# PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS <br> SEPTEMBER 2004 POLITICAL SURVEY <br> FINAL TOPLINE <br> September 8-13, 2004 Total N=2003; RV N=1580 <br> September 8-14, 2004 Total N=2494; RV N=1972 

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

THOUGHT How much thought have you given to the coming presidential election . . . Quite a lot or only a little?
BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS SEPTEMBER 8 - 14 [ $\mathbf{~ = 1 9 7 2 ] : ~}$

|  |  | Quite | (VOL.) | Only a | (VOL.) | DK/ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | A lot | Some | Little | None | Ref. |  |
|  | September, 2004 | 71 | 3 | 22 | 3 | 1=100 |  |
|  | September 11-14 | 69 | 3 | 23 | 4 | $1=100$ | ( $N=1002$ ) |
|  | September 8-10 | 73 | 3 | 21 | 2 | $1=100$ | ( $N=970$ ) |
|  | August, 2004 | 69 | 2 | 26 | 2 | 1=100 |  |
|  | July, 2004 | 67 | 2 | 28 | 2 | $1=100$ |  |
|  | June, 2004 | 58 | 3 | 36 | 2 | $1=100$ |  |
|  | May, 2004 | 59 | 6 | 30 | 4 | $1=100$ |  |
|  | Late March, 2004 | 60 | 4 | 31 | 4 | $1=100$ |  |
|  | Mid-March, 2004 | 65 | 2 | 31 | 2 | *=100 |  |
| 2000 | Early November, 2000 | 72 | 6 | 19 | 2 | $1=100$ |  |
|  | Late October, 2000 | 66 | 6 | 24 | 4 | *=100 |  |
|  | Mid-October, 2000 | 67 | 9 | 19 | 4 | $1=100$ |  |
|  | Early October, 2000 | 60 | 8 | 27 | 4 | $1=100$ |  |
|  | September, 2000 | 59 | 8 | 29 | 3 | $1=100$ |  |
|  | July, 2000 | 46 | 6 | 45 | 3 | *=100 |  |
|  | June, 2000 | 46 | 6 | 43 | 5 | *=100 |  |
|  | May, 2000 | 48 | 4 | 42 | 5 | 1=100 |  |
|  | April, 2000 | 45 | 7 | 41 | 7 | *=100 |  |
| 1996 | November, 1996 | 67 | 8 | 22 | 3 | *=100 |  |
|  | October, 1996 | 65 | 7 | 26 | 1 | $1=100$ |  |
|  | Late September, 1996 | 61 | 7 | 29 | 2 | $1=100$ |  |
|  | Early September, 1996 | 56 | 3 | 36 | 4 | $1=100$ |  |
|  | July, 1996 | 55 | 3 | 41 | 1 | *=100 |  |
|  | June, 1996 | 50 | 5 | 41 | 3 | $1=100$ |  |
| 1992 | October, 1992 | 77 | 5 | 16 | 1 | $1=100$ |  |
|  | September, 1992 | 69 | 3 | 26 | 1 | $1=100$ |  |
|  | August, 1992 | 72 | 4 | 23 | 1 | *=100 |  |
|  | June, 1992 | 63 | 6 | 29 | 1 | $1=100$ |  |
| 1988 | Gallup: November, 1988 | 73 | 8 | 17 | 2 | $0=100$ |  |
|  | Gallup: October, 1988 | 69 | 9 | 20 | 2 | $0=100$ |  |
|  | Gallup: August, 1988 | 61 | 10 | 27 | 2 | $0=100$ |  |
|  | Gallup: September, 1988 | 57 | 18 | 23 | 2 | $0=100$ |  |

Q. 2 Now I will read a list of some stories covered by news organizations this past month. As I read each item, tell me if you happened to follow this news story very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely. [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE WITH ITEMS a and b FIRST, FOLLOWED BY RANDOMIZED ITEMS c THRU i; OBSERVE FORM SPLITS]

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

a. News about candidates for the 2004 presidential election

August, 2004
July, 2004
June, 2004

| Very | Fairly | Not too | Not at all |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Closely | Closely | Closely | Closely | DK/Ref |
| 40 | 34 | 14 | 11 | 1=100 |
| 32 | 38 | 16 | 14 | *=100 |
| 29 | 37 | 18 | 15 | 1=100 |
| 28 | 34 | 19 | 18 | $1=100$ |
| 31 | 33 | 19 | 16 | $1=100$ |
| 35 | 34 | 18 | 13 | *=100 |
| 24 | 40 | 23 | 12 | $1=100$ |
| 29 | 37 | 20 | 13 | $1=100$ |
| 16 | 30 | 27 | 26 | $1=100$ |
| 14 | 32 | 30 | 23 | $1=100$ |
| 16 | 26 | 27 | 30 | $1=100$ |
| 11 | 26 | 34 | 28 | $1=100$ |
| 12 | 27 | 28 | 32 | 1=100 |
| 17 | 25 | 30 | 27 | $1=100$ |
| 12 | 27 | 27 | 33 | $1=100$ |
| 8 | 19 | 31 | 41 | $1=100$ |
| 14 | 28 | 29 | 28 | $1=100$ |
| 22 | 42 | 21 | 15 | *=100 |
| 21 | 38 | 20 | 20 | $1=100$ |
| 23 | 32 | 23 | 21 | $1=100$ |
| 18 | 39 | 22 | 20 | $1=100$ |
| 26 | 41 | 19 | 13 | $1=100$ |
| 26 | 36 | 21 | 17 | *=100 |
| 19 | 34 | 28 | 18 | $1=100$ |
| 24 | 36 | 23 | 17 | *=100 |
| 22 | 40 | 23 | 14 | $1=100$ |
| 23 | 35 | 25 | 17 | *=100 |
| 26 | 41 | 20 | 13 | *=100 |
| 10 | 34 | 31 | 24 | $1=100$ |
| 47 | 36 | 11 | 6 | *=100 |
| 36 | 51 | 11 | 2 | $0=100$ |
| 20 | 45 | 26 | 9 | *=100 |
| 32 | 44 | 16 | 8 | *=100 |
| 35 | 40 | 16 | 9 | *=100 |
| 11 | 25 | 36 | 27 | $1=100$ |
| 43 | 44 | 11 | 2 | *=100 |
| 39 | 45 | 13 | 3 | *=100 |
| 22 | 46 | 23 | 6 | $3=100$ |

[^0]
## Q. 2 CONTINUED...

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

b. News about the current situation in Iraq

August, 2004
July, 2004
June, 2004
April, 2004
Mid-March, 2004
Early February, 2004
Mid-January, 2004
December, 2003
November, 2003
October, 2003
September, 2003
Mid-August, 2003
Early July, 2003
June, 2003
May, 2003
April 11-16, $2003^{2}$
April 2-7, 2003
March 20-24, 2003
March 13-16, $2003^{3}$
February, 2003
January, 2003
December, 2002
Late October, 2002
Early October, 2002
Early September, 2002
ASKED SEPTEMBER 8-14 [N=2494]:
c. Reports about the condition of the U.S. economy

January, 2004
December, 2003
November, 2003
October, 2003
September, 2003
March, 2003
February, 2003
January, 2003
December, 2002
February, 2002
January, 2002
December, 2001
Mid-November, 2001
June, 2001
May, 2001
April, 2001

| Very | Fairly Not too Not at all |
| :---: | :---: |
| Closely | Closely Closely |

## Q. 2 CONTINUED...

February, 2001
January, 2001
June, 1995
March, 1995
February, 1995
December, 1994
October, 1994
June, 1994
May, 1994
January, 1994
Early January, 1994
December, 1993
October, 1993
September, 1993
Early September, 1993
August, 1993
May, 1993
February, 1993
January, 1993
September, 1992
May, 1992
March, 1992
February, 1992
January, 1992
October, 1991
d. The Republican convention

August, 2004 (Democratic)
September, 1996 (Republican and Democratic)
August, $1988^{4}$ (RVs) (Democratic)
August, 1988 (RVs) (Republican)

| Very | Fairly | Not too | Not at all |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Closely | Closely | Closely | Closely | DK/Ref |
| 30 | 39 | 18 | 12 | 1=100 |
| 32 | 38 | 17 | 11 | $2=100$ |
| 26 | 41 | 22 | 11 | *=100 |
| 27 | 45 | 19 | 9 | *=100 |
| 23 | 41 | 22 | 13 | $1=100$ |
| 28 | 43 | 20 | 9 | *=100 |
| 27 | 40 | 20 | 12 | $1=100$ |
| 25 | 42 | 23 | 10 | *=100 |
| 33 | 40 | 16 | 10 | $1=100$ |
| 34 | 39 | 16 | 10 | $1=100$ |
| 36 | 44 | 13 | 7 | *=100 |
| 35 | 41 | 15 | 8 | $1=100$ |
| 33 | 38 | 20 | 9 | *=100 |
| 37 | 40 | 14 | 8 | $1=100$ |
| 39 | 39 | 14 | 9 | *=100 |
| 41 | 36 | 14 | 9 | *=100 |
| 37 | 38 | 18 | 6 | $1=100$ |
| 49 | 36 | 10 | 5 | *=100 |
| 42 | 39 | 12 | 7 | *=100 |
| 43 | 37 | 13 | 6 | $1=100$ |
| 39 | 39 | 15 | 6 | $1=100$ |
| 47 | 38 | 11 | 4 | *=100 |
| 47 | 37 | 10 | 6 | *=100 |
| 44 | 40 | 11 | 5 | *=100 |
| 36 | 38 | 16 | 9 | $1=100$ |
| 22 | 23 | 21 | 34 | *=100 |
| 23 | 26 | 19 | 31 | $1=100$ |
| 14 | 31 | 29 | 26 | *=100 |
| 30 | 29 | 22 | 19 | *=100 |
| 27 | 32 | 24 | 17 | $0=100$ |

