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For The People & The Press

NEWS Release

*1150 18th Street, N.W., Suite 975
Washington, D.C. 20036
Tel (202) 293-3126
Fax (202) 293-2569*

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44% Republican, 46% Democratic Final Generic Ballot Measure
HOUSE VOTING INTENTIONS KNOTTED, NATIONAL TREND NOT APPARENT

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:

Andrew Kohut, Director
Scott Keeter, Associate Director
Carroll Doherty, Editor
Michael Dimock, Research Director
Elizabeth Mueller Gross, Special Projects Director
Nilanthi Samaranayake, Peyton Craighill and Nicole Speulda, Project Directors
Pew Research Center for The People & The Press
202/293-3126
<http://www.people-press.org>

(Cell phone for A. Kohut: 202-997-1508)

44% Republican, 46% Democratic Final Generic Ballot Measure
HOUSE VOTING INTENTIONS KNOTTED, NATIONAL TREND NOT APPARENT

As has been the case in recent elections, the popular vote for the House of Representatives is likely to be divided about equally between Republican and Democratic candidates, almost ensuring a narrow advantage for the party that controls the next Congress. The Pew Research Center’s final nationwide survey of 1,035 likely voters (1,610 registered voters) conducted Oct. 30-Nov. 2 finds 46% intending to vote Democratic, 44% Republican, with 10% undecided. This mirrors the closeness of the actual popular vote in the past two elections: Republican candidates garnered a one-point margin in 1998 and the popular vote was virtually even in 2000.

The correspondence between a party’s share of the popular vote and the number of seats it wins is too approximate to make a projection of which party will control the House when the popular vote is likely to be this close. The current two-point margin for the Democrats is not statistically significant and is identical to the final election survey of four years ago, when the GOP managed to hold on to its slim House advantage on Election Day.

The results of the new survey also represent no change when compared with the Center’s early October poll, which showed the Democrats with a 47%-46% edge. As seen in that poll, turnout indicators are about on par with what Center surveys found four years ago. The new survey did find 14% of the voter base in the sample had cast their ballots already, either by absentee ballot or one of the early voting procedures allowed by some states. Early voters said they voted for Democratic House candidates over Republicans by a 51%-41% margin.

As in most elections, the pool of likely voters is somewhat more disposed to GOP candidates than are all registered voters, but the gap is smaller than it was in 1998. Obviously, the current poll’s results cannot account for the get-out-the-vote efforts of the two parties over the final three days of the campaign. In that regard, a third of the 1,610 registered voters questioned said that already they had been contacted by one or more partisan or interest group efforts: 20% heard from Democratic organizations and 19% from Republicans.

Voting Intentions				
	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>Dem.</u>	<u>Other/ Undec.</u>	<u>Total</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
<i>Election Weekend '02</i>				
<i>Oct 30 - Nov 2</i>				
Registered Voters	42	46	12	= 100
Likely Voters	44	46	10	= 100
<i>Oct 2 - 6</i>				
Registered Voters	44	46	10	= 100
Likely Voters	46	47	7	= 100
<i>Sept 5 - 10</i>				
Registered Voters	44	46	10	= 100
Likely Voters	47	46	7	= 100
<i>Election Weekend '98</i>				
<i>Oct 28 - 31</i>				
Registered Voters	40	47	13	= 100
Likely Voters	44	46	10	= 100
<i>Election Weekend '94</i>				
<i>Nov 3 - 5</i>				
Registered Voters	45	43	12	= 100
Likely Voters	48	43	9	= 100

Voting intentions in the poll follow patterns that have been apparent in recent national elections. The GOP will likely carry the male vote, while Democrats will probably win among women. Fully 85% of non-whites say they will vote Democratic, a figure that rises to 91% among African Americans. Voters below the age of 50 years will divide their vote about equally between the two parties. Those age 50-64 lean Democratic, while voters age 65 and older split about equally. Regionally, the Democrats are likely to win the popular vote in the East and Midwest, while the GOP leads in the South and West. In general, Republicans and Democrats will be about equally loyal to their party's candidates.

Domestic Issues, Economy Top

Despite the narrow margin in the generic ballot, most voters point to traditional Democratic issues – domestic concerns and the economy – as the key factors in determining their vote. Asked to identify the most important issues, 44% of voters volunteered domestic issues – notably education and health care – while 40% named the economy. Only about one-in-five (19%) mentioned terrorism, Iraq or other foreign policy issues.

