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TO: Friends of Ipsos Public Affairs

FROM: Ipsos

DATE: November 1, 2004

SUBJECT: What We Will Look for in the Exit Polls

Between October 28-31, Ipsos Public Affairs conducted a poll for its own information, interviewing a random selection of 2,501 adults nationwide (excluding Alaska and Hawaii), yielding 2,167 registered voters and 1,618 likely voters. Here are some key findings.

Our models range from the broadest possible (Registered Voters), to somewhat restrictive (LV1), to very restrictive (Likely Voters). With this final poll, we allocate, to the fullest extent possible, the undecided 4% in our final poll before the 2004 Presidential Election. Here are the results:

BUSH-CHENEY VS. KERRY-EDWARDS: HIERARCHICAL VOTE WITH 'LEANERS'

	Allocated Likely Voters	Likely Voters	Broader LV 1	Registered Voters
Base: Registered voters	1618	1618	2020	2167
Weighted	1498	1498	1904	2060
- Strong Bush-Cheney		44%	42%	41%
- Weak Bush-Cheney		5%	7%	8%
TOTAL BUSH-CHENEY	50%	49%	49%	49%
Character Caracter Statements		400/	200/	070/
- Strong Kerry-Edwards		40%	38%	37%
- Weak Kerry-Edwards	400/	6%	7%	8%
TOTAL KERRY-EDWARDS	48%	47%	45%	45%
Nader-Camejo	1%	1%	1%	1%
Other	1%	1%	1%	1%
Undecided	0%	3%	4%	4%

That means either side could win!



UNALLOCATED POLL RESULTS

Anybody But Bush, or Is It Bush Over Anybody?

The most important difference between Bush and Kerry voters arises from their fundamental motivation. Only half of Kerry voters are driven primarily by their strong positive support for Kerry—an equal number of Kerry voters concede that theirs is primarily a vote against Bush.

(ASKED ONLY OF THOSE WHO SAY THEY WOULD VOTE/HAVE VOTED FOR KERRY.)

Q. Is your vote for President mainly for John Kerry or is it mainly against George W. Bush?

	LIKELY	REGISTERED
	V OTERS	V OTERS
For John Kerry	49	46
Against George W. Bush	50	52
Not sure	1	2

(ASKED ONLY OF THOSE WHO SAY THEY WOULD VOTE/HAVE VOTED FOR BUSH.)

Q. Is your vote for President mainly for George W. Bush or is it mainly against John Kerry?

	LIKELY	REGISTERED
	V OTERS	V OTERS
For George W. Bush	80	77
Against John Kerry	19	21
Not sure	1	2

- Kerry gets almost all the anti-Bush vote (49% disapprove of the way Bush is handling the job of President), but Kerry fails to win all the votes of those who feel the country's direction is off on the wrong track (52%). That is the difference between an easy Kerry victory and the incredibly close race we face.
- Kerry's failure is a failure of promise—he does not promise anything new, just a more effective prosecution of the war in Iraq and the war on terrorism. Health care, jobs and other domestic issues have fallen off the agenda. Overall, 67% say protecting the country is the more important issue and 28% say creating jobs is the more important issue in deciding how to vote.



The Sense of the Country's Direction Drives the Issues Agenda

People who feel the country is on the right track and want to maintain the status quo say the most important voting issues are terrorism and moral values.

People who feel the country is on the wrong track and want change say the most important voting issues are economy/jobs and Iraq.

		Likely Voters: Dir	ection of Country
	Likely Voters	Right direction	Wrong track
Base: All respondents	1618	769	816
Weighted	1498	694	774
The economy and jobs	24%	9%	37%
Terrorism	21%	36%	7%
Moral values	20%	34%	9%
Iraq	17%	9%	25%
Health care	8%	3%	12%
Education	4%	1%	7%
Taxes	4%	6%	2%
(DK/NS)	2%	2%	1%

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People who feel the country is on the right track are unanimous in their assessment that right now, the more important priority is protecting the country, not jobs creation.

