## ABOUT THE SURVEY

Results for the survey are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates among a nationwide sample of 1,963 (1,508 registered voters) adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period October 25-29, 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 2.5 percentage points. For results based on registered voters ( $\mathrm{N}=1,508$ ), the sampling error is plus or minus 3 percentage points. For results based on likely voters ( $\mathrm{N}=1,062$ ), the sampling error is plus or minus 3.5 percentage points. For results based on either Form 1 $(\mathrm{N}=732)$ or Form $2(\mathrm{~N}=776)$ registered voters, the sampling error is plus or minus 4 percentage points.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE \& THE PRESS<br>LATE OCTOBER 2000 POLITICAL SURVEY<br>FINAL TOPLINE<br>October 25-29, 2000<br>N = 1,963 General Public<br>N = 1,508 Registered Voters

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

Q. 1 How much thought have you given to the coming Presidential election ... quite a lot or only a little?

|  | Quite | (VOL.) | Only a | (VOL.) | DK/ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | A lot | Some | Little | None | Ref. |
| Late October, 2000 | 66 | 6 | 24 | 4 | * $=100$ |
| Mid-October, 2000 | 67 | 9 | 19 | 4 | $1=100$ |
| Early October, 2000 | 60 | 8 | 27 | 4 | $1=100$ |
| 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. 2 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 RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' YES IN Q. 2 , ASK:

Q. 3 Are you absolutely certain you are registered to vote, or is there a chance your registration has lapsed because you moved or for some other reason?

BASED ON TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION: [ $\mathbf{N}=\mathbf{1 , 9 6 3}]$

|  | Yes, Registered | Absolutely Certain | Chance Lapsed | DK/Ref | No, Not Registered | DK/Ref. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Late October, 2000 | 77 | 74 | 2 | 1 | 22 | 1=100 |
| Mid-October, 2000 | 80 | 77 | 2 | 1 | 20 | *=100 |
| Early October, 2000 | 77 | 72 | 4 | 1 | 23 | *=100 |
| 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. 4 Have you ever voted in your precinct or election district?

|  |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Mid-Oct } \\ \underline{2000} \end{gathered}$ | Early Oct $\underline{2000}$ | Late Oct 1998 | $\begin{gathered} \text { Early Oct } \\ \underline{1998} \end{gathered}$ | Nov Late Sept 19961996 |  | Nov |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | 1994 |  |  |  |  |  |
| 81 | Yes |  | 82 | 84 | 86 | 87 | 85 | 85 | 91 |
| 19 | No | 18 | 16 | 14 | 13 | 15 | 15 | 9 |
| * | Don't know/Refused | $\underline{0}$ | * | * | * | * | * | * |
| 100 |  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Q. 5 How often would you say you vote... (READ)
(VOL.)

|  |  | Nearly <br> Always | Part of |  | (VOL.) | Never |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Always |  | The time | Seldom | Other | Vote | DK/Ref |
| Late October, 2000 | 52 | 30 | 9 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 0=100 |
| Mid-October, 2000 | 54 | 27 | 10 | 6 | * | 3 | * $=100$ |
| Early October, 2000 | 51 | 29 | 10 | 6 | 3 | 1 | *=100 |
| September, 2000 | 61 | 21 | 9 | 7 | * | 2 | * $=100$ |
| June, 2000 | 58 | 26 | 10 | 4 | 1 | 1 | *=100 |
| Late September, 1999 | 40 | 47 | 9 | 3 | * | 1 | * $=100$ |
| 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 |  | * | 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 | * $=100$ |

## NO QUESTION 6

Q.7F1/Q.8F2 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.10F1/Q.11F2 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?
Q. 9 Do you support (INSERT PRESIDENTIAL CHOICE FROM Q.7/Q.8, DO NOT READ VP CHOICE) strongly or only moderately?


