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Memorandum

To Karl Rove / Fred Steeper / Matthew Dowd
From Jan R van Lohuizen
Date 12/10/99 NH #2 Observations:

re: the sample; comparing the November and December samples there were some differences. This sample came out more 'strong' Republican and more conservative than the November sample. Follow up item is to do some weighting so we're comparing apples to apples. When I did this weighting the effect was to reduce our vote lead by two points (35/30). It did not clarify the changes in support by demographic group.

Comparing this to the public polling, I am still more optimistic than the public polls, although there seems to be a pretty major change taking place between the early December surveys and the surveys this week. In the 4 surveys taken between 12/2 and 12/5 the averages are:

McCain 35

GWB 35

In the three surveys conducted between 5 and 8 (including ours on 5 and 6) the averages are

McCain 37

GWB 31

My survey standing on its own as at odds with both these sets of numbers. I can only make guesses about why this is; a lot could depend on sampling differences RDD plus filter vs. List sampling for instance. I can't find anything about what the other pollsters are doing. Zogby I suspect does RDD plus filtering, but I don't know it for a fact.

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If this were the key difference (we call from a list, the others call RDD) it raises the possibility that with our list sample we hit a harder core Republican voter. That would be consistent with all the facts as I know them (except that our earlier survey was right in line with other pollsters). The implication would be that a substantially higher turnout would hurt us, because fewer of the total number of votes cast would be cast by die hard Republicans. It might also say raise an issue about expanding our reach beyond the lists we're working on, although

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our TV of course does that. Anyway all this is speculative.

re: intensity on the ballot:

	<i>Strong</i>	<i>Might Change</i>
<i>GW Bush</i>	48	51
<i>J McCain</i>	49	50
<i>M Forbes</i>	59	35

re: who 'won' the debate¹:

Bush supporters who say Bush won 40%, lost 0%. Bush supporters who watched 29%

McCain supporters who say McCain won 60%, 0%. McCain supporters who watched 42%.

Forbes supporters who say Forbes won 50% , lost 0%. Forbes supporters who watched 50%.

Note, however, the crosstab on 'watched the debate' vs. did not watch the debate by the head to head. We're substantially better off among the people who did not watch. This is disturbing. My conclusion is that the non-watchers are looking at our ads, but I can't prove it:

<i>Vote:</i>	<i>Watche d</i>	<i>Did not watch</i>
<i>GW Bush</i>	29	40
<i>J McCain</i>	32	26
<i>S Forbes</i>	18	10
<i>G Bauer</i>	0	1
<i>A Keyes</i>	11	2

re: coming to the state often enough:

Bush supporters who say Bush comes enough: 49%

McCain supporters who say McCain comes enough: 75%

Forbes supporters who say Forbes comes enough: 77%

re: the open ends. Here is something that really bothers me, although it does not show up in the favorable / unfavorable results. Percent that responds with 'nothing' + percent 'don't know' in answer to the question (open end) 'what do you like least about him': McCain 66%; GWB 39% (No trend here. Comparable November number was 40%).

I did no see a significant trend in **what** they (the people that did answer the question) talked about . People were a bit less inclined to say GWB does not talk about the issues, but slightly more inclined to talk about the huge sums raised.

¹Note we're now looking at tiny subsamples.

"Missed debates / has not been to New Hampshire" also declined. 7% mentioned 'foreign affairs'

Changes:

There are a lot of offsetting trends in the demographics that don't make sense to me. For instance, we're picking up among moderates and strong conservatives, but offset this with losses among 'somewhat' conservatives. Go figure.

The issue changes actually make a little bit more sense. To me they are still not the story, because based on reading the verbatims, most of this is based on feelings about person, not about issues.

Here is what's going on with issues anyway:

- ✓ the number of people who care about education is steady, and everyone is either holding share of vote or slipping a little bit. Undecideds are up. This makes sense to me: we gave a major education speech right before the Nov NH survey.
- ✓ the number of people who care about taxes is steady, we've slipped a little bit, McCain has not moved, Forbes picks up a bit as does Keyes. Our tax speech plus the debate did not raise the relevance of the issue, but the hard core anti-taxers heard more that they liked from Forbes plus Keyes than from us.
- ✓ National defense: issue priority is up a little bit, we have lost 7 points, McCain no change (picked up 2, within margin) undecideds are up. This makes sense to me, McCain should be stronger on the issue than he is because of his background and campaign themes, we were strong on it but are now slipping into undecided a little bit. To me this means we should talk a little bit more about it.
- ✓ Social Security / Medicare: priority of the issue is the same, nobody is moving (Forbes is up 2%, within margin). This makes sense: no one is talking about it except Forbes, we parried the attack, no change is right.
- ✓ Crime and drugs: no change, because the subsample is too small. However note that this is the second state i have seen us do really well among people that care about it. This one bears watching.
- ✓ Health care reform: no change in importance, which makes sense, our side is not talking about it. McCain slipped pretty seriously in this crowd: can't find a reason for this that makes sense to me.
- ✓ Abortion. Subsample is too small: apparent pickup for us at the expense of Bauer, but we're talking about 29 people.
- ✓ Restoring values. The number of people talking about it is not changing. The McCain vote is increasing here, but not at the

Since this survey does not indicate things are changing, I am probably over-interpreting these trends. To me

something like this is going on: We came very strongly out of the box in summer and built up a big lead. Since Aug / Sept, we have had to play a lot of defence, however; both nationally (you're changing your story / pop quizz) and in NH specifically (missed debate). The speeches all got a positive reception, but were a one-day story that we could not sustain because we were dealing with other things.

All this has not led to an increase in unfavorites, but the open ends do suggest cross-pressuring is taking place: some mixed feelings out there, including among people who are supporting us. Our advertising is probably holding a lot of our vote together, but not standing up to the combination of stories we have had to deal with.

In the meantime McCain comes in with a good book tour and a good New Hampshire ad campaign followed by a lot of positive 'momentum / aha' stories. All of these since Sept.

Also McCain is entering some of our turf. The straight shooter, says what he means theme is stuff we have been testing for ourselves.

Here are some thoughts:

1. Sometimes you change just for the sake of change. We need to give the press something to write about that a) does not have us defending, b) we can sustain for a while. For instance: Gore moved headquarters and starting pounding on health care. It worked (for a while).
2. We still do well among Republican loyalists. Can we do something with this. I do not have any good ideas on this point, but it is a basis for our strength. Joint campaigning with popular NH Republicans?
3. At some point or another we have to get some crosspressuring done on McCain. He's getting too much of a free ride. I think the 'anger' storyline was wrong, but I think there is something to my 'where's the beef' idea.

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Date: 12/10/99 9:08 AM

Sender: "Jan R van Lohuizen" <jrvanlo@ibm.net>

To: Fred Steeper; <matthew@maverick-media.net>; <kr@georgewbush.com>

Priority: Normal

Subject: RE: NH Absense of Education

I agree with all this. But however, I think the key to understanding what's going on is not issues but views of the candidate. I think the open ended data says that there is doubt about our guy although they like him. There is far less doubt about McCain. McCain also owns some pretty strong territory as in : straight shooter / tells it like it is / says what he means. We are well liked, but ... There is no one problem just a host of little things. It has definitely not reached the critical stage, because the fav/ unfav is very strong. Two very popular guys, one is just a little bit stronger. In the end that is where the fix has to be.

The fix is going to have to include casting some doubt on McCain's sincerity, contrasting what he is saying today with what he's been doing in the senate, or in his campaign for that matter. Claiming to be against corporate welfare, but riding their jets, claiming to be against pork, but lobbying for a nonstop at reagan airport for his home town airline, claiming to solve all these problems but having very little substantive legislation with his name on it; all his major legislative proposals failed. I think we can do this without violating the ad hominem attack rule. WE have a record, he has a record, compare the two, who has more substantive achievements. The fact is that we do.

The question we need to introduce into the debate is the gary hart question: where's the beef. If there is anyone who'se all hat and no cattle it's mccain.

-----Original Message-----

From: Fred Steeper [mailto:fred_steeper@marketstrategies.com]

Sent: Friday, December 10, 1999 2:48 AM

To: matthew@maverick-media.net; kr@georgewbush.com; jrvanlo@ibm.net;

dshaw@jeeves.la.utexas.edu

Subject: NH Absense of Education

Sometimes it is what is NOT in the verbatims that is most important. If education is our signature issue, you would not know it by reading the verbatims. Yes, some do mention it as a Bush positive, but I counted 12 people out of about 280, then stopped counting. (Jan, what is your official % mention of education as a reason for liking GWB?)

We do lead with the education folk in NH, but the verbatims imply Bush's connection to the issue has a lot of room to grow. We have a lot of different messages going on ...have run or could be run. I vote on focusing the lion's

share on two: education and "restoring values." The tax issue is
defense,
those other guys are good on taxes, too.

Date: 12/10/99 8:11 AM
Sender: Daron Shaw <dshaw@mail.la.utexas.edu>
To: kr@georgewbush.com; Fred Steeper
cc: matthew@maverick-media.net; van Lohuizen <jrvanlo@ibm.net>;
dshaw@mail.la.utexas.edu

Priority: Normal

Subject: NH thoughts

Everyone,

What I have to say is probably too broad to help with the upcoming focus groups but I think it might be of use as we consider NH.

First, I think the ARG and Pierce College polls are probably right: there's a good chance McCain has moved ahead by about 5 points. I wrote a few weeks back that he had a natural ceiling of around 30, after which time he would have a tougher go because he'd need to take voters away from us. I also suggested he wouldn't be able to do that (at least not very easily). I was half right. I'm pretty sure he's started to peel away Bush voters.

Second, I think the reason for defection is concern over the "lightweight/in experienced" image being peddled by the media and other Republicans (thanks, Orrin). I have no data for this but believe that's what we'll find in the focus groups. This could be a real problem in the long term; images take root and are hell to un-do (ask "stupid" Dan Quayle and "wooden" Al Gore). Furthermore, I am suspicious of the notion that we can combat this image with "deeper" speeches or policy initiatives. The media claim that they're interested in those things but really aren't. I think it may be time to reconsider the decision NOT to do any traditional bio ads. It seems to me that while people know and like Bush, they don't really know his story and this gap is being filled by the media and the opposition. In short, we're being Dukakis-ized. An ad that tells voters that he went has a MA in business, started and built his own company, owned the Texas Rangers, beat all the odds against Ann Richards might be the most effective response to the lightweight/inexperienced charge. Of course, it runs the risk of painting him as a "fortunate son" but I'll take that over lightweight any day (plus the accent somewhat inoculates us against the perception that he's elitist). We obviously want to win NH, but NH could also be a useful testing ground for a broader response to this image problem should Gore pound us on it.

Third, I agree with Fred's point that we need to sharpen the contrast between us and McCain in NH. McCain's claim is basically that I'm going to challenge money/special interest influence and then do all the other things Reps do. This "me, too" positioning makes it tough for us to get any issue traction against him and leaves his anti-establishment calling card unchecked. In addition to a sharper issue contrast, I think we ought to emphasize that we have a track record for bipartisanship and effective leadership while McCain has a record of recalcitrant opposition. This plays into the whole temper thing; if you want someone who will continue grid-lock, McCain's your guy, but if you want to get something done for a change, look at our record. This runs the risk of painting McCain as the "principled" man which could help him with Reps, but I think we gain from this comparison amongst all voters. We'd just have to be careful to emphasize that we stand and will continue to stand in absolute opposition to certain things.

Daron

Date: 12/9/99 5:30 PM
Sender: Alex Gage
To: Mark Allen; Fred Steeper
Priority: Normal
Subject: Fwd: No subject given

Some Knowledgeable thought form someone on the ground in Michigan

Forward Header

Subject: No subject given
Author: "Katie Packer" <katiepacker@hotmail.com>
Date: 12/9/99 10:26 AM

Questionnaire:

Considering the battle taking place in the media right now between the Governor and the party chair (DeVos) it might be interesting to test the kids first initiative or some other gauge of the Governor's ability to sway voters . (i.e. are GOP voters more or less inclined to follow the Governor's lead - given the Governors intense involvement in the Bush effort)

Some kind of question regarding the reform party/Buchanan activities. This is a state with a lot of primary voters who were previously for Buchanan - where are they now?

The two issues in the state house this year which have been hot are the Gun Control issues (revising the process by which gun permits are given out) and State takeover of the Detroit Public schools.

I would also be inclined to test the "patriotism" issue vis a vis McCain. Given the high number of veterans in Michigan combined with the Eastern European and former "captive nation" ethnic groups, you have a lot of people who vote in the GOP primary who take military service very seriously and will find themselves hard pressed NOT to sympathize with McCain. Even I get a little sentimental when he tells his story and I don't support the guy at ALL.