Democrats have a huge edge among voters who cite major domestic issues. Six-in-ten voters (61%) who mention health care as the most important factor in their vote intend to vote Democratic, compared with just three-in-ten who say they will vote Republican. Democrats hold a similar advantage among those who cite Social Security, while voters who name education as the issue favor Democrats 49%-40%.

Most Important Issues	
	<i>%</i>
Economic Issues	40
Economy	17
Taxes	16
Jobs/Unemployment	5
Balanced budget	3
Domestic/Social Issues	44
Education/schools	22
Health care	14
Social Security	7
Abortion	5
Environment	4
Crime	2
Gun control	2
Terrorism/Foreign	19
Iraq/Saddam Hussein	7
National security	6
Terrorism	3
Foreign policy	3

There is a parallel split among the smaller pool of voters who cite national security and foreign policy as decisive factors in their vote. Nearly two-thirds (65%) of voters who cite terrorism or generally cite foreign policy intend to vote Republican. But nearly as many of those who specifically mention Iraq as a top issue (62%) support the Democrat in the generic ballot.

But voters who mention the economy as a decisive factor tend to divide fairly evenly along partisan lines. That is consistent with Pew Research Center surveys since early September showing neither party with a clear advantage in being seen as better able to handle the economy (see “Support For Potential Military Action Slips to 55%,” Oct. 30, 2002). Democrats are favored

Voter Concerns and Partisan Advantage			
<i>Most important voting issue...</i>	<i>Voting intentions</i>		
	<u>Rep</u> <i>%</i>	<u>Dem</u> <i>%</i>	<u>Undec</u> <i>%</i>
Economic			
Economy/jobs	40	51	9=100
Taxes	51	39	10=100
Domestic			
Education	40	49	11=100
Health care	30	61	9=100
Social Security	35	56	9=100
Terror/Foreign			
Terrorism/Security	65	27	8=100
Iraq/Saddam	33	62	5=100

(51%-40%) among those who point to general economic concerns or jobs, while Republicans hold a comparable edge among voters who cite taxes as the top issue.

But Local Concerns Dominate

Yet for all of the attention to broad national issues, a 38% plurality says that state and local concern will make the *biggest difference* in who they vote for on Nov. 5. That is unchanged from the two most recent midterm elections: in the final stages of the 1998 campaign, 39% pointed to state and local issues as making the biggest difference in their vote, while 38% said that in early November 1994.

Roughly a quarter of voters (26%) cite the traits of the individual candidates – their character and experience – as making the biggest difference, while nearly as many (23%) cite national issues. Again, this is in line with trends from recent midterm campaigns.

Lower Marks for Terrorism Effort

The public has grown somewhat more critical of the government’s efforts to combat terrorism. While 69% say the government is doing at least fairly well in this struggle (15% very well, 54% fairly well), that is a decline from 83% a year ago. And the proportion who give the government negative marks for its anti-terrorism campaign has climbed steadily – from 13% in early November 2001 to 27% today.

At the same time, an increasing number of Americans expect the economy to improve in the coming year. A 46% plurality believes the economy will be better off a year from now, while 31% expect it to remain the same and 17% expect economic conditions to worsen. In early October, 37% of the public said they anticipated the economy would improve, while 39% said it would stay the same and 18% thought it would get worse.

Democrats Consider Party Balance

Among those who intend vote Democratic, a 56% majority says that the issue of which party controls Congress is a factor in their vote. By comparison, party control is cited as a factor by 49% of Republican voters. The salience of this issue has grown among voters on both sides since early October, when 49% of Democratic voters and just 39% of Republican voters said they would consider the partisan balance in Congress when they voted.

Republican voters continue to say their congressional vote is a vote in support of the president – nearly six-in-ten (54%) say this is the case. In 1998, just a third (35%) of

<i>Party control a factor?</i>	<i>All RVs %</i>	<i>Vote Intention</i>	
		<i>Rep %</i>	<i>Dem %</i>
Yes	48	49	56
No	49	49	42
Don't know	3 100	2 100	2 100
<i>Vote is a vote ...</i>			
For Bush	29	54	10
Against Bush	16	2	30
Bush not a factor	49	40	56
Don't know	6 100	4 100	4 100

Democratic voters considered their midterm vote to be a vote for President Clinton.

Most Democratic voters (56%) say Bush is not a factor in their vote, while three-in-ten consider their vote to be a vote against the president. This is consistent with the 1998 midterms, when 36% of Republican voters said their vote was in opposition to Bill Clinton.

Just one-in-ten voters (11%) say this Congress has accomplished more than other recent Congresses. More than twice as many (27%) think it has underachieved, while the majority (54%) say its productivity has been about the same as in previous years. Those who say Congress has done well favor Republican candidates by nearly two-to-one (59% vs. 31% who plan to vote Democratic). Those who think Congress has performed poorly favor the Democrats by a 50% to 39% margin.