## ASK FORM 1 [ $\mathbf{N = 9 9 4 ] :}$

| e.F1 | The summer Olympics in Athens, Greece | 25 | 25 | 21 | 29 | $*=100$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | August, 2004 | 10 | 22 | 29 | 38 | $1=100$ |
|  | February, 2002 (Winter Olympics/Salt Lake City) | 22 | 30 | 21 | 26 | $1=100$ |
|  | Early October, 2000 (Summer Olympics/Sydney) | 27 | 28 | 24 | 21 | $*=100$ |
|  | Early September, 1996 (Summer Olympics/Atlanta) | 32 | 34 | 20 | 14 | $*=100$ |
|  | July, 1996 (Summer Olympics/Atlanta) | 45 | 30 | 13 | 11 | $1=100$ |
|  | February, 1992 (Winter Olympics) | 33 | 30 | 19 | 17 | $1=100$ |

ASK FORM 1 SEPTEMBER 8 - 13 AND BOTH FORMS SEPTEMBER 14 [ $N=1485$ ]:
$\begin{array}{llllllll}\text { f.F1 } & \text { Hurricanes Charley, Frances and Ivan } & 52 & 32 & 10 & 5 & 1=100\end{array}$
ASK FORM 2 [ $\mathbf{N}=1009$ ]:
g.F2 The killing of Russian school children by Chechen rebels $\quad 48 \quad 30 \quad 11 \quad 10 \quad 1=100$

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

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

## Q. 2 CONTINUED...

## ASK ALL:

h. Campaign ads in which 'Swift Boat' veterans have criticized John Kerry's Vietnam service

| Very | Fairly Not too Not at all |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Closely | Closely |

$$
25
$$

ASK FORM 2 [ $\mathrm{N}=1009$ ]:
i.F2 Former President Bill Clinton’s heart surgery

ASK ALL SEPTEMBER 10-13 [ $\mathbf{N}=1069$ ]:
j. Questions about President Bush's service in the National Guard during the Vietnam War

21 February, 2004
$19-25-25 \quad 29 \quad 2=100$
Q. 3 How have you been getting most of your news about the presidential election campaign? From television, from newspapers, from radio, from magazines, or from the Internet? [ACCEPT TWO ANSWERS: IF ONLY ONE RESPONSE IS GIVEN, PROBE FOR ONE ADDITIONAL RESPONSE]


IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' TELEVISION AS EITHER 1ST OR 2ND RESPONSE IN Q. 3 ASK Q.3a. IF NOT, SKIP TO REGIST.
Q.3a Do you get most of your news about the presidential election campaign from [READ, RANDOMIZE ITEMS 2 THRU 4 AND 5 THRU 8 SEPARATELY, AND RANDOMIZE SETS OF ITEMS ( LOCAL; NETWORK; CABLE). ACCEPT MULTIPLE ANSWERS BUT DO NOT PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL]

## BASED ON TOTAL:

11
8
13
18
5
19
2

16 Local news programming $\quad \frac{17}{17}$

5 Don't know/Refused (VOL.) 3
Early Jan
$\underline{2004}$
ABC Network news 15
CBS Network news 11
NBC Network news 14
CNN Cable news 22
MSNBC Cable news 7
The Fox News Cable Channel 20
CNBC Cable news 3
.
11

3
3

REGIST These days, many people are so busy they can't find time to register to vote, or move around so often they don't get a chance to re-register. Are you NOW registered to vote in your precinct or election district or haven't you been able to register so far?
IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED ' 1 ' YES IN REGIST ASK:
REGICERT Are you absolutely certain that you are registered to vote, or is there a chance that your registration has lapsed because you moved or for some other reason?

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

Sept Sept
$\frac{\text { Total }}{77} \frac{11-14}{77} \quad \frac{8-10}{78} \quad$ Yes, registered

| 74 | 74 | 74 | Absolutely certain |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

$3 \quad 3 \quad 3 \quad$ Chance registration has lapsed

*     * 1 Don’t know/Refused (VOL.)
$23 \quad 23 \quad 22$ No, not registered
$\stackrel{*}{100} \quad \stackrel{*}{100} \quad \stackrel{*}{100} \quad$ Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
$\begin{array}{lll}100 & 100 & 100\end{array}$
$(N=) \quad(1275)(1219)$


## IF ‘ABSOLUTELY CERTAIN’ IN REGICERT ASK:

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

## BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS SEPTEMBER 8 - 14 [ $\mathbf{N = 1 9 7 2 ] : ~}$

|  | Sept | Sept |  | Aug | Nov | Early <br> Nov | Late <br> Oct | $\begin{gathered} \text { Mid- } \\ \text { Oct } \end{gathered}$ | Early Oct | Late <br> Oct | Early Oct | Nov | Late <br> Sept | Nov |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Total | 11-14 | 8-10 |  | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2002}$ | $\underline{2000}$ | $\underline{2000}$ | $\underline{2000}$ | $\underline{2000}$ | 1998 | 1998 | 1996 | 1996 | 1994 |
| 83 | 81 | 84 | Yes | 88 | 86 | 83 | 81 | 82 | 84 | 86 | 87 | 85 | 85 | 91 |
| 17 | 19 | 16 | No | 12 | 14 | 17 | 19 | 18 | 16 | 14 | 13 | 15 | 15 | 9 |
| * | $\underline{0}$ | - | Don't know/Ref. | $\underline{0}$ | $\stackrel{*}{-}$ | * | $\stackrel{*}{*}$ | $\underline{0}$ | $\stackrel{*}{*}$ | $\stackrel{*}{*}$ | $\stackrel{*}{*}$ | $\stackrel{*}{*}$ | $\stackrel{*}{*}$ | * |
| 100 | 100 | 100 |  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| ( $N=$ ) | (1002) | (970) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

Q. 4 If the presidential election were being held TODAY, would you vote [INSERT, ROTATE

REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC TICKETS WITH NADER TICKET LAST] for the Republican ticket of George W. Bush and Dick Cheney, for the Democratic ticket of John Kerry and John Edwards, or for the ticket of Ralph Nader and Peter Camejo? IF CHOSE BUSH, KERRY OR NADER IN Q.4, ASK:
Q.4a Do you support (INSERT PRESIDENTIAL CHOICE FROM Q.4, - LAST NAME ONLY, DO NOT READ VP CHOICE) strongly or only moderately?
IF OTHER OR DK (Q.4=4,9), ASK:
Q.4b As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to [READ, ROTATE IN SAME ORDER AS Q.4]?

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

|  | Bush/Lean Bush |  |  | Kerry/Lean Kerry |  |  |  | Nader/ Lean Nader | Other/ <br> Don't |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Only |  |  |  |  | Only |  |  |  |
|  | Total | Strongly Mod. | DK | Total | Strong | Mod. | DK |  |  |
| September, 2004 | 49 | 3315 | 1 | 43 | 22 | 20 | 1 | 1 | $7=100$ |
| September 11-14 | 46 | 3015 | 1 | 46 | 22 | 24 | * | 1 | $7=100$ ( $\mathrm{N}=1002$ ) |
| September 8-10 | 52 | 3615 | 1 | 40 | 22 | 17 | 1 | 1 | $7=100$ ( $\mathrm{N}=970$ ) |
| August, 2004 | 45 | 3213 | * | 47 | 28 | 19 | * | 2 | $6=100$ |
| July, 2004 | 44 |  |  | 46 |  |  |  | 3 | $7=100$ |
| June, 2004 | 46 |  |  | 42 |  |  |  | 6 | $6=100$ |
| May, 2004 | 43 |  |  | 46 |  |  |  | 6 | $5=100$ |
| Late March, 2004 | 44 |  |  | 43 |  |  |  | 6 | $7=100$ |
| Mid-March, 2004 | 42 |  |  | 49 |  |  |  | 4 | $5=100$ |
|  | Bush/Lean Bush |  |  | Gore/Lean Gore |  |  |  | Nader |  |
| September, 2000 | 41 | 2119 | 1 | 47 | 25 | 21 | 1 | 2 | $10=100$ |
| July, 2000 | 42 |  |  | 41 |  |  |  | 6 | $11=100$ |
|  | Dole/Lean Dole |  |  | Clinton/Lean Clinton |  |  |  | Perot |  |
| Late September, 1996 | 35 | $16 \quad 18$ | 1 | 51 | 26 | 25 | * | 7 | $7=100$ |
| Early September, 1996 | 34 | $17 \quad 17$ | * | 52 | 26 | 26 | 0 | 8 | $6=100$ |
| July, 1996 | 34 |  |  | 44 |  |  |  | 16 | $6=100$ |
|  | Bush, Sr./Lean Bush, Sr. |  |  | Clinton/Lean Clinton |  |  |  | Perot |  |
| Early October, 1992 | 35 | 1421 | -- | 48 | 23 | 25 | -- | 8 | $9=100$ |
| June, 1992 | 31 |  |  | 28 |  |  |  | 36 | $5=100$ |

THOSE WHO CHOSE KERRY/EDWARDS (IN Q.4/Q.4b) ASK:
Q.5a Would you say that your choice is more a vote FOR John Kerry or more a vote AGAINST George W. Bush? THOSE WHO CHOSE BUSH/CHENEY (IN Q.4/Q.4b) ASK:
Q.5b Would you say that your choice is more a vote FOR George W. Bush or more a vote AGAINST John Kerry?

