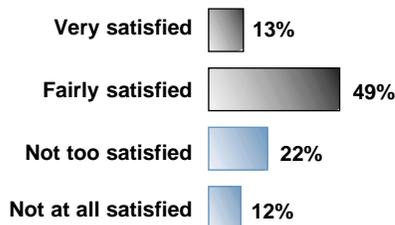


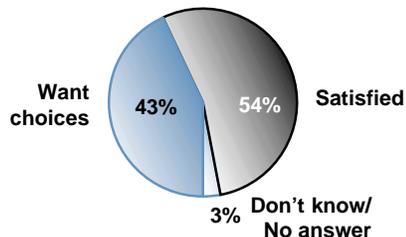
# Unanchored Voters

**Question:** As it's shaping up so far, what's your opinion of the likely presidential candidates for this year? Would you say that you are very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not too satisfied, or not at all satisfied with the likely choices?



**Source:** Survey by Princeton Survey Research Associates for the Pew Research Center, June 14-28, 2000.

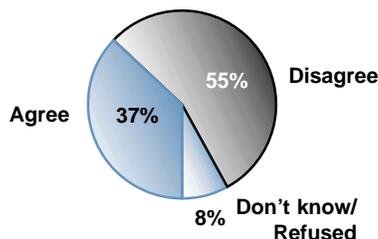
**Question:** George W. Bush and Al Gore are now the two parties' candidates for the presidency in November. Are you satisfied choosing between them or do you want other choices?



**Note:** Asked of registered voters.

**Source:** Survey by CBS News, March 19-21, 2000.

**Question:** Some people feel it is difficult to choose between Al Gore and George W. Bush because neither one would make a good president. Do you agree or disagree?



**Source:** Survey by Princeton Survey Research Associates for the Pew Research Center, June 14-28, 2000.

## Let's Hear 'Em

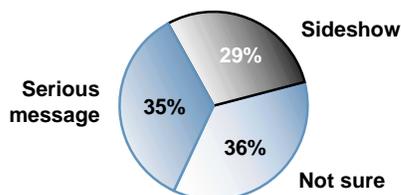
**Question:** Do you think the presidential debates this fall should be between George W. Bush and Al Gore, or Bush, Gore, Ralph Nader, and Pat Buchanan?



**Source:** Survey by ABC News/*Washington Post*, July 20-23, 2000.

## Side Show With Substance

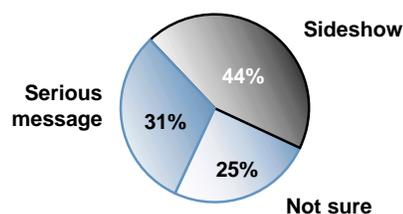
**Question:** Do you think Green Party candidate Ralph Nader has a serious message that should be heard, or is his 2000 presidential campaign just a sideshow?



**Note:** Asked of registered voters.

**Source:** Survey by Opinion Dynamics for Fox News, July 12-13, 2000.

**Question:** Do you think Reform Party candidate Pat Buchanan has a serious message that should be heard, or is his 2000 presidential campaign just a sideshow?

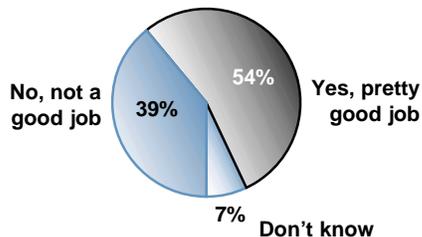


**Note:** Asked of registered voters.

**Source:** Survey by Opinion Dynamics for Fox News, July 12-13, 2000.

# A Notable Minority Challenges the System

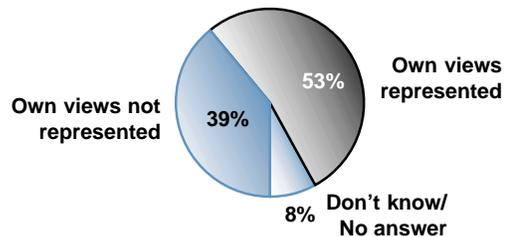
**Question:** In general, do you think the two-party system does a pretty good job of addressing the issues that are most important to people like you, or not?