I don't know if this helps, but it's all I've got

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Date: 12/8/99 2:56 PM

Sender: "Matthew Dowd" <matthew@maverick-media.net>

To: Karl Rove <KR@georgewbush.com>; Mark McKinnon <mark@maverick-media.net>; Stuart Stevens <stuartps@aol.com>

cc: Jan van Lohuizen <jrvanlo@ibm.net>; Fred Steeper

Priority: Normal

Subject: <no subject>

Here is what I glean in first look at NH poll:

1. Bush dropped one point, McCain dropped 2.
2. Bush favorability increased from 69/17 to 72/19. Bush Very Fav. went up 4. McCain favorability went from 67/10 to 74/10; his very favorable only grew one. Also, plurality of voters thought McCain won debate (By a margin of 29% to 16% over Bush). Interestingly, though McCain's favorability grew and they felt he won debate, he dropped in the ballot. I think he has tapped out with his bio and visiting state, and voters are probably waiting for something more substantive.
3. The number one issue in this poll was restoring values (20%), then taxes (17%), education (16%), social security (16%), and defense (13%). The biggest issue growth from last poll was on restoring values (+4) and national defense (+5). This list really speaks to the spots we are going up now with (Pictures - our restoring values spot; Dangerous World - our national defense spot).
4. 40% of NH voters think Bush hasn't spent enough time there --- this is more than 2 to 1 what they think of Forbes and McCain. This number should drop as we visit before Christmas and in January.
5. On age/sex breaks, we were up among men under 45 last time by 11, now we are up among that group by 17. Among men over 45, we were down by 7, and now we are up by 1. McCain has grown among women under 45 (a small sample), and we have stayed roughly the same lead among women over 45.
6. In looking at undecided voters, it looks good for us though keep in mind it is only 13% of poll. 58% of undecideds are women (in overall poll 57% are men). 77% of undecideds are Republicans, while only 19% are Independents. Finally, 28% of undecideds list education as number one issue, next is taxes (18%), then Social Security (15%), followed by Restoring values and then defense. Thus, knowing our education message works very well with Republicans and women, this is very good for us in January spot rotation.

Will send more as I look at it.

Memorandum

Fr: Jan van Lohuizen
To: Karl Rove / Matthew Dowd / Fred Steeper
Re: South Carolina

With numbers like these there really isn't a great deal to say about the South Carolina results. But, however, I want to point out a few items in the data:

- ✓ Our favorables in Charleston are about 10 percent behind the rest of the state. However, this represents the difference between astronomically high and extremely high.
- ✓ I did not see differences on the abortion issue. (Our unfavorables are 10 points higher among anti-gun people but there are only 53 of them).
- ✓ As has been the case elsewhere, our unfavorables are higher among McCain voters. They're still pretty good, but we're more likely to pick up Forbes voters than McCain voters.
- ✓ McCain's favorables are about 10 points higher in Charleston than they are in the rest of the state. They are also somewhat higher among vets, although the difference is not big, and among people who pick national defense as their top issue. The latter point is important because people who pick national defense as their top issue are quite conservative.
- ✓ There are huge gender differences in McCain's name id. His favorables are 24 points higher among younger men than among younger women. Also, they are 14% higher among older men than among older women. X
- ✓ Finally McCain's favorables are higher among solid Republicans than among 'lean' Republicans.

To sum up. Unlike NH and Iowa, McCain does not come clearly at us from the center. The difference is the military connection. Vets are more supportive of him, they stress national security more, and particularly in Charleston (huge Navy presence) they have a more positive impression of him. These same folks are also pretty conservative and strong Republicans.

Not nearly all of this comes through in the head to head numbers.

We beat the pants of him in the Charleston market.

We beat him among vets (58 / 22) although not by as large a margin as among non-vets (68 / 11).

Same observation for people who pick national defense as their top concern, we win by a huge margin, but not as much as people who pick other issues.

Other points:

- ✓ In other states our numbers have been weaker among hard pro-lifers (going to Bauer and Keyes). Not here.

- ✓ Our numbers are slightly weaker among people who stress taxes, with a small pocket of support for Forbes in this vote.
- ✓ The gender differences in the head to head numbers are quite small. I had expected large male / female differences (because of McCain's lower favorables among women), but did not really see them.
- ✓ Consistent with other states, we beat him by a substantially larger margin among people who are 'strong Republicans' (70/13) than among 'leaners' (54 / 23).
- ✓ Our 'committed' vote is much higher than his. 72% of our voters say they feel strongly about their vote, while only 27% say they might switch. Of the McCain vote 46% say they feel strongly, while 50% say they might switch.

We added two open ended questions about McCain (what do you like / what do you dislike), but I did not get a great deal of information out of them. Most people mentioned his military service, also mentioned were 'outspoken', 'integrity', 'honest' and other stuff like that. On the negative side people really don't know anything - only 4% mentioned his temper.

On our side, nothing really new. Maybe a bit more emphasis on 'values'. There were lots of comments on GWB's record as Governor and references to President Bush.

Other notes from the verbatims:

- ✓ I saw a couple of people who mentioned GWB coming to visit; also saw a negative reaction to a McCain campaign appearance -- one on one campaigning works.
- ✓ There were a couple of references to our odds of winning. Some people are voting for us because they believe we can or McCain cannot win.
- ✓ I saw some negative reactions to the press on the 'pop quiz' ('he should have been more firm with the press').
- ✓ One 'tucker Carlson' comment (use of foul language in Magazine interview).
- ✓ Very little on advertising, just a couple of people who said they were up already. I did see some playback ('dignity in the WH').
- ✓ There were a couple of comments about Barbara Bush, something I had not noticed before (all positive).
- ✓ I saw one veteran complaining about the fact that McCain is 'using' his POW experience ('he should be saying what he'll do as President').

Some other observations:

The issue priority ranking showed some difference in SC. Education was not the top concern, it ranked fourth. 'Values', national defense and Social Security / Medicare were the top three. ✓✓

The language testing on the abortion issue did not indicate results that are very different from the other two states. The crosstabs show no effect, however, while in the other two states there were substantial differences in voting on the various abortion items. Maybe it is because less has happened on the issue in South Carolina than in New Hampshire and Iowa. Also, South Carolina is not as strongly pro-life as Iowa is. ✓

The compassionate conservatism item tested better in South Carolina than elsewhere, but it is probably projection: it tested better, because we're more popular here.

Strong agreement with the campaign finance item was not as high in South Carolina as it was in the other two.

Voter / Consumer Research
George W. Bush / South Carolina
Topline Results

November 16-18, 1999
n=400

Hello, I'm _____ from Voter / Consumer Research, a national survey research company. We're doing a public opinion survey in your area. I need to speak with (name from list). Is he / she available now?
(SCHEDULE CALLBACK IF NECESSARY:)

Q1. In the primary elections coming up next February, what are the chances of your participating in the Republican primary elections for President .. would you say

1	you are almost certain to participate (CONTINUE)	77
2	will probably participate (CONTINUE)	23
3	the chances are 50 /50 that you'll participate (TERMINATE)	
4	or do you think you'll just wait and vote in the general elections? (TERMINATE)	
5	Don't know (TERMINATE)	
6	Refused (TERMINATE)	

Q2. Generally speaking, do you think things in the country are going in the right direction or have they gotten off on the wrong track?

1	Right direction	24
2	Wrong track	63
3	Don't know	12
4	Refused	1

Q3. Here are the names of some people in the news. For each one, please tell me if you are aware or not aware of that person. (IF AWARE, ASK:) Is your general impression of (NAME) favorable or unfavorable? (IF FAVORABLE / UNFAVORABLE, ASK:) Would that be very (favorable / unfavorable) or just somewhat (favorable / unfavorable)? (RANDOMIZE)

	Very favor able	Som ewh at Favo rable	Som ewh at Unfa vora	Very unfa vora ble	Awa re / no opini on	Not awa re	Ref
a) George W. Bush	52	35	4	2	6	-	-
b) John McCain	25	34	6	3	19	14	*
c) Steve Forbes	8	40	18	10	19	5	1
d) Gary Bauer	7	90	7	4	25	49	-
e) Alan Keyes	9	18	8	4	21	40	-

Q1. (IF AWARE:) Thinking just about George W. Bush for a minute, what are one or two things you like the MOST about him?

Q2. (IF AWARE:) And still thinking about George W. Bush, what are one or two things you like the least about him?

Q3. (IF AWARE:) And now thinking about John McCain, what are one or two things you like the MOST about him?

Q4. (IF AWARE:) And still thinking about John McCain, what are one or two things you like the least about him?

Q5. If the primary elections for the Republican nominee for President were being held today, and the candidates were (READ ROTATE), who would you vote for?

1	George W Bush	63
2	John McCain	17
3	Orrin Hatch	*
4	Steve Forbes	6
5	Gary Bauer	1
6	Alan Keyes	2
7	Other (VOLUNTEERED)	-
8	Don't know	11
9	Refused	*

Q6. (IF CHOICE MADE:) And do you feel strongly about your choice, or do you think you might change your mind?

1	Feel strongly	62
2	Might change my mind	36
3	Don't know	2
4	Refused	*

Q7. (IF CHOICE MADE:) And what are one or two reasons why you would vote for (NAME) over the other candidates? (PROBE FOR SECOND RESPONSE: Are there any other reasons?)

Q8. And of the remaining candidates, who would be your second choice? (RANDOMIZE REMAINING NAMES)

1	George W Bush	19
2	John McCain	34
3	Orrin Hatch	1
4	Steve Forbes	17
5	Gary Bauer	3
6	Alan Keyes	6
7	Other / No second choice (VOLUNTEERED)	7
8	Don't know	13
9	Refused	*

Q9. In making your decision who to vote for for president, which ONE of the following issues is the most important as far as you are concerned? (READ, ROTATE)

1	Education	14
2	Taxes	13
3	National defense	19
4	Social Security and Medicare	19
5	Welfare reform	1
6	Health care reform	3
7	Abortion	4
8	Restoring values	22
9	Campaign finance reform	2
10	None of these / other (VOLUNTEERED)	3
11	Don't know	1
12	Refused	1

Q10. And of this same list, which is your second choice? (ROTATE REMAINING ITEMS)

1	Education	15
2	Taxes	16
3	National defense	19
4	Social Security and Medicare	19
5	Welfare reform	4
6	Health care reform	6
7	Abortion	6
8	Restoring values	10
9	Campaign finance reform	2
10	None of these / other (VOLUNTEERED)	2
11	Don't know	2
12	Refused	-

Q11. Between the following two, which ONE is most important (READ ROTATE)

For the federal government to cut taxes and spending

OR

For the federal government to provide more assistance, such as health care and aid to education

1	Cut taxes and spending	64
2	Provide more assistance	26
3	Both are important (VOLUNTEERED)	7
4	Neither (VOLUNTEERED)	2
5	Don't know	1
6	Refused	-

Q2. And between the following two, which is more important -- for federal government policies to (READ ROTATE)

reflect Judeo (joo-DAY-oh) Christian values

OR

to promote tolerance and diversity

1	Reflect Judeo-Christian values	66
2	Promote tolerance and diversity	24
3	Both are important (VOLUNTEERED)	5
4	Neither (VOLUNTEERED)	3
5	Don't know	1
6	Refused	1

Q2. Here is a list of phrases and statements that describe some of the positions taken by people running for President. I would like you to give me your reaction to each one by using a scale going from 0 to 10. A zero would mean that you would have an extremely negative reaction to that person taking that position, while a ten would mean you have an extremely positive reaction. You can use any number between zero and ten of course. (RANDOMIZE)

Enter Rating	No reaction / DKr	Refused
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a) A Republican who is a uniter, not a divider	8.4	2	*
b) Someone who is pro-life and opposes abortion, but will not use abortion as a litmus test in selecting candidates for the Supreme Court and will not push for a Constitutional Amendment to ban abortions	5.5	3	1
c) Someone who feels that people who are appointed to the Supreme Court should not have to publicly state where they stand on the abortion issue	4.8	4	1
d) Someone who supports instant background checks for gun purchases	7.8	2	*
e) Someone who says he is a compassionate conservative	6.6	6	*
f) Someone who feels prosperity should have a purpose -- that anyone who works hard should be able to enjoy the American dream	8.6	1	-
g) Someone who will support public education reforms that make sure every child learns to read and no child is left behind	8.4	2	*
h) Someone who wants to take the next step in welfare reform, by making it easier for religious and private groups to become involved in the delivery of government welfare and other social programs	5.3	5	1
i) Someone who wants to give poorly performing schools three years to improve test scores, but take some of the money from schools that don't improve and give it to parents, which they could use to send their kids to the school of their choice ¹	5.9	4	*
j) Someone who supports concealed weapons laws, which allow anyone without a criminal background, who passes a gun safety course to carry a concealed handgun	5.3	3	-
k) Someone who wants to make large cuts in income taxes	7.4	2	*
l) Someone who wants to create a flat income tax where everyone pays the same rate and most deductions are abolished	6.4	5	*
m) Someone who says his top priority is to clean up the campaign finance system and to take back the country from big money special interests so government works for the people again	7.8	1	-
n) Someone who says his top priority is education; who wants to set high standards, encourage charter schools, increase school choice and emphasize phonics and reading	7.9	1	-
o) Someone who wants to strengthen our military by raising military pay, building a missile defense system, and reinvigorating our intelligence services	8.4	*	-
p) Someone who supports admitting mainland China to the World Trade Organization and wants to have normal trading relationships with mainland China	4.1	4	1

Q1. Here are the views on abortion of two candidates. Based on these descriptions, please tell me which ONE you would vote for. Both candidates are pro-life, (ROTATE)

(But one / The other) would not select candidates for the Supreme Court based on their abortion view; this candidate supports a Constitutional amendment to ban abortion, but would not actively

push for it, because he feels voters don't support major changes on the issue; finally, this candidate feels we should use moral persuasion and encourage adoption as an alternative to abortion

(The other / But one) would only appoint Supreme Court judges who are pro-life, and would actively support a Constitutional amendment to ban abortion, because he feels America needs a change of heart on the abortion issue.

