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**Gore Issue Edge Less Potent**  
**BUSH GAINS ON PERSONAL QUALITIES**

*Conducted in Association with:*  
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**Also Inside ...**

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*FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:*

Andrew Kohut, Director  
Carroll Doherty, Editor  
Kimberly Parker, Research Director  
Gregory Flemming, Survey Director  
Michael Dimock, Survey Analyst  
Nilanthi Samaranayake, Project Director  
Pew Research Center for The People & The Press  
202/293-3126  
<http://www.people-press.org>

## Gore Issue Edge Less Potent

### **BUSH GAINS ON PERSONAL QUALITIES**

With less than a week to go before the presidential election, George W. Bush's advantage with the voters on personal qualities is now trumping Al Gore's edge on the issues. A steadily growing plurality has come to see the GOP candidate as more likable, more honest, more able to get things done, and fewer worry about his qualifications for the presidency. At the same time, voters increasingly see the vice president as a typical politician, and his personality is cited as a reason for opposing his candidacy by a greater percentage than did so before the presidential debates. Gore is confronting these adverse trends despite the fact that voters have more confidence in him than his opponent to deal with health care, Social Security and the economy.

Consequently, while the horse race remains close, for the first time since July Bush has a slight edge over Gore among likely voters, 47% to 43% in the latest Pew Research Center survey. The Pew poll, the third survey since early October, was conducted among 1,963 adults, including 1,508 registered voters (1,062 likely voters), from Oct. 25-29.

While there is nothing conclusive about Bush's small margin given the fluidity of voter attitudes in this cycle, it does suggest that voters may be drifting in a Republican direction as Election Day approaches. The favorable trend for Bush is most apparent over the past month among seniors, white Catholics, middle- to high-income voters and those in union households.

Voters mostly cite issue positions as reasons for backing their choice for president, but personal qualities — including leadership and experience — are the predominant basis for *not* supporting a candidate. Personal questions are also offered up frequently by swing voters as reasons for their uncertainty. Those who have not yet firmly decided how they will vote most often voice

#### **Bush's Good October**

	Sept	Oct	Oct	Oct
	%	%	%	%
<b>Presidential preference among likely voters+</b>				
Gore	47	44	45	43
Bush	43	45	45	47
Nader	2	5	4	3
Buchanan	1	*	1	1
Undecided	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100	100
<b>Personal judgments among registered voters</b>				
<i>Personally likable</i>				
Gore	44	38	38	39
Bush	37	41	44	48
<i>Honest &amp; truthful</i>				
Gore	37	32	30	32
Bush	35	36	38	43
<i>Can get things done</i>				
Gore	40	38	39	39
Bush	40	37	41	43
<i>Good judgment in crisis</i>				
Gore	44	43	42	42
Bush	38	36	40	43
<i>Qualified to be president</i>				
Gore	n/a	49	45	45
Bush	n/a	31	35	38

+ Includes leaners. Likely voters are identified by a seven question turnout scale which assumes that 50% of the voting age population will go to the polls.

questions about Bush’s qualifications for the presidency. Doubts about Gore are broader: swing voters worry about his personality, truthfulness, and ties with President Clinton. In that regard, when asked directly, a 55% majority of swing voters say they prefer that Gore be less, not more, like Clinton.

There are signs that voters are slowly coming to terms with the decision they will make on Nov. 7. The poll finds fewer voters on the fence: The percentage of voters who still may switch their vote has inched down from 17% in early October and 16% in mid-October to 13% in the current poll. The percentage of undecideds, the other component of the swing vote category, remains stable at 7% — about what it was four years ago at this time.

Although a majority of voters say they are very interested in voting in the upcoming election because of the tightness of the race, prospects are dim that voter turnout will significantly exceed the level of four years ago. Measures of voter engagement in the current campaign suggest that electoral participation will probably mirror 1996 (when 49% of age-eligible citizens voted) rather than 1992 (when 55% voted). For now, the likely voter pool continues to look only somewhat more Republican than all registered voters. This is similar to 1988 when likely voters backed Bush over Dukakis by only a few points more than did all potential voters. In 1996 likely voters skewed even more Republican than did all registered voters.