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


| 1996 | Total | Pro- <br> Clinton | Anti- <br> other | Undecid | Total | Pro- <br> Dole | Antiother | Undecid | Total |  | AntiOther | Undecid | Other <br> DK |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Nov | 51 | 33 | 15 | 3 | 32 | 15 | 15 | 2 | 9 | 4 | 5 | * | 8=100 |
| Oct | 51 | 33 | 16 | 2 | 34 | 15 | 18 | 1 | 8 | 4 | 4 | * | $7=100$ |
| Sept | 52 | 35 | 15 | 2 | 34 | 16 | 17 | 1 | 8 | 3 | 5 | 0 | 6=100 |
| Mar | 53 | 30 | 20 | 3 | 41 | 15 | 25 | 1 | -- | -- | -- | -- | $6=100$ |




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

Q.6a Do you think there is a chance that you might vote for John Kerry in November, or have you definitely decided not to vote for him?

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

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

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

Q.6b Do you think there is a chance that you might vote for George W. Bush in November, or have you definitely decided not to vote for him?

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

|  | Chance might vote for Bush | Decided not to vote for Bush | Don't know/ Refused |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| September, 2004 | 9 | 38 | 4=51\% |  |
| September 11-14 | 8 | 41 | 5=54\% | ( $N=1002$ ) |
| September 8-10 | 9 | 35 | $4=48 \%$ | ( $N=970$ ) |
| August, 2004 | 10 | 42 | 3=55\% |  |
| July, 2004 | 10 | 41 | 5=56\% |  |
| June, 2004 | 9 | 41 | 2=52\% |  |
| May, 2004 | 9 | 42 | 4=55\% |  |
| Late March, 2004 | 11 | 40 | 3=54\% |  |
| Mid-March, 2004 | 11 | 44 | 2=57\% |  |
| Late February, 2004 | 10 | 43 | 3=56\% |  |
| Early February, 2004 | 10 | 41 | 2=53\% |  |


| Q.6b CON | TINUED... | Chance might vote for Bush | Decided not to vote for Bush | Don't know/ Refused |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 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: | Late September, 1996 | 16 | 44 | 5=65\% |
| Dole: | Early September, 1996 | 14 | 47 | $5=66 \%$ |
| Dole: | July, 1996 | 15 | 40 | $3=58 \%$ |
| Bush, Sr: | September, 1992 | 12 | 44 | 6=62\% |
| Bush, Sr: | August, 1992 | 15 | 45 | 4=64\% |
| Bush, Sr: | May, 1992 | 8 | 40 | 5=53\% |

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

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

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

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

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

Q.8a What do you like LEAST about John Kerry — his personality, his leadership ability, his experience, or his stand on issues?
ASK IF KERRY NAMED IN Q. 4 OR Q.4b:
Q.8b What do you like LEAST about George W. Bush — his personality, his leadership ability, his experience, or his stand on issues?

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

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

PLANTO1 Do you yourself plan to vote in the election this November?
IF YES IN PLANTO1, ASK:
PLANTO2 How certain are you that you will vote? Are you absolutely certain, fairly certain, or not certain?

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



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 <br> Plan To | Don't know/ Refused |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 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 |
| 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


## IF YES IN PLANTO1, ASK:

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

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

|  | Sept | Sept |  | June |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :--- | :---: |
| $\frac{\text { Total }}{13}$ | $\frac{11-14}{12}$ | $\frac{8-10}{15}$ |  | Plan to vote BEFORE election day |
| 84 | 83 | 83 |  | Will vote on election day |
| $*$ | $*$ | 0 |  | Already voted (VOL.) |
| 1 | 2 | 1 |  | Don't know/Refused |
| $\frac{2}{2}$ | $\frac{3}{10}$ | $\frac{1}{100}$ | Don't Plan to Vote/Don't Know | n/a |
| 100 | 100 | 100 |  | 4 |
|  | $(1002)$ | $(970)$ |  | 100 |

## ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS:

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

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

|  | George W. Bush | John Kerry | Other/DK |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| September, 2004 | 60 | 22 | 18=100 |
| August, 2004 | 44 | 37 | 19=100 |
| July, 2004 | 42 | 38 | $20=100$ |
| June, 2004 | 51 | 35 | $14=100$ |
| May, 2004 | 52 | 31 | $17=100$ |
| Early February, 2004 | 56 Bush | 32 Dem Candidate | $12=100$ |
| Mid-January, 2004 | 61 Bush | 21 Dem Candidate | $18=100$ |
| September, 2003 | 47 Bush | 34 Dem Candidate | 19=100 |
| June, 2003 | 66 Bush | 22 Dem Candidate | $12=100$ |
| Late October, 2000 | 48 Bush | 38 Gore | $14=100$ |
| Early October, 2000 | 33 Bush | 46 Gore | $21=100$ |
| June, 2000 | 51 Bush | 33 Gore | 16=100 |
| October, 1999 | 70 Bush | 23 Gore | $7=100$ |
| Late September, $1996{ }^{8}$ | $6^{8} 12$ Dole | 79 Clinton | $9=100$ |
| Early September, 1996 | 16 Dole | 75 Clinton | $9=100$ |
| July, 1996 | 19 Dole | 72 Clinton | $9=100$ |
| October, 1992 | 30 Bush, Sr. | 61 Clinton | $9=100$ |
| March, 1992 | 72 Bush, Sr. | 20 Dem Candidate | $8=100$ |
| February, 1992 | 66 Bush, Sr. | 25 Dem Candidate | $9=100$ |
| October, 1991 | 78 Bush, Sr. | 11 Dem Candidate | $11=100$ |

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

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [ $\mathbf{N}=1580$ ]:

|  |  | Early <br> Oct 2000 | Late <br> Sept 1996 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: |
| 44 | Cheney | 41 (Cheney) | 36 (Kemp) |
| 46 | Edwards | 42 (Lieberman) | 49 (Gore) |
| n/a | Other | n/a | 3 (Choate) |
| $\frac{10}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused | $\underline{17}$ | $\underline{12}$ |
|  |  | 100 | 100 |

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

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

|  |  | NBC/Wall St. Journal |  |  |  |
| :---: | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Aug | June | May | March |
|  |  | $\frac{2004}{23}$ | $\frac{2004}{15}$ | $\frac{2004}{18}$ | $\frac{2004}{21}$ |
| 25 | A lot | 47 | 42 | 44 | 44 |
| 46 | A fair amount | 18 | 28 | 25 | 18 |
| 16 | Just some | 11 | 15 | 12 | 16 |
| 11 | Very little | $\underline{1}$ | $\underline{0}$ | $\underline{1}$ | $\underline{1}$ |
| $\frac{2}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused |  | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| 100 |  |  |  |  |  |

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

| BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS | [N=1580]: |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Sept | Oct |
|  |  | $\underline{2000}$ | $\frac{1996}{72}$ |
| 64 | Yes | 22 | 35 |
| 31 | No | $\underline{6}$ | $\underline{6}$ |
| $\frac{5}{10}$ | Don't know/Refused | 100 | 100 |

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

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [ $\mathbf{N}=1580$ ]:

|  |  | ------------------ |  |  |  |  | Bush/Gore ----------------- |
| :---: | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | June | Late Oct | Early Oct | Sept | June | July |
| 72 | Different | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2000}$ | $\underline{2000}$ | $\underline{2000}$ | $\underline{2000}$ | $\underline{1999}$ |
| 19 | Similar | 68 | 60 | 61 | 56 | 51 | 47 |
| $\frac{9}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused | $\underline{11}$ | 34 | 30 | 32 | 33 | 24 |
|  |  | 100 | $\underline{6}$ | $\underline{9}$ | $\underline{12}$ | $\underline{16}$ | $\underline{29}$ |

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

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1580]:

| George <br> W. Bush | John <br> 53 | Kerry $^{9}$ <br> 34 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| (VOL.) <br> Neither |  |  |
| 47 | 38 | 2 |
| 47 | 35 | 4 |
| 46 | 36 | 2 |

(VOL.) Both

| Equally |  | DK/Ref. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 4 |  |
| 3 |  | $7=100$ |
| 5 |  |  |
| $7=100$ |  |  |
| 3 |  |  |
|  | $13=100$ |  |
|  |  |  |

In 2000 the question asked about Al Gore.
Q. 14 CONTINUED...