1	Not select candidates based on abortion view	51
2	Only appoint pro-life judges	37
3	Neither / no difference (VOL)	5
4	Would vote for the pro-choice candidate (VOL)	1
5	Don't know	5
6	Refused	1

Q2. People we talk to don't always agree on what's important to them in the next President. For each of the following, please tell me how important each of these is as far as you personally are concerned. I'd like you to use ten point scales again, but this time a zero would mean this issue is completely unimportant to you, while a ten means it is extremely important to you. (RANDOMIZE)

	Enter Rating	No reaction / DKr	Refused
a) Having someone who can restore dignity and honor to the office of President	9.5	1	-
b) Someone who gives straight answers	9.6	*	-
c) Someone who has a proven record of doing in office what he said he would do in his campaigns	9.3	*	*
d) Someone with a strong record on foreign policy and experience in international affairs	8.3	1	-
e) Someone with a new approach who matches conservative Republican principles with a compassionate heart	8	2	1

Q1. And between the following two candidates, which one would you choose?

1	The candidate with a strong position on issues like taxes and spending	26
2	The candidate with a strong position on values and rebuilding the family	65
3	Don't know	8
4	Refused	1

Q2. When a politician says he is a "compassionate conservative", what do you think he is trying to do (ROTATE)

Is he trying to have it both ways, saying he is a conservative but is unwilling to make the tough decisions it takes to carry out conservative policies

OR

Is he someone who feels to be conservative IS compassionate, because conservative policies help people more by encouraging personal responsibility and work

1	Unwilling to make tough decisions	20
2	Feels conservative is compassionate	65
3	Neither (VOLUNTEERED)	5
4	Don't know	9
5	Refused	1

Q2. Here are some things that George W Bush has done as Governor. For each one, please rate it using a zero to ten scale. This time a zero would mean it is NOT an important accomplishment AT ALL and a ten would mean it is an EXTREMELY IMPORTANT accomplishment. (RANDOMIZE)

Enter Rating	Don't know	Refused
-----------------	---------------	---------

a) He set the goal to have all children read at grade level by the third grade and passed laws to diagnose reading problems early in a child's schooling and to help kids overcome reading difficulties with new programs based on phonics	8.9	1	*
b) He passed some of the country's toughest criminal laws including life sentences for repeat sex offenders, ended long delays in carrying out the death penalty and ended automatic probation for repeat offenders.	9.1	2	-
c) He reformed welfare laws to require work and job training for the able-bodied, put time limits on benefits and required welfare recipients to sign responsibility agreements pledging to stay drug free and keep their kids immunized and in school	9.2	*	-
d) He passed tort reform to reduce junk and frivolous lawsuits that clog the courts	8.7	2	*
e) He signed the two biggest tax cuts in Texas history -- nearly 3 billion dollars -- while holding down state spending growth to its lowest rate in 40 years, and increasing spending on public schools	9	1	-
f) He passed some of the country's toughest juvenile justice laws, lowering to 14 the age at which the most violent juveniles can be tried as adults, imposing longer sentences for the most violent crimes, fingerprinting and photographing juvenile offenders to better track gang members and funded boot camps and 'tough love' academies to turn around juveniles	8.8	*	-
g) He restored local control of schools, raised academic standards, created a back-to-basics curriculum with phonics, and established a tough accountability system where every child is tested so parents and taxpayers know whether kids are learning	9.1	1	*

Q1. As you are probably aware, John McCain is campaigning on the issue of campaign finance reform, saying that the huge sums of money being raised in politics are inherently corrupt, leading to questions about the ethics of any candidate raising such large sums of money. Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with his point of view?

1 Strongly agree	24
2 Somewhat agree	40
3 Somewhat disagree	22
4 Strongly disagree	9
5 Don't know	6
6 Refused	-

And now, a few last questions for statistical purposes only...

Q2. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent or what? (IF REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRAT, ASK:) Would you call yourself a strong or not very strong (Republican / Democrat)? (IF INDEPENDENT OR OTHER RESPONSE, ASK:) Do you think of yourself as closer to (ROTATE) the Republican party or to the Democratic party?

1	Strong Republican	51
2	Republican / not strong	16
3	Lean Republican	13
4	Lean Democrat	2
5	Democrat / not strong	1
6	Strong Democrat	1
7	Independent / No preference	11
8	Other (VOL)	5
9	Don't know	1
10	Refused	-

Q3. On political issues, do you consider yourself very liberal, somewhat liberal, a moderate, somewhat conservative, or very conservative? (IF MODERATE:) Do you think of yourself as closer to being a liberal or closer to being a conservative?

1	Very liberal	1
2	Somewhat liberal	5
3	Lean liberal	1
4	Moderate	17
5	Lean conservative	3
6	Somewhat conservative	41
7	Very conservative	29
8	Don't know	2
9	Refused	1

Q4. On the abortion issue are you (ROTATE: Pro-Life or Pro-Choice) or somewhere in between? (IF PRO-LIFE / PRO-CHOICE ASK:) Are you strongly (pro-life / pro-choice) or just somewhat (pro-life / pro-choice)?

1	Pro-Life / strongly	46
2	Pro-Life / not strongly	6
3	In between	23
4	Pro-choice / not strongly	6
5	Pro-choice / strongly	17
6	Don't know	2
7	Refused	1

Q5. Which one of these six positions comes closest to your own on the abortion issue? (READ CODES 1 - 6 TOP TO BOTTOM, BOTTOM TO TOP)

1	Abortion should be prohibited in all circumstances	10
2	Abortion should be legal only to save the life of the woman	21
3	Abortion should be legal only in cases of rape, incest, or to save the life of the woman	37
4	Abortion should be legal for any reason, but not after the first three months of pregnancy	19
5	Abortion should be legal for any reason, but not after the first six months of pregnancy	3
6	Abortion should be allowed at any time during a woman's pregnancy	5
7	Don't know (DNR)	5
8	Refused (DNR)	1

Q6. On the gun issue, do you consider yourself (ROTATE:) pro-gun, anti-gun, or somewhere in between? (IF PRO-GUN / ANTI-GUN) Are you strongly (pro-gun / anti-gun) or just somewhat (pro-gun / anti-gun)?

1	Strongly pro-gun	33
2	Somewhat pro-gun	11
3	In between	40
4	Somewhat anti-gun	6
5	Strongly anti-gun	9
6	Don't know	1
7	Refused	*

Q7. And which of the following best describes your own employment situation?

1	Work for a large business	17
2	Work for a small business	9
3	Self-employed	10
4	Farmer	1
5	Government employee / teacher	19
6	Homemaker	5
7	Student	1
8	Not currently employed	2
9	Retired	36
10	Other (VOLUNTEERED)	1
11	Refused (DNR)	*

Q8. Is your religious background Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish or something else? (IF SOMETHING ELSE OR OTHER OR UNCLEAR RESPONSE ASK:) Is that a Christian Church?

1	Protestant	80
2	Roman Catholic	8
3	Other Christian	6
4	Jewish	-
5	Other non-Christian	2
6	Agnostic / Atheist	*
7	None	2
8	Don't know	-
9	Refused	1

Q9. (ONLY THOSE WHO ANSWER 1 - 3 ON PREVIOUS QUESTION) How often do you attend worship services? Would you say (READ LIST, ROTATE)

1	Never	4
2	A few times a year	13
3	A few times a month	11
4	Almost every week	18
5	Every week	32
6	More than once a week	21
7	Don't know	*
8	Refused	*

Q10.(IF PROTESTANT / OTHER CHRISTIAN:) And would you consider yourself a fundamentalist or evangelical Christian or neither one?

1	Yes / Fundamentalist	25
2	Yes / Evangelical	28
3	Yes / Both	6
4	No / neither one	35
5	Don't know	6
6	Refused	1

Q11.(ASK ALL:)Which of the following income groups includes your TOTAL FAMILY INCOME in 1998, before taxes? Just stop me when I read the right category --

1	Under \$10,000	2
2	\$10,000 to \$15,000	2
3	\$15,000 to \$20,000	3
4	\$20,000 to \$25,000	5
5	\$25,000 to \$30,000	8
6	\$30,000 to \$40,000	13
7	\$40,000 to \$50,000	11
8	\$50,000 to \$75,000	18
9	\$75,000 to \$100,000	16
10	More than \$100,000	6
11	Don't know (DNR)	4
12	Refused (DNR)	12

Q12.What was the last grade of school you completed?

1	Grade school or less (Grades 1 - 8)	1
2	Some high school (Grades 9 - 11)	7
3	Graduated high school	21
4	Vocational / technical school	5
5	Some college -- less than 2 years	13
6	Some college -- more than 2 years	13
7	Graduated college	29
8	Post graduate school	11
9	Refused	1

Q13.What is your approximate age?

1	18 - 24 years	2
2	25 - 34 years	5
3	35 - 44 years	16
4	45 - 54 years	18
5	55 - 64 years	28
6	65 and over	29
7	Refused	2

Q14.Are you or is anyone in your household a veteran of the armed forces?

1	Yes	54
2	No	46
3	Don't know	-
4	Refused	1

Q15.Sex (BY OBSERVATION)

1	Male	53
2	Female	47

Observations on the Iowa poll:

1. As I noted in my e-mail the sample was done differently. We included more people in the target sample population, in view of the finding that very few people vote repeatedly in caucuses (most caucus participants are one time participants). The effect of this is probably to have overstated the Bush vote in the NOVEMBER survey (not this one) by about a point or so.
2. We continue to have the most motivated supporters in Iowa. Consistent with the fact that we got a more core Republican supporter, the crosstabs show that our supporters are more likely to say that they will participate than McCain supporters in particular, but also Forbes supporters.
3. Our ratings continue to be strong as horseradish. Forbes ratings are also very strong. Bauer's ratings have slipped in that strong favorables are lower and unfavorables have increased. Keyes ratings are remarkable (60% favorable 20% unfavorable) in that they are high, although few vote for him.
4. Significantly McCain has the weakest ratings of the entire field, although they're still pretty good. His favorable ratings have not changed, while his unfavorable ratings have increased to 29%. Aware, no opinion plus not aware has declined from 36% to 21%.
5. At the risk of spending too much time worrying about McCain here (since Forbes is a lot closer and McCain does not appear to be moving), there are a couple of interesting points about his ratings:
 - Negatives are higher among men than women
 - Negatives are higher among people who care about issues that conservatives care about (including national defense! pro lifers and pro gun voters)
 - Negatives are higher among strong Republicans than leaners or independents.

I can think of two reasons why his negatives increased. One is that Iowans resent that he wrote the state off. The other is that our positioning him as 'bad for the party' on campaign finance reform is working. The crosstabs are consistent with the second reason.

6. The only significant movement on the head to head is that the proportion of undecideds has increased from 12% to 27%. This may be a result of the change in sampling more than a result of change in attitudes. We're sampling a slightly less engaged crowd.
7. We have the most hard-core constituency in the survey (the McCain data should be ignored, there are too few of them to crosstab $n = 25$). At 74% hard core of a 43% share of vote, a total of 32% of the voters says they're for us and feel strongly about it.

	Feel strongly	Might change
Bush	74	25
Forbes	63	32
McCain	57	43

8. Ignore any trend data on the issue priority question. We changed the wording from 'campaign finance reform' to 'reforming government'. Predictably reforming government is a higher priority, taking points off the other issues.
9. The pattern we saw in the previous survey that Forbes voters like us, he is the second choice of our voters and vice versa, holds up. Forbes continues to be the real competition in Iowa. If we go too far in setting up a McCain Bush two-way race, and McCain starts hurting us, Forbes will be the beneficiary. On the other had a two way race like that takes attention and opportunity away from Forbes. Balancing act here.
10. There are some significant, although offsetting trends in the crosstabs on issues
 - a. We have lost some ground among people who care about education (from 58% to 46%)
 - b. We have gained significantly among people who care about taxes (from even with Forbes to up 15 points at 48%)
 - c. We have lost ground on social security and Medicare from 58% to 35% (both McCain and Forbes picked up here; note small group n = 53)

While these are offsetting they are not bad trends. We still lead on the education issue, and no one else is talking about it. The shift to taxes is a good one since more people care about it than any other issue. I do have some concern about getting beat up on social security, but I still think we can fix it with late mail.

