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Independents Still on the Fence
ISSUES AND CONTINUITY NOW WORKING FOR GORE

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With voters focusing more on the issues than on personal evaluations of the candidates and continuity factors increasingly favoring the Democrats, Al Gore holds a small but significant lead over George W. Bush. A survey of nearly 2,000 registered voters, conducted Aug. 24 - Sept. 10, finds Gore leading Bush by a margin of 47% to 41%. Gore's lead remained fairly stable over the duration of the survey, as the impact of the party conventions faded and the general campaign began in earnest after Labor Day. However, the vice president's margin dips to 48% to 43% when the sample is narrowed to the 1,495 registered voters most likely to cast ballots.

Gore's September resurgence is bearing some resemblance to Vice President George Bush's comeback 12 years ago. After trailing Michael Dukakis in pre-convention surveys, Bush took a 50%-44% lead after Labor Day and went on to defeat the Massachusetts governor in November. Like Bush Sr., Gore has rallied his base, while his opponent's backing has faltered somewhat among certain key support groups.

In addition, as in the fall of 1988, there are signs that a renewed desire for continuity is favoring the incumbent vice president. Satisfaction with the state of the nation has increased since April and June, and it is more positively correlated with support for Gore than it had been earlier in the campaign. Voters also now have more confidence in the vice president than the governor to handle the economy, another expression of support for continuity over change that also occurred in the fall of 1988. And while Clinton fatigue is still evident, and may actually be growing as the president prepares to leave office, it is having a less negative effect on Gore's campaign.

Voter Preferences			
	Aug 24- <u>Sept 1</u>	Sept 2- <u>Sept 10</u>	<u>Total</u>
<i>Registered Voters</i>	%	%	%
Gore	48	45	47
Bush	41	41	41
Nader	3	2	2
Buchanan	1	1	1
Undecided	<u>7</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>9</u>
	100	100	100
Number of interviews	(1,237)	(762)	(1,999)
<i>Likely Voters+</i>			
Gore	48	47	48
Bush	43	43	43
Nader	2	2	2
Buchanan	1	1	1
Undecided	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100
Number of interviews	(940)	(555)	(1,495)
<small>+ Based on a six question turnout scale which assumes that 50% of the voting age population will go to the polls.</small>			

Despite the distinct signs of progress for the vice president, two important factors could cause the race to yet take another turn. First, many independents and other swing voters are still on the fence. This is unlike September 1988 when Bush Sr. held a 48%-42% lead over Dukakis among independents. Second, the percentage of voters who say they might change their minds is about as large as it was before the conventions.

These are the principal findings of the Pew Research Center survey, which finds Gore gaining among Democrats, senior citizens, African-Americans and lower-income voters. The poll, which employs the Pew's voter typology, also shows Gore enjoying strong backing from Socially Conservative Democrats, who one year ago seemed inclined to defect to the GOP over the Clinton scandal.¹ They now express as much support for Gore as do the other Democratic groups in the Center's typology: New Democrats, Liberals and the Partisan Poor.

Political Typology and the Horserace+					
	--- 1999 ---		--- 2000 ---		<i>Bush</i>
	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Gore</u>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Gore</u>	<u>Change</u>
Staunch Conservatives	96	2	90	4	-6
Moderate Republicans	88	8	81	8	-7
Populist Republicans	87	7	77	10	-10
					<i>Gore</i>
					<u>Change</u>
Liberal Democrats	14	82	5	80	-2
Socially Conservative Democrats	29	66	10	83	+17
New Democrats	22	74	8	87	+13
Partisan Poor	17	78	7	85	+7

* Two-way Gore vs. Bush question in 1999.

In contrast, while core Republican groups are backing Bush, they are doing so unevenly. As a consequence, the GOP's wide partisan enthusiasm advantage over Gore that was apparent before the conventions has disappeared. Although the Texas governor now garners strong support from Staunch Conservatives, he gets less backing from Populist Republicans — who are not as affluent as other GOP groups — and somewhat less from Moderate Republicans. Demographically, Bush has lost his big lead among affluent voters, whites, men and college graduates.

¹ For a complete description of the typology groups, see page 41.

Although Gore has come out of the summer with more momentum and increased backing from his core constituencies than Bush, independents are almost evenly divided between the two major candidates. Adding another note of uncertainty, nearly one-in-three independents who have committed to one of the candidates say they still might change their minds. Among the independents without an ideological leaning in the typology, Bush continues to get stronger backing from younger, affluent New Prosperity Independents and holds a smaller advantage among the less well-off Disaffecteds.

Younger women, older men, white Catholics, mainline Protestants and voters from non-union households continue to divide their support about equally between Gore and Bush, as they have for the most part since the end of the primaries.

Clearly, issues have fueled Gore's gains. An increasing percentage of voters say that they have decided to vote for the candidates based on their positions on issues. Fully 45% of voters say their choice for president is based on his stand for issues compared to 36% who expressed this opinion in June. Since the summer Gore has shored up his dominant position on two of the top three issues — protecting Social Security and improving health care. Bush has made some progress since the conventions on the other top-tier issue, education, but a thin plurality still has more confidence in Gore on this issue. Moreover, in spite of the rising sense of satisfaction with the state of the nation, individuals' *personal* financial anxiety is also growing, and Gore has an edge among voters with these concerns.

In part, Gore has caught the voters' attention because many of the specific issues he has been addressing for the past several weeks, such as the addition of a prescription drug benefit to Medicare, have proven very popular with the electorate. Nine-in-ten voters (and 84% of Republicans) favor adding the drug benefit to Medicare. In addition, voters strongly prefer targeted tax breaks, like the ones Gore is promoting, to an across-the-board tax cut, which is the centerpiece of Bush's economic plan. However, two issues being championed by Bush and the Republicans — eliminating the inheritance tax and allowing younger workers to invest some payroll taxes into private retirement accounts — also win wide backing.

Despite his deficit on issues, Bush is still regarded more highly than Gore on two crucial personal dimensions. More see the Texas governor as a strong leader, which is a key personal judgment made by voters, according to Pew's analysis. Bush also continues to be seen as having more political courage than Gore. But the vice president's personal standing has improved, along with his issue ratings, since the summer. A majority of voters (56%) say they like him more personally than they did earlier in the year; just 46% say the same about Bush, although the vice president's fairly dismal ratings in this department earlier in the campaign left him more room for improvement.

The push and pull between Gore's success with the issues and Bush's advantage on the leadership dimension is seen in the way key groups evaluate the two candidates in these regards. For example, honesty and personal appeal are real advantages for the governor among *older men*, who strongly favor Gore on such issues as health care. *Parents* favor Gore on most issues, but see Bush as more honest and possessing better judgment in a crisis. Only half of *Populist Republicans* think the governor cares about people like them, and as many as one-in-four favor Gore for health care and Social Security and Medicare.

Other key findings of the survey include:

- *Unlike in June, voters are now paying as much attention to the campaign as they were four years ago, suggesting that turnout may at least match the 1996 level.*
- *Fewer Republicans (49%) than Democrats (63%) think their party is doing a good job of standing up for its traditional positions. Populist Republicans are much less satisfied with their party than Social Conservatives on the Democratic side.*
- *Most voters (58%) think Bush is more conservative than he admits, and an equal number think Gore is more liberal.*
- *The vice presidential candidates are rated fairly evenly on a personal level, but Joe Lieberman has more bipartisan appeal than Dick Cheney.*
- *A plurality of voters (42%) credit Gore with running the more positive campaign, compared to 31% who choose Bush.*

These are the results of a Pew Research Center survey conducted among a nationwide sample of 2,799 adults (1,999 registered voters; 1,495 likely voters), 18 years of age or older, during the period August 24 – September 10, 2000. For results based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 2 percentage points. For results based on registered voters, the sampling error is plus or minus 2.5 percentage points. For results based on likely voters, the sampling error is plus or minus 3 percentage points.

I. CANDIDATE PREFERENCE

State of the Nation

Al Gore is benefitting from two seemingly disparate trends — higher satisfaction with the state of the nation and increased worry about longer-term economic issues. A substantial dip in public satisfaction with national conditions, which was particularly evident in the spring and early summer, has reversed itself. More than half of voters (52%) now say they're satisfied, up from 47% in June and April. Young people, college graduates and those in the highest income category are among the most satisfied. The partisan gap on satisfaction remains large. Fully 63% of Democrats say they're satisfied, compared to only 39% of Republicans.²

Gore now leads Bush among voters who are satisfied with the state of the nation by a nearly two-to-one margin (58%-32%). In June, he led Bush among this group by a narrower 53%-34% margin. More strikingly, in August 1999, when public contentment was at its recent high, Gore was pulling in only 49% of the satisfied voters, while 46% preferred Bush. Although dissatisfied voters still prefer Bush over Gore, Bush's margin among this group has narrowed significantly since last year.

In spite of the overall good feelings about the state of the nation, many voters are feeling anxious about their financial futures. Nearly two-thirds say they're very concerned about being able to afford necessary health care when a family member gets sick, up from 58% a year ago. More than half are very concerned about having enough money for their retirement and being able to save enough money to put a child through college. In both cases, concern is up modestly from last year. Among those faced with the issue, roughly four-in-ten voters are very worried about having adequate child care when they go to work.

Overall, minorities and those with less education and lower incomes tend to express the highest levels of concern on all of these issues. In addition, Democrats are more anxious than independents or Republicans. Liberal Democrats have shown a substantial increase in concern about retirement and health care over the past year.

	<u>Gore</u>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Other/ Undec.</u>
<i>Satisfied</i>	%	%	%
September 2000	58	32	10=100
June 2000	53	34	13=100
August 1999*	49	46	5=100
<i>Dissatisfied</i>			
September 2000	33	53	14=100
June 2000	30	49	21=100
August 1999*	27	66	7=100

* August 1999 based on two-way match-up.

² All analysis of the presidential horse race is based on registered voters and includes leaners.

Gore has an advantage among voters who voice these types of concerns, while Bush has the edge among those who are feeling less economically stressed. For example, voters who say they're very concerned about having enough money for their retirement prefer Gore over Bush by a margin of 53%-34%. Those who aren't as concerned about this opt for Bush — 51%-38%. Similarly, those who are very concerned about being able to afford necessary health care are firmly in the Gore camp (54% vs. 32% for Bush). The same pattern holds for those who are concerned about saving for college and finding adequate child care.

<i>Presidential preference ...</i>	<i>Very concerned about ...</i>			
	<u>Retire- ment</u>	<u>Health care</u>	<u>College</u>	<u>Child Care</u>
	%	%	%	%
Gore	53	54	55	58
Bush	34	32	33	30
Other/Undecided	<u>13</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>12</u>
	100	100	100	100

Issues Take Center Stage

Voters are paying more attention than ever to the candidates' positions on issues, and other factors have receded somewhat, at least for now. Fully 55% of Bush supporters and 48% of Gore supporters say their candidate's stand on the issues is what they like most about him, up from 50% and 42% respectively in July.

Overall, fewer Gore supporters are listing his experience as his most important quality, compared to earlier in the year. Leadership and personality, seen as Bush's best qualities by 34% of his backers in May, are cited by only 28% of his supporters today.

Issue stands are also what voters say they like *least* about the candidates they do not support. Fully 48% of Bush supporters say that Gore's stand on the issues is what they like least about him, up from 43% in July. Similarly, 43% of Gore supporters say they dislike Bush because of his issue positions, up from 34% in July.

<i>Reasons for backing Gore ...</i>	<u>May</u>	<u>June</u>	<u>Sept</u>
	%	%	%
Stand on Issues	40	42	48
Personality	10	7	9
Leadership	13	13	15
Experience	30	29	22
Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100
<i>Reasons for backing Bush ...</i>			
Stand on Issues	51	50	55
Personality	12	10	9
Leadership	22	19	19
Experience	8	11	9
Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>8</u>
	100	100	100

Intensity Grows, But Swing Votes Still There

The intensity of support for *both* candidates has increased somewhat as the campaign has progressed through the summer. Strong backers of Gore and Bush now outnumber moderate supporters and those who merely lean to one of the candidates. Yet even as the two men have increasingly consolidated their core supporters, a significant minority of voters say they may change their minds.

In June, moderate supporters of the major candidates outnumbered strong supporters by a 52% to 38% margin. Today, 46% of voters express strong support for either Bush or Gore, with only 40% saying their support is not strong. This level of conviction among voters is somewhat higher than at comparable points in the campaigns in 1988, 1992 and 1996.

Despite this, a slightly larger proportion of voters say there is still a chance they might switch their vote than at this time in 1992 or 1996. Gore is still an option for an additional 13% of voters, and 15% still might vote for Bush. Taking into account those who may vote for *either* candidate, fully 25% of registered voters say there is a chance they will switch their support before the election. This is largely unchanged from June.

Nearly four-in-ten voters (38%) say they have ruled out supporting Bush, but that compares favorably to the record of his GOP predecessors. In September 1996, 47% had already ruled out supporting Bob Dole, and four years earlier 44% had

foreclosed the possibility of voting for Bush's father. By comparison, 35% of voters say they are certain they will not vote for Gore, a figure which is comparable to past Democratic campaigns with one exception. Just 28% had ruled out Clinton at this point in his 1992.

	<u>1988*</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>2000</u>
<i>Supports Democrat</i>	%	%	%	%
Strongly	19	25	26	25
Not Strongly	25	28	26	22
<i>Non-Supporter of Democrat</i>				
Chance might vote for	13	13	10	13
Definitely won't vote for	35	28	34	35
Don't Know	<u>2</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
	94	100	100	100
<i>Supports Republican</i>				
Strongly	26	14	17	21
Not Strongly/Lean	24	24	17	20
<i>Non-supporter of Republican</i>				
Chance might vote for	12	12	14	15
Definitely won't vote for	31	44	47	38
Don't Know	<u>1</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>
	94	100	100	100

* In 1988 undecided voters were not asked if there was a chance they might vote for the candidates.

Most supporters of Gore and Bush see their choice as a vote *for* their favored candidate, and not a vote *against* his opponent. Nearly two-thirds (64%) of Gore backers and 60% of Bush supporters say they are voting *for* their candidate, and not against the opponent. This level of positive support is particularly striking when compared to Dole supporters in September 1996, roughly half of whom sided with Dole primarily as a vote against Clinton or Ross Perot.

Gore Rallies the Partisan Base

Gore's success in unifying Democrats comes in stark contrast to his lackluster performance over the spring and summer. Prior to the conventions, only 74% of Democratic voters backed Gore, with the rest either favoring another candidate or undecided. Today, fully 89% of Democrats support the vice president, who managed to peel backing away from both Bush and Ralph Nader.

<i>Presidential preference ...</i>	<i>Democrats</i>		<i>Republicans</i>		<i>Independents</i>	
	<u>July</u>	<u>Sept</u>	<u>July</u>	<u>Sept</u>	<u>July</u>	<u>Sept</u>
Gore	74	89	10	7	34	39
Bush	12	7	83	87	40	38
Nader	6	1	2	*	10	6
Buchanan	1	*	3	1	4	2
Undecided	<u>7</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>15</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100

With each candidate shoring up their partisan base, the electoral battle is turning increasingly to independents. In contrast to the impressive gains he made among Democrats, Gore had only modest success drawing support from independents over the summer. Today, independents are split: 39% for Gore, 38% for Bush; in July, Bush held a 40%-34% edge. Moreover, independents remain largely unenthusiastic about the candidates, suggesting their preferences could change. Only 31% of independents who support Gore say they feel strongly about their choice, and 34% of independents who support Bush agree.

