PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS MID-OCTOBER 2004 POLITICAL SURVEY FINAL TOPLINE October 15-19, 2004 General Public N=1568 Registered Voter N=1307

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

THOUGHT

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

	little?					
		Quite	(VOL.)		(VOL.)	DK/
		<u>A lot</u>	Some	Little	None	Ref.
	Mid-October, 2004	76	5	15	3	1 = 100
	Early October, 2004	74	4	19	2	1 = 100
	September 22-26, 2004	68	4	23	4	1 = 100
	September 17-21, 2004	66	4	25	4	1 = 100
	Early September, 2004	71	3	22	3	1 = 100
	September 11-14	69	3	23	4	1=100
	September 8-10	73	3	21	2	1=100
	August, 2004	69	2	26	2	1 = 100
	July, 2004	67	2	28	2	1 = 100
	June, 2004	58	3	36	2	1 = 100
	May, 2004	59	6	30	4	1 = 100
	Late March, 2004	60	4	31	4	1 = 100
	Mid-March, 2004	65	2	31	2	*=100
2000	Early November, 2000	72	6	19	2	1 = 100
	Late October, 2000	66	6	24	4	*=100
	Mid-October, 2000	67	9	19	4	1=100
	Early October, 2000	60	8	27	4	1=100
	September, 2000	59	8	29	3	1=100
	July, 2000	46	6	45	3	*=100
	June, 2000	46	6	43	5	*=100
	May, 2000	48	4	42	5	1=100
	April, 2000	45	7	41	7	*=100
1996	November, 1996	67	8	22	3	*=100
	October, 1996	65	7	26	1	1=100
	Late September, 1996	61	7	29	2	1=100
	Early September, 1996	56	3	36	4	1=100
	July, 1996	55	3	41	1	*=100
	June, 1996	50	5	41	3	1=100
1992	October, 1992	77	5	16	1	1=100
	September, 1992	69	3	26	1	1=100
	August, 1992	72	4	23	1	*=100
	June, 1992	63	6	29	1	1=100
1988	Gallup: November, 1988	73	8	17	2	0=100
	Gallup: October, 1988	69	9	20	2	0=100
	Gallup: August, 1988	61	10	27	2	0=100
	Gallup: September, 1988	57	18	23	2	0=100

ASK ALL GENERAL PUBLIC:

Q.1 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]

BASED ON GENERAL PUBLIC: [N=1568]:

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

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

Q.1a 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 GENERAL PUBLIC [N=1568]:

		Early Sept	Early Jan
		2004	2004
16	Local news programming	16	17
9	ABC Network news	11	15
7	CBS Network news	8	11
10	NBC Network news	13	14
11	CNN Cable news	18	22
2	MSNBC Cable news	5	7
15	The Fox News Cable Channel	19	20
2	CNBC Cable news	2	3
4	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	5	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?
 - 83 Yes, registered
 - 80 Absolutely certain
 - 2 Chance registration has lapse SKIP TO Q.40
 - 1 Don't know/Refused (VOL.) SKIP TO Q.40
 - 17 No, not registered SKIP TO Q.40
 - * Don't know/Refused (VOL.) SKIP TO Q.40
 - 100

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS:

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

		Early			Early	Late	Mid-	Early	Late	Early		Late	
		Sept	Aug	Nov	Nov	Oct	Oct	Oct	Oct	Oct	Nov	Sept	Nov
		2004	2004	<u>2002</u>	2000	<u>2000</u>	2000	2000	<u>1998</u>	<u>1998</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1994</u>
79	Yes	83	88	86	83	81	82	84	86	87	85	85	91
21	No	17	12	14	17	19	18	16	14	13	15	15	9
*	Don't know/Ref.	*	<u>0</u>	*	*	*	0	*	*	*	*	*	*
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

FOLGOV Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election or not. Other's aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, some of the time, only now and then, or hardly at all?¹

	Most of	Some of	Only Now	Hardly	
	The Time	the Time	and Then	<u>at All</u>	DK/Ref
Mid-October, 2004	63	26	8	3	*=100
June, 2004	49	35	12	4	*=100
August, 2003	56	31	10	3	*=100
Early November, 2000	51	32	12	5	*=100
November, 1996	52	32	12	4	*=100
October, 1996	43	37	13	6	1=100
October, 1988	52	33	12	3	*=100

OFTVOTE How often would you say you vote... (**READ**)²

				((VOL.)		
		Nearly	Part of		Never	(VOL.)	
	<u>Always</u>	<u>Always</u>	The time	<u>Seldom</u>	Vote	Other	DK/Ref.
Mid-October, 2004	63	22	7	5	2	1	*=100
Early November, 2000	57	26	8	6	2	1	*=100
Late October, 2000	52	30	9	6	1	2	0=100
Mid-October, 2000	54	27	10	6	*	3	*=100
Early October, 2000	51	29	10	6	3	1	*=100
November, 1996	55	28	8	6	2	1	*=100
October, 1996	52	30	9	5	2	2	*=100
Early October, 1992	54	33	8	4	*	1	*=100
October, 1988	51	37	8	3	1	*	*=100

NO QUESTIONS 2 THROUGH 3

¹

Complete trend for FOLGOV not shown; comparable election year trends are presented.

² Complete trend for OFTVOTE not shown; comparable election year trends are presented.

NOTE: IN 33 STATES (PLUS WASHINGTON, D.C.) WHERE NADER IS ON THE BALLOT, INCLUDE NADER. IN STATES WHERE NADER IS <u>NOT</u> ON THE BALLOT, NADER NOT INCLUDED.

- 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]?

	Bush	n/Lean B			Ker	ry/Lean I	Kerry		Nader/	Other/
			Only				Only		Lean	Don't
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Mod.</u>	DK	Total	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Mod.</u>	DK	<u>Nader</u>	Know
Mid-October, 2004	45	32	13	*	45	28	16	1	1	9=100
Early October, 2004	48	35	12	1	41	24	17	*	2	9=100
September 22-26, 2004	48				40				2	10=100
September 17-21, 2004	45				42				3	10=100
Early September, 2004	49	33	15	1	43	22	20	1	1	7=100
September 11-14	46	30	15	1	46	22	24	*	1	7=100
September 8-10	52	36	15	1	40	22	17	1	1	7=100
August, 2004	45	32	13	*	47	28	19	*	2	6=100
July, 2004	44				46				3	7=100
June, 2004	46				42				6	6=100
May, 2004	43				46				6	5=100
Late March, 2004	44				43				6	7=100
Mid-March, 2004	42				49				4	5=100
	Bush	ı/Lean B	ush		Go	re/Lean (Gore		Nader	
Early November, 2000	41	26	15	*	45	25	19	1	4	$10 = 100^3$
Late October, 2000	45	29	16	*	43	24	19	*	4	8=100
Mid-October, 2000	43	25	18	*	45	22	23	*	4	8=100
Early October, 2000	43	26	17	*	44	22	22	*	5	8=100
September, 2000	41	21	19	1	47	25	21	1	2	10=100
July, 2000	42				41				6	11=100
	Dole	e/Lean D	ole		Clinto	on/Lean (Clinton		Perot	
November, 1996	32	17	15	*	51	26	24	1	9	8=100
October, 1996	34	17	16	1	51	25	26	*	8	7=100
Late September, 1996	35	16	18	1	51	26	25	*	7	7=100
Early September, 1996	34	17	17	*	52	26	26	0	8	6=100
July, 1996	34				44				16	6=100
	Bush, Sr.	./Lean B	ush, Si	r.	Clinte	on/Lean (Clinton		Perot	
Late October, 1992	34	20	14		44	26	18		19	3=100
Early October, 1992	35	14	21		48	23	25		8	9=100
June, 1992	31				28				36	5=100

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

THOSE WHO CHOSE KERRY/EDWARDS (Q.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 (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?