## IF RESPONDENT DID NOT CHOOSE GORE IN Q.7/8 OR Q.10/11, ASK: [N=866]

Q. 12 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?

|  |  | Mid-Oct | Early Oct | Sept | June | Clinton |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $\underline{2000}$ | $\underline{2000}$ | $\underline{2000}$ | $\underline{2000}$ | Oct 1996 |
| 9 | Chance might vote for him | 10 | 11 | 13 | 14 | 10 |
| 44 | Decided not to vote for him | 40 | 38 | 35 | 34 | 35 |
| 4 | Don't know/Refused | $\underline{5}$ | 7 | 5 | $\underline{6}$ | 4 |
| 57\% |  | 55\% | 56\% | 53\% | 54\% | 49\% |

IF RESPONDENT DID NOT CHOOSE BUSH IN Q.7/8 OR Q.10/11 ASK: [N=828]
Q. 13 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?

|  |  | Mid-Oct Early Oct |  | Sept | June | Dole |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $\underline{2000}$ | $\underline{2000}$ | $\underline{2000}$ | $\frac{2000}{15}$ | $\underline{\text { Oct 1996 }}$ |
| 10 | Chance might vote for him | $\frac{12}{12}$ |  | 15 | 15 | 11 |
| 41 | Decided not to vote for him | 40 | 39 | 38 | 33 | 51 |
| $\underline{55} \%$ | Don't know/Refused | $\underline{5}$ | $\underline{7}$ | $\underline{6}$ | $\underline{6}$ | $\underline{4}$ |
|  |  | $57 \%$ | $57 \%$ | $59 \%$ | $54 \%$ | $66 \%$ |

## IF RESPONDENT CHOSE A CANDIDATE IN Q.7/8 OR Q.10/11, ASK:

Q. 14 What do you like most about (INSERT FROM Q.7/8 OR Q.10/11), his personality, his leadership ability, his experience or his stand on issues?

|  | Personality | Leadership | Experience | Stand on issues | Don't know |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Al Gore | 4 | 16 | 27 | 48 | $5=100$ | ( $\mathrm{N}=642$ ) |
| Mid-October, 2000 | 8 | 16 | 29 | 44 | $3=100$ |  |
| Early October, 2000 | 6 | 16 | 23 | 49 | $6=100$ |  |
| September, 2000 | 9 | 15 | 22 | 48 | $6=100$ |  |
| 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 | 10 | 21 | 5 | 59 | $5=100$ | ( $\mathrm{N}=680$ ) |
| Mid-October, 2000 | 13 | 18 | 9 | 55 | $5=100$ |  |
| Early October, 2000 | 8 | 20 | 7 | 58 | $7=100$ |  |
| September, 2000 | 9 | 19 | 9 | 55 | $8=100$ |  |
| 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 | 9 | 8 | 9 | 67 | $7=100$ | ( $\mathrm{N}=60$ ) |
| Mid-October, 2000 | 6 | 13 | 6 | 63 | $12=100$ |  |
| Early October, 2000 | 0 | 4 | 5 | 84 | $7=100$ |  |
| September, 2000 | 6 | 4 | 9 | 80 | $1=100$ |  |
| Pat Buchanan | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a |  | ( $\mathrm{N}=19$ ) |
| Mid-October, 2000 | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a |  |  |
| Early October, 2000 | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a |  |  |
| September, 2000 | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a |  |  |

## IF RESPONDENT CHOSE "ISSUES" (Q.14=4), ASK:

Q. 15 What specific issues do you have in mind when you say that? (OPEN-END; ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES; PROBE ONCE FOR ADDITIONAL RESPONSES)

| GORE |  | VOTERS [N=301]: |
| :---: | :--- | :---: |$\quad$ Early Oct 2000

## Q. 15 CONTINUED ...

## GORE VOTERS cont.

Early Oct 2000
3 Everything/Like his whole platform $\quad 6$
3 Gun control 1
2 Constitutional issues/Supreme Court nominations 2
2 Negative comment about Bush/Bush's stand on the issues 2
2 Welfare reform --
2 Continues Democratic issues/Liberal 2
1 The Military/Defense/Veterans' rights 2
1 Morality/Ethics/Honesty --
1 Employment/Jobs 1
1 Leadership/Personal qualities/experience 4

* "New direction"/"A change" --
* Energy policy *
* Death penalty/Crime --
* Government/Big Government/Less Government 1
* Campaign finance reform 1
* Business 5