Mid-March, 2004
Late-October, 2000
Mid-October, 2000
Early October, 2000
September, 2000
June, 2000
ASK FORM 1 [ $\mathrm{N}=773$ ]:
b.F1 Personally likable

August, 2004
May, 2004
Late March, 2004
Mid-March, 2004
Late-October, 2000
Mid-October, 2000
Early October, 2000
September, 2000
June, 2000

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS:
c. Honest and truthful

August, 2004
May, 2004
Late March, 2004
Mid-March, 2004
Late-October, 2000
Mid-October, 2000
Early October, 2000
September, 2000
June, 2000
d. Cares about people like me

August, 2004
May, 2004
Late March, 2004
Mid-March, 2004
Late-October, 2000
Mid-October, 2000
Early October, 2000
September, 2000
e. A strong leader

August, 2004
May, 2004
Late March, 2004
Mid-March, 2004
Late-October, 2000
Mid-October, 2000
Early October, 2000
September, 2000

| George | John | (VOL.) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| W. Bush | Kerry $^{10}$ | Neither |
| 48 | 39 | 2 |
| 43 | 42 | 2 |
| 40 | 42 | 5 |
| 36 | 43 | 4 |
| 38 | 44 | 3 |
| 44 | 37 | 5 |

(VOL.)
Both

| Equally | DK/Ref. |
| :---: | :---: |
| 5 | 6=100 |
| 5 | $8=100$ |
| 8 | $5=100$ |
| 10 | $7=100$ |
| 8 | $7=100$ |
| 6 | $8=100$ |


| 36 | 4 | 9 | $4=100$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 41 | 2 | 8 | $6=100$ |
| 39 | 6 | 8 | $5=100$ |
| 40 | 5 | 8 | $7=100$ |
| 44 | 4 | 8 | $4=100$ |
| 39 | 5 | 5 | $3=100$ |
| 38 | 5 | 9 | $4=100$ |
| 38 | 4 | 12 | $5=100$ |
| 44 | 3 | 12 | $4=100$ |
| 36 | 7 | 9 | $6=100$ |


| 43 | 35 | 12 | 4 | $6=100$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 42 | 38 | 12 | 2 | $6=100$ |
| 34 | 36 | 17 | 4 | $9=100$ |
| 37 | 38 | 12 | 3 | $10=100$ |
| 35 | 39 | 16 | 5 | $5=100$ |
| 43 | 32 | 15 | 5 | $5=100$ |
| 38 | 30 | 19 | 6 | $7=100$ |
| 36 | 32 | 17 | 8 | $7=100$ |
| 35 | 37 | 13 | 9 | $6=100$ |
| 35 | 31 | 19 | 7 | $8=100$ |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| 41 | 43 | 6 | 5 | $5=100$ |
| 39 | 45 | 7 | 3 | $6=100$ |
| 34 | 45 | 8 | 5 | $8=100$ |
| 38 | 42 | 9 | 3 | $8=100$ |
| 34 | 48 | 8 | 4 | $6=100$ |
| 40 | 43 | 8 | 5 | $4=100$ |
| 40 | 42 | 7 | 7 | $4=100$ |
| 35 | 44 | 11 | 5 | $5=100$ |
| 31 | 47 | 9 | 7 | $6=100$ |
| 58 |  |  |  |  |
| 57 | 30 | 4 | 3 | $5=100$ |
| 50 | 34 | 2 | 3 | $4=100$ |
| 51 | 31 | 8 | 4 | $7=100$ |
| 52 | 33 | 4 | 2 | $10=100$ |
| 44 | 34 | 4 | 4 | $6=100$ |
| 42 | 41 | 6 | 6 | $3=100$ |
| 41 | 39 | 9 | 6 | $4=100$ |
| 44 | 38 | 7 | 10 | $4=100$ |
|  | 38 | 7 | 6 | $5=100$ |

Q. 14 CONTINUED...
(VOL.)

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

Q. 15 Regardless of who you support, which one of the presidential candidates - George W. Bush or John Kerry - do you think would do the best job of (INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE. IF RESPONDENT MENTIONS ANYONE OTHER THAN BUSH OR KERRY PROBE ONCE: "IF YOU HAD TO CHOOSE BETWEEN BUSH AND KERRY. . . "; OBSERVE FORM SPLITS)?

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

a. Improving economic conditions

August, 2004
May, 2004
Late March, 2004
Mid-March, 2004
Late-October, $2000^{13}$

| George | John | (VOL.) |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| W. Bush | Kerry ${ }^{12}$ | Neither | DK/Ref. |
| 42 | 45 | 4 | 9=100 |
| 37 | 52 | 3 | $8=100$ |
| 38 | 48 | 5 | $9=100$ |
| 39 | 44 | 6 | $11=100$ |
| 37 | 53 | 2 | $8=100$ |
| 40 | 46 | 6 | $8=100$ |

[^1]
## Q. 15 CONTINUED...

Mid-October, 2000
Early October, 2000
September, 2000
June, 2000
March, 2000
b. Improving the health care system

August, 2004
May, 2004
Late March, 2004
Mid-March, 2004
Late-October, 2000
Mid-October, 2000
Early October, 2000
September, 2000
June, 2000
March, 2000
ASK FORM 2 [ $\mathrm{N}=807$ ]:
c.F2 Improving education

$$
\text { August, } 2004
$$

May, 2004
Late March, 2004
Mid-March, 2004
Late-October, 2000
Mid-October, 2000
Early October, 2000
September, 2000
June, 2000
March, 2000
d.F2 Improving the job situation

August, 2004
May, 2004
Late March, 2004
Mid-March, 2004
e.F2 Improving morality in the country August, 2004

## ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS:

f. Making wise decisions about what to do in Iraq

August, 2004
May, 2004
Late March, 2004
Mid-March, 2004
g. Defending the country from future terrorist attacks

August, 2004
May, 2004

| George | John | (VOL.) |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| W. Bush | Kerry | Neither | DK/Ref. |
| 37 | 49 | 3 | 11=100 |
| 35 | 47 | 6 | $12=100$ |
| 38 | 46 | 5 | $11=100$ |
| 38 | 41 | 5 | $16=100$ |
| 42 | 46 | 4 | $8=100$ |
| 32 | 50 | 8 | $10=100$ |
| 29 | 55 | 5 | $11=100$ |
| 29 | 51 | 7 | $13=100$ |
| 33 | 46 | 6 | $15=100$ |
| 29 | 57 | 4 | $10=100$ |
| 38 | 47 | 5 | $10=100$ |
| 37 | 48 | 4 | $11=100$ |
| 36 | 49 | 5 | $10=100$ |
| 32 | 51 | 6 | $11=100$ |
| 31 | 44 | 6 | $19=100$ |
| 31 | 51 | 6 | $12=100$ |
| 43 | 43 | 5 | $9=100$ |
| 36 | 53 | 3 | $8=100$ |
| 35 | 50 | 5 | $10=100$ |
| 39 | 43 | 5 | $13=100$ |
| 36 | 52 | 3 | $9=100$ |
| 41 | 45 | 4 | $10=100$ |
| 40 | 46 | 3 | $11=100$ |
| 41 | 43 | 6 | $10=100$ |
| 39 | 45 | 4 | $12=100$ |
| 34 | 44 | 5 | $17=100$ |
| 42 | 44 | 3 | $11=100$ |
| 40 | 46 | 5 | $9=100$ |
| 35 | 53 | 5 | $7=100$ |
| 35 | 50 | 5 | $10=100$ |
| 37 | 45 | 7 | $11=100$ |
| 30 | 57 | 5 | $8=100$ |
| 51 | 33 | 7 | $9=100$ |
| 41 | 45 | 4 | $10=100$ |

Q. 15 CONTINUED...

Late March, 2004
Mid-March, 2004

| George <br> W. Bush | John <br> Kerry | (VOL.) <br> 53 | $\frac{29}{\text { Neither }}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 53 |  | $\frac{\text { DK/Ref. }}{14=100}$ |  |
| 57 | 32 | 4 | $7=100$ |

ASK FORM 2 [ $\mathrm{N}=\mathbf{8 0 7 ] :}$
h.F2 Making wise decisions about foreign policy 53 37 3 7=100

| August, 2004 | 43 | 47 | 2 | $8=100$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: |
| May, 2004 | 43 | 42 | 4 | $11=100$ |
| Late March, 2004 | 44 | 38 | 4 | $14=100$ |
| Mid-March, 2004 | 44 | 45 | 3 | $8=100$ |
| March, 2000 | 40 | 46 | 4 | $10=100$ |