		KERR	Y			Bl	USH						
		Pro-	Anti-	Un-		Pro-	Anti-	Un-	Other/				
<u>2004</u>	<u>Total</u>	Kerry	Bush	decid	<u>Total</u>		Kerry	decid	<u>DK</u>				
Mid-Oct	45	18	24	3	45	32	10	3	10=100				
Early Oct		15	23	3	48	36	10	2	11=100				
Early Sept		15	26	2	49	38	9	2	8=100				
9/11-14		16	28	2	46	35	8	3	8=100				
9/8-10	40	14	23	3	52	40	10	2	8=100				
Aug	47	20	24	3	45	34	8	3	8=100				
June	46	17	27	2	48	35	11	2	6=100				
May	50	15	32	3	45	33	10	2	5=100				
Late Mar		17	27	3	46	36	8	2	7=100				
Mid-Mar	52	21	29	2	43	34	7	2	5=100				
Feb	47	15	30	2	47	39	6	2	6=100				
		GORE	3			Bl	USH						
		Pro-	Anti-				Anti-	Un-	Other/				
2000	Total			decid	Total			decid	DK				
Nov	45	29	14	2	41	27	12	2	14=100				
Sept	47	30	14	3	41	24	14	3	12=100				
1													
		CLIN					OLE				EROT		
1007	m ()	Pro-	Anti-		T ()	Pro-	Anti-	Un-	T ()		- Anti-	Un-	Other/
<u>1996</u>		<u>Clinton</u>			<u>Total</u>			decid	<u>Total</u>		ot Other		<u>DK</u>
Nov	51	33	15	3	32	15	15	2	9	4	5	*	8=100
Oct	51	33	16	2	34	15	18	1	8	4	4	*	7=100
Sept	52 52	35	15	2	34	16	17 25	1	8	3	5	0	6=100
Mar	53	30	20	3	41	15	25	1					6=100
		CLINT	ON			BUS	SH, SR			P	EROT		
		Pro-	Anti-	Un-		Pro-	Anti-	Un-		Pro	- Anti-	Un-	Other/
<u>1992</u>	<u>Total</u>	Clinton	other	decid	<u>Total</u>	Bush	other	decid	<u>Total</u>	Per	ot Other	decid	<u>DK</u>
Late Oct	44	25	17	2	34	19	13	2	19	10	7	2	3=100
Early Oct	48	23	22	3	35	19	13	3	8	3	5	*	9=100
Sept	53	21	29	3	38	20	16	2					9=100
Aug	57	27	28	2	37	20	16	1					6=100
Mar	44	13	29	2	49	32	15	2					7=100
		DUKA	KIS			RU	SH, SR						
		Pro-	Anti-				Anti-	Un-	Other/				
<u>1988</u>	Total	Dukakis			Total		Dukakis		DK				
Oct	42	23	15	4	$\frac{1000}{50}$	<u>Busii</u> 31	<u>16</u>	3	$\frac{D11}{8=100}$				
Sept	44	21	19	4	50 50	31	15	4	6=100				
May	53	23	26	4	40	26	11	3	7=100				
	-						-	-					

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

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

	Mid-October, 2004 Early October, 2004 September 22-26, 2004 September 17-21, 2004	Chance might vote for Kerry 6 9 14 10	Decided not to vote for Kerry 42 45 41 40	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u> 7=55% 5=59% 5=60% 7=57%
	Early September, 2004 September 11-14	11 11	42 38	4=57% 5=54%
	September 11-14 September 8-10	11	38 46	3=54% 3=60%
	August, 2004	11	40 39	3=53%
	July, 2004	11	36	5=54%
	June, 2004	13	30 41	3=54%
	May, 2004	10	35	4=50%
	Late March, 2004	13	33	4=50% 3=53%
	Mid-March, 2004	13	32	3=48%
	Late February, 2004	13	36	3=52%
	Early February, 2004	15	33	5=53%
Gore: Gore: Gore:	Early November, 2000 Late October, 2000 Mid-October, 2000	8 9 10	41 44 40	6=55% 4=57% 5=55%
Gore:	Early October, 2000	11	38	7=56%
Gore: Gore:	September, 2000 June, 2000	13 14	35 34	5=53% 6=54%
0010	June, 2000	11	51	0-5170
Clinton:	November, 1996	6	37	6=49%
Clinton:	October, 1996	10	35	4=49%
Clinton:	Late September, 1996	11	35	3=49%
Clinton:	Early September, 1996	10	34	4=48%
Clinton:	July, 1996	8	36	4=48%
Clinton: Clinton: Clinton: Clinton:	Late October, 1992 Early October, 1992 September, 1992 August, 1992	11 14 12 14	43 32 28 26	2=56% 6=52% 6=46% 3=43%
Clinton:	May, 1992	11	38	6=55%

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

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

	Chance might	Decided not to	Don't know/
	vote for Bush	vote for Bush	Refused
Mid-October, 2004	5	43	7=55%
Early October, 2004	9	39	4=52%
September 22-26, 2004	10	37	5=52%
September 17-21, 2004	9	39	7=55%
Early September, 2004	9	38	4=51%
September 11-14	8	41	5=54%

Q.6b CO	NTINUED September 8-10 August, 2004 July, 2004 June, 2004 May, 2004 Late March, 2004 Mid-March, 2004 Late February, 2004 Early February, 2004	Chance might vote for Bush 9 10 10 9 9 9 11 11 11 10 10	Decided not to <u>vote for Bush</u> 35 42 41 41 42 40 44 43 41	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u> 4=48% 3=55% 5=56% 2=52% 4=55% 3=54% 2=57% 3=56% 2=53%
Bush:	Early 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:	November, 1996	8	54	6=68%
Dole:	October, 1996	11	51	4=66%
Dole:	Late September, 1996	16	44	5=65%
Dole:	Early September, 1996	14	47	5=66%
Dole:	July, 1996	15	40	3=58%
Bush, Sr: Bush, Sr: Bush, Sr:	Late October, 1992 Early October, 1992 September, 1992 August, 1992 May, 1992	11 13 12 15 8	53 46 44 45 40	2=66% 6=65% 6=62% 4=64% 5=53%

ASKED OCTOBER 15-18 ONLY:

IF RESPONDENT NAMED A PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE IN Q.4/4b, ASK: Q.7 What is the main reason why you would like to see (CHOICE FROM Q.4/4b LAST NAME ONLY; DO NOT READ VP CHOICE) win the presidential election? (OPEN - END)

VOTE	RS WHO SAID THEY WOULD VOTE FOR KERRY [N=494]:	Late Sept <u>1996</u> Clin	July <u>1996</u> nton
59	STANDS ON ISSUES (NET)	21	14
18	Iraq/War/military		
14	Economy/jobs		
8	Like his stand on the issues/platform/domestic issues (general)	16	12
5	Health/medical care/medicare		
4	Middle class/for the little person/in touch with the people		
4	Democrat/liberal (positive)		
3	Foreign policy/foreign affairs		
3	Plan to move forward/will do a better job		
3	Education	3	1
2	Negative on issues of other candidate		
2	Environment		
2	Taxes		
7	Other		