5 Other 6
3 No specific issue 1
28 Don't know/Refused 8
5 ECONOMY (NET) 8
23 HEALTH CARE (NET) 29
BUSH VOTERS [ $\mathrm{N}=393$ ]
24 Abortion 22
22 Tax plan/cuts/reform 22
21 Education 21
15 Social Security 12
11 The Military/Defense/Veterans' rights $\quad 6$
11 Gun control 8
10 Government/Big government/Less government 6
7 Morality/Ethics/Honesty 7
4 Everything/Like his whole platform 3
4 Foreign policy/International issues 2
4 Health care 4
4 Death penalty/Crime --
3 Continues Republican ideas/Conservative 4
2 Budget/Deficit reduction/Plan for Surplus 1
2 Environment *
2 Equal rights/Women's rights/Gay rights *
2 Negative comment about Gore/Gore's stand on issues 3
2 For the people/Help for the poor/working people/middle class *
2 Medicare 4
1 Leadership/Personal qualities/experience 4
1 Economy 1
1 Constitutional issues/Supreme Court nominations 1
1 Prescription drug coverage 1
1 Business --

## Q. 15 CONTINUED ...

BUSH VOTERS cont

## Early Oct 2000

1 Elderly issues
1 Energy policy 2
1 Welfare reform/issues --

* "New direction"/"A change" 1
* Campaign finance --

4 Other 3
2 No specific issue 5
3 Don't know/Refused 8
2 ECONOMY (NET) 1
6 HEALTH CARE (NET) 9

## IF RESPONDENT CHOSE BUSH IN Q.7/8 OR Q.10/11, ASK:

Q. 16 What do you like LEAST about Al Gore, his personality, his leadership ability, his experience or his stand on issues?

|  | Personality | Leadership | Experience | Stand on Issues | Don't know |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Al Gore | 27 | 15 | 6 | 43 | 9=100 | ( $\mathrm{N}=680$ ) |
| Mid-October, 2000 | 27 | 18 | 5 | 43 | $7=100$ |  |
| Early October, 2000 | 26 | 14 | 4 | 44 | $12=100$ |  |
| September, 2000 | 17 | 17 | 7 | 48 | $11=100$ |  |
| 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.7/8 OR Q.10/11 ASK:

Q. 17 What do you like LEAST about George W. Bush, his personality, his leadership ability, his experience or his stand on issues?

|  | Personality | Leadership | Experience | Stand on Issues | Don't know |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| George W. Bush | 21 | 14 | 15 | 37 | 13=100 | ( $\mathrm{N}=642$ ) |
| Mid-October, 2000 | 18 | 16 | 15 | 43 | $8=100$ |  |
| Early October, 2000 | 25 | 11 | 15 | 37 | $12=100$ |  |
| September, 2000 | 20 | 12 | 11 | 43 | $14=100$ |  |
| 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:
Q. 18 Do you yourself plan to vote in the election this November?

Late October, 2000
Mid-October, 2000
Early October, 2000
September, 2000
June, 2000

| Yes, Plan <br> To Vote | No, Don't <br> Plan To | Can't Say/ <br> Don't know |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| 97 | 2 | $1=100$ |
| 96 | 2 | $2=100$ |
| 97 | 3 | $1=100$ |
| 95 | 2 | $2=100$ |
| 95 | 2 | $3=100$ |

## Q. 18 CONTINUED ...

| Late October, 1998 ${ }^{1} \dagger$ | 91 | 6 | $3=100$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Early October, 1998† | 92 | 4 | $4=100$ |
| Early September, 1998† | 95 | 2 | 3=100 |
| Late August, 1998† | 93 | 3 | $4=100$ |
| June, 1998† | 95 | 3 | 2=100 |
| November, 1996 | 96 | 2 | $2=100$ |
| October, 1996 | 98 | 1 | 1=100 |
| Late September, 1996 | 98 | 1 | 1=100 |
| Early September, 1996 | 96 | 2 | 2=100 |
| July, 1996 | 95 | 3 | $2=100$ |
| June, 1996 | 96 | 2 | $2=100$ |
| November, 1994 $\dagger$ | 93 | 5 | 2=100 |
| October, 1994 $\dagger$ | 95 | 3 | 2=100 |
| October, 1992 | 98 | 1 | $1=100$ |
| September, 1992 | 98 | 1 | $1=100$ |
| August, 1992 | 97 | 1 | $2=100$ |
| June, 1992 | 97 | 1 | $2=100$ |
| Gallup: November, 1988 | 97 | 2 | 1=100 |
| Gallup: October, 1988 | 98 | 1 | $1=100$ |

$\dagger$ Non-Presidential elections
Q. 19 I'd like you to rate your chance of voting in November on a scale of 10 to 1. If 10 represents a person who definitely will vote and 1 represents a person who definitely will not vote, where on this scale of 10 to 1 would you place yourself?