People who feel the country is on the wrong track are divided evenly between the roughly half of them who say the more important issue is creating jobs and the other half who say the more important topic is protecting the country.

		Likely Voters: Dir	ection of Country
	Likely Voters	Right direction	Wrong track
Base: All respondents	1618	769	816
Weighted	1498	694	774
Protecting the country	67%	90%	46%
Creating jobs	28%	7%	47%
(DO NOT READ) Both equally	4%	3%	6%
(DK/NS)	1%	-	1%



Naturally, those who choose terrorism as the top voting issue also choose protecting the country as the priority over jobs creation. Those who choose moral values as the top voting issue also put protection over jobs creation. People looking for a strong, honest and trustworthy leader also make protection the priority over jobs.

Voters looking for a candidate who brings change are as likely to choose job creation as they are to choose protection as the higher priority.

		M	Likely Vote lost Important		Likely Voters: Most Important Qualities					
	Likely Voters	Economy/ jobs	Terrorism	Moral values	Iraq	Strong leader	Brings change	Honest/ trustworthy		
Base: All respondents	1618	369	365	326	300	361	337	319		
Weighted Protecting country Creating jobs	1498 67% 28%	360 36% 57%	313 93% 4%	306 86% 10%	261 66% 31%	330 85% 11%	317 44% 50%	288 <mark>74%</mark> 21%		
(NOT READ) Both (DK/NS)	4% 1%	7% -	3%	3% 1%	2% 1%	3% 1%	5% 1%	5% -		



Kerry wins as the candidate better at creating jobs (although his margin is slipping back to where it was in Kerry's worst poll in early September.) Bush wins as the candidate better at protecting the country, but protection trumps jobs after a closing campaign that focused on foreign policy issues.

Who do you think will be BETTER at creating jobs?

	Lı	KELY V OTE	RS	REGISTERED VOTERS							
	10/28 -	10/18 -	10/4 -	10/28 -	10/18 -	10/4 -	9/7-	8/3-	3/19-		
	<u>31/04</u>	20/04	6/04	31/04	20/04	6/04	9/04	5/04	21/04		
George W. Bush	45	38	40	44	38	39	44	39	37		
John Kerry	51	56	54	50	54	53	50	55	53		
(NOT READ) Both would											
do well	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		
(NOT READ) Neither	3	3	3	3	4	4	3	3	6		
Not sure	1	2	2	2	3	3	2	2	3		

Who do you trust to do a better job of protecting the country?

	Lı	KELY V OTEI	RS		REGISTERED VOTERS								
	10/28 -	10/18 -	10/4 -	10/28 -	10/18 -	10/4 -	9/7-	8/3-	4/5-	3/19-			
	31/04	20/04	6/04	31/04	20/04	6/04	9/04	5/04	7/04	21/04			
George W. Bush	53	51	51	54	53	53	59	52	53	58			
John Kerry	44	44	45	42	41	41	36	43	37	35			
(NOT READ) Both would													
do well	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1			
(NOT READ) Neither	1	2	2	2	3	3	2	3	5	4			
Not sure	1	2	1	1	2	2	2	1	4	2			

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ALLOCATED VOTE RESULTS:

In our final poll, 4% were undecided—some of them early voters who declined to say whom they supported, and others are voters having a devil of a time making up their minds. We employed a very simple allocation:

Test 1: If they have a party identification, we voted their preference, except if their scores on Test 2 indicated the opposite result; in addition, any that we could not allocate based on party identification, we allocated based on their assessments of Bush's job performance and whether Bush or Kerry would do better on specific issues;

Test 2: If party identification did not allocate them, we assigned them if they showed a consistent preference on five Bush performance ratings and 4 Bush vs. Kerry performance expectations. By consistent, they had to always choose Bush (or Bush job approval) or undecided to be allocated to Bush, or they had to always choose Kerry (or Bush job disapproval) or undecided to be allocated Kerry.

