence of the election. And while 47% of liberals say they are depressed by Bush's win, just 21% of moderate and conservative Kerry supporters agree.

Looking Ahead

About six-in-ten voters (61%) expect Bush to have a successful second term as president, compared with 29% who believe his second term will be unsuccessful. This is on par with expectations for Clinton's second term in 1996.

Nearly all Republicans foresee a successful second term for Bush (93%). Most independents (58%) also take a positive view of Bush's prospects. Democrats are less upbeat: 30% predict a successful second term for the president, while 55% do not.

A narrow majority of Democrats (52%) think the party's leaders should stand up to the Republicans on issues that are important to Democratic supporters; 42% think Democratic leaders should try to work with Republican leaders even if it means disappointing some groups of Democratic supporters.

Liberal Democrats, by two-to-one (62%-31%), want the party's leaders to stand up to the GOP, while conservative and moderate Democrats are divided over the issue. About half of conservative and moderate Democrats (48%) say party leaders should take a stand against Republicans, while about as many (47%) favor a more cooperative approach.

Ideologues React Strongly		
	<i>Bush voters who are...</i>	
	Conser- vative	Moderate & Liberal
	%	%
Relieved	93	84
Reassured	93	80
Safer	91	81
Excited	72	46
	<i>Kerry voters who are...</i>	
	Conservative & Moderate	Liberal
	%	%
Disappointed	85	96
Worried	69	86
Angry	27	53
Depressed	21	47

What's Ahead				
	All	Rep	Dem	Ind
	%	%	%	%
<i>Bush 2nd Term</i>				
Successful	61	93	30	58
Unsuccessful	29	4	55	33
Neither (vol.)	1	*	2	1
DK/Refused	<u>9</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>8</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Democratic leaders should...*</i>				
Stand up to Republicans			52	
Work with Republicans			42	
DK/Refused			<u>6</u>	
			100	

*Asked only of Democrats.

Voters and the Issues

Since the election, there has been considerable debate over the relative importance of moral values to voters. More than one-in-five (22%) of those questioned by the National Election Pool on behalf of the Associated Press and the major networks cited moral values as the most important issue in their vote, from a list of seven items on the exit poll questionnaire. In Pew's post-election survey, half of the respondents were presented with the same list of issues as on the exit poll – and asked to choose which was most important – while half were asked an open-ended version of the question.

Among those offered the seven-item list, a plurality of 27% selected moral values, followed by 22% who chose Iraq and 21% who selected the economy and jobs. Terrorism was chosen by 14%; education and health care were chosen by 4% each and taxes by 3% (see chart on pg. 2).

The responses were significantly different among those who were not offered a fixed list of choices. The war in Iraq was mentioned as the single most important issue by a similar number (25%), but the economy and jobs were mentioned by only 12%; and only 9% mentioned terrorism. Notably, just 9% used the terms “moral values,” “morals,” or “values.” Specific social issues – including abortion, gay marriage, and stem cell research – were volunteered by 3%, while another 2% cited the candidates' morals.

Regardless of how the question is asked, the poll shows that Bush and Kerry voters are far apart in their issue priorities. In both the open and closed formats, moral values are the most important issue to Bush voters – 44% selected it from the seven-item list, while 27% volunteered moral values or a related topic in the open format. In both forms of the question, terrorism and homeland security are the next most important issue for Bush voters. No Bush voters in the open-ended format mentioned education, and virtually none mentioned health care.

Wide Gap Over the Issues That Matter				
	-- Fixed List* --		-- Open End** --	
	Bush voters	Kerry voters	Bush voters	Kerry voters
	%	%	%	%
Moral values (Net)	44	7	27	2
Moral values	--	--	17	1
Social issues [^]	--	--	6	1
Candidate's morals	--	--	4	*
Iraq	11	34	11	39
Economy/Jobs	7	36	3	21
Terrorism	24	3	17	*
Health Care	1	8	*	4
Education	2	6	0	1
Taxes	4	2	2	*
Other	5	3	34	30
Honesty/integrity	--	--	6	4
Like/dislike Bush	--	--	5	5
Like/dislike Kerry	--	--	5	2
Direction of country	--	--	2	3
Leadership	--	--	4	*
Foreign policy	--	--	0	4
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	(309)	(258)	(285)	(284)

* First choice among the seven items provided on the exit poll list.
 ** Unprompted verbatim first response to open-ended question.
 ^ Abortion, gay marriage, stem cells

For Kerry voters, the format makes a difference in the relative ordering of the issues, though in both versions Iraq and economy eclipse other issues in importance. When presented with a list of seven items, about equal numbers of Kerry voters chose economy/jobs (36%) and Iraq (34%). In the open-ended format, nearly twice as many volunteered the war in Iraq (39%) as mentioned an economic issue (21%). Just 2% of Kerry voters volunteer any topic related to moral values, and even fewer mention terrorism as most important to their vote.

Defining Moral Values

The survey asked voters who were given the list of issues to describe, in their own words, “what comes to mind when you think about ‘moral values’?” Among voters who chose moral values as most important from the list of seven issues, about half gave a response that mentioned a specific issue. More than four-in-ten (44%) defined the phrase specifically in terms of social issues, including abortion (28%) homosexuality and gay marriage (29%), or stem cell research (4%). A few other issues also were mentioned, including poverty, economic inequality, and the like.

But the definition of moral values is not limited to policy references. Nearly a quarter of respondents (23%) who cited moral values as important explained their thinking in terms of the personal characteristics of the candidates, including honesty and integrity (cited by 9%). Almost one-in-five (18%) explicitly mentioned religion, Christianity, God, or the Bible. Another 17% answered in terms of traditional values, using such language as “family values,” “right and wrong,” or “the way people live their lives.”