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

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1580]:

|  |  | Early Oct $\underline{2000}$ | Late Sept$\underline{2000}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Sept } \\ \underline{1996} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | ------ CBS/NYT ${ }^{14}$ |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  |  | 1992 | 1988 | 1984 |
| 61 | Very likely | 49 | 43 | 43 | 67 | 55 | 55 |
| 27 | Somewhat likely, OR | 31 | 31 | 34 | 24 | 27 | 27 |
| 11 | Not likely | 19 | 22 | 22 | 8 | 17 | 16 |
| 1 | Don't know/Refused (VOL) | 1 | 4 | 1 | $\underline{2}$ | 1 | $\underline{2}$ |
| 100 |  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

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

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1580]:

|  |  | Sept 2000 | Sept 1996 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 29 | Debate matters | 29 | 30 |
| 68 | Mind made up | 60 | 65 |
| 3 | Don't know/Refused | 11 | $\underline{5}$ |
| 100 |  | 100 | 100 |

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

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

|  |  | June 2004 | June 2000 | July 1996 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 50 | Interesting | 35 | 31 | 21 |
| 42 | Dull | 56 | 63 | 73 |
| 6 | Neither (VOL.) | 4 | 4 | 3 |
| 2 | Don't know/Refused | $\underline{5}$ | $\underline{2}$ | $\underline{3}$ |
| 100 |  | 100 | 100 | 100 |

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

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1580]:

|  |  |  | June 2004 | Mid- March 2004 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| a. | 90 | Important OR | 82 | 83 |
|  | 9 | Unimportant | 16 | 16 |
|  | * | Neither applies (VOL.) | 1 | * |
|  | $\frac{1}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | $\frac{1}{100}$ | $\frac{1}{100}$ |
| b. | 63 | Informative OR | 48 | 54 |
|  | 33 | Not informative | 47 | 42 |
|  | 1 | Neither applies (VOL.) | 2 | 2 |
|  | $\underline{3}$ | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{2}$ |
|  | 100 |  | 100 | 100 |
| c. | 53 | Too long OR | 53 | 53 |
|  | 42 | Not too long | 42 | 43 |
|  | 2 | Neither applies (VOL.) | 2 | 1 |
|  | 3 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 3 | $\underline{3}$ |
|  | 100 |  | 100 | 100 |
| d. | 62 | Too negative OR | 46 | 49 |
|  | 32 | Not too negative | 46 | 46 |
|  | 1 | Neither applies (VOL.) | 2 | 1 |
|  | 5 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | $\underline{6}$ | 4 |
|  | 100 |  | 100 | 100 |
| e. | 21 | Hard to follow OR | 30 | 25 |
|  | 75 | Easy to follow | 66 | 72 |
|  | 2 | Neither applies (VOL.) | 2 | 1 |
|  | $\underline{2}$ | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | $\underline{2}$ | $\underline{2}$ |
|  | 100 |  | 100 | 100 |

ASK ALL GENERAL PUBLIC:
ASK FORM 1 SEPTEMBER 8-13 AND BOTH FORMS SEPTEMBER 14 [N=1485]:
Q.18F1 Now I'd like your views on some people. (First,) would you say your overall opinion of... [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE] is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? [INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN’T RATE."]
a.F1 John Kerry

| Total | Very Mostly | Total | Very Mostly | Heard of Rate |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 49 | 1732 | 43 | 1924 | * 8=100 |
| 51 | $17 \quad 34$ | 40 | 1921 | * $9=100(N=899)$ |
| 50 | 1832 | 44 | 1826 | 0 6=100( $N=586$ ) |
| 56 | 2333 | 36 | 1422 | $17=100$ |
| 50 | 1139 | 41 | 1625 | 0 9 $=100$ |
| 58 | 1444 | 28 | 820 | 1 13=100 |
| 30 | 624 | 16 | 412 | $36 \quad 18=100$ |
| 63 | 1647 | 35 | 1124 | 0 2=100 |
| 59 | 1742 | 34 | 925 | 0 7=100 |
| 51 | 1833 | 42 | 1923 | $7=100$ |
| 59 | 1742 | 33 | 1122 | $8=100$ |

Q.18F1 CONTINUED...

| b.F1 G | George W. Bush | 52 | 25 | 27 | 43 | 24 | 19 | * | $5=100$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | September 11-14 | 49 | 24 | 25 | 46 | 27 | 19 | 0 | $5=100(N=899)$ |
|  | September 8-10 | 55 | 28 | 27 | 40 | 21 | 19 | * | $5=100(N=586)$ |
|  | August, 2004 | 58 | 27 | 31 | 39 | 22 | 17 | 0 | $3=100$ |
|  | June, 2004 | 52 | 19 | 33 | 45 | 22 | 23 | * | $3=100$ |
|  | Early February, 2004 | 53 | 21 | 32 | 44 | 25 | 19 | 0 | $3=100$ |
| Gallup: | : January 29 - February 1, 2004 | 52 | -- | -- | 47 | -- | -- | -- | $1=100$ |
| Gallup: | January 2-5, 2004 | 65 | -- | -- | 35 | -- | -- | -- | *=100 |
| Gallup: | : October 6-8, 2003 | 60 | -- | -- | 39 | -- | -- | -- | $1=100$ |
| Gallup: | : June 9-10, 2003 | 66 | -- | -- | 33 | -- | -- | -- | $1=100$ |
|  | April, 2003 | 72 | 37 | 35 | 25 | 11 | 14 | 0 | 3=100 |
|  | December, 2002 | 68 | 35 | 33 | 27 | 11 | 16 | 0 | $5=100$ |
|  | July, 2001 | 61 | 22 | 39 | 35 | 14 | 21 | * | $4=100$ |
|  | January, 2001 | 60 | 24 | 36 | 33 | 12 | 21 | 0 | $7=100$ |
|  | May, 2000 | 58 | 18 | 40 | 31 | 12 | 19 | 1 | $10=100$ |
|  | March, 1999 ${ }^{15}$ | 61 | 21 | 40 | 21 | 7 | 14 | 4 | $14=100$ |
|  | November, 1997 | 54 | 13 | 41 | 18 | 6 | 12 | 9 | $19=100$ |
| c.F1 D | Dick Cheney | 43 | 13 | 30 | 42 | 23 | 19 | 2 | $13=100$ |
|  | September 11-14 | 41 | 13 | 28 | 44 | 24 | 20 | 1 | $14=100(N=899)$ |
|  | September 8-10 | 48 | 14 | 34 | 40 | 23 | 17 | 2 | $10=100(N=586)$ |
|  | August, 2004 | 47 | 13 | 34 | 41 | 20 | 21 | 2 | $10=100$ |
|  | April, 2003 | 60 | 21 | 39 | 27 | 12 | 15 | 3 | $10=100$ |
|  | December, 2002 | 59 | 20 | 39 | 26 | 10 | 16 | 5 | $10=100$ |
|  | July, 2001 | 58 | 19 | 39 | 26 | 6 | 20 | 6 | $10=100$ |
|  | January, 2001 | 62 | 20 | 42 | 18 | 5 | 13 | 2 | $18=100$ |
|  | December, 1994 | 42 | 10 | 32 | 19 | 5 | 14 | 21 | $18=100$ |
|  | March, 1991 ${ }^{16}$ | 68 | 33 | 35 | 6 | 2 | 4 | 10 | $16=100$ |
|  | May, 1990 | 20 | 3 | 17 | 11 | 3 | 8 | 44 | $25=100$ |
| d.F1 J | John Edwards | 49 | 16 | 33 | 31 | 11 | 20 | 3 | $17=100$ |
|  | September 11-14 | 49 | 16 | 33 | 31 | 13 | 18 | 3 | $17=100(N=899)$ |
|  | September 8-10 | 50 | 16 | 34 | 30 | 9 | 21 | 4 | $16=100(N=586)$ |
|  | August, 2004 | 58 | 22 | 36 | 24 | 6 | 18 | 4 | $14=100$ |
|  | Early February, 2004 | 42 | 9 | 33 | 24 | 7 | 17 | 8 | 26=100 |
|  | January, 2003 | 22 | 4 | 18 | 14 | 4 | 10 | 43 | $21=100$ |
|  | Gore: August, 1992 (RVs) | 66 | 22 | 44 | 20 | 5 | 15 | 2 | $12=100$ |
|  | Gore: July, 1992 | 47 | 15 | 32 | 19 | 5 | 14 | 6 | $28=100$ |
|  | Bentsen: September, 1988 (RVs) | 50 | 11 | 39 | 22 | 7 | 15 |  | 100 |
|  | Bentsen: August, 1988 (RVs) | 48 | 12 | 36 | 18 | 5 | 13 |  | 100 |

[^2]16
In March 1991 and May 1990 the category was listed: "Richard Cheney."