We started out with 4.3% undecided, and this allocation test reduced that number to 0.3%, yielding our final allocated measure of the vote:

Bush/Cheney	50%
Kerry/Edwards	48
Nader	1
Other	1
Undecided	0

Four people we interviewed could not be allocated. We left them in our allocated vote model.

The next eight pages show the allocated vote by subgroups:



Proportions/Means: Columns Tested (5% risk level) - A/B - C/D/E/F/G - H/I/J/K * small base

		Likely Vot	ers: Gender		Lil	kely Voters: A	ge			Likely Voter	s: Age/Gender	
	Likely Voters	Male	Female	18-29	30-39	40-49	50-64	65+	Men 18-44	Men 45+	Women 18-44	Women 45+
		А	В	С	D	Е	F	G	Н	I	J	K
Base: Registered voters	1618	779	839	114	253	333	545	359	290	485	243	586
Weighted	1498	727	771	174*	348	283	421	257	352	371	311	449
Bush-Cheney	747	388	360	72	185	153	206	122	185	202	152	199
	50%	53% B	47%	41%	53%	54% C	49%	48%	53% K	54% K	49%	45%
Kerry-Edwards	716	319	397	97	160	122	203	129	162	154	151	243
	48%	44%	51% A	56% E	46%	43%	48%	50%	46%	41%	49%	54% HI
Nader-Camejo	12	7	5	3	1	2	4	3	1	6	4	1
	1%	1%	1%	2%	-	1%	1%	1%	-	2% K	1%	-
Other	19	11	8	2	3	5	6	2	3	7	3	5
	1%	2%	1%	1%	1%	2%	2%	1%	1%	2%	1%	1%
Undecided/DK	4	2	1	0	0	1	2	1	0	2	1	1
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1%	-	-



Proportions/Means: Columns Tested (5% risk level) - A/B - A/C - D/E - F/G - H/I/J - K/L/M - N/O/P * small base

^ small base					•												
		Like	ly Voters:	Race	Likely	/ Voters: W	hite Subg	roups	Likel	y Voters: E	ducation		Li	kely Voters:	Education/G	ender	
				All					HS	_	<u>.</u>	Men/	Men/	Men/	Women/	Women/	Women/
	Likely Voters	Whites	Blacks	non- whites	Whites 18-44	Whites 45+	White men	White women	or less	Some college	College degree	non- college	some college	college grads	non- college	some college	college grads
		Α	В	С	D	E	F	G	Н	I	J	K	L	М	N	0	Р
Base: Registered voters	1618	1385	81	206	421	954	667	718	329	543	737	146	236	394	183	307	343
Weighted	1498	1232	127*	248	506	715	605	627	341	517	633	152	231	342	189	286	290
Bush-Cheney	747 50%	661 54% BC	20 16%	80 32%	277 55%	375 53%	339 56%	322 51%	172 50%	274 53%	299 47%	78 51%	130 56%	179 52%	94 50%	144 50% P	120 41%
Kerry-Edwards	716 48%	546 44%	99 78% A	159 64% A	220 43%	324 45%	251 42%	296 47% F	165 48%	230 44%	316 50%	72 47%	95 41%	152 44%	93 49%	136 47%	164 57% O
Nader-Camejo	12 1%	8 1%	3 2%	4 2%	3 1%	5 1%	5 1%	3 1%	1 -	3 1%	8 1%	0 -	1 1%	6 2%	1 1%	2 1%	2 1%
Other	19 1%	14 1%	4 4%	5 2%	6 1%	8 1%	8 1%	5 1%	2 1%	8 2%	9 2%	2 1%	4 2%	5 2%	0 -	4 2%	4 1%
Undecided/DK	4 -	2 -	0 -	1 -	0 -	2 -	2 -	1 -	2 1%	1 -	1 -	1 1%	1 -	1 -	1 -	0 -	1 -



Proportions/Means: Columns Tested (5% risk level) - A/B/C/D - E/F/G/H/I - J/K/N - J/L/M/N

