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For The People & The Press

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Follow-Up Interviews Find
SWING VOTERS SLOW TO DECIDE, STILL CROSS-PRESSURED

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Follow-Up Interviews Find **SWING VOTERS SLOW TO DECIDE, STILL CROSS-PRESSURED**

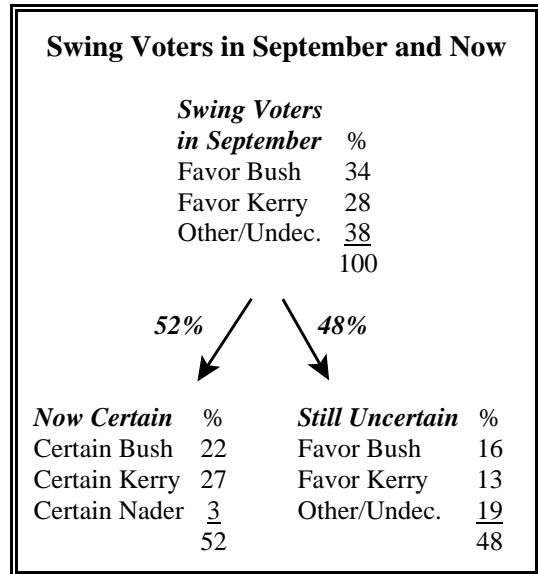
With less than a week to go before the election, many swing voters have yet to commit to a candidate, but over the past month there has been some movement among this group toward Sen. John Kerry. A Pew Research Center follow-up survey with 519 swing voters – who in September were undecided or said they could change their vote – finds that about half (52%) have moved off the fence, while nearly as many (48%) still are not certain of how they will vote.

Overall, Kerry has made more substantial gains among these swing voters in the past month than has Bush. Today, 40% say they are either certain to vote for Kerry or are leaning toward him (up from just 28% who leaned in Kerry's direction a month ago). Bush's support among this group of swing voters stands at 38%, up only slightly from 34% in September.

Those who have decided on their vote in the past month mention the debates as a crucial factor in their decision more than any other events or issues, especially those who have committed to Kerry (45% among those who cited a reason).

The remaining swing voters identified in the call-back survey are a diverse group, but they take common positions on several issues. About three-quarters (76%) say they agree with Bush on some important issues and with Kerry on others. Consequently, a 45% plurality believes that *either* Bush or Kerry would make a good president. As expected, most uncommitted voters (78%) say it has been hard to decide whom to vote for.

Committed voters who have made up their minds since September largely agree that it is a difficult choice and that both candidates have some strong issues. And more of those who



Views of September Swing Voters

	Now	Still
<i>Hard to Decide?</i>	<u>Certain</u>	<u>Uncertain</u>
Hard	49	78
Easy	50	20
Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100
<i>Agree with each on some issues</i>		
Yes	58	76
No	40	17
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>7</u>
	100	100
<i>Either would be good president</i>		
Yes	30	45
No	63	37
Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>18</u>
	100	100

Based on voters who were uncommitted in September and now have either made up their minds (N=269) or remain uncommitted (N=250).

recently committed to Kerry say the decision has been a hard one (61%) than those who committed to Bush (38%). However, the recently decided supporters of both candidates have come to the view that *only one* candidate would make a good president. More than six-in-ten newly committed voters (63%) disagree with the idea that either Bush or Kerry would make a good president.

The poll, which called back respondents initially interviewed Sept. 8-26, finds that even at this late stage in the campaign, half of remaining swing voters say they do not know enough about Bush and Kerry. That compares with about a third of those who have committed to a candidate since September (34%). Moreover, only about half of the remaining swing voters (53%) believe it really matters who wins the election, compared with 71% of recently decided voters.

For months, a defining characteristic of swing voters has been that, unlike committed voters, they have favorable opinions of both candidates. That generally remains the case even for swing voters who have recently made up their minds; 56% have a positive view of Kerry, while 47% have a favorable opinion of Bush. The remaining swing voters also have generally favorable impressions of both candidates. But much smaller percentages express unfavorable opinions of Bush and Kerry, suggesting that remaining swing voters still do not have clearly defined impressions of the two men.