Unlike earlier in the summer, Gore is now receiving support from traditional Democratic constituencies that Clinton held firmly in 1992 and 1996. For example, the vice president currently has the support of 80% of African-American voters, up from only 64% in July and comparable to the support Clinton typically received from black voters. Gore has also strengthened

	<i>--- Clinton ---</i>		<i>---- Gore ---</i>		<i>Gain Since July</i>
	<u>Sept 1992</u>	<u>Sept 1996</u>	<u>July 2000</u>	<u>Sept 2000</u>	
Blacks	77	83	64	80	+16
Income < \$20,000	62	64	45	57	+12
Urban Residents	59	57	49	59	+10
Union Households	68	58	48	56	+8
Women	55	56	44	50	+6

his lead in urban areas, among poorer voters, and among union households. Though Gore never trailed Bush in any of these groups, his support up until now has not matched that garnered by Clinton in either of his victories.

Bush was also able to rally his Republican base over the convention period, but he had less ground to cover. Since June, he gained only marginally among strong Republicans, while picking up nearly 10 percentage points among less staunch GOP partisans. Gore, by contrast, gained six points among strong Democratic partisans and 15 points among weaker party supporters. That placed his overall partisan backing on par with the support Bush receives from Republicans.

Bush’s Edge Among Key Independents

The political typology shows the strengths and vulnerabilities of each candidate. Gore appears to have separated himself from the scandals of the Clinton administration, and that has boosted his support from Social Conservatives — older, working class, religious Democrats.

At the outset of the campaign, Clinton fatigue caused many in this group to be skeptical about Gore, and to seriously consider voting Republican. Last August, just 66% said they would vote for the vice president, while 29% preferred Bush. Gore has overcome his weakness among Social Conservatives, and is now running as strongly here (83% support) as among the other Democratic groups. (See box page 2.)

But the typology also shows that Bush is holding a formidable lead over Gore among the New Prosperity Independents. These pro-business, somewhat libertarian voters tend to be satisfied with the state of the nation but critical of government and politics. They currently favor Bush by a 55% to 22% margin.

	<u>Gore</u>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Nader</u>	<u>Buchanan</u>	<u>Other/ Undecid.</u>	<u>(N)</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	
New Prosperity	22	55	2	1	20=100	(159)
Disaffecteds	23	44	5	3	25=100	(195)
Conservative-oriented						
Independents	12	73	0	1	14=100	(114)
Liberal-oriented						
Independents	67	12	11	2	8=100	(203)

Gore doesn't do much better among the more pessimistic and financially insecure Disaffected independents, who favor Bush 44% to 23%. Unlike their New Prosperity counterparts, the Disaffecteds feel they have been left behind by the new economy, are distrustful of big business, and less tolerant in their social attitudes.

Yet there is likely to be fluidity in both of these key independent groups. Fully 18% of New Prosperity Independents and 24% of Disaffecteds remain undecided, and only 24% of each group feel strongly about their current choice. Moreover, among both groups, roughly one-third of those stating a preference for Gore or Bush say there is still a chance they might vote for the other candidate. Other independents who are oriented to the liberal or conservative typology groups support Bush and Gore at about comparably high levels, with far less uncertainty.

For his part, Bush is having surprising difficulty rallying the socially conservative wing of his party. Populist Republicans provide the weakest backing for Bush out of all conservative constituencies. Currently, only 77% of Populist Republicans support Bush, while 10% express support for Gore. This compares poorly to Bush's overwhelming 90% support from Staunch Conservatives and 81% support from Moderate Republicans. (See box page 2.)

When the typology is filtered on party affiliation, Bush gets fully 95% of Staunch Conservatives who say they are Republicans, but still only 83% and 82% of Moderates and Populists who *call* themselves Republican. By comparison, Gore gets no less than 88% of the support of Democratic identifiers in any Democratic-oriented typology group.

The Gaps: Gender, Marital and Parental

For the first time since March, Gore is favored by nearly as many men as Bush. Fully 43% of men express support for Gore, with 45% supporting Bush. However, this close battle among men does not signify a closing of the gender gap. Throughout the spring and summer women have consistently backed Gore more than men, a pattern which continues today, with women currently favoring Gore by a 50% to 37% margin.

Bush continues to lead among married voters by a 47% to 42% margin, down only slightly from a 48% to 36% advantage in July. Meanwhile, Gore has strengthened his lead among unmarried voters to 21 points (53% to 32%), up from a 10-point (46% to 36%) lead just prior to the conventions.

Partisan Voters		
	<u>All</u>	<u>Rep. Only</u>
<i>Percent who support Bush ...</i>	%	%
Staunch Conservative	90	95
Moderate Republican	81	83
Populist Republican	77	82
	<u>All</u>	<u>Dem. Only</u>
<i>Percent who support Gore ...</i>	%	%
Liberal Democrat	80	89
Socially Conservative	83	88
New Democrat	87	90
Partisan Poor	85	89

While Gore failed to attract strong support from parents with children under 18 earlier in the summer, he appears to have largely closed the "parent gap" and is running about even with Bush among parents today (46% Bush vs. 45% Gore). In June, Bush led among this crucial swing group 48%-34%.

In particular, though Gore still trails among fathers, though he has closed the gap from an 19-point Bush lead to 7-points. Gore does better among mothers, though the race remains close among these mostly younger women. Among non-parents, Gore maintains a commanding lead with women, while men without children at home remain divided.

The close race between Bush and Gore among parents masks a sharp divide between married and single parents regarding who is the better candidate. While Bush has a 50% to 41% lead among voters who are *married* with children, *single* parents, 63% of whom are women, favor Gore 55% to 34%.

Some of Gore's biggest gains over the convention period came among America's oldest voters. Those age 65 and older were split between Gore and Bush in July; they now favor Gore by a 52% to 34% margin. This new advantage reflects Gore's ability to shore up the support of older Democrats, something Bush has yet to achieve among Republican seniors. Only 73% of Democratic seniors supported Gore in July, a figure which has risen to 90% today. By comparison, Bush has the backing of only 78% of Republicans 65 and older, up only 1 percent since July.

Gore's lead among older voters also reflects an increasing focus in the issues among retirees. In June, fully 32% of Gore backers 65 and older cited his experience as what they most liked about the vice president, with only 29% referring to his stand

The Parent Gap				
----- June -----				
<i>Presidential preference ...</i>	Parent*		Non-Parent	
	<u>Father</u>	<u>Mother</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
	%	%	%	%
Gore	31	43	40	48
Bush	50	45	43	34
Nader	3	2	2	3
Buchanan	5	1	6	3
Other/Undec.	<u>11</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>12</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Gore-Bush</i>	-19	-2	-3	+14
----- September -----				
<i>Presidential preference ...</i>	Parent*		Non-Parent	
	<u>Father</u>	<u>Mother</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
	%	%	%	%
Gore	43	47	43	52
Bush	50	43	42	34
Nader	2	2	4	1
Buchanan	1	1	2	1
Other/Undec.	<u>4</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>12</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Gore-Bush</i>	-7	+4	+1	+18

* Has a child under 18 years of age currently living at home.

Bush Struggles Among Older Voters					
<i>Age</i>	--- July ---		--- Sept ---		<u>Gore Gain</u>
	<u>Gore</u>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Gore</u>	<u>Bush</u>	
	%	%	%	%	
18-29	41	46	48	40	+7
30-49	39	44	43	46	+4
50-64	43	36	48	40	+5
65+	41	43	52	34	+11

on the issues. Today, 39% of retirees say they support Gore because of his stance on the issues, while only 21% say experience is his strongest suit. Even with this increase, however, older supporters of both candidates are more likely to cite personality, experience, or leadership ability — rather than issues — when describing what they like most about their candidate.

Swing Voters Remain Divided

Despite Gore’s gains, the two candidates are still battling over the same groups of swing voters that have been in play all year. In particular, younger women and older men remain divided between Gore and Bush. While women 50 and over support Gore by a 54% to 32% margin, women under 50 are split: 47% for Gore, 42% for Bush. Among men, those under 50 remain in the Bush column (47% Bush, 40% Gore) while men 50 and over favor Gore by a slight margin of 45%-43%.

Among white voters, Catholics and non-evangelical Protestants are largely split between the major candidates, though Gore has made some progress with both groups. In July, Bush led among non-evangelical Protestants 47% to 39%. Gore has managed to close this gap, and now Bush holds only a 45%-44% edge. White, non-Hispanic Catholics have shown no clear preference between Bush and Gore; the vice president now leads, 47%-43%. But Gore has made little headway in appealing to white evangelical Protestants, who have consistently favored Bush by roughly a two-to-one margin as they do now (59% to 29%).

Gore's convention and post-convention message played particularly well among voters in the Northeast, where he holds 17-point edge. He made more modest gains in the battleground Midwestern states, where he now has a 47% to 42% edge. At the same time, Gore has closed Bush's 10-point lead in the South in July to a 45% to 44% margin. Western voters favor Gore by a 48% to 39% margin, much as they did in July.

Disgruntled Republicans?

One problem facing Republican candidates this year is substantial division among Republican voters about the effectiveness of their party. When asked how good a job the party is doing standing up for its traditional positions on such things as reducing the size of government, cutting taxes and promoting conservative social values, only half of Republicans and those who lean Republican say their party is doing an excellent or good job.

	Excellent/ <u>Good</u>	Fair/ <u>Poor</u>	DK/ <u>Ref.</u>
	%	%	%
<i>Republican Party ...</i>			
Total Republican/Lean Rep.	49	49	2=100
Staunch Conservatives	45	54	1=100
Moderate Republicans	62	34	4=100
Populist Republicans	46	52	2=100
<i>Democratic Party ...</i>			
Total Democrat/Lean Dem..	63	36	1=100
Liberal Democrats	59	40	1=100
Socially Conservative Dems.	62	37	1=100
New Democrats	75	24	1=100
Partisan Poor	61	39	*=100

* Questions were asked of party identifiers and leaners only.

By comparison, nearly two-thirds of Democrats (63%) say their party is doing an excellent or good job in working toward such traditional party goals as protecting the interests of minorities, helping the poor and needy, and representing working people.

Staunch Conservatives and Populist Republicans are most likely to express frustration over the GOP's performance. A majority in each group (54% and 52% respectively) feels the party is doing only a fair or poor job of standing up for its traditional positions. By comparison, Moderate Republicans are far more satisfied with the party, with only one-third (34%) giving negative marks.

Though Democrats in general are more satisfied with their party's performance, satisfaction varies significantly across different segments of the party. Fully three out of four New Democrats, who are generally middle income and economically secure, give their party positive evaluations. By comparison, only 61% of the Partisan Poor feel the party is doing a good job standing up for its traditional positions. Similarly, both Liberal Democrats and Socially Conservative Democrats show somewhat weaker satisfaction with the party (59% and 62% positive evaluations respectively), even though these Democrats strongly disagree with each other on many social issues.

II. THE ISSUES

Social Security, Medicare Top Priorities

So far, no single issue has dominated the campaign, reflecting the public's varied list of policy priorities. Nearly one-quarter of voters (24%) name Social Security and Medicare as the most pressing priorities for the next president, followed closely by education (21%) and health care (19%).

There are major differences between Republicans and Democrats, as well as within the parties, over policy priorities. GOP voters are split, with nearly equal numbers naming morality, education, and Social Security and Medicare as the top priority. There is broad agreement among Democrats that Social Security and Medicare should be the next president's first order of business, followed by health care and education. Independents name the same top three priorities as Democrats, but are more closely divided.

Morality is the leading priority for Staunch Conservatives, while Populist Republicans rate morality and Social Security and Medicare as the leading priorities. For Moderate Republicans, the top issues are Social Security and Medicare, education and morality. Significantly, the Republican-oriented groups are deeply split over the importance of taxes, a major focus of Bush's campaign. One-in-five Staunch Conservatives identify taxes as the top priority, compared to just 11% of Populists and 10% of Moderates.

Among Democratic-oriented groups, New Democrats, the Partisan Poor and Social Conservatives rate Social Security and Medicare as the leading priorities, but Liberals regard education and health care as far more important. The two independent groups are split as well: Education is the top priority for the New Prosperity Independents, while Disaffecteds name Social Security and Medicare first, followed closely by education.

Presidential Priorities Divide Parties, Groups	
<i>Staunch Conservatives</i>	Morality (27%) Taxes (21%)
<i>Moderate Republicans</i>	Social Security (19%) Education (19%)
<i>Populist Republicans</i>	Morality (22%) Social Security (22%)
<i>New Prosperity Indeps.</i>	Education (25%) Health Care (19%)
<i>Disaffecteds</i>	Social Security (27%) Education (19%)
<i>Liberal Democrats</i>	Education (36%) Health Care (31%)
<i>Socially Conserv. Dems.</i>	Social Security (36%) Health Care (29%)
<i>New Democrats</i>	Social Security (30%) Education (24%)
<i>Partisan Poor</i>	Social Security (33%) Education (20%)

Nine-in-Ten Support Drug Benefit

While voters generally believe Gore is better able to handle major issues than Bush, some of the GOP's policy positions — including ending the inheritance tax and allowing younger workers to invest some payroll taxes in private retirement accounts — win broad backing from members of *both* parties.

But by far the most popular campaign initiative is the plan to add a prescription drug benefit to Medicare. Until recently, when Bush outlined his prescription drug proposal, that issue had been dominated by the vice president. While the candidates' plans on this issue differ greatly, the overall objective wins almost universal support: nine-in-ten voters favor adding a prescription drug benefit to Medicare.

	<u>All</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
<i>In favor of...</i>	%	%	%	%
Medicare drug benefit	91	84	95	92
Ending estate tax	71	82	64	69
Allowing private retirement accounts	70	80	61	72

Democrats overwhelmingly support the prescription drug benefit (95% in favor), and nearly two-thirds (64%) strongly favor that idea. More than eight-in-ten Republicans (84%) also endorse the prescription drug benefit, while almost half are strong supporters. In addition, more than nine-in-ten independents support the proposal, with 58% of independents strongly in favor of the idea.

Support for the prescription drug benefit cuts across all age groups. But slightly fewer of those under age 30 *strongly* favor the idea, compared to those over age 30. More women than men support having Medicare pay for prescriptions, and 63% of women strongly support the proposal compared to about half of men.

There also is a consensus, though not quite as large, in favor of eliminating the inheritance tax. Seven-in-ten voters favor ending the tax, which has been a signature issue for the GOP. Not surprisingly, eight-in-ten Republicans support ending the tax — more than half strongly favor the idea. Nearly two-thirds of Democrats agree, despite Clinton's veto of a GOP bill to eliminate the tax. However, there is less intensity of support among Democrats, with just one-third strongly in favor of scrapping the tax.

Similarly, about 70% of voters support a proposal, which has been actively promoted by Bush, to let younger workers invest some of their payroll taxes in private accounts. While 80% of Republicans support this idea, about six-in-ten Democrats also back that plan, as well as 72% of independents.

The political divide on this question may be less important than the generation gap: More than eight-in-ten of those under age 50 support private retirement accounts, compared to 64% of those 50-64 and just 51% of senior citizens.

Minorities Support Vouchers

The electorate is more evenly divided over providing vouchers to low- and middle-income families, a key part of Bush’s educational plan. Still, voters favor vouchers, 53%-44%, and that proposal wins strong backing from two key Democratic constituencies.

Age and Major Retirement Issues				
	<u>18-29</u>	<u>30-49</u>	<u>50-64</u>	<u>65+</u>
	%	%	%	%
<i>Invest payroll taxes in private retirement accounts ...</i>				
Favor	83	79	64	51
Oppose	11	14	27	36
Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>13</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Making prescription drug benefits part of Medicare ...</i>				
Strongly Favor	51	57	60	57
Favor	41	35	31	30
Oppose	6	7	8	8
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100	100

Overall, about as many Democrats support vouchers (48%), as oppose them (49%). But African-Americans and Hispanics support vouchers by wide margins. Blacks back the program by almost the same margin as Staunch Conservatives (60%-35%). Hispanics favor educational vouchers 70%-26%. A solid majority of all voters under age 50 back vouchers (and 66% of those age 18-29 favor them), but support drops off among those over 50. Just four-in-ten of those age 65 and over favor the program.

