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 (N=1,508), the sampling error is plus or minus 3 percentage points. For results based on likely voters (N=1,062), the sampling error is plus or minus 3.5 percentage points. For results based on either Form 1 (N=732) or Form 2 (N=776) registered voters, the sampling error is plus or minus 4 percentage points.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS LATE OCTOBER 2000 POLITICAL SURVEY FINAL TOPLINE

October 25-29, 2000 N = 1,963 General Public 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 | <u>Little</u> | 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: [N=1,963]

| | Yes, | Absolutely | Chance | | No, Not | |
|-----------------------|------------|------------|--------|--------|------------|---------|
| | Registered | Certain | Lapsed | DK/Ref | 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?

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

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

| now often would you say you | VOIC (REA | (D) | | | | (VOL.) |) |
|-----------------------------|-----------|--------|----------|--------|--------|--------|---------|
| | | Nearly | Part of | | (VOL.) | Never | |
| | Always | 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 | 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 |

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?

| | | | Mid-Oct | Early Oct | Sept | July | Late June | Mid-June |
|----------|------|-------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-----------|
| | | | <u>2000</u> | <u>2000</u> | <u>2000</u> | <u>2000</u> | <u>2000</u> | 2000 |
| 43 | Gore | Lean Gore | 45 | 44 | 47 | 41 | 35 | 42 |
| | 24 | Strongly | 22 | 22 | 25 | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| | 19 | Only moderately | 23 | 22 | 21 | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| | * | Don't know | * | * | 1 | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| 45 | Bush | Lean Bush | 43 | 43 | 41 | 42 | 42 | 41 |
| | 29 | Strongly | 25 | 26 | 21 | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| | 16 | Only moderately | 18 | 17 | 19 | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| | * | Don't know | * | * | 1 | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| 4 | Nade | r/Lean Nader | 4 | 5 | 2 | 6 | 2 | 4 |
| | 2 | Strongly | 2 | 2 | 1 | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| | 2 | Only moderately | 2 | 3 | 1 | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| | * | Don't know | 0 | 0 | 0 | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| 1 | Buch | anan/Lean Buchana | n 1 | * | 1 | 2 | 2 | 3 |
| | * | Strongly | * | 0 | * | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| | 1 | Only moderately | 1 | * | 1 | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| | 0 | Don't know | 0 | 0 | * | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| <u>7</u> | Unde | cided/Other/DK | 7 | <u>8</u> | 9 | 9 | <u>19</u> | <u>10</u> |
| 100 | | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

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 |
|----------|-----------------------------|----------|-----------|----------|-------------|----------|
| | | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 | <u>2000</u> | 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 |
| <u>4</u> | Don't know/Refused | <u>5</u> | <u>7</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>4</u> |
| 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 |
|-----|-----------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|----------|
| | | <u>2000</u> | <u>2000</u> | <u>2000</u> | <u>2000</u> | Oct 1996 |
| 10 | Chance might vote for him | 12 | 11 | 15 | 15 | 11 |
| 41 | Decided not to vote for him | 40 | 39 | 38 | 33 | 51 |
| 4 | Don't know/Refused | <u>5</u> | <u>7</u> | 6 | 6 | <u>4</u> |
| 55% | | 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 | (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 | |
| Carra W. Davik | 10 | 21 | _ | 50 | <i>5</i> 100 | (NI (OO) |
| George W. Bush | 10 | 21 | 5 | 59 | 5=100 | (N=680) |
| Mid-October, 2000 | 13 | 18 | 9 | 55 50 | 5=100 | |
| Early October, 2000 | | 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 | (N=60) |
| Mid-October, 2000 | 6 | 13 | 6 | 63 | 12=100 | (11-00) |
| | | | | | | |
| Early October, 2000 | | 4 | 5 | 84 | 7=100 | |
| September, 2000 | 6 | 4 | 9 | 80 | 1=100 | |
| Pat Buchanan | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | | (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]: | Early Oct 2000 |
|-------------|--|----------------|
| 28 | Education | 18 |
| 23 | Social Security | 17 |
| 14 | Environment | 11 |
| 14 | Abortion | 15 |
| 11 | Health care | 15 |
| 9 | Medicare | 13 |
| 8 | Tax plan/cuts/reform | 12 |
| 7 | Equal rights/Women's rights/Gay rights | 4 |
| 5 | Elderly issues | |
| 5 | Budget/Deficit reduction/Plan for the surplus | 4 |
| 5 | Prescription drug coverage | 6 |
| 4 | For the people/Help for the poor/working people/middle class | 6 |
| 4 | Economy | 3 |
| 4 | Foreign policy/International issues | 2 |

Q.15 CONTINUED ...

