



1101 Connecticut Avenue NW, Suite 200
Washington, DC 20036
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Interview dates: October 28-31, 2004
Interviews: 2,501 adults, 2,167 registered voters, 1,618 likely voters
Margin of error: ± 2.0 for all adults, ± 2.1 for registered voters, ± 2.4 for likely voters

IPSOS-PUBLIC AFFAIRS POLL

NOTE: all results shown are percentages unless otherwise labeled.

REGISTERED VOTERS/ PARTY AFFILIATION

1. Are you currently registered to vote at this address, or not?

	ALL ADULTS
Yes.....	82
No	18
Refused/not sure	-

2a. Do you consider yourself a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent or none of these?

(IF "DEMOCRAT" TO Q.2a, Q.2b ASKED. IF "REPUBLICAN" TO Q.2a, Q.2c ASKED. IF "INDEPENDENT" or "NONE OF THESE" TO Q.2a, Q.2d ASKED. RESULTS SHOWN IN SUMMARY BELOW.)

2b. Do you lean strongly or only moderately toward the Democratic Party?

2c. Do you lean strongly or only moderately toward the Republican Party?

2d. Do your beliefs tend to lean more toward the Democrats or the Republicans?

	REGISTERED VOTERS
Strongly Republican	27
Moderately Republican	19
Definitely Independent/neither.....	7
Moderately Democrat	23
Strongly Democrat	23
Refused/not sure	1
<hr/>	
Total Republican	45
Total Democrat	46

LIKELY VOTER STUDY

(ASKED ONLY OF REGISTERED VOTERS.)

LV1. Sometimes things come up and people are not able to vote. In the 2000 election for President, did you happen to vote? (IF NO, ASK:) Why not?

	<u>LIKELY VOTERS</u>	<u>REGISTERED VOTERS</u>	<u>ALL ADULTS</u>
Voted In 2000.....	88	84	69
Did Not Vote In 2000	12	16	13
- Did not live in state/district at the time	2	1	1
- Too young to vote at the time	3	3	3
- Not registered, too busy, something came up	3	5	4
- Other.....	4	6	5
- Not sure why not.....	-	1	-
Not Sure/Refused If Voted in 2000.....	-	-	-
Not Registered To Vote	N/A	N/A	18

(ASKED ONLY OF REGISTERED VOTERS.)

LV2. This Tuesday, the election for President will be held. Using a 1-to-10 scale, where 10 means you are completely certain you will vote and 1 means you are completely certain you will NOT vote, how likely are you to vote in the upcoming presidential election? You can use any number between 1 and 10, to indicate how strongly you feel about your likelihood to vote.

	<u>LIKELY VOTERS</u>	<u>REGISTERED VOTERS</u>	<u>ALL ADULTS</u>
10, certain to vote	96	88	73
9.....	2	3	2
8.....	2	3	3
7.....	-	1	1
6.....	-	1	-
5.....	-	2	1
4.....	-	-	-
3.....	-	-	-
2.....	-	-	-
1, certain will NOT vote.....	-	1	1
Not sure	-	1	1
Not Registered to Vote	N/A	N/A	18
Total Likely To Vote (8-10)	100	94	78
Total Less Likely To Vote (1-7)	-	5	4

(ASKED OF ALL ADULTS.)

LV3. How much interest do you have in following news about the campaign for President, a great deal, quite a bit, only some, very little, or no interest at all?

	<u>LIKELY VOTERS</u>	<u>REGISTERED VOTERS</u>	<u>ALL ADULTS</u>
A great deal.....	65	49	46
Quite a bit.....	35	28	27
Only some.....	-	14	16
Very little	-	6	7
No interest at all	-	2	4
Not sure	-	1	-
Total Great Deal/Quite a Bit.....	100	77	73
Total Only Some or Less.....	-	23	27

Likely voters - (73% of registered voters or 60% of all adults) Respondents who say they have a great deal or quite a bit of interest in following news about the campaign (Q.LV3) AND one of the following:

- Voted in 2000 (Q.LV1) AND rating of 8-10 (Q.LV2), OR;
- Did not vote in 2000 because too young to vote (Q.LV1) AND rating of 8-10, OR;
- Did not vote in 2000 for reason other than too young AND rating of 10.
- Already voted (Q.EV1).

EV1. Have you already voted in the upcoming November general election by going to an early voting location, or by mailing in an early voting or absentee ballot, or not? (If NO, or NOT SURE, ASK:) Do you plan to vote early or will you vote on election day?

	<u>LIKELY VOTERS</u>	<u>REGISTERED VOTERS</u>	<u>ALL ADULTS</u>
Yes, Have Voted.....	22	22	20
No, Have Not Voted	78	78	80
- Will vote early	6	5	5
- Will vote on election day	72	71	68
- (NOT READ) Will not vote	-	1	6
- Not sure/refused if voting early	-	1	1
Not Sure/Refused If Voted Early....	-	-	-

(ASKED ONLY OF THOSE WHO SAY THEY HAVE ALREADY VOTED IN Q.EV1.)

EV2. For whom did you vote -- George W. Bush for President and Dick Cheney for Vice President, the Republicans, John Kerry for President and John Edwards for Vice President, the Democrats, or Ralph Nader for President and Peter Camejo for Vice President, the Independents?*

	<u>LIKELY VOTERS</u>	<u>REGISTERED VOTERS</u>
Voted Early.....	22	22
- Bush-Cheney, the Republicans	11	11
- Kerry-Edwards, the Democrats.....	10	9
- Nader-Camejo, the Independents.....	-	-
- (NOT READ) None/other candidate	-	-
- Not sure/refused who for	1	2
Did Not/Will Not Vote Early (Q.EV1)	78	78

* Starting October 29, Nader and Camejo were not asked in AZ, CA, GA, ID, IL, IN, MA, MS, NC, OH, OK, OR, PA, TX, or VA.