“Moral Values” -- What Comes to Mind?		
	Chose moral values* %	Did not choose %
Social policies (Net)	44	18
Gay marriage	29	11
Abortion	28	8
Stem cells	4	3
Other policies	9	8
Candidate qualities	23	17
Religious references	18	11
Traditional values	17	35
Negative responses	1	12
Other (Vol.)	4	6
Means nothing/DK	2	15
Number of cases	(205)	(362)

Numbers add to more than 100% because voters could list up to two items.
* Voters who selected “moral values” as either the first or second most important issue from the list of seven items.

People who did *not* choose moral values from the list of issues were also asked what the term meant to them. The pattern of responses was quite different from those who said moral values were an important consideration. Fewer mentioned a specific issue, candidate quality, or general religious theme; more answered in general terms, and 12% explicitly protested the imposition of others’ values on them, said the idea was being used as a “wedge” against Democrats, or otherwise expressed a negative reaction to the phrase.

Campaign Contact

Nearly two-in-three voters (64%) report being contacted either over the phone, by email, or in person by candidates, campaigns or other groups urging them to vote in a particular way in the election. A majority (55%) report receiving campaign phone calls, compared with 42% following the 2000 election. Far fewer report being contacted in person or by email (14% each). These alternative contact strategies – particularly email – were slightly more widespread among Kerry supporters than Bush supporters.

Campaign contacts were intensive in the key battleground states. About three-quarters of voters in battleground states (76%) were contacted by the campaigns in one form or another, compared with 55% in red states and 59% in blue states.

As many as 15% of voters report contributing money in support of one of the presidential candidates this year, and nearly one-in-ten (9%) say they personally volunteered to help one of the presidential campaigns. Contribution rates were about even among both Bush and Kerry supporters, but Kerry’s backers volunteered time on behalf of the campaign at a slightly higher rate (11% of Kerry supporters, 7% of Bush supporters).

Not surprisingly, younger voters were far less likely to make campaign contributions than older voters. Overall, just 7% of voters under age 30 contributed money to a campaign, compared with 12% of those age 30-49 and 20% of voters age 50 and over.

<i>Contacted...</i>	<u>Total</u> %	<i>Voted for...</i>		<u>Nov. 2000</u> %
		<u>Bush</u> %	<u>Kerry</u> %	
<i>By phone</i>				
Yes	55	57	53	42
No/DK	<u>45</u>	<u>43</u>	<u>47</u>	<u>58</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>In person</i>				
Yes	14	12	16	n/a
No/DK	<u>86</u>	<u>88</u>	<u>84</u>	
	100	100	100	
<i>By e-mail</i>				
Yes	14	11	18	n/a
No/DK	<u>86</u>	<u>89</u>	<u>82</u>	
	100	100	100	
Any contact	64	64	64	
Number of cases	(1209)	(594)	(542)	

<i>Contributed money in support of a presidential candidate</i>	<u>Total</u> %	<i>Voted for...</i>	
		<u>Bush</u> %	<u>Kerry</u> %
Yes	15	16	16
No/DK	<u>85</u>	<u>84</u>	<u>84</u>
	100	100	100
<i>Volunteered time</i>			
Yes	9	7	11
No/DK	<u>91</u>	<u>93</u>	<u>89</u>
	100	100	100

Bush Voters Decide Early

Nearly four-in-ten voters (38%) say they made up their minds about how to vote a year ago, even before the Democratic primaries had gotten underway. This represents nearly twice as many early deciders as during the open presidential election of four years ago.

Few Late Deciders							
<i>When did you make up your mind?</i>	1988	1992	1996	2000	2004	<i>Voted for...</i>	
	%	%	%	%	%	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>
Before 2004	9	12	39	20	38	52	28
During/after primaries	19	18	13	21	23	20	29
Summer/before debates	31	18	20	16	13	11	15
Debate period	20	13	3	20	12	9	15
Last week	15	25	17	14	9	8	11
Other/DK	<u>6</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

As the incumbent, Bush was able to lock in much of his support early. A majority of the people who ultimately voted for Bush this year (52%) knew he would be their choice a year ago, compared with 28% of Kerry’s voters. In 1996, when Bill Clinton was running for reelection, a majority of his supporters also had decided before the end of 1995 that he would be their choice. Fewer than one-in-ten voters report making up their minds in the final week before election day, down from 14% four years ago and as many as 25% in 1992.

Many Vote Early, Some Faced Long Lines

One-in-five voters say they cast their ballots *before* Nov. 2. These early voters showed no clear preference in the presidential campaign, dividing their support about evenly between Bush and Kerry.

Most of those who voted on Election Day say they either did not have to wait in line at all (42%), or waited for less than 15 minutes (13%). Another 11% reported lines of 15-to-29 minutes, and 10% say they waited up to an hour to vote. Nearly one-in-ten Election Day voters (8%) say they waited for over an hour to vote. Despite changes in voting procedures in many parts of the country, just 4% of voters reported having any problems or difficulties voting, whether by mail or on Election Day.

The vast majority of voters say they are very confident that *their* vote was accurately counted in the election, but voters express less confidence in the accuracy of the overall vote count nationwide. While 68% are very confident their own vote was counted accurately, just 48% express the same level of confidence that the votes across the country were accurately counted.

Fox News Moves Ahead

Television remains the dominant source of campaign news, and Fox News has emerged as the leading TV outlet for election news. Overall, 21% of voters say they got most of their news on the election from Fox, compared with 15% who relied mostly on CNN, and 13% on NBC News.

