

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:
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FOR FURTHER INFORMATION:
Andrew Kohut, Director

Endnotes on Campaign 2000
SOME FINAL OBSERVATIONS ON VOTER OPINIONS

Overlooked amid controversies over hanging chads and divided courts were some important lessons from the presidential campaign. Here are previously unreleased findings from the Pew Research Center's post-election survey, conducted Nov. 10-12:

- There was more positive voting and less voting against candidates this time than in the three previous presidential elections. George W. Bush received about the same grades from his voters as his father did in 1988, while Al Gore earned the same kind of ratings from his backers that Bill Clinton received in 1996.
- Abortion proved to be the sleeper issue of Campaign 2000 — it was volunteered as a decisive issue most often by Bush voters who said issues mattered most. It rated less important, but still highly, among Gore voters. For the vice president's supporters, abortion was ranked nearly as important as the environment, and not much below Social Security and education.
- An expected backlash from the Columbine massacre and other school shootings in favor of gun control never materialized. In fact, Bush voters who were motivated by issues cited his stance on gun control more often than issue-oriented Gore voters (14% to 4%).

	<u>1988</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>2000</u>
<i>Voted ...*</i>	%	%	%	%
Pro-Candidate	64	54	48	64
Anti-Candidate	28	20	33	23
Don't Know	4	3	3	2
Other Candidate/DK	<u>4</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>11</u>
	100	100	100	100

* For major party candidate.

%	<u>Gore Issue Voters*</u>	%	<u>Bush Issue Voters**</u>
25	Social Security	28	Abortion
24	Education	25	Taxes
20	Environment	17	Social Security
18	Abortion	14	Gun control
13	Health Care	13	Education

* Based on the 42% of Gore voters who cited his stand on issues as what they liked most (N=210).
** Based on the 57% of Bush voters who cited his stand on issues as what they liked most (N=280).

- Dick Cheney was a bigger plus for Bush voters than Joe Lieberman was for Gore supporters. More than one-third (35%) of those who backed the GOP ticket cited Cheney as an important factor in their choice, compared to 15% of Gore voters who said that about Lieberman. By contrast, neither Cheney nor Lieberman was much of a drag on their tickets.

Cheney a Bigger Plus than Lieberman				
<i>Candidate's</i>	<i>Reason voted for ...</i>		<i>Reason voted against ...</i>	
	<u>Gore</u>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Gore</u>	<u>Bush</u>
<i>VP Selection</i>	%	%	%	%
Yes	15	35	9	11
No	84	64	90	88
Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
	100	100	100	100

- Party was cited more often as a motivating factor by Gore voters (57%) than Bush voters (44%). This may be a reflection of greater GOP satisfaction with their candidate, which also surfaced in other ways throughout the campaign.
- Still, Gore did not suffer much from the enthusiasm gap that was evident in many pre-election polls. The vice president's support actually grew in the campaign's final days and turnout was high among core Democratic constituencies.

- Approximately equal percentages of Bush and Gore voters said they were urged to vote by the campaigns, but respondents in battleground states were contacted more often than those in less competitive places.
- Fully 53% of voters in Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, West Virginia, Minnesota, Oregon, Washington, New Mexico, Pennsylvania, Missouri, and Florida said they were contacted over the phone by candidates, campaigns or other groups urging them to vote in a particular way, compared to only 38% of voters in other parts of the country.¹

Ground War Focused on Contested States			
	<i>-- State Competitiveness --</i>		
	<u>Lean Gore</u>	<u>Battle-Ground</u>	<u>Lean Bush</u>
<i>Urged to vote by campaigns?</i>	%	%	%
Yes	41	54	34
for Gore	12	13	9
for Bush	12	17	11
for both	12	17	9
for other	2	2	4
Don't know	3	5	1
No	58	45	66
Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>
	100	100	100

¹ Battleground states are identified as the eleven states receiving the highest proportional levels of campaign spending on television advertising. The remaining states are divided based upon election outcomes. GORE STATES include: Hawaii, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New York, Maryland, Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, California, Illinois, Vermont, Maine, Iowa and the District of Columbia. BUSH STATES include: Wyoming, Utah, Idaho, Alaska, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, Oklahoma, Texas, Kansas, Mississippi, Indiana, Kentucky, Alabama, North Carolina, South Carolina, Colorado, Louisiana, Virginia, Arkansas, Arizona, Nevada, Tennessee, Georgia, and New Hampshire.

- Voters in the battleground states changed their minds more (or were persuaded to do so by the campaigns) than did voters in less competitive places. The horse race fluctuated dramatically in battleground states, but moved less in strong Bush and Gore states.
- However, Gore may owe his popular vote victory win to strong support in Democratic states. Bush's margin, on the other hand, fell in safe GOP states in the final weeks of the campaign.