PRESIDENTIAL TICKET STUDY

1a/b. If the election for President and Vice President were held today and the candidates were George W. Bush for President and Dick Cheney for Vice President, the Republicans, and John Kerry for President and John Edwards for Vice President, the Democrats, and Ralph Nader for President and Peter Camejo for Vice President, the Independents, for whom would you vote? (IF UNDECIDED/ NONE/NOT SURE, ASK:) Do you lean more toward...?*

	LIKELY VOTERS				
	10/28 - 31/04	10/18 - 20/04	10/4 - 6/04	9/20 - 22/04	9/7 - 9/04
TOTAL BUSH-CHENEY	49	46	46	52	51
- Bush-Cheney, the Republicans	36	41	43	51	50
- Already voted for Bush-Cheney	11	4	2	N/A	N/A
- Undecided, lean Bush-Cheney	1	1	1	1	1
TOTAL KERRY-EDWARDS	47	49	50	45	46
- Kerry-Edwards, the Democrats	36	43	47	43	45
- Already voted for Kerry-Edwards	10	5	2	N/A	N/A
- Undecided, lean Kerry-Edwards	1	1	1	1	1
TOTAL NADER-CAMEJO	1	2	2	1	1
- Nader-Camejo, the Independents	1	2	2	1	1
- Already voted for Nader-Camejo	-	-	-	N/A	N/A
- Undecided, lean Nader-Camejo	-	-	-	1	-
(NOT READ) None/other candidate	1	1	1	1	1
Not sure	1	1	1	1	1
Already voted, other/(DK/REF)	2	1	-	N/A	N/A

	REGISTERED VOTERS			
	8/3 - 5/04	7/6 - 7/04	6/7 - 9/04 ¹	2 nd Quarter AMJ 04
TOTAL BUSH-CHENEY	45	50	44	46
- Bush-Cheney, the Republicans	44	49	44	44
- Already voted for Bush-Cheney	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
- Undecided, lean Bush-Cheney	2	1	1	1
TOTAL KERRY-EDWARDS	48	46	47	42
- Kerry-Edwards, the Democrats	45	46	46	42
- Already voted for Kerry-Edwards	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
- Undecided, lean Kerry-Edwards	2	-	1	2
TOTAL NADER-CAMEJO	3	2	6	6
- Nader-Camejo, the Independents	3	2	6	6
- Already voted for Nader-Camejo	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
- Undecided, lean Nader-Camejo	1	-	-	1
(NOT READ) None/other candidate	2	1	1	3
Not sure	1	1	1	1
Already voted, other/(DK/REF)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

¹In June, the question did not mention Peter Camejo.

* Starting October 29, Nader and Camejo were not asked in AZ, CA, GA, ID, IL, IN, MA, MS, NC, OH, OK, OR, PA, TX, or VA.

(ASKED ONLY OF THOSE WHO SELECT A CANDIDATE IN Q.1a.)

1c. In November, will you definitely vote for those candidates, probably vote for those candidates, or do you think you could change your mind before you cast your vote?*

LIKELY VOTERS					
Would Vote for Bush-Cheney					
	10/28 - 31/04	10/18 - 20/04	10/4 - 6/04	9/20 - 22/04	9/7 - 9/04
Definitely will vote for candidates	89	89	86	84	81
Probably will vote for candidates	8	7	10	12	14
Could change mind	3	4	4	4	5
Not sure	-	-	-	-	-

Would Vote for Kerry-Edwards					
	10/28 - 31/04	10/18 - 20/04	10/4 - 6/04	9/20 - 22/04	9/7 - 9/04
Definitely will vote for candidates	86	80	78	77	77
Probably will vote for candidates	9	15	15	17	17
Could change mind	5	5	7	6	6
Not sure	-	-	-	-	-

REGISTERED VOTERS				
Would Vote for Bush-Cheney		Would Vote for Kerry-Edwards		
	8/3 - 5/04	7/6 - 7/04	8/3 - 5/04	7/6 - 7/04
Definitely will vote for candidates	78	68	71	59
Probably will vote for candidates	16	20	21	27
Could change mind	6	11	8	14
Not sure	-	1	-	-

* Before 10/29, "before the election in November."

BUSH-CHENEY VS. KERRY-EDWARDS: HIERARCHICAL VOTE WITH "LEANERS"							
	LIKELY VOTERS					REGISTERED VOTERS	
	10/28 - 31/04	10/18 - 20/04	10/4 - 6/04	9/20 - 22/04	9/7 - 9/04	8/3 - 5/04	7/6 - 7/04
Strong Bush-Cheney	44	41	38	43	40	32	34
Weak Bush-Cheney	5	5	7	9	10	14	16
TOTAL BUSH-CHENEY	49	46	46	52	51	45	50
Strong Kerry-Edwards	40	39	39	33	35	31	27
Weak Kerry-Edwards	6	10	11	11	12	17	19
TOTAL KERRY-EDWARDS	47	49	50	45	46	48	46
Nader-Camejo	1	2	2	1	1	3	2
Undecided/other	4	3	3	3	2	3	2

2. And if the election for Congress were held today, would you want to see the Republicans or Democrats win control of Congress?

		LIKELY VOTERS				
		10/28 - 31/04	10/18 - 20/04	10/4 - 6/04	9/20 - 22/04	9/7 - 9/04
Republicans		46	46	44	49	49
Democrats.....		47	47	48	46	46
Neither (VOL)		3	4	5	3	3
Not sure		4	3	3	2	2

		REGISTERED VOTERS						
		8/3 - 5/04	7/5 - 7/04	6/7 - 9/04	5/3 - 5/04	4/5 - 7/04	3/1 - 3/04	2/2 - 4/04
Republicans		44	43	42	41	43	43	41
Democrats.....		48	47	47	50	46	44	44
Neither (VOL)		6	6	7	6	8	8	11
Not sure		2	4	4	3	3	5	4

		1/5 - 7/04	12/1 - 3/03	10/21 - 23/03	10/7 - 9/03	8/19- 21/03	8/5 - 8/03	6/17- 19/03
Republicans		44	42	44	43	40	40	40
Democrats.....		42	44	44	46	45	44	47
Neither (VOL)		9	10	8	7	9	12	10
Not sure		5	4	4	4	6	4	3

		2 nd Quarter AMJ 04	1 st Quarter JFM 04	4 th Quarter OND 03 ¹	2 nd Quarter AMJ 03	4 th Quarter OND 02	3 rd Quarter JAS 02	1 Year Ago 10/21 - 23/03
Republicans		42	43	43	44	43	43	44
Democrats.....		48	43	45	43	45	44	44
Neither (VOL)		7	10	8	9	8	9	8
Not sure		3	4	4	4	4	4	4

NOTE: Prior to May 3-5, 2004, this question was asked after Q.3 and before the Q.4 series.