Q.7 CONTINU	J ED	Late Sept <u>1996</u>	July <u>1996</u>
33	NEGATIVE COMMENT ABOUT BUSH (NET)	27	31
12	Time for a change/new start		
10	Anti-Bush	17	13
6	Did poor job/made major mistakes/bad president		
3	Dishonest/misleading		
2	Idiot/not smart		
$\frac{2}{2}$	Country in bad shape/wrong direction		
3	Other		
12	POSITIVE QUALITIES (NET)	16	26
3	Smart/Intelligent		
2	Best qualified/better man/best candidate	3	7
1	Honesty/Integrity	1	*
		1	
1	Leadership/strong leader/great leader		
1	Just like him		
1	Moral/Christian values		
1	Capable/qualified		
1	Better for country		
1	Other		
n/a	RECORD (NET)	31	30
1	OTHER (NET)	3	3
4	DON'T KNOW/REFUSED	6	4
VOTE	ERS WHO SAID THEY WOULD VOTE FOR BUSH [N=481]:	D	ole
37	STANDS ON ISSUES (NET)	33	22
10	Terrorism/Security/9-11		
7	Iraq/War/military	2	1
6	Like his stand on the issues/platform/domestic issues	18	14
5	Abortion/Pro-Life	4	3
4	Taxes	9	5
3	Economy/Jobs		
2	Republican/conservative		
$\frac{2}{2}$	Foreign policy/foreign affairs		
9	Other		
33	POSITIVE QUALITIES (NET)	15	15
33 12	Moral/Christian values		
5	Honesty/integrity	9	9
5	Leadership/strong leader/great leader		
3	Keeps promises/man of his word/does what he stands for		
3	Just like him		
2	Best qualified/better man/better candidate		
7	Other		
23	RECORD (NET)	n/a	n/a
16	Done a good job/good president/agree with what he is doing		
3	Finish the job/finish the war		
3	He's been there/done the job/knows what he's doing		
1	Other		
16	NEGATIVE COMMENT ABOUT KERRY (NET)	47	47
6	Anti Kerry	27	22
3	Wrong time for a change/need continuity		
2	Dishonest/misleading	4	6
5	Other		
2	OTHER (NET)	3	
2 5	DON'T KNOW/REFUSED	3	
3	DOI I MICH/ILLORD	5	

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS:

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

	Yes, Plan To Vote	No, Don't <u>Plan To</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
Mid-October, 2004 ⁴	98	1	1=100
Early October, 2004	98	1	1=100
Early September, 2004	98	1	1=100
September 11-14	97	2	1=100
September 8-10	99	1	*=100
August, 2004	98	2	*=100
June, 2004	96	2	2=100
Early November, 2002 ⁵ *	90	8	2=100
Early October, 2002*	95	3	2=100
Early November, 2000	96	3	1=100
Late October, 2000	97	2	1=100
Mid-October, 2000	96	2 2	2=100
Early October, 2000	97	2	1 = 100
September, 2000	95	3	2=100
June, 2000	95	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	3	4=100
June, 1998*	95	3	2 = 100
November, 1996	96	2	2 = 100
October, 1996	98	1	1 = 100
Late September, 1996	98	1	1 = 100
Early September, 1996	96	2	2=100
July, 1996	95	3	2 = 100
June, 1996	96	2	2 = 100
November, 1994*	93	5	2 = 100
October, 1994*	95	3	2 = 100
October, 1992	98	1	1 = 100
September, 1992	98	1	1 = 100
August, 1992	97	1	2=100
June, 1992	97	1	2=100
October, 1988	98	1	1 = 100

* Non-Presidential elections

In Mid-October 2004, the volunteer category "already voted" was added and is presented in the "Yes, Plan to vote" category.

⁵ 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.

SCALE10 I'd like you to rate your chance of voting in November on a scale of 10 to 1. If 10 represents a person who definitely will vote and 1 represents a person who definitely will not vote, where on this scale of 10 to 1 would you place yourself?

	Definitely will vote										initely not vote
		0	0	7	6	5	4	2	2		
	$\frac{10}{27}$	<u>9</u> 4	<u>8</u> 3	7	<u>6</u> 1	5	<u>4</u> *	<u>3</u> *	2	$\frac{1}{2}$	DK/Ref
Mid-October, 2004	87			1		1	*			2	1=100
Early November, 2002* ⁶	66	9	9	3	1	4	1	1	1	5	1 = 100
Early October, 2002*	64	10	10	4	3	4	1	*	*	2	2=100
Early November, 2000	80	6	5	2	1	3	*	*	*	3	1=100
Late October, 2000	83	5	5	1	1	2	*	1	1	1	*=100
Mid-October, 2000	80	7	4	3	1	3	1	*	*	1	1=100
Early October, 2000	78	7	5	2	2	2	*	1	1	1	1=100
Late October, 1998*	70	6	7	4	1	4	1	1	1	4	1=100
Early October, 1998*	64	9	10	4	2	4	1	2	1	2	1=100
November, 1996	77	7	7	2	1	2	*	1	*	2	1=100
October, 1996	77	9	7	2	2	2	*	*	*	1	*=100
Late September, 1996	78	10	6	2	1	1	*	*	*	1	1=100
November, 1994*	67	9	8	2	2	4	1	1	1	3	2=100
October, 1994*	66	10	9	4	2	4	1	1	*	2	1=100
Gallup: September, 1992	77	5	4	3	2	4	*	1	*	4	*=100
Gallup: November, 1988	77	7	6	2	1	3	*	*	*	2	2=100
Gallup: October, 1988	73	8	7	3	2	3	1	*	*	1	2=100

* Non-Presidential elections

IF YES IN PLANTO1, ASK:

6

7

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, OR have you already cast your vote?

	Early	
	Sept	June
	2004	2004
Plan to vote BEFORE Election Day	13	19
Will vote at polling place on Election Day	84	77
Already voted ⁷	*	n/a
Don't know/Refused	1	*
Don't Plan to Vote/Don't Know	2	4
	100	100
	Will vote at polling place on Election Day Already voted ⁷ Don't know/Refused	2004Plan to vote BEFORE Election Day13Will vote at polling place on Election Day84Already voted ⁷ *Don't know/Refused1

In Early November 2002 the "10 – definitely will vote" category includes people who volunteered that they already voted.

In Mid-October 2004, "or have you already cast your vote" was added to the question wording, but had been a volunteer option in the previous month.

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS:

C.1 Recently, have you been contacted over the phone by any candidates, campaigns or other groups urging you to vote in a particular way in the upcoming elections?

IF YES, ASK:

C.2 And were you urged to vote for George W. Bush and/or other Republican candidates OR John Kerry and/or other Democratic candidates?

		Nov	Early Nov
		2002	2000
26	Yes	33	26
7	Bush/Republicans	7 Republicans	8 Bush
6	Kerry/Democrats	8 Democrats	6 Gore
2	Other (VOL.)	1	2
7	Both (VOL.)	12	6
4	Don't know/Refused	5	4
73	No	66	73
1	Don't know/Refused	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
100		100	100

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS:

- Q.8 From what you have heard or read, will voters in your state this November be voting on any ballot initiatives, referendums, or state constitutional amendments, or not?
 - 42 Yes
 - 31 No
 - 27 Don't know
 - 100

IF 'YES' (1 IN Q.8) ASK [N=566]:

- Q.9 Can you think of any particular issues on the ballot that are up for a vote in your state? [OPEN-END, PRECODED RESPONSES BELOW, DO NOT READ. ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES BUT DO NOT PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL]
 - 20 Gambling / lottery / casinos
 - 15 Gay marriage / gay rights
 - 9 Education/Schools/school bonds
 - 7 Taxes
 - 5 Medical malpractice reform / tort reform
 - 4 Other Bond issues/local development
 - 3 Environment issues
 - 2 Transportation
 - 2 Stem cell research
 - 2 Politicians/elections
 - 2 Immigration issues
 - 2 Health care
 - 10 Other [SPECIFY: _____
 - 37 No / Don't know / No others

_]

IF 'YES' (1 IN Q.8) ASK [N=566]:

Q.10 How interested are you in the ballot issues in your state this year? [READ]

- 41 Very interested
- 45 Fairly interested
- 11 Not too interested
- 2 Not at all interested
- 1 Don't know/Refused (VOL. DO NOT READ)
- $\frac{1}{100}$

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS OCTOBER 18-19 ONLY [N=496]:

Thinking again about the presidential election...

