



NEWSLETTER

First Quarter

2005

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A Look at the 2004 U.S. Presidential Election: George W. Bush vs. John Kerry

By Susan H. Pinkus

L.A. Times Polling Director

A presidential election that includes an incumbent is usually a referendum on the sitting president. It was George W. Bush's election to lose in 2004, but his strategy to stay the course and campaign to his Christian conservative base paid off with a 51%-48% win over his Democratic opponent, John Kerry.

There are two questions that most campaigns, pollsters and pundits usually watch to gauge how a president is faring during his presidency – if the country is heading in the right direction or off on the wrong track and how the occupant of the White House is handling his job as president. All through 2004, the results of these questions did not bode well for the president. His positive ratings ranged from 51% to 53%, but his disapproval ratings ranged from 45% to 47%. These results were not very encouraging for a president that had an 86% job approval rating after the September 11 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. And, majorities of voters thought the country was heading in the wrong direction (results ranging from 51% to 59%).

Poll results also showed that the country was deeply divided along partisan and ideological lines. In a November Los Angeles Times exit poll, Bush received a 53%-47% job approval rating. But looking behind these numbers the poll showed two different Americas cleaved by those deeply partisan lines. One America showed that 84% of Democrats and 77% of liberals disapproved of the way Bush handled his job as president; 81% of Democrats and 76% of liberals thought the country was seriously off on the wrong track. The other America showed 93% of Republicans and 82% of conservatives approved of the president's job performance; 88% of Republicans and 77% of conservatives believed the country was heading in the right direction. Younger voters supported Kerry, while

(continued on page 5)

Table of Contents

United States Elections.....	1
President's Letter... 2	
Nat'l Representative Report, Costa Rica/ Central America.....	3
Bob Worcester Knighthood.....	4
Mexico City Conference.....	5
Cannes Info.....	6
Hong Kong Conference.....	7

UPCOMING ANNUAL CONFERENCE:
SEPTEMBER 15-17, 2005
CANNES, FRANCE

Letter from the President



WAPOR President
Prof. Esteban
López-Escobar

The WAPOR Council will celebrate the beginning of the spring with a meeting in Lisbon (March 21). The meeting will mark the beginning of the period in which I serve as incumbent president of the Association. At the end of November, taking advantage of the Pamplona seminar, Kathy [Frankovic], Mike [Traugott] and I had a short meeting in which we shared some views regarding both the past and the future. As a matter of fact, we had planned the Lisbon council meeting for February, but the Portuguese government announced its elections would be held on February 20th, so we decided to postpone it. The elections took place some weeks ago. I left Porto Sunday morning, and on the return trip from Porto to Pamplona I met an accident while driving through a snowstorm that could have required my assistance. Fortunately there were no injuries, just the shock of the accident.

Incidentally, the Socialist Party won the Portuguese election with an absolute majority in the Parliament. The results confirmed the findings of the last polls published Friday before the Sunday election.

Taking advantage of our upcoming stay in Lisbon, the Portuguese hosts have planned a Seminar, covering elections in Portugal, Spain, the United Kingdom, and the United States. I think this will serve as a good opportunity to promote WAPOR in Portugal where we have some members.

Looking ahead to 2005 one realizes that we have a very interesting agenda. The 58th Annual conference will take place in Cannes (Côte d'Azur, France), at a very good time of the year (September, 15-17). I hope a substantial number of members will be able to attend. We also have seminars in Mexico City (May, 15-17) and Hong Kong (December, 8-10). It is a truly international program that assures WAPOR's presence and the opportunities to make our work known in many places. Needless to say, I would like to encourage all of you to attend the annual conference and any of the regional conferences you can.

In the past few years I have been reading -in some cases for a second time around most of the books our sister association AAPOR listed some years ago as the "Fifty books that significantly shaped public opinion research". I decided to offer a 30 hour seminar in a doctoral program paying close attention to those books, plus an introduction or comment on other relevant books published before 1946. This year I have delivered the seminar not only in my university, but also in Pontevedra (Northwest of Spain) and Porto (Portugal).