The Internet continues to grow in importance as a source for election news. The proportion who cite the Internet as one of their *main* sources of campaign news has risen exponentially: from 3% in 1996, to 11% in 2000, and 21% today. And the number who say they got *any* news online during the election this year has risen from 10% in 1996, to 30% in 2000, to 41% today.

Six-in-ten voters under age 30 report using the Internet as a news source at some point during the campaign, while 40% of those under-30 voters cite it as a main source of campaign news. By comparison, 48% of those age 30-49, 38% of those age 50-64, and just 15% of voters age 65 and older reported any use of the Internet for campaign news.

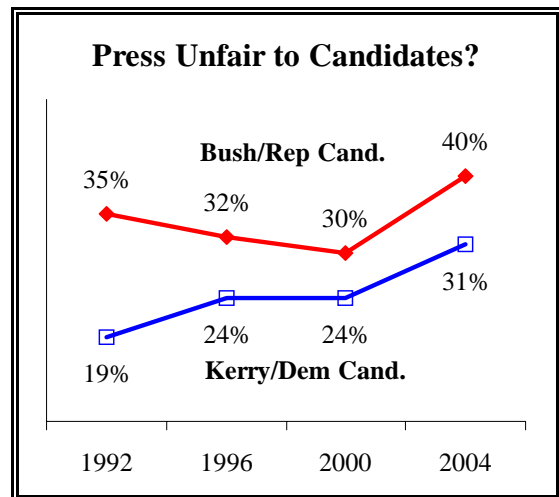
More See Press as Unfair – to Both Candidates

Voters are increasingly troubled by what they see as the media’s unfair treatment of the candidates. While a majority (56%) view press coverage of Bush’s campaign as fair, four-in-ten think it was unfair, up from 30% four years ago.

Significantly more voters (65%) believe the press was fair in its coverage of the Kerry campaign. However, a growing minority also views this coverage as unfair – 31% say that now, compared with 24% who faulted press coverage of Al Gore’s campaign four years ago.

<i>Main source of campaign news*</i>	1992	1996	2000	2004
	%	%	%	%
Television	82	72	70	76
Cable TV (Net)	--	--	--	40
Fox Cable News	--	--	--	21
CNN	--	--	--	15
MSNBC	--	--	--	6
CNBC	--	--	--	2
Network TV (Net)	--	--	--	29
NBC	--	--	--	13
ABC	--	--	--	11
CBS	--	--	--	9
Local news	--	--	--	12
Newspapers	57	60	39	46
Radio	12	19	15	22
Magazines	9	11	4	6
Internet	n/a	3	11	21
<i>Get any campaign news from Internet</i>				
Yes	--	10	30	41
No/DK	--	<u>90</u>	<u>70</u>	<u>59</u>
		100	100	100

*Numbers add to more than 100% because voters could list up to two primary sources.



Huge Election Night Audience

Fully 84% of voters say they followed the returns on election night, and more than half of those who did so (51%) stayed up until after midnight. Among those who tracked the results, 97% watched on television, while 19% followed returns on the Internet. As with campaign news in general, younger voters were most likely to use the Internet – nearly a third of voters under age 30 report following election returns online, but most did so in *addition to* watching returns on TV.

Overall, news organizations receive relatively favorable reviews for their election night coverage. While just 17% who followed the returns say the coverage on election night was excellent, most (52%) say they did a good job. Three-in-ten say the coverage was only fair (22%) or poor (8%). Comparable numbers of Bush and Kerry supporters rated the coverage favorably.

Presidential Election Campaign News Source

(Based on All Voters)

	<i>November 2000</i>			<i>November 2004</i>			<i>(N)</i>
	<u>TV</u> %	<u>Newspaper</u> %	<u>Internet</u> %	<u>TV</u> %	<u>Newspaper</u> %	<u>Internet</u> %	
Total	70	39	10	76	46	21	(1209)
Sex							
Male	68	39	12	70	43	24	(530)
Female	71	39	9	80	48	18	(679)
Race							
White	70	40	10	75	46	21	(1051)
Non-white	73	35	13	79	44	23	(139)
Black	75	32	11	84	42	19	(82)
Race and Sex							
White Men	69	39	11	70	44	23	(459)
White Women	70	42	9	80	48	18	(592)
Age							
Under 30	72	21	22	72	23	40	(104)
30-49	64	37	15	72	43	25	(396)
50-64	72	43	5	77	52	16	(383)
65+	78	51	2	85	59	6	(308)
Sex and Age							
Men under 50	65	34	18	67	34	32	(226)
Women under 50	66	33	15	75	40	27	(274)
Men 50+	72	46	5	75	55	15	(299)
Women 50+	77	47	3	86	55	9	(392)
Education							
College Grad.	58	46	12	67	48	31	(517)
Some College	66	35	15	72	39	28	(303)
High School Grad. or Less	79	37	7	85	48	9	(383)
Family Income							
\$75,000+	62	47	14	68	46	29	(328)
\$50,000-\$74,999	64	39	13	72	43	27	(203)
\$30,000-\$49,999	68	41	14	73	50	21	(265)
\$20,000-\$29,999	80	34	7	82	41	19	(122)
<\$20,000	78	32	5	88	43	8	(144)

Question: How did you get most of your news about the presidential election campaign? From television from newspapers, from radio, from magazines, or from the Internet?

Continued on next page...