2000 Presidential Trial Heats							
	June	July	Sept	Early Oct	Mid Oct	Late Oct	Elect Wknd
<i>Battleground States</i>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Gore/Lean Gore	44	41	48	47	46	41	45
Bush/Lean Bush	41	41	39	40	44	47	40
Other/Undecided	<u>15</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>15</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Gore-Bush Difference	+3	0	+9	+7	+2	-6	+5
<i>Democrat-leaning States</i>							
Gore/Lean Gore	44	45	53	51	54	52	50
Bush/Lean Bush	37	34	34	32	32	34	35
Other/Undecided	<u>19</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>15</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Gore-Bush Difference	+7	+11	+19	+19	+22	+18	+15
<i>Republican-leaning States</i>							
Gore/Lean Gore	37	36	41	37	38	39	40
Bush/Lean Bush	47	50	47	53	51	50	48
Other/Undecided	<u>16</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Gore-Bush Difference	-10	-14	-6	-16	-13	-11	-8

ABOUT THE SURVEY

The survey results are based on telephone re-interviews conducted November 10-12, 2000 among 1,113 voters under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates. ("Voters" are those respondents who said they voted in the 2000 election.) This sample was selected from those identified as registered voters in two previous nationwide surveys of adults 18 years of age or older, the first conducted September 2000 and the second in Early October 2000. For results based on the total sample of voters, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 3 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.

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
 NOVEMBER 2000 RE-INTERVIEW SURVEY
 -- FINAL TOPLINE --
 November 10-12, 2000
 N = 1,113 Voters**

MY FIRST QUESTION IS...

Q.1 A lot of people have been telling us they didn't get a chance to vote in the election on November 7. How about you... did things come up that kept you from voting, or did you happen to vote?

- Yes, voted — **CONTINUE WITH INTERVIEW**
- No, did not vote — **THANK RESPONDENT AND END**
- Don't remember — **THANK RESPONDENT AND END**
- Refused — **THANK RESPONDENT AND END**

Q.2 All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in this country today?

		<u>Nov 1996</u>
46	Satisfied	51
47	Dissatisfied	42
<u>7</u>	No Opinion	<u>7</u>
100		100

Now, thinking about the recent election...

Q.3 Did you happen to vote for Al Gore, for George W. Bush, for Ralph Nader or for Pat Buchanan for president?

		<u>Nov 1996</u>	<u>Nov 1992</u>	<u>Nov 1988</u>	
46	Al Gore	45	45	43	⇒ Clinton/Dukakis
43	George W. Bush	39	32	53	⇒ Dole/Bush
2	Ralph Nader	7	17	n/a	⇒ Perot
1	Pat Buchanan	n/a	n/a	n/a	
<u>8</u>	Other/Don't know/Can't remember	<u>9</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	
100		100	100	100	

IF RESPONDENT CHOSE GORE OR BUSH IN Q.3 ASK:

Q.4 Would you say that your vote was more a vote FOR (INSERT CANDIDATE VOTED FOR IN Q.3: GORE/BUSH) or more a vote AGAINST (INSERT NAME OF OTHER CANDIDATE: GORE/BUSH)?

			Nov <u>1996</u>	Nov <u>1992</u>	Nov <u>1988</u>
47	<u>Gore Supporters</u> ²	<u>Clinton/Dukakis Supporters</u>	45	45	43
	35 Pro-Gore	Pro	31	33	25
	11 Anti-Others	Anti-Others	13	10	16
	1 Undecided	Undecided	1	2	2
42	<u>Bush Supporters</u> ¹	<u>Dole/Bush Supporters</u>	39	32	53
	29 Pro-Bush	Pro	17	21	39
	12 Anti-Others	Anti-Others	20	10	12
	1 Undecided	Undecided	2	1	2
<u>11</u>	Other/DK/Can't Remember	Other/DK/Can't Remember	<u>16</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>4</u>
100			100	100	100