I have realized how interesting it is for graduate students to get to know the account of the collective intellectual adventure represented by the history of our discipline. For that reason I have a strong personal interest in seeing WAPOR's history written down. Some members have dedicated many efforts to push this idea forward in the past I would like to thank especially Helen Crossley, and others who took care of our files in Chapel Hill. Undoubtedly, there is an excellent material to be studied. Fortunately many former presidents and a great number of members are still around and can help in this endeavour. Any suggestion regarding this matter will be very much appreciated.

Membership Dues

The WAPOR office is still in full swing collecting membership dues for 2005. To date we are at approximately 67% renewals from last year, with renewals coming into the office daily. The membership directory for 2005 will be mailed out at the end of March so there is still time to renew. Final renewal notices will be mailed on April 1. To avoid interruption of service of the IJPOR, and all WAPOR related benefits, please send your dues payment today.

WAPORnet

As a member of WAPOR, you have access to the listserv, which you can use to keep in touch with other WAPOR members. This is a feature of your membership that we urge you to take advantage of. You may have information on upcoming events or on current happenings in public opinion research that you would like to share with the other members. Send your message to wapor@unl.edu to reach all of the current members of WAPOR.

National Representative Report-Costa Rica/Central America

Carlos Denton, Ph.D. WAPOR Representative

The wars and the military dictatorships of the Cold War in Central America are a thing of the past and, as a result, the possibilities of freely conducting survey research in the six nations (Panama, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala) are limitless. The exception is Honduras, which has recently passed an electoral law which prohibits polling six weeks before primary elections and three months prior to national voting.



The principal problems facing researchers today bear no relation to those of what has become known as the “lost decade,” (1980-1990), when military satraps governed in Panama, Honduras, and Guatemala, and where civil wars were claiming the lives of thousands annually in El Salvador, Nicaragua and Guatemala. Today the problem is one of quality and comprehension—then it was one of fear and repression in all except Costa Rica.

Because telephones are not ubiquitous in any of the six nations, (Costa Rica, the most advanced, boasts a household penetration rate of 55 per cent) CATI is not a viable option for survey researchers. Telephone households are usually those with higher incomes and education and the result is often a bias, particularly on pocketbook and crime issues. On the one hand, because of a rampant crime rate in poorer neighborhoods, face to face interviews with wage earners who have returned home in the evening are not possible without paying a “war tax” to gangs, which control the streets in cities like Tegucigalpa, Guatemala City and San Salvador. On the other hand, wealthy homeowners are guarded from interviewers by walls, gates, dogs, servants and guards.

Sample mortality is not as high as in the United States or Western Europe, but it climbs annually. In some cases it has been necessary to develop a combined methodology of face to face interviewing for those without phones and telephone interviews with the others.

All major media now sponsor public opinion surveys, and few are sufficiently politicized to attempt to interfere in the data gathering effort. The exception to this is Guatemala, which in many ways is the Central American nation with the most limited political culture. With that exception, it can be said that publication rules are followed, and a methodological note with dates, sponsors and margins of error are the norm rather than the exception.

All of the six nations conducted censuses on or around the turn of the millennium and very sound data is available to researchers. Maps used in the censuses are available, although in some of the countries they are unusually expensive. Governments view this resource as a revenue generator and do not place the maps on the internet—potential users have to purchase the set on paper.

University training for survey researchers is quite weak and professionals working in the field were probably trained in a center of higher education outside of the region, or in house in one of the three major firms operating on the isthmus. There are about 25 serious professional survey researchers in the six nations.

(Costa Rica continued on page 4)

The Knighthood of Sir Robert Worcester

A note from Brian Gosschalk, Past President
MORI, UK

It's a long way – in every sense – from Kansas to Buckingham Palace, London. But that is the remarkable journey traced by lifetime WAPOR member and former President, Bob Worcester, who has been honoured with the award of Knight Commander of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire (KBE). In the letter of appointment, it was stated that *“This honour is conferred on you by Her Majesty in recognition of the outstanding services you have rendered to political, social and economic research and for your contribution to government policy and programmes”*.