Late October, 2000
Mid-October, 2000
Early October, 2000
Late October, 1998
Early October, 1998
November, 1996
October, 1996
Late September, 1996
November, 1994
October, 1994
Gallup: September, 1992
Gallup: November, 1988
Gallup: October, 1988

| Definitely <br> will vote |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | Definitely <br> will not vote |  |  |  |
| ---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\frac{10}{83}$ | $\frac{9}{5}$ | $\frac{8}{5}$ | $\frac{7}{1}$ | $\frac{6}{1}$ | $\frac{5}{2}$ | $\frac{4}{*}$ | $\frac{3}{1}$ | $\frac{2}{1}$ | $\frac{1}{1}$ | $\frac{\text { DK/Ref }}{*=100}$ |  |  |
| 80 | 7 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 1 | $*$ | $*$ | 1 | $1=100$ |  |  |
| 78 | 7 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 2 | $*$ | 1 | 1 | 1 | $1=100$ |  |  |
| 70 | 6 | 7 | 4 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 4 | $1=100$ |  |  |
| 64 | 9 | 10 | 4 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | $1=100$ |  |  |
| 77 | 7 | 7 | 2 | 1 | 2 | $*$ | 1 | $*$ | 2 | $1=100$ |  |  |
| 77 | 9 | 7 | 2 | 2 | 2 | $*$ | $*$ | $*$ | 1 | $*=100$ |  |  |
| 78 | 10 | 6 | 2 | 1 | 1 | $*$ | $*$ | $*$ | 1 | $1=100$ |  |  |
| 67 | 9 | 8 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 | $2=100$ |  |  |
| 66 | 10 | 9 | 4 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 1 | $*$ | 2 | $1=100$ |  |  |
| 77 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 4 | $*$ | 1 | $*$ | 4 | $*=100$ |  |  |
| 77 | 7 | 6 | 2 | 1 | 3 | $*$ | $*$ | $*$ | 2 | $2=100$ |  |  |
| 73 | 8 | 7 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 1 | $*$ | $*$ | 1 | $2=100$ |  |  |

Q. 20 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")


Now, thinking about the presidential election again...
ASK SWING VOTERS ONLY(Q.10=8,9 OR Q.11=8,9 OR Q.12=1 OR Q.13=1):
ROTATE Q. 21 AND Q. 22
Q. 21 Many people have not made up their mind yet about who to vote for in the presidential election. What is it, specifically, about Al Gore that makes you unsure about voting him? (OPEN-END; ACCEPT
MULTIPLE RESPONSES; PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL RESPONSES)
Q. 22 Many people have not made up their mind yet about who to vote for in the presidential election. What is it, specifically, about George W. Bush that makes you unsure about voting for him? (OPEN-END; ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES; PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL RESPONSES)

## VOTERS UNSURE ABOUT GORE: [N=298]:

8 Clinton/Associate Gore with Clinton admin. Gore does not tell truth/He lies/fibs/takes credit
8 for things he did not do
8 Personality/Dislike Gore's personality
Gore flip-flops on issues/Changes his stand
6 on issues
5 Leadership/Lack of leadership ability (unspecific)
5 Gun control/Gore's stand on gun control
4 Abortion/Gore's stand on abortion
3 Experience/Lack of experience (unspecific)
3 Gore is a professional politician/too polished
3 Trust
2 Nothing/Dislike nothing about Gore
2 Gore's stand on issues (unspecific)
2 Taxes/Gore's stand on taxes Government spending/Gore's stand on
government spending
2 Gore has not done much as vice president
1 Plan on voting for Gore

VOTERS UNSURE ABOUT BUSH: [N=298]
11 Experience/Lack of experience (unspecific)
5 Bush's stand on issues (unspecific) Education/School vouchers/Bush's stand on
5 education/school vouchers
4 Bush would favor the wealthy/rich/upper class Bush is unsure of himself/Unpolished/
Wishy-washy
4 Abortion/Bush's stand on abortion
4 Bush is running on father's/family name
4 Bush is not up to the job/is not presidential
4 Personality/Dislike Bush's personality
4 Leadership/Lack of leadership ability
4 Bush is not intelligent/Not sharp/Dumb
3 Taxes/Bush's stand on taxes
3 Social Security/Bush's stand on Social Security
3 Nothing/Dislike nothing about Bush
3 Bush is aligned with big business
3 Death penalty/Bush's stand on death penalty
3 Trust

## Q.21/Q. 22 CONTINUED ...

VOTERS UNSURE ABOUT GORE: [N=298]:
1 Gore did not present himself well in debates
1 Education/Gore's stand on education
18 All other mentions
30 No answer/Don't know/Refused

VOTERS UNSURE ABOUT BUSH: [N=298]
2 Bush lacks experience/is uninformed on foreign policy Environment/Environment in Texas/Bush's
2 stand on environment
2 Health care/Bush's stand on health care
1 Plan on voting for Bush

* Gun control/Bush's stand on gun control

19 All other mentions
30 No answer/Don't know/Refused

On a different subject...