## ASK FORM 2 [ $\mathbf{N}=1009]$ :

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


[^3]| Q.19F2 CONTINUED... | Approve | Disapprove | DK/Ref. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| c.F2 Terrorist threats | 62 | 32 | $6=100$ |
| August, 2004 | 58 | 37 | $5=100$ |
| July, 2004 | 54 | 40 | $6=100$ |
| June, 2004 | 56 | 35 | $9=100$ |
| Late April, 2004 | 55 | 36 | $9=100$ |
| Early April, 2004 | 53 | 38 | $9=100$ |
| Gallup: December, 2003 | 65 | 33 | $2=100$ |
| September, 2003 | 64 | 28 | $8=100$ |
| February, 2003 | 67 | 25 | $8=100$ |
| January, 2003 | 69 | 23 | $8=100$ |
| Early October, 2002 | 71 | 22 | $7=100$ |
| June, 2002 | 74 | 18 | $8=100$ |
| Mid-September, $2001{ }^{18}$ | 85 | 6 | $9=100$ |
| Clinton: Early September, 1998 | 72 | 20 | $8=100$ |
| d.F2 The nation's foreign policy | 47 | 42 | $11=100$ |
| August, 2004 | 42 | 49 | $9=100$ |
| July, 2004 | 40 | 48 | $12=100$ |
| Mid-January, 2004 | 53 | 36 | $11=100$ |
| March, 2003 | 53 | 36 | $11=100$ |
| Early April, 2002 | 69 | 20 | $11=100$ |
| Gallup: October, 2001 | 81 | 14 | 5=100 |
| Early September, 2001 | 46 | 34 | $20=100$ |
| August, 2001 ${ }^{19}$ | 45 | 32 | $23=100$ |

## ASK ALL GENERAL PUBLIC:

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

Based on Those Who Could Rate

| a. | George W. Bush | -- Conservative -- |  |  | ---- Liberal ---- |  |  | Never heard of/ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | 1 | $\underline{2}$ | $\underline{3}$ | 4 | $\underline{5}$ | $\underline{6}$ | DK/Refused | $(\mathrm{N})^{20}$ |
|  |  | 28 | 27 | 18 | 10 | 8 | 9=100 | 8\% | (1840) |
|  | Mid-March, 2004 | 26 | 24 | 20 | 13 | 7 | $9=100$ | 8\% |  |
|  | Mid-January, 2004 | 28 | 28 | 16 | 10 | 8 | $10=100$ | 10\% |  |
|  | January, 2000 | 13 | 26 | 30 | 14 | 10 | 7=100 | 16\% |  |
|  | May, 1999 | 15 | 24 | 27 | 15 | 10 | $9=100$ | 15\% |  |
| b. | John Kerry | 7 | 6 | 18 | 23 | 19 | $27=100$ | 13\% | (1772) |
|  | Mid-March, 2004 | 5 | 5 | 18 | 32 | 20 | $20=100$ | 12\% |  |
|  | Mid-January, 2004 | 6 | 9 | 27 | 30 | 17 | $11=100$ | 45\% |  |

[^4]Q. 20 CONTINUED...
c. Yourself

Mid-March, 2004
Mid-January, 2004
January, 2000
May, 1999
September, 1996
September, 1988
Newsweek: 1984

Based on Those Who Could Rate

| - Conservative -- |  |  |  |  |  |  | --- Liberal ---- |  | Never heard of/ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 15 | 13 | 30 | 17 | 12 | $13=100$ | $8 \%$ | (1854) |  |  |
| 12 | 12 | 30 | 20 | 14 | $12=100$ | $6 \%$ |  |  |  |
| 15 | 15 | 27 | 18 | 14 | $11=100$ | $5 \%$ |  |  |  |
| 15 | 16 | 31 | 16 | 10 | $12=100$ | $8 \%$ |  |  |  |
| 13 | 12 | 30 | 20 | 11 | $14=100$ | $7 \%$ |  |  |  |
| 17 | 10 | 31 | 18 | 13 | $11=100$ | $6 \%$ |  |  |  |
| 14 | 15 | 29 | 20 | 12 | $10=100$ | $6 \%$ |  |  |  |
| 16 | 9 | 31 | 19 | 12 | $13=100$ | $6 \%$ |  |  |  |

## ASK FORM 1:

## ROTATE Q.21aF1 AND Q.21bF1

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

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=773]:

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | June | March | Gore Critical <br> of Bush <br> Early Oct | Clinton Critical <br> of Dole | Dukakis Critical <br> of Bush, Sr. |
|  |  | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2000}$ | $\underline{1996}$ | Oct |
| 52 | Too personally critical | 44 | 48 | $\underline{29}$ | $\underline{1988}$ |  |
| 45 | Not too personally critical | 48 | 46 | 61 | 70 | 50 |
| $\frac{3}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused | $\underline{8}$ | $\underline{6}$ | $\underline{10}$ | $\underline{9}$ | $\underline{5}$ |
|  |  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

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

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=773]:

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

## ASK FORM 2:

## ROTATE Q.22aF2 AND Q.22bF2

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

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

54 Too personally critical<br>42 Not too personally critical<br>4 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)<br>100

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

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

51 Too personally critical
44 Not too personally critical
5 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100

## ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS SEPTEMBER 10-13:

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

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

| 28 | Reasonable charge |
| :--- | :--- |
| 66 | Goes too far |
| $\frac{6}{100}$ | Don’t know/Refused |

## ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS SEPTEMBER 10-13:

Q.CAM2 From what you have heard or read, do you think George W. Bush met all of his service obligations while he was in the National Guard, or don't you think so?
IF "DID NOT" MEET OBLIGATIONS ("2" IN Q.CAM2), ASK:
Q.CAM3 Is this something that bothers you, or not?

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

| 33 | Met all service obligations |
| :---: | :--- |
| 43 | Did not meet obligations |
| 26 | Bothers me |
| 17 | Not |
| * | Don't know/Refused |
| $\frac{24}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused |

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

Q. 23 So far, have you seen any of Kerry's campaign commercials on TV, or not?

IF YES (1 IN Q.23) ASK:
Q.23a Have you seen Kerry's commercials a lot, some or only once or twice?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1580]:

| In "past few days" only ${ }^{21}$ |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Oct | Oct | Oct | Sept |
| 14-18 | 9-13 | 2-6 | 25-29 |
| 1992 | 1992 | 1992 | 1992 |
| 57 | 59 | 64 | 75 |
| -- | -- | -- | -- |
| -- | -- | -- | -- |
| -- | -- | -- | -- |
| -- | -- | -- | -- |
| 40 | 39 | 34 | 24 |
| $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{2}$ | $\underline{2}$ | 1 |
| 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Q. 24 So far, have you seen any of Bush's campaign commercials on TV, or not?

## IF YES (1 IN Q.24) ASK:

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

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1580]:
Bush, Sr.
------------

|  |  |  |  |  |  | n "pa | few d | " |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | Mid- |  | Dole | Oct | Oct | Oct | Sept |
|  |  | June | March | Early Oct | Late Sept | 14-18 | 9-13 | 2-6 | 25-29 |
|  |  | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2000}$ | 1996 | 1992 | 1992 | 1992 | 1992 |
| 79 | Yes | 69 | 65 | 61 | 70 | 60 | 66 | 68 | 78 |
| 27 | A lot | 20 | 15 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| 29 | Some | 30 | 21 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| 22 | Only once or twice | 19 | 28 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| 1 | Don't know/Refused | * | 1 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| 20 | No | 30 | 34 | 37 | 29 | 38 | 32 | 30 | 21 |
| 1 | Don't know/Refused | 1 | 1 | $\underline{2}$ | 1 | $\underline{2}$ | $\underline{2}$ | $\underline{2}$ | 1 |
| 100 |  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

NO Q. 25 OR Q. 26

21
In October 1992 the question was worded: "In the PAST FEW DAYS have you seen any television commercials on behalf of (Bill Clinton's/George Bush's) candidacy? Only tell me 'yes' if you have seen paid commercials for (Clinton/Bush) on TV in the past few days." In September 1992 the question was worded: "So far, have you seen any television commercials on behalf of (Bill Clinton's/George Bush's) candidacy, or not?"
Q. 27 Here are some statements about the candidates and political parties. For each, please tell me if you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly DISagree, or completely DISagree with it. (The first one is...)
(INSERT ITEM; ROTATE ITEMS)
BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS:

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

## ASK ALL GENERAL PUBLIC:

Now thinking about Iraq...
Q. 28 Do you think the U.S. made the right decision or the wrong decision in using military force against Iraq?