<b>The Partisan Turnout Gap</b>			
<i>October Pre-Election</i>			
<i>Estimates</i>			
	Registered	Likely	<i>LV-RV</i>
	<u>Voters</u>	<u>Voters</u>	<u>Difference</u>
<b>1988 (Gallup)</b>	%	%	
Bush	50	52	+2
Dukakis	42	41	-1
Other/DK	8	7	+3R
	100	100	
<b>1996 (Pew)</b>			
Dole	34	38	+4
Clinton	51	50	-1
Other/DK	15	12	+5R
	100	100	
<b>2000 (Pew)</b>			
Bush	45	47	+2
Gore	43	43	0
Other/DK	12	10	+2R
	100	100	

The prospect of an even larger GOP turnout advantage, however, is seen in the fact that Gore voters are somewhat less enthusiastic about going out to vote for their candidate than are Bush backers. Underscoring this enthusiasm gap, fully 37% of Democrats say they don’t see a big difference between Gore and Bush on the issues, compared to just 26% of Republicans. Some Democrats are demoralized. The percentage of Democrats expecting a Bush win has grown from 13% in early October to 25% in the current survey. But Clinton still has the potential to energize the Democratic base — unlike swing voters, a plurality of Democrats say they wish Gore were more like the president.

Abortion never emerged as a major topic in the campaign, but it still is very much on the minds of some voters. Surprisingly, those who say issues are motivating them to support Gore and Bush rate abortion almost as high as more widely-debated issues like Social Security and health care. Bush supporters who set issues as a priority cite abortion as often as taxes when giving reasons for backing the Texas governor. And while it ranks below education and Social Security for Gore's issue-oriented supporters, it is on par with health care as a reason to support Gore.

***Bush's Intensity Edge***

While the race is still extremely tight, Bush continues to enjoy stronger backing from his supporters than does Gore from his. Nearly two-thirds (64%) of Bush voters say they strongly support the Texas governor. Gore gets strong support from 55% of those who say they will vote for him. In addition, Bush voters are somewhat less likely than Gore voters to say they might change their minds and vote for the other candidate. Only 9% of Bush supporters say there's a chance they might vote for Gore, compared to 14% of Gore voters who say there's a chance they might for Bush.

<b>Bush's Enthusiasm Advantage</b>		
	Bush Voters	Gore Voters
<i>Support Candidate ...</i>	%	%
Strongly	64	55
Moderately	36	44
Don't know	<u>*</u>	<u>1</u>
	100	100
<i>Chance of voting for other candidate ...</i>		
Yes	9	14
No	89	84
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100
	(N=680)	(N=642)

Overall, the pool of swing voters has diminished slightly in recent weeks. One-in-five voters (20%) now fall into this group, down from 23% in mid-October and 25% earlier in this month.

Among registered voters who currently support the Texas governor, fully 75% fall into the likely voter category; 68% of Gore's voters are classified as likely to vote. This accounts for the fact that Bush's lead over Gore widens when the pool of voters is narrowed from all registered voters to the 50% of the electorate who are most likely to turn out.

In recent weeks, Bush has solidified his lead with men. The gender gap is firmly in place as the candidates head into the final week of campaigning. Men favor Bush by a margin of 49%-39%, while women favor Gore 48%-40%. And Bush has made steady gains among older voters over the past month. Seniors now divide evenly between Gore and Bush (44%-45%). In early October, they favored Gore by a wide margin (50%-38%). Most of the erosion in Gore's support has come from older men, who narrowly favored the vice president earlier this month and now lean toward Bush. Young voters continue to vacillate between the two major party candidates — favoring Gore by a wide margin in mid-October and now dividing evenly between the two, with 8% supporting Ralph Nader.

Age	-- Early Oct --		-- Mid-Oct --		-- Late Oct --	
	Gore	Bush	Gore	Bush	Gore	Bush
18-29	45	46	51	38	43	42
30-49	41	45	43	47	42	46
50-64	46	41	45	44	46	43
65+	<b>50</b>	<b>38</b>	46	40	<b>44</b>	<b>45</b>

Gore has lost some ground among union voters in recent weeks. Though he still leads Bush among voters in union households, his advantage has narrowed from 31 points in mid-October to 12 points now. Voters from non-union households continue to narrowly favor Bush. Independents remain split — 40% preferring Bush and 36% choosing Gore. Swing voters prefer Gore over Bush (30%-20%).

***Gender Divide Among Issue Voters***

Issues continue to drive voter preferences, as strong pluralities of both Gore and Bush voters say what they like *most* about their candidates are their stands on issues. Experience is also a draw for Gore voters, while roughly three-in-ten Bush supporters say they like the governor because of his personality and leadership abilities.

Gore's strongest issues are education, Social Security, health care, abortion and the environment. Voters who say they like Gore because of his policy positions named these issues most often when asked for specifics. Bush voters cite abortion, taxes, education, Social Security and the military.

Major differences between men and women emerge as to which issues matter most, even among those who agree on a candidate. Gender differences are more striking within the Bush camp. For women who support Bush because of his issue positions, abortion rates as most important, followed by education, Social Security, taxes and health care. For men who support Bush for his issue positions, the top priorities are taxes, abortion, gun control, the size of government and the military. Male and female Gore voters are in more agreement over which issues matter most, though women place much more emphasis on education than men.