Still, the events of the past four weeks did more to polish Kerry's image than Bush's among those who were uncommitted in September. Of the swing voters who expressed an unfavorable view of Kerry then, most (58%) continue to express a negative opinion of him, but nearly four-in-ten (38%) now have a favorable opinion of Kerry. By contrast, there has been less movement among those who held an unfavorable opinion of Bush; just 13% have changed their minds and now have a positive opinion of Bush. Both candidates are now viewed negatively by some who liked them last month, but the shift has been about the same for each candidate (21% for Kerry, 24% for Bush).

The cross-pressures that are making it difficult for the remaining swing voters to commit are reflected in their attitudes toward issues. Three-in-ten (29%) say the economy is most important to their vote, which places them closer to certain Kerry voters than Bush supporters. At the same time, they give terrorism much higher priority than do committed Kerry voters.

Kerry's Image Improves		
<i>Opinions Now</i>	<i>Opinions Then*</i>	
	Fav- orable	Unfav- orable
<i>John Kerry</i>	%	%
Favorable	73	38
Unfavorable	21	58
Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100
<i>George W. Bush</i>		
Favorable	73	13
Unfavorable	24	80
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>7</u>
	100	100

* Analysis based on voters who were uncommitted in September. This table shows the proportion who **today** hold favorable opinions of the candidates by whether their views were favorable or unfavorable a month ago.

Iraq Key to Movement Toward Kerry

On the issue of Iraq, swing voters also fall between Kerry and Bush voters. A plurality of the remaining swing voters (46%) believes it was the right decision to go to war in Iraq. Newly committed Kerry voters overwhelmingly reject the decision to go to war (76%), while 66% of those who have recently decided to vote for Bush say the war was the right decision.

When swing voters were asked if they have learned anything over the past month that made them think differently about the candidates, 17% of those who have moved toward Kerry mention Iraq compared with just 9% of those who have moved toward Bush. In addition, more swing voters who have moved toward Kerry say Iraq is the most important issue in their vote (21% vs. 11% among those moving to Bush).

	<u>Right</u>	<u>Wrong</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>N of cases</u>
	%	%	%	
All September swing voters	43	44	13=100	(519)
Now Certain	40	51	9=100	(269)
Still Uncertain	46	36	18=100	(250)
<i>Now:</i>				
Certain Bush	66	21	13=100	(116)
Favor Bush	64	29	7=100	(84)
Undecided	31	36	33=100	(112)
Favor Kerry	48	47	5=100	(68)
Certain Kerry	19	76	5=100	(139)
* Analysis based on voters who were uncommitted in September. Respondents' views on Iraq are shown broken down by current candidate preferences.				

Who Moved and Where?

Much of the movement of swing voters since September reflects partisans returning home. Among those who shifted toward Bush, 71% consider themselves Republicans or Republican-leaning; among those who shifted toward John Kerry, 76% are Democrats or Democratic-leaning.

The presidential debates helped to give Kerry an advantage among swing voters who have shifted their views over the past month. Most swing voters watched at least some of the debates, and by more than three-to-one (44%-13%) say that Kerry did the better job in the debates. Among those who have recently committed to Kerry fully 74% said he did better. Moreover, when swing voters were asked if they had seen, read, or heard anything over the past month that had made them think differently about the candidates, 30% of those who mentioned something cited the presidential debates. Among those who moved toward Kerry, 39% cited the debates; only 22% of those who moved toward Bush did so.

Who's Left

The follow-up survey of swing voters gives a relatively clear picture of how the events of the past month have affected those who have now made a choice. But there are no indications of what the remaining swing voters are likely to do.

At least some of those yet to commit to a candidate may simply not vote. Roughly the same percentage of remaining swing voters as recently committed voters say they plan to vote (90% vs. 92%). But fewer remaining swing voters say they are "absolutely certain" to vote, and those who are still in the swing category are less likely to say they have thought "quite a lot" about the election (64% vs. 77% of recently decided voters).

Of the 48% of the original swing group that remains on the fence, 16% are "soft" Bush voters (favor Bush but say they could still change their mind); 13% are soft Kerry voters; and 19% are undecided. As a group, they are evenly divided in terms of underlying partisan loyalty (37% are Republican or lean Republican; 37% are Democrat or lean Democrat). Slightly more say the war in Iraq was the right decision (46%) than say it was wrong (36%). Demographically, the remaining swing voters look very much like the rest of the electorate.

National polls show that the overall swing vote is still large enough to provide either candidate with a decisive victory. The most recent Pew Research Center national survey, conducted Oct. 15-19, shows that 18% of registered voters still are undecided or may change their vote. When the sample is narrowed to likely voters, 15% are in the swing vote category.