**Note:** Asked of registered voters.

**Source:** Survey by Princeton Survey Research Associates for *Newsweek*, October 1, 1999.

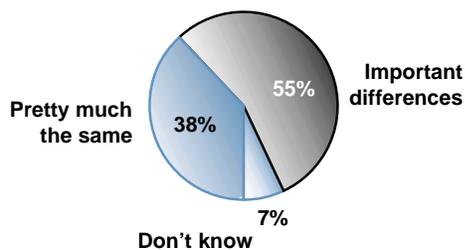
**Question:** When you think about the Republican and Democratic parties in this country, do you usually feel that your own views on things are represented in what one or both of them stand for, or do you usually feel your own views are not represented?



**Source:** Survey by CBS News, September 14-18, 1999.

## Peas in a Pod?

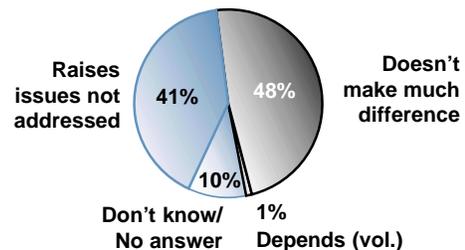
**Question:** Do think there are important differences between the Republicans and Democrats on issues that matter to you, or do you think the two parties are pretty much the same?



**Source:** Survey by Yankelovich Partners/*Time*/CNN, January 5-6, 2000.

## Fresh Air

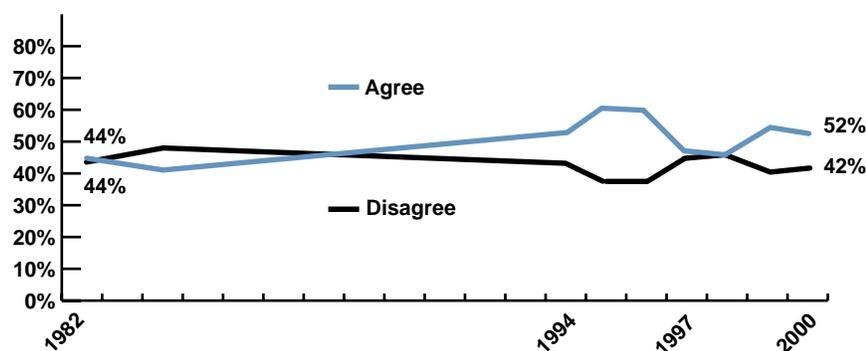
**Question:** Do you think the Reform party raises issues that the Republicans and Democrats do not address or doesn't the Reform party make that much difference?



**Source:** Survey by CBS News/*New York Times*, November 4-7, 1999.

## Third-Party Sentiment Waxes and Wanes

**Question:** Can you please tell me if you tend to agree or disagree with the following statement, or if, perhaps, you have no opinion about the statement: We should have a third major political party in this country in addition to the Democrats and Republicans.

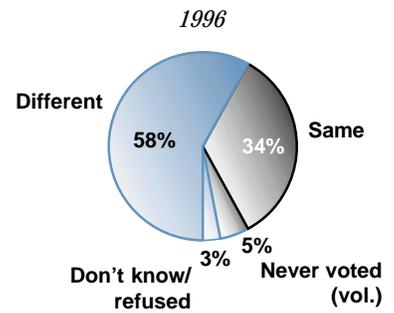
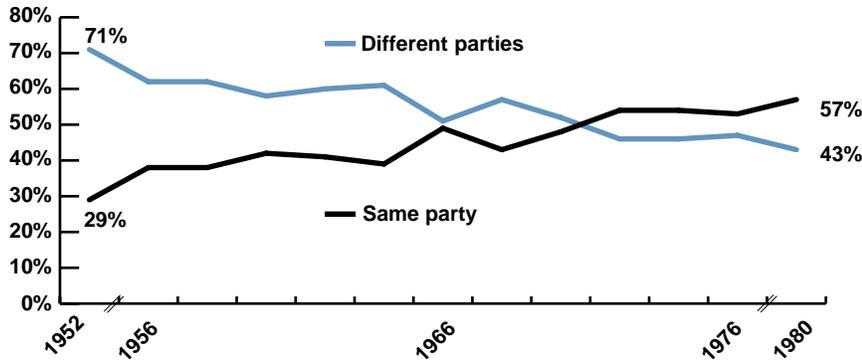


	Agree	Disagree
1982	44%	44%
1984	41	48
1994	53	43
1995	59	37
1996	58	37
1997	47	46
1998	46	47
1999	54	40
2000	52	42

**Source:** Surveys by ABC News/*Washington Post*, 1982-84; Princeton Survey Research Associates for *Times Mirror*, 1994-95; and Princeton Survey Research Associates for the *Pew Research Center*, latest that of June 14-28, 2000.