Competitive Districts

The level of voter outreach has been particularly high in competitive districts, where fully 42% of registered voters and 58% of likely voters report that they have been contacted by a candidate, campaign or other group.

Voters in competitive districts are noticing what they see as a particularly high level of negative campaigning. Fully six-in-ten voters in competitive districts say there is more mudslinging and negative campaigning this year, compared with fewer than half of voters in races where one candidate has what appears to be a secure lead.

Competitive House Districts: More GOTV, More Mud			
	All RVs %	Competitive District %	Not % %
<i>Contacted</i>			
Yes	33	42	31
No/DK	67	58	69
	100	100	100
<i>Mudslinging</i>			
More	51	61	48
Same	20	18	21
Less	24	18	25
DK/Ref	5	3	6
	100	100	100
Definitely will vote?	66	63	67
Following very closely?	27	28	26
# of Cases	(1610)	(287)	(1323)

ABOUT THIS SURVEY AND ITS METHODOLOGY

The survey results are based on 2,113 telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates from a nationwide sample of the voting age population, from Wednesday evening, Oct. 30, through Saturday evening, Nov. 2, 2002. For results based on the total sample (N=2,113), there is 95% confidence that the error attributed to sampling and other random effects is +/- 2.5 percentage points. For results based on registered voters (N=1,610), the sampling error is +/- 3 percentage points, and for results based on likely voters (N=1,035), the sampling error is +/- 3.5 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.

The sample for this survey is a random digit sample of telephone numbers selected from telephone exchanges in the continental United States. The exchanges were selected with probabilities proportional to their size, with the first eight digits of the numbers selected to be proportionally stratified by county and by exchange within county.

At least four attempts were made to complete an interview at every sampled number, with calls staggered to maximize the chances of reaching a potential respondent. Non-response in telephone interview surveys produces some known biases in survey-derived estimates. To compensate, the sample data are weighted in analysis using parameters derived from a special analysis of the most recently available Census Current Population Survey.

TREND IN CONGRESSIONAL VOTE PREFERENCE

Among Likely Voters[^]

	--- Early October 2002 ---			--- Early November 2002 ---			(N)
	Rep/ <u>Lean Rep</u>	Dem/ <u>Lean Dem</u>	Other/ <u>DK</u>	Rep/ <u>Lean Rep</u>	Dem/ <u>Lean Dem</u>	Other/ <u>DK</u>	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Total	46	47	7=100	44	46	10=100	(1035)
Sex							
Male	55	38	7	47	43	10	(449)
Female	38	56	6	42	48	10	(586)
Race							
White	52	41	7	49	40	11	(914)
Non-white	10	85	5	12	85	3	(101)
Race and Sex							
White Men	59	34	7	52	38	10	(400)
White Women	44	49	7	47	42	11	(514)
Age							
Under 50	44	49	7	46	46	8	(397)
50-64	46	46	8	42	48	10	(327)
65+	49	46	5	44	43	13	(289)
Sex and Age							
Men under 50	56	36	8	48	44	8	(179)
Women under 50	33	61	6	45	47	8	(218)
Men 50+	54	40	6	47	42	11	(261)
Women 50+	42	52	6	40	49	11	(355)
Education							
College Grad.	47	49	4	52	39	9	(406)
Some College	50	45	5	47	44	9	(293)
H. S. Grad. + Less	42	49	9	36	52	12	(330)
Family Income							
\$75,000+	55	43	2	50	45	5	(239)
\$50,000-\$74,999	52	37	11	53	42	5	(183)
\$30,000-\$49,999	43	51	6	43	48	9	(203)
<\$30,000	31	62	7	34	55	11	(216)

[^] Likely voters are classified on the basis of multiple voting intention questions.

Question: If the 2002 elections for U.S. Congress were being held TODAY, would you vote for the Republican Party's candidate or the Democratic Party's candidate for Congress in your district?
As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to the Republican or the Democrat?

Continued ...