Q.11 Regardless of who you might support, who do you think is most likely to win the coming presidential election? **[READ]**

George W. Bush John Kerry Ot						
Mid-October, 2004	54	27	19=100			
Early October, 2004	61	27	12=100			
Early September, 20	04 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	4 56 Bush	32 Dem Candidate	12=100			
Mid-January, 2004	61 Bush	21 Dem Candidate	18 = 100			
September, 2003	47 Bush	34 Dem Candidate	19=100			
June, 2003	66 Bush	22 Dem Candidate	12=100			
Late October, 2000	48 Bush	38 Gore	14 = 100			
Early October, 2000	33 Bush	46 Gore	21=100			
June, 2000	51 Bush	33 Gore	16=100			
October, 1999	70 Bush	23 Gore	7=100			
Late September, 199	12 Dole	79 Clinton	9=100			
Early September, 19	96 16 Dole	75 Clinton	9=100			
July, 1996	19 Dole	72 Clinton	9=100			
October, 1992	30 Bush, S	r. 61 Clinton	9=100			
March, 1992	72 Bush, S	<i>r.</i> 20 Dem Candidate	8=100			
February, 1992	66 Bush, S	<i>r.</i> 25 Dem Candidate	9=100			
October, 1991	78 Bush, S	r. 11 Dem Candidate	11=100			

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

ASK FORM 1 REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY [N=633]:

Q.12F1 What's your opinion of the presidential candidates this year? Would you say that you are very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not too satisfied, or not at all satisfied with the choices?

						Late	Late				
		June	June	March	July	Oct	Sept	June	Oct	Aug	June
		2004	2000	2000	<u>1999</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>	1992
23	Very satisfied	17	14	13	13	11	11	10	10	11	6
43	Fairly satisfied	48	50	47	40	48	50	37	41	42	29
22	Not too satisfied	19	22	27	25	27	26	31	33	31	36
9	Not at all satisfied	12	11	11	12	11	10	18	14	15	27
3	Don't know/Refused	4	3	2	10	3	3	4	2	1	2
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

ASK FORM 2 REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY [N=674]:

Q.13F2 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?

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

ASK FORM 1 REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY [N=633]:

Q.14F1 As I read a list of phrases, tell me if you think each phrase better describes John Kerry or George W. Bush. (INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE)

					(VOL.)	
		George	John	(VOL.)	Both	
		W. Bush	Kerry ⁹	<u>Neither</u>	Equally	DK/Ref.
a.F1	Would use good judgment in a crisis	48	41	3	2	6=100
	Early October, 2004	51	37	2	3	7=100
	Mid-September 22-26, 2004	49	36	3	3	9=100
	Early September, 2004	53	34	2	4	7=100
	September 11-13, 2004	52	33	3	4	8=100
	September 8-10, 2004	55	34	1	3	7=100
	August, 2004	50	38	2	3	7=100
	May, 2004	47	35	4	5	9=100
	Late March, 2004	46	36	2	3	13=100
	Mid-March, 2004	48	39	2	5	6=100
	Late-October, 2000	43	42	2	5	8=100
	Mid-October, 2000	40	42	5	8	5=100
	Early October, 2000	36	43	4	10	7=100
	September, 2000	38	44	3	8	7=100
	June, 2000	44	37	5	6	8=100

In 2000 the question asked about Al Gore.

Q.14F1 CONTINUED...

Q.14F	1 CONTINUED				(VOL.)	
		George	John	(VOL.)	Both	
		W. Bush	Kerry	Neither	Equally	DK/Ref.
b.F1	Honest and truthful	40	37	14	3	6=100
	Early October, 2004	47	34	10	3	6=100
	Mid-September 22-26, 2004	41	32	15	3	9=100
	Early September, 2004	43	35	12	4	6=100
	September 11-13, 2004	41	36	13	4	6=100
	September 8-10, 2004	44	35	12	3	6=100
	August, 2004	42	38	12	2	6=100
	May, 2004	34	36	17	4	9=100
	Late March, 2004	37	38	12	3	10=100
	Mid-March, 2004	35	39	16	5	5=100
	Late-October, 2000	43	32	15	5	5=100
	Mid-October, 2000	38	30	19	6	7=100
	Early October, 2000	36	32	17	8	7=100
	September, 2000	35	37	13	9	6=100
	June, 2000	35	31	19	7	8=100
c.F1	Cares about people like me	38	48	7	3	4=100
	Early October, 2004	41	43	7	4	5=100
	Mid-September 22-26, 2004	38	42	8	3	9=100
	Early September, 2004	41	43	6	5	5=100
	September 11-13, 2004	38	46	6	4	6=100
	September 8-10, 2004	44	41	6	5	4=100
	August, 2004	39	45	7	3	6=100
	May, 2004	34	45	8	5	8=100
	Late March, 2004	38	42	9	3	8=100
	Mid-March, 2004	34	48	8	4	6=100
	Late-October, 2000	40	43	8	5	4=100
	Mid-October, 2000	40	42	7	7	4=100
	Early October, 2000	35	44	11	5	5=100
	September, 2000	31	47	9	7	6=100
d.F1	A strong leader	50	36	5	4	5=100
	Early October, 2004	57	32	3	2	6=100
	Mid-September 22-26, 2004	54	28	5	3	10=100
	Early September, 2004	58	30	4	3	5=100
	September 11-13, 2004	57	30	4	4	5=100
	September 8-10, 2004	59	29	3	3	6=100
	August, 2004	57	34	2	3	4=100
	May, 2004	50	31	8	4	7=100
	Late March, 2004	51	33	4	2	10=100
	Mid-March, 2004	52	34	4	4	6=100
	Late-October, 2000	44	41	6	6	3=100
	Mid-October, 2000	42	39	9	6	4=100
	Early October, 2000	41	38	7	10	4=100
	September, 2000	44	38	7	6	5=100

Q.14F	1 CONTINUED				(VOL.)	
		George	John	(VOL.)	Both	
		W. Bush	Kerry	Neither	Equally [Variable]	DK/Ref.
e.F1	Willing to take a stand,					
	even if it's unpopular	63	27	2	4	4=100
	Early October, 2004	68	23	1	3	5=100
	Mid-September 22-26, 2004	63	23	3	3	8=100
	Early September, 2004	69	23	1	3	4=100
	September 11-13, 2004	67	23	1	4	5=100
	September 8-10, 2004	70	22	1	3	4=100
	August, 2004	62	29	1	5	3=100
	May, 2004	65	23	3	4	5=100
	Late March, 2004	59	28	3	3	7=100
	Mid-March, 2004	63	27	1	5	4=100
	Late-October, 2000	49	35	7	4	5=100
	Mid-October, 2000	49	35	6	5	5=100
	Early October, 2000	43	35	8	6	8=100
	September, 2000	45	37	8	5	5=100
	June, 2000	46	32	9	5	8=100

ASK FORM 2 REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY [N=674]:

Q.15F2 Regardless of who you support, which one of the presidential candidates — George W. Bush or John Kerry — do you think would do the best job of (INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE. IF RESPONDENT MENTIONS ANYONE OTHER THAN BUSH OR KERRY PROBE ONCE: "IF YOU HAD TO CHOOSE BETWEEN BUSH AND KERRY...")?