| GOR | E VOTERS cont. | Early Oct 2000 |
|------------------|--|----------------|
| 3 | Everything/Like his whole platform | 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 |
| DIIC | H WOTERS IN 2021 | |
| <u>BUS</u> 24 | H VOTERS [N=393] Abortion | 22 |
| 22 | Tax plan/cuts/reform | 22 |
| 21 | Education | 21 |
| 15 | Social Security | 12 |
| 11 | The Military/Defense/Veterans' rights | 6 |
| 11 | Gun control | 8 |
| 10 | | 6 |
| | Government/Big government/Less government Manulity/Tthise/Honosty | 7 |
| 7 4 | Morality/Ethics/Honesty | |
| | Everything/Like his whole platform | 3 2 |
| 4 | Foreign policy/International issues | 4 |
| 4 | Health care | 4 |
| 4 | Death penalty/Crime | |
| 3 2 | Continues Republican ideas/Conservative | 4 |
| | 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 | <u>Leadership</u> | Experience | Stand on Issues | Don't know | |
|---------------------|-------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|------------|---------|
| Al Gore | 27 | 15 | 6 | 43 | 9=100 | (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?

| | <u>Personality</u> | <u>Leadership</u> | <u>Experience</u> | Stand on Issues | Don't know | |
|---------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|------------|---------|
| George W. Bush | 21 | 14 | 15 | 37 | 13=100 | (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?

| | Yes, Plan | No, Don't | Can't Say/ |
|---------------------|-----------|-----------|------------|
| | To Vote | Plan To | Don't know |
| Late October, 2000 | 97 | 2 | 1=100 |
| Mid-October, 2000 | 96 | 2 | 2=100 |
| Early October, 2000 | 97 | 2 | 1=100 |
| September, 2000 | 95 | 3 | 2=100 |
| June, 2000 | 95 | 2 | 3=100 |

Q.18 CONTINUED ...

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

[†] Non-Presidential elections

1

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?

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

In late October 1998, November 1996 and November 1994 the question was worded: "Do you yourself plan to vote in the election this Tuesday, or not?"

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")

| | Very | Mostly | Mostly | Very | Never | |
|--|--|---|---|---|--|--|
| | Favor- | Favor- | Unfavor- | Unfavor- | Heard | Can't |
| | <u>able</u> | <u>able</u> | <u>able</u> | <u>able</u> | <u>Of</u> | Rate |
| The federal government in Washington | 7 | 47 | 30 | 10 | * | 6=100 |
| October, 1997 | 4 | 33 | 41 | 20 | 0 | 2=100 |
| Pharmaceutical companies | 7 | 38 | 29 | 16 | 1 | 9=100 |
| Health maintenance organizations, HMOs | 6 | 25 | 33 | 27 | * | 9=100 |
| June, 1999 | 11 | 28 | 30 | 21 | 1 | 9=100 |
| September, 1998 | 5 | 29 | 36 | 22 | * | 8=100 |
| Oil companies | 5 | 27 | 35 | 21 | * | 12=100 |
| The news media | 7 | 43 | 31 | 14 | 0 | 5=100 |
| February, 1999 | 6 | 42 | 35 | 14 | 0 | 3=100 |
| March, 1998 | 7 | 38 | 36 | 17 | * | 2 = 200 |
| October, 1997 | 6 | 44 | 34 | 14 | * | 2=100 |
| | October, 1997 Pharmaceutical companies Health maintenance organizations, HMOs June, 1999 September, 1998 Oil companies The news media February, 1999 March, 1998 | The federal government in Washington October, 1997 4 Pharmaceutical companies 7 Health maintenance organizations, HMOs June, 1999 111 September, 1998 5 Oil companies 5 The news media 7 February, 1999 6 March, 1998 7 | Tavor- able able able able October, 1997 Favor- able able able able able able able able | Favor-able able able able able able able able | Favor- able able able able able able able able | Favor- able October, 1997 Favor- able able able able able able able able |

