

THE FIELD POLL

THE INDEPENDENT AND NON-PARTISAN SURVEY
OF PUBLIC OPINION ESTABLISHED IN 1947 AS
THE CALIFORNIA POLL BY MERVIN FIELD

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Release #2114

Release Date: **Wednesday, May 26, 2004**

**KERRY HAS DOUBLE-DIGIT LEAD
OVER BUSH. MAJORITY OF KERRY
SUPPORTERS SAY THEY ARE
VOTING AGAINST THE PRESIDENT.**

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by Mark DiCamillo and Mervin Field

Massachusetts Senator John Kerry, the presumptive Democratic Presidential nominee, continues to hold a double-digit lead over Republican President George W. Bush among Californians most likely to vote in this year's presidential election..

In a simulated November general election match-up between the two, Kerry leads Bush 55% to 40%. In a three-way match-up including independent Ralph Nader, the distribution of preferences is 51% for Kerry, 39% for Bush and 4% for Nader, with 6% undecided.

Table 1

**Trend of voter preferences for President
(among California likely voters)**

	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Nader</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
May 2004 (with Nader)	51%	39	4	6
<u>Without Nader</u>				
May 2004	55%	40	--	5
February 2004*	53%	41	--	6
January 2004*	39%	48	--	13

* January and February measures asked of all registered voters.

Preference vote analysis

Eight out of ten (80%) of Democrats prefer Kerry and a similar proportion of Republicans (83%) back Bush. The key to Kerry's overall lead is a result of independent non-partisan voters – who represent about one in five of all likely voters – splitting more than two to one (57% to 22%) in Kerry's favor.

Voters in the state's two traditional strong Democratic voter regions – Los Angeles County and the San Francisco Bay Area – support Kerry by wide margins. Bush is heavily favored in other parts of Southern California and he runs about even in all other parts of the state.

Kerry leads Bush among women by a 17-point margin, while his lead among men is seven points. Support for Kerry among both sexes is greater among single or unmarried voters than married voters.

White non-Hispanic voters divide about evenly between Kerry and Bush. However, Kerry holds large leads among Latinos and other ethnic voters.

Bush is preferred by solid five to three pluralities among Protestants and evangelical Christians. By contrast, Kerry holds leads of approximately two to one or greater among Catholics, those affiliated with other non-Christian religions, those with no religious preference and non-evangelicals.

Kerry is leading Bush by a nearly three to one lead among those with a post-graduate education. Bush leads among those who have attended college but do not have a bachelor's degree.

Voters living in union-affiliated households are supporting Kerry by a bigger margin than those without a union tie.

Table 2
Presidential preferences – by subgroup
(among California likely voters)

	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Nader</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
Statewide	51%	39	4	6
<u>Party</u>				
Democrats	80%	9	4	7
Republicans	13%	83	2	2
Non-partisan/other	57%	22	7	14
<u>Region</u>				
Los Angeles County	59%	32	4	5
Orange/San Diego	46%	45	5	4
Other Southern California	36%	52	4	8
Central Valley	44%	43	2	11
San Francisco Bay Area	63%	23	3	11
Other Northern California**	45%	45	9	1
<u>Gender</u>				
Male (total)	<u>49%</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
Married men	44%	49	2	5
Single/separated/widow men**	57%	28	8	7
Female (total)	<u>53%</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>8</u>
Married women	47%	42	2	9
Single/separated/widow women	58%	30	4	8
<u>Race/ethnicity</u>				
White non-Hispanic	46%	45	4	5
Latino	64%	24	4	8
Other minorities	57%	23	6	14
<u>Education</u>				
High school grad or less	52%	38	4	6
Some college/trade school	39%	48	4	8
College graduate	50%	41	5	4
Post graduate	67%	23	3	6
<u>Union affiliation</u>				
Yes	58%	29	2	10
No	48%	42	4	6
<u>Religion</u>				
Protestant	35%	55	2	9
Catholic	61%	31	3	4
Other	62%	22	7	9
No preference**	69%	24	6	1
<u>Evangelical Christian</u>				
Yes	32%	57	3	9
No	58%	32	4	6

* Less than 1/2 of 1%.

** Small sample base.

Voters disinclination to re-elect Bush is growing

The inclination of California voters to re-elect Bush has been declining in recent months. Three months ago, by a thirteen point margin (53% to 40%), voters said they were not inclined to support Bush for another term. Now, that deficit has risen to twenty points (58% to 38%).