		George W. Bush	John <u>Kerry</u> ¹⁰	(VOL.) Neither	DK/Ref.
a.F2	Improving economic conditions	40	47	4	9=100
	Early October, 2004	40	46	5	9=100
	September 22-26, 2004	39	46	5	10=100
	Early September, 2004	42	45	4	9=100
	September 11-13, 2004	40	47	4	9=100
	September 8-10, 2004	43	44	4	9=100
	August, 2004	37	52	3	8=100
	May, 2004	38	48	5	9=100
	Late March, 2004	39	44	6	11=100
	Mid-March, 2004	37	53	2	8=100
	Late-October, 2000^{11}	40	46	6	8=100
	Mid-October, 2000	37	49	3	11 = 100
	Early October, 2000	35	47	6	12 = 100
	September, 2000	38	46	5	11 = 100
	June, 2000	38	41	5	16=100
	March, 2000	42	46	4	8=100
b.F2	Improving the health care system	34	50	8	8=100
	Early October, 2004	31	49	8	12 = 100
	September 22-26, 2004	32	48	7	13=100
	Early September, 2004	32	50	8	10=100

¹⁰ In 2000 the question asked about Al Gore.

¹¹ In 2000 the item was listed as "Keeping the economy strong."

Q.15F2	2 CONTINUED	George	John	(VOL.)	
		W. Bush	Kerry	Neither	DK/Ref.
	September 11-13, 2004	30	53	8	9=100
	September 8-10, 2004	34	49	7	10=100
	August, 2004	29	55	5	11 = 100
	May, 2004	29	51	7	13=100
	Late March, 2004	33	46	6	15 = 100
	Mid-March, 2004	29	57	4	10=100
	Late-October, 2000	38	47	5	10=100
	Mid-October, 2000	37	48	4	11 = 100
	Early October, 2000	36	49	5	10=100
	September, 2000	32	51	6	11 = 100
	June, 2000	31	44	6	19=100
	March, 2000	31	51	6	12=100
c.F2	Making wise decisions about what to do in Iraq	47	41	4	8=100
0.1 2	Early October, 2004	50	40	2	8=100 8=100
	September 22-26, 2004	30 46	38	5	11=100
	Early September, 2004	40 51	38 39	3	7=100
	September 11-13, 2004	52	39 40	2	6=100
	September 11-13, 2004 September 8-10, 2004	52 52	40 37	4	7=100
	August, 2004	52 44	46	4 3	7=100 7=100
	May, 2004	44	40 41	4	11=100
	Late March, 2004	49	37	4	10=100
	Mid-March, 2004	49	45	4	6=100
	Wild-Walch, 2004	47	45	2	0-100
d.F2	Defending the country from future terrorist attacks	53	35	4	8=100
	Early October, 2004	57	32	3	8=100
	September 22-26, 2004	54	30	4	12 = 100
	Early September, 2004	58	31	3	8=100
	September 11-13, 2004	57	31	4	8=100
	September 8-10, 2004	59	30	3	8=100
	August, 2004	49	39	4	8=100
	May, 2004	52	33	5	10=100
	Late March, 2004	53	29	4	14=100
	Mid-March, 2004	57	32	4	7=100

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS:

Q.16 In making your decision about who to vote for, will the issue of **[INSERT ITEM, RANDOMIZE – OBSERVE FORM SPLITS]** be very important, somewhat important, or not too important, or not at all important? ... How important will the issue of **[NEXT ITEM]** be?

		Very Important	Somewhat Important			Don't Know/ Refused
a.	The economy	78	18	3	1	*=100
	August, 2004	76	22	1	1	*=100
b.	Iraq	74	20	3	2	1=100
	August, 2004	70	24	3	2	1=100
c.	Terrorism August, 2004	77 75	17 19	3	2 2	1 = 100 1 = 100
	August, 2004	15	19	5	2	1-100

Q.16 CONT	Very Important	Somewhat Important			Don't Know/ <u>Refused</u>	
d.	Gay marriage	<u>32</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>111portani</u> 19	24	1000000000000000000000000000000000000
G.	August, 2004	34	19	15	30	2=100
e.	Moral values	63	23	8	4	2=100
	August, 2004	64	25	6	4	1 = 100
f.	Abortion	47	27	12	11	3=100
1.	August, 2004	45	25	12	14	3=100
	0					
	1 ONLY [N=633]:	-7	22	7	2	1 100
g.F1		57	32 35	7 7	3 3	1=100 *=100
	August, 2004	55	33	/	3	*=100
h.F1		54	37	6	2	1=100
	August, 2004	53	40	6	*	1=100
ASK FORM	2 ONLY [N=674]:					
i.F2	Health care	73	22	4	1	*=100
	August, 2004	72	21	5	2	*=100
j.F2	Education	75	20	3	2	*=100
	August, 2004	70	26	3	1	*=100
k.F2	The environment	53	37	7	2	1=100
K.1 ²	August, 2004	55	35	7	3	*=100
	-	55	55	7	5	-100
	EGISTERED VOTERS:				_	
1.	Stem cell research	43	31	14	7	5=100
ASK FORM	1 ONLY [N=633]:					
	l Taxes	59	31	7	2	1=100
ASK EODM	2 ONLY [N=674]:					
	Jobs	76	19	4	1	*=100
		70	17	т	1	-100
	1 ONLY [N=633]:					
o.F1	Social Security	65	27	6	2	*=100
ASK FORM	2 ONLY [N=674]:					
	Gun control	45	31	14	8	2=100

ASK FORM 1 REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY [N=633]:

ROTATE ORDER OF Q.17 AND Q.18 Q.17F1 What grade would you give John Kerry as to how good a job he is doing in convincing you to vote for him? Would you grade his election campaign: A, B, C, D, or F?

		June	Gore	Clinton		
		2004	June 2000	Sept 1996	July 1996	Sept 1992
15	А	6	9	18	9	21
31	В	25	26	32	28	37
21	С	30	31	23	30	24
12	D	16	13	8	12	7
18	F	18	16	16	18	7
3	Don't know/Refused	<u>5</u>	5	<u>3</u>	3	<u>4</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100

Q.18F1 What grade would you give George W. Bush as to how good a job he is doing in convincing you to vote for him? Would you grade his election campaign: A, B, C, D, or F?

		June	Bush	Dole		Bush, Sr.
		2004	June 2000	Sept 1996	July 1996	Sept 1992
16	А	13	10	8	3	14
26	В	26	30	21	19	24
22	С	23	29	30	36	27
12	D	12	13	18	19	15
20	F	23	13	19	20	16
2	Don't know/Refused	3	5	4	3	4
100		100	100	100	100	100

NO QUESTIONS 19 THROUGH 22

ASK FORM 2 REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY [N=674]:

Q.23F2 How would you describe the presidential election campaign so far – is it interesting to you, or would you say it is dull?

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

Q.24F2	And thus far, is the	presidential election	[READ AND RANDOMIZE]

a.F2	96 3 1 * 100	Important OR Unimportant Neither applies (VOL.) Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	Early Sept <u>2004</u> 90 9 * <u>1</u> 100	June <u>2004</u> 82 16 1 <u>1</u> 100	$\begin{array}{c} \text{Mid-March}\\ \underline{2004}\\ 83\\ 16\\ *\\ \underline{1}\\ 100 \end{array}$
b.F2	73 22 3 2 100	Informative OR Not informative Neither applies (VOL.) Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	63 33 1 <u>3</u> 100	48 47 2 <u>3</u> 100	54 42 2 $\underline{2}$ 100
c.F2	51 43 3 <u>3</u> 100	Too long OR Not too long Neither applies (VOL.) Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	53 42 2 <u>3</u> 100	53 42 2 <u>3</u> 100	53 43 1 <u>3</u> 100
d.F2	57 38 3 2 100	Too negative OR Not too negative Neither applies (VOL.) Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	62 32 1 5 100	46 46 2 <u>6</u> 100	49 46 1 $\underline{4}$ 100

Q.24F2	2 CONT	INUED	Early Sept	June	Mid-March
			2004	2004	2004
e.F2	12	Hard to follow OR	21	30	25
	84	Easy to follow	75	66	72
	3	Neither applies (VOL.)	2	2	1
	_1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	2
	100		100	100	100

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS:

Q.25 All in all, how would you rate the job the press has done in covering the presidential campaign so far — excellent, good, only fair, or poor?