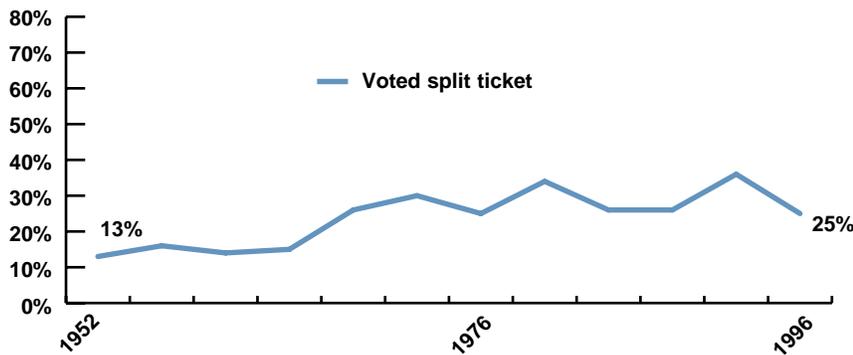
# Splitting the Difference

**Question:** Have you always voted for the same party for president or have you voted for different parties for president?...



**Source:** Surveys by the Center for Political Studies, NES, University of Michigan, latest that of September 2-November 3, 1980. For pie chart, survey by the Institute for Social Inquiry/Roper Center, University of Connecticut for the Media Studies Center, January 19-February 10, 1996.

**Questions:** Who did you vote for for president.... How about for the House of Representatives in Washington? Did you vote for a candidate...? (If yes, voted:) Who did you vote for? Which party was that?

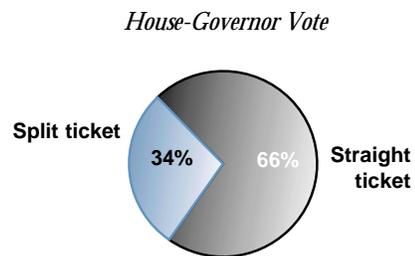
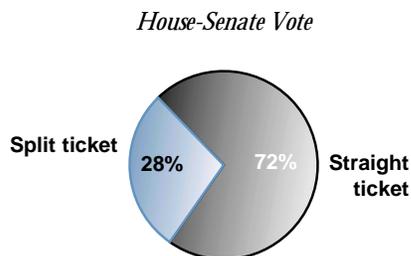


Year	Voted split ticket
1952	13%
1956	16
1960	14
1964	15
1968	26
1972	30
1976	25
1980	34
1984	26
1988	26
1992	36
1996	25

**Source:** Surveys by the Center for Political Studies, NES, University of Michigan, latest that of November 6-December 31, 1996.

## 1998 Ticket Splitting

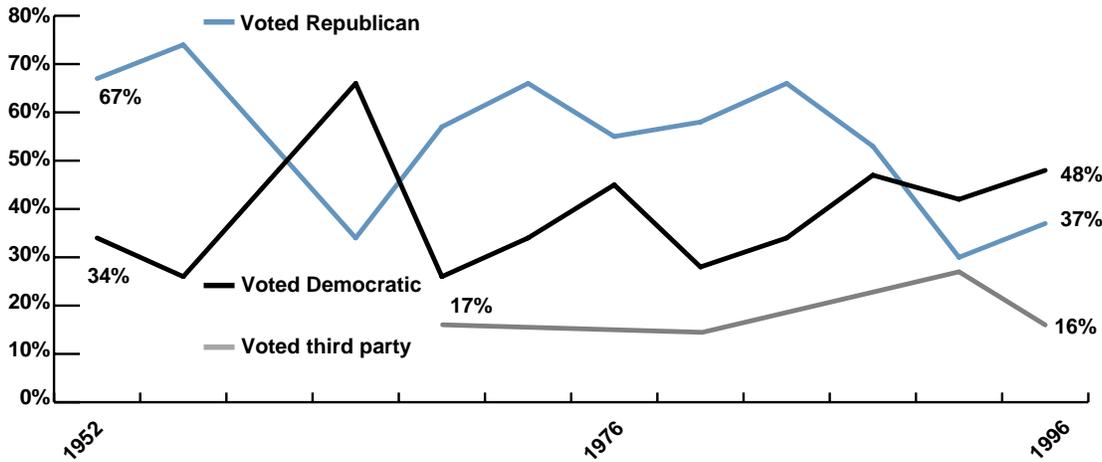
**Questions:** How about for the (House of Representatives in Washington/United States Senate/ election for Governor)? Did you vote for a candidate...? (If yes, voted:) Who did you vote for? Which party is that?