	<i>November 2000</i>			<i>November 2004</i>			<i>(N)</i>
	<u>TV</u>	<u>Newspaper</u>	<u>Internet</u>	<u>TV</u>	<u>Newspaper</u>	<u>Internet</u>	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Total	70	39	10	76	46	21	(1209)
Region							
East	65	41	10	76	51	16	(240)
Midwest	67	43	9	75	44	19	(305)
South	75	32	11	82	43	21	(394)
West	68	46	11	64	46	29	(270)
Religious Affiliation							
Total White Protestant	72	40	9	77	46	18	(583)
- Evangelical	71	38	11	79	43	17	(293)
- Non-Evangelical	72	42	7	74	49	20	(290)
White Catholic	66	46	9	78	47	19	(230)
Secular	65	29	15	68	39	31	(119)
Community Size							
Large City	66	40	16	--	--	--	--
Suburb	67	46	10	--	--	--	--
Small City/Town	73	41	7	--	--	--	--
Rural Area	69	27	14	--	--	--	--
Party ID							
Republican	67	37	10	75	42	17	(443)
Democrat	74	43	7	75	50	22	(390)
Independent	65	39	14	76	46	26	(340)
Party and Ideology							
Conservative Republican	66	39	10	73	36	18	(324)
Moderate/Liberal Rep.	69	33	12	77	54	16	(110)
Conservative/Mod. Dem.	76	41	6	83	50	17	(243)
Liberal Democrat	70	48	9	58	50	36	(133)
When Decided to Vote for...							
Before 2000/2004	70	37	8	73	40	22	(466)
Debates/Conventions	68	43	8	70	48	24	(354)
Post Debates/Conventions	75	37	10	85	48	17	(207)
Within Last Week	63	34	19	84	55	20	(106)
Labor Union							
Union Household	68	45	7	69	48	18	(173)
Non-Union Household	70	38	11	77	45	22	(1022)
Battleground States							
Republican States	--	--	--	79	43	21	(380)
Democratic States	--	--	--	68	44	25	(354)
Battleground States	--	--	--	78	49	18	(475)

ABOUT THE SURVEY

The survey results are based on telephone re-interviews conducted November 5 - 8, 2004 among 1,209 voters under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International. ("Voters" are those respondents who said they voted in the 2004 election.) This sample was selected from those identified as registered voters in two previous nationwide surveys of adults 18 years of age or older, the first conducted Early October 2004 and the second in Mid-October 2004. For results based on the total sample of voters, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 3.5 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.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
NOVEMBER 2004 RE-INTERVIEW SURVEY
-- FINAL TOPLINE --
November 5 - 8, 2004
N=1,209 Voters

MY FIRST QUESTION IS...

Q.1 A lot of people have been telling us they didn't get a chance to vote in the election on November 2. How about you... did things come up that kept you from voting, or did you happen to vote?

Yes, voted -- **CONTINUE WITH INTERVIEW**
 No, did not vote -- **GO TO Q1B, THANK RESPONDENT AND END**
 Don't remember -- **THANK RESPONDENT AND END**
 Refused -- **THANK RESPONDENT AND END**

ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q1=1):

Q.2 All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in this country today?

		<u>Nov 2000</u>	<u>Nov 1996</u>
51	Satisfied	46	51
45	Dissatisfied	47	42
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>
100		100	100

IF RESPONDENT IS IN A STATE WHERE NADER IS NOT ON BALLOT GO TO Q.3X. ELSE USE Q.3

Now, thinking about the recent election...

Q.3 Did you happen to vote for George W. Bush, for John Kerry or for Ralph Nader for president?

Q.3x Did you happen to vote for George W. Bush or for John Kerry for president?

		<u>Nov 2000</u>	<u>Nov 1996</u>	<u>Nov 1992</u>	<u>Nov 1988</u>
49	George W. Bush	43 <i>Bush</i>	39 <i>Dole</i>	32 <i>Bush, Sr.</i>	53 <i>Bush, Sr.</i>
45	John Kerry	46 <i>Gore</i>	45 <i>Clinton</i>	45 <i>Clinton</i>	43 <i>Dukakis</i>
*	Ralph Nader	2 <i>Nader</i>	7 <i>Perot</i>	17 <i>Perot</i>	n/a
<u>6</u>	Other/DK	<u>9</u> ¹	<u>9</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>
100		100	100	100	100

¹ The 1% who voted for Pat Buchanan in November 2000 is included in the Other/DK category.

IF RESPONDENT CHOSE BUSH OR KERRY IN Q.3/Q.3x ASK:

Q.4 Would you say that your vote was more a vote FOR (INSERT CANDIDATE VOTED FOR IN Q.3/Q.3x: BUSH/KERRY) or more a vote AGAINST (INSERT NAME OF OTHER CANDIDATE: KERRY/BUSH)?

		Nov 2000		Nov 1996		Nov 1992		Nov 1988	
49	<u>Bush Supporters</u>	42 ¹	<i>Bush</i>	39	<i>Dole</i>	32	<i>Bush, Sr.</i>	53	<i>Bush, Sr.</i>
37	Pro-Bush	29		17		21		39	
10	Anti-Others	12		20		10		12	
2	Undecided	1		2		1		2	
45	<u>Kerry Supporters</u>	47	<i>Gore²</i>	45	<i>Clinton</i>	45	<i>Clinton</i>	43	<i>Dukakis</i>
19	Pro-Kerry	35		31		33		25	
22	Anti-Others	11		13		10		16	
4	Undecided	1		1		2		2	
<u>6</u>	Other/DK/Can't Remember	<u>11</u>		<u>16</u>		<u>23</u>		<u>4</u>	
100		100		100		100		100	

NO QUESTIONS 5 THROUGH 10

ASK FORM 1 ONLY OF BUSH/KERRY VOTERS [N=569]:

Q.11F1 What one issue mattered most to you in deciding how you voted for president? [OPEN END: ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES BUT DO NOT PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL]

<u>Total</u>	<i>Mentioned...</i>		
	<u>First</u>	<u>Second</u>	
27	25	2	Iraq/The war
14	12	2	Economy/Jobs
9	9	*	Moral values
9	8	1	Terrorism/Security
5	5	*	Honesty/Integrity
5	5	0	Other Bush
4	4	*	Other Kerry
3	2	1	Health care
3	3	*	Abortion
2	2	0	Direction of the country
2	2	*	Candidate's religiosity/morals
2	2	*	Strength/leadership
2	2	*	Foreign policy
2	*	2	Gay marriage/marriage
2	2	*	Don't change course
1	1	*	Social Security
1	1	*	Taxes
1	1	*	Environment
1	*	1	Stem cell
1	1	0	Supreme Court
1	1	0	Gun control
1	1	0	Education
8	8	0	Other
5	5	--	Don't know/Nothing/Everything

² For 2000, percentages are slightly different from Q.3 due to some non-response problems.