### The Gender Gap Among Issue Voters

#### *Bush Voters' Top Issues+*

<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
Taxes (31%)	Abortion (30%)
Abortion (17%)	Education (27%)
Gun control (17%)	Social Security (16%)
Size of gov't (15%)	Taxes (14%)
Military (14%)	Health care (8%)

#### *Gore Voters' Top Issues\**

<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
Social Security (25%)	Education (35%)
Health care (22%)	Health care (24%)
Education (18%)	Social Security (22%)
Environment (17%)	Abortion (16%)
Abortion (14%)	Environment (12%)

+ Based on those who like Bush for his issue positions.

\* Based on those who like Gore for his issue positions.

### ***Gore's Personality Woes***

Personality remains a significant liability for Gore. While a plurality of Bush voters (43%) say what they like *least* about Gore is his position on issues, nearly three-in-ten point to the vice president's personality. The percentage of Bush supporters citing Gore's personality as his biggest negative spiked up in early October, after the first presidential debate, and has remained at that level ever since.

Bush's personality is also a weakness, though less so than Gore's. One-in-five Gore voters say his personality is what they like least about the governor. However, issue positions dominate here as well, with 37% saying Bush's stand on issues turns them off most.

Gore's weakness in terms of personal qualities is evident on several fronts. Swing voters were asked why they were unsure about voting for Gore and Bush. Gore's reputation for exaggerating, as well as general complaints about his personality top the list (14% cite one or more of these factors). Many swing voters also mention Gore's association with Clinton as potential problem. Another top response is that Gore flip-flops on issues. Overall, concerns about Gore's his personality overwhelm policy concerns, by a margin of 37%-26%.

### **Swing Voters' Doubts About the Candidates**

#### *Doubts about Gore ...*

Exaggerates, lies, don't like his personality	14%
Clinton connection	8%
Flip-flops on issues	6%
Lack of leadership ability	5%
Stand on gun control	5%

#### *Doubts about Bush ...*

Inexperienced, unintelligent, not up to the job	17%
Stand on issues (general)	5%
Education policies	5%
Policies favor wealthy	4%
Unsure of himself/wishy-washy	4%

Swing voters' biggest reservations about Bush center on his experience, intelligence and ability to handle the job of president. Some 17% of swing voters pointed to these types of factors. In addition, many swing voters said they're wary about Bush because of his issue positions. Some fear that his policies would favor the wealthy, while others point to his education policies and his position on abortion.

***Who Will Win?***

In the end, a plurality of voters think Bush will win the election: 48% expect a Bush victory Nov. 7, while 38% are anticipating Gore will win. Republicans overwhelmingly believe their nominee will be elected; 78% are confident Bush will win, only 12% think Gore will be victorious. Among Democrats, there's less optimism. Fully a quarter of Democrats think Bush will get the nod. On balance, independents think Bush will win (47% vs. 35% who say Gore).

	All			
	<u>RV's</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
<i>Who'll be elected?</i>	%	%	%	%
Gore	38	12	63	35
Bush	48	78	25	47
Don't know	<u>14</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>18</u>
	100	100	100	100

Just a few weeks ago, voters thought Gore would win. In early October, 46% chose Gore when asked who was most likely to win, while 33% chose Bush. Democrats were more upbeat about Gore's chances at that point, but not as sure as Republicans are of Bush's prospects today.

***Positive Messages More Effective***

So far, Bush's positive campaign themes have been more effective than his harsh critiques of Gore. Voters give high marks to his message that he trusts people, rather than the government, to make decisions. Fully 47% of respondents say this statement makes them more likely to vote for Bush, compared to only 19% who say it makes them less likely to support him.

Bush's promise to reach across party lines to get things done in Washington is also popular; 38% say it makes them more likely to vote for Bush, 17% less likely. Bush's proposal to allow young workers to have the option of investing some of their Social Security taxes in private accounts is also resonating positively with voters.

When Bush attacks his opponent, however, his message draws somewhat more negative reactions. Only about three-in-ten voters say Bush's criticisms of Gore's tax cut, his questions about Gore's trustworthiness, and his attempts to label Gore as a big government liberal make them any more likely to vote for Bush. In all three cases, nearly as many say such charges make them less likely to support the Texas governor. More important, these assertions are particularly unpopular among swing voters. Fewer than one-in-five swing voters are moved to support Bush after hearing his critiques of Gore, and for each, a larger proportion of swing voters say they are less likely to support Bush after hearing such attacks.