	--- Early October 2002 ---			--- Early November 2002 ---			(N)
	Rep/ <u>Lean Rep</u>	Dem/ <u>Lean Dem</u>	Other/ <u>DK</u>	Rep/ <u>Lean Rep</u>	Dem/ <u>Lean Dem</u>	Other/ <u>DK</u>	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Total	46	47	7=100	44	46	10=100	(1035)
Region							
East	43	52	5	37	50	13	(185)
Midwest	44	47	9	39	48	13	(268)
South	45	49	6	47	44	9	(374)
West	50	42	8	52	41	7	(208)
Religious Affiliation							
Total White Protestant	55	39	6	54	35	11	(520)
White Protestant Evangelical	60	32	8	61	29	10	(247)
White Prot. Non-Evangelical	49	47	4	47	42	11	(273)
White Catholic	56	37	7	49	40	11	(217)
Community Size							
Large City	40	52	8	30	62	8	(186)
Suburb	49	45	6	51	42	7	(268)
Small City/Town	47	46	7	46	41	13	(336)
Rural Area	45	49	6	46	44	10	(233)
Party ID							
Republican	95	3	2	94	3	3	(379)
Democrat	5	94	1	6	92	2	(356)
Independent	34	46	20	35	47	18	(229)
Party and Ideology							
Conservative Republican	99	1	0	95	2	3	(262)
Moderate/Liberal Republican	88	7	5	93	3	4	(104)
Conserv./Moderate Democrat	6	93	1	7	91	2	(241)
Liberal Democrat	3	97	0	1	99	0	(104)
2000 Presidential Vote							
Bush	85	10	5	77	16	7	(514)
Gore	7	91	2	9	87	4	(324)
Marital Status							
Married	51	43	6	50	40	10	(682)
Unmarried	39	54	7	33	57	10	(345)
Parental Status							
Parent	44	49	7	46	44	10	(298)
Non-Parent	46	47	7	43	47	10	(731)
Labor Union							
Union Household	30	59	11	29	61	10	(189)
Non-Union Household	49	45	6	48	42	10	(835)

PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
NOVEMBER 2002 ELECTION WEEKEND SURVEY
FINAL TOPLINE
October 30 - November 2, 2002
N = 2,113 General Public
N = 1,610 Registered Voters

NOTE: ALL NUMBERS IN SURVEY, INCLUDING TREND FIGURES, ARE BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS EXCEPT WHERE NOTED

Q.1 How much thought have you given to Tuesday's election — quite a lot, or only a little?

	Quite <u>A lot</u>	(VOL.) <u>Some</u>	Only <u>A Little</u>	None/DK/ <u>Refused</u>
Early November, 2002	52	6	35	7=100
Early October, 2002	45	6	45	4=100
Early September, 2002	36	5	54	5=100
Late October, 1998	49	11	35	5=100
Early October, 1998	42	8	43	7=100
November, 1994	56	7	32	5=100
Late October, 1994	45	7	45	3=100
Early October, 1994	44	2	50	4=100
<i>Gallup</i> : October, 1990 ¹	43	7	46	4=100
<i>Gallup</i> : October, 1982	29	22	37	12=100
<i>Gallup</i> : October, 1978	23	22	39	17=100
<i>Gallup</i> : September, 1978	21	18	44	18=100

Q.2 How closely have you followed news about candidates and election campaigns in your state and district? Have you followed it very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely?

	Very <u>Closely</u>	Fairly <u>Closely</u>	Not too <u>Closely</u>	Not at all <u>Closely</u>	DK/ <u>Ref.</u>
Early November, 2002	27	46	18	9	*=100
Late October, 2002	28	34	24	13	1=100
Early October, 2002	21	46	22	10	1=100
Early September, 2002	20	34	29	16	1=100
Late October, 1998	26	45	20	9	*=100
Early October, 1998	21	43	24	11	1=100
Early September, 1998	20	35	28	17	*=100
Early August, 1998	16	35	25	24	*=100
June, 1998	12	31	32	25	*=100
April, 1998 ²	19	37	23	21	*=100
November, 1994	23	49	21	7	*=100
Late October, 1994	18	43	28	10	1=100
Early October, 1994	28	37	21	14	*=100
September, 1994	22	37	28	13	*=100
November, 1990 ³	44	36	13	7	*=100
October, 1990 ⁴	18	32	28	22	*=100

1 Gallup trends based on total respondents.

2 In April 1998, September 1994 and October 1990, story was listed as "Candidates and election campaigns in your state."

3 In November 1990, story was listed as "Candidates and elections in your state."

4 October 1990 trend based on total respondents.

Q.3 Have you ever voted in your precinct or election district?

		Early Nov <u>2000</u>	Late Oct <u>2000</u>	Mid- Oct <u>2000</u>	Early Oct <u>2000</u>	Late Oct <u>1998</u>	Early Oct <u>1998</u>	Nov <u>1996</u>	Late Sept <u>1996</u>	Nov <u>1994</u>
86	Yes	83	81	82	84	86	87	85	85	91
14	No	17	19	18	16	14	13	15	15	9
*	Don't know/Ref.	*	*	0	*	*	*	*	*	*
<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Q.4 Do you happen to know where people in your neighborhood go to vote?