11. There have been some offsetting trends with demographic groups as well, which concern me a bit more, but not a great deal:
 - a. We picked up significantly among men < 45. This is consistent with the gain among people who care about taxes.
 - b. There has been no little or no change among women < 45
 - c. We have dropped roughly 10 pts among people (male and female) over 45. I think this is attributable (partly or entirely) to the social security issue. A big piece of this drop (especially among women > 45) went to undecideds (partly to Forbes among men > 45).
12. The numbers have not budged among strong Republicans. What changes have taken place took place among not so strong Republicans and Independents.

To summarize:

Our shift to taxes clearly shows and has paid off

I think our strategy off pushing McCain on partisanship has paid off

I have some concern about the drop on the social security issue, and recommend we address this in mail.

FYI

Jan.

Date: 7/7/99 11:06 AM
Sender: Christopher Blunt
To: Mark Allen; Fred Steeper
Priority: Normal
Subject: Re[3]: This is a Goeas quote on Battleground

To rigorously test Goeas's theory, you'd need to show subgroups.

Pre-acquittal, Republicans should have been defecting and above-normal rates. Post-Feb 12th, Republican loyalty should have increased dramatically --- and stayed high.

Still, even just using top line numbers, there is some evidence that Goeas is on to something.

Clinton was acquitted on Feb 12th.

Up until that time, his average lead had been +8 over Gore.

He was +13 for the rest of February.

From the first of March through the beginning of the Kosovo bombing, he was at +17.

He remained at an average of +17 through the Kosovo war, and at +17

since. (In other words, my theory about issue ownership may be

partially right; it could have helped keep him at the high water mark,

but it doesn't seem to have increased his margin much. But I doubt he

can go much higher than +17 anyway. The Party ID distribution in this country will prevent it.)

In the primary trial heat, movement was also positive.

GWB was at 40% early in the year, 50% after impeachment, 48% during

the Kosovo War, and 53% since he began his active campaigning outside Texas.

In both trial heats, you could make the case that impeachment gave GWB

a bounce that he has maintained since. It's probably not the only

factor; I still think Kosovo helped versus Gore. But yes, there is

some evidence to support Goeas.

What's interesting, however, is that the NATIONAL DIRECTION numbers

really went into the tank after acquittal. Had been +16 early in the

year. Dropped to +5 for the rest of February, and remained at +9

until the bombs started falling. Direction tumbled to -4

during the
bombing. Has been +5 since.

I'll add the impeachment vote to my RDWT graph and Bush-Gore graph.

Forward Header

Subject: Re[3]:This is a Goeas quote on Battleground
Author: Fred Steeper at _dtw
Date: 7/7/99 1:14 PM

Chris - share with Mark the Bush/Gore trial heat table and the Rep primary trial heat table. Do either of you see a post impeachment boomlet? To judge Goeas, you first need to determine if his data is really there. Maybe it is...I dont recall it is though. Let me know...someone in Phil may ask me the same question.

Reply Separator

Subject: Re[2]:This is a Goeas quote on Battleground
Author: Mark Allen
Date: 7/7/99 12:43 PM

What about his post-impeachment boomlet for Bush -- do you think the rise has a big part to do with the impeachment?

MCA

Reply Separator

Subject: Re:This is a Goeas quote on Battleground
Author: Fred Steeper
Date: 7/7/99 12:08 PM

I dont put much stock in "winner" theories. In 1964 we thought Goldwater was a winner - would bring out the hidden conservative vote. It stayed hidden. Attitudinal congruence. The candidate I like the best I also think has been chance of winning. Sure, the party professionals vote for the winner. What are they? .3% or .7% of the population? Been many studies of band wagon effect.....most show no band wagon effect. Races tend to get closer as the election approaches, don't they? If people were going for a winner, leads would widen. Guess which way the Bush lead now will go.

Reply Separator

Subject: This is a Goeas quote on Battleground
Author: Mark Allen

Date: 7/7/99 11:54 AM

Do you think this logic is correct?

MCA

"Why this rush to George Bush?" Goeas asked at a briefing session on the poll in Washington recently. "When impeachment ended, Bush shot from the 30s to the 50s. It's not just that he's the front-runner. It's that impeachment was the last straw for Republicans. They are tired of losing to Clinton. They are rallying around a winner. ... Bush takes Democratic issues and neutralizes the Democratic advantage on those issues. This is extremely valuable for the Republican Party."