Table 3
Inclination to re-elect President Bush
(among California likely voters)

	<u>Inclined</u>	<u>Not inclined</u>	<u>No opinion</u>
May 2004	38%	58	4
February 2004	40%	53	7
January 2004*	46%	47	7
August 2003*	42%	50	8
July 2003*	46%	44	10

* Asked of all registered voters.

Kerry vote is based largely on desire to unseat Bush

Voter support for Kerry is based more on voters' desire to unseat Bush than it is a positive endorsement of the Massachusetts Senator. Two in three (65%) of those who prefer Kerry say their vote is more of a vote against Bush than it is support for the Democrat. The pattern is completely different among Bush voters. Seven in ten (71%) of those who prefer Bush say they are expressing support for him and just 25% say they are voting against Kerry.

Table 4
Are Presidential preferences more of a vote for their candidate
or a vote against the other candidate?
(among California likely voters)

	<u>For candidate</u>	<u>Against opponent</u>	<u>No opinion</u>
Bush voters	71%	25	4
Kerry voters	33%	65	2

Bush voters more certain of their choice

More Kerry voters (23%) than Bush voters (16%) say they might change their minds about who they will vote for in November. A large majority (62%) of Nader voters indicate that their preference for him could change.

	<u>Very Certain</u>	<u>Might Change Mind</u>
All voters	<u>81%</u>	<u>19</u>
Kerry voter	77%	23
Bush voter	84%	16
Nader voter*	38%	62

* Small sample base

Image ratings of the candidates

Kerry's image profile is more favorable than Bush's, with 48% having a favorable impression of the Senator and 40% holding an unfavorable view. By a five to four margin (53% to 44%), likely voters in this state hold a negative impression of the President.

Nader has the most negative image of the three candidates – 51% unfavorable and 21% favorable, and 37% undecided.

	<u>Favorable</u>	<u>Unfavorable</u>	<u>No opinion</u>
<u>John Kerry – All voters</u>	<u>48%</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>12</u>
Kerry voters	88%	5	7
Bush voters	3%	88	9
Other/undecided*	28%	32	40
<u>George W. Bush – All voters</u>	<u>44%</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>3</u>
Kerry voters	5%	94	1
Bush voters	97%	2	1
Other/undecided*	37%	52	11
<u>Ralph Nader – All voters</u>	<u>21%</u>	<u>51</u>	<u>28</u>
Kerry voters	22%	48	30
Bush voters	12%	64	24
Other/undecided*	45%	15	40

* Small sample base.

Nader effect

In 2000 Nader, running as the Green Party candidate for President, captured 3.9% of the vote in California. Nader's support did not appear to materially effect the outcome of the race here, since Democrat Al Gore outpolled Bush in the state by twelve percentage points.

There is evidence that the vote Nader achieved in many states in the 2000 election would otherwise have gone to Gore were Nader not on the ballot. In Florida and New Hampshire the vote for Nader was much larger than Bush's victory margin over Gore. Had Bush not carried either state, he would not have been elected. As a result, Nader was dubbed a spoiler and that charge has been raised again this year.

This view is shared by many Californians. By an eight to one margin (49% to 6%) California voters think a vote for Nader is more likely to take votes away from Kerry than Bush.

Table 7

**Voter perceptions of Nader's effect on the Presidential election
(among California likely voters)**

	Nader takes more votes from			
	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>No effect</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
All voters	49%	6	35	10
Kerry voters	61%	5	27	7
Bush voters	40%	7	41	12
Nader voters/others*	31%	11	45	13

* Small sample base.

Issues/attributes that voters believe apply more to Kerry than Bush

In this survey voters were read a series of twenty different issues and personal characteristics and asked whether they felt each better applied to Kerry or Bush.

On seventeen of the items Californians feel the attribute better applies to Kerry, while on three they think it applies more to Bush.

On the issue of will do more to protect the environment Kerry outscores Bush by 67% to 20%. On who will do a better job in dealing with health care, it is Kerry 61% and Bush 27%. On who will do more to protect Social Security and Medicare, 57% choose Kerry and 27% Bush. It is Kerry 55% and Bush 28% on who "will look out for the interests of women." A similar 55% to 27% proportion choose Kerry over Bush on looking out for the interests of minorities. Fifty-two percent agree with Kerry's vision of the country's future, while 36% agree with Bush's.

Kerry holds a 45% to 32% advantage over Bush regarding his views on abortion. By a 48% to 38% margin, the belief he will surround himself with advisors the public can trust applies more to Kerry than to Bush.

Kerry has a slight advantage over Bush with regard to improving the economy (49% to 42%), leading the country in the right direction (48% to 39%) and will do a better job in resolving the situation in Iraq (48% to 41%). In respect to being honest and trustworthy, being the kind of leader the country needs and making good appointments to the Supreme Court and federal courts, Kerry has a 7 or 8-point advantage.