Arising largely from the strong minority backing for vouchers, there are significant differences among the Democratic-leaning typology groups. The Partisan Poor, which includes a large number of blacks and Hispanics, support vouchers 57%-40%. New Democrats also support them, 50% to 45%. But Social Conservatives and Liberals reject vouchers by fairly substantial margins.

On defense spending, by contrast, members of the two parties occupy more familiar positions. A majority of Republicans (52%) want to boost defense spending, while 37% support maintaining the budget at its current level and 8% favor cutting defense. Just one-in-five Democratic voters want to increase spending, while 59% favor keeping it at the current level, and 16% support reductions.

Independents are closer to the Democrats on this issue — 30% for increased spending, 50% for no change, and 17% for reducing the Pentagon’s budget. Overall, about half of all voters (48%) want to maintain the defense budget at its current level, while one-third favor an increase and 14% want to cut back military spending.

Republicans Divide Over Economics, HMO’s

Voters are split over how they want the federal budget surplus divided. But when it comes to tax policy, a solid majority rejects an across-the-board tax cut, which is an important component of Bush’s economic plan. Indeed, Bush is having difficulty selling many members of his own party on the wisdom of that approach.

A plurality of voters (38%) favor using the budget surplus to shore up Social Security and Medicare, but one-quarter would boost spending for domestic programs. Democrats are relatively unified: nearly half (45%) say the surplus should go to the entitlement programs and 31% favor expanded funding for domestic programs. Republicans agree that Social Security and Medicare are the top surplus priority (33% in favor), while one-quarter would use any extra funds for tax cuts. Independents also want to shore up Social Security and Medicare (33% favoring that approach), and 27% favor using the surplus to pay down the national debt.

Staunch Conservatives, alone among GOP-oriented groups, favor using the surplus to pay for tax cuts. More than one-third in this group back tax cuts, compared to 26% who want to pay down the national debt and 25% who would devote additional money to the retirement programs. By wide margins, Moderate and Populist Republicans agree with most Democrats that the surplus should be devoted to Social Security and Medicare.

Republicans are also divided over the composition of possible tax cuts. Overall, voters much prefer targeted tax cuts aimed at lower- and middle-income families — which Gore has proposed — to an across-the-board reduction (58% to 40%). Two-thirds of Democrats and more than six-in-ten independents (62%) support targeted cuts. A narrow majority of Republicans (53%) favor an across-the-board tax cut, while a sizable minority (45%) support targeted cuts.

	Staunch Conservatives	Moderate Republicans	Populist Republicans
<i>Use surplus for ...</i>	%	%	%
Tax cut	36	16	14
Pay down debt	26	21	20
Domestic programs	10	22	22
Social Security/ Medicare	25	37	42
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100	100
<i>Tax cuts should be ...</i>			
Across the board	66	49	41
Targeted to poor/ middle class	33	51	56
Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100

Staunch Conservatives favor the across-the-board reduction by a two-to-one margin (66%-33%), while Populist Republicans support targeted cuts (56%-41%) and Moderates are divided over the two approaches (51% for targeted cuts vs. 49% for an across-the-board reduction). By contrast, strong majorities in all four Democratic-oriented groups back targeted cuts. Even New Democrats, who show the most support for across-the-board reductions, favor targeted cuts (61%-37%).

Proposed national standards for HMO's remain popular with most voters, with nearly six-in-ten (58%) endorsing such standards. Independents and Democrats support them by wide margins. But again, GOP voters are split over this question: 45% favor the standards while 48% believe they represent too much government involvement in health care.

Narrow majorities of Populist and Moderate Republicans (55% and 53% respectively) back the HMO standards, while Staunch Conservatives reject them by better than two-to-one (65%-30%). Solid majorities in all four Democratic-oriented groups back the national standards.

Candidates Hitting Right Issues

The campaign's overall themes are connecting with most voters. Fully seven-in-ten say Gore and Bush are talking about the issues that are important to them, while 22% disagree. In October 1996, just 59% felt the candidates were addressing the important issues.

Still, 32% of voters say the two men take similar positions on issues, while 56% see clear differences between Gore and Bush. In June, just 51% of voters said they perceived clear differences between the candidates. Not surprisingly, there is a large gap on this question between those who have followed the campaign closely, and those who haven't. More than six-in-ten voters (64%) who have closely tracked campaign news perceive significant differences in the issue stances of the candidates; less than half (45%) of those who have followed the election only sporadically or not at all agree.

III. RATING THE CANDIDATES AND THE PARTIES

Gore's Issues Edge

Gore is seen as the candidate who would do the best job on the issues that matter most to Americans — Social Security and Medicare, education and health care. Nearly half of voters (49%) say Gore would be most capable of keeping Social Security and Medicare financially sound, while 36% choose Bush. Similarly, when asked who could best improve the nation's health care system, 51% choose Gore while 32% choose Bush. Independents clearly favor Gore on each of these issues.

The gap is smaller on education, though Gore still leads. Bush's continued focus on education has left this traditionally Democratic issue somewhat up for grabs. Today, 45% of voters say Gore could do the best job of improving education, 39% choose Bush.

<i>Who would do the best job on?</i>	<u>Bush</u> %	<u>Gore</u> %	<u>Neither</u> %	<u>Don't Know</u> %
Social Security/ Medicare	36	49	4	11=100
June	36	43	5	16=100
Education	39	45	4	12=100
June	34	44	5	17=100
Health care	32	51	6	11=100
June	31	44	6	19=100
Economy	38	46	5	11=100
June	38	41	5	16=100
Taxes	41	41	5	13=100
June	41	34	7	18=100

Gore has pulled ahead of Bush as the candidate best able to keep the economy strong. In June, Gore was barely ahead of Bush on this issue (41% vs. 38%, respectively). Now Gore clearly leads — 46%-38%. Gore's strength on this issue can be attributed mostly to his success in shoring up his own party base. In June, only 68% of Democrats said Gore was the candidate best able to keep the economy going strong; now, fully 81% of Democratic loyalists choose Gore. Independents continue to choose Gore over Bush on this issue (45% vs. 33%), while Republicans side with Bush.

Not only has Gore made progress on the issue of the economy, he has gained ground on taxes — long seen as a GOP strong suit. In June, most voters said Bush would do the best job of dealing with taxes (41% vs. 34% for Gore). After hammering away at Bush's tax proposal, Gore now has parity with the Texas governor on this issue (41%-41%). In part, that may reflect the public's preference for Gore's approach of targeted tax cuts rather than Bush's across-the-board proposal.

Within the Republican Party there are significant schisms on these top-tier issues. Less affluent Populist Republicans break with the better off Staunch Conservatives over which candidate has the better approach to the economy, Social Security and Medicare and health care. While the Populists favor Bush on each issue, a significant minority either opt for Gore or remain undecided. For example, when asked which candidate would do the better job keeping Social Security and Medicare financially sound, 25% of Populist Republicans choose Gore, while only 53% choose Bush. Staunch Conservatives opt for Bush over Gore 75%-5%. In general the Democratic groups are much more united behind Gore on these policy issues.

	<i>Staunch Conservs.</i>		<i>Moderate Reps.</i>		<i>Populist Reps.</i>	
	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Gore</u>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Gore</u>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Gore</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Economy	80	6	74	15	54	21
Social Security/ Medicare	75	5	69	20	53	25
Health care	76	7	63	22	52	23

Overall, Bush maintains a modest lead on defense: 46% of voters say he would do the best job making wise decisions about the nation's defense policy, 40% choose Gore. However, by a narrow margin, Gore is seen as the candidate who would do the best job representing voters' views on America's role in world affairs (44% vs. 39% for Bush).

The candidates continue to run even on the issues of gun control and protecting families. Roughly one-in-four voters (39%) say Bush would do the best job of representing their views on gun control, 37% choose Gore. Similarly, voters divide evenly over which candidate would be best able to protect and strengthen families: 42% choose Gore, 39% say Bush.

Gore maintains a strong lead over Bush on the environment and looking out for the interests of minorities. Fully 58% of voters say Gore would do the best job protecting the environment, only 24% choose Bush. More than half (52%) say Gore is best qualified to improve conditions for minority groups, while 28% choose Bush. Finally, Gore has a small edge over Bush as the candidate who best represents voters' views about abortion — 38%-34%.

Bush Seen as Stronger Leader

In spite of all Gore’s advantages on the issues, Bush remains the stronger leader in the voters’ eyes. By a margin of 44%-to-38%, voters choose Bush over Gore as a strong leader. The gap in perceptions about leadership is most pronounced among men, especially white men. By a nearly two-to-one margin, white men choose Bush over Gore as a strong leader (53% vs. 27%). White women divide much more evenly — favoring Bush over Gore 44%-37%. Independents, who are split in their presidential preference, give Bush the edge over Gore on leadership by a margin of 41%-32%.

Leadership: Bush’s Trump Card?					
	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Gore</u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>Both</u>	<u>Don’t Know</u>
	%	%	%	%	%
<i>Bush qualities ...</i>					
Willing to take a stand	45	37	8	5	5=100
Strong leader	44	38	7	6	5=100
<i>Gore qualities ...</i>					
Experienced/ knows issues	28	54	3	10	5=100
Cares about people	31	47	9	7	6=100
Closest to my views on issues	39	48	5	2	6=100
Likable	37	44	3	12	4=100
Good judgment	38	44	3	8	7=100
<i>Up for grabs ...</i>					
Honest	35	37	13	9	6=100
Gets things done	40	40	4	8	8=100
Typical politician	37	37	2	20	4=100

In addition, Bush is seen as the candidate most willing to take a stand, even if it’s unpopular, though Gore has narrowed the gap a bit in recent months. Today, 45% of voters say Bush is the candidate who’s most likely to take unpopular stands, vs. 37% who choose Gore. In June, Bush led Gore on this measure by a slightly wider 46%-32%.

Bush trails Gore badly when it comes to his knowledge of the issues. More than half of the voters polled (54%) say Gore, rather than Bush, is experienced and knows a lot about the issues, only 28% choose Bush. Gore’s advantage in this regard has increased from a narrower 39%-25% margin in June. Gore is also the favorite when voters are asked which candidate comes closest to their opinions on the issues that matter most to them (48% choose Gore, 39% Bush). Furthermore, Gore is more often seen by voters as the candidate who cares about people like them (47% vs. 31% for Bush).

The divisions within the Republican Party on key policy issues are also apparent on several personal characteristics. Again, Populist Republicans express less enthusiasm for Bush, especially when compared with Staunch Conservatives. Populist Republicans are less likely than Staunch Conservatives to choose Bush over Gore as the candidate who would use good judgment in a crisis (66% among Populists vs. 80% among Staunch Conservatives), the more personally likable candidate (60% vs. 73%), or the more honest and truthful of the two (58% vs. 77%).

	<i>Staunch Conservs.</i>		<i>Moderate Reps.</i>		<i>Populist Reps.</i>	
	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Gore</u>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Gore</u>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Gore</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Good judgment	80	5	73	14	66	14
Personally likable	73	6	68	20	60	16
Honest	77	5	66	11	58	14
Cares about me	72	5	67	17	50	18
Closest to my views on issues	86	6	84	10	67	13

The biggest gaps between these two Republican-leaning groups emerge when they are asked which candidate cares the most about people like them (72% of Staunch Conservatives choose Bush compared to only 50% of Populist Republicans) and which candidate comes closest to their views on the issues (86% of Staunch Conservatives say Bush vs. 67% of Populists).

Two Sides of Swing Voters

An analysis of several of the important swing groups in the electorate shows that Bush has some real strengths, while Gore is particularly vulnerable in the area of character and personal qualities. There is much more consensus among swing groups about Gore's strength on the issues. Older men, who now break slightly for Gore in the horse race, find Bush more personally likable and more honest, and they see Gore as a typical politician.

	<i>-- Men 50+ --</i>		<i>-- Indeps. --</i>		<i>-- Parents --</i>	
	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Gore</u>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Gore</u>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Gore</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%
<i>Pres'l preference ...</i>	43	46	38	39	46	45
<i>Character traits ...</i>						
Likable	43	35	32	40	41	42
Honest	38	31	25	33	41	34
Typical politician	25	43	36	30	36	41
Gets things done	41	38	34	37	44	34
Comes closest to my views	42	44	31	44	45	41
Good judgment	39	42	33	39	42	37

Similarly, parents, who now divide evenly between the two major party candidates in the presidential contest, think Bush is more honest than Gore, would use better judgment in a crisis and would be better able to get things done. Parents give Bush a slight edge in terms of being the candidate who comes closest to their views on the important issues.

But when it comes to voters' top policy priorities, Gore doesn't face the same problems with these important swing groups. Older men, independents and parents all agree that Gore could do the best job dealing with entitlements and health care. Bush does have some potential to make inroads with certain swing groups on taxes, guns and family values. However, at this point these are clearly second-tier issues. Perhaps more importantly, Gore may have some vulnerability on education. Parents are evenly divided over which candidate could do a better job on this crucial issue.

<i>Issues ...</i>	<i>-- Men 50+ --</i>		<i>-- Indeps. --</i>		<i>-- Parents --</i>	
	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Gore</u>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Gore</u>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Gore</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Economy	40	44	33	45	41	47
Social Security/ Medicare	39	47	31	44	36	50
Health care	37	48	25	50	32	53
Education	37	47	37	46	44	46
Taxes	46	40	41	36	46	41
Guns	44	33	40	32	40	40
Families	44	38	39	37	44	44

Conventions Define the Candidates

In terms of defining the candidates themselves, many of the central messages of the conventions seem to have resonated with the public. A majority of voters (56%) say they now like Gore personally more than they did earlier in the year. A majority also thinks his wife, Tipper Gore, is very impressive. And, by a margin of 47%-29%, voters say they “really like” Joe Lieberman.

Women are slightly more likely than men to say they have come to like Gore better (61% vs. 51%). Older voters are among the most likely to have an improved opinion about Gore; fully 63% say they like the vice president more now than they did earlier in the year. On balance, independents agree that they like Gore better now (52% vs. 39% who disagree with this statement). Nearly half (48%) of those who support Bush moderately, and one-third of Republicans say they too have come to like Gore more over time.

Majorities in nearly every major demographic group agree that they have a lot of confidence in Gore's ability to deal with difficult issues, even 49% of white men hold this view. Independents agree with this statement by a margin of 56%-41%.

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
	%	%	%
I like Gore more now	56	36	8=100
I have confidence in Gore on the issues	57	39	4=100
Tipper's very impressive	56	33	11=100
I really like Lieberman	47	29	24=100
Gore is too partisan	39	48	13=100

In addition to shoring up his own party base, Gore's convention make-over may have helped him make some inroads with Moderate Republicans, 45% of whom say they like Gore more now than they did previously. Roughly four-in-ten Moderate Republicans (42%) say they really like Lieberman and 51% are impressed with Tipper Gore. One-third (32%) say they're confident in Gore's ability to deal with difficult issues.

Bush, who has had a more positive personal image throughout the campaign, has had less success recently when it comes to making himself *more* likable. Voters are divided as to whether or not they like Bush more now than they did earlier in the year: 46% say yes, 46% say no. Bush is seen, on balance, as more of a real person than a politician (53% agree with this statement.) Like Tipper Gore, Laura Bush is an asset to her husband. By a margin of 48%-30%, voters say they find her very impressive.

Doubts about Bush's Abilities

Bush has not completely succeeded in persuading voters of the notion that he is up to the job of president. Some 46% of voters agree that Bush may not be up to the job, while 48% disagree.