			Early				Early						
		June	Feb	June	Mar	Feb	Sept	July	Feb	Sept	May	Mar	Feb
		2004	2004	2000	2000	2000	<u>1996</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1992</u>	1992	<u>1992</u>	1992
15	Excellent	9	10	8	9	14	12	7	17	11	10	13	12
39	Good	38	44	41	46	48	44	34	44	44	45	51	44
28	Only fair	34	31	38	33	26	30	40	26	29	32	28	33
16	Poor	17	13	10	10	8	12	17	11	12	11	6	7
2	Don't know/Ref.	<u>2</u>	2	3	2	4	2	2	2	4	2	2	4
100)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.26 How much influence do you think news organizations have on which candidate becomes the president: too much, too little or about the right amount?

					(GP)	
		Feb	Sept	Oct Sept	Sept Feb Jan	Oct Aug May Jan
		2004^{12}	1999	<u>1996 1996</u>	<u>1992 1992 1992</u>	<u>1988 1988 1988 1988</u>
62	Too much	65	68	67 64	54 59 53	58 54 49 52
4	Too little	4	4	4 4	4 6 4	3 1 4 4
32	About the right amount	27	26	25 30	37 32 40	36 41 41 36
2	Don't know/Refused	4	2	<u>4</u> <u>2</u>	<u>5 3 3</u>	<u>3 4 6 8</u>
100		100	100	100 100	100 100 100	100 100 100 100

ASK FORM 1 REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY [N=633]:

ROTATE Q.27 AND Q.28

Q.27F1 Would you say the press has been fair or unfair in the way it has covered George W. Bush's election campaign?

			Dole	Bush, Sr.
		Early Oct	Early Sept	Sept
		2000	<u>1996</u>	<u>1992</u>
56	Fair	65	65	71
37	Unfair	25	25	22
7	Don't know/Refused	<u>10</u>	<u>10</u>	7
100		100	100	100

In February 2004, September 1999, February and January 1992, May and January 1988, the question asked about: "presidential nominees."

Q.28F1 Would you say the press has been fair or unfair in the way it has covered John Kerry's election campaign?

		Gore	Clint	on
		Early Oct	Early Sept	Sept
		2000	<u>1996</u>	<u>1992</u>
64	Fair	74	67	74
27	Unfair	15	24	21
9	Don't know/Refused	<u>11</u>	<u>9</u>	5
100		100	100	100

ASK FORM 2 REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY [N=674]:

Q.29F2 Who do you think most newspaper reporters and TV journalists want to see win the presidential election — John Kerry or George W. Bush?

		Early Oct	Early Sept	Sept
		2000	<u>1996</u>	<u>1992</u>
50	Kerry	47 Gore	59 Clinton	52 Clinton
22	Bush	23 Bush	17 Dole	17 Bush
n/a	Other	n/a	1 Perot	Perot
6	Neither (VOL.)	6	2	5
<u>22</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>24</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>26</u>
100		100	100	100

Q.30F2 How often do you think members of the news media let their own political preferences influence the way they report the news... often, sometimes, seldom or never?

		Early Oct	Sept
		2000	1992
58	Often	57	49
32	Sometimes	32	35
7	Seldom	8	12
1	Never	1	2
2	Can't say/Don't know/Refused	<u>2</u>	2
100		100	100

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS:

On a different subject...

Q.31 How confident are you that your vote will be accurately counted in the upcoming election? [READ]

- 62 Very confident
- 26 Somewhat confident
- 7 Not too confident
- 4 Not at all confident
- 1 Don't know/Refused
- 100

Q.32 Have you heard anything about some states using new technology to change how people cast their votes and the way the votes are counted in this year's election, or haven't you heard about this?

IF HEARD (1 IN Q.32) ASK:

- Q.32a Do you think these changes will make things better, make things worse, or not make much difference in how accurately votes are counted?
 - 72 Yes, heard
 - 24 Make things better
 - 12 Make things worse
 - 27 Not make much difference
 - 9 Don't know/Refused
 - 27 No, have not heard
 - <u>1</u> Don't know/Refused
 - 100

ASK FORM 1 REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY [N=633]:

Q.33F1 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."]

		ł	Favorat	le	Uı	nfavora	able	Never	Can't
		Total	Very	<i>Mostly</i>	Total	Very	<i>Mostly</i>	Heard of	Rate
a.F1 Jo	hn Kerry	56	21	35	40	16	24	0	3=100
	Early October, 2004	53	16	37	41	16	25	*	6=100
	Early September, 2004	53	18	35	41	19	22	0	6=100
	September 11-14	54	18	36	39	19	20	0	7=100
	September 8-10	51	18	33	46	26	20	0	3=100
	August, 2004	56	25	31	39	17	22	*	5=100
	June, 2004	51	11	40	41	16	25	0	8=100
	Early February, 2004	58	14	44	29	9	20	1	12=100
	January, 2003	33	6	27	16	3	13	32	19=100
b.F1 G	eorge W. Bush	56	26	30	42	23	19	*	2=100
	Early October, 2004	57	27	30	40	20	20	0	3=100
	Early September, 2004	53	27	26	44	25	19	*	3=100
	September 11-14	50	25	25	46	28	18	0	4=100
	September 8-10	58	30	28	40	20	20	*	2=100
	August, 2004	57	30	27	41	24	17	0	2=100
	June, 2004	52	21	31	45	22	23	*	3=100
	Early February, 2004	55	23	32	44	26	18	0	1=100
Gallup:	Jan 29 - Feb 1, 2004 (GP)	52			47				1=100
Gallup:	January 2-5, 2004 (GP)	65			35				*=100
Gallup:	October 6-8, 2003 (GP)	60			39				1=100
Gallup:	June 9-10, 2003 (GP)	66			33				1=100
	April, 2003	73	40	33	24	11	13	0	3=100
	January, 2003	70	29	41	29	10	19	0	1=100
	December, 2002	69	36	33	28	11	17	0	3=100
	July, 2001	62	23	39	35	14	21	*	3=100
	January, 2001	61	27	34	32	11	21	0	7=100
	April, 2000	60	18	42	32	13	19	1	7=100

Q.33H	F1 CONTINUED]	Favorat	le	U1	ıfavora	ble	Never	Can't
-		Total	Very	<u>Mostly</u>	Total	Very	Mostly	Heard of	of Rate
	March, 1999 ¹³	62	22	40	22	8	13	3	13=100
	November, 1997	57	13	44	18	6	12	7	18=100
c.F1	Dick Cheney	48	17	31	46	25	21	*	6=100
0.1 1	Early October, 2004	48	14	34	41	$\frac{20}{20}$	21	*	11=100
	Early September, 2004	48	15	33	42	24	18	1	9=100
	September 11-14	44	15	29	43	25	18	1	12=100
	September 8-10	54	15	39	41	23	18	1	4=100
	August, 2004	48	14	34	43	22	21	1	8=100
	April, 2003	64	23	41	25	12	13	2	9=100
	December, 2002	62	22	39	27	10	17	3	8=100
	July, 2001	63	23	40	26	7	19	4	7=100
	January, 2001	66	22	44	18	5	13	1	15=100
	December, 1994	46	11	35	17	4	13	19	18=100
	March, 1991 ¹⁴	69	35	34	6	2	4	9	16=100
	May, 1990	23	4	19	11	3	8	40	26=100
d.F1	John Edwards	58	18	40	31	13	18	1	10=100
	Early October, 2004	50	16	34	28	11	17	2	20=100
	Early September, 2004	54	18	36	30	10	20	2	14=100
	September 11-14	53	18	35	31	11	20	1	15=100
	September 8-10	57	19	38	30	9	21	2	11=100
	August, 2004	61	24	37	25	6	19	2	12=100
	Early February, 2004	45	9	36	25	8	17	5	24=100
	January, 2003	23	4	19	14	3	11	40	23=100

ASK FORM 1 REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY [N=633]:

Q.34F1 How much of a risk to the country is there in replacing George W. Bush with John Kerry at this time? In your opinion, does this represent a major risk, a minor risk, or no risk at all?