ASK FORM 2 ONLY OF BUSH/KERRY VOTERS [N=567]:

Q.12F2 Which ONE issue mattered most to you in deciding how you voted for president? **[READ AND RANDOMIZE]**

27	Moral values
22	Iraq
21	Economy/jobs
14	Terrorism
4	Health care
4	Education
3	Taxes
4	(VOL. DO NOT READ) Other, not on this list
<u>1</u>	(VOL. DO NOT READ) Don't know/Refused
100	

IF ANSWER GIVEN (1-8 IN Q.12F2) ASK [N=567]:

Q.13F2 What would you say was the SECOND most important issue to you? **[READ AND RANDOMIZE EXCLUDING ITEM GIVEN IN Q.12F2]**

23	Economy/jobs
18	Terrorism
16	Health care
14	Iraq
9	Moral values
7	Education
5	Taxes
5	(VOL. DO NOT READ) Other, not on this list
<u>3</u>	(VOL. DO NOT READ) Don't know/Refused
100	

ASK IF MORAL VALUES MENTIONED IN Q.12F2 OR Q.13F2 [N=205]:

Q.14F2 You mentioned "moral values" as an important issue, what comes to mind when you think about "moral values"? **(OPEN END, DO NOT PROBE FOR CLARITY OR ADDITIONAL RESPONSES)**

50	Policies (NET)
44	Social Issues (SUBNET)
29	Gay Marriage
28	Abortion
4	Stem cell issue
2	Economic equality/helping the poor/health care
7	Other policy issues
23	Candidate Qualities (NET)
9	Honesty/Integrity/trustworthiness
6	Kerry has no morals/Kerry has great morals/Democratic hypocrisy
6	Bush has no morals/Bush has great morals/Republican hypocrisy
1	Strength/decisiveness
3	Other Personal Qualities (Clinton mentions)
18	Religion/Christianity/God/Bible (NET)
17	Traditional values (NET)
5	Family values/Traditional values
4	"Right versus Wrong"
3	The way people live their lives/"moral code"
2	General decline in morality
2	Media/What's on TV

Q.14F2 CONTINUED...

- 1 As A Political Issue (NET)
- 4 Other
- 2 Don't Know/Refused

ASK IF MORAL VALUES NOT MENTIONED IN Q.12F2 OR Q.13F2 [N=362]:

Q.15F2 Some people have mentioned "moral values" as an important issue. What comes to mind when YOU think about "moral values"? (OPEN END, DO NOT PROBE FOR CLARITY OR ADDITIONAL RESPONSES)

- 35 **Traditional values (NET)**
 - 9 Family values/Traditional values
 - 6 The way people live their lives/"moral code"
 - 5 "Right versus Wrong"
 - 2 General decline in morality
 - 1 Media/What's on TV
- 25 **Policies (NET)**
 - 18 Social Issues (SUBNET)
 - 11 Gay Marriage
 - 8 Abortion
 - 3 Stem cell issue
 - 5 Economic equality/helping the poor/health care
 - 3 Other policy issues
- 17 **Candidate Qualities (NET)**
 - 9 Honesty/Integrity/trustworthiness
 - 3 Bush has no morals/Bush has great morals/Republican hypocrisy
 - 3 Kerry has no morals/Kerry has great morals/Democratic hypocrisy
 - 1 Strength/decisiveness
 - 2 Other Personal Qualities (Clinton mentions)
- 12 **As A Political Issue (NET)**
 - 8 Not a voting/government issue
 - 3 Used as a wedge issue
 - 1 The Religious/Christian Right
- 11 **Religion/Christianity/God/Bible (NET)**
 - 6 Other
 - 15 Don't Know/Refused

ASK ALL EXCEPT THOSE WHO ANSWERED '9' DK/CAN'T REMEMBER IN Q.3/Q.3x:

Q.16 When did you make up your mind definitely to vote for (INSERT CHOICE FROM Q.3/Q.3x; IF 'OTHER' IN Q.3/Q.3x INSERT 'THE CANDIDATE OF YOUR CHOICE')?

<u>Total</u>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>		<u>Nov</u> <u>2000</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>1988</u>
4	3	4	On Election Day	5	6	9	6
1	1	2	On Monday (day before the election)	2	3	4	3
1	1	2	Over the last weekend	2	2	4	2
3	3	3	In the last week	5	6	8	4
12	9	15	Debate period (NET)	20	3	13	20
11	8	14	During or just after the Presidential debates	17	--	12	--

Q.16 CONTINUED...