<b>Which Appeals Work Best?*</b>		
	More likely to support	Less likely to support
	<u>support</u>	<u>support</u>
<i>Bush statements about Bush</i>	%	%
Trusts people, not government	47	19
Can reach across party lines	38	17
Privatize Social Security	40	23
<i>Bush statements about Gore</i>		
Tax cut leaves out 50 million	29	22
Is a big government liberal	31	25
Exaggerates & can't be trusted	29	25
<i>Gore statements about Gore</i>		
Will fight for working families	42	17
Administration improved economy	37	17
<i>Gore statements about Bush</i>		
Tax cut plan favors the wealthy	40	22
Has a poor record in Texas	36	22
Will bankrupt Social Security	36	23
Will appoint anti-abortion judges	37	29

\* Based on registered voters.

Like Bush, Gore's most effective campaign themes are positive instead of negative, although Gore has somewhat more success with his attacks on Bush than vice versa. Gore's most appealing claim is that he will fight for working families and stand up to special interests. Fully 42% of voters say this makes them more likely to vote for the vice president, while only 17% say it makes them less likely to back him. Swing voters who say Gore's populist claim makes them more likely to support him outnumber those who say the opposite by a five-to-one margin (51% to 10%).

Gore's charge that Bush's tax cut plan would mostly benefit the wealthiest Americans resonates with 40% of voters, while only 22% are turned off by such an attack. Claims that Bush has done a poor job in Texas on issues like health care and the

<b>Swing Voters Rate Campaign Statements*</b>		
	More likely to support	Less likely to support
	<u>support</u>	<u>support</u>
<i>Bush statements about Bush</i>	%	%
Trusts people, not government	42	16
Can reach across party lines	31	13
Privatize Social Security	34	24
<i>Bush statements about Gore</i>		
Tax cut leaves out 50 million	17	27
Is a big government liberal	17	23
Exaggerates & can't be trusted	15	28
<i>Gore statements about Gore</i>		
Will fight for working families	51	10
Administration improved economy	37	8
<i>Gore statements about Bush</i>		
Tax cut plan favors the wealthy	43	14
Has a poor record in Texas	32	15
Will bankrupt Social Security	36	14
Will appoint anti-abortion judges	34	26

\* Based on swing voters (n=298).



environment, and the charge that Bush's Social Security plan would risk bankrupting the system may also be effective. But for Gore, raising the abortion issue is more controversial. While 37% say Gore's assertion that Bush would appoint abortion rights opponents as justices to the Supreme Court makes them more likely to vote for the vice president, 29% say they are less likely to vote for Gore.

Overall, Gore faces somewhat less of a backlash from swing voters for using negative campaign themes. Fully 43% of swing voters say the charge that Bush's tax plan favors the wealthy makes them more supportive of Gore, while only 14% are driven away. Similarly, more swing voters move toward Gore when he criticizes Bush's record in Texas (32%), and emphasizes the risks of Bush's Social Security plan (36%), than are alienated by such criticisms (15% and 14% respectively).

### ***Turnout May Match '96***

Relatively few voters cite outright distaste for the candidates — or their inability to make up their minds about how to vote — as reasons for not going to the polls on Election Day. Indeed, lack of enthusiasm for Gore and Bush is mentioned more often as a reason for not voting. And while this indifference may depress overall turnout, it could hurt Gore more than Bush.

Only 8% of voters say they might not turn up at the polls because they don't like either Bush or Gore very much, and just 7% say that the difficulty of making up their minds may lead them not to vote.

But the fact that voters are not deeply dissatisfied with the candidates does not necessarily mean they possess the fervor to spur voting. Among Gore supporters, 19% say they are not

enthusiastic over the prospect of voting for the vice president, and 15% of Bush supporters say the same about their candidate. But more Bush supporters (66%) completely reject the notion that their lack enthusiasm will keep them from voting; just 57% of Gore supporters feel that way.

<b>Indifference Top Reason to Stay Home</b>			
	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
<i>Possible reasons for not voting</i>	%	%	%
Not enthusiastic about Gore*	19	80	1=100
Not enthusiastic about Bush+	15	84	1=100
Don't like either candidate	8	91	1=100
Difficult to make up mind	7	92	1=100
<i>Possible reason for voting</i>			
Because race is so close	77	21	2=100

\* Based on supporters of Gore. + Based on supporters of Bush.

Whether the tightness of the race will increase turnout on Nov. 7 remains an open question. Fully 77% of voters say they are very interested in voting because the presidential race is so close. However, general levels of attention to this year's campaign are no higher than they were during the 1996 election, which Clinton won easily. The two-thirds of registered voters who say they have given quite a lot of thought to the coming presidential election is comparable to October 1996 (65%), and October 1988(69%), years when only 49% and 50%, respectively, of age-eligible voters turned out at the polls. By comparison, fully 77% said they had given a lot of thought to the election in 1992, when turnout rose to 55%.