Q.5 What do you like most about (INSERT PRESIDENTIAL CHOICE FROM Q.3), 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	5	19	29	42	5=100	(N=499)
RV's: Late October, 2000	4	16	27	48	5=100	
RV's: Mid-October, 2000	8	16	29	44	3=100	
RV's: Early October, 2000	6	16	23	49	6=100	
RV's: September, 2000	9	15	22	48	6=100	
RV's: June, 2000	7	13	29	42	9=100	
RV's: May, 2000	10	13	30	40	7=100	
RV's: March, 2000	10	14	28	40	8=100	
RV's: October, 1999	8	11	32	43	6=100	
George W. Bush	12	23	4	57	4=100	(N=489)
RV's: Late October, 2000	10	21	5	59	5=100	
RV's: Mid-October, 2000	13	18	9	55	5=100	
RV's: Early October, 2000	8	20	7	58	7=100	
RV's: September, 2000	9	19	9	55	8=100	
RV's: June, 2000	10	19	11	50	10=100	
RV's: May, 2000	12	22	8	51	7=100	
RV's: March, 2000	14	24	10	42	10=100	
RV's: October, 1999	13	25	11	42	9=100	
Ralph Nader	6	3	3	82	6=100	(N=27)
RV's: Late October, 2000	9	8	9	67	7=100	
RV's: Mid-October, 2000	6	13	6	63	12=100	
RV's: Early October, 2000	0	4	5	84	7=100	
RV's: September, 2000	6	4	9	80	1=100	
Pat Buchanan	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		(N=7)

²

Percentages are slightly different from Q.3 due to some non-response problems.

IF '4' ISSUES IN Q.5, ASK:

Q.6 What specific issues do you have in mind when you say that? (**OPEN-END; ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES; PROBE ONCE FOR ADDITIONAL RESPONSES**)

<u>GORE VOTERS [N=210]:</u>		--- Based on Registered Voters ---	
		<u>Late Oct 2000</u>	<u>Early Oct 2000</u>
25	Social Security	23	17
24	Education	28	18
20	Environment	14	11
18	Abortion	14	15
13	Health care	11	15
10	Tax plan/cuts/reform	8	12
8	Equal rights/Women's rights/Gay rights	7	4
7	Everything/Like his whole platform	3	6
6	Medicare	9	13
5	For the people/Help for the poor/working people/middle class	4	6
5	Economy	4	3
4	Budget/Deficit reduction/Plan for the surplus	5	4
4	Gun control	3	1
3	Prescription drug coverage	5	6
3	Foreign policy/International issues	4	2
2	Employment/Jobs	1	1
2	Continues Democratic issues/Liberal	2	2
1	Leadership/Personal qualities/experience	1	4
1	Campaign finance reform	*	1
1	Constitutional issues/Supreme Court nominations	2	2
*	Negative comment about Bush/Bush's stand on the issues	2	2
*	Energy policy	*	*
*	Government/Big Government/Less Government	*	1
*	The Military/Defense/Veterans' rights	1	2
6	Other	14	10
1	No specific issue	3	1
2	Don't know/Refused	28	8
7	ECONOMY (NET)	5	8
22	HEALTH CARE (NET)	23	29

Q.6 CONTINUED ...

BUSH VOTERS [N=280]		--- Based on Registered Voters ---	
		<u>Late Oct 2000</u>	<u>Early Oct 2000</u>
28	Abortion	24	22
25	Tax plan/cuts/reform	22	22
17	Social Security	15	12
14	Gun control	11	8
13	Education	21	21
9	Government/Big government/Less government	10	6
8	The Military/Defense/Veterans' rights	11	6
6	Morality/Ethics/Honesty	7	7
6	Everything/Like his whole platform	4	3
2	Continues Republican ideas/Conservative	3	4
2	Economy	1	1
2	Budget/Deficit reduction/Plan for Surplus	2	1
2	Health care	4	4
1	Leadership/Personal qualities/experience	1	4
1	Medicare	2	4
1	Prescription drug coverage	1	1
1	"New direction"/"A change"	*	1
1	Energy policy	1	2
1	Constitutional issues/Supreme Court nominations	1	1
1	Equal rights/Women's rights/Gay rights	2	*
*	Environment	2	*
*	Foreign policy/International issues	4	2
8	Other	12	6
2	No specific issue	2	5
3	Don't know/Refused	3	8
2	ECONOMY (NET)	2	1
4	HEALTH CARE (NET)	6	9

ASK GORE AND BUSH VOTERS:

Q.7 Was the fact that (INSERT NAME FROM Q.3: GORE/BUSH) is a (INSERT PARTY OF CANDIDATE: DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN) an important reason why you voted for him or not?

<u>Gore</u>	<u>Bush</u>	
57	44	Yes, was important
43	55	No, was not important
<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	100	
(N=499)	(N=489)	

ASK GORE VOTERS ONLY (Q.3=1): [N=499]

Q.8 Was the fact that Gore selected Joe Lieberman as his running mate an important reason why you voted for him or not?

15 Yes, was important
84 No, was not important
1 Don't know/Refused
100

ASK BUSH VOTERS ONLY (Q.3=2): [N=489]

Q.9 Was the fact that Bush selected Dick Cheney as his running mate an important reason why you voted for him or not?