Figure 1

Trend to George W. Bush Primary Vote: National Polls

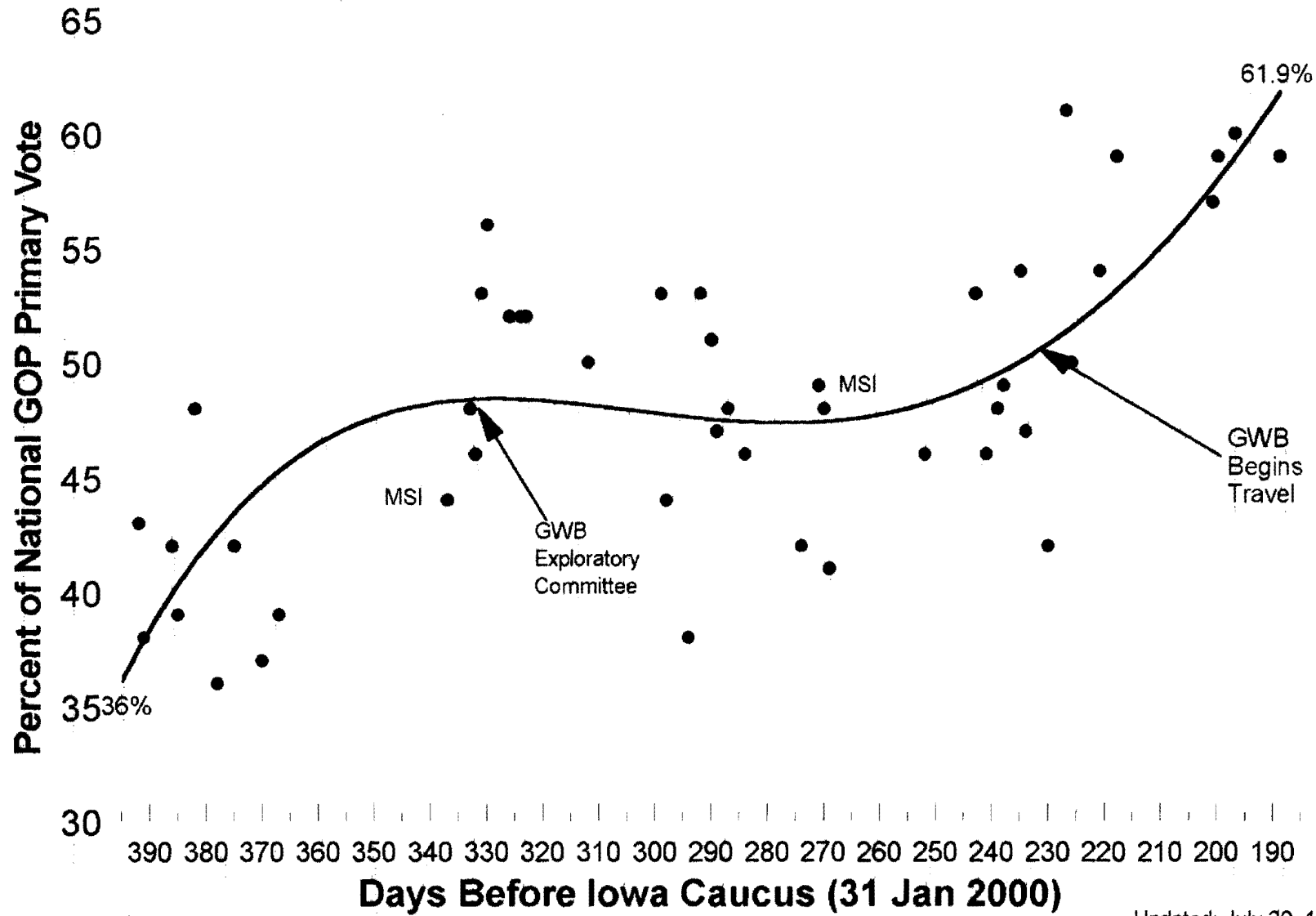


Figure 1a
Trend to Bush and Forbes Primary Vote: National Polls

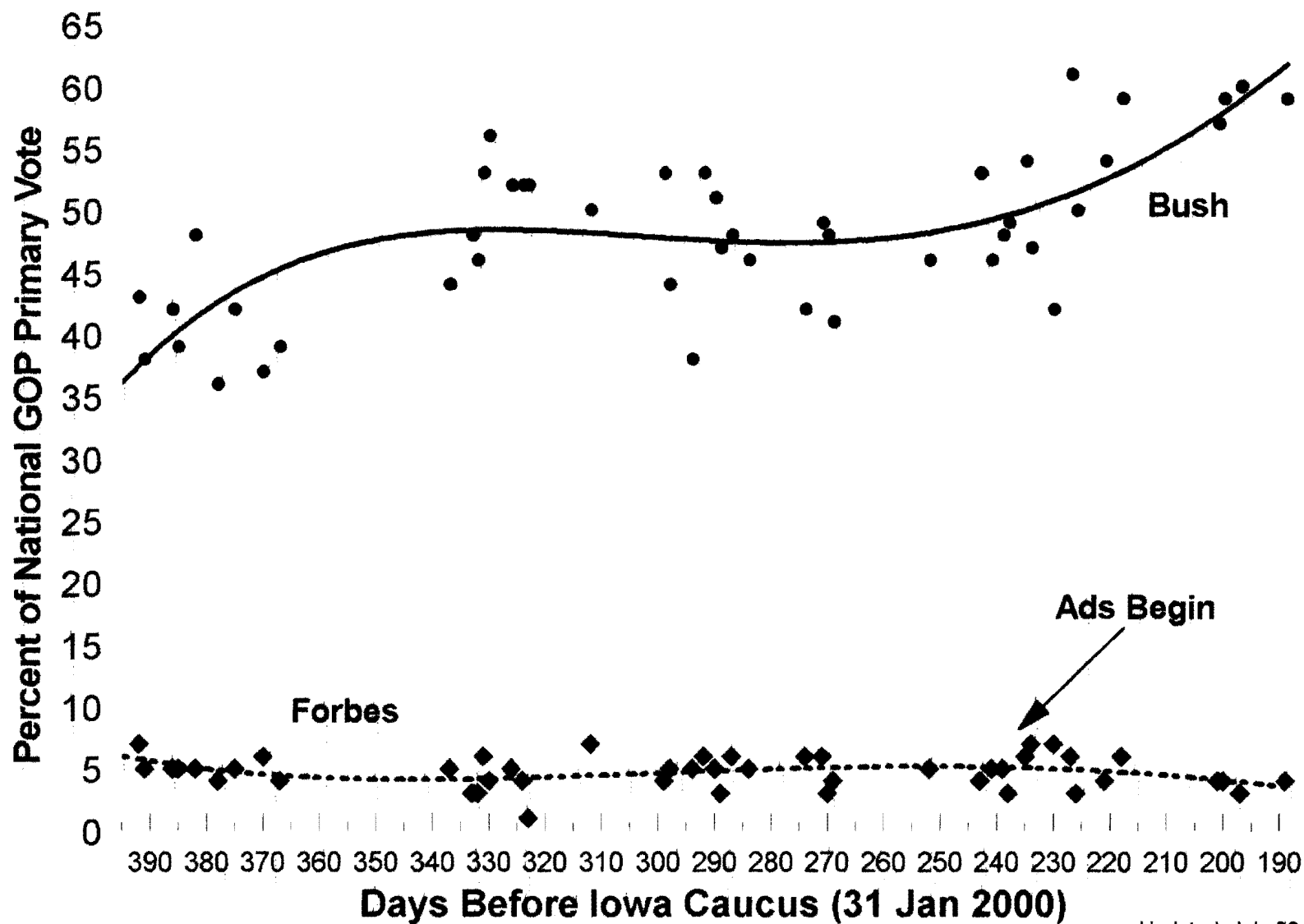


Figure 1b

Trend to Bush and Forbes Primary Vote: New Hampshire

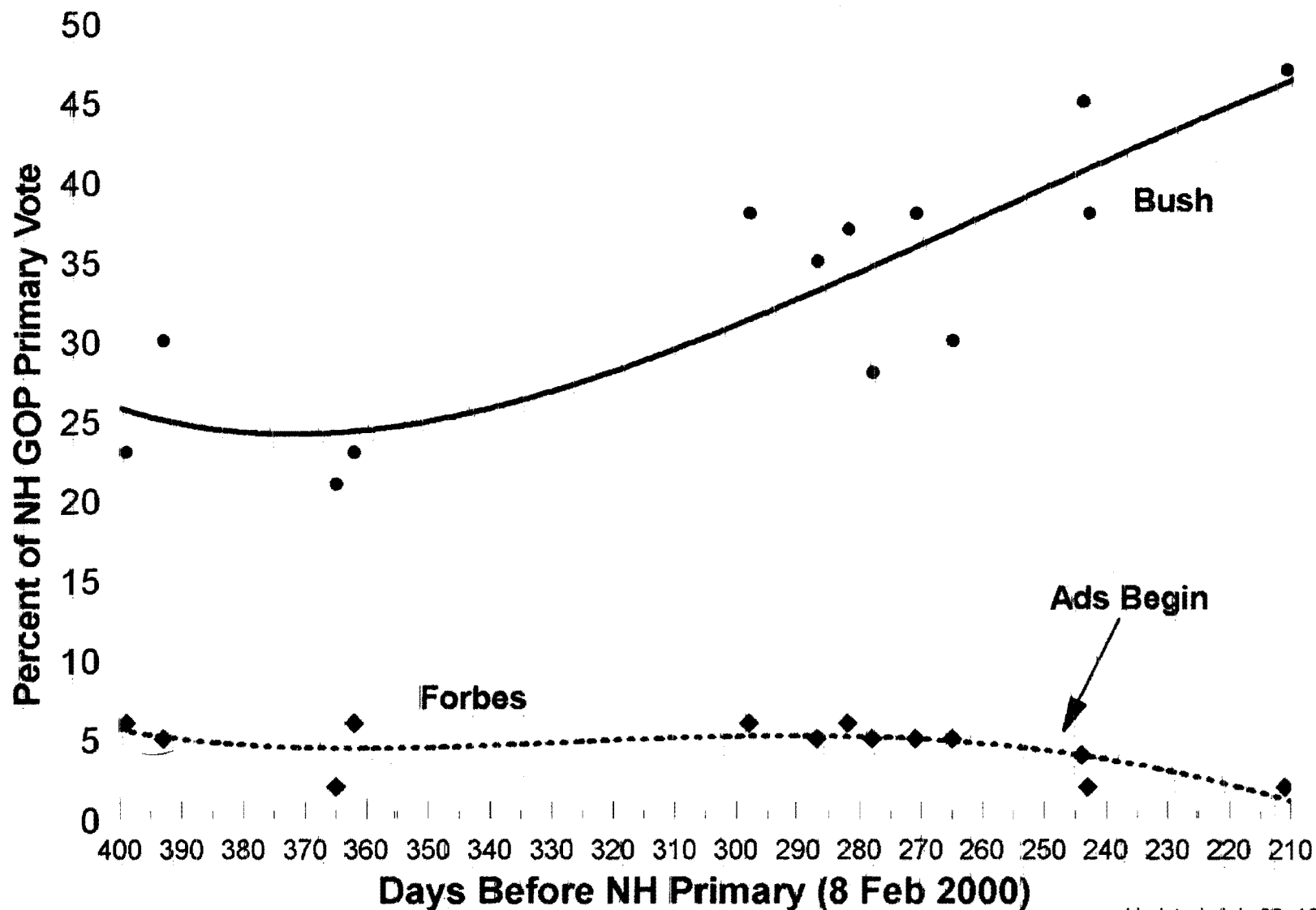


Figure 1c
Trend to Bush and Forbes Primary Vote: Iowa

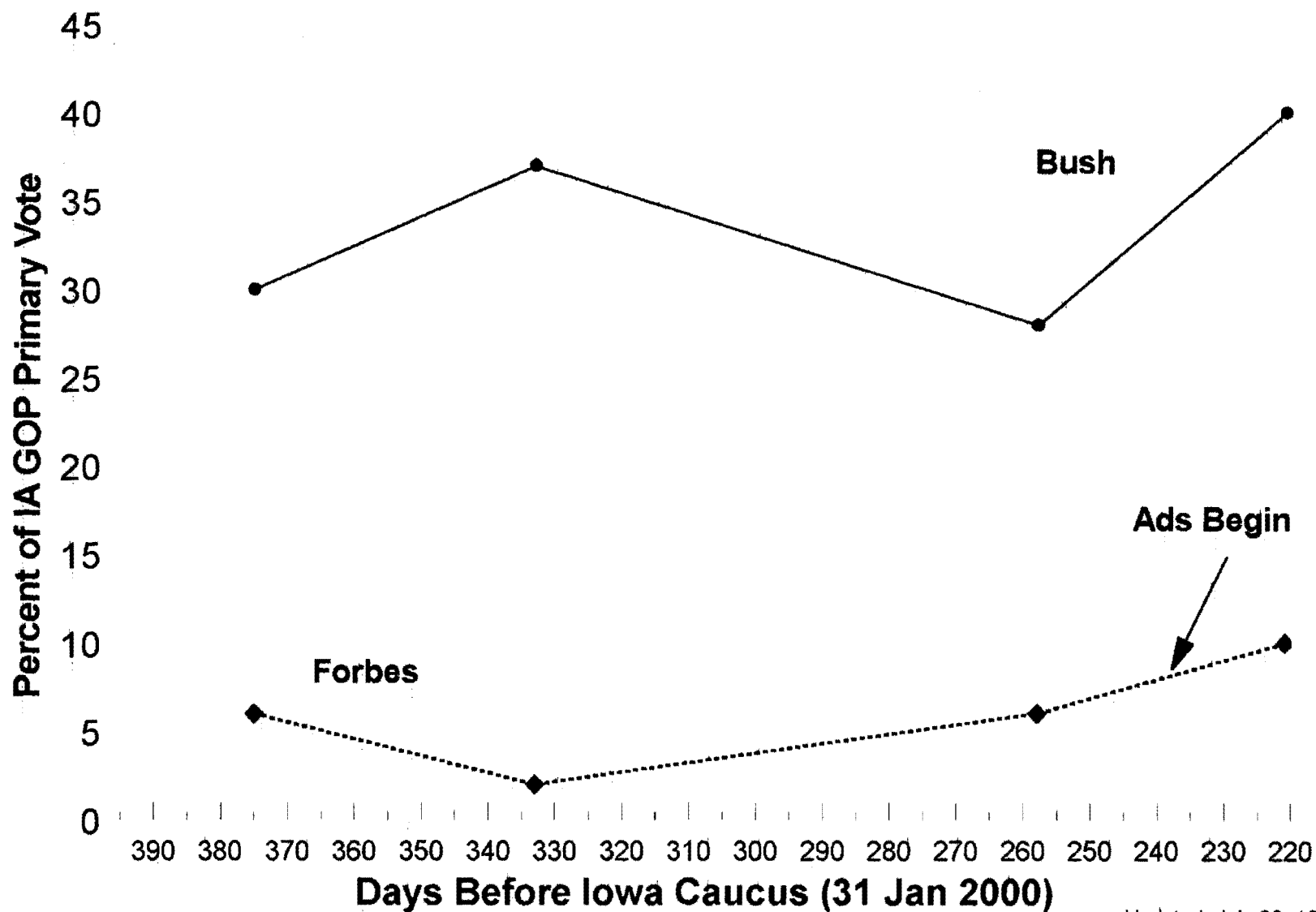
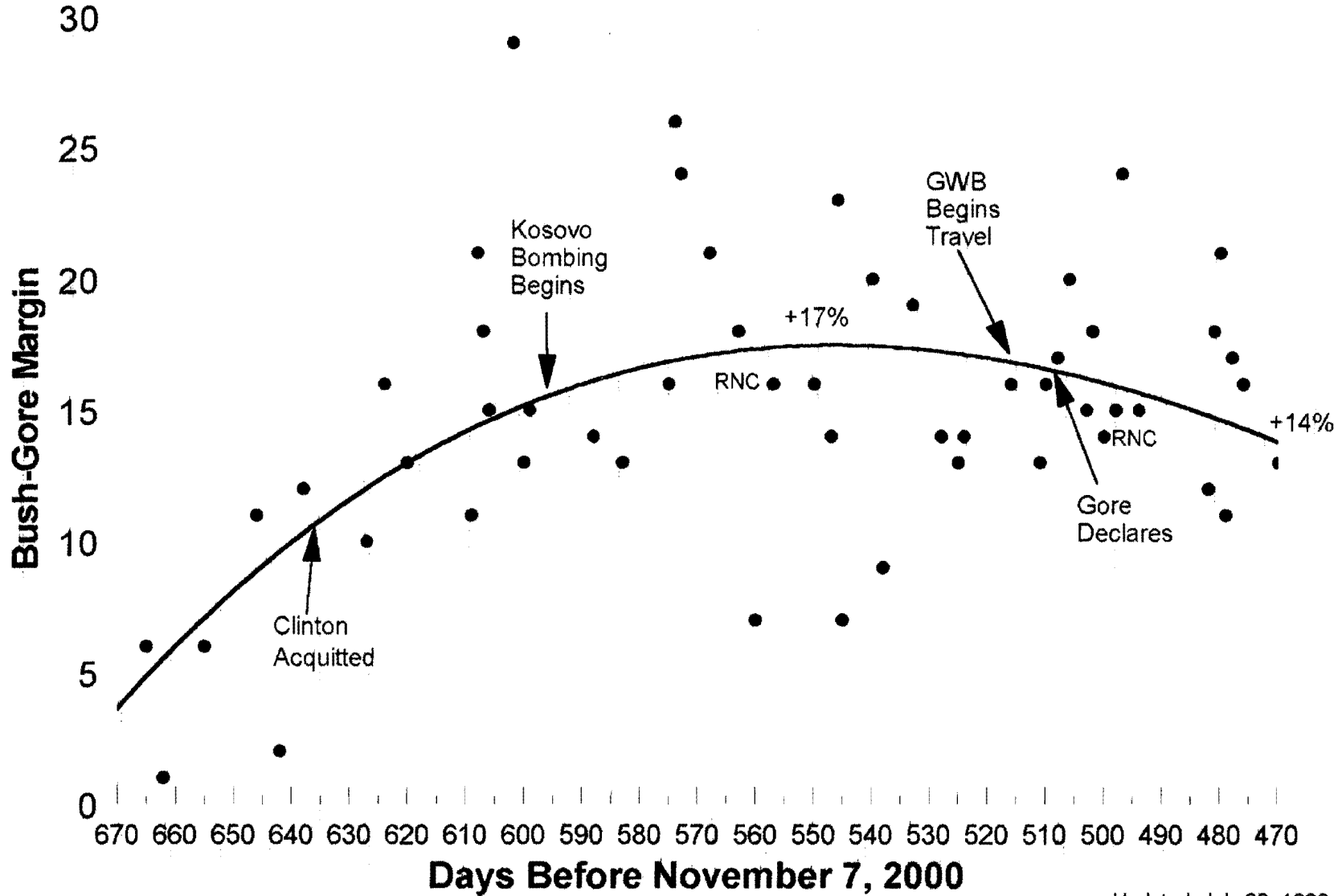