¹In the fourth quarter 2003, this question was asked only once in October and once in December (2,294 registered voters).

3. When did you make up your mind on how you would vote for President? Was it:

	LIKELY VOTERS	REGISTERED VOTERS
Today	1	1
In the last week	5	4
In the last month.....	10	11
In the last three months.....	16	17
Longer ago than that.....	63	59
Have you still not decided	5	8
Not sure	-	-

(ASKED ONLY OF THOSE WHO SAY THEY WOULD VOTE/HAVE VOTED FOR KERRY IN Q.1 OR Q.EV2.)

4a. Is your vote for President mainly for John Kerry or is it mainly against George W. Bush?

	LIKELY VOTERS	REGISTERED VOTERS
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 IN Q.1 OR Q.EV2.)

4b. Is your vote for President mainly for George W. Bush or is it mainly against John Kerry?

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

POLITICAL STUDY

P1. Generally speaking, would you say things in this country are heading in the right direction, or are they off on the wrong track?

ALL ADULTS							
	<u>10/28 - 31/04</u>	<u>10/18 - 20/04</u>	<u>10/4 - 6/04</u>	<u>9/20 - 22/04</u>	<u>9/7 - 9/04</u>	<u>8/3 - 5/04</u>	<u>7/5 - 7/04</u>
Right direction.....	44	41	40	45	44	39	41
Wrong track	53	56	56	52	52	59	56
Not sure	3	3	4	3	4	2	3
	<u>6/7 - 9/04</u>	<u>5/3 - 5/04</u>	<u>4/5 - 7/04</u>	<u>3/1 - 3/04</u>	<u>2/2 - 4/04*</u>	<u>1/5 - 7/04**</u>	<u>12/15 - 17/03**</u>
	40	38	38	35	44	49	47
	56	58	57	60	52	46	48
	4	4	5	5	4	5	5
	<u>2nd Quarter AMJ 04</u>	<u>1st Quarter JFM 04</u>	<u>4th Quarter OND 03</u>	<u>3rd Quarter JAS 03</u>	<u>2nd Quarter AMJ 03</u>	<u>1st Quarter JFM 03</u>	<u>1 Year Ago 11/4 - 6/03</u>
	39	44	43	41	52	41	41
	57	52	51	53	42	50	53
	4	4	6	6	6	9	6

* Half of sample was asked this question at start of interview, half after questions about the economy. There was no significant difference in the results.

** These results reflect responses among half the respondents.

- P2. Overall, do you approve, disapprove or have mixed feelings about the way George W. Bush is handling his job as President? **(IF APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE, ASK:)** Is that strongly (approve/disapprove) or somewhat (approve/disapprove)? **(IF HAVE MIXED FEELINGS OR NOT SURE, ASK:)** If you had to choose, do you lean more toward approve or disapprove?

LIKELY VOTERS					
	10/28 - 31/04	10/18 - 20/04	10/4 - 6/04	9/20 - 22/04	9/7 - 9/04
Strongly approve.....	36	35	34	37	37
Somewhat approve.....	7	6	7	9	9
Lean toward approval	7	6	5	7	6
Still have mixed feelings	1	1	1	1	1
Lean toward disapproval.....	10	11	10	8	10
Somewhat disapprove	4	5	5	4	3
Strongly disapprove	35	36	38	34	34
Not sure	-	-	-	-	-
Total Approve.....	50	47	46	54	52
Total Disapprove.....	49	52	53	46	48
<i>Mean Rating¹</i>	4.1	3.9	3.9	4.2	4.1

REGISTERED VOTERS					
	8/3 - 5/04	7/5 - 7/04	6/7 - 9/04	5/3 - 5/04	4/5 - 7/04
Strongly approve.....	30	31	27	27	28
Somewhat approve.....	10	9	12	11	9
Lean toward approval	9	10	9	11	11
Still have mixed feelings	1	1	2	2	2
Lean toward disapproval.....	13	11	13	14	13
Somewhat disapprove	5	5	7	5	5
Strongly disapprove	32	33	30	30	32
Not sure	-	-	-	-	-
Total Approve.....	49	50	48	48	48
Total Disapprove.....	50	48	50	50	50
<i>Mean Rating¹</i>	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0

	3/1 - 3/04	2/2 - 4/04	1/5 - 7/04	12/15 - 17/03	12/1 - 3/03
Strongly approve.....	28	27	33	38	30
Somewhat approve.....	10	10	11	11	12
Lean toward approval	10	9	12	10	10
Still have mixed feelings	3	4	1	2	3
Lean toward disapproval.....	16	16	15	14	13
Somewhat disapprove	4	5	5	4	7
Strongly disapprove	29	29	22	21	25
Not sure	-	-	1	-	-
Total Approve.....	48	47	56	59	53
Total Disapprove.....	49	50	42	39	44
<i>Mean Rating¹</i>	4.0	4.0	4.4	4.6	4.2

¹Mean rating is calculated by assigning each response except "not sure" a value from 1 to 7, with "strongly approve" receiving a value of 7, and "strongly disapprove" a value of 1.

Q.P2. (cont.)