41 Major risk	
---------------	--

23 Minor risk

32 No risk at all

 $\frac{4}{100}$ Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

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

¹⁴ In March 1991 and May 1990 the category was listed: "Richard Cheney."

ASK FORM 2 REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY [N=674]:

- 0.35F2 How much of a risk to the country is there in replacing George W. Bush with John Kerry while the U.S. is threatened by terrorism? In your opinion, does this represent a major risk, a minor risk, or no risk at all?
 - 44 Major risk
 - 26 Minor risk
 - 27 No risk at all
 - $\frac{3}{100}$ Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

ASK FORM 1 REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY [N=633]:

ROTATE Q.36 AND Q.37

Q.36F1 Now I'd like to read a few concerns critics of Senator John Kerry have raised during the campaign. Have you heard critics say that... [READ AND ROTATE.]

IF RESPONDENT HAS HEARD STATEMENT, ASK:

Would you say this has made you LESS likely to vote for Kerry, or hasn't this had any effect on your vote?

		Of Those Who Heard Statement							
		(NET)			(VOL.)	Have			
		Have	Less likely	No	More likely	NOT	DK/		
		Heard	<u>to support</u>	<u>Effect</u>	<u>to support</u>	Heard	Ref.		
a.F1	Kerry changes his mind too much	88	37	50	1	10	2=100		
b.F1	Kerry is too liberal for the country	79	28	48	3	20	2=100		
c.F1	Kerry wants to bring back the era								
	of big government	51	21	29	1	47	2=100		
	(Gore) Mid-October, 2000	54	21	32	1	43	3=100		

Q.37F1 Now I'd like to read a few concerns critics of President George W. Bush have raised during the campaign. Have you heard critics say that... [READ AND ROTATE]. IF RESPONDENT HAS HEARD STATEMENT, ASK:

Would you say this has made you LESS likely to vote for Bush, or hasn't this had any effect on your vote?

		Of Those Who Heard Statement							
		(NET) Have <u>Heard</u>	Less likely <u>to support</u>	No <u>Effect</u>	(VOL.) More likely <u>to support</u>	Have NOT <u>Heard</u>	DK/ <u>Ref.</u>		
a.F1	Bush is unwilling to admit it when he makes a mistake	83	38	44	1	15	2=100		
b.F1	Bush misled the public about the war in Iraq	92	44	46	2	7	1=100		
c.F1	Bush cares more about the rich tha he does about other Americans Mid-October, 2000	n 87 75	41 29	45 44	1 2	11 23	2=100 2=100		

NO QUESTIONS 38 THROUGH 39

ASK ALL GENERAL PUBLIC:

Now thinking about Iraq...

Q.40 Do you think the U.S. made the right decision or the wrong decision in using military force against Iraq?

BASED ON GENERAL PUBLIC [N=1568]:

	Right	Wrong	Don't know/
	decision	decision	Refused
Mid-October, 2004	46	42	12=100
Early October, 2004	50	39	11=100
Early September, 2004	53	39	8=100
August, 2004	53	41	6=100
July, 2004	52	43	5=100
June, 2004	55	38	7=100
May, 2004	51	42	7=100
Late April, 2004	54	37	9=100
Early April, 2004	57	35	8=100
Mid-March, 2004	55	39	6=100
Late February, 2004	60	32	8=100
Early February, 2004	56	39	5=100
Mid-January, 2004	65	30	5=100
Early January, 2004	62	28	10=100
December, 2003	67	26	7=100
October, 2003	60	33	7=100
September, 2003	63	31	6=100
August, 2003	63	30	7=100
Early July, 2003	67	24	9=100
May, 2003	74	20	6=100
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.41 How well is the U.S. military effort in Iraq going? [**READ IN ORDER**]

BASED ON GENERAL PUBLIC [N=1568]:

	Very	Fairly	Not too Not at all		Don't know/	
	well	well	well	well	Refused	
Mid-October, 2004	13	38	26	17	6=100	
Early September, 2004	12	40	26	18	4=100	
August, 2004	12	41	28	16	3=100	
July, 2004	13	42	26	16	3=100	
June, 2004	16	41	25	14	4=100	
May, 2004	10	36	32	19	3=100	
Late April, 2004	12	43	26	15	4=100	
Early April, 2004	14	43	26	13	4=100	
Mid-March, 2004	16	45	26	11	2=100	
Early February, 2004	17	46	23	11	3=100	

Q.41 CONTINUED...

	Very	Fairly	Not too	Not at all	Don't know/
	well	well	well	well	Refused
Mid-January, 2004	22	51	18	6	3=100
Early January, 2004	23	47	18	7	5=100
December, 2003	28	47	16	6	3=100
October, 2003	16	44	25	11	4=100
September, 2003	15	47	26	9	3=100
August, 2003	19	43	24	11	3=100
Early July, 2003	23	52	16	5	4=100
April 10-16, 2003	61	32	3	1	3=100
April 8-9, 2003	60	32	3	3	2=100
April 2-7, 2003	55	37	3	2	3=100
March 25-April 1, 2003	39	46	8	2	5=100
March 23-24, 2003	45	41	6	2	6=100
March 20-22, 2003	65	25	2	1	7=100

Q.42 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?

BASED ON GENERAL PUBLIC [N=1568]:

		Early					Late	Early	Early		
		Sept	Aug	July	June ¹⁵	May	April	April	Jan	Oct	Sept
		2004	2004	2004	2004	2004	2004	2004	2004	2003	2003
57	Keep troops in Iraq	54	54	53	51	53	53	50	63	58	64
36	Bring troops home	40	42	43	44	42	40	44	32	39	32
7	Don't know/Refused	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	7	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	4
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=772]:

15

Q.43F1 Do you think the war in Iraq has helped the war on terrorism, or has it hurt the war on terrorism?

BASED ON GENERAL PUBLIC:

		Early				Mid-	Late	Early					Early
		Sept	Aug	July	June	March	Feb	Feb	Dec	Sept	May	April	Oct
		<u>2004</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2004</u>	2004	<u>2003</u>	<u>2003</u>	<u>2003</u>	2003 ¹⁶	<u>2002</u>
45	Helped	46	45	43	43	50	62	55	59	54	65	63	52
40	Hurt	40	44	45	44	37	28	32	26	31	22	22	34
6	No effect (VOL)	6	4	5	4	5	3	7	6	7	6		
9	Don't know/Refused	<u>8</u>	7	7	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>	7	6	9	8	7	<u>15</u>	14
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

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?"

¹⁶ 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 2 ONLY [N=796]:

Q.44F2 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?

BASED ON GENERAL PUBLIC:

		Early Sept	Nov
		2004	2002^{17}
36	Increased	34	45
32	Lessened	32	18
28	No difference	31	30
4	Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>7</u>
100		100	100

ASK ALL GENERAL PUBLIC:

Thinking about the issue of terrorism for a moment...