		Early Nov <u>2000</u>	Late Oct <u>1998</u>	Early Oct <u>1998</u>	Nov <u>1996</u>	Oct <u>1996</u>	Nov <u>1994</u>	<i>Gallup</i>	
								Nov <u>1988</u>	Oct <u>1988</u>
88	Yes — gives answer	84	90	87	88	85	93	89	88
<u>12</u>	No/Don't know/Ref./No Answer	<u>16</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>
<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Q.5 How often would you say you vote... always, nearly always, part of the time or seldom?

	<u>Always</u>	Nearly <u>Always</u>	Part of <u>The time</u>	<u>Seldom</u>	(VOL.) Never <u>Vote</u>	(VOL.) Other	DK/Ref.
Early November, 2002	52	30	11	6	1	0	1=100
Early October, 2002	50	33	11	4	*	1	1=100
Early September, 2002	59	25	11	4	1	*	*=100
August, 2002	53	32	10	4	1	*	*=100
Early November, 2000	57	26	8	6	2	1	*=100
Late October, 2000	52	30	9	6	2	1	0=100
Mid-October, 2000	54	27	10	6	3	*	*=100
Early October, 2000	51	29	10	6	3	1	*=100
September, 2000	61	21	9	7	2	*	*=100
June, 2000	58	26	10	4	1	1	*=100
Late September, 1999	40	47	9	3	1	*	*=100
Late October, 1998	56	28	10	5	1	*	*=100
Early October, 1998	50	32	11	5	1	1	*=100
Early September, 1998	53	33	9	4	-	1	*=100
June, 1998	49	33	12	5	-	1	0=100
October, 1997	62	26	8	3	1	*	*=100
November, 1996	55	28	8	6	2	1	*=100
October, 1996	52	30	9	5	2	2	*=100
Late September, 1996	52	31	10	4	2	1	*=100
June, 1996	52	33	9	4	1	1	*=100
February, 1996	42	41	11	4	1	1	*=100
October, 1995	53	35	7	4	1	*	*=100
April, 1995	53	34	9	4	*	*	*=100
November, 1994	58	28	8	5	*	1	0=100
Late October, 1994	55	32	10	3	*	*	*=100
July, 1994	52	34	10	4	*	*	*=100
October, 1992	54	33	8	4	*	1	*=100
September, 1992	52	33	8	5	1	1	*=100
June, 1992	60	29	7	3	1	*	*=100
May, 1992	50	35	10	4	1	*	*=100
November, 1991	46	41	9	4	*	-	*=100
May, 1990	42	42	11	4	1	*	*=100
Gallup: November, 1988	57	26	10	4	2	1	*=100
October, 1988	56	26	12	4	1	1	*=100
May, 1988	43	41	11	3	2	1	*=100
January, 1988	49	39	9	2	1	*	*=100
May, 1987	43	43	9	3	1	1	*=100

Q.6F1/ If the 2002 elections for U.S. Congress were being held TODAY, would you vote for the Republican Party's candidate or the Democratic Party's candidate for Congress in your district?
 Q.7F2 IF '3' OTHER, '8' DON'T KNOW, OR '9' REFUSED IN Q.6F1/7F2, ASK:
 Q.8F1/Q.9F2 As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to the Republican or the Democrat?

	<u>Republican/ Lean Rep.</u>	<u>Democrat/ Lean Dem.</u>	<u>Other/ Undecided</u>
Early November, 2002	42	46	12=100
Early October, 2002	44	46	10=100
Early September, 2002	44	46	10=100
June, 2002	44	46	10=100
February, 2002	46	45	9=100
Early November, 2001	44	44	12=100
2000 Election			
Early November, 2000	42	48	10=100
Early October, 2000	43	47	10=100
July, 2000	43	47	10=100
February, 2000	44	47	9=100
October, 1999	43	49	8=100
June, 1999	40	50	10=100
1998 Election			
Late October, 1998	40	47	13=100
Early October, 1998	43	44	13=100
Early September, 1998	45	46	9=100
Late August, 1998	44	45	11=100
Early August, 1998	42	49	9=100
June, 1998	44	46	10=100
March, 1998	40	52	8=100
February, 1998	41	50	9=100
January, 1998	41	51	8=100
August, 1997	45	48	7=100
1996 Election			
November, 1996 ⁵	44	48	8=100
October, 1996	42	49	9=100
Late September, 1996	43	49	8=100
Early September, 1996	43	51	6=100
July, 1996	46	47	7=100
June, 1996	44	50	6=100
March, 1996	44	49	7=100
January, 1996	46	47	7=100
October, 1995	48	48	4=100
August, 1995	50	43	7=100
1994 Election			
November, 1994	45	43	12=100
Late October, 1994	47	44	9=100
Early October, 1994	52	40	8=100
September, 1994	48	46	6=100
July, 1994	45	47	8=100