Partisan Split Among Those Still Swinging		
	Now	Still
	<u>Certain</u>	<u>Uncertain</u>
<i>Party Affiliation</i>	%	%
Democrat/Lean	50	37
Republican/Lean	38	37
Ind/Other/DK	<u>12</u>	<u>26</u>
	100	100
<i>Thought given to election</i>		
A lot	77	64
Little/DK	<u>23</u>	<u>36</u>
	100	100
<i>Matters who wins election?</i>		
Yes	71	53
No	24	39
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>8</u>
	100	100
<i>Opinion of Bush</i>		
Favorable	47	52
Unfavorable	51	31
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>17</u>
	100	100
<i>Opinion of Kerry</i>		
Favorable	56	52
Unfavorable	42	28
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>20</u>
	100	100
<i>Iraq Decision</i>		
Right	40	46
Wrong	51	36
Don't know	<u>9</u>	<u>18</u>
	100	100
Based on voters who were uncommitted in September and now have either made up their minds (N=269) or remain uncommitted (N=250).		

Little Wavering Among Committed

The Pew Research Center also called back 482 voters who in September said they had decided to vote for either Bush or Kerry (241 certain Bush voters, the same number of committed Kerry voters). Overwhelming majorities of these voters remain set in their voting decisions: 95% of certain voters are still firmly behind the president, while about the same number of committed Kerry supporters (94%) say they are certain to vote for him.

A small number of voters who were certain of their choice in September now say they are only leaning or might change their minds (2% for Bush, 3% for Kerry), but hardly anyone who was certain in September now fully intends to vote for the other candidate; just five out of 482 certain Bush or Kerry voters switched sides since September.

Decided Voters Stay Decided		
	- - <i>September</i> - -	
	Certain	Certain
<i>Current preference</i>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>
	%	%
Certain Bush	95	1
Favor Bush	2	0
Other/Undecided	1	2
Favor Kerry	2	3
Certain Kerry	*	94
	100	100

ABOUT THE SURVEYS

Results for the **Late October 2004 Voter Callback Surveys** are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International among a sample of 519 adults, 18 years of age or older, from October 21-25, 2004. The interviews were conducted among a population of 973 registered voters who were undecided in the presidential election, only leaned toward a candidate, or said they might change their vote choice (“Swing Voters”). The Swing Voters were originally contacted in three Pew Research Center surveys in September 2004 (Sept. 9-14, Sept. 17-21, and Sept. 22-26). For results based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling is plus or minus 5 percentage points. For results based on Swing Voters who have decided on a candidate (N=269) or those who are still uncommitted (N=250), the sampling error is plus or minus 7 percentage points.

The survey also re-interviewed 482 registered voters from the September surveys who said they were certain of their vote choice (241 for Bush, 241 for Kerry). Sampling error for the certain Bush or the certain Kerry voters is plus or minus 7 percentage points. For all 482 certain voters, sampling error would be plus or minus 5 percentage points.

In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS
VOTER CALLBACK SURVEYS 2004
FINAL TOPLINE
October 21-25, 2004

NOTE: CALLBACK OF SWING VOTERS, CERTAIN KERRY AND CERTAIN BUSH VOTERS FROM THREE SEPTEMBER SURVEYS.

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

		-- Swing Voters --				Sept 2004
		Now	Still			
Certain	Certain	Dec-	Uncom-			Swing
<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>ided</u>	<u>mitted</u>		<u>Voters</u>
85	85	70	77	64	Quite a lot	61
1	2	3	3	3	Some (VOL)	5
11	11	24	17	30	Only a little	28
1	2	2	1	2	None (VOL)	4
<u>2</u>	*	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>2</u>
100	100	100	100	100		100
(N=241)	(241)	(519)	(269)	(250)		

PLANTO1 All in all, do you yourself plan to vote in the election this November?

IF YES IN PLANTO1, ASK:

PLANTO2 How certain are you that you will vote? Are you absolutely certain, fairly certain, or not certain?