## ASK FORM 1 ONLY: [N=732]

Q.23F1 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?

|  |  | Early Oct | Sept | June | July |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $\underline{2000}$ | $\underline{2000}$ | $\underline{2000}$ | $\underline{1999}$ |
| 60 | Different | 61 | 56 | 51 | 47 |
| 34 | Similar | 30 | 32 | 33 | 24 |
| $\frac{6}{100}$ | Don't know/Refused | $\underline{9}$ | $\underline{12}$ | $\underline{16}$ | $\underline{29}$ |
|  |  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

## ASK FORM 1 ONLY: [N=732]

Q.24F1 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)

|  |  |  |  |  | (VOL.) |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | George |  | (VOL.) | Both |  |
|  |  | W. Bush | Al Gore | Neither | Equally | DK/Ref. |
| a. | Would use good judgment in a crisis | 43 | 42 | 2 | 5 | 8=100 |
|  | Mid-October, 2000 | 40 | 42 | 5 | 8 | $5=100$ |
|  | Early October, 2000 | 36 | 43 | 4 | 10 | $7=100$ |
|  | September, 2000 | 38 | 44 | 3 | 8 | $7=100$ |
|  | June, 2000 | 44 | 37 | 5 | 6 | $8=100$ |
| b. | Personally likable | 48 | 39 | 5 | 5 | $3=100$ |
|  | Mid-October, 2000 | 44 | 38 | 5 | 9 | $4=100$ |
|  | Early October, 2000 | 41 | 38 | 4 | 12 | 5=100 |
|  | September, 2000 | 37 | 44 | 3 | 12 | $4=100$ |
|  | June, 2000 | 42 | 36 | 7 | 9 | $6=100$ |
| c. | Honest and truthful | 43 | 32 | 15 | 5 | $5=100$ |
|  | Mid-October, 2000 | 38 | 30 | 19 | 6 | $7=100$ |
|  | Early October, 2000 | 36 | 32 | 17 | 8 | $7=100$ |
|  | September, 2000 | 35 | 37 | 13 | 9 | $6=100$ |
|  | June, 2000 | 35 | 31 | 19 | 7 | $8=100$ |

Q.24F1 CONTINUED ...
d. Cares about people like me Mid-October, 2000
Early October, 2000
September, 2000
e. A strong leader

Mid-October, 2000
Early October, 2000
September, 2000
f. Can get things done

Mid-October, 2000
Early October, 2000
September, 2000
June, 2000
g. Willing to take a stand, even if it's unpopular

Mid-October, 2000
Early October, 2000
September, 2000
June, 2000
h. Personally qualified to be president

Mid-October, 2000
Early October, 2000
June, 2000
i A typical politician
Mid-October, 2000
September, 2000
June, 2000
j. Has new ideas

Mid-October, 2000
June, 2000
k. Connects well with ordinary Americans

Mid-October, 2000
June, 2000
George
W. Bush
$\frac{\text { W. Bush }}{40}$ 40
40

35
31
44
42
41
44
43
41
37
40
43

| 49 | 35 | 7 | 4 | $5=100$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 49 | 35 | 6 | 5 | $5=100$ |
| 43 | 35 | 8 | 6 | $8=100$ |
| 45 | 37 | 8 | 5 | $5=100$ |
| 46 | 32 | 9 | 5 | $8=100$ |

38
35
31
37
29

29
37
34

| 44 | 35 | 9 | 7 | $5=100$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 42 | 33 | 11 | 8 | $6=100$ |
| 38 | 32 | 14 | 7 | $9=100$ |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| 45 | 42 | 5 | 4 | $4=100$ |
| 45 | 39 | 6 | 7 | $3=100$ |
| 40 | 39 | 7 | 7 | $7=100$ |