***Bush Bolsters Personal Advantage***

Bush now leads Gore by solid margins on several important personal traits, including willingness to take unpopular political stands (by 14 points), honesty (11 points), and likability (nine points). In addition, he has continued to whittle away at Gore's once strong advantage as being personally qualified to become president, and is regarded by far fewer voters as a "typical" politician than Gore.

While Bush has made significant overall gains since September, he also has increased his advantage among key political and demographic groups in the short period since the last Pew Research Center poll (in mid-October). The trend has been especially pronounced among independents, who give Bush a slight overall edge in the presidential horse race (40%-36% among registered voters), but generally see him more favorably than Gore. In mid-October, independents were split over who was the more likable candidate (39% said Bush, 38% Gore); now fully 53% of independents see Bush as more likable, while just 32% choose Gore.

**Bush's Image Improves Among Independents\***

	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Gore</u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>Both</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
Personally likable	53	32	6	6	3=100
Mid-October	39	38	9	8	6=100
Honest & truthful	43	26	20	4	7=100
Mid-October	32	29	23	9	7=100
Personally qualified	38	40	8	9	5=100
Mid-October	27	42	12	14	5=100
Good judgment	45	37	3	6	9=100
Mid-October	36	42	8	9	5=100
Cares about people	40	40	13	5	2=100
Mid-October	33	42	13	7	5=100
Has new ideas	46	28	13	7	6=100
Mid-October	39	30	18	8	5=100
Strong leader	43	37	10	7	3=100
Mid-October	37	37	15	8	3=100
Connects well with ordinary Americans	47	38	7	3	5=100
Mid-October	41	40	9	7	3=100
Can get things done	44	33	7	8	8=100
Mid-October	40	33	12	10	5=100
Willing to take a stand	53	29	10	3	5=100
Mid-October	49	36	9	2	4=100
Typical politician	27	49	1	20	3=100
Mid-October	29	41	2	26	2=100

\* Current numbers based on 448 independents.

In addition, Bush has doubled his nine-point edge among independents as the candidate better described as having new ideas. And independents are divided over which man is more qualified to become president (40% say Gore, 38% Bush). In mid-October, the vice president held a 15-point lead on qualifications.

Reflecting Bush's gains among union households, more of these traditionally Democratic voters are also taking a favorable view of the Texas governor's character and personality. Members of union households are deadlocked over which candidate is better described as honest (37%-37%). Gore holds a slim three-point edge on likability among voters in union households (45%-42%).

Bush's image is also wearing well among other groups. Fully 55% of college graduates now see him as more likable, compared to 30% who say that about Gore. Bush's lead among college graduates on this question was just five points (42%-37%) in mid-October.

Large numbers of the oldest voters (those over age 65) as well as the youngest (those under age 30) favor Bush on likability and honesty, reflecting Bush's increased strength among these groups. But Gore has made strides on these questions among middle-aged voters (those age 30-49). Bush holds only a slight three-point edge among these voters as the more likable candidate (down from 14 points in mid-October). Gore also has trimmed Bush's 14-point advantage on honesty among these voters to four points (40%-36%).

***Little Movement on Issues***

Still, issues remain Gore's forte, and he continues to hold solid leads over Bush on making prescription drugs more affordable for seniors, Social Security and Medicare and health care. However, Bush has made some gains, notably on defense policy and keeping the economy strong.

Since mid-October, Bush's lead on defense policy — one of only two issues on which he has a clear edge — has grown from a slight four points to 10 points. There is a wide gender gap on the question of which candidate would better manage the military. Bush holds a 57%-34% advantage among men on handling defense policy, while women are split (44% for each candidate). In addition, independents continue to favor Bush on this issue by a wide margin (51%-33%).

<b>Gore Holds the Line on Key Issues</b>				
	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Gore</u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
<i>Gore issues ...</i>	%	%	%	%
Prescription drugs	34	48	5	13=100
Social Security/ Medicare	39	49	3	9=100
Health care	38	47	5	10=100
<i>Up for grabs ...</i>				
Maintain economy	40	46	6	8=100
World affairs	42	47	3	8=100
Education	41	45	4	10=100
Role of government	44	41	4	11=100
Taxes	45	41	5	9=100
<i>Bush's advantages ...</i>				
Reducing partisan conflict	41	32	16	11=100
Defense	50	40	3	7=100

Since mid-October, Bush has cut Gore’s lead on maintaining a strong economy in half, from 12 points to six points. Slightly more college graduates now favor Bush on this issue (47%-41%); in mid-October, Gore held just a two-point edge among college graduates.