4705 miles or
7572 km separates
Lawrence, Kansas
from
London, England

This is a fitting tribute to someone who has been a tireless champion of high-quality public opinion research for more than three decades. Bob's enthusiasm, passion and commitment are well known to his many friends and admirers within WAPOR – and he has amply demonstrated these qualities on behalf of our association. He was WAPOR President in 1983-4; has been an editor of IJPOR, our fine journal, since he helped establish it; is the founder and funder of the Worcester Prize, awarded annually for the best paper in the Journal; is a frequent speaker at WAPOR conferences and seminars; and, of course, was given WAPOR's highest accolade, the Dinerman Prize in 1996.

At a personal level, I have learned a great deal from Bob as a colleague at MORI over the past 25 years, and I was proud to follow in his footsteps as WAPOR President.

On behalf of all WAPOR members, it is a great pleasure to say: “Warmest congratulations, Sir Robert!”

.....
(Costa Rica continued from page3)

Because Central America continues to be a curiosity for researchers based outside of the region, there is a propensity, when they find some funding, to develop questionnaires of 35 to 45 minutes or more in length, which would be rejected out of hand anywhere in the more economically developed world. The problem with this type of research for practitioners who live and work on the isthmus, is that any respondent subjected to this kind of an interview experience will not soon agree to participate in any kind of survey research. In effect, the foreign researchers with their 165 question or more questionnaires are “poisoning the well” for those who come after.

One question which inevitably comes up is whether it is possible to develop a valid Central American wide sample with 1000 or so respondents. While elites of the region are amazingly of like mind, it is hard to develop a representative sample which includes Mayan Indians from Honduras, African-descent Mesquites from Nicaragua, oriental descent Panamanians, Aztecs from El Salvador, Quiche Indians from Guatemala along with German descent coffee growers in Costa Rica, to cite some examples of the diversity of the region. However, it is my belief that within five years this type of survey can and will be conducted and will be valid as long as local politics are not included as a topic.

Carlos Denton is CEO of CID/Gallup, S.A., founded in 1977, the largest public opinion and market research firm operating in Central America and the Caribbean and based in Costa Rica. He holds a PH.D. in Government from the University of Texas at Austin and a B.A. in International Relations from Universidad de las Americas in Mexico.

WAPOR

7th Regional Seminar in Mexico

Polling and Democratization: New and Not-So-New Challenges for Public Opinion Research

Mexico City, Mexico

May 16-17, 2005

WAPOR's regional seminar in Mexico is around the corner. If you haven't sent a paper proposal for this conference, please feel free to do so. The conference theme, "Polling and Democratization", taps two crucial aspects of the role of survey research in newly democratic societies: First, what are polls and surveys telling us about the ways in which citizens view political institutions, government, parties, and elections? Secondly, what role are polls playing in the process of democratic consolidation and what obstacles are they facing?

Papers on any and all topics of public opinion are welcome. We encourage presenters at the AAPOR conference in Miami to also consider the presentation of their papers at the WAPOR seminar in Mexico. As a guide to potential participants, the organizers of the regional conference have suggested the following themes:

- 1) Elections and voting behavior
- 2) Opinion trends about the functioning of democracy
- 3) Current issues in survey methodology
- 4) Obstacles to the freedom of polling and public opinion research

The WAPOR regional seminar is co-hosted by the Department of Political Science at the Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México, ITAM. For further information and paper proposals, please contact:

Dr. Alejandro Moreno

amoreno@itam.mx

alejandro.moreno@reforma.com

WAPOR
58th Annual Conference
**"Search for a New World Order—
the Role of Public Opinion"**
Cannes, France
September 15-17, 2005

The 58th Annual WAPOR Conference Is Drawing Closer

The plans for the WAPOR 58th annual conference are in full swing. Please remember to send your paper proposals by no later than April 1, 2005 to:

Thomas Petersen
Institut für Demoskopie Allensbach
78472 Allensbach
Germany
Fax: +49 - 7533 - 805 3048
e-mail: tpetersen@ifd-allensbach.de