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' OR '2' IN Q.6 OR Q.7, ASK:

Q.10 Do you support the (INSERT PARTY SELECTED IN Q.6/Q.7: Democratic/Republican) candidate strongly or only moderately?

		<u>Early Nov 2000</u>	<u>Late Oct 1998</u>	<u>Nov 1996</u>	<u>Nov 1994</u>
42	Republican/Lean Rep	42	40	41	45
	21 Strongly	20	19	18	19
	20 Moderately/Lean	22	21	23	26
	1 Don't know/Refused	*	--	*	--
46	Democrat/Lean Dem	48	47	48	43
	22 Strongly	23	24	22	17
	23 Moderately/Lean	24	23	25	26
	1 Don't know/Refused	1	--	1	--
<u>12</u>	Other/Undecided	<u>10</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>
<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

⁵ November 1996 trend based on likely voters.

ASK ALL:

Q.11 Do you, yourself, plan to vote in the election this Tuesday, or not?

	Yes, Plan To Vote	No, Don't Plan To	Can't Say/ Don't know
Early November, 2002 ⁶	90	8	2=100
Early October, 2002	95	3	2=100
Early November, 2000 [^]	96	3	1=100
Late October, 2000 [^]	97	2	1=100
Mid-October, 2000 [^]	96	2	2=100
Early October, 2000 [^]	97	2	1=100
September, 2000 [^]	95	3	2=100
June, 2000 [^]	95	2	3=100
Late October, 1998	91	6	3=100
Early October, 1998	92	4	4=100
Early September, 1998	95	2	3=100
Late August, 1998	93	3	4=100
June, 1998	95	3	2=100
November, 1996 [^]	96	2	2=100
October, 1996 [^]	98	1	1=100
Late September, 1996 [^]	98	1	1=100
Early September, 1996 [^]	96	2	2=100
July, 1996 [^]	95	3	2=100
June, 1996 [^]	96	2	2=100
November, 1994	93	5	2=100
Late October, 1994	95	3	2=100
October, 1992 [^]	98	1	1=100
September, 1992 [^]	98	1	1=100
August, 1992 [^]	97	1	2=100
June, 1992 [^]	97	1	2=100
Gallup: November, 1988 [^]	97	2	1=100
October, 1988 [^]	98	1	1=100

[^] Presidential election years

Q.12 Next, I'd like you to rate your chances of voting in Tuesday's election on a scale of 10 to 1. If 10 represents a person who DEFINITELY will vote and 1 represents a person who definitely will NOT vote, where on this scale of 10 to 1 would you place yourself?

	Definitely will vote										Definitely will not vote	DK/Ref.
	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1		
Early November, 2002 ⁷	66	9	9	3	1	4	1	1	1	5	1=100	
Early October, 2002	64	10	10	4	3	4	1	*	*	2	2=100	
Early November, 2000	80	6	5	2	1	3	*	*	*	3	1=100	
Late October, 2000	83	5	5	1	1	2	*	1	1	1	*=100	
Mid-October, 2000	80	7	4	3	1	3	1	*	*	1	1=100	
Early October, 2000	78	7	5	2	2	2	*	1	1	1	1=100	
Late October, 1998	70	6	7	4	1	4	1	1	1	4	1=100	
Early October, 1998	64	9	10	4	2	4	1	2	1	2	1=100	
November, 1996	77	7	7	2	1	2	*	1	*	2	1=100	
October, 1996	77	9	7	2	2	2	*	*	*	1	*=100	
Late September, 1996	78	10	6	2	1	1	*	*	*	1	1=100	
November, 1994	67	9	8	2	2	4	1	1	1	3	2=100	
Late October, 1994	66	10	9	4	2	4	1	1	*	2	1=100	
Gallup: September, 1992	77	5	4	3	2	4	*	1	*	4	*=100	
Gallup: November, 1988	77	7	6	2	1	3	*	*	*	2	2=100	
October, 1988	73	8	7	3	2	3	1	*	*	1	2=100	

⁶ In Early November 2002 "Yes, Plan to Vote" category includes people who volunteered that they already voted.