## ASK FORM 2 ONLY: [N=776]

Q.25F2 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. NOTE: ITEM a SHOULD ALWAYS COMES FIRST, ITEM j SHOULD ALWAYS COME LAST. IF RESPONDENT MENTIONS ANYONE OTHER THAN GORE OR BUSH PROBE ONCE: "IF YOU HAD TO CHOOSE BETWEEN GORE AND BUSH. . . " )?
a. Improving the health care system

Mid-October, 2000
Early October, 2000
September, 2000
June, 2000
March, 2000

## George

| W. Bush | Al Gore | Neither | DK/Ref. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 38 | 47 | 5 | 10=100 |
| 37 | 48 | 4 | $11=100$ |
| 36 | 49 | 5 | $10=100$ |
| 32 | 51 | 6 | $11=100$ |
| 31 | 44 | 6 | $19=100$ |
| 31 | 51 | 6 | $12=100$ |

b. Making wise decisions about the country's defense policy

Mid-October, 2000
Early October, 2000
September, 2000
June, 2000

| 50 | 40 | 3 | $7=100$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: |
| 45 | 41 | 3 | $11=100$ |
| 43 | 40 | 6 | $11=100$ |
| 46 | 40 | 4 | $10=100$ |
| 42 | 36 | 6 | $16=100$ |

c. Keeping Social Security and Medicare financially sound

Mid-October, 2000
Early October, 2000
September, 2000
June, 2000
March, 2000
39

| 49 | 3 | $9=100$ |
| :--- | :--- | :---: |
| 49 | 5 | $10=100$ |
| 46 | 5 | $11=100$ |
| 49 | 4 | $11=100$ |
| 43 | 5 | $16=100$ |
| 49 | 5 | $11=100$ |
|  |  |  |
| 46 | 6 | $8=100$ |
| 49 | 3 | $11=100$ |
| 47 | 6 | $12=100$ |
| 46 | 5 | $11=100$ |
| 41 | 5 | $16=100$ |
| 46 | 4 | $8=100$ |
|  |  |  |
| 41 | 5 | $9=100$ |
| 42 | 5 | $12=100$ |
| 42 | 6 | $13=100$ |
| 41 | 5 | $13=100$ |
| 34 | 7 | $18=100$ |
| 44 | 5 | $11=100$ |
|  |  |  |
| 45 | 4 | $10=100$ |
| 46 | 3 | $11=100$ |
| 43 | 6 | $10=100$ |
| 45 | 4 | $12=100$ |
| 44 | 5 | $17=100$ |
| 44 | 3 | $11=100$ |

Q.25F2 CONTINUED ...
g. Representing your views on America's role in world affairs

Mid-October, 2000
Early October, 2000
September, 2000

| George <br> W. Bush | (VOL.) |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Al Gore | Neither | DK/Ref. |
| 42 | 47 | 3 | $8=100$ |
| 39 | 46 | 3 | $12=100$ |
| 36 | 44 | 5 | $15=100$ |
| 39 | 44 | 3 | $14=100$ |

h. Representing your views on the role of the federal government in solving problems

Mid-October, 2000
Early October, 2000
44

| 41 | 4 | $11=100$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 42 | 5 | $13=100$ |
| 40 | 6 | $13=100$ |

i. Reducing partisan bickering and conflict in Washington

Mid-October, 2000
41
39
June, 200030
$3216 \quad 13=100$
$27 \quad 20 \quad 23=100$
j. Making prescription drugs more affordable for seniors $\begin{array}{lllll}34 & 48 & 5 & 13=100\end{array}$

Mid-October, 2000
33
Early October, 2000
31
$50 \quad 4 \quad 13=100$

## ASK FORM 2 ONLY: [N=776]

Q.26F2 Still thinking about prescription drugs for seniors, which would you favor MORE, a prescription drug program... (READ AND ROTATE)

59 Operated by the federal government through Medicare, OR ONE
25 Operated by insurance companies through HMOs?
5 Neither (VOL.)
11 Don't know/Refused

## ASK ALL:

Q. 27 Regardless of who you support, who do you think WILL be elected president in November, Al Gore or George W. Bush?


In October 1999 the wording was: "Regardless of who you might support, who do you think is most likely to win the coming presidential election if the candidates are Al Gore and George W. Bush?"
Q. 28 Now I'm going to read you a few statements. For each one please tell me if you completely agree with it, mostly agree, mostly DISagree, or completely disagree. First, (INSERT ITEM; ROTATE)
a. I don't like either Bush or Gore very much, so I may not vote

| Completely <br> Agree | Mostly <br> Agree | Mostly <br> Disagree | Completely <br> Disagree | DK/ <br> Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 3 | 5 | 16 | 75 | $1=100$ |

b. I am not too enthusiastic about going out to vote for ...