September, 2004
August, 2004
July, 2004
June, 2004
May, 2004
Late April, 2004
Early April, 2004

| Right <br> decision | Wrong <br> decision | Don't know/ <br> defused |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 53 |  | $\frac{\text { Ref }}{8=100}$ |  |
| 53 |  |  | $6=100$ |
| 52 | 43 | $5=100$ |  |
| 55 | 38 | $7=100$ |  |
| 51 | 42 | $7=100$ |  |
| 54 | 37 | $9=100$ |  |
| 57 | 35 | $8=100$ |  |


| Mid-March, 2004 | 55 | 39 | $6=100$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Q. 28 CONTINUED... | $\begin{array}{c}\text { Right } \\ \text { decision }\end{array}$ | Wrong decision | Don't know/ Refused |
| 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 | $6=100$ |
| April 10-16, 2003 | 74 | 19 | $7=100$ |
| April 8-9,2003 | 74 | 19 | $7=100$ |
| April 2-7, 2003 | 72 | 20 | $8=100$ |
| March 28-April 1, 2003 | 69 | 25 | $6=100$ |
| March 25-27, 2003 | 74 | 21 | $5=100$ |
| March 23-24, 2003 | 74 | 21 | $5=100$ |
| March 20-22, 2003 | 71 | 22 | $7=100$ |
| Late January, 1991 | 77 | 15 | $9=100$ |

Q. 29 How well is the U.S. military effort in Iraq going? [READ IN ORDER]

|  | Very <br> well | Fairly <br> well | Not too <br> well | Not at all <br> well | Don't know/ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| September, 2004 | $\frac{12}{\text { Refused }}$ |  |  |  |  |

Q. 30 Do you think the U.S. should keep military troops in Iraq until the situation has stabilized, or do you think the U.S. should bring its troops home as soon as possible?

|  |  |  | Late | Early | Early |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Aug | July | June | May | April | April | Jan | Oct | Sept |
|  |  | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2004^{22}}$ | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2003}$ | $\underline{2003}$ |
| 54 | Keep troops in Iraq | 54 | 53 | 51 | 53 | 53 | 50 | 63 | 58 | 64 |
| 40 | Bring troops home | 42 | 43 | 44 | 42 | 40 | 44 | 32 | 39 | 32 |
| $\frac{6}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused | $\underline{4}$ | $\underline{4}$ | $\underline{5}$ | $\underline{5}$ | $\underline{7}$ | $\underline{6}$ | $\underline{5}$ | $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{4}$ |
|  |  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Q. 31 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?

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Aug | July | June | April | April | Dec | Oct | Sept |
|  |  | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2003}$ | $\underline{2003}$ | $\underline{2003}$ |
| 36 | Has a clear plan | 36 | 34 | 37 | 36 | 32 | 44 | 35 | 32 |
| 55 | Doesn't have a clear plan | 58 | 59 | 55 | 54 | 57 | 45 | 54 | 58 |
| 9 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 6 | $\underline{7}$ | 8 | 10 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 10 |
| 100 |  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Q. 32 Do you think the war in Iraq has helped the war on terrorism, or has it hurt the war on terrorism?

|  |  |  |  |  | Mid- | Late | Early |  |  |  |  | Early |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Aug | July | June | March | Feb | Feb | Dec | Sept | May | April | Oct |
|  |  | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{2003}$ | 2003 | $\underline{2003}$ | $\underline{2003}{ }^{23}$ | $\underline{2002}$ |
| 46 | Helped | 45 | 43 | 43 | 50 | 62 | 55 | 59 | 54 | 65 | 63 | 52 |
| 40 | Hurt | 44 | 45 | 44 | 37 | 28 | 32 | 26 | 31 | 22 | 22 | 34 |
| 6 | No effect (VOL) | 4 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 3 | 7 | 6 | 7 | 6 | -- | -- |
| 8 | Don't know/Refused | $\underline{7}$ | $\underline{7}$ | $\underline{9}$ | 8 | 7 | $\underline{6}$ | $\underline{9}$ | 8 | 7 | 15 | 14 |
| 100 |  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

## ASK FORM 2 [ $\mathbf{N}=1009]$ :

Q.33F2 Some people are comparing Iraq to the war in Vietnam thirty years ago. Do you think Iraq will turn out to be another Vietnam, or do you think the U.S. will accomplish its goals in Iraq?

|  |  | June | Late April |
| ---: | :--- | :---: | :---: |
| 29 | Will be another Vietnam | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{29}$ |
| 54 | U.S. will accomplish its goals | 55 | 25 |
| 4 | Too early to tell (VOL.) | 4 | 64 |
| $\frac{13}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | $\underline{12}$ | 6 |
|  |  | $\underline{100}$ | $\underline{150}$ |

In June 2004 and earlier, the question was worded: "Do you think the U.S. should keep military troops in Iraq until a stable government is established there, or do you think the U.S. should bring its troops home as soon as possible?"
${ }^{23}$ In April 2003, the question was worded: "Do you think the war in Iraq will help the war on terrorism, or will it hurt the war on terrorism?" In Early October 2002 the question was worded: "If the U.S. uses military force in Iraq, do you think this will help the war on terrorism, or will it hurt the war on terrorism?"

## ASK FORM 1 [ $\mathbf{N = 9 9 4 ] :}$

Q.34F1 What's your impression about what's happened in Iraq over the past month. Has the number of American military casualties been higher, lower, or about the same as in other recent months?

| 46 | Higher | $\frac{\text { Aug } 2004}{31}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :---: |
| 12 | Lower | 18 |
| 31 | About the same | 42 |
| $\frac{11}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused | $\underline{9}$ |
|  |  | 100 |

Q.35F1 In the long run, do you think the war in Iraq has increased the chances of terrorist attacks in the U.S., lessened the chances, or has it made no difference?

| 34 | Increased | $\frac{\text { Nov } 2002^{24}}{45}$ |
| :---: | :--- | :---: |
| 32 | Lessened | 18 |
| 31 | No difference | 30 |
| $\frac{3}{100}$ | Don't know | $\underline{7}$ |
| $\mathbf{1 0 0}$ |  |  |

Now, a few questions about some other issues...
Q. 36 Do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose... [READ AND ROTATE; OBSERVE FORM SPLIT ON ITEMS a,b]...

| ASK FORM 1 [ $\mathrm{N}=994$ ]: | Strongly |  |  | Strongly |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Don't } \\ & \text { know } \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Net | Favor | Favor | $\underline{\text { Net }}$ | Oppos | Oppose |  |
| a.F1 The U.S. government guaranteeing health |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| insurance for all citizens, even if it means |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| repealing most of the recent tax cuts | 68 | 31 | 37 | 23 | 10 | 13 | $9=100$ |
| August, 2003 | 67 | 28 | 39 | 26 | 8 | 18 | $7=100$ |

## ASK FORM 2 [ $\mathrm{N}=1009$ ]:

b.F2 The U.S. government guaranteeing health insurance for all citizens, even if it means $\begin{array}{llllllllll}\text { raising taxes } & 66 & 30 & 36 & 26 & 11 & 15 & 8=100\end{array}$
$\begin{array}{lllllllll}\text { August, } 2003 & 67 & 23 & 44 & 29 & 10 & 19 & 4=100\end{array}$ to end Saddam Hussein's rule is likely to increase the chances of terrorist attacks in the U.S., lessen the chances, or will it make no difference?"

## ASK ALL GENERAL PUBLIC:

Q. 37 How much, if anything, have you heard about a proposal which would allow younger workers to invest a portion of their payroll taxes in private retirement accounts, which might include stocks or mutual funds, rather than having all of it go toward Social Security - a lot, a little or nothing at all?
( $R V$ 's)

| $\frac{\text { Total }}{19}$ | $\frac{\text { RV's }}{23}$ |  | A lot |
| :---: | :---: | :--- | :---: |
| 41 | 44 | A little | 26 |
| 39 | 32 | Nothing at all | 43 |
| $\frac{1}{100}$ | $\frac{1}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused | 30 |
|  | $(\mathbf{N}=\mathbf{1 5 8 0})$ |  | $\underline{1}$ |
|  |  |  | 100 |

Q. 38 Generally, do you favor or oppose this proposal?

|  |  |  |  | ---- | 2000 --- |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | ard a |  |  | Heard about |
| Total | RV's | opos |  | RV's | Proposal |
| 58 | 59 | 61 | Favor | 70 | 71 |
| 26 | 27 | 28 | Oppose | 21 | 23 |
| 16 | 14 | 11 | Don't know/Refused | $\underline{9}$ | $\underline{6}$ |
| 100 | 100 | 100 |  | 100 | 100 |
|  | ( $\mathrm{N}=1580$ ) | N=129 |  |  |  |

## ASK FORM 1 [ $\mathrm{N}=994$ ]:

Q.39F1 What is the best way to pay for increased spending for military defense and homeland security. Should the U.S. ... [READ AND ROTATE]

|  | Feb | Feb |  |
| ---: | :--- | :---: | :---: |
| 11 | Add to the budget deficit | $\underline{2003}^{26}$ | $\frac{2002}{23}$ |
| 19 | Reduce spending on domestic programs [OR] | 21 | 22 |
| 47 | Postpone or reduce last year's tax cuts | 40 | 42 |
| 3 | None (VOL) | 1 | 2 |
| 1 | Multiple (VOL) | 1 | $*$ |
| 4 | Other (VOL) | 2 | 1 |
| $\frac{15}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused | $\underline{12}$ | $\underline{9}$ |
|  |  | 100 | 100 |

## ASK FORM 2 [ $\mathbf{N}=1009$ ]:

Q.39F2 Which comes closer to your view about the tax cuts passed under President Bush over the past few years? [READ IN ORDER]

27 All of the tax cuts should be made permanent
31 Tax cuts for the wealthy should be repealed, while others stay in place, OR
28 All of the tax cuts should be repealed
14 Don't know/Refused (VOL. DO NOT READ)
100

25 Based on the percent who heard "A lot" or "A little" in Q.37.
${ }^{26}$ In February 2003 and 2002 the question was worded, "As you may know, President Bush has proposed large increases in the budget for military defense and homeland security. Which one of the following do you think is the BEST way to pay for these increases, if they are to happen?"