⁷ In Early November 2002 the "10 – definitely will vote" category includes people who volunteered that they already voted.

Q.13 Some people vote before election day... this is called absentee voting or early voting. Have you, yourself, already cast your vote for Tuesday's election, either by absentee ballot, vote-by-mail, or early voting procedure in your state?

IF "YES, ALREADY VOTED" – "1" IN Q.13, ASK:

Q.13a Are you absolutely certain that you have already cast a vote for the election to be held NEXT TUESDAY?

9 Yes, have already voted in Tuesday's election

9 Yes, certain

* No, not certain

0 Don't know/refused

91 No, have not

* Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

$\frac{100}{100}$

ASK ALL:

Q.14 What will make the biggest difference in how you vote for Congress in your district — national issues, local or state issues, the candidate's political party, or the candidate's character or experience? **(IF MORE THAN ONE, PROBE WITH: Well, which is most important?)**

	National <u>Issues</u>	State/Local <u>Issues</u>	Political <u>Party</u>	Character/ <u>Experience</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>None</u>	DK/ <u>Ref.</u>
Early November, 2002	23	38	7	26	2	*	4=100
Early October, 2002	28	35	5	25	2	1	4=100
June, 2002	26	30	5	33	2	1	3=100
Early October, 2000	21	42	9	21	1	1	5=100
July, 2000	18	40	6	32	1	1	2=100
Late October, 1998	20	39	5	27	3	2	4=100
Early October, 1998	23	36	7	28	1	*	5=100
Early September, 1998	22	34	5	33	2	*	4=100
Early August, 1998	20	38	5	31	2	*	4=100
June, 1998	22	37	4	32	1	1	3=100
March, 1998	18	37	6	35	1	1	2=100
November, 1996	23	38	6	25	2	*	6=100
October, 1996	19	45	7	26	1	1	1=100
Late September, 1996	25	38	6	24	2	*	5=100
Early September, 1996	18	42	6	30	1	*	3=100
November, 1994	22	38	5	30	1	*	4=100
Late October, 1994	22	38	3	29	3	1	4=100
Early October, 1994	22	27	5	39	2	1	4=100
CBS/NYT: 10/24-28, 1986	22	25	6	40	1	1	5=100
CBS/NYT: 9/28-10/1, 1986	20	23	9	41	3	*	4=100

Q.15/16 What one issue will be most important to you in deciding how to vote in the race for Congress this year? And what would be the second most important issue in your vote for Congress? **(DO NOT READ. CODE RESPONSE IN CATEGORY BELOW OR RECORD VERBATIM IF RESPONSE DOES NOT FIT IN CATEGORY. IF DK, PROBE ONCE.)**

44 DOMESTIC SOCIAL AND POLICY ISSUES (NET)

- 22 Education issues/Schools
- 14 Health care/Medicare/Health insurance
- 7 Social Security
- 5 Abortion
- 4 Environment/Pollution
- 2 Crime
- 2 Gun control

40 DOMESTIC ECONOMIC ISSUES (NET)

- 17 The economy/Economic issues/Recession
- 16 Taxes
- 5 Jobs/Unemployment
- 3 Budget deficit/Balanced budget
- * Stock market
- 3 Other economic issues

19 FOREIGN POLICY, TERRORISM, AND WAR (NET)

- 7 Iraq/Saddam Hussein
- 6 National security
- 3 Terrorism
- 3 Foreign policy/International issues
- 1 Other foreign issues

- 5 Party control of Congress (Republican or Democratic)
- 3 Character/Integrity of candidate

- 12 Other (specify)
- 35 Don't Know/Refused

ROTATE Q.17 AND Q.18

Q.17 Thinking about your vote for Congress this Tuesday, will the issue of which party controls Congress, the Republicans or the Democrats, be a factor in your vote, or not?

		Early Oct <u>2002</u>	Early Sept <u>2002</u>	June <u>2002</u>	Feb <u>2002</u>	Early Oct <u>2000</u>	July <u>2000</u>	Late Oct <u>1998</u>	Early Oct <u>1998</u>	Early Sept <u>1998</u>	Early Aug <u>1998</u>	June <u>1998</u>
48	Yes, will be a factor	42	44	47	46	46	46	46	47	41	44	45
49	No, will not	55	51	50	49	50	49	50	49	56	53	51
3	Don't know/Refused	3	5	3	5	4	5	4	4	3	3	4
<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Q.18 Do you think of your vote for Congress this Tuesday as a vote for George W. Bush, or as a vote against George W. Bush, or isn't George W. Bush much of a factor in your vote?