Bush has problems even among some conservative-leaning typology groups. Three-in-ten Populist Republicans (31%) say their nominee may not be up to the job, and nearly one-in-five Moderate Republicans agree. Furthermore, this perception is fairly widespread among independents (47%). Those who agree that Bush may not be up to job prefer Gore for president by an overwhelming margin (76% vs. 13%).

	<u>Agree</u> %	<u>Disagree</u> %	<u>Don't Know</u> %
Bush is a regular guy	53	42	5=100
Laura Bush is impressive	48	30	22=100
I like Bush more now	46	47	7=100
I really like Cheney	44	32	24=100
Bush may not be up to the job	45	49	6=100

Gore, on the other hand, is still seen by a significant minority of voters as overly partisan. Nearly four-in-ten say Gore is too partisan and too divisive, 48% disagree. Men are more likely to hold this view of Gore than are women (46% vs. 33%). More than a quarter of Socially Conservative Democrats perceive Gore this way, as do nearly half of New Prosperity Independents and Dissaffecteds.

Clinton's Impact Lessened

Clinton fatigue, which first surfaced more than a year ago, has not diminished. In fact, more voters today completely agree with the statement "I am tired of all the problems associated with the Clinton administration," than did a year ago (48% vs. 36% in August 1999).

Overall, nearly three-quarters of voters have, to some degree, tired of the Clinton administration. However, this widespread sentiment is having less of an impact on the presidential race than it did a year ago. Today, among those who say they're tired of the Clinton administration, 51% say they'll vote for Bush, 38% will vote for Gore. Last year at this time, those who felt Clinton fatigue were backing Bush

by a much wider margin (63%-32%). In addition, those who say they're not tired of Clinton are now voting for Gore in higher numbers — 76% vs. 67% a year ago.

<i>Presidential preference ...</i>	<i>Tired of problems with Clinton Administration</i>		<i>Not tired of Clinton Problems</i>	
	<u>1999</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>1999</u>	<u>2000</u>
	%	%	%	%
Gore	32	38	67	76
Bush	63	51	29	15
Other/Undecided	<u>5</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>9</u>
	100	100	100	100

Clinton fatigue is prevalent among all major demographic groups. Even 56% of Democrats say they have grown weary of Clinton, and fully 78% of independents agree. The percent of voters who wish Clinton could run for a third term has remained steady since last year. Just one-quarter wish Clinton could run again, while seven-in-ten disagree.

The Parties' Changing Images?

The parties were only partially successful in conveying their central messages at this summer's nominating conventions. Voters are now divided as to whether or not the Republican Party has become more compassionate and caring: 47% agree the party has changed in this way; 44% say it hasn't. A strong majority of Republicans (71%) think the party has become more compassionate, while Democrats and independents are less convinced (34% and 40%, respectively).

Among all voters, those who agree that the Republican Party has changed have a much more positive view of the party more generally: nearly three-quarters have a favorable opinion of the party, compared to only 33% of those who say the party hasn't gotten more compassionate. Interestingly, those who think the GOP has become more compassionate are much more likely than those who disagree to say that the party is doing a good job standing up for its *traditional* positions (60% vs. 34%).

While the Republican Party’s image may be changing, most voters think that Bush — the candidate who coined the phrase “compassionate conservative” — is actually more conservative than he lets on. Fully 58% hold this view; 28% disagree. A majority of Republicans (55%) think Bush is more conservative than he lets on. Liberal Democrats are the most cynical in this regard — fully 77% say Bush isn’t showing his true colors.

Smoke and Mirrors			
	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
<i>Percent who agree ...</i>	%	%	%
GOP has become more compassionate/caring	71	34	40
Bush is more conservative than he lets on	55	63	59
Democrats care more about ordinary people	21	86	47
Gore is more liberal than he lets on	71	56	49

While many voters believe the GOP is changing, more think that it’s the Democrats who really care about ordinary people. More than half of voters (52%) say the Democrats care more than Republicans, 41% disagree. Very few Republicans see the Democrats as more caring (21%); however, nearly half of independents hold this view.

In the contest over images, Gore is widely perceived as being more liberal than he lets on. Overall, 58% of voters hold this view; 27% disagree. Even a majority of Democrats say Gore is a liberal deep down. Fully seven-in-ten Republicans feel this way. Those who hold this view about Gore narrowly prefer Bush in the presidential horse race — 49%-44%.

IV. ATTENTION TO THE CAMPAIGN

Voters Now Focusing On Campaign

As the presidential campaign enters the final stretch, substantially more voters are turning to the choice they will face in November. For the first time this year, a solid majority of registered voters – 59% – now say they have given a lot of thought to the coming presidential election. This is up from less than half of voters at several points earlier in the year, including a low of 46% in June and July when voter interest was comparable to similar points in 1996.

What's more, just as many voters are fully engaged by this year's election as were at the same point in the 1996 campaign, offering new evidence that turnout in November may well match voter participation four years ago. The 59% of voters who say they have thought a lot about the election today compares with 56% in early September 1996, and is nearly equal to the 61% who were as engaged by late September four years ago. At the same time, voter interest this year still lags slightly behind 1992, when fully 69% of voters said in September they had given a lot of thought to the election.

More voters have also become interested in news about the presidential campaign since the conventions. Fully 73% of voters are paying at least fairly close attention to the race today, with just over one-quarter (26%) paying little or no attention. This is a shift from June, when some 38% said they were paying little or no attention to the campaign.

Some Good News for Bush?

But Gore's recent gains in voter support are not due entirely to growing interest in the presidential campaign among would-be Gore backers. Indeed, some of the largest increases in voter interest have come among groups that remain as likely to support Bush as Gore, including independents and the key 30 to 49-year old voting bloc.

Half of independents (51%) now say they have given a lot of thought to the coming election, up 14 points from 37% in June. This compares with a 14-point increase among Democrats and a 10-point increase among Republicans.

Voters Now Tuning Into Campaign			
<i>Percent who thought a lot about the coming election ...</i>	<u>June</u>	<u>Sept</u>	<u>Change</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	
All voters	46	59	+13
Republicans	56	66	+10
Democrats	45	59	+14
Independents	37	51	+14
Under 30	35	41	+6
30-49	41	57	+16
50-64	54	66	+12
65+	55	64	+9

Similarly, there has been a 16-point increase in the number of voters between 30 and 49 who say they have thought a lot about the election, with 57% now fully engaged in the campaign — up from just 41% in June. But while the rise in campaign interest among these voters is noticeably greater than among all other age groups, the 30-49 group is also the only one where Bush actually has a slight edge over Gore.

Except for voters under 30, solid majorities across all other age groups now say they have given a lot of thought to the coming election, bringing the level of interest to about where it was at this point four years ago. At the same time, interest is lagging slightly among younger voters.

Two-Party Parity in Voting Intentions

More than eight-in-ten voters (84%) say today they are certain they will vote in this election, a figure that is comparable to both early September four years ago (83%) and to September 1992 (85%). Notably, Democrats are now as determined as Republicans to vote this November, with 87% of Democrats and 88% of Republicans saying they are certain they will vote. This parity among loyalists of both parties reflects a slight change from earlier this year, when Republicans were slightly more likely than Democrats to say they were certain to vote.

A noticeable level of dissatisfaction with the parties among some voters does not appear to be dampening voter interest. Indeed, more than one-third (36%) of Democrats and Democratic-leaning and nearly half (49%) of Republicans and Republican-leaning fault their preferred party for the way it is handling key issues. But these disgruntled voters are only slightly less likely to say they are certain to vote in November than those who are pleased with their party's efforts.

Additional Findings: A Closer Look at Independents and Swing Voters

The Swing Voters			
	<u>Top Priority</u>	<u>Key Personal Quality</u>	<u>Key Issue Differences</u>
<i>Women <50</i>	Education	Bush's too political	Like Gore on guns
<i>Men 50+</i>	Social Security	Gore's too political	Bush is better on guns and families
<i>White Catholics</i>	Social Security	Gore's too political	Like Gore on environment
<i>White Mainline Protestants</i>	Social Security	Bush is more likable	Bush is stronger on world affairs, families and education
<i>Parents</i>	Education	Bush comes closest to my views	Bush is better on defense and taxes
<i>Independents</i>	Social Security and Education	Gore's more honest, Bush's too political	Like Bush on guns, Gore on health care

September Partisan Support Comparisons

	--- 1988* ---		
	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
<i>Pres'l preference ...</i>	%	%	%
Bush/Quayle	92	13	48
Dukakis/Bentsen	6	81	42
Other/Undecided	<u>2</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>10</u>
	100	100	100
	--- 2000 ---		
	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
<i>Pres'l preference ...</i>	%	%	%
Gore/Lieberman	7	89	39
Bush/Cheney	87	7	38
Nader	*	1	6
Buchanan	1	*	2
Undecided	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>15</u>
	100	100	100

* Gallup for Times Mirror (N=2001 registered voters) Sept 9-14, 1988

STATE OF THE NATION
(Based on Registered Voters)

	---- June 2000 ----			---- September 2000 ----			Change in Satisfied
	<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Dissatisfied</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Dissatisfied</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Total	47	46	7=100	52	42	6=100	+5
Sex							
Male	51	43	6	55	40	5	+4
Female	45	48	7	48	44	8	+3
Race							
White	48	45	7	51	43	6	+3
Non-white	47	46	7	54	40	6	+7
Black	42	50	8	54	38	8	+12
Hispanict	61	37	2	60	35	5	-1
Race and Sex							
White Men	49	45	6	54	41	5	+5
White Women	46	46	8	49	44	7	+3
Age							
Under 30	58	35	7	57	37	6	-1
30-49	48	46	6	52	42	6	+4
50-64	47	47	6	51	45	4	+4
65+	40	52	8	47	43	10	+7
Sex and Age							
Men 18-29	61	31	8	63	34	3	+2
Women 18-29	55	39	6	52	40	8	-3
Men 30-49	50	46	4	55	40	5	+5
Women 30-49	46	46	8	50	44	6	+4
Men 50+	47	47	6	53	42	5	+6
Women 50+	40	52	8	46	45	9	+6
Education							
College Grad.	61	34	5	61	33	6	0
Some College	46	48	6	55	41	4	+9
High School Grad.	44	49	7	46	47	7	+2
<H.S. Grad.	34	53	13	42	49	9	+8

† The designation Hispanic is unrelated to the white-black categorization.

Question: All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in this country today?

Continued ...

	---- June 2000 ----			---- September 2000 ----			Change in Satisfied
	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Don't Know	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Don't Know	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Total	47	46	7=100	52	42	6=100	+5
Family Income							
\$75,000+	56	39	5	61	33	6	+5
\$50,000-\$74,999	56	39	5	53	43	4	-3
\$30,000-\$49,999	43	50	7	51	43	6	+8
\$20,000-\$29,999	54	39	7	43	52	5	-11
<\$20,000	41	52	7	48	45	7	+7
Region							
East	49	45	6	52	41	7	+3
Midwest	50	44	6	55	38	7	+5
South	41	51	8	49	45	6	+8
West	55	39	6	52	42	6	-3
Religious Affiliation							
Total White Protestant	44	49	7	48	45	7	+4
White Protestant Evangelical	35	58	7	38	56	6	+3
White Prot. Non-Evangelical	54	40	6	56	36	8	+2
White Catholic	53	39	8	55	40	5	+2
Secular	52	42	6	57	39	4	+5
Community Size							
Large City	50	45	5	55	37	8	+5
Suburb	53	39	8	57	37	6	+4
Small City/Town	48	44	8	51	43	6	+3
Rural Area	38	56	6	44	51	5	+6
Party ID							
Republican	37	58	5	39	55	6	+2
Democrat	57	37	6	63	31	6	+6
Independent	49	44	7	52	43	5	+3
Party and Ideology							
Conservative Republican	33	62	5	35	59	6	+2
Moderate/Liberal Republican	45	50	5	50	45	5	+5
Conservative/Moderate Dem.	55	39	6	61	33	6	+6
Liberal Democrat	64	30	6	68	27	5	+4
Marital Status							
Married	46	47	7	51	43	6	+5
Unmarried	49	44	7	52	41	7	+3
Parental Status							
Parent	50	43	7	52	43	5	+2
Non-parent	46	47	7	52	41	7	+6
Labor Union							
Union Household	50	42	8	57	36	7	+7
Non-Union Household	47	47	6	50	44	6	+3

TREND IN PRESIDENTIAL TRIAL HEAT*

(Based on Registered Voters)

	---- July 2000 ----					---- September 2000 ----					Change in Gore (N)
	<u>Gore</u>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>anan</u>	<u>Nader</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Gore</u>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>anan</u>	<u>Nader</u>	<u>DK</u>	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Total	41	42	2	6	9=100	47	41	1	2	9=100	+6 (1999)
Sex											
Male	36	49	2	6	7	43	45	1	3	8	+7 (880)
Female	44	36	2	6	12	50	37	1	2	10	+6 (1119)
Race											
White	37	47	2	6	8	42	46	1	2	9	+5 (1652)
Non-white	59	16	2	7	16	72	16	1	2	9	+13 (322)
Black	64	11	0	7	18	80	7	1	3	9	+16 (206)
Hispanic†	57	37	0	3	3	56	34	2	1	7	-1 (120)
Race and Sex											
White Men	33	53	3	5	6	37	50	2	3	8	+4 (717)
White Women	41	42	2	6	9	46	42	1	1	10	+5 (935)
Age											
Under 30	41	46	3	4	6	48	40	1	4	7	+7 (317)
30-49	39	44	2	6	9	43	46	1	3	7	+4 (814)
50-64	43	36	2	7	12	48	40	1	1	10	+5 (464)
65+	41	43	0	7	9	52	34	1	1	12	+11 (376)
Sex and Age											
Men under 50	35	52	2	5	6	40	47	2	5	6	+5 (524)
Women under 50	37	3	5	12	47	42	1	2	8	+4	(607)
Men 50+	39	43	3	6	9	45	43	1	1	10	+6 (347)
Women 50+	44	37	0	7	12	54	32	1	1	12	+10 (493)
Education											
College Grad.	36	47	1	9	7	45	44	1	3	7	+9 (746)
Some College	43	43	3	4	7	44	44	1	3	8	+1 (494)
H.S. Grad & Less	42	39	2	5	12	49	38	2	1	10	+7 (754)

* Includes leaners

† The designation Hispanic is unrelated to the white-black categorization. Note small sample size in July.

Question: If the presidential election were being held TODAY, would you vote for the Democratic ticket of Al Gore and Joe Lieberman, for the Republican ticket of George W. Bush and Dick Cheney, for the Green Party ticket headed by Ralph Nader, or for the Reform Party ticket headed by Pat Buchanan? As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to Gore the Democrat, more to Bush the Republican, more to Nader of the Green Party or more to Buchanan the Reform party candidate?

Continued ...