		-- Swing Voters --				Sept 2004
		Now	Still			
Certain	Certain	Dec-	Uncom-			Swing
<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>ided</u>	<u>mitted</u>		<u>Voters</u>
96	95	91	92	90	Yes, plan to vote	98
90	93	80	84	76	Absolutely certain	86
4	2	9	8	10	Fairly certain	11
2	*	2	1	4	Not certain/Don't know	1
1	1	3	2	4	No, don't plan to	1
3	3	4	4	3	Already voted (VOL)	0
<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>2</u>
100	100	100	100	100		100

SWING VOTERS

		-- Swing Voters --			
		Now	Still		
Certain	Certain	Dec-	Uncom-		
<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>ided</u>	<u>mitted</u>	
--	--	22	43	--	Certain Bush
--	--	27	52	--	Certain Kerry
--	--	3	5	--	Certain Nader
--	--	48	--	--	Swing Voter
--	--	16	--	34	Favor Bush, chance might change
--	--	13	--	28	Favor Kerry, chance might change
--	--	3	--	6	Favor Nader, chance might change
--	--	<u>16</u>	--	<u>32</u>	Undecided
		100	100	100	

Q.2 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.2, ASK:

Q.2a Do you support (INSERT PRESIDENTIAL CHOICE FROM Q.2—LAST NAME ONLY, DO NOT READ VP CHOICE) strongly or only moderately?

IF OTHER OR DK (Q.2=4,9), ASK:

Q.2b As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to [READ, ROTATE IN SAME ORDER AS Q.2]?

-- Swing Voters --						Sept 2004
Certain	Certain		Now	Still		Swing
<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Dec-</u>	<u>Uncom-</u>		<u>Voters</u>
97	1	38	43	34	Bush/Lean Bush	34
85	1	13	21	4	Strongly	--
12	0	26	21	30	Only moderately	--
0	0	*	*	0	Don't know	--
2	97	40	52	28	Kerry/Lean Kerry	27
0	73	11	20	1	Strongly	--
2	23	29	31	26	Only moderately	--
0	1	1	1	1	Don't know	--
0	0	6	5	6	Nader/Lean Nader	7
<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>32</u>	Other/Don't know	32
100	100	100	100	100		100

THOSE WHO CHOSE KERRY/EDWARDS (Q.2/Q.2b) ASK:

Q.3a 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.2/Q.2b) ASK:

Q.3b Would you say that your choice is more a vote FOR George W. Bush or more a vote AGAINST John Kerry?

-- Swing Voters --					
Certain	Certain		Now	Still	
<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Dec-</u>	<u>Uncom-</u>	
2	97	40	52	28	Kerry/Lean Kerry
1	48	14	17	11	Pro-Kerry
*	43	23	33	14	Anti-Bush
1	6	3	3	3	Undecided
97	1	38	43	34	Bush/Lean Bush
74	1	22	26	18	Pro-Bush
18	0	12	15	9	Anti-Kerry
5	0	4	1	6	Undecided
<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>38</u>	Other/Don't know
100	100	100	100	100	

IF RESPONDENT DID NOT CHOOSE KERRY IN Q.2/2b (Q.2=1,3 OR Q.2b=1,3,4,9) ASK:

Q.4a 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?

-- Swing Voters --						Sept 2004
Certain	Certain		Now	Still		Swing
<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Total</u>	Dec-	Uncom-		<u>Voters</u>
			ided	mitted		
2	1	23	0	47	Chance might vote for Kerry	44
96	1	28	47	8	Decided not to vote for Kerry	12
*	1	9	1	18	Don't know/Refused	17
98%	3%	60%	48%	73%		73%

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

Q.4b 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?

-- Swing Voters --						Sept 2004
Certain	Certain		Now	Still		Swing
<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Total</u>	Dec-	Uncom-		<u>Voters</u>
			ided	mitted		
2	3	18	0	37	Chance might vote for Bush	34
1	93	34	56	10	Decided not to vote for Bush	13
*	3	10	1	19	Don't know/Refused	18
3%	99%	62%	57%	66%		65%

ASK ALL:

Many people have been telling us that they've learned a lot about the candidates during this campaign.

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF CANDIDATES BETWEEN Q.5a AND Q.5b

Q.5a Thinking first about [George W. Bush/John Kerry], has anything happened or have you seen, or read, or heard anything over the past month that has made you think differently about him? [OPEN END: PROBE ONCE IF "NO"/"DON'T KNOW"; NO PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL RESPONSES]

Q.5b How about [George W. Bush/ John Kerry]? Has anything happened or have you seen, or read, or heard anything over the past month that has made you think differently about him?