Figure 2

Trend to NET Bush-Gore General Election Vote: National Polls



552
973
80

Trend to NET National Direction

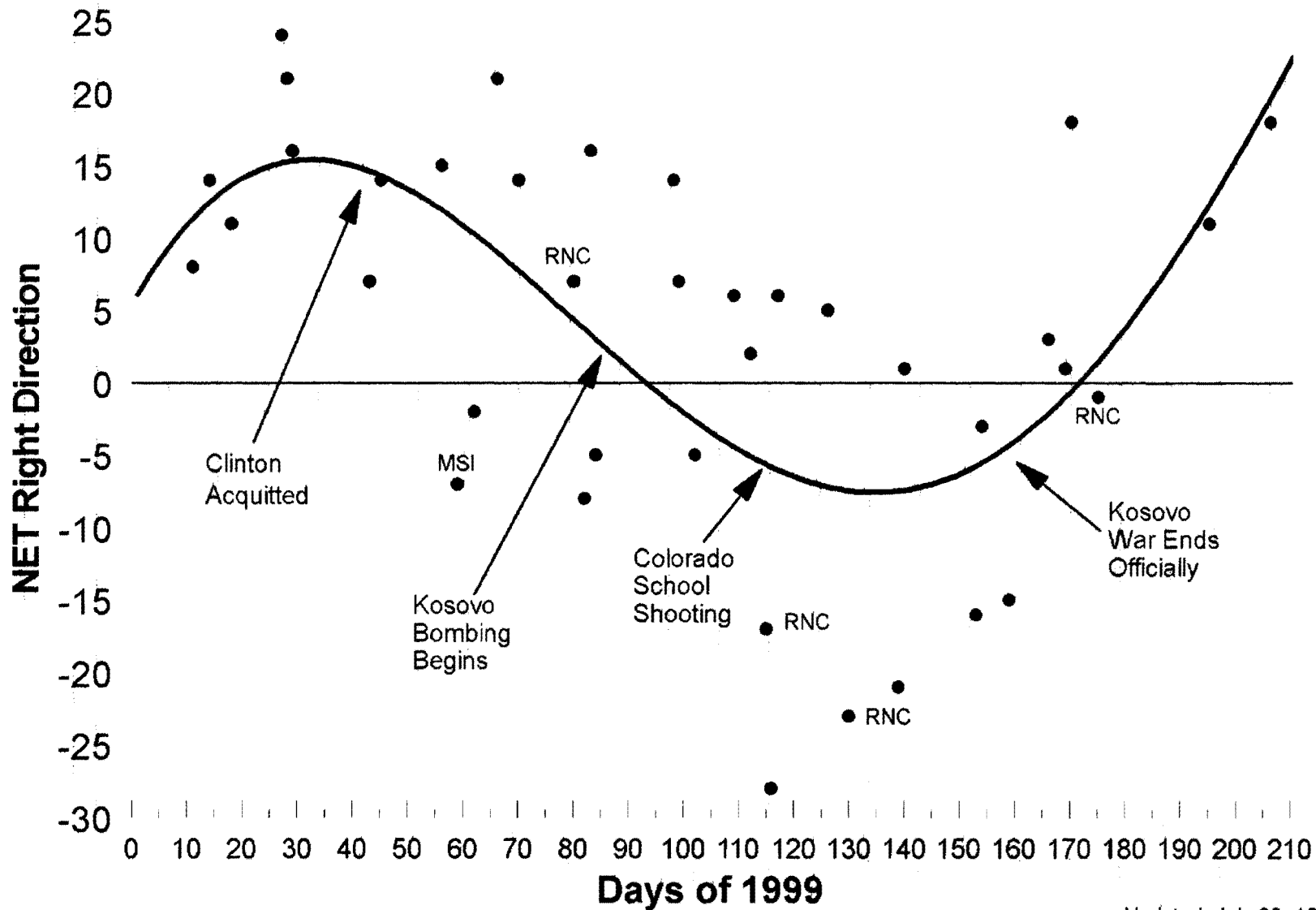


Figure 1

Trend to George W. Bush Primary Vote: National Polls

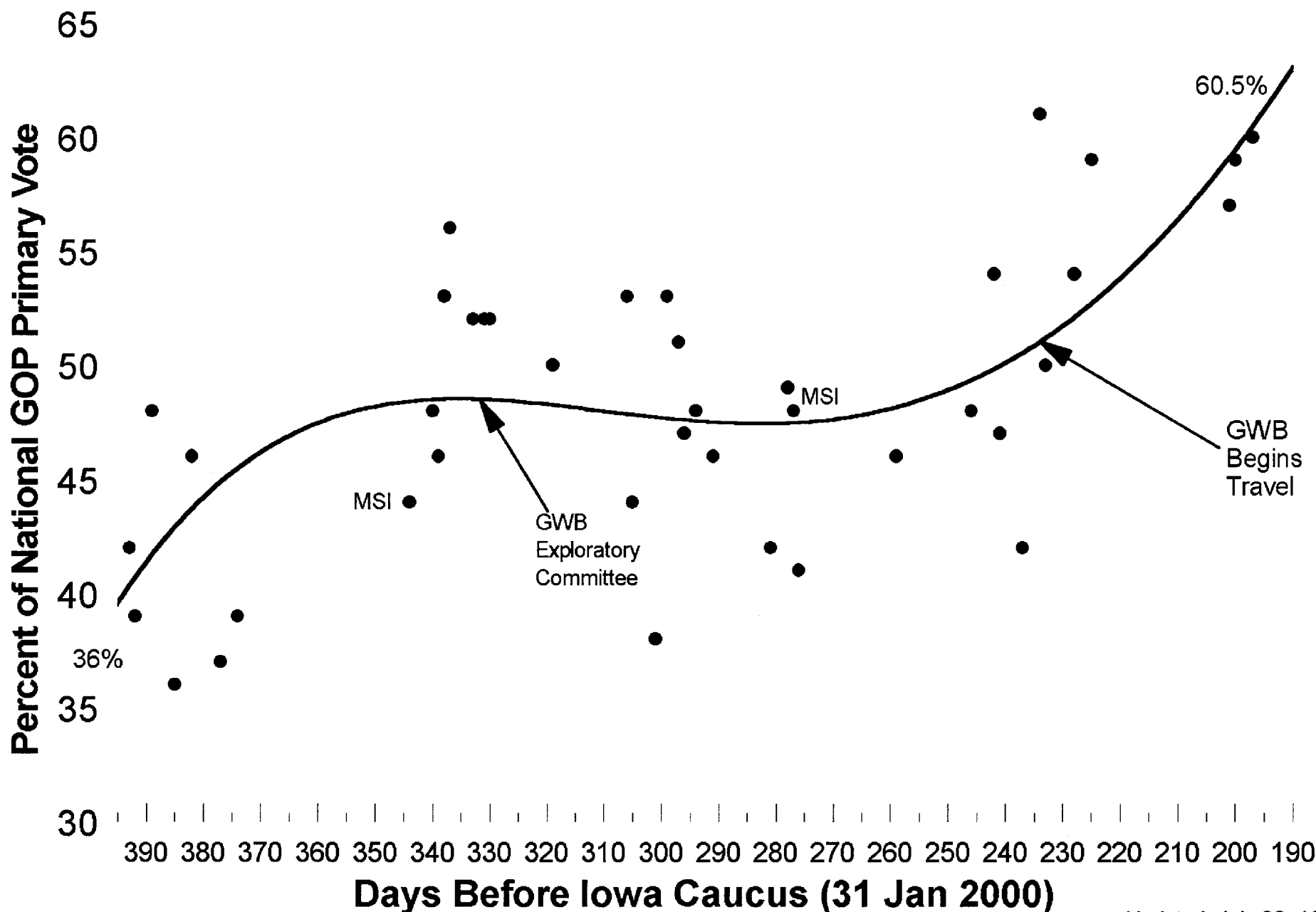
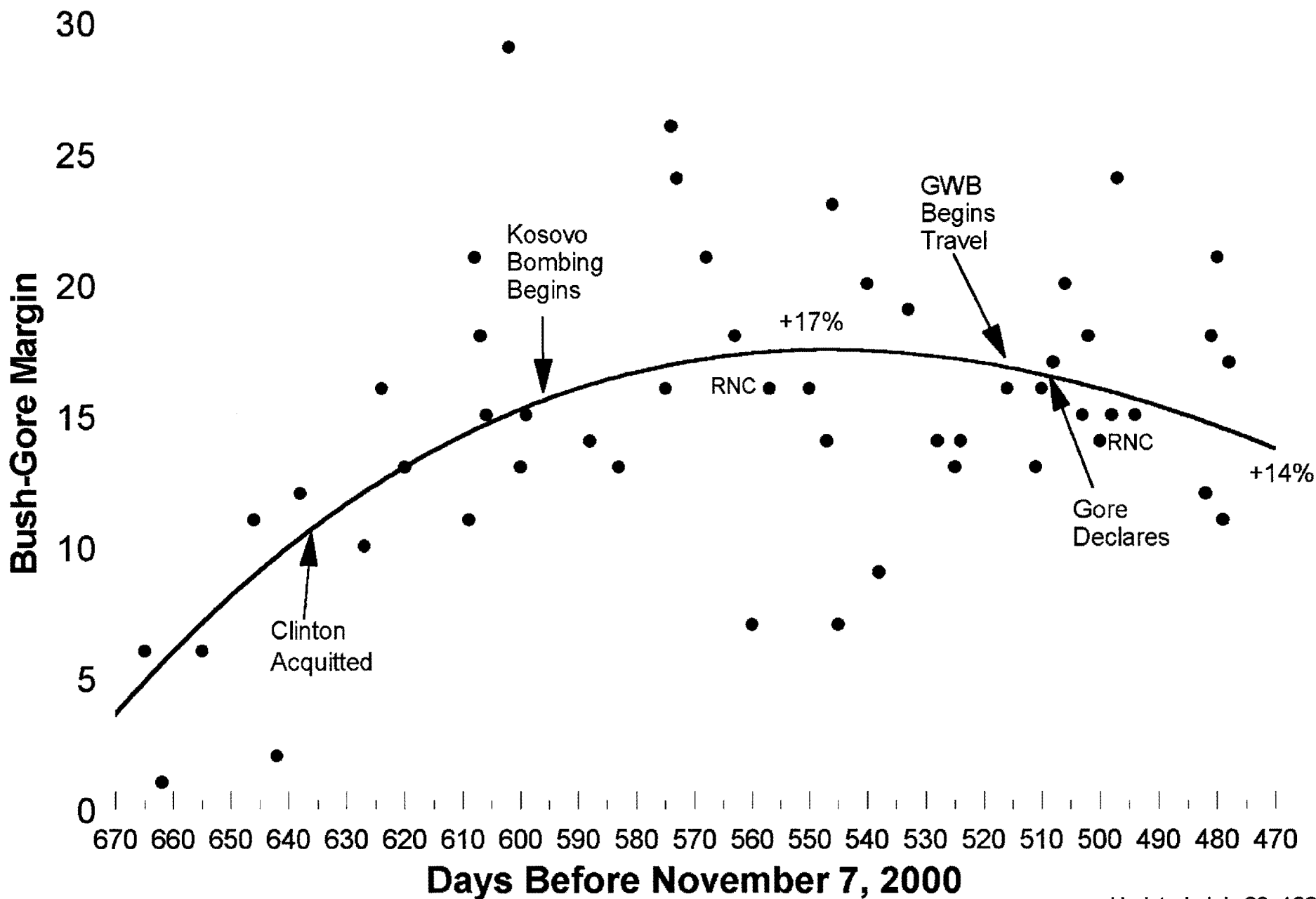