<u>Total</u>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>		<u>Nov</u> <u>2000</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>1988</u>
1	1	1	After the Vice Presidential debate	3	--	1	--
6	6	7	In September, before debates/after the Conventions	9	12	6	16
7	5	8	Convention period (NET)	7	8	12	15
1	1	*	During or after the Republican Convention	4	--	--	--
6	4	8	During or after the Democratic Convention	3	--	--	--
23	20	29	This year, before the summer, during or just after the primaries	21	13	18	19
38	52	28	Before 2004	20	39	12	9
0	0	0	Other	--	*	8	--
2	*	2	Don't know/Refused	3	2	1	2
<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	Don't remember who voted for	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>
100	100	100		100	100	100	100

NO QUESTION 17 OR 18

ASK ALL:

Q.19 Now that the campaign is over, how satisfied were you with the choice of presidential candidates? Would you say that you were very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied?

		<u>Nov</u> <u>2000</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>1988</u>
33	Very satisfied	24	18	24	26
33	Fairly satisfied	44	33	37	36
16	Not very satisfied	18	24	21	20
16	Not at all satisfied	9	22	16	17
<u>2</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
100		100	100	100	100

Q.20 During this campaign, did you feel you learned enough about the candidates and the issues to make an informed choice between Bush and Kerry, OR did you find it difficult to choose because you felt you did not learn enough from the campaign?

		<u>Nov</u> <u>2000</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>1988</u>
86	Learned enough to make an informed choice	83	75	77	59
13	Did not learn enough from the campaign	15	23	20	39
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>
100		100	100	100	100

Q.21 How helpful were the presidential debates to you in deciding which candidate to vote for? Would you say they were very helpful, somewhat helpful, not too helpful, or not at all helpful?

		<u>Nov</u> <u>2000</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>1988</u>
24	Very helpful	25	13	31	13
38	Somewhat helpful	37	28	39	35
14	Not too helpful	14	23	11	24
19	Not at all helpful	16	25	13	25
4	Did not watch the debates (VOL.)	7	10	5	3
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>
100		100	100	100	100

Q.22 Students are often given the grades A, B, C, D, or Fail to describe the quality of their work. Looking back over the campaign, what grade would you give to each of the following groups for the way they conducted themselves in the campaign? First... **(READ AND RANDOMIZE: OBSERVE FORM SPLITS; ITEM i FULL FORM)**

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=601]:

	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>DK</u>
a.F1 The press	8	24	32	19	16	1=100
November 2000	6	22	31	18	20	3=100
November 1996	6	22	33	19	18	2=100
November 1992	11	25	29	16	15	4=100
November 1988	8	22	33	19	16	2=100
b.F1 The talk show hosts	9	22	29	14	10	16=100
November 2000	9	22	24	11	10	24=100
November 1996	6	15	25	13	16	25=100
November 1992	10	29	25	8	9	19=100
c.F1 The Republican Party	17	33	24	12	12	2=100
November 2000	10	35	31	10	9	5=100
November 1996	4	23	39	18	13	3=100
November 1992	4	25	34	18	15	4=100
November 1988	11	34	31	12	10	2=100
d.F1 The Democratic Party	9	28	37	16	9	1=100
November 2000	14	33	30	11	8	4=100
November 1996	12	36	29	11	9	3=100
November 1992	18	40	26	6	6	4=100
November 1988	7	26	45	13	7	2=100

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=608]:

e.F2 The pollsters	16	26	33	9	8	8=100
November 2000	7	22	28	15	14	14=100
November 1996	11	23	29	11	10	16=100
November 1992	15	31	27	9	6	12=100
November 1988	13	29	29	12	11	6=100
f.F2 The campaign consultants	7	31	29	9	5	19=100
November 2000	5	26	29	8	5	27=100
November 1996	4	18	33	11	8	26=100
November 1992	7	26	31	7	4	25=100
November 1988	5	20	37	14	8	16=100
g.F2 John Kerry	15	31	25	13	14	2=100
Gore: November 2000	17	36	25	10	10	2=100
Clinton: November 1996	20	37	22	8	11	2=100
Clinton: November 1992	26	38	21	7	5	3=100
Dukakis: November 1988	9	29	40	13	7	1=100

Q.22 CONTINUED ...

FORM 2 ONLY [N=608]:		<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>DK</u>
h.F2	George W. Bush	22	34	22	10	11	1=100
	November 2000	15	37	27	10	9	2=100
	Dole: November 1996	7	26	34	20	12	1=100
	Bush, Sr.: November 1992	4	26	33	18	16	3=100
	Bush, Sr.: November 1988	15	34	26	13	11	1=100
ASK ALL:							
i.	The voters	30	30	20	7	8	5=100
	November 2000	22	31	25	7	4	11=100
	November 1996	12	27	29	13	10	9=100
	November 1992	32	29	20	5	5	9=100
	November 1988	18	31	28	10	7	6=100

Q.23 How helpful were the candidates' commercials to you in deciding which candidate to vote for? Would you say they were very helpful, somewhat helpful, not too helpful, or not at all helpful?

		<u>Nov</u> <u>2000</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>1992</u>
6	Very helpful	6	4	10
19	Somewhat helpful	23	21	28
22	Not too helpful	24	27	28
48	Not at all helpful	42	46	31
4	Didn't see any (VOL.)	n/a	n/a	n/a
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100	100

Q.24 Compared to past presidential elections, would you say there was more discussion of issues in this campaign or less discussion of issues?

		<u>Nov</u> <u>2000</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>1992</u>
47	More	46	25	59
42	Less	36	65	34
7	Same (VOL.)	13	6	4
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100	100

Q.25 Compared to past presidential elections, would you say there was MORE mud slinging or negative campaigning in this campaign or LESS mud slinging or negative campaigning in this campaign?