	---- July 2000 ----					---- September 2000 ----					Change in Gore (N)
	Gore	Bush	Buch- anan	Nader	DK	Gore	Bush	Buch- anan	Nader	DK	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Total	41	42	2	6	9=100	47	41	1	2	9=100	+6 (1999)
Family Income											
\$75,000+	36	51	*	5	8	44	47	1	2	6	+8 (392)
\$50,000-\$74,999	38	46	2	7	7	42	48	*	3	7	+4 (316)
\$30,000-\$49,999	40	45	3	4	8	48	41	1	3	7	+8 (459)
\$20,000-\$29,999	43	39	2	7	9	50	38	2	3	7	+7 (234)
<\$20,000	45	36	2	8	9	57	29	2	2	10	+12 (183)
Region											
East	37	38	2	8	15	51	34	3	2	10	+14 (341)
Midwest	42	41	2	5	10	47	42	1	2	8	+5 (477)
South	39	49	1	3	8	44	45	1	1	9	+5 (772)
West	45	36	4	8	7	48	39	1	4	8	+3 (409)
Religious Affiliation											
Total White Protestant	34	52	2	3	9	37	52	1	1	9	+3 (986)
White Protestant Evangelical	28	59	3	3	7	29	59	1	*	11	+1 (441)
White Prot. Non-Evangelical	39	47	*	4	10	44	45	2	2	7	+5 (545)
White Catholic	39	43	4	7	7	47	43	1	2	7	+8 (345)
Secular	44	39	3	6	8	56	21	0	8	15	+12 (126)
Community Size											
Large City	49	33	1	5	12	59	30	1	2	8	+10 (414)
Suburb	43	43	1	8	5	44	44	1	3	8	+1 (489)
Small City/Town	38	44	2	6	10	47	40	1	2	10	+9 (725)
Rural Area	32	50	4	6	8	36	51	1	2	10	+4 (358)
Party ID											
Republican	10	83	3	2	2	7	87	1	*	5	-3 (637)
Democrat	74	12	1	6	7	89	7	*	1	3	+15 (729)
Independent	34	40	4	10	12	39	38	2	6	15	+5 (527)
Party and Ideology											
Conservative Republican	7	87	4	1	1	5	91	1	*	3	-2 (416)
Moderate/Liberal Republican	16	76	0	4	4	11	78	1	*	10	-5 (210)
Conservative/Moderate Dem.	73	14	*	5	8	88	8	0	*	4	+15 (470)
Liberal Democrat	78	8	1	10	3	90	5	1	3	1	+12 (241)
Marital Status											
Married	36	48	3	4	9	42	47	1	2	8	+6 (1126)
Unmarried	46	36	1	7	10	53	32	2	3	10	+7 (864)
Parental Status											
Parent	34	48	2	5	11	45	46	1	2	6	+11 (684)
Non-Parent	44	40	2	6	8	48	38	1	3	10	+4 (1311)
Labor Union											
Union Household	48	31	1	10	10	56	32	1	3	8	+8 (336)
Non-Union Household	39	45	2	5	9	45	43	1	2	9	+6 (1641)

PERSONAL CONCERNS

(Based on Registered Voters Who Are "Very Concerned")

	<i>Not having enough money for retirement</i>			<i>Being unable to put child through college*</i>			<i>Being unable to afford health care for family</i>		
	<u>1996</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>Change</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>Change</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>Change</u>
	%	%		%	%		%	%	
Total	56	55	-1	53	52	-1	61	63	+2
Sex									
Male	51	50	-1	50	49	-1	56	59	+3
Female	60	60	0	56	54	-2	65	67	+2
Race									
White	54	52	-2	50	48	-2	58	61	+3
Non-white	71	74	+3	75	72	-3	78	78	0
Black	73	80	+7	79	76	-3	81	82	+1
Hispanict	60	71	+11	55	70	+15	61	77	+16
Race and Sex									
White Men	49	47	-2	47	45	-2	54	56	+2
White Women	58	56	-2	53	50	-3	63	64	+1
Age									
Under 30	54	51	-3	61	55	-6	63	60	-3
30-49	61	56	-5	58	54	-4	59	58	-1
50-64	58	58	0	42	46	-4	65	69	+4
65+	44	55	+11	47	51	-4	60	69	+9
Sex and Age									
Men 18-29	49	47	-2	54	54	0	52	58	+6
Women 18-29	59	55	-4	66	55	-11	72	62	-10
Men 30-49	55	51	-4	54	50	-4	52	55	+3
Women 30-49	66	60	-6	61	58	-3	64	61	-3
Men 50+	50	50	0	43	47	+4	63	63	0
Women 50+	53	62	+9	45	49	+4	63	74	+11
Education									
College Grad.	41	37	-4	40	37	-3	43	46	+3
Some College	56	55	-1	57	50	-7	59	59	0
High School Grad.	60	62	+2	57	58	+1	68	72	+4
<H.S. Grad.	68	78	+10	64	73	+9	77	86	+9

* Based on those who gave an answer

† The designation Hispanic is unrelated to the white-black categorization.

Question: Now I'd like you to think about some concerns that people may have. How concerned are you, if at all, about (INSERT ITEM: ROTATE) ? Are you very concerned, somewhat concerned, not too concerned, or not at all concerned about this? What about (NEXT ITEM)... ?

Continued ...

	<i>Not having enough money for retirement</i>			<i>Being unable to put child through college*</i>			<i>Being unable to afford health care for family</i>		
	<u>1996</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>Change</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>Change</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>Change</u>
	%	%		%	%		%	%	
Total	56	55	-1	53	52	-1	61	63	+2
Family Income									
\$75,000+	37	36	-1	35	38	+3	36	44	+8
\$50,000-\$74,999	45	47	+2	39	45	+6	47	50	+3
\$30,000-\$49,999	57	59	+2	59	53	-6	63	68	+5
\$20,000-\$29,999	66	66	0	58	60	+2	71	79	+8
<\$20,000	66	77	+11	65	69	+4	74	80	+6
Region									
East	57	57	0	54	53	-1	65	68	+3
Midwest	55	50	-5	53	47	-6	60	57	-3
South	62	59	-3	61	56	-5	65	67	+2
West	46	54	+8	41	50	+9	51	60	+9
Religious Affiliation									
Total White Protestant	54	52	-2	48	47	-1	58	60	+2
White Protestant Evangelical	57	53	-4	50	49	-1	58	62	+4
White Prot. Non-Evangelical	51	50	-1	47	46	-1	59	58	-1
White Catholic	56	49	-7	54	46	-8	61	60	-1
Secular	44	52	+8	45	49	+4	48	55	+7
Community Size									
Large City	54	59	+5	55	56	+1	61	70	+9
Suburb	51	50	-1	50	44	-6	55	56	+1
Small City/Town	60	57	-3	57	54	-3	63	65	+2
Rural Area	56	55	-1	51	53	+2	63	61	-2
Party ID									
Republican	49	45	-4	46	43	-3	50	49	-1
Democrat	61	65	+4	61	60	-1	69	74	+5
Independent	57	54	-3	53	50	-3	62	64	+2
Party and Ideology									
Conservative Republican	n/a	44		n/a	40		n/a	45	
Moderate/Liberal Republican	n/a	46		n/a	47		n/a	54	
Conservative/Moderate Dem.	n/a	68		n/a	60		n/a	77	
Liberal Democrat	n/a	59		n/a	57		n/a	66	
Marital Status									
Married	54	51	-3	51	50	-1	58	58	0
Unmarried	58	61	+3	57	54	-3	64	71	+7
Parental Status									
Parent	63	58	-5	65	62	-3	62	59	-3
Non-parent	52	54	+2	46	45	-1	60	65	+5
Labor Union									
Union Household	63	57	-6	58	56	-2	64	64	0
Non-Union Household	54	55	+1	52	51	-1	60	63	+3

MOST IMPORTANT PRIORITY FOR NEXT PRESIDENT

(Based on Registered Voters)

	<u>Social Security & Medicare</u>	<u>Education</u>	<u>Health Care</u>	<u>Morality</u>	<u>Economy</u>	<u>Taxes</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>None/ DK/Ref.</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total	24	21	19	12	12	9	2	1=100
Sex								
Male	23	20	16	13	13	12	2	1
Female	26	22	22	11	9	7	2	1
Race								
White	24	20	20	12	11	10	2	1
Non-white	27	26	17	6	12	8	4	*
Black	29	27	18	6	11	6	3	*
Hispanic†	23	22	11	14	21	8	1	0
Race and Sex								
White Men	23	19	17	13	13	13	1	1
White Women	25	22	22	12	9	7	2	1
Age								
Under 30	14	35	17	13	11	8	2	0
30-49	15	25	18	12	15	12	2	1
50-64	32	13	22	9	11	10	2	1
65+	41	12	19	12	7	5	2	2
Sex and Age								
Men 18-29	12	36	17	12	11	10	2	0
Women 18-29	15	34	17	13	12	7	2	0
Men 30-49	16	21	15	12	17	16	2	1
Women 30-49	15	29	21	13	12	8	1	1
Men 50+	34	12	17	14	11	10	1	1
Women 50+	38	13	24	8	7	5	3	2
Education								
College Grad.	14	26	21	12	13	11	2	1
Some College	19	24	19	14	12	9	2	1
High School Grad.	29	18	20	11	10	10	1	1
<H.S. Grad.	45	14	13	11	10	2	3	2

† The designation Hispanic is unrelated to the white-black categorization.

Question: As I read from a list, tell me which ONE of the following items is the most important thing for the next president to do. Please wait until I read the entire list before you respond. **(READ LIST; ROTATE ORDER)**

Continued ...

	<u>Social Security & Medicare</u>	<u>Education</u>	<u>Health Care</u>	<u>Morality</u>	<u>Economy</u>	<u>Taxes</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>None/ DK/Ref.</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total	24	21	19	12	12	9	2	1=100
Family Income								
\$75,000+	15	26	17	13	13	13	2	1
\$50,000-\$74,999	17	18	19	15	14	14	3	-
\$30,000-\$49,999	21	23	21	13	10	10	1	1
\$20,000-\$29,999	24	24	19	11	12	7	2	1
<\$20,000	33	15	25	7	11	6	2	1
Region								
East	26	21	21	11	13	6	2	*
Midwest	26	19	20	10	11	11	2	1
South	25	20	19	13	12	9	1	1
West	19	27	16	13	10	11	3	1
Religious Affiliation								
Total White Protestant	26	17	18	15	12	10	1	1
White Protestant Evangelical	26	16	12	25	10	8	1	2
White Prot. Non-Evangelical	25	18	23	7	13	11	2	1
White Catholic	25	21	23	7	12	10	1	1
Secular	18	32	25	4	7	8	5	1
Community Size								
Large City	22	28	18	8	10	8	4	2
Suburb	22	23	19	13	13	7	2	1
Small City/Town	28	18	19	10	12	11	1	1
Rural Area	24	17	21	15	10	11	1	1
Party ID								
Republican	18	18	13	20	11	16	2	2
Democrat	30	22	25	4	12	4	2	1
Independent	22	22	19	12	11	10	3	1
Party and Ideology								
Conservative Republican	16	18	9	26	11	16	2	2
Moderate/Liberal Republican	21	20	20	10	12	15	1	1
Conservative/Moderate Dem.	31	21	23	4	13	5	2	1
Liberal Democrat	25	26	31	3	10	3	2	*
Marital Status								
Married	23	20	18	12	12	12	2	1
Unmarried	26	22	21	11	11	6	2	1
Parental Status								
Parent	14	28	17	13	13	12	2	1
Non-parent	29	18	21	11	10	8	2	1
Labor Union								
Union Household	26	21	22	6	13	10	1	1
Non-Union Household	24	21	19	13	11	9	2	1

VIEWS ON THE ISSUES BY TYPOLOGY GROUPS

Socially		New						
		Liberal	Conservative	New Total	Staunch Partisan Conservatives Democrats	Moderate Republicans	Populist Republicans	Prosperity Independents
<i>Satisfaction with way things are going</i>								
	Democrats							
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Satisfied	68	60	52	35	53	34	56	35
Dissatisfied	28	34	42	62	35	61	38	56
Don't know	4	6	6	3	12	5	6	9
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Use budget SURPLUS on</i>								
Tax cut	4	6	14	36	16	14	20	14
National debt	26	19	21	26	21	20	29	23
Domestic programs	37	21	25	10	22	22	22	25
Social security/Medicare	32	53	38	25	37	42	28	35
Don't know	1	1	2	3	4	2	1	3
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>To protect the rights of patients in HMO's</i>								
Govt should create national standards	76	59	58	30	53	55	59	64
Too much government involvement	21	34	36	65	40	37	37	29
Don't know	3	7	6	5	7	8	4	7
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Eliminating the inheritance tax</i>								
Favor	60	68	71	85	79	74	79	72
Oppose	31	26	23	11	18	18	16	21
Don't know	9	6	6	4	3	8	5	7
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Federal funding for vouchers</i>								
Favor	44	42	53	60	58	59	48	59
Oppose	56	56	44	35	39	37	49	39
Don't know	*	2	3	5	3	4	3	2
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Prescription drug benefits part of Medicare</i>								
Favor	98	93	91	73	91	91	91	91
Oppose	1	5	7	21	7	4	8	7
Don't know	1	2	2	6	2	5	1	2
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Continued ...

VIEWS ON THE ISSUES BY TYPOLOGY GROUPS (cont'd)

Socially		New					
Liberal	Conservative	New	Staunch	Moderate	Populist	Prosperity	
		Total	Partisan	Republicans	Republicans	Independents	Disaffecteds
<u>Democrats</u>		<u>Democrats</u>	<u>Democrats</u>	<u>Poor</u>			
%		%	%	%	%	%	%
<i>Cutting taxes</i>							
For all income brackets		40	66	49	41	51	34
24	28	37	29				
Lower and middle income families		58	33	51	56	49	62
75	69	61	68				
Don't know		<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>4</u>
<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>				
		100	100	100	100	100	100
100	100	100	100				
<i>Defense spending</i>							
Increase		34	65	44	37	34	37
14	26	23	23				
Keep the same		48	29	48	42	51	39
60	57	61	50				
Cut back		14	5	5	17	14	19
25	11	11	22				
Don't know		<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>5</u>
<u>1</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>				
		100	100	100	100	100	100
100	100	100	100				
<i>Payroll taxes for private retirement accounts proposal</i>							
Heard a lot or a little about proposal		69	84	78	61	69	58
71	67	68	59				
Didn't hear about proposal		30	16	20	39	31	40
29	32	31	38				
Don't know		<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>
<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>				
		100	100	100	100	100	100
100	100	100	100				
<i>Using payroll taxes for private retirement accounts*</i>							
Favor		71	86	80	76	84	82
54	49	61	70				
Oppose		23	10	14	20	15	13
33	44	32	27				
Don't know		<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>5</u>
<u>13</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>3</u>				
		100	100	100	100	100	100
100	100	100	100				
<i>Not having enough money for retirement</i>							
Concerned		79	65	69	82	70	92
80	81	80	94				
Not concerned		19	32	28	17	29	7
19	17	16	4				
Don't know/Does not apply		<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>				
		100	100	100	100	100	100
100	100	100	100				

* Based on those who heard a little or a lot about proposal.

VIEWS ON THE ISSUES BY TYPOLOGY GROUPS (cont'd)

Socially		New					
Liberal	Conservative	New Total	Staunch Partisan Conservatives	Moderate Republicans	Populist Republicans	Prosperity Independents	Disaffecteds
<u>Democrats</u>		<u>Democrats</u>	<u>Conservatives</u>	<u>Poor</u>	<u>Republicans</u>	<u>Independents</u>	<u>Disaffecteds</u>
<i>Being unable to put a child through college+</i>		%	%	%	%	%	%
Concerned		77	66	70	82	63	85
76	75	83	91				
Not concerned		<u>23</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>15</u>
	<u>24</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>9</u>				
		100	100	100	100	100	100
100	100	100	100				
<i>Being unable to afford health care for sick family member</i>							
Concerned		82	66	70	89	69	91
86	89	81	97				
Not concerned		16	32	27	10	30	6
12	10	17	2				
Don't know/Does not apply		<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>
	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>				
		100	100	100	100	100	100
100	100	100	100				

+ Based on those who gave an answer.