But beyond retaining his overall edge on most major issues, Gore also has made gains among some groups. For instance, independents now favor Gore on health care by 45%-31%; in mid-October his lead was just eight points (43%-35%). Similarly, a growing number of independents say Gore is better able to handle Social Security and prescription drugs for seniors.

***Government’s Image Improves***

HMOs, oil companies, and pharmaceutical companies — which have been the main target of Gore’s populist campaign themes — are all judged less favorably than the federal government by voters. Of those three institutions, HMOs and oil companies are clearly the least popular. Less than a third of voters feel favorably toward these two industries, compared to 45% for pharmaceutical companies.

There is a sizable partisan split regarding oil companies, with 45% of Republicans and just 26% of Democrats rating them favorably. Negative feelings toward HMOs are consistent across all groups, with the exception of blacks and voters under 30, who rate them a bit more positively (49% and 42%, respectively).

	Favor- <u>able</u> %	Unfavor- <u>able</u> %	Can't <u>Rate</u> %
Federal government	54	40	6=100
News media	50	45	5=100
Pharmaceutical companies	45	45	10=100
Oil companies	32	56	12=100
HMOs	31	60	9=100

On the issue of prescription drugs specifically, voters have more confidence in the federal government than in HMOs. By a better than two-to-one margin (59%-25%), voters want the proposed prescription drug benefit for seniors to be managed by the government as part of the Medicare program, rather than by private insurance companies.

Overall, 54% of voters say they have a favorable opinion of the federal government in Washington. This represents a vast improvement from October 1997, when only 37% rated the government favorably and 61% judged it unfavorably. Satisfaction with the federal government is strongest among Democrats (72% favorable), blacks (72%) and voters under age 30 (59%). The least favorable views are held by Republicans (40% favorable) and evangelical Christians (43% favorable). Fully 72% of Gore supporters have a favorable opinion of the federal government, compared to only 40% of Bush supporters.

The news media is viewed about as favorably as the government, with 50% rating it positively. That is comparable to ratings the media has received in recent years — roughly half the electorate has rated the news media favorably over the past three years. Again, there is a significant partisan divide, with only 39% of Republicans feeling favorably toward the media compared to 60% of Democrats.

<b>Partisan Divide Over Major Institutions</b>				
	<i>-- Percent "favorable" --</i>			
	<u>All RVs</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
	%	%	%	%
Federal government	54	40	72	50
News media	50	39	60	49
Pharmaceutical companies	45	49	43	47
Oil companies	32	45	26	30
HMOs	31	30	33	30

**TREND IN PRESIDENTIAL TRIAL HEAT\***

(Based on Registered Voters)

	--- Early October ---			--- Mid-October ---			--- Late October ---			Change	
	Gore	Bush	Nader	Gore	Bush	Nader	Gore	Bush	Nader	in Gore	(N)
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
<b>Total</b>	44	43	5	45	43	4	43	45	4	-2	(1508)
<b>Sex</b>											
Male	39	46	7	43	46	4	39	49	5	-4	(723)
Female	49	40	3	46	41	4	48	40	3	+2	(785)
<b>Race</b>											
White	40	48	5	39	49	5	39	49	4	0	(1257)
Non-white	73	14	3	72	16	2	74	13	6	+2	(228)
Black	83	10	2	76	13	1	80	9	4	+4	(152)
Hispanic†	60	20	7	58	25	2	63	29	4	+5	(93)
<b>Race and Sex</b>											
White Men	35	50	7	38	52	4	35	53	5	-3	(613)
White Women	43	46	3	41	47	5	42	46	2	+1	(644)
<b>Age</b>											
Under 30	45	46	3	51	38	6	43	42	8	-8	(232)
30-49	41	45	6	43	47	4	42	46	4	-1	(569)
50-64	46	41	5	45	44	3	46	43	3	+1	(389)
65+	50	38	4	46	40	2	44	45	2	-2	(304)
<b>Sex and Age</b>											
Men under 50	36	49	7	44	45	6	37	49	5	-7	(433)
Women under 50	41	3	47	43	4	48	41	4	+1	(368)	
Men 50+	44	41	8	44	46	1	42	48	5	-2	(286)
Women 50+	51	38	2	47	39	4	48	40	1	+1	(407)
<b>Education</b>											
College Grad.	44	44	6	47	43	5	41	47	5	-6	(562)
Some College	37	49	5	46	44	5	42	44	6	-4	(381)
H.S. Grad & Less	50	38	3	44	43	3	46	43	2	+2	(556)

\* Includes leaners.

◇ Represents the change in Gore numbers from Mid-October to Late October.