	2 nd Quarter <u>AMJ 04</u>	1 st Quarter <u>JFM 04</u>	4 th Quarter <u>OND 03</u>	3 rd Quarter <u>JAS 03</u>	2 nd Quarter <u>AMJ 03</u>	1 st Quarter <u>JFM 03</u>	1 Year Ago 11/4 - 6/03
Strongly approve.....	27	30	30	31	39	34	29
Somewhat approve	11	10	12	15	12	13	12
Lean toward approval	10	10	11	10	11	10	12
Still have mixed feelings	2	2	3	2	2	4	2
Lean toward disapproval.....	13	16	13	14	13	13	12
Somewhat disapprove	6	5	6	5	4	5	5
Strongly disapprove	31	27	25	22	18	20	28
Not sure	-	-	-	1	1	1	-
Total Approve.....	48	50	53	56	62	56	52
Total Disapprove.....	50	47	44	41	35	39	46
<i>Mean Rating</i> ¹	4.0	4.2	4.3	4.4	4.8	4.5	4.1

¹Mean rating is calculated by assigning each response except "not sure" a value from 1 to 7, with "strongly approve" receiving a value of 7, and "strongly disapprove" a value of 1.

P3. And when it comes to **(READ ISSUE)** do you approve or disapprove or have mixed feelings about the way George W. Bush is handling that issue?

(IF APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE, ASK:) Is that strongly (approve/disapprove) or somewhat (approve/disapprove)? **(IF HAVE MIXED FEELINGS OR NOT SURE, ASK:)** If you had to choose, do you lean more toward approve or disapprove?

	Strongly Ap- prove	Some- what Ap- prove	Lean Toward Ap- proval	Still Have Mixed Feelings	Lean Toward Disap- proval	Some- what Disap- prove	Strongly Disap- prove	Not Sure	Total Ap- prove	Total Disap- prove	Mean- Rating ¹
Handling the economy											
LIKELY VOTERS											
10/28-31/04	31	10	9	-	7	7	36	-	49	50	3.9
10/18-20/04	30	11	6	1	9	7	36	-	47	52	3.9
10/4-6/04	28	11	7	1	8	7	38	-	47	52	3.8
9/20-22/04	33	13	6	1	8	7	32	-	53	46	4.2
9/7-9/04	31	13	7	1	7	6	35	-	51	48	4.0
REGISTERED VOTERS											
8/3-5/04	26	14	7	1	8	10	33	1	46	52	3.8
7/5-7/04	29	13	7	1	10	9	31	-	49	50	4.0
6/7-9/04	23	15	9	2	11	9	30	1	47	50	3.9
5/3-5/04	24	13	6	2	13	11	31	-	43	55	3.8
4/5-7/04	23	12	9	2	11	9	34	-	45	53	3.7
3/1-3/04	23	13	9	2	10	10	33	-	45	53	3.7
2/2-4/04	19	16	9	2	12	8	33	1	44	53	3.7
1/5-7/04	25	17	11	2	10	8	25	2	53	44	4.2
12/15-17/03	23	19	13	1	11	8	24	1	55	43	4.2
12/1-3/03	26	16	8	2	11	9	27	1	50	47	4.1
2nd quarter AMJ 04.....	23	13	8	2	11	10	32	1	45	53	3.8
1st quarter JFM 04	22	15	10	2	11	9	30	1	47	50	3.9
4 th quarter OND 03	22	16	11	2	11	9	28	1	49	48	3.9
3 rd quarter JAS 03.....	20	16	12	2	11	9	29	1	48	49	3.9
2nd quarter AMJ 03.....	22	16	12	3	11	8	27	1	51	46	4.0
1st quarter JFM 03	21	16	11	3	11	10	26	2	49	46	4.0
1 year ago 11/4-6/03	23	16	10	3	9	10	28	1	49	47	4.0

¹Mean rating is calculated by assigning each response except "not sure" a value from 1 to 7, with "strongly approve" receiving a value of 7, and "strongly disapprove" a value of 1.

Q.P3 (cont.)

	<u>Strongly Ap- prove</u>	<u>Some- what Ap- prove</u>	<u>Lean Toward Ap- proval</u>	<u>Still Have Mixed Feelings</u>	<u>Lean Toward Disap- proval</u>	<u>Some- what Disap- prove</u>	<u>Strongly Disap- prove</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	<u>Total Ap- prove</u>	<u>Total Disap- prove</u>	<u>Mean- Rating¹</u>
Handling domestic issues like health care, education, the environment and energy											
LIKELY VOTERS											
10/28-31/04	24	13	10	1	8	7	37	-	47	52	3.8
10/18-20/04	24	12	8	1	7	8	40	-	44	55	3.6
10/4-6/04	23	13	8	1	8	7	40	-	43	56	3.6
9/20-22/04	25	15	10	1	8	7	34	-	50	49	3.9
9/7-9/04	24	15	10	1	6	7	37	-	48	50	3.8
REGISTERED VOTERS											
8/3-5/04	21	15	9	1	12	8	34	-	45	54	3.7
7/5-7/04	20	16	10	1	10	7	36	-	46	52	3.7
6/7-9/04	16	14	11	1	13	10	34	1	41	57	3.5
5/3-5/04	17	16	8	2	13	9	34	1	42	55	3.6
4/5-7/04	18	16	10	2	11	7	35	1	43	53	3.6
3/1-3/04	17	16	12	2	13	9	31	-	45	53	3.7
2/2-4/04	16	16	10	2	13	9	33	1	42	55	3.6
1/5-7/04	18	17	14	1	13	7	29	1	49	49	3.9
12/1-3/03	19	19	9	3	9	12	28	1	47	49	3.9
2nd quarter AMJ 04.....	17	15	10	2	12	9	34	1	42	55	3.6
1st quarter JFM 04	17	16	12	2	13	8	31	1	45	52	3.7
4 th quarter OND 03	17	17	11	3	12	10	29	1	45	51	3.8
3 rd quarter JAS 03.....	19	17	13	2	12	9	27	1	49	48	3.9
2nd quarter AMJ 03.....	19	18	13	3	12	8	26	1	50	47	4.0
1st quarter JFM 03	21	17	11	4	12	9	25	1	49	46	4.0
1 year ago 11/4-6/03	19	16	10	3	12	8	31	1	45	51	3.8

¹Mean rating is calculated by assigning each response except "not sure" a value from 1 to 7, with "strongly approve" receiving a value of 7, and "strongly disapprove" a value of 1.