Q.45 How worried are you that there will soon be another terrorist attack in the United States? [READ]

BASED ON GENERAL PUBLIC [N=1568]:

	Very worried	Somewhat worried	Not too worried	Not at all worried	Don't know/ Refused
Mid-October, 2004	17	43	27	12	1=100
August, 2004	20	44	25	10	1=100
July, 2004	17	41	26	15	1=100
June, 2004	25	42	20	12	1=100
Mid-March, 2004	20	42	25	12	1=100
Early February, 2004	13	42	28	16	1=100
Mid-January, 2004	20	45	24	10	1=100
August, 2003	13	45	29	12	1=100
March, 2003	22	42	20	14	2=100
February, 2003	34	41	17	7	1=100
January, 2003	18	50	23	8	1=100
December, 2002	31	42	18	8	1=100
Early October, 2002	20	46	22	11	1=100
Late August, 2002	16	46	25	12	1=100
June, 2002	32	44	17	7	*=100
January, 2002	20	42	28	9	1=100
December, 2001	13	39	27	19	2=100
October 15-21, 2001	29	42	18	10	1=100
October 10-14, 2001	27	40	19	12	2=100
Early October, 2001	28	45	15	11	1=100

The question from the November 2002 Global Attitudes survey was worded: "In the long run, do you think a war with Iraq 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?"

And one last short list...

Q.46 For each description I read, please tell me if it applies to you or not. (First,)... [INSERT ITEM; ROTATE ITEMS a. THRU h. WITH ITEM i. ALWAYS LAST]

BASED ON GENERAL PUBLIC [N=1568]:

BA	SED ON GENERAL PUBLIC [N=1568]:			
		Yes	<u>No</u>	Don't Know
a.	Do you have a friend, colleague, or family member who is			
	CURRENTLY serving in the military, reserves, or National Guard?	56	43	1=100
b.	Do you happen to have any guns, rifles or pistols in your home?	39	59	2=100
	Mid-July, 2003 ¹⁸	34	63	3=100
	August, 2002	35	62	3=100
	April, 2000	35	62	3=100
	June, 1997	40	57	3=100
	December, 1993	45	53	2=100
c.	Are you the owner of a small business?	15	85	*=100
	August, 1999	14	86	*=100
d.	Do you trade stocks or bonds in the stock market?	31	68	1=100
	Mid-July, 2003	29	69	2=100
	August, 2002	34	65	1=100
	August, 1999	25	75	*=100
e.	Will this election be the FIRST time that you have voted, or not?	15	84	1=100
f.	Over the past 12 months, has there been a time when you or someone in your household has been without a job and looking for work, or not?	36	63	1=100
g.	Over the past 12 months, has there been a time when you have been unable to afford necessary health care for yourself or a family member, or not?	25	75	*=100
h.	Are you currently paying for the costs of college tuition or student loans for yourself or someone in your family?	28	72	*=100
i.	Do you have a friend, colleague, or family member who is gay?	46	52	2=100
	Mid-July, 2003	45	52	3=100
	August, 2002	45	53	2=100
	August, 1999	39	60	1=100

From 1997 to 2003, the question asked about "guns or revolvers in your home." In 1993, the question asked about "guns in this household."

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?

DASED ON GEN	DASED ON GENERAL PUBLIC [N=1508]:								
					Based on Total Respondents:				
	Computer User				Goes Onli				
	Yes	No	DK/Ref	Yes	No	DK/Ref			
Mid-October, 2004	79	21	*=100	72	28	*=100			
Early 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 ¹⁹	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			
April, 2001	72	28	*=100	62	38	0=100			
February, 2001	72	28	0=100	60	40	*=100			
January, 2001	71	29	*=100	61	39	0=100			
July, 2000	68	31	1=100	55	45	*=100			
June, 2000	68	31	1=100	56	44	*=100			
April, 2000	68	32	*=100	54	46	*=100			
March, 2000 ²⁰	72	28	0=100	61	39	0=100			
February, 2000	67	33	*=100	52	48	0=100			
January, 2000	68	32	*=100	52	48	*=100			
December, 1999	67	33	*=100	53	47	0=100			
October, 1999	67	33	*=100	50	50	0=100			
Late September, 1999	68	32	*=100	52	48	*=100			
September, 1999	70	30	*=100	53	47	0=100			
August, 1999	67	33	*=100	52	48	0 = 100 0 = 100			
July, 1999	68	32	*=100	49	51	0 = 100 0 = 100			
June, 1999	64	35	1=100	50	50	*=100			
May, 1999	66	33	1 = 100 1 = 100	48	50 52	0=100			
April, 1999	71	29	*=100	51	49	*=100			
npin, 1777	/ 1	29	-100	51	77	-100			

BASED ON GENERAL PUBLIC [N=1568]:

20

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

¹⁹ Beginning in 2004, the online use question is asked of all respondents (in previous years it was asked only of those who identified themselves as computer users). This modification was made to adjust to changes in technology and means of access to the Internet, and increases the percent who are classified as Internet users by 1-2 percentage points.

INT1/INT2 CONTINUED...

Based on Total Respondents:

	Computer User			Goes On	line	
	Yes	No	DK/Ref	Yes	No	DK/Ref
March, 1999	68	32	*=100	49	51	*=100
February, 1999	68	32	*=100	49	51	*=100
January, 1999	69	31	*=100	47	53	*=100
Early December, 1998	64	36	*=100	42	58	0=100
November, 1998				37	63	*=100
Early September, 1998	64	36	*=100	42	58	*=100
Late August, 1998	66	34	0=100	43	57	*=100
Early August, 1998	66	34	*=100	41	59	*=100
April, 1998	61	39	*=100	36	64	0=100
January, 1998	65	35	*=100	37	63	0=100
November, 1997	66	34	*=100	36	63	1=100
June, 1997	60	40	0=100	29	71	0=100
Early September, 1996	56	44	*=100	22	78	0=100
July, 1996	56	44	*=100	23	77	0=100
April, 1996	58	42	*=100	21	79	*=100
March, 1996	61	39	*=100	22	78	0=100
February, 1996	60	40	0=100	21	79	*=100
January, 1996	59	41	0=100	21	79	0=100
June, 1995 ²¹				14	86	*=100

IF YES (1 IN INT2) ASK:

INT3 Do you ever go online to get news or information about the 2004 elections?

BASED ON GENERAL PUBLIC [N=1568]:

		March	Early Jar	n Nov	Nov	Nov
		2004	2004	2002	2000	<u>1998</u>
41	Yes	20	14	13	18	6
59	No/Doesn't go online	80	86	87	82	94
*	Don't know/Refused	*	*	*	*	*
100		100	100	100	100	100

²¹

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?

ASK ALL GENERAL PUBLIC:

PHONE1 Do you happen to have a cell phone, or not?

ASK IF RESPONDENT HAS A CELL PHONE ['1' IN PHONE1]:

PHONE2 Over the next 12 months, how likely are you to give up your regular home telephone and just use a cell phone? Very likely, somewhat likely, or not likely?

BASED ON GENERAL PUBLIC [N=1568]:

BAS	ED ON GENEKAL PUBLIC [N=1508]]:				
		April	June	April	April	June ²²
		<u>2004</u>	<u>2003</u>	2002	<u>2000</u>	<u>1995</u>
66	Yes	68	61	64	53	24
6	Very likely		6			
8	Somewhat likely		7			
52	Not likely		48			
1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)		*			
33	No	32	39	36	47	76
1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	*	*	*	*	*
100		100	100	100	100	100

CLASS	Which of the following labels best describes your household [READ ITEMS, IN ORDER]:
-------	---

BASED ON GENERAL PUBLIC [N=1568]:

		Late				
		Feb	June	June	Feb	June
		2004	2003	2002	2002	2001
32	Professional or business class	32	31	31	32	29
45	Working class	47	43	47	46	47
15	OR a struggling family or household?	15	14	14	14	15
1	More than one apply (VOL)	2	3	2	2	2
4	None apply (VOL)	2	7	3	4	4
3	DK/Refused	2	2	3	2	3
100		100	100	100	100	100

²²

In 1995, the question was worded: "Do you have a car phone or cellular telephone?"