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

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...

	--- Early October ---			--- Mid-October ---			--- Late October ---			Change	
	<u>Gore</u>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Nader</u>	<u>Gore</u>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Nader</u>	<u>Gore</u>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Nader</u>	<u>in Gore</u> ⇄	<u>(N)</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
<b>Total</b>	44	43	5	45	43	4	43	45	4	-2	(1508)
<b>Family Income</b>											
\$75,000+	33	54	5	48	46	4	36	53	6	-12	(334)
\$50,000-\$74,999	41	47	5	46	48	4	37	55	1	-9	(249)
\$30,000-\$49,999	46	41	4	43	47	7	42	47	3	-1	(371)
\$20,000-\$29,999	58	31	7	52	40	3	59	32	3	+7	(182)
<\$20,000	56	35	4	50	34	3	54	34	4	+4	(190)
<b>Region</b>											
East	53	32	4	49	39	5	52	34	4	+3	(278)
Midwest	39	48	5	49	42	1	41	45	5	-8	(360)
South	45	46	2	40	48	3	42	48	2	+2	(567)
West	43	41	8	47	40	8	40	48	4	-7	(303)
<b>Religious Affiliation</b>											
Total White Protestant	36	55	3	32	61	1	33	56	3	+1	(701)
White Protestant Evangelical	31	61	2	25	71	*	27	64	2	+2	(351)
White Prot. Non-Evangelical	42	48	4	38	51	3	39	47	4	+1	(350)
White Catholic	44	42	4	49	38	6	40	47	3	-9	(314)
Secular	47	22	19	45	33	18	56	30	7	+11	(107)
<b>Community Size</b>											
Large City	54	35	6	56	32	4	55	33	5	-1	(304)
Suburb	43	45	5	49	41	4	41	48	2	-8	(381)
Small City/Town	44	43	4	38	49	3	42	46	4	+4	(534)
Rural Area	39	47	5	40	48	7	38	50	3	-2	(272)
<b>Party ID</b>											
Republican	8	87	1	6	92	1	4	92	1	-2	(465)
Democrat	85	8	2	85	9	2	85	9	2	0	(515)
Independent	37	37	12	36	40	11	36	40	9	0	(448)
<b>Party and Ideology</b>											
Conservative Republican	5	92	0	4	94	1	4	94	*	0	(315)
Moderate/Liberal Republican	17	77	2	10	87	1	6	86	2	-4	(142)
Conservative/Moderate Dem.	84	11	1	83	12	2	82	11	2	-1	(336)
Liberal Democrat	89	1	5	95	1	4	91	4	3	-4	(155)
<b>Marital Status</b>											
Married	40	48	4	41	51	2	40	50	3	-1	(864)
Unmarried	51	35	6	50	34	6	48	37	5	-2	(629)
<b>Parental Status</b>											
Parent	39	49	4	43	47	4	45	45	3	+2	(491)
Non-Parent	47	40	5	46	41	4	42	45	4	-4	(1005)
<b>Labor Union</b>											
Union Household	58	32	4	61	30	5	49	37	4	-12	(240)
Non-Union Household	42	45	5	42	46	4	42	46	4	0	(1252)

## 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 <u>A lot</u>	(VOL.) <u>Some</u>	Only a <u>Little</u>	(VOL.) <u>None</u>	DK/ <u>Ref.</u>
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
<b>Gallup:</b> November, 1988	73	8	17	2	0=100
<b>Gallup:</b> October, 1988	69	9	20	2	0=100
<b>Gallup:</b> August, 1988	61	10	27	2	0=100
<b>Gallup:</b> 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, <u>Registered</u>	Absolutely <u>Certain</u>	Chance <u>Lapsed</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>	No, Not <u>Registered</u>	<u>DK/Ref.</u>
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 <u>2000</u>	Early Oct <u>2000</u>	Late Oct <u>1998</u>	Early Oct <u>1998</u>	Nov <u>1996</u>	Late Sept <u>1996</u>	Nov <u>1994</u>
81 Yes	82	84	86	87	85	85	91
19 No	18	16	14	13	15	15	9
* Don't know/Refused	<u>0</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>
<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

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

	(VOL.)						
	<u>Always</u>	<u>Nearly Always</u>	<u>Part of The time</u>	<u>Seldom</u>	<u>(VOL.) Other</u>	<u>Never Vote</u>	<u>DK/Ref.</u>
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
<b>Gallup:</b> November, 1988	57	26	10	4	2	1	*=100
<b>Gallup:</b> 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 <u>2000</u>	Early Oct <u>2000</u>	Sept <u>2000</u>	July <u>2000</u>	Late June <u>2000</u>	Mid-June <u>2000</u>
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	Nader/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	Buchanan/Lean Buchanan	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>	Undecided/Other/DK	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>	<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 <u>2000</u>	Early Oct <u>2000</u>	Sept <u>2000</u>	June <u>2000</u>	<i>Clinton</i> <u>Oct 1996</u>
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 <u>2000</u>	Early Oct <u>2000</u>	Sept <u>2000</u>	June <u>2000</u>	<i>Dole</i> <u>Oct 1996</u>
10	Chance might vote for him	12	11	15	15	11
41	Decided not to vote for him	40	39	38	33	51
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<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?