Q.P3 (cont.)	Strongly Ap- prove	Some- what Ap- prove	Lean Toward Ap- proval	Still Have Mixed Feelings	Lean Toward Disap- proval	Some- what Disap- prove	Strongly Disap- prove	Not Sure	Total Ap- prove	Total Disap- prove	Mean- Rating ¹
(ASKED OF HALF THE REGISTERED VOTERS)											
Handling foreign policy issues and the war on terrorism											
LIKELY VOTERS											
10/28-31/04	40	7	6	1	8	5	33	-	52	46	4.2
10/18-20/04	40	5	6	-	9	6	34	-	51	49	4.1
10/4-6/04	38	5	6	1	10	6	34	-	49	50	4.1
9/20-22/04	43	9	3	-	8	5	32	-	55	45	4.4
9/7-9/04	45	6	4	-	7	6	31	1	54	45	4.4
REGISTERED VOTERS											
8/3-5/04	38	7	6	-	12	7	30	-	51	49	4.2
7/5-7/04	37	8	7	1	10	6	31	-	51	48	4.2
6/7-9/04	36	8	7	1	15	6	27	-	51	48	4.2
5/3-5/04	32	9	10	3	15	6	25	-	50	47	4.2
4/5-7/04	38	10	7	1	13	5	26	-	55	43	4.4
(PRIOR TO APRIL 5-7, 2004 - THIS ITEM WAS ASKED OF ALL THE REGISTERED VOTERS)											
3/1-3/04	36	12	6	1	13	7	25	-	54	45	4.4
2/2-4/04	35	11	8	2	14	6	24	-	53	45	4.3
1/5-7/04	39	11	9	1	13	6	20	1	60	38	4.7
12/15-17/03	43	11	8	1	14	5	17	1	63	35	4.9
12/1-3/03	36	12	7	3	12	7	23	-	54	43	4.4
2nd quarter AMJ 04.....	35	9	8	2	14	6	26	-	52	46	4.3
1st quarter JFM 04	37	11	8	1	13	6	23	1	56	43	4.5
4 th quarter OND 03	36	11	8	2	14	6	22	1	55	42	4.4
3 rd quarter JAS 03.....	40	11	9	2	12	6	20	-	60	38	4.7
2nd quarter AMJ 03.....	48	11	9	2	10	5	14	1	68	29	5.2
1st quarter JFM 03	41	11	8	3	11	5	20	1	60	36	4.7
1 year ago 11/4-6/03	33	11	7	2	12	6	28	1	51	46	4.2
(ASKED OF THE OTHER HALF OF THE REGISTERED VOTERS)											
Handling the situation in Iraq											
LIKELY VOTERS											
10/28-31/04	35	7	6	1	8	3	40	-	48	51	3.9
10/18-20/04	34	8	4	1	7	3	43	-	46	53	3.8
10/4-6/04	33	5	6	2	8	4	42	-	44	54	3.7
9/20-22/04	37	6	8	1	7	6	35	-	51	48	4.1
REGISTERED VOTERS											
7/5-7/04	31	10	7	1	9	4	38	-	47	51	3.9
6/7-9/04	28	9	6	2	10	5	40	-	43	55	3.7
5/3-5/04	26	10	10	3	13	4	34	-	46	51	3.9
2 nd quarter AMJ 04 ²	27	9	8	3	11	5	37	-	44	53	3.8

¹Mean rating is calculated by assigning each response except "not sure" a value from 1 to 7, with "strongly approve" receiving a value of 7, and "strongly disapprove" a value of 1.

²This item was asked only in May and June (773 registered voters).

CANDIDATE AND ELECTION STUDY

EL-1. I'm going to read you a list of ISSUES and I'm going to read the list twice. Please tell me which ONE issue is MOST important to you in deciding how you will vote for president in November.

	<u>LIKELY VOTERS</u>	<u>REGISTERED VOTERS</u>
The economy and jobs.....	24	24
Terrorism.....	21	20
Moral values.....	20	20
Iraq.....	17	16
Health care.....	8	9
Education.....	4	5
Taxes.....	4	4
Not sure.....	2	2

EL-2. Now I'm going to read you a list of candidate qualities, and I need to read the list twice. I want you to tell me which one candidate quality matters most in deciding your vote for President:

	<u>LIKELY VOTERS</u>	<u>REGISTERED VOTERS</u>
He is a strong leader.....	22	21
He will bring about needed change..	21	20
He is honest and trustworthy.....	19	19
He has clear stands on the issues ...	14	14
He is intelligent.....	8	7
He cares about people like you.....	7	9
He has strong religious faith.....	7	8
Not sure.....	2	2

EL-3. In general, if you had to choose, which of the following issues would be more important to you in deciding how you will vote for president... (READ LIST. ENTER SINGLE RESPONSE. IF UNSURE, ENCOURAGE BEST GUESS.)

	<u>LIKELY VOTERS</u>			<u>REGISTERED VOTERS</u>			
	<u>10/28 - 31/04</u>	<u>10/18 - 20/04</u>	<u>10/4 - 6/04</u>	<u>10/28 - 31/04</u>	<u>10/18 - 20/04</u>	<u>10/4 - 6/04</u>	<u>9/7 - 9/04</u>
Protecting the country.....	67	63	65	66	63	63	64
Creating jobs.....	28	27	26	29	28	27	31
(NOT READ) Both equally	4	9	8	5	8	9	4
Not sure.....	1	1	1	-	1	1	1

(ASKED OCTOBER 29 ONLY.)

EL-3b. In your vote for president, how would you rate the importance of the missing explosives in Iraq? Is that issue very important, somewhat important, not too important or not at all important in your vote for president?

	LIKELY VOTERS	REGISTERED VOTERS
Very important.....	26	25
Somewhat important	25	28
Not too important.....	19	19
Not at all important.....	29	27
Not sure	1	1
Total Important.....	52	53
Total Not Important.....	48	46

(ASKED OCTOBER 30-31 ONLY.)

EL-3b. In your vote for president, how would you rate the importance of the new Osama bin Laden video? ? Is that issue very important, somewhat important, not too important or not at all important in your vote for president?