**Source:** Survey by the Center for Political Studies, NES, University of Michigan, November 4-December 22, 1998.

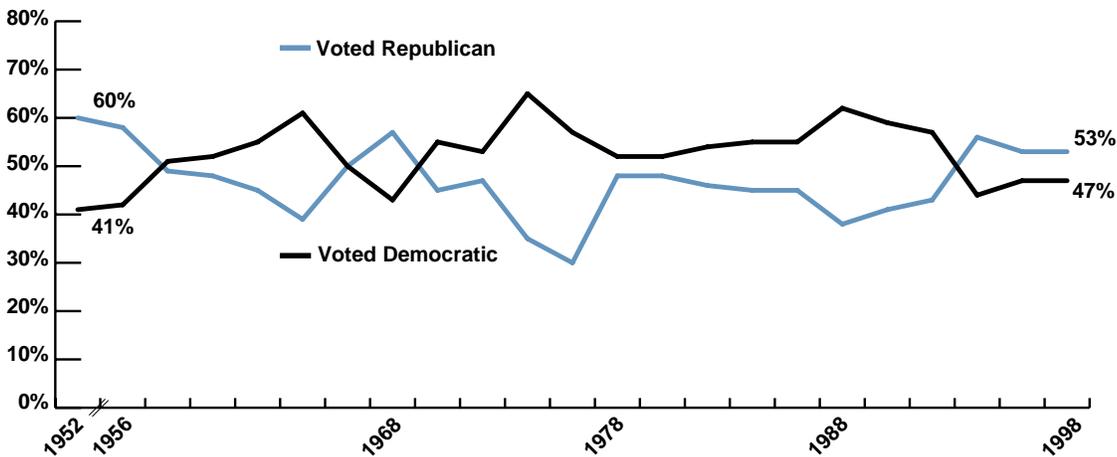
# Independent Behavior

## Presidential Choices of Independents



Source: Surveys by the Center for Political Studies, NES, University of Michigan, latest that of November 6-December 31, 1996.

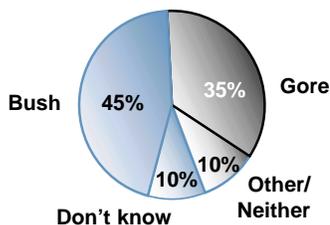
## Congressional Choices of Independents



Source: Surveys by the Center for Political Studies, NES, University of Michigan, latest that of November 4-December 22, 1998.

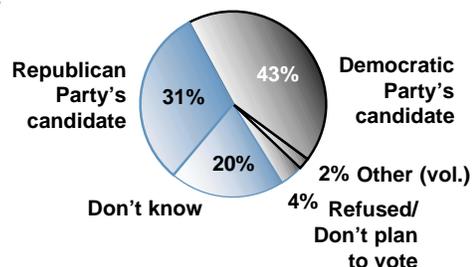
## Horse Race 2000

**Question:** If Al Gore and Joe Lieberman were the Democratic Party's candidates and George W. Bush and Dick Cheney were the Republican Party's candidates, who would you be more likely to vote for?



**Question:** If the elections for Congress were being held today, which party's candidate would you vote for in your Congressional district?

Responses of independents



Note: Asked of registered voters.