Figure 2

Trend to NET Bush-Gore General Election Vote: National Polls



Trend to NET National Direction

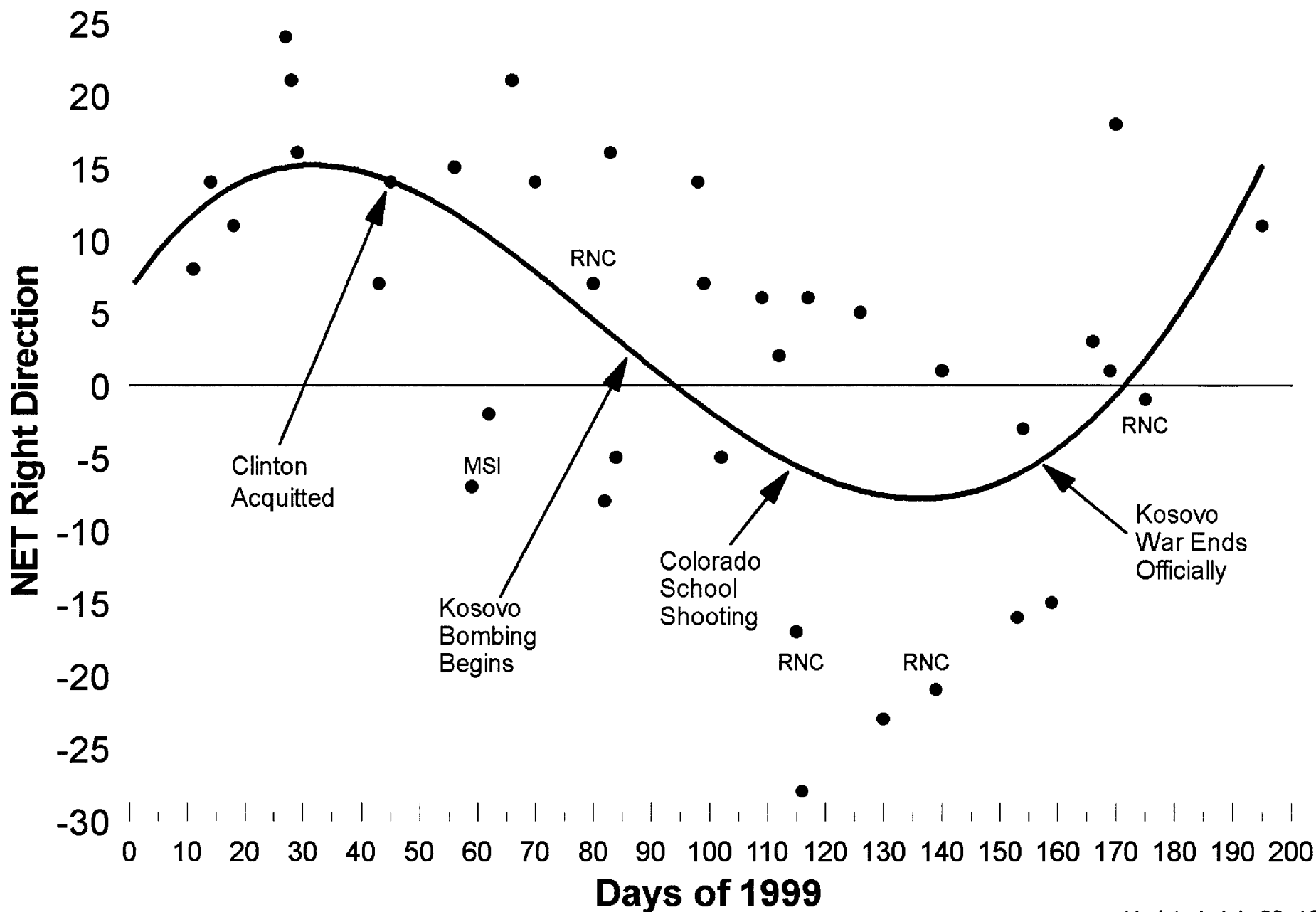


Figure 1

Trend to George W. Bush Primary Vote: National Polls

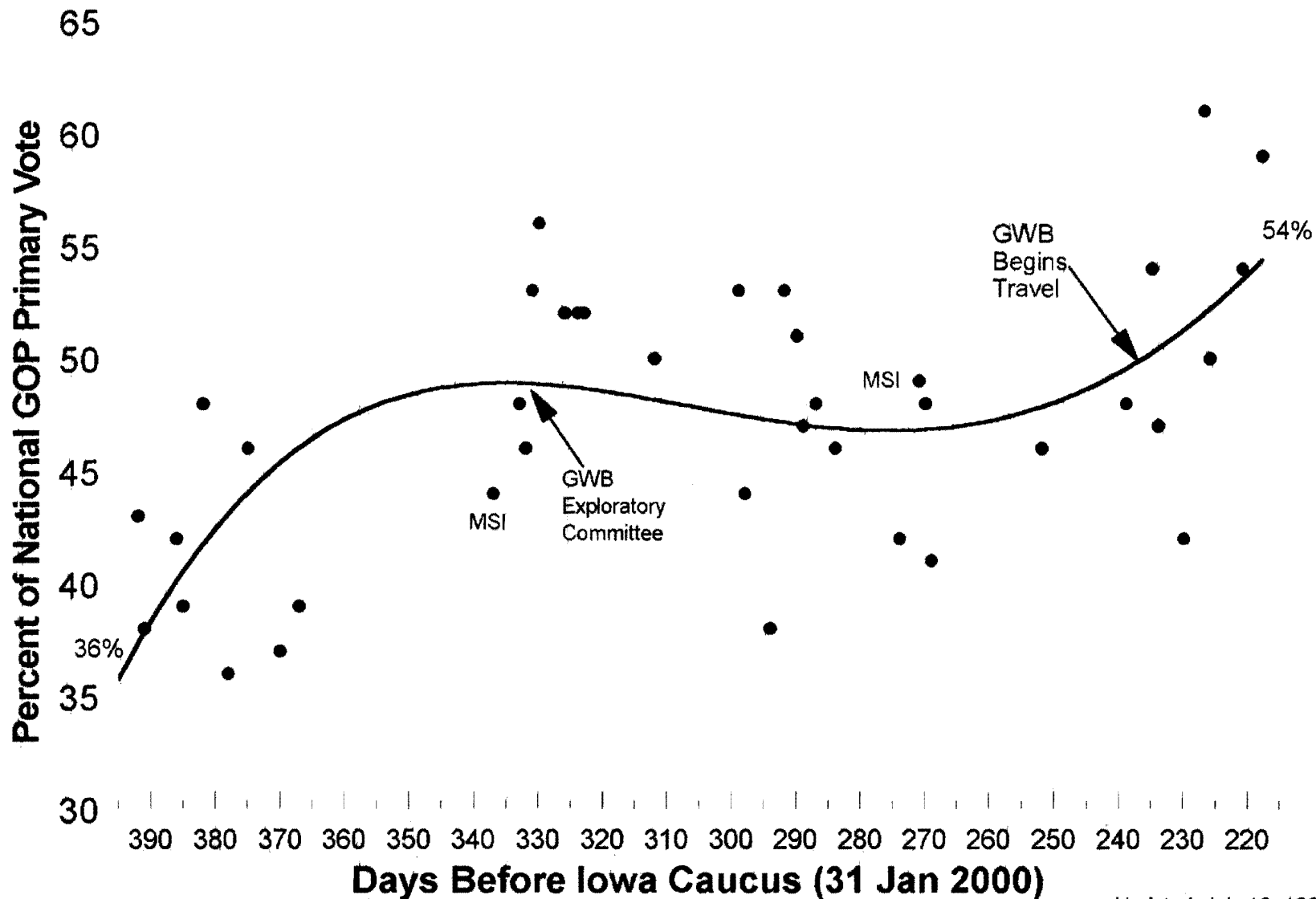
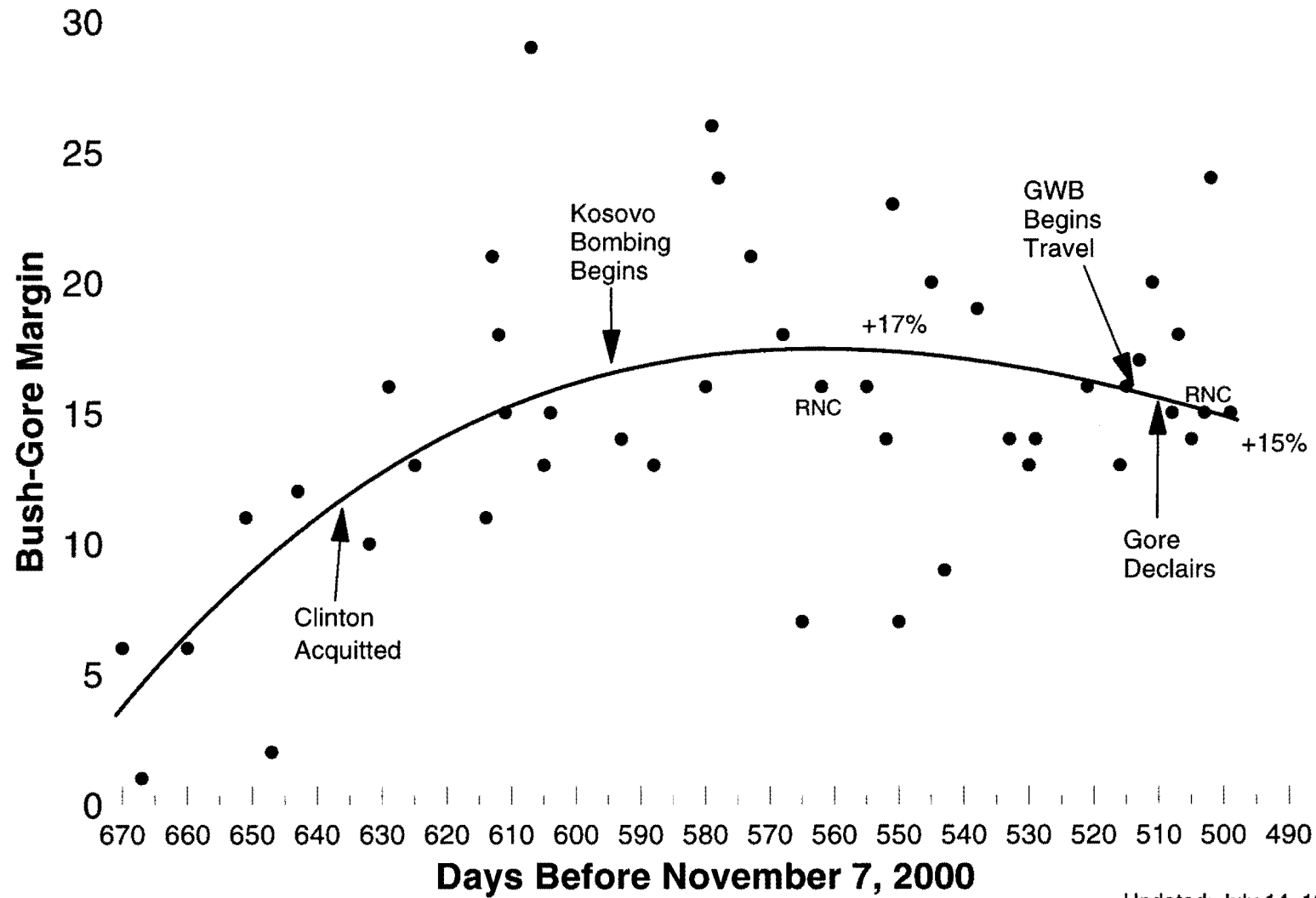