The present edition of the Newsletter includes registration forms for the conference and for accommodations at the conference hotel, the Novotel Cannes Montfleury. Should you choose to stay at the conference hotel, you will find that the prices are relatively favorable in view of the quality of services offered. **Please return the conference registration form to the WAPOR secretariat and the hotel registration form directly to the hotel!**

We have tried to keep the conference fees and the price of accommodations as low as possible. Unfortunately, although we had originally planned to keep the fees for this year's conference lower than they have been in recent years, the current dollar-euro exchange rate has prevented us from doing so. For organizational reasons, WAPOR has to calculate the conference fees in U.S. dollars, which is why they may seem relatively high at first glance. Conference participants from Europe and other currency zones, however, will discover that they actually have to pay less than it would initially seem, thanks to the current weakness of the dollar. We hope that participants from the dollar zone will appreciate our predicament. (Please visit www.oanda.com for current conversion rates.)

The conference is to be held from September 15-17, 2005. Please note that the conference program actually begins on September 15 in the evening, with a get-together reception. We hope you will take advantage of this opportunity to come to Cannes, enjoy the special charm of the Cote d'Azur and - as always - a stimulating WAPOR annual conference.

WAPOR Regional Seminar in Hong Kong

“Public Opinion: East Meets West”

December 8-10, 2005

FIRST CALL FOR PAPERS

Situated in an international city where East meets West, WAPOR's regional seminar in Hong Kong is dedicated to the discussion of public opinion in a cross-cultural context. It is a logical follow-up to the WAPOR annual conference in Cannes, the theme of which is “Search for a New World Order — the Role of Public Opinion”.

Papers on any topic of public opinion are welcome, but especially welcome are papers related to any of the following areas:

- ◆ Public opinion and the democratic process
- ◆ The development and status of public opinion polling in various countries
- ◆ Opinion polling, media, and civil society
- ◆ The role of academia in public opinion polling
- ◆ The role of public opinion polling in academia; and cross-cultural considerations in public opinion polling

Please send paper and panel session proposals (one or two pages in length) by **June 1, 2005** to seminar organizer Robert Chung at robert.chung@hku.hk. To encourage international exchange, papers and presentations in Chinese will also be accepted. Submissions will be translated into English, and simultaneous interpretation will be available throughout the seminar, thanks to the support of conference sponsors.

This regional seminar is organized in collaboration with the Public Opinion Programme at the University of Hong Kong. It will take place at the university venue, which also offers excellent accommodation for participants at Robert Black College (available on a first-come, first-served basis). Interested parties may want to check its website at <http://www.hku.hk/rblack> before booking through the organizer. Plenty of downtown hotels are also available; information is available upon request.

**Please send paper and panel
session proposals to
robert.chung@hku.hk
by June 1, 2005**

December 2005 will be an ideal time to visit Hong Kong. With the Hong Kong Disneyland having just opened in September, and the World Trade Organization's ministerial meeting also scheduled for December, Hong Kong will attract a lot of international tourists and activists. Professional pollsters should, of course, not miss the show and the intellectual experience. Package tours around Hong Kong, Macau and nearby cities will also be available.

(Election continued from page 1)

older voters backed the incumbent. White voters supported the president, while minority voters backed Kerry (although Bush's share of the Latino vote increased to 45% from 38% in 2000). There is usually a gender gap with women voting more Democratic, but Bush neutralized that group. A Times exit poll showed women split their vote (49% for Bush, 50% for Kerry), while men were stronger supporters of Bush (53% to 46%).

Another finding that remained constant throughout the campaign dealt with the question of whether the country was better off continuing with Bush's policies or proceeding in a new direction. The Times polls showed that majorities of voters thought the country would be better off if it was steered in a new direction, rather than continuing with the president's policies. Again the results were dramatically different along party and ideological lines.