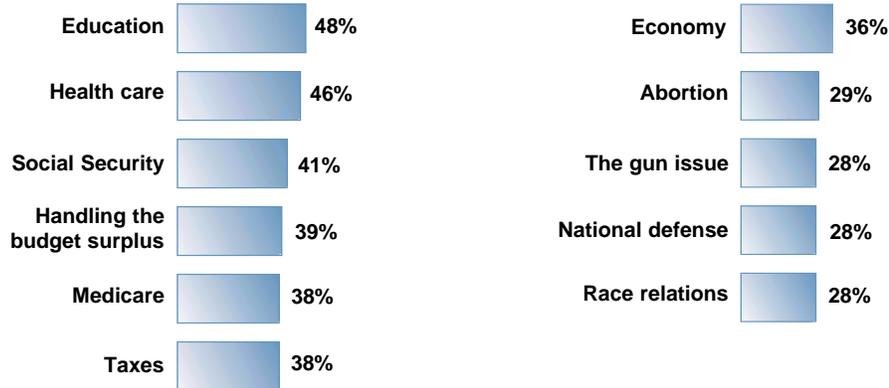
Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization/CNN/USA Today, August 7, 2000.

Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization/CNN/USA Today, July 25-26, 2000.

# Priorities in Place

**Question:** Now I am going to read a list of some of the issues that will probably be discussed in this year's presidential election campaigns. As I read each one, please tell me how important the candidates' positions on that issue will be in influencing your vote for president—extremely important, very important, somewhat important, or not important.

*Independents responding extremely important*

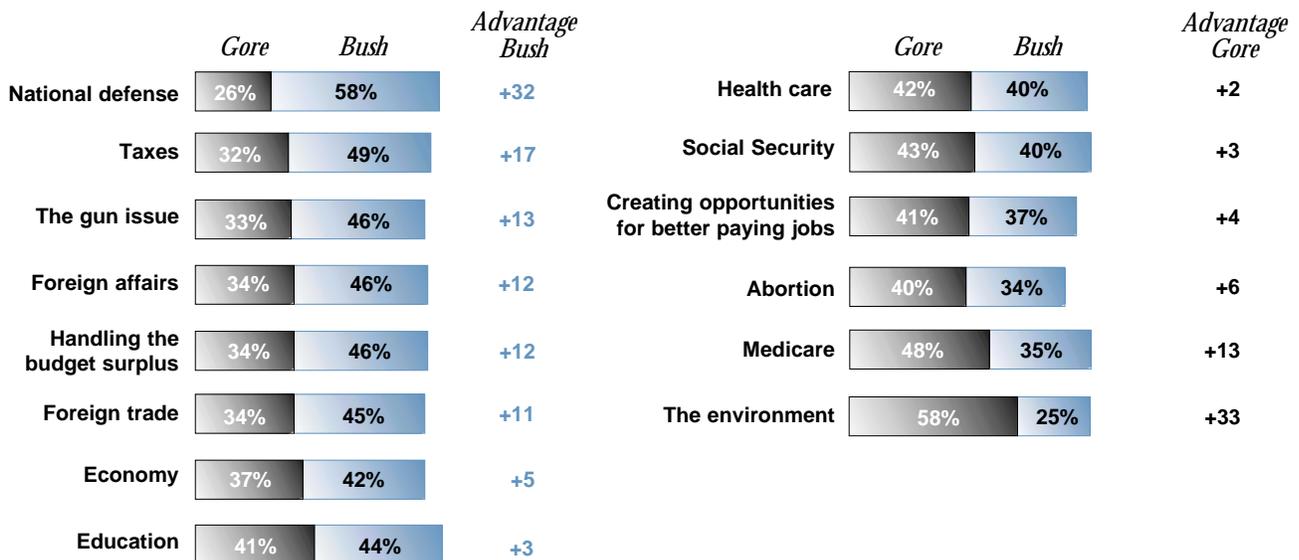


Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization/CNN/*USA Today*, August 4-5, 2000.

## A Question of Competence

**Question:** Next, regardless of which presidential candidate you support, please tell me if you think Al Gore or George W. Bush would better handle each of the following issues.