		<u>Nov</u> <u>2000</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>1992</u>
72	More	34	49	68
14	Less	46	36	16
12	Same (VOL.)	16	12	14
<u>2</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>
100		100	100	100

Q.26 How did you get 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]

		Nov <u>2000</u>	Nov <u>1996</u>	Nov <u>1992</u>
76	Television	70	72	82
46	Newspapers	39	60	57
22	Radio	15	19	12
6	Magazines	4	11	9
21	Internet	11	3	--
2	Other	1	4	6
1	Don't know/Refused	*	1	1

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' TELEVISION AS EITHER 1ST OR 2ND RESPONSE IN Q.26 ASK Q.26a. IF NOT, SKIP TO Q26b.

Q.26a Did 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]

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

ASK ALL EXCEPT THOSE WHO ANSWERED '5' INTERNET IN Q.26:

Q.26b Did you happen to get any news or information about the 2004 elections from the Internet, or not?

		Nov <u>2000</u>	Nov <u>1996</u>
20	Yes	19	7
59	No	70	90
0	Don't know/Refused	*	*
<u>21</u>	Answered 'Internet' in Q.26	<u>11</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100

ASK ALL:

Q.27 How much influence do you think news organizations had on the outcome of this year's presidential election... too much, too little or about the right amount?

		Nov <u>2000</u>	Nov <u>1996</u>	Nov <u>1992</u>
43	Too much	53	47	46
7	Too little	4	4	2
45	About the right amount	39	46	49
<u>5</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100	100

ASK ALL:

ROTATE Q.28 AND Q.29

Q.28 Would you say the press has been fair or unfair in the way it has covered John Kerry's election campaign?

		<i>Gore</i>	<i>— Clinton —</i>	
		Nov	Nov	Nov
		<u>2000</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1992</u>
65	Fair	71	73	77
31	Unfair	24	24	19
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>25</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
100		100	100	100

Q.29 Would you say the press has been fair or unfair in the way it has covered George W. Bush's election campaign?

		<i>Dole Bush, Sr.</i>		
		Nov	Nov	Nov
		<u>2000</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1992</u>
56	Fair	65	65	61
40	Unfair	30	32	35
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
100		100	100	100

Generally...

Q.30 Are you happy or unhappy that the Republican Party maintained control of the U.S. Congress?

		Nov	Nov
		<u>2000</u>	<u>1996</u>
51	Happy	48	65
44	Unhappy	39	27
<u>5</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>13</u>	<u>8</u>
100		100	100

Q.31 Are you happy or unhappy that George W. Bush was reelected president?

		<i>Clinton</i>
		<u>Nov 1996</u>
53	Happy	53
43	Unhappy	42
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>5</u>
100		100

IF DID NOT VOTE FOR BUSH (Q.3/3x NE 1) ASK, [N=615]:

Q.32 How do you feel about George W. Bush winning the election? Do you feel [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE WITH ITEM a. ALWAYS FIRST] or not? Do you feel [NEXT ITEM] or not?

		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
a.	Disappointed	82	17	1=100
b.	Worried	71	28	1=100
c.	Angry	33	66	1=100
d.	Depressed	26	72	2=100

IF VOTED FOR BUSH (Q.3/3x=1) ASK [N=594]:

Q.33 How do you feel about George W. Bush winning the election? Do you feel [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE] or not? Do you feel [NEXT ITEM] or not?

		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
a.	Relieved	90	10	*=100
b.	Excited	64	34	2=100
c.	Reassured	90	9	1=100
d.	Safer	88	9	3=100

ASK ALL:

Q.34 Thinking ahead to the next four years, which is more likely to happen? Do you think... [READ]

		Based on General Public
		<i>Clinton</i>
		<u>Dec 1996³</u>
61	George W. Bush will have a SUCCESSFUL second term	58
	OR	
29	George W. Bush will have an UNSUCCESSFUL second term	36
1	Neither/No change (VOL)	1
<u>9</u>	Don't know (VOL)	<u>5</u>
100		100

NO QUESTION 35 OR 36

³ In December 1996, the question was worded: "Thinking ahead to the year 2000, as I read the following pairs, please tell me which is more likely to happen" and was asked as part of a series.

Q.37 Most people cast their votes on Election Day this year, but many were able to vote before Election Day by absentee ballot or what is called early voting. What about you? Did you vote ON Election Day or BEFORE Election DAY by absentee ballot, vote by mail or through early voting?

		Nov
		<u>2002</u>
80	On Election Day	85
20	By Absentee or other method	15
*	Don't know/Refused	*
<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>

ASK IF VOTED ON ELECTION DAY (Q.37=1) [N=941]:

Q.38 Did you have to wait in line at your polling place or not?

Q.39 How long did you wait to vote?

42	Yes, waited
13	Under 15 minutes
11	15-29 minutes
10	30-59 minutes
6	1 hour to under 2 hours
2	2 hours or more
0	Don't know/Refused
58	No, didn't wait
<u>0</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

ASK ALL:

Q.40 **[IF Q38=1, Other than waiting in line]** Did you have any other problems or difficulties voting this year, or not?

4	Yes, SPECIFY _____
96	No
*	Don't know/Refused
<u>100</u>	

Q.41 Was this election the FIRST time that you have voted, or have you voted before?

Based on Registered Voters

Election Weekend 2004⁴

8	First time	13
92	Have voted before	87
<u>0</u>	Don't Know/Refused	*
100		<u>100</u>

⁴ In the Election weekend survey the question was worded: "Will this election be the FIRST time that you have voted, or have you voted before?"

Q.42 Before the election, were you contacted over the phone by any candidates, campaigns or other groups urging you to vote in a particular way?

IF YES (Q.42=1), ASK:

Q.43 And were you urged to vote for George W. Bush and/or other Republican candidates OR John Kerry and/or other Democratic candidates?