Forty-two percent say that they agree with Kerry's views on same sex marriage, and 37% see agreement with Bush's views on this issue. On who is a friendly and likeable person, it is Kerry 42% and Bush 38%.

Table 8a
Issues/personal characteristics voters feel apply more to Kerry than to Bush
(among California likely voters)

	Applies more to...		Kerry advantage
	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Bush</u>	
Will do more to protect the environment	67%	20	+47
Will do a better job in dealing with health care	61%	27	+34
Will do more to protect Social Security and Medicare	57%	27	+30
Will look out for the interests of minorities	55%	27	+28
Will look out for the interests of women	55%	28	+27
Agree with his vision of the country's future	52%	36	+16
Agree with his views on abortion	45%	32	+13
Will surround himself with advisors the public can trust	48%	38	+10
Will lead the country in the right direction	48%	39	+9
Is honest and trustworthy	44%	36	+8
Will do more to improve the economy	49%	42	+7
Will do a better job of resolving the situation in Iraq	48%	41	+7
Is the kind of leader this country needs	47%	40	+7
Will make good appointments to the U.S. Supreme Court and federal courts	45%	38	+7
Shares my values and beliefs	46%	40	+6
Agree with his views on same sex marriages	42%	37	+5
Is a friendly and likeable person	42%	38	+4

(Differences between 100% and sum of percentages equal proportion saying neither, both or don't know.)

Issues/attributes that apply more to Bush than Kerry

By a 60% to 27% ratio voters think keeping U.S. strong militarily applies more to Bush than to Kerry. Keeping taxes down is another issue where more voters rate Bush over Kerry – 54% to 25%. On who will do a better job in fighting terrorism about half the voters (51%) choose Bush while just one in three (37%) select Kerry.

Table 8b

**Issues/personal characteristics voters feel apply more to Bush than to Kerry
(among California likely voters)**

	Applies more to...		Bush advantage
	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	
Will keep the U.S. strong militarily	60%	27	+33
Will keep taxes down	54%	25	+29
Will do a better job fighting terrorism	51%	37	+14

(Differences between 100% and sum of percentages equal proportion saying neither, both or don't know.)

Information About the Survey

Sample Details

The findings in this report are based on a cross-section sampling of 647 registered voters in California considered likely to vote in the November Presidential election. Interviews were conducted by telephone in English and Spanish May 18-24, 2004. Up to five attempts were made to reach a randomly selected voter at each number dialed. After the completion of interviewing, the sample was weighted to Field Poll estimates of the state's total registered voter population. The overall presidential preference questions were asked of the full sample. However, in order to cover a broad range of issues and still minimize respondent fatigue, the overall sample was divided into two random subsamples of 341 and 306 likely voters each on some questions.

According to statistical theory, results from the overall sample have a sampling error of +/- 4 percentage points at the 95% confidence level, while findings from each random subsample have a sampling error of +/- 5.8 percentage points. There are other possible sources of error in any survey in addition to sampling variability. Different results could occur because of differences in question wording, sequencing or through omissions or errors in sampling, interviewing or data processing. Extensive efforts were made to minimize such potential errors.

Questions Asked

I am going to read the names of the candidates running for President this year. As I read each name, please tell me whether your opinion of that person is favorable, unfavorable or whether you don't know enough about that person to have an opinion. (NAMES AND TITLES READ IN RANDOM ORDER) Is your opinion of _____ favorable or unfavorable?

If the November Presidential election were being held today, would you be inclined or not inclined to re-elect George W. Bush as President?

If the election for President were being held today and the candidates were (NAMES AND PARTIES OF CANDIDATES READ IN RANDOM ORDER), for whom would you vote?

Suppose the choices for President were only George W. Bush, Republican and John Kerry, Democrat. If the election were being held today, for whom would you vote - Bush or Kerry?

How certain are you that you will vote for (Bush) (Kerry) (Nader) for President in November - very certain or is there a chance that you might change your mind?

Is your preference more a vote for (George W. Bush) (John Kerry) or more a vote against (John Kerry) (George W. Bush)?

Do you think the presence of Independent Ralph Nader on the Presidential election ballot will take more votes away from Bush, take more votes away from Kerry, or will he have no effect on support for Bush or Kerry?

I am going to read some of the issues facing the country as well as some personal characteristics of the Presidential candidates. For each, please tell me whether you feel the statement applies more to George W. Bush or more to John Kerry. (ATTRIBUTES READ IN RANDOM ORDER) (SEE RELEASE FOR ITEMS READ)