		L	ikely Voter	s: Region (4	4)		Likely Voters: Region (5)					Likely Vote	rs: Metropo	olitan Status	3
							Great Plains/					Total	Sub-	Sub-	
	Likely	North-	Mid-	0 "	147	Great	Moun-	Deep	Oil	D .c		sub-	urban	urban	_
	Voters	east	west	South	West	Lakes	tain F	South	Patch	Pacific	Urban	urban	men	women	Rura
		Α	В	С	D	E	F	G	Н	ı	J	K	L	М	N
Base: Registered voters	1618	329	371	576	342	271	200	411	165	242	484	825	423	402	309
Weighted	1498	298	353	542	305	256	183	389	152	218	464	730	375	354	304
Bush-Cheney	747	119	172	319	137	120	99	223	96	90	195	385	212	173	167
	50%	40%	49%	59%	45%	47%	54%	57%	63%	41%	42%	53%	56%	49%	55%
Korny Edwards	716	170	A 173	ABD 213	161	131	81	EI 160	EI 53	121	261	327	JM 153	174	JJ 128
Kerry-Edwards	48%	57%	49%	39%	53%	51%	44%	41%	35%	56%	56%	45%	41%	49%	42%
	4070	C	C	0070	C	GH	7770	4170	0070	FGH	KNLN	4070	7170	L	72 /
Nader-Camejo	12	4	1	4	3	0	1	4	0	3	2	6	4	2	4
	1%	1%	-	1%	1%	-	1%	1%	-	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%
Other	19	5	6	6	2	4	2	3	4	2	5	9	4	5	5
	1%	2%	2%	1%	-	1%	1%	1%	2%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	2%
Undecided/DK	4	0	2	0	2	2	0	0	0	2	1	3	2	1	0
	-	-	-	-	1%	1%	-	-	-	1%	-	-	1%	-	-



Proportions/Means: Columns Tested (5% risk level) - A/B/C - D/E/F/G - H/I/J/K/L * small base

* small base					I				I							
		Likely Voters: Party Identification			P	Likely \ arty Identific		ler			Likely Voters: Swing		Voters:			
	Likely Voters	Repub- licans	Demo- crats	Inde- pend- ents	Repub- lican men	Repub- lican women	Demo- cratic men	Demo- cratic women	Strong Bush- Cheney	Weak Bush- Cheney	Undecided/ other	Weak Kerry- Edwards	Strong Kerry- Edwards	Persuad- ables	Early voters	New voters
		Α	В	С	D	E	F	G	Н	I	J	K	L			
Base: Registered voters	1618	788	726	104	416	372	308	418	733	82	75	91	637	216	372	133
Weighted	1498	703	701	94*	375	327	301	400	652	79*	67*	96*	603	217	335	178
Bush-Cheney	747 50%	653 93% BC	60 9%	35 37% B	345 92% FG	308 94% FG	22 8%	37 9%	652 100% JKL	79 100% JKL	16 24% KL	0 -	0 -	84 39%	178 53%	87 49%
Kerry-Edwards	716 48%	43 6%	629 90% AC	44 47% A	26 7%	17 5%	272 90% DE	357 89% DE	0 -	0 -	17 25% HI	96 100% HIJ	603 100% HIJ	105 48%	150 45%	87 49%
Nader-Camejo	12 1%	2 -	9 1% A	1 1%	0 -	2 1%	6 2% D	3 1%	0 -	0 -	12 18% HIKL	0 -	0 -	9 4%	3 1%	3 2%
Other	19 1%	4 1%	3 -	11 12% AB	3 1%	1 -	1 -	3 1%	0 -	0 -	19 28% HIKL	0 -	0 -	17 8%	2 1%	1 -
Undecided/DK	4 -	1 -	0 -	3 3% AB	1 -	0 -	0 -	0 -	0 -	0 -	4 5% HKL	0 -	0 -	2 1%	2 -	1 -