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
- 2 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/
- 4 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 |
|-----|--------------------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-----------|
| | | 2000 | 2000 | <u>2000</u> | 1999 |
| 60 | Different | 61 | 56 | 51 | 47 |
| 34 | Similar | 30 | 32 | 33 | 24 |
| 6 | Don't know/Refused | 9 | <u>12</u> | <u>16</u> | <u>29</u> |
| 100 | | 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 | <u>Neither</u> | 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.24F | 1 CONTINUED | | | | (VOL.) | |
|-------|---|----------|----------|----------|----------------|----------------|
| | | George | | (VOL.) | Both | |
| | | W. Bush | Al Gore | Neither | Equally | DK/Ref. |
| d. | Cares about people like me | 40 | 43 | 8 | 5 | 4 = 100 |
| | Mid-October, 2000 | 40 | 42 | 7 | 7 | 4=100 |
| | Early October, 2000 | 35 | 44 | 11 | 5 | 5=100 |
| | September, 2000 | 31 | 47 | 9 | 7 | 6=100 |
| e. | A strong leader | 44 | 41 | 6 | 6 | 3=100 |
| C. | Mid-October, 2000 | 42 | 39 | 9 | 6 | 4=100 |
| | Early October, 2000 | 41 | 38 | 7 | 10 | 4=100 |
| | September, 2000 | 44 | 38 | 7 | 6 | 5=100 |
| | Septemoer, 2000 | | 30 | , | O | 3-100 |
| f. | Can get things done | 43 | 39 | 5 | 6 | 7=100 |
| | Mid-October, 2000 | 41 | 39 | 6 | 8 | 6=100 |
| | Early October, 2000 | 37 | 38 | 5 | 11 | 9=100 |
| | September, 2000 | 40 | 40 | 4 | 8 | 8=100 |
| | June, 2000 | 43 | 33 | 8 | 6 | 10=100 |
| g. | Willing to take a stand, even if it's unpopular | 49 | 35 | 7 | 4 | 5=100 |
| 8 | Mid-October, 2000 | 49 | 35 | 6 | 5 | 5=100 |
| | Early October, 2000 | 43 | 35 | 8 | 6 | 8=100 |
| | September, 2000 | 45 | 37 | 8 | 5 | 5=100 |
| | June, 2000 | 46 | 32 | 9 | 5 | 8=100 |
| L. | Demonally qualified to be president | 38 | 15 | 5 | 9 | 3=100 |
| h. | Personally qualified to be president Mid-October, 2000 | 36 35 | 45 45 | <i>5</i> | 9 | 5=100 5=100 |
| | | 35 31 | 45 49 | 5 | 9 11 | |
| | Early October, 2000 | 37 | 49 37 | 3 10 | 10 | 4=100 6=100 |
| | June, 2000 | 37 | 37 | 10 | 10 | 0=100 |
| i | A typical politician | 29 | 51 | 2 | 15 | 3=100 |
| | Mid-October, 2000 | 29 | 45 | 3 | 19 | 4 = 100 |
| | September, 2000 | 37 | 37 | 2 | 20 | 4 = 100 |
| | June, 2000 | 34 | 37 | 1 | 22 | 7=100 |
| j. | Has new ideas | 44 | 35 | 9 | 7 | 5=100 |
| J. | Mid-October, 2000 | 42 | 33 | 11 | 8 | 6=100 |
| | June, 2000 | 38 | 32 | 14 | 7 | 9=100 |
| 1- | Connects well with ordinary Americans | 45 | 42 | 5 | 4 | 4=100 |
| k. | Connects well with ordinary Americans | | 42 39 | | | |
| | Mid-October, 2000 | 45 | | 6 | 7 | 3=100 |
| | June, 2000 | 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...")?

| | | George W. Bush | Al Gore | (VOL.) Neither | DK/Ref. |
|----|---|-------------------|----------|----------------|----------|
| a. | Improving the health care system | 38 | 47 | 5 | 10 = 100 |
| | Mid-October, 2000 | 37 | 48 | 4 | 11=100 |
| | Early October, 2000 | 36 | 49 | 5 | 10 = 100 |
| | September, 2000 | 32 | 51 | 6 | 11=100 |
| | June, 2000 | 31 | 44 | 6 | 19=100 |
| | March, 2000 | 31 | 51 | 6 | 12=100 |
| b. | Making wise decisions about the country's | | | | |
| | defense policy | 50 | 40 | 3 | 7=100 |
| | Mid-October, 2000 | 45 | 41 | 3 | 11=100 |
| | Early October, 2000 | 43 | 40 | 6 | 11=100 |
| | September, 2000 | 46 | 40 | 4 | 10=100 |
| | June, 2000 | 42 | 36 | 6 | 16=100 |
| c. | Keeping Social Security and Medicare | | | | |
| | financially sound | 39 | 49 | 3 | 9=100 |
| | Mid-October, 2000 | 36 | 49 | 5 | 10=100 |
| | Early October, 2000 | 38 | 46 | 5 | 11=100 |
| | September, 2000 | 36 | 49 | 4 | 11=100 |
| | June, 2000 | 36 | 43 | 5 | 16=100 |
| | March, 2000 | 35 | 49 | 5 | 11=100 |
| d. | Keeping the economy strong | 40 | 46 | 6 | 8=100 |
| | Mid-October, 2000 | 37 | 49 | 3 | 11=100 |
| | Early October, 2000 | 35 | 47 | 6 | 12=100 |
| | September, 2000 | 38 | 46 | 5 | 11=100 |
| | June, 2000 | 38 | 41 | 5 | 16=100 |
| | March, 2000 | 42 | 46 | 4 | 8=100 |
| e. | Dealing with taxes | 45 | 41 | 5 | 9=100 |
| C. | Mid-October, 2000 | 41 | 42 | 5 | 12=100 |
| | Early October, 2000 | 39 | 42 | 6 | 13=100 |
| | September, 2000 | 41 | 41 | 5 | 13=100 |
| | June, 2000 | 41 | 34 | 7 | 18=100 |
| | March, 2000 | 40 | 44 | 5 | 11=100 |
| f. | Improving education | 41 | 45 | 4 | 10=100 |
| 1. | Mid-October, 2000 | 40 | 46 | 3 | 11=100 |
| | Early October, 2000 | 41 | 43 | 6 | 10=100 |
| | September, 2000 | 39 | 45 45 | 4 | 10=100 |
| | June, 2000 | 34 | 43 44 | 5 | 17=100 |
| | | 34 42 | 44 44 | 3 | |
| | March, 2000 | 42 | 44 | 3 | 11=100 |