	LIKELY VOTERS	REGISTERED VOTERS
Very important.....	17	16
Somewhat important	26	26
Not too important.....	20	21
Not at all important.....	35	34
Not sure	2	3
Total Important.....	43	42
Total Not Important.....	55	55

EL-4a. Who do you think will be BETTER at creating jobs?

	LIKELY VOTERS			REGISTERED VOTERS					
	<u>10/28 - 31/04</u>	<u>10/18 - 20/04</u>	<u>10/4 - 6/04</u>	<u>10/28 - 31/04</u>	<u>10/18 - 20/04</u>	<u>10/4 - 6/04</u>	<u>9/7- 9/04</u>	<u>8/3- 5/04</u>	<u>3/19- 21/04</u>
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

EL-4b. Who do you trust to do a better job of protecting the country?

	LIKELY VOTERS			REGISTERED VOTERS						
	<u>10/28 - 31/04</u>	<u>10/18 - 20/04</u>	<u>10/4 - 6/04</u>	<u>10/28 - 31/04</u>	<u>10/18 - 20/04</u>	<u>10/4 - 6/04</u>	<u>9/7- 9/04</u>	<u>8/3- 5/04</u>	<u>4/5- 7/04</u>	<u>3/19- 21/04</u>
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

EL-4c. Who do you trust to do a better job of handling the situation in Iraq?

	LIKELY VOTERS			REGISTERED VOTERS		
	10/28 - 31/04	10/18 - 20/04	10/4 - 6/04	10/28 - 31/04	10/18 - 20/04	10/4 - 6/04
George W. Bush	52	50	49	52	51	51
John Kerry.....	46	47	46	44	44	43
(NOT READ) Both would do well	-	-	-	-	-	-
(NOT READ) Neither	1	1	3	2	3	4
Not sure	1	2	2	2	2	2

EL-4d. Who do you trust to do a better job of appointing the right person or persons to the Supreme Court?

	LIKELY VOTERS	REGISTERED VOTERS
George W. Bush.....	49	49
John Kerry.....	48	46
(NOT READ) Both would do well	-	1
(NOT READ) Neither.....	1	2
Not sure	2	2

EL-5. Now I'm going to read you some words that might be used to describe a person. As I read each word, please tell me whether you think the word describes George W. Bush, or not. Now, please tell me whether you think the following words describe John Kerry, or not.

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
Likeable - George W. Bush			
LIKELY VOTERS			
10/28-31/04.....	68	31	1
10/18-20/04.....	65	34	1
10/4-6/04.....	67	33	-
REGISTERED VOTERS			
10/28-31/04.....	68	31	1
10/18-20/04.....	67	32	1
10/4-6/04.....	68	31	1
9/7-9/04.....	70	30	-
8/3-5/04.....	67	32	1
7/5-7/04.....	66	33	1
Likeable - John Kerry			
LIKELY VOTERS			
10/28-31/04.....	62	37	1
10/18-20/04.....	64	35	1
10/4-6/04.....	68	32	-
REGISTERED VOTERS			
10/28-31/04.....	63	36	1
10/18-20/04.....	63	36	1
10/4-6/04.....	67	32	1
9/7-9/04.....	60	39	1
8/3-5/04.....	67	32	1
7/5-7/04.....	62	36	2

Q.EL-5 (cont.)	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
Decisive - George W. Bush			
LIKELY VOTERS			
10/28-31/04.....	76	23	1
10/18-20/04.....	73	25	2
10/4-6/04.....	73	26	1
REGISTERED VOTERS			
10/28-31/04.....	74	24	2
10/18-20/04.....	71	27	2
10/4-6/04.....	73	26	1
9/7-9/04.....	75	24	1
8/3-5/04.....	68	30	2
7/5-7/04.....	67	31	2
Decisive - John Kerry			
LIKELY VOTERS			
10/28-31/04.....	41	57	2
10/18-20/04.....	44	53	3
10/4-6/04.....	43	55	2
REGISTERED VOTERS			
10/28-31/04.....	40	57	3
10/18-20/04.....	44	53	3
10/4-6/04.....	41	56	3
9/7-9/04.....	37	61	2
8/3-5/04.....	46	50	4
7/5-7/04.....	45	49	6
Honest - George W. Bush			
LIKELY VOTERS			
10/28-31/04.....	54	45	1
10/18-20/04.....	53	46	1
10/4-6/04.....	53	46	1
REGISTERED VOTERS			
10/28-31/04.....	54	45	1
10/18-20/04.....	53	46	1
10/4-6/04.....	53	45	2
9/7-9/04.....	56	43	1
8/3-5/04.....	53	45	2
7/5-7/04.....	53	46	1
Honest - John Kerry			
LIKELY VOTERS			
10/28-31/04.....	53	45	2
10/18-20/04.....	53	44	3
10/4-6/04.....	59	40	1
REGISTERED VOTERS			
10/28-31/04.....	51	46	3
10/18-20/04.....	52	45	3
10/4-6/04.....	56	42	2
9/7-9/04.....	54	44	2
8/3-5/04.....	60	37	3
7/5-7/04.....	53	40	7

EL-6. All in all, thinking about how things have gone in Iraq since the United States went to war there in March 2003, do you think the United States...

	LIKELY VOTERS			REGISTERED VOTERS			ALL ADULTS		
	10/28 - 31/04	10/18 - 20/04	10/4 - 6/04	10/28 - 31/04	10/18 - 20/04	10/4 - 6/04	8/3 - 5/04 ¹	4/16- 18/04	12/15- 17/03
Made the right decision in going to war in Iraq.....	51	49	47	50	48	49	48	57	64
Made a mistake in going to war in Iraq ..	48	50	52	48	50	50	50	40	34
Not sure.....	1	1	1	2	2	1	2	3	2

¹Prior to October 2004, only half the respondents were asked if the United States had made the right decision/mistake.

EL-7. How worried are you that there will be another major terrorist attack in the U.S.? Are you...