A L.A. Times exit poll showed:

<i>Women</i>	49% for Bush 50% for Kerry
<i>Men</i>	53% Bush 46% Kerry

Yet, this election was different from 2000. The terrorist attacks of September 11th changed the dynamics of the election. It all came down to how voters felt about their safety and the nation's security. Bush and his strategists knew this. That is why Bush's campaign pigeon-holed Kerry as a candidate that would not keep America safe. They kept repeating that Kerry was an ineffective leader. His enlistment into the Navy during the Vietnam War and his decorated combat performance should have been a strong asset for Kerry, while questions about Bush's duty in the National Guard should have been a weakness for the president. But that did not happen. Unfortunately, for Kerry, he did not respond fast enough to the ads sponsored by veterans maligning him, including his anti-war stance coming back from Vietnam. Some of it stuck and Kerry had a hard time rebounding. Bush's team defined Kerry and put him on the defensive. Plus, Kerry's own words about first voting for an additional \$84 billion for the military operation in Iraq and Afghanistan, and then voting against it was a gift to his opponent. Kerry didn't make a strong stand or tell voters what he would do in Iraq whereas Bush took a position (whether you agreed with it or not) and stayed with it. Bush was seen as decisive.



It wasn't that the country was more enamored with the president, but that Kerry could not close the deal. He did not persuade the electorate that he was the best candidate to finish the war successfully in Iraq or win the war on terrorism. Bush and his surrogates, including Vice President Dick Cheney, had been focused in their attacks – that Kerry was not up to the task, that he would be an ineffectual president. Kerry and his surrogates, on the other hand, had a harder time cracking the president's aura of perceived strength, resolve and focus in keeping the country safe from terrorism and that the war in Iraq was necessary to promote freedom and democracy. When voters were asked in a Times exit poll, what they liked most about their choice for president, 37% mentioned that their candidate was a strong leader. Among that group, three-quarters voted for Bush. Also, 29% of the electorate said that terrorism and homeland security were the most important issues in deciding their vote and almost four out of five of them supported Bush. (Terrorism was the third mentioned behind moral/ethical values and jobs/economy.)

Besides strength of leadership in a time of war, a strong get out the vote operation targeted at Bush's Christian conservative base helped propel him to victory. Karl Rove's strategy (Bush's chief strategist) was to pitch Bush's reelection effort heavily to the conservative right. He said there were about three million of these voters who did not come out in 2000. This was considered either a brilliant strategic move on Rove's part if they won or one of the worst moves if they lost. As the election proved, it was a brilliant move! In each presidential election there is a demographic group that help a candidate win –

(Election continued on page 9)

(Election continued from page 8)

there were soccer Moms, NASCAR Dads, Reagan Democrats and so on. This election the group d'jour was voters who frequently attended religious services. The Times exit poll showed that 42% of voters attended religious services weekly or more and fully two-thirds of this group backed Bush. Nearly three out of five attended religious services less than that and 57% of those voters supported Kerry; 42% voted for Bush. The voters who were more religious overwhelmingly supported Bush, while voters who were less religious supported Kerry. Another way the Republicans were able to get the conservative right to the polls were ballot initiatives to ban gay marriage. This measure was on 11 state ballots. Although eight of Kerry by 13 points. But there were not enough younger voters to put Kerry over the top.

The results of pre-election polling showed that Kerry was thought to be best on Iraq, the economy, Social Security, and other domestic issues. But Bush beat him every time on who would be best on handling the war on terrorism and strength of leadership. Voters wanted a strong leader to make hard choices. And that was one of the major reasons why Bush beat Kerry in November. However, what is forgotten in all of this is the fact that the emotions and passion of the voters gave this election roughly 15 million more voters than the election in 2000 (between Bush and Al Gore). And it is also forgotten that Kerry received 6.3 million more votes than Gore received in 2000 and 9.9 million more votes than Bill Clinton received in 1996. Also, in this election as opposed to 2000, Bush won the popular vote (by three million votes) as well as the electoral vote (286). And the president received 10.2 million more votes in this election than he did in 2000.

The WAPOR Newsletter is published by the
World Association for Public Opinion Research

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Calendar

May 12-15, 2005

AAPOR's 60th Annual Conference

Miami Beach, Florida, USA

www.aapor.org

May 16-17, 2005

"Polling and Democratization: New and Not-So-New Challenges for Public Opinion Research"

Mexico City, Mexico

WAPOR 7th Regional Seminar

September 15-17, 2005

"Search for a New World Order - the Role of Public Opinion"

Cannes, France

WAPOR 58th Annual Conference

September 18-21, 2005

ESOMAR Congress

"Making the Difference. Research with Impact."