## ASK FORM 1 [ $\mathbf{N = 9 9 4 ] : ~}$

Q.40F1 Do you think the United States is winning or losing the war on terrorism?

|  |  | ABC News/Wash Post |  |  |
| ---: | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $\frac{\text { July 2004 }}{}$ | October 2002 <br> 52 | Winning |
| 28 | Losing | 34 | 47 |  |
| 9 | Neither (VOL) | 10 | 24 |  |
| $\frac{11}{100}$ | Don't Know/Refused | $\underline{5}$ | 21 |  |
|  |  | 100 | $\underline{9}$ |  |

## ASK FORM 2 [ $\mathbf{N}=1009]$ :

Q.41F2 Do you think Al Qaeda and related terrorist groups are now stronger or weaker than before 9/11?

| 30 | Stronger |
| ---: | :--- |
| 57 | Weaker |
| 4 | About the same (VOL.) |
| $\frac{9}{100}$ | Don't know/refused (VOL.) |

## ASK ALL GENERAL PUBLIC:

Now, just a few questions for statistical purposes only.
INT1 Do you use a computer at your workplace, at school, at home, or anywhere else on at least an occasional basis?
INT2 Do you ever go online to access the Internet or World Wide Web or to send and receive email?

|  | Computer User |  |  | Based on Total Respondents: Goes Online |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Yes | No | DK/Ref | Yes | No | DK/Ref |
| September, 2004 | 78 | 22 | *=100 | 72 | 28 | *=100 |
| August, 2004 | 75 | 25 | *=100 | 68 | 32 | $0=100$ |
| April, 2004 | 73 | 27 | $0=100$ | 66 | 34 | *=100 |
| March, 2004 ${ }^{27}$ | 75 | 25 | *=100 | 68 | 32 | *=100 |
| August, 2003 | 77 | 23 | *=100 | 67 | 33 | *=100 |
| Mid-July, 2003 | 75 | 25 | *=100 | 65 | 35 | *=100 |
| January, 2003 | 76 | 24 | $0=100$ | 67 | 33 | *=100 |
| December, 2002 | 76 | 24 | *=100 | 67 | 33 | *=100 |
| Early October, 2002 | 75 | 25 | *=100 | 63 | 37 | *=100 |
| August, 2002 | 78 | 22 | *=100 | 69 | 31 | *=100 |
| June, 2002 | 74 | 26 | *=100 | 66 | 34 | *=100 |
| May, 2002 | 75 | 25 | *=100 | 66 | 34 | *=100 |
| April, 2002 | 71 | 29 | *=100 | 62 | 38 | $0=100$ |
| February, 2002 | 71 | 29 | *=100 | 62 | 38 | $0=100$ |
| January, 2002 | 73 | 27 | $0=100$ | 62 | 38 | $0=100$ |
| Mid-November, 2001 | 73 | 27 | $0=100$ | 62 | 38 | $0=100$ |
| Mid-September, 2001 | 72 | 28 | *=100 | 62 | 38 | *=100 |
| June, 2001 | 72 | 28 | *=100 | 62 | 38 | $0=100$ |
| May, 2001 | 75 | 25 | *=100 | 64 | 36 | $0=100$ | identified themselves as computer users). This modification was made to adjust to changes in technology and means of access to the Internet, and increases the percent who are classified as Internet users by 1-2 percentage points.

INT1/INT2 CONTINUED...

April, 2001
February, 2001
January, 2001
July, 2000
June, 2000
April, 2000
March, $2000^{28}$
February, 2000
January, 2000
December, 1999
October, 1999
Late September, 1999
September, 1999
August, 1999
July, 1999
June, 1999
May, 1999
April, 1999
March, 1999
February, 1999
January, 1999
Early December, 1998
November, 1998
Early September, 1998
Late August, 1998
Early August, 1998
April, 1998
January, 1998
November, 1997
June, 1997
Early September, 1996
July, 1996
April, 1996
March, 1996
February, 1996
January, 1996
June, 1995 ${ }^{29}$

| Computer User |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | ---: |
| Yes | $\frac{\text { No }}{} \quad$DK/Ref <br> 72 | 28 |
| 72 | 28 | $0=100$ |
| 71 | 29 | $*=100$ |
| 68 | 31 | $1=100$ |
| 68 | 31 | $1=100$ |
| 68 | 32 | $*=100$ |
| 72 | 28 | $0=100$ |
| 67 | 33 | $*=100$ |
| 68 | 32 | $*=100$ |
| 67 | 33 | $*=100$ |
| 67 | 33 | $*=100$ |
| 68 | 32 | $*=100$ |
| 70 | 30 | $*=100$ |
| 67 | 33 | $*=100$ |
| 68 | 32 | $*=100$ |
| 64 | 35 | $1=100$ |
| 66 | 33 | $1=100$ |
| 71 | 29 | $*=100$ |
| 68 | 32 | $*=100$ |
| 68 | 32 | $*=100$ |
| 69 | 31 | $*=100$ |
| 64 | 36 | $*=100$ |
| -- | -- | -- |
| 64 | 36 | $*=100$ |
| 66 | 34 | $0=100$ |
| 66 | 34 | $*=100$ |
| 61 | 39 | $*=100$ |
| 65 | 35 | $*=100$ |
| 66 | 34 | $*=100$ |
| 60 | 40 | $0=100$ |
| 56 | 44 | $*=100$ |
| 56 | 44 | $*=100$ |
| 58 | 42 | $*=100$ |
| 61 | 39 | $*=100$ |
| 60 | 40 | $0=100$ |
| 59 | 41 | $0=100$ |
| -- | -- | -- |
|  |  |  |

Based on Total Respondents:
Goes Online

| $\underline{\text { Yes }}$ | No | DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 62 | 38 | 0=100 |
| 60 | 40 | *=100 |
| 61 | 39 | $0=100$ |
| 55 | 45 | *=100 |
| 56 | 44 | *=100 |
| 54 | 46 | *=100 |
| 61 | 39 | $0=100$ |
| 52 | 48 | $0=100$ |
| 52 | 48 | *=100 |
| 53 | 47 | $0=100$ |
| 50 | 50 | $0=100$ |
| 52 | 48 | *=100 |
| 53 | 47 | $0=100$ |
| 52 | 48 | $0=100$ |
| 49 | 51 | $0=100$ |
| 50 | 50 | *=100 |
| 48 | 52 | $0=100$ |
| 51 | 49 | *=100 |
| 49 | 51 | *=100 |
| 49 | 51 | *=100 |
| 47 | 53 | *=100 |
| 42 | 58 | $0=100$ |
| 37 | 63 | *=100 |
| 42 | 58 | *=100 |
| 43 | 57 | *=100 |
| 41 | 59 | *=100 |
| 36 | 64 | $0=100$ |
| 37 | 63 | $0=100$ |
| 36 | 63 | $1=100$ |
| 29 | 71 | $0=100$ |
| 22 | 78 | $0=100$ |
| 23 | 77 | $0=100$ |
| 21 | 79 | *=100 |
| 22 | 78 | $0=100$ |
| 21 | 79 | *=100 |
| 21 | 79 | $0=100$ |
| 14 | 86 | * $=100$ |

28 In March 2000, "or anywhere else" was added to the question wording.
${ }^{29}$ The 1995 figure combines responses from two separate questions: (1) Do you or anyone in your household ever use a modem to connect to any computer bulletin boards, information services such as CompuServe or Prodigy, or other computers at other locations? (IF YES, PROBE: Is that you, someone else or both?) (2) Do you, yourself, ever use a computer at (work) (school) (work or school) to connect with computer bulletin boards, information services such as America Online or Prodigy, or other computers over the Internet?


[^0]:    From May 2003 to Early February 2004 and in March 1992, the story was listed as "The race for the Democratic nomination." In January 2003, the story was listed as "Recent announcements by prominent Democrats about plans to run for president in 2004." In September 2000, Early September and July 1996, and May 1992, the question asked about the "presidential election campaign." In January, March and April 1996, the story was listed as "News about the Republican presidential candidates." In August 1992, the story was listed as "News about the presidential election." In July 1992, the story was listed as "News about the presidential campaign." In January 1992, the story was listed as "News about the Democratic candidates for the presidential nomination." In 1988, the story was introduced as being from "this past year" and was listed as "News about the presidential campaign in 1988."

[^1]:    11 In 2000 the question asked about Al Gore.

    12 In 2000 the question asked about Al Gore.

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

[^2]:    In March 1999 and November 1997 the category was listed: "Texas Governor George W. Bush."

[^3]:    17 From March to April 2003 the item was worded: "... dealing with the war in Iraq?" The 1991 Gallup trend was worded "...George Bush is handling the situation in the Persian Gulf region."

[^4]:    18 In Mid-September, 2001 the question was worded: "...dealing with the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon in Washington." In Early September 1998 the question was worded: "Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling current threats from international terrorist groups?"

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

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