Proportions/Means: Columns Tested (5% risk level) - A/B/C/D - E/F/G/H - I/J - K/L

Proportions/Means: Column	is rested (5													1	
		Likely	≀Voters: H	ousehold Ir	icome	Li	kely Voters	: Marital S	tatus/Gend	er	Likely	Voters: Re	eligion	Congre Cor	Voters: essional ntrol rence
										Married					
						l	Men		Women	with		White			_
	Likely	Under	\$30K-	\$50K-		Married	not	Married	not	childre	Protes-	evan-	Catho-	Repub-	Demo-
	Voters	\$30K	<\$50K	<\$75K	\$75K+	men	married	women	married	n	tants	gelicals	lics	licans	crats
		Α	В	С	D	Е	F	G	Н				J	K	L
Base: Registered voters	1618	236	260	300	535	564	213	517	317	420	869	524	400	777	724
Weighted	1498	364	268	246	387	495	231	439	328	429	799	473	362	691	699
Bush-Cheney	747	153	123	142	210	296	92	245	114	268	467	337	184	649	51
•	50%	42%	46%	57%	54%	60%	40%	56%	35%	63%	59%	71%	51%	94%	7%
				AB	AB	FH		FH			J			L	
Kerry-Edwards	716	199	140	103	169	187	131	190	205	155	314	131	171	33	636
	48%	55%	52%	42%	44%	38%	57%	43%	62%	36%	39%	28%	47%	5%	91%
		CD	CD				EG		EG						K
Nader-Camejo	12	6	1	0	5	2	5	2	3	1	6	1	3	2	7
	1%	1%	1%	-	1%	-	2%	-	1%	-	1%	-	1%	-	1%
Other	19	6	3	2	3	8	2	2	5	4	10	3	4	4	5
	1%	2%	1%	1%	1%	2%	1%	1%	2%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%
Undecided/DK	4	0	1	0	0	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	1
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-



Proportions/Means: Columns Tested (5	5% risk level) - A/B - C/	D - H/I - J/k	< - L/M											
_		Direc	Voters: tion of untry	Likely Voters: Investor		Likely Voters: Home Status		Likely Voters: Church Attendance			Likely Ot	Likely Voters Interview Dat			
	Likely	Right direc-	Wrong					At least once a	Less than once a	Union house-	Job loss house-	Military house-	Gun house-	Thu- Fri, 10/28-	Sat- Sun, 10/30-
	Voters	tion A	track B	Yes C	No D	Own H	Rent I	week J	week K	holds	holds	holds	holds	29 L	31 M
Base: Registered voters Weighted	1618 1498	769 694	816 774	1083 911	535 587	1350 1156	245 323	662 605	928 872	285 264	332 347	318 265	688 601	826 762	792 736
Bush-Cheney	747 50%	654 94% B	74 10%	493 54% D	254 43%	618 54%	120 37%	370 61% K	367 42%	99 37%	138 40%	164 62%	385 64%	391 51%	356 48%
Kerry-Edwards	716 48%	32 5%	675 87% A	395 44%	321 55% C	513 44%	192 60% H	223 37%	485 56%	163 62%	194 56%	98 37%	204 34%	348 46%	368 50%
Nader-Camejo	12 1%	0 -	11 1% A	9 1%	4 1%	9 1%	3 1%	6 1%	6 1%	1 -	5 2%	2 1%	4 1%	8 1%	4 1%
Other	19 1%	5 1%	12 2%	11 1%	8 1%	11 1%	7 2%	6 1%	12 1%	2 1%	8 2%	1 -	7 1%	12 2%	7 1%
Undecided/DK	4 -	2 -	1 -	3 -	1 -	4 -	0 -	1 -	2 -	0 -	1 -	1 -	2 -	2 -	1 -



Proportions/Means: Columns Tested (5% risk level) - A/B/C/D - E/F/G/H - I/J - K/L/M