	<u>For</u>	<u>Against</u>	Not a <u>Factor</u>	DK/ <u>Ref.</u>
Early November, 2002	29	16	49	6=100
Early October, 2002	30	20	44	6=100
Early September, 2002	29	15	51	5=100
February, 2002	34	9	50	7=100
Clinton: Late October, 1998	20	17	58	5=100
Clinton: Early October, 1998	19	23	52	6=100
Clinton: Early September, 1998	18	16	63	3=100
Clinton: Late August, 1998	20	17	61	2=100
Clinton: Early August, 1998	21	18	57	4=100
Clinton: June, 1998	20	18	57	5=100
Clinton: March, 1998	21	15	59	5=100
Clinton: Early September, 1996	24	18	51	7=100
Clinton: November, 1994	17	21	55	7=100
Clinton: Late October, 1994	17	21	57	5=100
Clinton: Early October, 1994	17	23	54	6=100
<i>CBS/NYT (BUSH):</i> 10/28-31, 1990	19	15	61	6=100
<i>CBS/NYT (REAGAN):</i> 9/28-10/1, 1986	26	16	51	7=100
<i>CBS/NYT (REAGAN):</i> 10/23-28, 1982	23	21	51	5=100

NO QUESTION 19, 20, OR 21

On another subject...

Q.22 Compared to recent Congresses, would you say THIS Congress has accomplished more, accomplished less, or accomplished about the same amount?

	<u>June</u> <u>2002</u>	<u>July</u> <u>2000</u>	<u>Aug</u> <u>1999</u>	<u>Early</u> <u>Oct</u> <u>1998</u>	<u>Early</u> <u>Sept</u> <u>1998</u>	<u>Early</u> <u>Aug</u> <u>1998</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>1997</u>	<u>April</u> <u>1997</u>
11 More	16	21	13	24	24	18	25	10
27 Less	22	16	23	23	17	15	13	24
54 Same	57	56	60	49	55	62	59	58
<u>8</u> Don't know/Refused	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>8</u>
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

ASK IF "LESS" IN Q.22 [N=476]:

Q.23 Who do you think is most to blame for this... Republican leaders in Congress, Democratic leaders in Congress, or President Bush?

		----- Clinton -----	
		<u>Early Oct</u> <u>1998</u>	<u>Early Sept</u> <u>1998</u>
19	Republican leaders	53	42
29	Democratic leaders	5	6
21	President Bush	19	18
20	Some combination (VOL)	19	30
<u>11</u>	Don't Know/Refused	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>
100		100	100

ASK ALL:

Q.24 In general, how well do you think the U.S. government is doing in reducing the threat of terrorism?
[READ]

		June 2002	Early Nov 2001	Mid- Oct 2001
15	Very well	16	35	38
54	Fairly well	61	48	46
19	Not too well	16	8	9
8	Not at all well	4	5	4
4	Don't know/Refused	3	4	3
100		100	100	100

Q.25 A year from now, do you expect that economic conditions in the country as a whole will be better than they are at present, or worse, or just about the same as now?

		Early Oct 2002	June 2002	Jan 2002	Newsweek Jan* 2001	June 2000	Early Oct 1998	Early Sept 1998	May 1990	Feb* 1989	Sept 1988	May 1988	Jan 1988	Newsweek Jan 1984
46	Better	37	31	46	18	15	16	18	17	25	24	24	23	35
17	Worse	18	17	15	33	22	22	17	32	22	16	20	26	13
31	Same	39	48	36	44	56	57	62	45	49	51	46	45	49
6	DK/Ref.	6	4	3	5	7	5	3	6	4	9	10	6	3
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

* Based on general public

Q.26 Recently, have you been contacted over the phone by any candidates, campaigns or other groups urging you to vote in a particular way in the upcoming elections?

IF YES, ASK:

Q.27 And were you urged to vote for Democratic candidates OR Republican candidates?

		Early Nov 2000 ⁸
33	Yes	26
8	Democrats	6
7	Republicans	8
1	Other (VOL.)	2
12	Both (VOL.)	6
5	Don't know/Refused	4
66	No	73
1	Don't know/Refused	1
100		100

ASK ALL:

Q.28 Compared to past elections, would you say there has been MORE mud slinging or negative campaigning this year, or LESS mud slinging or negative campaigning this year?

		Late Oct 1998
51	More	52
24	Less	23
20	Same (VOL.)	20
5	Don't know/Refused	5
100		100

8

In Early November 2000 the question was worded, "And were you urged to vote for Al Gore and/or other Democratic candidates OR George W. Bush and/or other Republican candidates?"