-- Swing Voters --					
Certain	Certain		Now	Still	
<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Total</u>	Dec-	Uncom-	
			ided	mitted	
18	33	30	34	25	Debates
9	4	8	9	7	Stories (NET)
5	12	11	11	11	Media (NET)
27	41	40	39	41	Issues (NET)
4	16	14	11	17	<i>Iraq</i>
33	23	23	25	19	Qualities (NET)
21	21	21	18	23	Other/Don't know

NO QUESTION 6

Q.7 Would you say it has been [INSERT ITEM; ROTATE] to make a decision about who to vote for this year, or has it been [NEXT ITEM] to make a decision?

		-- Swing Voters --			
		Now	Still		
Certain	Certain	Dec-	Uncom-		
<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>ided</u>	<u>mitted</u>	
13	15	63	49	78	Hard
87	83	35	50	20	Easy
<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	100	100	100	100	

ASK SWING VOTERS ONLY:

Q.8 As I read a statement, please tell me if you agree or disagree. First, [INSERT ITEM; ROTATE]

a. I still don't know enough about Bush and Kerry.

		-- Swing Voters --			
		Now	Still		
Certain	Certain	Dec-	Uncom-		
<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>ided</u>	<u>mitted</u>	
--	--	42	34	50	Agree
--	--	54	65	43	Disagree
--	--	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>7</u>	Don't know/Refused
		100	100	100	

b. I find myself agreeing with George W. Bush on SOME important issues, and agreeing with John Kerry on OTHER important issues.

		-- Swing Voters --			
		Now	Still		
Certain	Certain	Dec-	Uncom-		
<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>ided</u>	<u>mitted</u>	
--	--	66	58	76	Agree
--	--	29	40	17	Disagree
--	--	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>7</u>	Don't know/Refused
		100	100	100	

c. I think EITHER Bush or Kerry would make a good president.

		-- Swing Voters --			
		Now	Still		
Certain	Certain	Dec-	Uncom-		
<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>ided</u>	<u>mitted</u>	
--	--	37	30	45	Agree
--	--	51	63	37	Disagree
--	--	<u>12</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>18</u>	Don't know/Refused
		100	100	100	

NO QUESTION 9

ASK ALL:

Q.10 As far as making progress on the important issues facing the country is concerned, does it really matter who wins the 2004 presidential election, or will things be pretty much the same regardless of who is elected president?

		-- Swing Voters --			
		Now	Still	Dec-	Uncom-
Certain	Certain			ided	mitted
<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>ided</u>	<u>mitted</u>	
83	82	63	71	53	Really matters who wins the 2004 presidential election
14	14	31	24	39	Things will pretty much be the same regardless
<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>8</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	100	100	100	100	

Q.11 Did you happen to watch any of the presidential debates this year, or didn't you get a chance to see them?
IF YES, ASK: Did you watch a lot, some, or only a little?

		-- Swing Voters --			
		Now	Still	Dec-	Uncom-
Certain	Certain			ided	mitted
<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>ided</u>	<u>mitted</u>	
85	85	75	79	71	YES, watched debates NET
49	51	36	43	30	<i>Watched a lot / all of them</i>
28	17	26	25	27	<i>Watched some</i>
8	17	13	11	14	<i>Watched a little</i>
14	15	25	21	29	No, didn't watch
<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>*</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	100	100	100	100	

IF 'YES' (1-3 IN Q.11) ASK:

Q.12 Overall, who do you think did the better job in the presidential debates — George W. Bush or John Kerry?

		-- Swing Voters --			
		Now	Still	Dec-	Uncom-
Certain	Certain			ided	mitted
<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>ided</u>	<u>mitted</u>	
43	1	13	14	12	Bush
27	76	44	52	37	Kerry
13	7	12	10	13	Neither/Both (VOL.)
2	1	6	3	9	Don't know/Refused
<u>15</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>29</u>	No, didn't watch debate/Don't know/Refused
100	100	100	100	100	

Q.13 Which one of the following issues would you say is most important to you as you decide who to vote for this year... **[READ AND RANDOMIZE ITEMS 1 THRU 4 WITH 5 ALWAYS LAST] [PROBE IF SAYS MORE THAN ONE: I understand... do you think there is ONE that is MOST important?]**