| Q.25F2 | CONTINUED | George | | (VOL.) | |
|--------|--|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| | | W. Bush | Al Gore | Neither | DK/Ref. |
| g. | Representing your views on America's role | | | | |
| | in world affairs | 42 | 47 | 3 | 8=100 |
| | Mid-October, 2000 | 39 | 46 | 3 | 12=100 |
| | Early October, 2000 | 36 | 44 | 5 | 15=100 |
| | September, 2000 | 39 | 44 | 3 | 14=100 |
| h. | Representing your views on the role of the federal | | | | |
| | government in solving problems | 44 | 41 | 4 | 11=100 |
| | Mid-October, 2000 | 40 | 42 | 5 | 13=100 |
| | Early October, 2000 | 41 | 40 | 6 | 13=100 |
| i. | Reducing partisan bickering and conflict in Washington | on 41 | 32 | 16 | 11=100 |
| | Mid-October, 2000 | 39 | 32 | 16 | 13=100 |
| | June, 2000 | 30 | 27 | 20 | 23=100 |
| j. | Making prescription drugs more affordable for seniors | 34 | 48 | 5 | 13=100 |
| 3 | Mid-October, 2000 | 33 | 50 | 4 | 13=100 |
| | Early October, 2000 | 31 | 50 | 6 | 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

100

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?

| | | Early Oct | June | Oct | |
|-----------|--------------------|-----------|-------------|-------------------|------------------------------------|
| | | 2000 | <u>2000</u> | 1999 ² | Late Sept 1996 |
| 38 | Al Gore | 46 | 33 | 23 | 79 ⇒ Clinton |
| 48 | George W. Bush | 33 | 51 | 70 | $12 \Rightarrow Dole$ |
| n/a | Other | n/a | n/a | 1 | $1 \Rightarrow \text{Perot}$ |
| <u>14</u> | Don't know/Refused | <u>21</u> | <u>16</u> | 6 | $8 \Rightarrow Don't know/Refused$ |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

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)

| | | Completely | Mostly | Mostly | Completely | DK/ | |
|----|---|--------------|--------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------|---------|
| | | <u>Agree</u> | <u>Agree</u> | <u>Disagree</u> | Disagree | Ref | |
| a. | I don't like either Bush or Gore very much, so I may not vote | 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 | (N=642) |
| | George W. Bush | 4 | 11 | 18 | 66 | 1=100 | (N=680) |
| c. | It's difficult for me to make up my mind about Bush and Gore, so I may not vote | 2 | 5 | 15 | 77 | 1=100 | |
| d. | I am very interested in voting, because the presidential race is so close | 53 | 24 | 9 | 12 | 2=100 | |

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 | Less likely | No difference | DK/ | |
| | | to vote | to vote | on vote | Ref. | |
| 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 | Less likely | No difference | DK/ | |
| | | to vote | to vote | on vote | Ref. | |
| 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 rather than the government making decisions for them | er 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...

- All things considered, if you had to choose, what ONE factor is more important to you in choosing between Q.31 Al Gore and George W. Bush... (**READ ROTATE**)?
 - 72 Where they stand on the issues OR
 - 24 Their personal qualities
 - 2 Other (VOL.)
 - <u>2</u> 100 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): [N=900]

- What do you think would be better... if Al Gore was MORE like Bill Clinton, or if he was LESS like Bill Q.32 Clinton?
 - 35 More like Clinton
 - 43 Less like Clinton
 - 7 Wouldn't make a difference (VOL.)
 - 6 Like him the way he is (VOL.)
 - Don't know/Refused

100