		Based on Registered Voters		
		Election Weekend	Election Weekend	Nov
		<u>2004</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2000</u>
55	Yes	34	33	42
11	Bush/Republicans	8	7 <i>Reps</i>	13 <i>Bush</i>
11	Kerry/Democrats	8	8 <i>Dems</i>	11 <i>Gore</i>
4	Other (VOL.)	2	1	3
26	Both (VOL.)	12	12	12
3	Don't know/Refused	4	5	3
44	No	65	66	58
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>
100		100	100	100

ASK ALL:

Q.44 Did anyone from a campaign or other group contact you IN PERSON – such as by coming to your door – to urge you to vote in a particular way in the election?

		Based on Registered Voters	
		<u>Election Weekend 2004⁵</u>	
14	Yes	11	
86	No	89	
<u>*</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>*</u>	
100		100	

Q.45 Did anyone from a campaign or other group contact you BY EMAIL to urge you to vote in a particular way in the election?

14	Yes
85	No / no e-mail
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

Q.46 Did you, yourself, volunteer any of your time to help one of the presidential election campaigns or not?

9	Yes
91	No
<u>*</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

⁵ In the Election Weekend poll, the question was worded: "Has anyone from a campaign or other group contacted you IN PERSON – such as by coming to your door – to urge you to vote in a particular way in the election?"

Q.47 Did you, yourself contribute money to a campaign in support of one of the presidential candidates this year, or not?

15	Yes
84	No
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

NO QUESTION 48

ASK Q.49-Q.52 ONLY OF THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO SAID IN PREVIOUS INTERVIEW THAT THEY ATTEND CHURCH AT LEAST ONCE OR TWICE A MONTH. (ATTEND (1-3); IF RESPONDENT DOES NOT FIT THAT DESCRIPTION, SKIP TO Q.53.

Q.49 Was information on political parties or candidates for the recent election made available in your place of worship, or not?

BASED ON THOSE WHO ATTEND CHURCH [N=696]:

		<u>Nov 2000</u>	<u>Nov 1996</u>
27	Yes	14	28
71	No	83	69
<u>2</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100

Q.50 Was information on any state or local ballot initiatives or constitutional amendments made available in your place of worship, or not?

BASED ON THOSE WHO ATTEND CHURCH [N=696]:

19	Yes
80	No
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

Q.51 And did the clergy at your place of worship or any other religious groups urge you to vote a particular way in the recent election, or not?

IF '1' YES IN Q.51, ASK:

Q.52 Were you urged to vote in a particular way in the PRESIDENTIAL race, a Congressional race, a state race a local race or on specific ballot issues? (ACCEPT MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE)

BASED ON THOSE WHO ATTEND CHURCH [N=696]:

		<u>Nov 2000</u>	<u>Nov 1996</u>
11	Yes	6	7
7	Presidential	4	5
2	Congressional	2	3
2	State	2	3
2	Local	2	3
4	Ballot issue	n/a	n/a
1	Don't know/Refused	2	2
89	No	93	91
<u>*</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>
100		100	100

ASK ALL:

Now thinking about election night...

Q.53 Did you happen to follow election returns on Tuesday night, or not?

			<u>Nov 2000</u>
84	Yes		88
16	No		12
<u>*</u>	Don't know/Refused		<u>0</u>
100			100

ASK Q54 TO Q57 ONLY IF Q53=1 [N=1021]:

Q.54 Did you follow the election returns on the television, or not?

Followed	All	
<u>returns</u>	<u>voters</u>	
97	81	Yes
3	3	No
<u>0</u>	0	Don't know
100	<u>(16)</u>	<i>(Did not follow returns election night)</i>
	100	

Q.55 Did you follow the election returns on the Internet or not?

Followed	All	
<u>returns</u>	<u>voters</u>	
19	16	Yes
81	68	No
<u>*</u>	*	Don't know
100	<u>(16)</u>	<i>(Did not follow returns election night)</i>
	100	

Q.56 How late did you follow the coverage on election night? [OPEN END]

Followed	All	
<u>returns</u>	<u>voters</u>	
25	21	Stopped before 11:00pm
22	19	11:00pm to before midnight
30	25	Midnight to 2:00am
21	18	Later than 2:00am
<u>2</u>	1	Don't know/Refused
100	<u>(16)</u>	<i>(Did not follow returns election night)</i>
	100	

Q.57 Do you think news organizations did an excellent, good, only fair, or poor job on election night?

Followed	
<u>returns</u>	
17	Excellent
52	Good
22	Only fair
8	Poor
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

ASK ALL:

In the election...

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=601]:

Q.58F1 How confident are you that your vote was accurately counted? **[READ]**

		Based on Registered Voters
		<u>Mid-Oct 2004⁶</u>
68	Very confident	62
24	Somewhat confident	26
4	Not too confident	7
3	Not at all confident	4
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>1</u>
100		100

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=608]:

Q.59F2 How confident are you that the votes across the country were accurately counted? **[READ]**

48	Very confident
37	Somewhat confident
7	Not too confident
7	Not at all confident
<u>1</u>	(VOL. DO NOT READ) Don't know/Refused
100	

ASK IF NOT REPUBLICAN (PARTY/PARTYLN NE 1):

Q.60 Next year should the Democratic leaders in Washington... **(READ)**

BASED ON DEMOCRATS [N=390]:

		<u>Nov 1996</u>
42	Try as best they can to work with Republican leaders to accomplish things, even if it means disappointing some groups of Democratic supporters?	63
	OR	
52	Should they stand up to the Republicans on issues that are important to Democratic supporters, even if it means less gets done in Washington?	29
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>8</u>
100		100

⁶ In mid-October 2004 the question was worded "How confident are you that your vote will be accurately counted in the upcoming election?"