*Responses of independents*

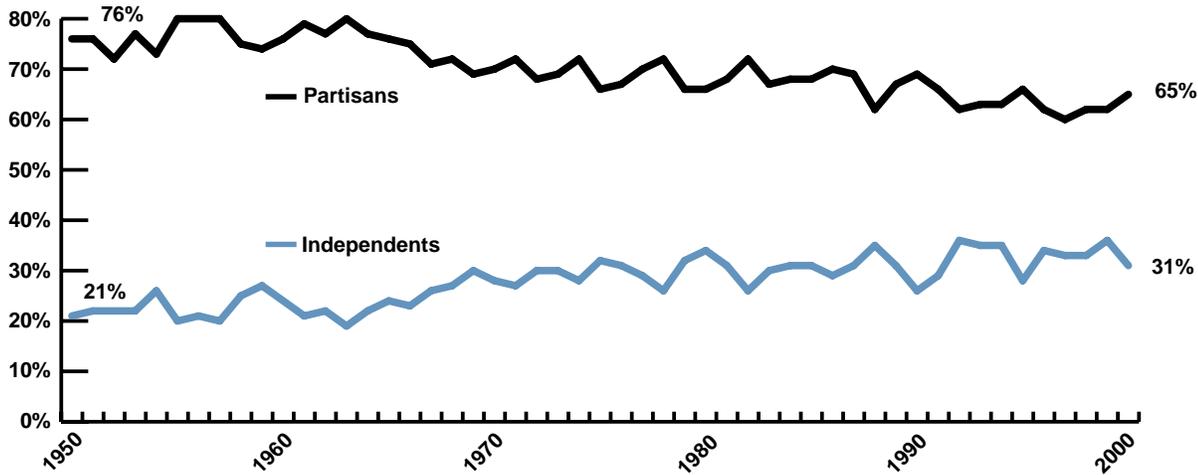


Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization/CNN/*USA Today*, July 25-26, 2000.

# Partisanship Redefined

## The Standard Measure

**Question:** In politics, as of today, do you consider yourself a Republican, a Democrat, or an independent?

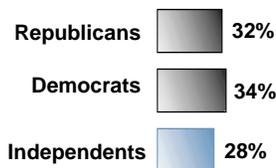


Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization, latest that of June 6-7, 2000.

### A Different Definition Uncovers a Hidden Majority

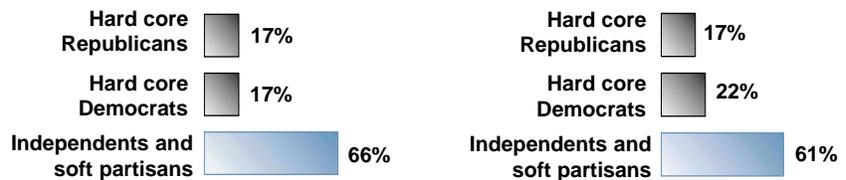
Partisans and independents were redefined using three separate variables: 1. The standard party ID question; 2. A question asking respondents whether their opinion of the Republican Party is favorable or unfavorable; and 3. A question asking whether their opinion of the Democratic Party is favorable or unfavorable. A "hard core" Republican is one who is self-identified with the party, holds a favorable opinion of it and has an unfavorable opinion of the opposition. The construction of "hard core" Democrats is exactly parallel. Everyone else goes into the third category of independents and "soft" partisans.

#### Standard Measure

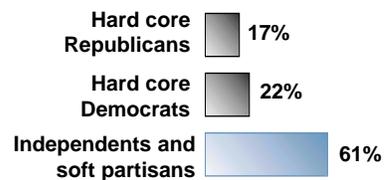


Source: Survey by CBS News/*New York Times*, May 10-13, 2000.

#### New Measure



Source: Survey by CBS News/*New York Times*, May 10-13, 2000.