ABOUT THE TYPOLOGY

The 10-group political typology was developed by the Pew Research Center to classify people on the basis of their political value orientations, partisanship, and political activism. The typology groups presented in this report are a replication of the first typology created for this electoral season, in the fall of 1999. That typology was developed through a two-step statistical procedure involving factor analysis and cluster analysis. This procedure is described in more detail in the November 1999 report.³

The current typology is an approximation of the earlier classification, using the same eight value scales to predict in which typology group a respondent belongs. To increase the efficiency of the procedure, some items that were only moderately associated with a value scale were omitted from the analysis. This procedure has been shown to be a close approximation of the full cluster analysis procedure, predicting the same typology group for respondents in fully 84% of all cases.

Political Typology Groups		
	Adult <u>Population</u>	Registered <u>Voters</u>
<i>Typology groups ...</i>	%	%
Staunch Conservatives	11	14
Moderate Republicans	9	11
Populist Republicans	8	9
New Prosperity Independents	6	7
Disaffecteds	11	11
Liberal Democrats	10	12
Socially Conservative Democrats	9	11
New Democrats	11	13
Partisan Poor	11	12
Bystanders	13	--

STAUNCH CONSERVATIVES:

Pro-business, pro-military, pro-life, anti-gay and anti-social welfare with a strong faith in America. Anti-environmental. Self-defined patriot. Distrustful of government. Little concern for the poor. Unsupportive of the women's movement. Predominately white (93%), male (62%) and older. Married (74%). Extremely satisfied financially (54% make at least \$50,000). Fifty-seven percent are white Protestants.

MODERATE REPUBLICANS:

Pro-business, pro-military, but also pro-government. Strong environmentalists. Highly religious. Self-defined patriots. Little compassion for poor. More satisfied than Staunch Conservatives with state of the nation. White, relatively well-educated and very satisfied financially.

POPULIST REPUBLICANS:

Religious, nationalistic and pro-life. Negative attitudes toward gays and elected officials. Sympathetic toward the poor. Most think corporations have too much power and money. Tend to favor environmental protection. Roughly six-in-ten are dissatisfied with the state of the nation. Heavily female (61%) and less educated. Fully 31% are white evangelical Protestants compared to 15% overall.

³

“Retropolitics: The Political Typology, Version 3.0,” November 1999.

NEW PROSPERITY INDEPENDENTS:

Pro-business, pro-environment and many are pro-choice. Sympathetic toward immigrants, but not as understanding toward black Americans and the poor. Somewhat critical of government. Tolerant on social issues. Well-educated (40% have a college degree), affluent (almost four-in-ten earn at least \$75,000), young (70% less than age 50), and male (64%). Less religious (only 15% go to church weekly).

THE DISAFFECTEDS:

Distrustful of government, politicians, and business corporations. Favor creation of third major political party. Also, anti-immigrant and intolerant of homosexuality. Very unsatisfied financially. Less-educated (only 8% have a college degree) and lower-income (84% make less than \$50,000). Half are between the ages of 30-49. Second only to Partisan Poor in number of single parents.

LIBERAL DEMOCRATS:

Pro-choice and supporters of civil rights, gay rights, and the environment. Critical of big business. Very low expression of religious faith. Most sympathetic of any group to the poor, African-Americans and immigrants. Highly supportive of the women's movement. Most highly-educated group (48% have a college degree). Least religious of all typology groups. One-third never married.

SOCIALLY CONSERVATIVE DEMOCRATS:

Patriotic, yet disenchanted with the government. Intolerant on social issues. Positive attitude toward the military. Think big business has too much power and money. Highly religious. Not affluent but satisfied financially. Slightly less-educated, older (32% are women over age 50).

NEW DEMOCRATS:

Favorable view of government. Pro-business, yet think government regulation is necessary. Concerned about environmental issues and think government should take strong measures in this area. Accepting of gays. Somewhat less sympathetic toward the poor, black Americans and immigrants than Liberal Democrats. Many are reasonably well-educated and fall into the middle-income bracket. Nearly six-in-ten (59%) are women and 17% are black.

PARTISAN POOR:

Nationalistic and anti-big business. Disenchanted with government. Think the government should do even more to help the poor. Very religious. Support civil rights and the women's movement. Have very low incomes (39% make under \$20,000), and nearly two-thirds (63%) are female. Thirty-six percent are African-American and 13% are Hispanic. Not very well-educated. Largest group of single parents.

BYSTANDERS:

Somewhat sympathetic toward poor. Uninterested in what goes on in politics. Rarely vote. Young (46% under 30), less-educated and not very religious.

ABOUT THE SURVEY

Results for the Campaign 2000 Typology Survey are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates among a nationwide sample of 2,799 adults (1,999 registered voters), 18 years of age or older, during the period August 24 – September 10, 2000. For results based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 2 percentage points. For results based on registered voters, the sampling error is plus or minus 2.5 percentage points. For results based on likely voters (N=1495), the sampling error is plus or minus 3 percentage points. For results based on either Form 1 (N=1025) or Form 2 (N=974) registered voters, the sampling error is plus or minus 3.5 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.

SURVEY METHODOLOGY IN DETAIL

The sample for this survey is a random digit sample of telephone numbers selected from telephone exchanges in the continental United States. The random digit aspect of the sample is used to avoid "listing" bias and provides representation of both listed and unlisted numbers (including not-yet-listed). The design of the sample ensures this representation by random generation of the last two digits of telephone numbers selected on the basis of their area code, telephone exchange, and bank number.

The telephone exchanges were selected with probabilities proportional to their size. The first eight digits of the sampled telephone numbers (area code, telephone exchange, bank number) were selected to be proportionally stratified by county and by telephone exchange within county. That is, the number of telephone numbers randomly sampled from within a given county is proportional to that county's share of telephone numbers in the U.S. Only working banks of telephone numbers are selected. A working bank is defined as 100 contiguous telephone numbers containing three or more residential listings.

The sample was released for interviewing in replicates. Using replicates to control the release of sample to the field ensures that the complete call procedures are followed for the entire sample. The use of replicates also insures that the regional distribution of numbers called is appropriate. Again, this works to increase the representativeness of the sample.

At least ten attempts were made to complete an interview at every sampled telephone number. The calls were staggered over times of day and days of the week to maximize the chances of making a contact with a potential respondent. All interview breakoffs and refusals were re-contacted at least once in order to attempt to convert them to completed interviews. In each contacted household, interviewers asked to speak with the "youngest male 18 or older who is at home." If there is no eligible man at home, interviewers asked to speak with "the oldest woman 18 or older who is at home." This systematic respondent selection technique has been shown empirically to produce samples that closely mirror the population in terms of age and gender.

Non-response in telephone interview surveys produces some known biases in survey-derived estimates because participation tends to vary for different subgroups of the population, and these subgroups are likely to vary also on questions of substantive interest. In order to compensate for these known biases, the sample data are weighted in analysis.

The demographic weighting parameters are derived from a special analysis of the most recently available Census Bureau's Current Population Survey (March 1999). This analysis produced population parameters for the demographic characteristics of households with adults 18 or older, which are then compared with the sample characteristics to construct sample weights. The analysis only included households in the continental United States that contain a telephone.

The weights are derived using an iterative technique that simultaneously balances the distributions of all weighting parameters.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS
CAMPAIGN 2000 TYPOLOGY SURVEY
FINAL TOPLINE
August 24 - September 10, 2000
N = 2,799 General Public
N = 1,999 Registered Voters

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

Q.1 All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in this country today?

	<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Dissatisfied</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
September, 2000	52	42	6=100
June, 2000	47	46	7=100
April, 2000	47	44	9=100
August, 1999	58	38	4=100
January, 1999	53	40	7=100
July, 1996	29	67	4=100
October, 1995	24	72	4=100
September, 1988	50	45	5=100
May, 1988	40	55	5=100
January, 1988	38	56	6=100

Q.2 How much thought have you given to the coming presidential election ... quite a lot or only a little?

	<u>Quite</u> <u>A lot</u>	<u>(VOL.)</u> <u>Some</u>	<u>Only a</u> <u>Little</u>	<u>(VOL.)</u> <u>None</u>	<u>DK/</u> <u>Ref.</u>
September, 2000	59	8	29	3	1=100
July, 2000	46	6	45	3	*=100
June, 2000	46	6	43	5	*=100
May, 2000	48	4	42	5	1=100
November, 1996	67	8	22	3	*=100
October, 1996	65	7	26	1	1=100
Late September, 1996	61	7	29	2	1=100
Early September, 1996	56	3	36	4	1=100
July, 1996	55	3	41	1	*=100
June, 1996	50	5	41	3	1=100
October, 1992	77	5	16	1	1=100
September, 1992	69	3	26	1	1=100
August, 1992	72	4	23	1	*=100
June, 1992	63	6	29	1	1=100
Gallup: November, 1988	73	8	17	2	0=100
Gallup: October, 1988	69	9	20	2	0=100
Gallup: August, 1988	61	10	27	2	0=100
Gallup: September, 1988	57	18	23	2	0=100

Q.3 How closely have you been following news about the presidential election campaign... very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely?

	<u>Very closely</u>	<u>Fairly closely</u>	<u>Not too closely</u>	<u>Not at all closely</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref.</u>
September, 2000	27	46	18	8	1=100
July, 2000 ⁴	25	40	19	15	1=100
June, 2000	27	34	22	16	1=100
April, 2000	21	36	25	18	*=100
Early April, 2000	22	43	20	15	*=100
March, 2000	30	43	16	10	1=100
November, 1996	34	45	15	6	*=100
Early September, 1996	29	39	19	13	*=100
July, 1996	25	42	21	11	1=100
October, 1992	55	36	7	2	0=100
September, 1992	47	36	11	6	*=100
August, 1992	36	51	11	2	0=100
July, 1992	23	48	24	5	*=100
October, 1988	43	44	11	2	*=100
August, 1988	39	45	13	3	*=100

Q.4 How often would you say you vote... (READ)

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

Q.5 These days, many people are so busy they can't find time to register to vote, or move around so often they don't get a chance to re-register... Are you NOW registered to vote in your precinct or election district, or haven't you been able to register so far?

IF "1" YES, REGISTERED ASK:

Q.6 Are you absolutely certain that you are registered to vote, or is there a chance that your registration has lapsed because you moved or for some other reason?

BASED ON TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION: [N=2,799]

	Yes, <u>Registered</u>	Absolutely <u>Certain</u>	Chance <u>Lapsed</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>	No, Not <u>Registered</u>	<u>DK/Ref.</u>
September, 2000	75	69	5	1	25	*=100
June, 2000	79	75	4	*	21	*=100
Late September, 1999	74	69	5	*	24	2=100
Early September, 1998	77	74	3	*	22	1=100
Late August, 1998	78	75	3	*	22	*=100
June, 1998	78	73	4	1	22	*=100
November, 1997	80	75	4	1	20	*=100
September, 1997	79	76	3	*	20	1=100
November, 1996	76	69	2	*	24	*=100
June, 1996	79	75	4	0	21	*=100
October, 1995	76	73	3	*	23	1=100
April, 1995	76	74	2	0	23	1=100
December, 1994	74	70	3	1	24	2=100
November, 1994	73	70	2	1	26	1=100
Late October, 1994	77	74	3	0	22	1=100
Early October, 1994	76	72	4	*	23	1=100
July, 1994	79	75	4	0	20	1=100
May, 1993	82	-	-	-	17	1=100
June, 1992	76	73	3	0	23	1=100
November, 1990	80	-	-	-	20	0=100

- Q.7 If the presidential election were being held TODAY, would you vote for the Democratic ticket of Al Gore and Joe Lieberman, for the Republican ticket of George W. Bush and Dick Cheney, for the Green Party ticket headed by Ralph Nader, or for the Reform Party ticket headed by Pat Buchanan?
- Q.7a Do you support (INSERT PRESIDENTIAL CHOICE FROM Q.7, DO NOT READ VP CHOICE) strongly or only moderately?
- Q.7b As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to Gore the Democrat, more to Bush the Republican, more to Nader of the Green Party or more to Buchanan the Reform party candidate?

		July <u>2000</u>	Late June <u>2000</u>	Mid-June <u>2000</u>	<i>Gore-Bush Trial Heat</i> <u>Mid-June 2000</u>	
47	Gore/Lean Gore	41	35	42	46	Gore/Lean Gore
	25 Strongly	n/a	n/a	n/a	18	Strongly
	21 Only moderately	n/a	n/a	n/a	27	Only moderately
	1 Don't know	n/a	n/a	n/a	1	Don't know
41	Bush/Lean Bush	42	42	41	45	Bush/Lean Bush
	21 Strongly	n/a	n/a	n/a	20	Strongly
	19 Only moderately	n/a	n/a	n/a	25	Only moderately
	1 Don't know	n/a	n/a	n/a	*	Don't know
2	Nader/Lean Nader	6	2	4	<u>9</u>	Undecided/Other/DK
	1 Strongly	n/a	n/a	n/a	100	
	1 Only moderately	n/a	n/a	n/a		
	0 Don't know	n/a	n/a	n/a		
1	Buchanan/Lean Buchanan	2	2	3		
	* Strongly	n/a	n/a	n/a		
	1 Only moderately	n/a	n/a	n/a		
	* Don't know	n/a	n/a	n/a		
<u>9</u>	Undecided/Other/DK	<u>9</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>10</u>		
100		100	100	100		

IF RESPONDENT CHOSE GORE/LIEBERMAN IN Q.7 OR Q.7b, ASK: [N=918]

Q.8a Would you say that your choice is more a vote FOR Al Gore or more a vote AGAINST George W. Bush?

IF RESPONDENT CHOSE BUSH/CHENEY IN Q.7 OR Q.7b, ASK: [N=836]

Q.8b Would you say that your choice is more a vote FOR George W. Bush or more a vote AGAINST Al Gore?

<u>Direction of Support</u>	<u>1996 Election</u>	<u>Nov</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>Early Sept</u>
47 Gore	Clinton	51	51	52
30 Pro-Gore	Pro-Clinton	33	33	35
14 Anti-Bush	Anti-other candidates	15	16	15
3 Undecided	Undecided	3	2	2
41 Bush	Dole	32	34	34
24 Pro-Bush	Pro-Dole	15	15	16
14 Anti-Gore	Anti-other candidates	15	18	17
3 Undecided	Undecided	2	1	1
<u>12</u>	Perot	9	8	8
100	Pro-Perot	4	4	3
	Anti-other candidates	5	4	5
	Undecided	*	*	0
	Don't know/Refused	<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>
		100	100	100

IF RESPONDENT DID NOT CHOOSE GORE IN Q.7 OR Q.7b, ASK: [N=1,081]

Q.9 Do you think there is a chance that you might vote for Al Gore in November or have you definitely decided not to vote for him?

		June	Clinton
		<u>2000</u>	<u>Sept 1996</u>
13	Chance might vote for him	14	10
35	Decided not to vote for him	34	34
<u>5</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>
53%		54%	48%

IF RESPONDENT DID NOT CHOOSE BUSH IN Q.7 OR Q.7b, ASK: [N=1,163]

Q.10 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?

		June	Dole
		<u>2000</u>	<u>Sept 1996</u>
15	Chance might vote for him	15	14
38	Decided not to vote for him	33	47
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>
59%		54%	66%

IF RESPONDENT DID NOT CHOOSE NADER IN Q.7 OR Q.7b, ASK: [N=1,948]

Q.11 Do you think there is a chance that you might vote for Ralph Nader in November or have you definitely decided not to vote for him?

13	Chance might vote for him
76	Decided not to vote for him
<u>9</u>	Don't know/Refused
98%	

IF RESPONDENT DID NOT CHOOSE BUCHANAN IN Q.7 OR Q.7b, ASK: [N=1,977]

Q.12 Do you think there is a chance that you might vote for Pat Buchanan in November or have you definitely decided not to vote for him?