`			Likely	Voters:				Likely	Voters:			L	ikely Voter	s:					
				erations				Coun	ty Vote			Ta	arget States	3 +	Broad	der Elector	ates		
	Likely Voters	Pre- boom- ers (1901- 1945)	Baby boom- ers (1946- 1964)	Gener- ation X'ers (1965- 1974)	Gener- ation Next (1975- 1985)	Strong Bush	Weak Bush	Weak Gore	Strong Gore	Bush coun- ties	Gore coun- ties	Bush states	Battle- ground states	Gore states	Broader LV 1	Regis- tered voters	Bored voters		
		Α	В	С	D	E	F	G	Н	I	J	K	L	М					
Base: Registered voters	1618	563	660	247	112	625	261	234	494	886	728	470	696	452	2020	2167	402		
Weighted	1498	396	557	341	170*	574	242	211	466	816	677	451	645	401	1904	2060	406		
Bush-Cheney	747 50%	188 47%	292 52% D	180 53%	69 41%	372 65% FGH	117 48% H	98 46% H	159 34%	488 60% J	257 38%	274 61% LM	306 48%	167 42%	957 50%	1027 50%	209 51%		
Kerry-Edwards	716 48%	203 51% B	248 45%	157 46%	96 56% B	195 34%	114 47% E	107 51% E	298 64% EFG	309 38%	404 60% I	169 37%	324 50% K	223 56% K	887 47%	956 46%	171 42%		
Nader-Camejo	12 1%	3 1%	5 1%	1 -	3 2%	1 -	4 1% E	2 1%	5 1%	5 1%	7 1%	2 1%	5 1%	5 1%	23 1%	27 1%	11 3%		
Other	19 1%	2 1%	9 2%	3 1%	2 1%	6 1%	6 3% H	4 2%	3 1%	12 1%	7 1%	6 1%	8 1%	5 1%	30 2%	42 2%	11 3%		
Undecided/DK	4 -	1 -	2 -	0 -	0 -	0 -	2 1%	1 -	1 -	2 -	2 -	0 -	2	1 -	8 -	8 1%	4 1%		

^{*} small base

⁺ Bush states (19): Bush won easily over Gore. Battleground states (20): AZ, AR, CO, DE, FL, IA, LA, ME, MI, MN, MO, NV, NJ, NM, OH, OR, PA, WA, WV, WI. Gore states (10 plus DC): Gore won easily over Bush.



Proportions/Mea	ins: Colum		•																
		Like	ly Voters:	Made up	o Mind	Likely \		Likely Voter	rs: Most	Important	t Issue	Likely Vo	oters: Most Qualities	Important	Likel	y Voters: Terro Concerns	orism	Cam	Voters: paign You
	Likely	In final	In last	In last 3	Longer	Creat- ing	Pro- tect- ing	Economy/	Ter-	Moral val-		Strong	Brings	Honest/ trust-	Very wor-	Somewhat	Not wor- ried	Ex-	Dis- gus-
	Voters	week	month	mos.	ago	jobs	US	jobs	ism	ues	Iraq	leader	change	worthy	ried	worried		cited	ted
		Α	В	С	D	E	F	G	Н	ı	J	K	L	M	N	0	Р	Q	R
Base: Registered voters	1618	140	154	276	1043	425	1116	369	365	326	300	361	337	319	271	901	441	1026	483
Weighted	1498	150	149	247	948	415	1009	360	313	306	261	330	317	288	253	813	429	967	440
Bush-Cheney	747	60	72	133	482	47	675	72	266	256	64	259	20	169	114	409	222	507	195
·	50%	40%	48%	54% A	51% A	11%	67% EG	20% E	85% EFG	84% J	25%	78% L	6%	59%	45%	50%	52%	52%	44%
Kerry-Edwards	716	68	73	109	462	357	313	275	43	46	192	65	293	107	132	385	197	450	222
	48%	45%	50%	44%	49%	86% FGH	31% H	77% FH	14%	15%	74% I	20%	92% K	37%	52%	48%	46%	47%	51%
Nader-Camejo	12	9	0	3	0	6	5	5	2	2	1	2	2	2	4	5	3	4	8
	1%	6% BCD	-	1% D	-	2%	1%	1%	1%	-	-	1%	1%	1%	2%	1%	1%	-	2%
Other	19	13	1	1	4	4	13	7	1	3	3	4	2	9	3	11	5	5	13
	1%	9% BCD	1%	-	-	1%	1%	2%	-	1%	1%	1%	1%	3%	1%	1%	1%	1%	3%
Undecided/DK	4 -	1 -	2 1% D	1 1%	0 -	2 -	2	1 -	1 -	0 -	1 -	1 -	0 -	1 -	0 -	3 -	1 -	2 -	2