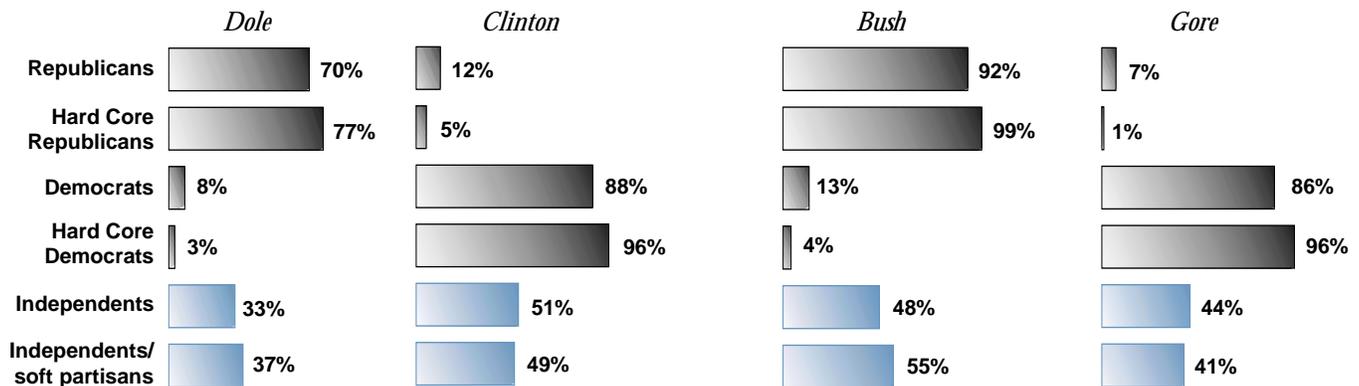
Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, January 7-10, 2000.

# New Patterns Emerge

## Soft Partisans Lean More Republican

**Question:** Did you vote for President in 1996, did something prevent you from voting, or did you choose not to vote for president in 1996? ...Did you vote for Bob Dole, Bill Clinton, or Ross Perot?

*Responses of those who voted*



**Note:** Percentages voting for Perot were: Republicans, 18%; hard core Republicans, 19%; Democrats 4%; hard core Democrats, 1%; independents, 16%; independents and soft partisans, 15%.

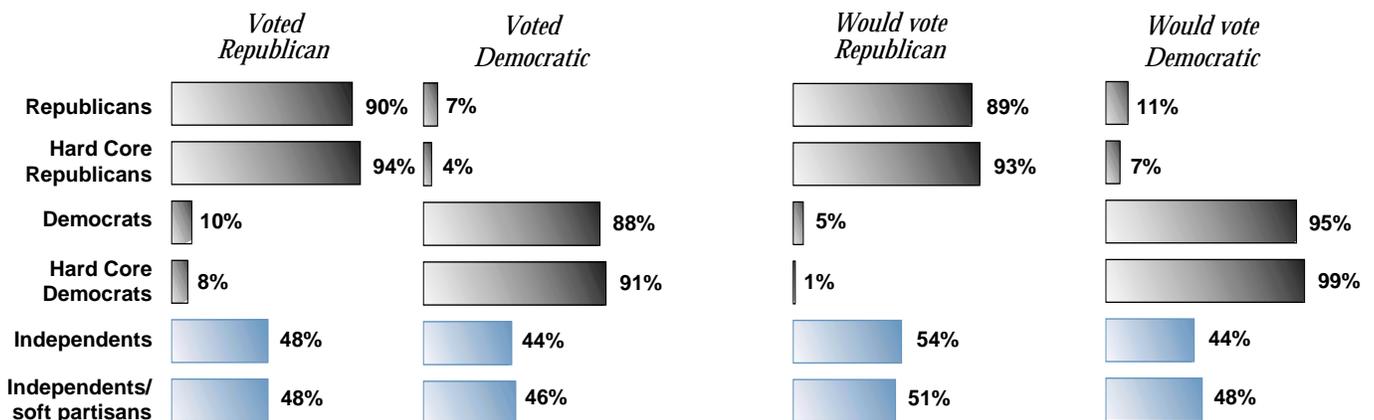
**Source:** Survey by CBS News/*New York Times*, May 10-13, 2000.

**Question:** If the 2000 presidential election were being held today and the candidates were Al Gore the Democrat and George W. Bush the Republican, would you vote for Al Gore or George W. Bush?

**Source:** Survey by CBS News/*New York Times*, May 10-13, 2000.

**Question:** Did you vote for US House of Representatives in the elections held in 1998, did something prevent you from voting, or did you choose not to vote for US House of Representatives in 1998? ...Did you vote for the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate in your district?

*Responses of those who voted*



**Source:** Survey by CBS News/*New York Times*, May 10-13, 2000.

**Question:** If the 2000 election for US House of Representatives were being held today, would you vote for the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate in your district?

**Source:** Survey by CBS News/*New York Times*, May 10-13, 2000.