Cannes, France

www.esomar.org

December 8-10, 2005

"Public Opinion: East Meets West"

Hong Kong

WAPOR Regional Seminar

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-
- Do you have an idea for an article in the newsletter?
 - Is there an event happening in your part of the world?
 - Are you interested in organizing a conference?
 - Do you have photos you'd like to contribute?
 - Do you have ideas on how to improve the website or newsletter?

If so, please contact the WAPOR office by sending an email to Renae_Reis@gallup.com or to Thomas Petersen (Publications Chair) at tpetersen@ifd-allensbach.de

***Please let us know your upcoming events.
Deadline for 2nd quarter newsletter events or
article submission is May 27, 2005.***

WAPOR
58th Annual Conference
“Search for a New World Order – the Role of Public Opinion”

Cannes, France
September 15-17, 2005

Registration

Please return to the WAPOR secretariat:

Fax: +1 – 402 – 458 2038
E-mail: renae_reis@gallup.com

I hereby register for the WAPOR 58th Annual Conference in Cannes, France

Name:

Organization/Institute:

Address:

Country:

Telephone: Fax: E-mail:

	Price per person	Number of persons	Total
- Seminar fee, including coffee breaks and lunch, along with a get-together reception on the eve of the conference (September 15) for WAPOR members	\$ 240	\$.....
- Seminar fee, including coffee breaks and lunch, along with a get-together reception on the eve of the conference (September 15) for non-members*	\$ 350	\$.....
- Dinner package for the Helen Dinerman Award banquet, including wine	\$ 90	\$.....

* The conference fee includes—if desired—WAPOR membership for the year 2006. To sign up for your membership, please fill out the membership registration form you will receive along with the conference materials in Cannes.

Total \$.....

To book hotel accommodations, please use the reservation form provided by the Novotel Cannes Montfleury!

Method of payment:

() Mastercard: _____ EXP: _____ Signature _____

() VISA: _____ EXP: _____ Signature _____

() Check enclosed



WAPOR Annual Conference 2005 HOTEL REGISTRATION FORM

Novotel Cannes Montfleury

looks forward to having you as a guest during the 2005 WAPOR meeting. This reservation form should be used to secure a room, and should you require a room outside the dates of the conference, the hotel's reservation department will advise you of availability and rates. The cut-off date is 13TH August 2005. All reservations received after this date will be accepted on a "space available" basis and at the best rate available at this time. Bookings should be made soon to ensure your place at the conference venue.

Room Requirements (please tick)

	<u>Breakfast included</u>
Double room for Single Use	<input type="checkbox"/> 150 EUROS per night
Double room for Double Use	<input type="checkbox"/> 170 EUROS per night

Particular requirements: _____

Rates include VAT charges. City tax of 1.20€ per person per day is on supplement.

Name: _____

Company: _____

Address: _____

City: _____ Post Code: _____

Country: _____

Telephone: _____ Fax: _____

Arrival Date and Time _____ Departure Date and Time _____
(check-in time after 3pm) (check-out time before 12pm)

Reservations should only be made using this form. No reservations will be confirmed nor guaranteed unless credit card detail is supplied with the booking. In case of total / partial cancellation after 13/08/2005 or "no-show", all the nights booked will be charged.

Cardholder: _____

Credit Card Number: _____ Expiry Date: _____

Please circle: American Express / Diners Club / Visa / Master Card

Please send this reservation to the Reservation Department:

Novotel Cannes Montfleury Hotel, 25, Avenue Beauséjour, 06400 Cannes, FRANCE
Tel: +33 (0) 4 93 68 88 88, Fax: +33 (0) 93 68 89 91, E-mail: [H0806-RE @accor-hotels.com](mailto:H0806-RE@accor-hotels.com)

*Please note that any changes made to your reservation have to be notified in writing to the hotel.
Bills must be settled before departure.*