| Al Gore | 5 | 14 | 23 | 57 | $1=100$ | $\mathbf{( N = 6 4 2 )}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| George W. Bush | 4 | 11 | 18 | 66 | $1=100$ | $\mathbf{( N = 6 8 0 )}$ |

c. It's difficult for me to make up my mind about Bush and Gore, so I may not vote
$2 \quad 5 \quad 15 \quad 77 \quad 1=100$
d. I am very interested in voting, because $\begin{array}{clllll}\text { the presidential race is so close } & 53 & 24 & 9 & 12 & 2=100\end{array}$

Now, I'm going to read some statements the candidates have been making. First,...

## ROTATE Q. 29 AND Q. 30

Q. 29 AL GORE has said... (INSERT ITEM; ROTATE IN BLOCKS - a/b AND c THRU f ). Does this make you more likely to vote for GORE, less likely to vote for Gore, or doesn't it make a difference?

|  |  | ----- Impact on Vote ----- |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | More likely to vote | Less likely to vote | No difference on vote | $\begin{aligned} & \text { DK/ } \\ & \text { Ref. } \end{aligned}$ |
| a. | He will fight for working families and stand up to big business and special interests | 42 | 17 | 40 | $1=100$ |
| b. | The current administration has dramatically improved economic conditions in this country | 37 | 17 | 45 | $1=100$ |
| c. | Bush's tax cut plan would mostly benefit the wealthiest Americans | 40 | 22 | 37 | $1=100$ |
| d. | Bush would appoint justices to the Supreme Court who might take away a woman's right to choose to have an abortion | 37 | 29 | 32 | $2=100$ |
| e. | Bush has done a poor job in Texas on issues like health care and the environment | 36 | 22 | 41 | $1=100$ |
| f. | Bush's Social Security plan would risk bankrupting the system | 36 | 23 | 40 | $1=100$ |

Q. 30 GEORGE W. BUSH has said... (INSERT ITEM; ROTATE IN BLOCKS a THRU c AND d THRU f). Does this make you more likely to vote for BUSH, less likely to vote for Bush, or doesn't it make a difference?
----- Impact on Vote -----

|  |  | More likely to vote | Less likely to vote | No difference on vote | $\begin{aligned} & \text { DK/ } \\ & \text { Ref. } \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| a. | He can reach across party lines and bring people together in Washington to get things done | 38 | 17 | 44 | $1=100$ |
| b. | He trusts people to make their own decisions rathe than the government making decisions for them | - 47 | 19 | 33 | $1=100$ |
| C. | Young workers should have the option of investing some of their Social Security taxes in their own private accounts | 40 | 23 | 36 | $1=100$ |
| d. | Al Gore is a big government liberal who wants to spend too much | 31 | 25 | 43 | $1=100$ |
| e. | Al Gore's tax cut plan leaves out 50 million Americans | 29 | 22 | 47 | $2=100$ |
| f. | Al Gore exaggerates too much, and he can't be trusted | 29 | 25 | 45 | $1=100$ |

On a different subject...
Q. 31 All things considered, if you had to choose, what ONE factor is more important to you in choosing between Al Gore and George W. Bush... (READ ROTATE)?

| 72 | Where they stand on the issues |
| :---: | :--- |
|  | OR |
| 24 | Their personal qualities |
| $\frac{2}{100}$ | Other (VOL.) |
| Don't know/Refused |  |

## VOTERS WHO SUPPORT BUSH AND SAY THERE IS NO CHANCE THEY WILL VOTE FOR GORE WERE EXCLUDED FROM THIS QUESTION (Q.12=2 AND Q.7/10=2 OR Q.8/11=1 SKIP TO D.1; OTHERWISE ASK): [ $\mathbf{N}=900$ ]

Q. 32 What do you think would be better... if Al Gore was MORE like Bill Clinton, or if he was LESS like Bill Clinton?

| 35 | More like Clinton |
| :--- | :--- |
| 43 | Less like Clinton |
| 7 | Wouldn't make a difference (VOL.) |
| 6 | Like him the way he is (VOL.) |
| $\frac{9}{100}$ | Don’t know/Refused |