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Here Are the Key Groups to Watch

A few key constituencies hold the balance of the election in their hands:

Decided in final week/weekend (10%): KE 45%, BC 40%, Nader 6%, Other 9%. The final movement is to Kerry, however there were many Nader-Camejo and other candidates winning support in that same time frame. These aren't the same as new voters. They are disadvantaged in terms of work, schooling, and finances.

Looking across the columns by when the decision was made,

BC tied KE among those deciding more than 3 months ago (KE 49%, BC 51%),

BC won those deciding in the past 3 months (KE 44%, BC 54%), but then...

BC tied KE among those who decided in the past month (KE 50%, BC 48%), and

BC lost those who were not decided when we interviewed or had just decided.

If the final round of polls from all sources showed a general tightening up of a race that most pollsters showed BC to hold nominal, statistically insignificant leads before the final weekend to a race that was a flatfooted tie or \pm 1%, this final movement explains why Kerry was able to close that final gap before Election Day.

Early voters (22%)

KE 45%, BC 53%, Nader 1%. The typical early voter is a retiree. They tend to be older, retired, and live in the south and west and in urban areas. Early voters also include a number of evangelicals, and they tend to be male and gun owners.

New voters (12%)

KE 49%, BC 49%, Nader 2%. Note that we define "new voters" simply as those who do not report having voted in 2000, but are likely to vote on Tuesday. They may have voted in previous elections. New voters appear to be drawn from groups which we tend to think of as people who stay away from the polls. Six in ten have not voted before at all, and not all of them were too young to vote in 2000. They are employed, but have little financial security. Politically they are moderate, and include a higher than average number of women and minorities.

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Attend church

At Least Once a week (40%)

KE 37%, BC 61%, Nader 1%. These are conservative households, and a majority are evangelical or born-again Christians. Most are married and they are somewhat more likely to have children in the household. They tend to live in the South. Eight in ten are homeowners. But this is not a homogenous group, it also includes a number of retirees and blacks.

Do not attend church weekly (58%)

KE 56%, BC 42%, Nader 1%. Non-churchgoers tend to be single, have some college education, politically moderate, and reside in the Northeast and West.

More Important Priority

Creating Jobs (28%)

KE 86%, BC 11%, Nader 2%. One of the most educated groups, nearly half have a college degree. They are not particularly high income, however, and a third have experienced job loss. They tend to live in the Midwest.

Protecting US (67%)

KE 31%, BC 67%, Nader 1%. Conservatives in many ways—politically conservative, religiously observant, evangelicals, shareholders, gun owners, Southerners.

Most important issue:

Jobs voters (24% economy/jobs is top voting issue): KE 77%, BC 20%, Nader 1%. Midwestern, above-average education, some experience with job loss.

Terrorism voters (21% top voting issue): KE 14%, BC 85%, Nader 1%. Southern white males, many of them veterans and gun owners, often well educated, homeowners and shareholders. They are also voting for a strong leader.

Moral values voters (20%): KE 15%, BC 84%, Nader 0%. Traditional, religious and evangelical households in the Midwest and South.

Iraq voters (17%): KE 74%, BC 25%, Nader 0%. Northeasterners, often retired.