	<u>Personality</u>	<u>Leadership</u>	<u>Experience</u>	<u>Stand on issues</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	
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	
George W. Bush	10	21	5	59	5=100	(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	(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		(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)

<u>GORE VOTERS [N=301]:</u>		<u>Early Oct 2000</u>
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 ...**

<b><u>GORE VOTERS cont.</u></b>		<u>Early Oct 2000</u>
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
<b>5</b>	<b>ECONOMY (NET)</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>23</b>	<b>HEALTH CARE (NET)</b>	<b>29</b>

**BUSH VOTERS [N=393]**

24	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	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 ...**

<b><u>BUSH VOTERS cont.</u></b>		<u>Early Oct 2000</u>
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	<b>ECONOMY (NET)</b>	<b>1</b>
6	<b>HEALTH CARE (NET)</b>	<b>9</b>

**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?

	<u>Personality</u>	<u>Leadership</u>	<u>Experience</u>	<u>Stand on Issues</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	
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>	<u>Stand on Issues</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	
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?

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

† 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?

	Definitely will vote										DK/Ref
	<u>10</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	
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
<b>Gallup:</b> September, 1992	77	5	4	3	2	4	*	1	*	4	*=100
<b>Gallup:</b> November, 1988	77	7	6	2	1	3	*	*	*	2	2=100
<b>Gallup:</b> October, 1988	73	8	7	3	2	3	1	*	*	1	2=100

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

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 <u>2000</u>	Sept <u>2000</u>	June <u>2000</u>	July <u>1999</u>
60	Different	61	56	51	47
34	Similar	30	32	33	24
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>9</u>	<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)**

		<b>(VOL.)</b>				
		George <u>W. Bush</u>	<u>Al Gore</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>Neither</u>	<u>Both</u> <u>Equally</u>	<u>DK/Ref.</u>
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 ...**

		(VOL.)				
		George		(VOL.)	Both	
		<u>W. Bush</u>	<u>Al Gore</u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>Equally</u>	<u>DK/Ref.</u>
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
	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
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
	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
h.	Personally qualified to be president	38	45	5	9	3=100
	Mid-October, 2000	35	45	6	9	5=100
	Early October, 2000	31	49	5	11	4=100
	June, 2000	37	37	10	10	6=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
	Mid-October, 2000	42	33	11	8	6=100
	June, 2000	38	32	14	7	9=100
k.	Connects well with ordinary Americans	45	42	5	4	4=100
	Mid-October, 2000	45	39	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		(VOL.)	
		W. Bush	Al Gore	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
	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
	Mid-October, 2000	40	46	3	11=100
	Early October, 2000	41	43	6	10=100
	September, 2000	39	45	4	12=100
	June, 2000	34	44	5	17=100
	March, 2000	42	44	3	11=100

**Q.25F2 CONTINUED ...**

		George W. Bush	Al Gore	(VOL.) 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	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
	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.)
<u>11</u>	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 2000	June 2000	Oct 1999 <sup>2</sup>	Late Sept 1996	
38	Al Gore	46	33	23	79 ⇒	Clinton
48	George W. Bush	33	51	70	12 ⇒	Dole
n/a	Other	n/a	n/a	1	1 ⇒	Perot
<u>14</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>21</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>8</u> ⇒	Don't Know/Refused
100		100	100	100	100	

<sup>2</sup>

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 <u>Agree</u>	Mostly <u>Agree</u>	Mostly <u>Disagree</u>	Completely <u>Disagree</u>	DK/ <u>Ref</u>	
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	<b>(N=642)</b>
George W. Bush	4	11	18	66	1=100	<b>(N=680)</b>
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 -----			DK/ <u>Ref.</u>
	<u>More likely to vote</u>	<u>Less likely to vote</u>	<u>No difference on vote</u>	
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 <u>to vote</u>	Less likely <u>to vote</u>	No difference <u>on vote</u>	DK/ <u>Ref.</u>	
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	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  
2 Other **(VOL.)**  
2 Don't know/Refused  
100

**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]**

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.)**  
9 Don't know/Refused  
100