	LIKELY VOTERS	REGISTERED VOTERS
Very worried.....	17	18
Somewhat worried	54	52
Not too worried.....	20	21
Not at all worried	9	9
Not sure	-	-
Total Worried.....	71	69
Total Not Worried	29	31

EL-8. Thinking about jobs and the economy in your area, do you think the Bush administration's commitment to tax cuts does more good by encouraging jobs growth in your area, or does more harm by creating big federal budget deficits?

	LIKELY VOTERS	REGISTERED VOTERS
More good by encouraging jobs growth	47	46
More harm by creating big federal budget deficits...	50	49
Not sure	3	5

EL-9. How confident are you that the votes in your state will be counted accurately?

	LIKELY VOTERS		REGISTERED VOTERS	
	10/28 - 31/04	10/18 - 20/04	10/28 - 31/04	10/18 - 20/04
Very confident.....	55	51	54	53
Somewhat confident.....	35	40	35	37
Not very confident.....	7	7	8	7
Not at all confident.....	2	2	3	3
Not sure	1	-	-	-
Total Confident	90	91	89	89
Total Not Confident	10	9	10	10

EL-10. If votes in your state are not counted accurately, do you think this is more likely the result of unintentional problems with voting machines and other procedures, or intentional efforts by individuals to steal the election?

	<u>LIKELY VOTERS</u>	<u>REGISTERED VOTERS</u>
Unintentional problems with voting machines	68	68
Intentional efforts by individuals	30	30
Not sure	2	2

EL-11. Generally speaking, compared to other Presidential elections, has the campaign in 2004 made you feel more excited and interested in voting, or more disgusted and discouraged from voting?

	<u>LIKELY VOTERS</u>	<u>REGISTERED VOTERS</u>
More excited and interested	65	60
More disgusted and discouraged	29	34
(NOT READ) Neither	5	5
Not sure	1	1

EL-12. Recently, have you personally been contacted by any candidates, campaigns, or other groups urging you to vote in a particular way in the upcoming elections, or not?

	<u>LIKELY VOTERS</u>		<u>REGISTERED VOTERS</u>	
	<u>10/28 - 31/04</u>	<u>10/18 - 20/04</u>	<u>10/28 - 31/04</u>	<u>10/18 - 20/04</u>
Yes	49	33	47	31
No	51	67	53	69
Not sure	-	-	-	-

(ASKED ONLY OF THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN CONTACTED IN Q.EL-12)

EL-13. When you were contacted, were you urged to vote for...

	<u>LIKELY VOTERS</u>		<u>REGISTERED VOTERS</u>	
	<u>10/28 - 31/04</u>	<u>10/18 - 20/04</u>	<u>10/28 - 31/04</u>	<u>10/18 - 20/04</u>
John Kerry or other Democratic candidates	20	23	21	22
George W. Bush or other Republican candidates ...	21	21	21	19
Both	51	49	50	51
(NOT READ) Other	5	5	5	5
Not sure	3	2	3	3

EL-14. I'd like to ask you how useful different information sources were in helping you decide which presidential candidate to vote for. First, was (ITEM) very useful, somewhat useful, not too useful, or not at all useful in deciding how to vote?

	<u>Very Useful</u>	<u>Some-what Useful</u>	<u>Not Too Useful</u>	<u>Not At All Useful</u>	<u>No Exposure to Source</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	<u>Total Useful</u>	<u>Total Not Useful</u>
The Presidential debates								
Likely voters.....	47	31	8	13	1	-	78	21
Registered voters.....	42	33	9	14	2	-	75	23
Television advertisements								
Likely voters.....	12	24	21	42	1	-	36	63
Registered voters.....	12	24	20	43	1	-	35	63
Television news coverage								
Likely voters.....	34	42	10	13	1	-	76	23
Registered voters.....	32	42	10	15	1	-	74	25
Newspaper coverage								
Likely voters.....	23	42	12	21	2	-	65	33
Registered voters.....	20	43	12	22	3	-	63	34
Personal contact from the Kerry campaign*								
Likely voters.....	8	22	17	48	5	-	30	65
Registered voters.....	8	20	17	50	5	-	28	67
Personal contact from the Bush campaign*								
Likely voters.....	9	20	18	48	5	-	29	66
Registered voters.....	8	20	18	49	5	-	27	67
(ASKED OCT 29-31 ONLY)								
The Internet								
Likely voters.....	16	20	11	40	12	1	35	52
Registered voters.....	15	19	11	40	14	1	34	52

* Asked only of those who have been contacted by that candidate's campaign.

EL-15. Who do you expect will be elected President on Tuesday?

	<u>LIKELY VOTERS</u>	<u>REGISTERED VOTERS</u>
George W. Bush.....	56	57
John Kerry.....	36	34
(NOT READ) Neither.....	2	2
Not sure.....	6	7

- EL-16. Regardless of which candidate you support, let's pretend it's Wednesday and we know who was elected. Suppose George W. Bush/ John Kerry was elected. Which one or two of the following words best describe your reaction to that news?

	LIKELY VOTERS		REGISTERED VOTERS	
	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>
Confused	4	2	5	4
Angry	14	10	13	9
Excited	29	23	26	21
Hopeful	32	39	35	39
Disappointed	33	34	31	32
Surprised	6	12	6	14
Not sure	1	1	1	1

- EL-17. If the next President were to win the electoral college vote but lose the overall popular vote, do you think it would or would not affect his ability to govern?

	LIKELY VOTERS	REGISTERED VOTERS
Would	22	21
Would not	76	76
Not sure	2	3

DEMOGRAPHICS

NOTE: Results for demographic questions represent all adults unless otherwise indicated.

(ASKED ONLY OF REGISTERED VOTERS)

D1x. Is this the first time you have ever voted?

Yes	8
No.....	74
(NOT READ) Will not vote	-
Refused/not sure	-
Not registered to vote	18

D1a. First of all, in what year were you born?

D1b. Have you already had a birthday this year?

(IF RESPONDENT REFUSES Q.D1a OR Q.D1b, Q.D1c ASKED. RESULTS SHOWN IN SUMMARY BELOW.)