35 Yes, was important
64 No, was not important
1 Don't know/Refused
100

IF RESPONDENT CHOSE BUSH IN Q.3, ASK:

Q.10 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	29	11	5	47	8=100	(N=489)
RV's: Late October, 2000	27	15	6	43	9=100	
RV's: Mid-October, 2000	27	18	5	43	7=100	
RV's: Early October, 2000	26	14	4	44	12=100	
RV's: September, 2000	17	17	7	48	11=100	
RV's: June, 2000	17	19	6	43	15=100	
RV's: May, 2000	22	22	6	41	9=100	
RV's: March, 2000	22	20	5	43	10=100	
RV's: October, 1999	24	22	5	39	10=100	

Q.11 Was the fact that Gore is a Democrat an important reason why you did NOT vote for him, or wasn't this important?

BASED ON BUSH VOTERS: [N=489]

25 Yes, was important
74 No, wasn't important
1 Don't know/Refused
100

Q.12 Was the fact that Gore selected Joe Lieberman as his running mate an important reason why you did NOT vote for him, or wasn't this important?

BASED ON BUSH VOTERS: [N=489]

9 Yes, was important
 90 No, wasn't important
1 Don't know/Refused
 100

IF RESPONDENT CHOSE GORE IN Q.3, ASK:

Q.13 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	16	13	44	7=100	(N=499)
RV's: Late October, 2000	21	14	15	37	13=100	
RV's: Mid-October, 2000	18	16	15	43	8=100	
RV's: Early October, 2000	25	11	15	37	12=100	
RV's: September, 2000	20	12	11	43	14=100	
RV's: June, 2000	26	13	10	34	17=100	
RV's: May, 2000	25	13	13	35	14=100	
RV's: March, 2000	33	8	13	35	11=100	
RV's: October, 1999	19	11	13	41	16=100	

Q.14 Was the fact that Bush is a Republican an important reason why you did NOT vote for him, or wasn't this important?

BASED ON GORE VOTERS: [N=499]

32 Yes, was important
 68 No, wasn't important
* Don't know/Refused
 100

Q.15 Was the fact that Bush selected Dick Cheney as his running mate an important reason why you did NOT vote for him, or wasn't this important?

BASED ON GORE VOTERS: [N=499]

11 Yes, was important
 88 No, wasn't important
1 Don't know/Refused
 100

ASK ALL:

Generally...

Q.29 Are you happy or unhappy that the Republican Party maintained control of the U.S. Congress?

		Based on General Public	
		<u>Nov 1996</u>	<u>Dec 1994³</u>
48	Happy	65	57
39	Unhappy	27	31
<u>13</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>8</u>	<u>12</u>
100		100	100

NO Q. 30

On a different subject...

Q.31 Before the election, were you contacted over the phone by any candidates, campaigns or other groups urging you to vote in a particular way?

IF YES, ASK:

Q.32 And were you urged to vote for Al Gore and/or other Democratic candidates OR George W. Bush and/or other Republican candidates?

		Based on Registered Voters
		<u>Early Nov 2000</u>
42	Yes	26
	11 Gore/Democrats	6
	13 Bush/Republicans	8
	3 Other (VOL.)	2
	12 Both (VOL.)	6
	3 Don't know/Refused	4
58	No	73
<u>*</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>1</u>
100		100

3

In December 1994, question was asked, "Generally, are you happy or unhappy the Republican party won control of the U.S. Congress?"

ASK Q.33-Q.35 ONLY OF THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO SAID IN PREVIOUS INTERVIEW THAT THEY ATTEND CHURCH AT LEAST ONCE OR TWICE A MONTH. (TYPOLOGY Q.37-1-3); IF RESPONDENT DOES NOT FIT THAT DESCRIPTION, SKIP TO Q.36.

Q.33 Was information on political parties or candidates for the recent election made available in your place of worship, or not?

BASED ON THOSE WHO ATTEND CHURCH: [N=598]

		<u>Nov 1996</u>
14	Yes	28
83	No	69
<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>3</u>
100		100

Q.34 And did the clergy at your place of worship or any other religious groups urge you to vote a particular way in the recent election, or not?

IF '1' YES IN Q.34, ASK:

Q.35 Were you urged to vote for a particular candidate or party in the presidential race, a Congressional race, a state race, or a local race? (**ACCEPT MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE**)

BASED ON THOSE WHO ATTEND CHURCH: [N=598]

		<u>Nov 1996</u>
6	Yes	7
4	Presidential	5
2	Congressional	3
2	State	3
2	Local	3
2	Don't know/Refused	2
93	No	91
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>2</u>
100		100