9	Chance might vote for him
82	Decided not to vote for him
<u>8</u>	Don't know/Refused
99%	

IF RESPONDENT CHOSE A CANDIDATE IN Q.7 OR Q.7b, ASK:

Q.13 What do you like most about (INSERT FROM Q.7 OR Q.7b), his personality, his leadership ability, his experience or his stand on issues?

	<u>Personality</u>	<u>Leadership</u>	<u>Experience</u>	<u>Stand on issues</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	
Al Gore	9	15	22	48	6=100	(N=918)
June, 2000	7	13	29	42	9=100	
May, 2000	10	13	30	40	7=100	
March, 2000	10	14	28	40	8=100	
October, 1999	8	11	32	43	6=100	
George W. Bush	9	19	9	55	8=100	(N=836)
June, 2000	10	19	11	50	10=100	
May, 2000	12	22	8	51	7=100	
March, 2000	14	24	10	42	10=100	
October, 1999	13	25	11	42	9=100	
Ralph Nader	6	4	9	80	1=100	(N=51)
Pat Buchanan	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		(N=22)

IF RESPONDENT CHOSE BUSH IN Q.7 OR Q.7b, ASK:

Q.14 What do you like LEAST about Al Gore, his personality, his leadership ability, his experience or his stand on issues?

	<u>Personality</u>	<u>Leadership</u>	<u>Experience</u>	<u>Stand on Issues</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	
Al Gore	17	17	7	48	11=100	(N=836)
June, 2000	17	19	6	43	15=100	
May, 2000	22	22	6	41	9=100	
March, 2000	22	20	5	43	10=100	
October, 1999	24	22	5	39	10=100	

IF RESPONDENT CHOSE GORE IN Q. 7 OR Q.7b ASK:

Q.15 What do you like LEAST about George W. Bush, his personality, his leadership ability, his experience or his stand on issues?

	<u>Personality</u>	<u>Leadership</u>	<u>Experience</u>	<u>Stand on Issues</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	
George W. Bush	20	12	11	43	14=100	(N=918)
June, 2000	26	13	10	34	17=100	
May, 2000	25	13	13	35	14=100	
March, 2000	33	8	13	35	11=100	
October, 1999	19	11	13	41	16=100	

ASK ALL:

On another subject...

Q.16 Have the presidential candidates been talking about the issues that are important to you in this campaign, or not?

		<u>Oct 1996</u>	
72	Yes		59
22	No	35	
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>6</u>	
100		100	

Q.17 What's your impression... do George W. Bush and Al Gore take different positions on the issues, or are they pretty similar in their positions on the issues?

		<u>June 2000</u>	<u>July 1999</u>
56	Different	51	47
32	Similar	33	24
<u>12</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>16</u>	<u>29</u>
100		100	100

QUESTION WAS ASKED SEPT 1-10, 2000 ONLY [N=835]

Q.17a Which candidate do you think has been running the more POSITIVE campaign so far — Al Gore or George W. Bush?

42	Al Gore
31	George W. Bush
6	Neither (VOL.)
10	Both (VOL.)
<u>11</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

Q.18 Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements that will help us understand how you feel about a number of things. As I read each pair, tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your own views — even if neither is exactly right. The first pair is... (**READ AND ROTATE**) (**AFTER CHOICE IS MADE, PROBE:** Do you feel STRONGLY about that, or not?)

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		<u>Aug</u>	<u>June</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>April</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>July</u>
		<u>1999</u>	<u>1997</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>
a.	Government is almost always wasteful and inefficient							
52		51	59	56	63	63	64	66
	43 Strongly	41	49	48	53	51	54	54
	9 Not Strongly	10	10	8	10	12	10	12
	Government often does a better job than people give it credit for							
40		43	36	39	34	34	32	31
	27 Strongly	28	23	25	20	19	19	17
	13 Not Strongly	15	13	14	14	15	13	14
	<u>8</u> Neither/Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.18 con't ...

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		Aug 1999	Oct 1997	June 1997	Oct 1996	Oct 1995	April 1995	Oct 1994	July 1994
f.	Racial discrimination is the main reason why many black people can't get ahead these days	28	25	33	28	37	34	34	32
31	22 Strongly	19	--	22	19	25	21	24	20
	9 Not Strongly	9	--	11	9	12	13	10	12
	Blacks who can't get ahead in this country are mostly responsible for their own condition	59	61	54	58	53	56	54	59
54	43 Strongly	46	--	41	45	38	40	40	43
	11 Not Strongly	13	--	13	13	15	16	14	16
	Neither/Don't know	<u>13</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>9</u>
<u>15</u>		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
100									
		Aug 1999	Oct 1997	June 1997	June 1996	July 1994			
g.	Immigrants today strengthen our country because of their hard work and talents	46	41	41	37	31			
50	36 Strongly	30	--	26	--	17			
	14 Not Strongly	16	--	15	--	14			
	Immigrants today are a burden on our country because they take our jobs, housing, and health care	44	48	48	54	63			
38	29 Strongly	34	--	37	--	49			
	9 Not Strongly	10	--	11	--	14			
	Neither/Don't know	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>6</u>			
<u>12</u>		100	100	100	100	100			
100									
		Aug 1999	Oct 1996	Oct 1995	April 1995	Oct 1994	July 1994		
j.	We should all be willing to fight for our country, whether it is right or wrong	47	48	49	49	47	52		
48	41 Strongly	39	39	38	39	39	43		
	7 Not Strongly	8	7	11	10	8	9		
	It's acceptable to refuse to fight in a war you believe is morally wrong	47	47	48	47	47	45		
45	37 Strongly	38	39	38	38	37	35		
	8 Not Strongly	9	8	10	9	10	10		
	Neither/Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>		
<u>7</u>		100	100	100	100	100	100		
100									

Q.18 con't ...

— THIS SERIES AND TREND FIGURES ARE BASED ON TOTAL GENERAL PUBLIC —

		Aug 1999	July 1994					
k.	73	74	68					
	66	66	59					
	7	8	9					
	24	23	30					
	20	18	22					
	4	5	8					
	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>					
	100	100	100					
		Aug 1999	Oct 1996	Oct 1995	April 1995	Oct 1994	July 1994	
m.	76	77	75	77	75	73	76	
	64	62	61	62	59	58	59	
	12	15	14	15	16	15	17	
	18	17	18	18	20	20	19	
	12	10	10	9	10	10	9	
	6	7	8	9	10	10	10	
	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
		Aug 1999	June 1997	Oct 1996	Oct 1995	April 1995	Oct 1994	July 1994
n.	54	52	51	51	53	51	50	52
	46	42	43	43	44	42	40	43
	8	10	8	8	9	9	10	9
	38	42	43	42	43	44	44	43
	28	29	28	27	27	26	28	27
	10	13	15	15	16	18	16	16
	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
		Aug 1999	Oct 1996	April 1996	Oct 1995	April 1995	Oct 1994	July 1994
o.	66	68	69	72	73	76	74	71
	53	55	58	59	60	64	61	58
	13	13	11	13	13	12	13	13
	27	26	25	23	24	21	22	25
	18	16	15	14	14	12	13	14
	9	10	10	9	10	9	9	11
	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.18 con't ...

— THIS SERIES AND TREND FIGURES ARE BASED ON TOTAL GENERAL PUBLIC —

		Aug 1999	June 1997	Oct 1996	Oct 1995	April 1995	Oct 1994	July 1994
p.	Most elected officials care what people							
39	like me think	35	28	38	33	32	29	34
	26 Strongly	21	17	23	18	18	17	18
	13 Not Strongly	14	11	15	15	14	12	16
	Most elected officials don't care what							
55	people like me think	60	67	58	64	64	68	64
	44 Strongly	49	55	48	53	53	56	51
	11 Not Strongly	11	12	10	11	11	12	13
<u>6</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100

On a different subject...

Q.19 Do you yourself plan to vote in the election this November?

IF YES IN Q.19, ASK:

Q.20 How certain are you that you will vote? Are you absolutely certain, fairly certain, or not certain?

	Yes, Plan To Vote	Absolutely Certain	Fairly Certain	Not Certain	No, Don't Plan To	Can't Say/ Don't know
September, 2000	95	84	10	1	3	2=100
June, 2000	95	84	10	1	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	75	17	1	3	4=100
June, 1998 [†]	95	74	19	2	3	2=100
November, 1996	96	--	--	--	2	2=100
October, 1996	98	87	10	1	1	1=100
Late September, 1996	98	89	8	1	1	1=100
Early September, 1996	96	83	11	2	2	2=100
July, 1996	95	82	12	1	3	2=100
June, 1996	96	84	11	1	2	2=100
November, 1994 [†]	93	--	--	--	5	2=100
October, 1994 [†]	95	--	--	--	3	2=100
October, 1992	98	91	6	1	1	1=100
September, 1992	98	85	11	2	1	1=100
August, 1992	97	89	8	*	1	2=100
June, 1992	97	88	8	1	1	2=100
Gallup: November, 1988	97	87	9	1	2	1=100
Gallup: October, 1988	98	--	--	--	1	1=100

[†] Non-Presidential elections

ASK FORM 1 ONLY: [N=1,025]

Q.21F1 Now I'd like your opinion of some groups and organizations. (First,) would you say your overall opinion of...
(INSERT ITEM; ROTATE) is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable?
(INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE")

		Very Favor- <u>able</u>	Mostly Favor- <u>able</u>	Mostly Unfavor- <u>able</u>	Very Unfavor- <u>able</u>	Never <u>Heard</u>	Can't <u>Rate</u>
a.F1	The Republican Party	11	42	28	12	0	7=100
	August, 1999	8	47	31	11	*	3=100
	Early October, 1998	9	43	28	14	0	6=100
	Early September, 1998	9	48	27	10	*	6=100
	March, 1998	9	41	33	12	*	5=100
	October, 1995	10	43	28	17	*	2=100
	December, 1994	22	46	19	8	*	5=100
b.F1	The Democratic Party	16	44	23	12	*	5=100
	August, 1999	14	45	29	9	*	3=100
	Early October, 1998	11	45	29	9	*	6=100
	Early September, 1998	12	47	26	9	*	6=100
	March, 1998	15	44	25	11	*	5=100
	October, 1995	9	40	38	11	0	2=100
	December, 1994	13	36	33	13	*	5=100
c.F1	Congress	8	53	27	5	*	7=100
	August, 1999	8	55	27	8	*	2=100
	Early October, 1998	7	55	25	8	0	5=100
	Early September, 1998	7	60	24	4	0	5=100
	October, 1995	4	39	42	13	0	2=100

ASK ALL:

Q.25 As I read from a list, tell me which ONE of the following items is the most important thing for the next president to do. Please wait until I read the entire list before you respond. **(READ LIST; ROTATE ORDER)**

- 12 The economy
- 19 Health care
- 21 Education
- 12 Morality
- 9 Taxes
- 24 Social Security and Medicare
- 2 **(DO NOT READ)** Other — **SPECIFY**
- * **(DO NOT READ)** None of the above
- 1 **(DO NOT READ)** Don't know/Refused

100

ASK FORM 1 ONLY: [N=1,025]

Q.26F1 As I read a list of phrases, tell me if you think each phrase better describes George W. Bush or Al Gore.
(READ AND ROTATE; ITEM j SHOULD ALWAYS COME LAST)

		George W. Bush	Al Gore	Neither	Both Equally	DK/Ref.
a.	Would use good judgment in a crisis	38	44	3	8	7=100
	June, 2000	44	37	5	6	8=100
b.	Personally likable	37	44	3	12	4=100
	June, 2000	42	36	7	9	6=100
c.	Honest and truthful	35	37	13	9	6=100
	June, 2000	35	31	19	7	8=100
d.	Cares about people like me	31	47	9	7	6=100
e.	A strong leader	44	38	7	6	5=100
f.	A typical politician	37	37	2	20	4=100
	June, 2000	34	36	1	22	7=100
g.	Can get things done	40	40	4	8	8=100
	June, 2000	43	33	8	6	10=100
h.	Willing to take a stand, even if it's unpopular	45	37	8	5	5=100
	June, 2000	46	32	9	5	8=100
i.	He is experienced and knows a lot about the issues	28	54	3	10	5=100
	July, 2000	25	39	11	20	5=100
j.	Comes closest to my opinions on the most important issues to me	39	48	5	2	6=100

ASK FORM 2 ONLY: [N=974]

Q.27F2 Regardless of who you support, which one of the Presidential candidates — Al Gore or George W. Bush — do you think would do the best job of **(INSERT ITEM. ROTATE. IF RESPONDENT MENTIONS ANYONE OTHER THAN GORE OR BUSH PROBE ONCE: "IF YOU HAD TO CHOOSE BETWEEN GORE AND BUSH...")** ?

		George W. Bush	Al Gore	Neither	DK/Ref.
a.	Keeping the economy strong	38	46	5	11=100
	June, 2000	38	41	5	16=100
	March, 2000	42	46	4	8=100
b.	Making wise decisions about the country's defense policy	46	40	4	10=100
	June, 2000	42	36	6	16=100
c.	Keeping Social Security and Medicare financially sound	36	49	4	11=100
	June, 2000	36	43	5	16=100
	March, 2000	35	49	5	11=100

Q.27F2 con't ...

		George			
		W. Bush	Al Gore	Neither	DK/Ref.
d.	Representing your views on gun control	39	37	5	19=100
	June, 2000	37	34	5	24=100
	March, 2000	36	45	5	14=100
e.	Improving conditions for minority groups	28	52	4	16=100
	March, 2000	25	58	4	13=100
f.	Improving the health care system	32	51	6	11=100
	June, 2000	31	44	6	19=100
	March, 2000	31	51	6	12=100
g.	Protecting and strengthening families	39	42	6	13=100
	June, 2000	38	38	7	17=100
	March, 2000	37	45	6	12=100
h.	Representing your views about abortion	34	38	7	21=100
	March, 2000	33	42	7	18=100
i.	Dealing with taxes	41	41	5	13=100
	June, 2000	41	34	7	18=100
	March, 2000	40	44	5	11=100
j.	Improving education	39	45	4	12=100
	June, 2000	34	44	5	17=100
	March, 2000	42	44	3	11=100
k.	Protecting the environment	24	58	4	14=100
	March, 2000	24	61	4	11=100
l.	Representing your views on America's role in world affairs	39	44	3	14=100

Q.28 As you may know, the federal government now has a budget SURPLUS. In your opinion, which ONE of the following should be done with the available money? Should the money be used (INSERT ITEM; ROTATE ITEMS)...

	<u>Tax Cut</u>	<u>National Debt</u>	<u>Domestic Programs</u>	<u>Social Security/Medicare</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>
September, 2000	14	21	25	38	2=100
February, 2000	12	20	21	45	2=100
Early August, 1998	10	20	26	42	2=100
June, 1998	10	19	25	44	2=100

Q.29 In your opinion, should the federal government create national standards to protect the rights of patients in HMOs and managed health care plans, OR would this get the government too involved in health care?

		Oct <u>1999</u>	Early Sept <u>1998</u>	Early Aug <u>1998</u>
58	Government should create national standards	62	47	51
36	Too much government involvement	32	46	38
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>11</u>
100		100	100	100

Now on another subject..

Q.30 I'd like your opinion of some programs and proposals being discussed in this country today. Please tell me if you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose each one. The first one is... **(READ AND ROTATE)**

		Strongly Favor	Favor	Oppose	Strongly Oppose	DK/Ref.
a.	Eliminating the inheritance tax	43	28	15	8	6=100
	Early September, 1998	44	25	13	9	9=100

ASK ALL:

d.	Federal funding for vouchers to help low and middle income parents send their children to private and parochial schools	24	29	27	17	3=100
	August, 1999	22	35	25	15	3=100
e.	Making prescription drug benefits part of the Medicare system	57	34	5	2	2=100

ASK ALL:

Q.31 Which do you favor more — cutting taxes for people in all income brackets, OR tax cuts targeted to lower and middle income families?