-- Swing Voters --					
			Now	Still	
Certain	Certain		Dec-	Uncom-	
<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>ided</u>	<u>mitted</u>	
15	41	32	36	29	The economy
9	17	18	18	19	Health care
16	24	16	18	13	Iraq
43	6	16	14	18	Terrorism
14	9	12	10	14	Or something else [SPECIFY: _____]
<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>7</u>	Don't know/Refused [VOL.]
100	100	100	100	100	

ROTATE Q.14 AND Q.15

Q.14 Would you say your overall opinion of John Kerry is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? **[INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE."]**

-- Swing Voters --						Sept 2004
			Now	Still		Swing
Certain	Certain		Dec-	Uncom-		Voters
<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>ided</u>	<u>mitted</u>		
7	93	54	56	52	FAVORABLE	45
*	39	10	13	6	Very	6
6	54	44	42	47	Mostly	39
92	2	35	42	28	UNFAVORABLE	33
47	1	9	11	7	Very	8
45	2	26	31	21	Mostly	25
0	0	0	0	0	Never heard of (VOL)	*
<u>1</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>20</u>	Can't Rate/Refused (VOL)	<u>22</u>
100	100	100	100	100		100

Q.15 Would you say your overall opinion of George W. Bush is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? **[INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE."]**

-- Swing Voters --						Sept 2004
			Now	Still		Swing
Certain	Certain		Dec-	Uncom-		Voters
<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>ided</u>	<u>mitted</u>		
96	6	50	47	52	FAVORABLE	54
48	1	9	13	5	Very	12
48	5	41	35	47	Mostly	42
3	91	41	51	31	UNFAVORABLE	30
1	57	15	19	11	Very	11
2	34	26	32	19	Mostly	19
0	0	0	0	0	Never heard of (VOL)	0
<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>17</u>	Can't Rate/Refused (VOL)	<u>16</u>
100	100	100	100	100		100

Q.16 Do you happen to know which candidate... [INSERT ITEM, ROTATE] George W. Bush, John Kerry, both or neither?

a. Favors allowing workers to invest some of their Social Security contributions in the stock market?

		-- Swing Voters --			
		Now	Still		
Certain	Certain	Dec-	Uncom-		
<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>ided</u>	<u>mitted</u>	
66	61	44	48	40	Bush
9	6	14	13	15	Kerry
3	5	2	2	2	Both
3	5	7	5	8	Neither
<u>20</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>34</u>	Don't know (VOL)
100	100	100	100	100	

b. Favors federal funding of medical research using stem cells from human embryos?

		-- Swing Voters --			
		Now	Still		
Certain	Certain	Dec-	Uncom-		
<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>ided</u>	<u>mitted</u>	
6	6	8	8	7	Bush
66	74	59	62	56	Kerry
13	4	7	9	5	Both
3	1	4	5	3	Neither
<u>12</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>29</u>	Don't know (VOL)
100	100	100	100	100	

Thinking about Iraq for a moment...

Q.17 Do you think the U.S. made the right decision or the wrong decision in using military force against Iraq?

		-- Swing Voters --				Sept 2004
		Now	Still			Swing
Certain	Certain	Dec-	Uncom-			Voters
<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>ided</u>	<u>mitted</u>		
89	11	43	40	46	Right decision	45
4	84	44	51	36	Wrong decision	41
<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>18</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>14</u>
100	100	100	100	100		100

And finally...

PARTYLN In politics today, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat or Independent?

		-- Swing Voters --				Sept 2004
Certain	Certain	Now	Still			
<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	Dec-	Uncom-			Swing
<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>ided</u>	<u>mitted</u>		<u>Voters</u>
66	4	18	18	18	Republican	19
6	66	27	28	24	Democrat	23
26	28	46	49	44	Independent	44
1	1	6	4	8	No Preference (VOL.)	7
0	0	1	*	1	Other (VOL.)	*
<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>5</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>7</u>
100	100	100	100	100		100

IF ANSWERED 3, 4, 5 OR 9 IN PARTY, ASK:

PARTYLN As of today do you lean more to the Republican Party or more to the Democratic Party?

		-- Swing Voters --				Sept 2004
Certain	Certain	Now	Still			
<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	Dec-	Uncom-			Swing
<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>ided</u>	<u>mitted</u>		<u>Voters</u>
23	*	20	20	19	Republican	16
1	26	17	22	13	Democrat	19
<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>26</u>	Other/Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>22</u>
28%	29%	56%	54%	58%		57%