D1c. Are you:

18-24	10
25-29	8
30-34	10
35-39	13
40-44	9
45-49	9
50-54	9
55-59	9
60-64	6
65-74	9
75 and over	7
Refused/not sure	1

D2. Are you employed:

TOTAL EMPLOYED	64
- Full time.....	54
- Part time.....	10
Not employed	15
Retired.....	21
Refused/not sure	-

(Q.D3 ASKED ONLY OF THOSE WHO ARE EMPLOYED FULL OR PART-TIME IN Q.D2.)

D3. We would also like to have just a general idea of what type of occupation you have. Which one of the following best describes your current job?

Professional	18
Senior executive or manager	7
Clerical or administrative	8
Sales or services	9
A skilled trade or technical occupation.....	12
Blue-collar work or laborer.....	5
Farming or fishing	1
Other (VOL)	4
Refused/not sure	-
Not Employed Full/Part Time (Q.D2)	36

D4. What is the last year of school you completed?

Grade school or some high school	6
Completed high school	23
Some college but did not finish	24
Completed a two year college degree	12
Completed a four year college degree	22
Completed a post-graduate degree such as a Master's or Ph.D.	13
Refused/not sure	-

D5. Are you currently:

Married	57
Single, never married	22
Widowed	7
Divorced	11
Separated	3
Refused/not sure	-

D6. Including yourself and any children, how many people are currently living in your household?

1	19
2	33
3	18
4	17
5	8
6 or more	4
Refused/not sure	1

(Q.D7 ASKED ONLY OF THOSE WHO SAY MORE THAN ONE PERSON IN HOUSEHOLD IN Q.D6, BUT THOSE WHO SAY IN Q.D6 THAT THERE IS ONLY ONE PERSON IN THEIR HOUSEHOLD ARE CODED AS "NO".)

D7. Are any children 17 and under currently living in your household?

Yes	39
No	60
Refused/not sure	1

D8. Do you currently own stocks, bonds, or mutual funds?

Yes	52
No	45
Refused/not sure	3

D9. Do you own your home, or do you rent?

Own	71
Rent	27
Refused/not sure	2

D10a. Would you describe yourself as a born-again or evangelical Christian, or not?

Yes	40
No.....	56
Refused/not sure	4

D10b. What is your religious preference? Is it Protestant, Catholic, Mormon, Jewish, Muslim, some other religion, or don't you belong to any religious denomination? (IF "SOME OTHER RELIGION, ASK) Is that a Christian denomination, or not? (IF YES, CODED AS "PROTESTANT".)

Protestant	49
Catholic	24
Mormon	2
Jewish	2
Muslim	-
Other non-Christian religion.....	3
No religion	18
Refused/not sure	2

D11. How often do you attend religious services?

More than once a week	13
Once a week	24
A few times a month.....	16
A few times a year	26
Never.....	19
Refused/not sure	2

D12. Do you or does someone else in your household belong to a labor union or does no one in your household belong to a union? [IF YES, ASK:] Is that you or someone else in your household?

Total Union Households	17
- Respondent.....	9
- Someone else in respondent's household.....	7
- Respondent AND someone else in the household.....	1
No Union Members in Household	82
Refused/not sure	1

D13. Have you or has someone else in your household lost a job in the last four years or has no one in your household lost a job in the last four years? [IF YES, ASK:] Is that you or someone else in your household?

Total Household Has Lost Job	24
- Respondent.....	12
- Someone else in respondent's household.....	10
- Respondent AND someone else in the household.....	2
Household Has Not Lost Job.....	75
Refused/not sure	1

D14. Have you ever served in the U.S. military, or not?

Yes	17
No.....	83
Refused/not sure	-

D15. Do you or does someone else in your household own a gun, or not?

Yes	38
No.....	60
Refused/not sure	2

D16. Generally speaking, do you consider yourself a liberal, moderate, or conservative?

	<u>LIKELY VOTERS</u>	<u>REGISTERED VOTERS</u>	<u>ALL ADULTS</u>
Liberal	20	20	20
Moderate.....	37	37	36
Conservative	41	40	40
Not sure	2	3	4

(ASKED ONLY OF THOSE WHO SAY THEY VOTED IN THE 2000 ELECTION IN Q.LV1.)

D17. In the 2000 election for president, did you vote for?

	<u>LIKELY VOTERS</u>	<u>REGISTERED VOTERS</u>	<u>ALL ADULTS</u>
Voted In 2000.....	88	84	69
- George W. Bush, the Republican	45	44	36
- Al Gore, the Democrat.....	37	33	28
- Ralph Nader, the Green Party Candidate.....	3	3	2
- (NOT READ) Not sure/refused who voted for.....	1	1	1
- (NOT READ) Too young to vote at the time	-	-	-
- Not sure/refused who for	2	3	2
Registered, But Did Not Vote In 2000.....	12	16	13
Not Registered To Vote	N/A	N/A	18

D18. Are you gay, lesbian, or bisexual, or not?

Yes, gay, lesbian, or bisexual.....	3
No, straight/heterosexual.....	94
Refused/not sure	3

D19a. Are you of Hispanic ethnicity?

(Q.D19b ASKED ONLY OF THOSE WHO DO NOT SAY THEY ARE HISPANIC IN Q.D19a.)

D19b. Are you white, black, Asian, or some other race?

(RESULTS SHOWN IN SUMMARY BELOW.)

White	79
Black.....	10
Hispanic.....	7
Asian.....	1
American Indian.....	1
Other.....	1
Refused	1

D20. Could you please tell me your household income from all sources in 2003?

Under \$15,000.....	12
\$15,000 to less than \$30,000	18
\$30,000 to less than \$50,000	18
\$50,000 to less than \$75,000	15
\$75,000 to less than \$100,000	9
\$100,000 to less than \$150,000	8
\$150,000 to less than \$200,000	2
\$200,000 or more	3
Refused/not sure	15

REGION:

Northeast.....	19
Midwest	23
South	36
West	22

METROPOLITAN STATUS:

Urban	31
Suburban.....	49
Rural.....	20

GENDER:

Male	49
Female	51