40	Cutting taxes for all income brackets
58	Tax cuts targeted to lower and middle income families
<u>2</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

Q.32 Do you think that we should increase our defense spending, keep it about the same, or cut it back?

		Aug <u>1999</u>	June <u>1999</u>
34	Increase	31	36
48	Keep same	53	47
14	Cut back	13	15
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>
100		100	100

Q.33 How much, if anything, have you heard about a proposal which would allow younger workers to invest a portion of their payroll taxes in private retirement accounts, which might include stocks or mutual funds, rather than having all of it go toward Social Security -- a lot, a little or nothing at all?

26	A lot
43	A little
30	Nothing at all
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

Q.34 Generally, do you favor or oppose this proposal?

Total <u>RV's</u>	Heard about <u>Proposal</u> ⁶	
70	71	Favor
21	23	Oppose
<u>9</u>	<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	100	
	(N=1,386)	

6

Based on the percent who heard "A lot" or "A little" in Q.33.

On a different subject...

Q.41 Now I'd like you to think about some concerns that people may have. How concerned are you, if at all, about **(INSERT ITEM: ROTATE)**? Are you very concerned, somewhat concerned, not too concerned, or not at all concerned about this? What about **(NEXT ITEM)**...?

		(VOL.)					
		Very	Somewhat	Not too	Not at all	Does Not	Don't
		<u>Concerned</u>	<u>Concerned</u>	<u>Concerned</u>	<u>Concerned</u>	<u>Apply</u>	<u>Know</u>
a.	Not having enough money for your retirement?	55	24	11	8	1	1=100
	October, 1999	49	28	14	8	1	*=100
	October, 1996	56	24	11	7	1	1=100
	March, 1996	58	22	10	8	2	*=100
	October, 1995	47	29	11	8	5	*=100
	March, 1994	40	30	15	12	2	1=100
	May, 1988	32	37	14	9	5	3=100

BASED ON THOSE WHO GAVE AN ANSWER: [N=1,750]

b.	Being unable to save enough money to put a child through college?	52	25	10	13=100	--	--
	October, 1999	47	25	12	16=100	--	--
	October, 1996	53	21	11	15=100	--	--
	October, 1995	51	22	10	17=100	--	--
	March, 1994	49	22	11	18=100	--	--
	May, 1988	33	34	16	17=100	--	--
c.	Being unable to afford necessary health care when a family member gets sick?	63	19	8	8	2	*=100
	October, 1999	58	20	14	7	1	*=100
	October, 1996	61	18	12	7	1	1=100
	March, 1996	65	17	11	7	*	0=100
	October, 1995	64	18	10	7	1	*=100
	March, 1994	48	23	16	11	1	1=100

BASED ON THOSE WHO GAVE AN ANSWER: [N=1,657]

d.	Not having adequate child care when you go to work?	43	21	11	25=100	--	--
	October, 1995	38	22	16	24=100	--	--
	March, 1994	34	20	16	30=100	--	--

Q.42 Now I'm going to read you some more pairs of statements. As I read each pair, tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your own views — even if neither is exactly right. The first pair is... (READ AND ROTATE) (AFTER CHOICE IS MADE, PROBE: Do you feel STRONGLY about that, or not?)

— THIS SERIES AND TREND FIGURES ARE BASED ON TOTAL GENERAL PUBLIC —

		Aug	Oct	Oct	April	Oct	July
		<u>1999</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>
q.	This country should do whatever it takes						
78	to protect the environment	80	77	77	74	77	78
	67 Strongly	67	66	65	63	65	62
	11 Not Strongly	13	11	12	11	12	16
	This country has gone too far in its efforts						
17	to protect the environment	15	18	20	22	19	19
	12 Strongly	10	13	13	15	13	12
	5 Not Strongly	5	5	7	7	6	7
<u>5</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100

		Aug	Oct	Oct	April	Oct	July
		<u>1999</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>
r.	Stricter environmental laws and regulations						
31	cost too many jobs and hurt the economy	28	30	35	39	32	33
	22 Strongly	19	22	23	28	23	21
	9 Not Strongly	9	8	12	11	9	12
	Stricter environmental laws and regulations						
61	are worth the cost	65	63	61	57	62	62
	50 Strongly	50	51	47	44	49	45
	11 Not Strongly	15	12	14	13	13	17
<u>8</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100

		Aug	July
		<u>1999</u>	<u>1994</u>
t.	As Americans, we can always find ways		
59	to solve our problems and get what we want	63	52
	46 Strongly	47	35
	13 Not strongly	16	17
	This country can't solve many of its		
36	important problems	32	45
	29 Strongly	24	30
	7 Not strongly	8	15
<u>5</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100

Q.42 con't ...

— THIS SERIES AND TREND FIGURES ARE BASED ON TOTAL GENERAL PUBLIC —

		Aug 1999	Oct 1997	June 1997	Oct 1996	April 1996	Oct 1995	April 1995	Oct 1994	July 1994
u.	Homosexuality is a way of life									
50	that should be accepted by society	49	46	45	44	44	45	47	46	46
	35 Strongly	33	--	32	32	29	29	30	33	26
	15 Not Strongly	16	--	13	12	15	16	17	13	20
	Homosexuality is a way of life that									
41	should be discouraged by society	44	48	50	49	49	50	48	48	49
	35 Strongly	37	--	43	42	42	41	40	41	41
	6 Not Strongly	7	--	7	7	7	9	8	7	8
<u>9</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

		Aug 1999	June 1997	Oct 1996	Oct 1995	April 1995	Oct 1994	July 1994
v.	Books that contain dangerous ideas should							
48	be banned from public school libraries	52	46	44	46	45	42	46
	41 Strongly	43	39	39	37	40	36	37
	7 Not Strongly	9	7	5	9	5	6	9
	Public school libraries should be allowed							
48	to carry any books they want	45	50	51	52	52	53	55
	40 Strongly	36	40	43	41	44	47	39
	8 Not Strongly	9	10	9	11	9	8	12
<u>4</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100

		Aug 1999
w.	Religion is a very important part of my life	75
75	69 Strongly	67
	6 Not Strongly	8
23	Religion is not that important to me	22
	15 Strongly	12
	8 Not Strongly	10
<u>2</u>	Neither/Don't Know	<u>2</u>
100		100

		Aug 1999	Oct 1996	April 1996	July 1994
y.	I'm generally satisfied with the way				
59	things are going for me financially	64	57	57	56
	46 Strongly	48	43	44	36
	13 Not Strongly	16	14	13	20
	I'm not very satisfied with my financial				
39	situation	34	41	42	43
	33 Strongly	28	36	37	33
	6 Not Strongly	6	5	5	10
<u>2</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
100		100	100	100	100

Q.42 con't ...

— THIS SERIES AND TREND FIGURES ARE BASED ON TOTAL GENERAL PUBLIC —

		Aug	July
		1999	1994
z.	I often don't have enough money		
37	to make ends meet	29	36
	30 Strongly	22	27
	7 Not strongly	7	9
	Paying the bills is generally not a		
59	problem for me	68	63
	48 Strongly	54	43
	11 Not strongly	14	20
<u>4</u>	Neither/Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>
100		100	100

Q.43 Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs...(READ)

	Most of The Time	Some of the Time	Only Now and Then	Hardly at All	DK/Ref.
September, 2000	51	34	10	4	1=100
June, 2000	46	31	15	8	*=100
Late September, 1999	46	32	17	5	*=100
August, 1999	48	34	13	5	*=100
Late October, 1998	57	29	10	4	*=100
Early October, 1998	51	33	11	5	*=100
Early September, 1998	52	33	11	4	*=100
June, 1998	42	33	18	7	*=100
November, 1997	47	35	14	4	*=100
November, 1996	52	32	12	4	*=100
October, 1996	43	37	13	6	1=100
October, 1995	52	33	11	4	*=100
April, 1995	49	34	13	4	*=100
November, 1994	57	30	10	3	*=100
October, 1994	52	34	10	4	0=100
July, 1994	51	32	13	4	*=100
May, 1990	43	36	15	6	*=100
October, 1988	52	33	12	3	*=100
May, 1988	42	37	15	4	2=100
January, 1988	42	35	17	5	1=100
May, 1987	47	35	13	4	1=100

Q.44 THRU Q.47 AND TREND FIGURES ARE BASED ON TOTAL GENERAL PUBLIC

Q.44 In politics TODAY, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or Independent?

				(VOL.) No	(VOL.) Other	
	Republican	Democrat	Independent	Preference	Party	DK/Ref.
September, 2000	27	34	30	6	*	3=100
February, 2000	27	30	34	6	1	2=100
Late September, 1999	24	31	36	5	1	3=100
August, 1999	25	33	37	3	*	2=100
November, 1997	25	32	38	3	*	2=100
June, 1996	30	33	34	2	*	1=100
February, 1996	30	32	32	3	1	2=100
October, 1995	30	30	35	3	*	2=100
April, 1995	30	29	37	3	*	1=100
March, 1995	35	28	32	--	2	3=100
February, 1995	33	30	33	--	2	2=100
December, 1994	35	31	30	--	2	2=100
November, 1994	28	31	35	4	*	2=100
October, 1994	31	32	33	3	*	1=100
Early October, 1994	33	30	32	-	2	3=100
July, 1994	29	33	35	2	*	1=100
June, 1992	28	32	36	1	*	3=100
May, 1990	28	33	28	9	*	2=100
February, 1989	31	38	23	7	*	1=100
May, 1988	28	38	26	6	*	2=100
January, 1988	27	39	26	6	*	2=100
May, 1987	25	37	28	8	*	2=100

ASKED ONLY OF THOSE WHO ANSWERED "REPUBLICAN" IN Q.44: [N=796]

Q.45 Do you consider yourself a STRONG Republican, or NOT a strong Republican?

		Late												
		Sept	Aug	Nov	Oct	April	Oct	July	June	May	Feb	May	Jan	May
		1999	1999	1997	1995	1995	1994	1994	1992	1990	1989	1988	1988	1987
14	Strong	10	11	11	11	15	16	13	11	13	15	13	12	11
<u>13</u>	Not strong	<u>14</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>14</u>
27%		24%	25%	25%	30%	30%	31%	29%	28%	28%	31%	28%	27%	25%

ASKED ONLY OF THOSE WHO ANSWERED "DEMOCRAT" IN Q.44: [N=946]

Q.46 Do you consider yourself a STRONG Democrat, or NOT a strong Democrat?

		Late												
		Sept	Aug	Nov	Oct	April	Oct	July	June	May	Feb	May	Jan	May
		1999	1999	1997	1995	1995	1994	1994	1992	1990	1989	1988	1988	1987
19	Strong	15	15	14	14	14	18	15	14	16	17	19	19	18
<u>15</u>	Not strong	<u>16</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>19</u>
34%		31%	33%	32%	30%	29%	32%	33%	32%	33%	38%	38%	39%	37%

**ASKED ONLY OF THOSE WHO ANSWERED INDEPENDENT/NO PREFERENCE/OTHER/DON'T KNOW
(Q. 44=3,4,5,9): [N=1,057]**

Q.47 As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to the Republican Party or the Democratic Party?

	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>(VOL.) Neither</u>	<u>DK/Ref.</u>
September, 2000	28	33	27	12=100
Late September, 1999	31	34	27	8=100
August, 1999	34	36	24	6=100

ASK REPUBLICANS AND REPUBLICAN LEANERS ONLY (Q.44=1 OR Q.47=1): [N=864]

Q.48 How good a job is the Republican Party doing these days in standing up for its traditional positions on such things as reducing the size of government, cutting taxes and promoting conservative social values — would you say the Party is doing an excellent job, a good job, only a fair job or a poor job?

6	Excellent
43	Good
44	Only fair
5	Poor
<u>2</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

ASK DEMOCRATS AND DEMOCRATIC LEANERS ONLY (Q.44=2 OR Q.47=2): [N=968]

Q.49 How good a job is the Democratic Party doing these days in standing up for its traditional positions on such things as protecting the interests of minorities, helping the poor and needy, and representing working people — would you say the Party is doing an excellent job, a good job, only a fair job or a poor job?

11	Excellent
52	Good
32	Only fair
4	Poor
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

ASK ALL:

Q.50 Now I am going to read some statements about the candidates and political parties. For each, please tell me if you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly DISagree with it, or completely DISagree with it. (The first one is...) (INSERT ITEM; ROTATE ITEMS)

		Completely <u>Agree</u>	Mostly <u>Agree</u>	Mostly <u>Disagree</u>	Completely <u>Disagree</u>	Don't <u>Know</u>
ASK ITEMS a THRU i OF FORM 1 ONLY: [N=1,025]						
a.F1	I like Al Gore personally more than I did earlier in the year	23	33	17	19	8=100
b.F1	The Republican party has become more compassionate and caring than it has been in the past	13	34	27	17	9=100
c.F1	George W. Bush may not be up to the job of president	23	23	25	23	6=100
d.F1	Laura Bush is very impressive	16	32	20	10	22=100
e.F1	Al Gore is really more liberal than he lets on	24	34	20	7	15=100
f.F1	I really like Joe Lieberman	17	30	18	11	24=100
g.F1	Al Gore is too partisan and too divisive	18	21	34	14	13=100
i.F1	I am tired of all the problems associated with the Clinton administration	48	24	16	8	4=100
	August, 1999	36	35	19	8	2=100
	March, 1999	48	26	15	8	3=100
ASK ITEMS j THRU r OF FORM 2 ONLY: [N=974]						
j.F2	The Democrats care more about ordinary people than the Republicans	26	26	22	19	7=100
k.F2	I have a lot of confidence in Al Gore's abilities to deal with difficult issues	23	34	21	18	4=100
l.F2	George W. Bush seems like a real person rather than a politician	19	34	23	19	5=100
m.F2	Tipper Gore is very impressive	18	38	21	12	11=100
n.F2	George W. Bush is really more conservative than he lets on	18	40	20	8	14=100
o.F2	I really like Dick Cheney	12	32	19	13	24=100
p.F2	I like George W. Bush personally more than I did earlier in the year	13	33	24	22	8=100
r.F2	I wish Bill Clinton could run for a third term	16	11	16	55	2=100
	August, 1999	12	16	24	47	1=100
	March, 1999	16	12	17	54	1=100

ASK ALL:

Q.51 In general, would you describe your political views as... **(READ)**

		April <u>2000</u>	Oct <u>1999</u>	Sept <u>1998</u>	Early April <u>1998</u>	April <u>1996</u>
9	Very conservative	8	7	9	8	7
29	Conservative	32	28	32	33	33
40	Moderate	37	42	39	36	40
14	Liberal, OR	14	15	13	15	12
5	Very liberal?	5	5	4	5	4
<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused (DO NOT READ)	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100

Q.52 Thinking back to the 1996 presidential election, when Clinton ran against Dole and Perot, did things come up that kept you from voting, or did you happen to vote? **(IF YES, ASK: Did you vote for Clinton, Dole, or Perot?)**

45	Yes, Clinton
24	Yes, Dole
8	Yes, Perot
2	Yes, other candidate
2	Yes, don't remember which candidate
16	No, didn't vote/too young
1	Don't Remember if voted
<u>2</u>	Refused
100	

Finally, I'd like to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only...

Q.53 Do you use a computer at your workplace, at school, at home, or anywhere else on at least an occasional basis?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK/Ref.</u>
September, 2000	72	28	0=100

IF YES (USE A COMPUTER), ASK:

Q.54 Do you ever go online to access the Internet or World Wide Web, or to send and receive email?

BASED ON TOTAL REGISTERED VOTERS:

	<u>Goes Online</u>	<u>Doesn't Go Online</u>	<u>DK/Ref.</u>
September, 2000	60	40	0=100