Figure 2

Trend to NET Bush-Gore General Election Vote: National Polls



Trend to NET National Direction

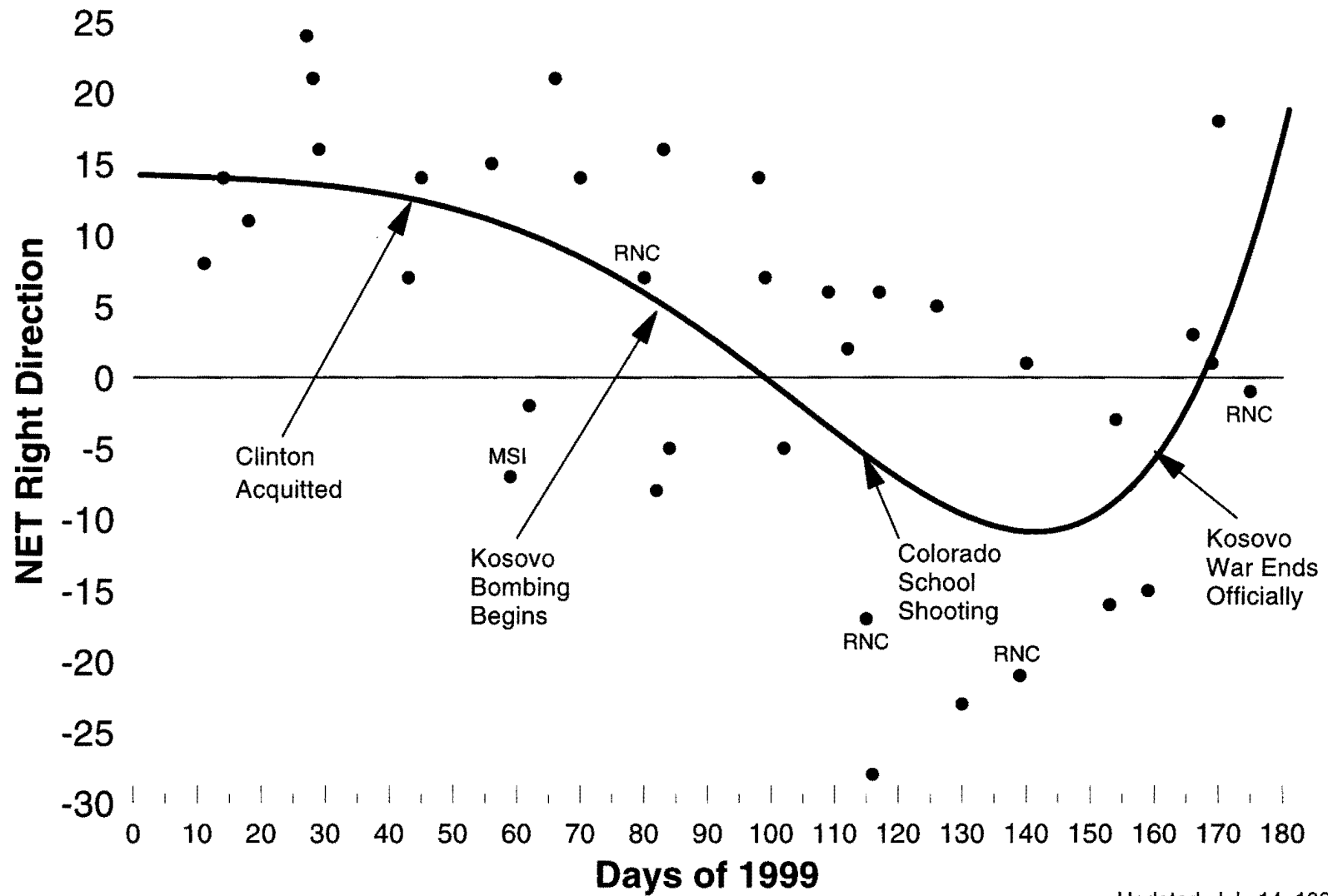


Figure 1

Trend to George W. Bush Primary Vote: National Polls

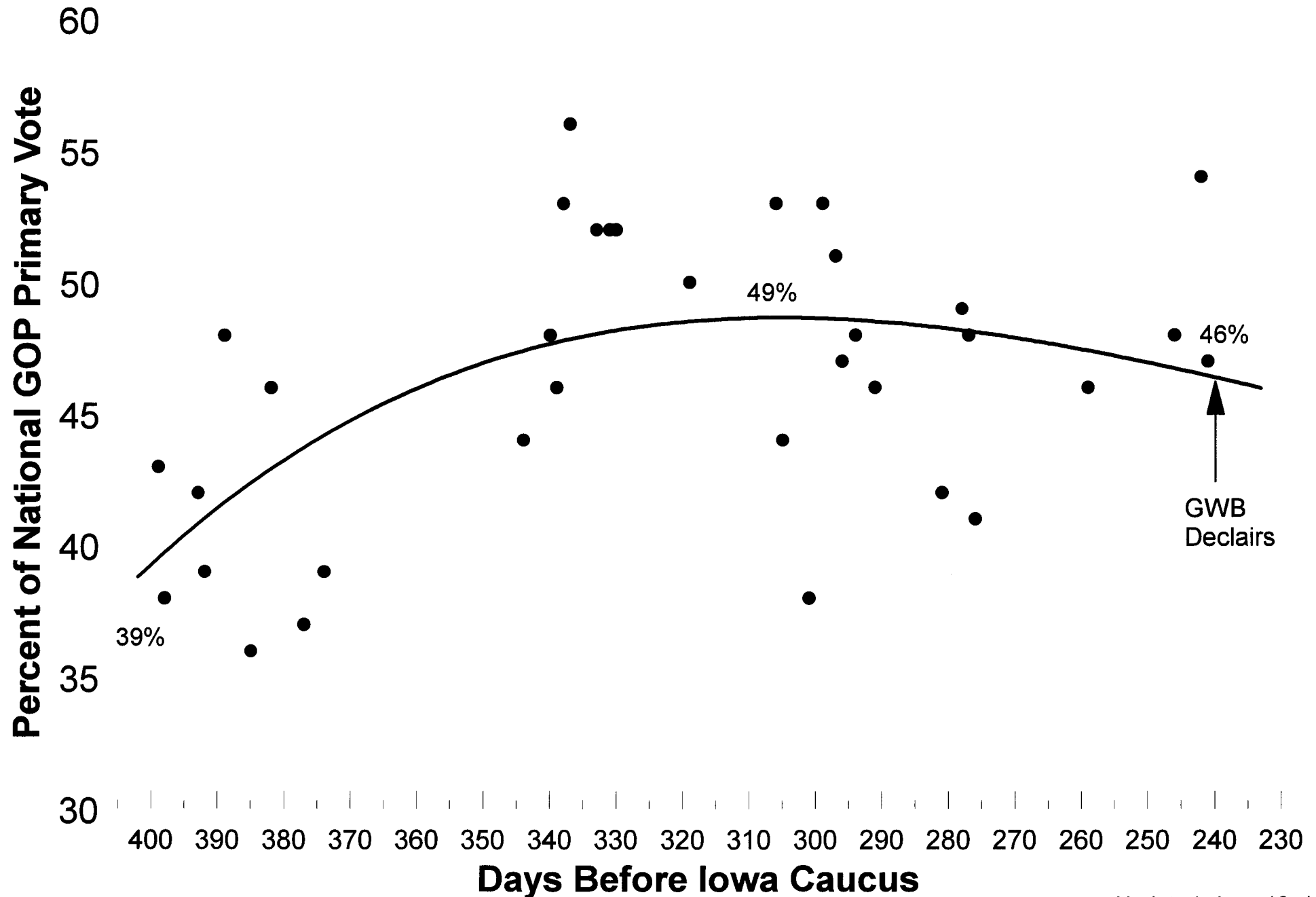


Figure 2

Trend to NET Bush-Gore General Election Vote: National Polls

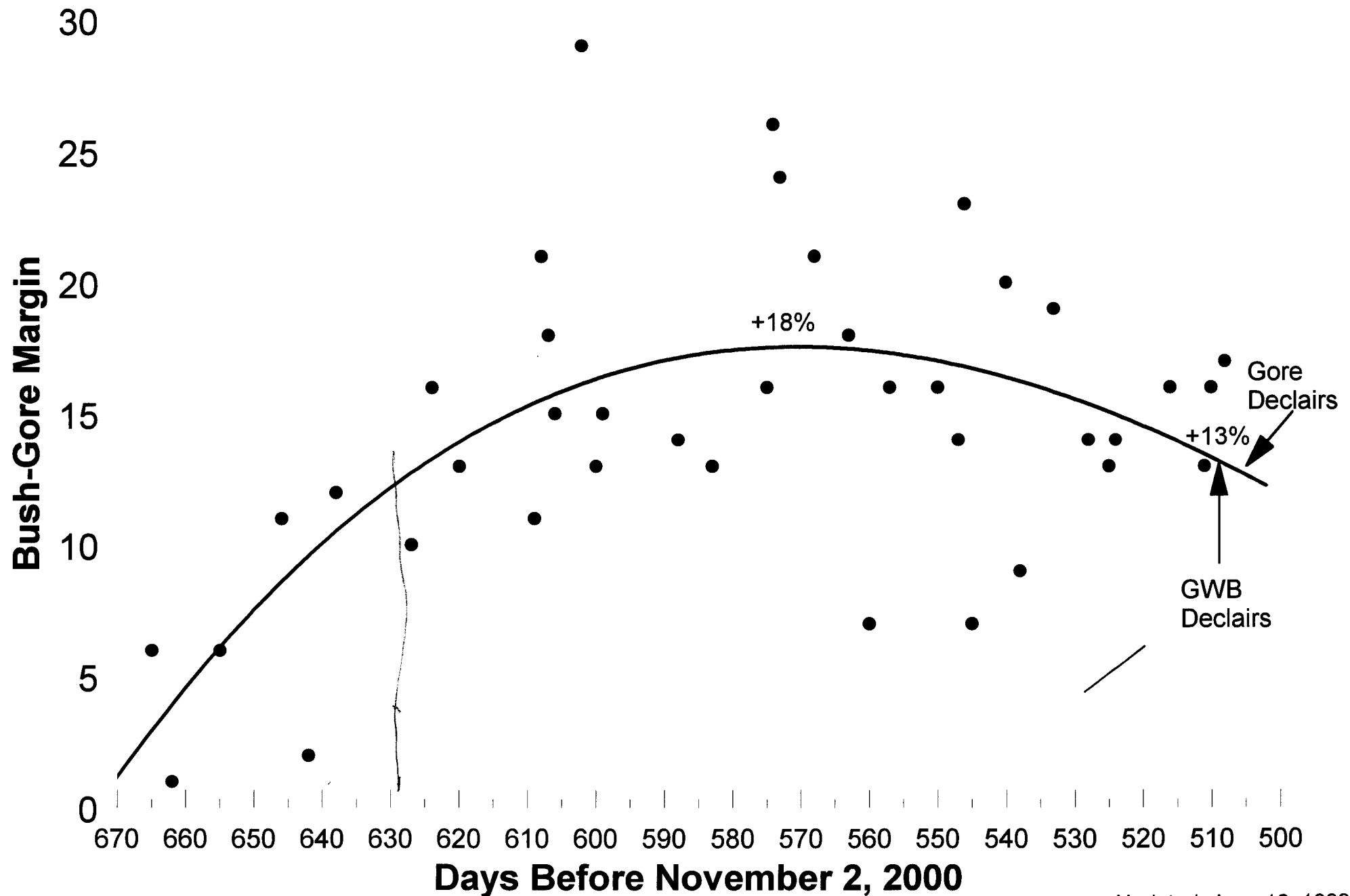


Table 1
Republican Presidential Primary 2000
NATIONAL Public and Private Polls

Source	Date	G.W. Bush	E. Dole	John McCain	Dan Quayle	Steve Forbes	Others	Undecided	N	Sample	Notes
Newsweek (Princeton Survey Research)	6-10-11	47	16	8	9	7	7	6	192		6/12: GWB Announces
CNN/USA Today (Gallup)	6/9-10	54	14	3	8	6	8	7			
CBS News	6/5-6	48	14	5	6	5	12	10			
CNN/USA Today (Gallup)	5/23-24	46	18	6	7	5	7	11	466	R/Lean	
Research 2000	5/5-7	41	19	12	9	4	9	6	277	LV	
Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	5/5-6	48	13	5	8	3	8	15		RV	
Market Strategies	5/3-5	49	18	5	7	6	8	7	340	Adults	
CNN/USA Today (Gallup)	4/30-5/2	42	24	4	6	6	13	5	411	Adults	
Newsweek (Princeton Survey Research)	4/21-22	46	14	8	8	5	9	10	251	Adults	
NBC/WSJ	4/17-19	48	19	6	4	6	9	8	322	Adults	
Reuters (Zogby)	4/15-17	47	17	9	3	3	12	9		LV	
Newsweek (Princeton Survey Research)	4/15-16	51	16	6	9	5	8	5	273	Adults	
CNN/USA Today (Gallup)	4/13-14	53	16	5	7	6	8	5		Adults	
Southern Company (MSI)	4/8-12	38	24	4	7	5	16	6	410	Adults	
Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	4/7-8	44	18	7	7	5	9	10		RV	
Zogby	4/5-7	53	12	4	4	4	12	11		LV	
Time/CNN (Yankelovich Partners)	3/25	50	15	4	6	7	9	9		Adults	
CNN/USA Today (Gallup)	3/12-14	52	20	3	9	1	12	3		Adults	
ABC/Washington Post (TNS Research)	3/11-14	52	25	2	6	4	8	3		RV	
Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	3/10-11	52	18	1	6	5	10	8			
Zogby	3/4-7	56	11	2	8	4	7	12	324	LV	
NBC/WSJ (Hart/Teeter)	3/4-7	53	18	2	7	6	9	5		Adults	
Newsweek (Princeton)	3/4-5	46	20	5	11	3	3	12		Adults	
Time/CNN (Yankelovich Partners)	3/4	48	17	3	8	3	10	11		Adults	
Market Strategies	2/25-28	44	22	2	6	5	10	11	335	Adults	
LA Times	1/27-29	39	25	4	17	4	4	7		Adults	
Marist Institute	1/25-26	37	27	3	8	6	7	12		RV	
Time/CNN (Yankelovich Partners)	1/20-21	42	21	4	11	5	4	13	387	Adults	
NBC/WSJ (Hart/Teeter)	1/16-18	36	26	5	8	4	13	8		Adults	
Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	1/13-14	48	20	0	5	5	12	10		RV	
CNN/USA Today (Gallup)	1/8-10	42	22	8	6	5	9	8	410	Adults	
Gannett (Opinion Research Corp.)	1/6-11	39	22	5	6	5	13	10	253		
Time/CNN (Yankelovich Partners)	1/7	38	26	4	7	5	7	13		Adults	
Wall Street Week (Opinion Research Corp.)	1/2-4	43	12	4	5	7	16	13	375	Adults	

Table 2
Republican Presidential Primary 2000
STATE Public and Private Polls

Source (arranged by known state primary date)	State	Date	G.W. Bush	E. Dole	John McCain	Dan Quayle	Steve Forbes	Others	Unde- cided	N	Notes
February 6, 2000:											
Research 2000	IA	5/14-18	28	16	6	10	6	17	18	402	6/12: GWB announces in IA
Research 2000	IA	5/14-18	25	14	5	12	6	19	19	201	All Republicans
Iowa Project 2000 (PSI)	IA	3/4	37	16	3	8	2	23	11	300	Likely caucus attendees
American Assn of Health Plans (Ayres & Assoc)	IA	1/20-21	30	19	3	9	6	17	16	300	
February 22, 2000:											
New Hampshire Poll (ARG)	NH	6/4-10	38	15	10	4	2	16	15	450	6/14: GWB visits NH
Boston Herald (RKM Research)	NH	6/7-9	45	11	11	4	4	7	18	388	
Research 2000	NH	5/16-19	30	15	11	10	5	15	14	407	
AAHP (Ayres, McHenry & Assoc)	NH	5/12-13	38	13	10	4	5	10	20	300	Age 45 and over only
The New Hampshire Poll (American Research Group)	NH	Early May	28	17	7	8	5	16	19	450	
WMUR-TV/CNN (UNH)	NH	4/24-5/2	37	16	14	4	6	10	13	279	
Franklin Pierce College	NH	4/22-27	35	15	9	3	5	15	18		
Reuters (Zogby)	NH	4/15-16	38	15	9	8	6	16	8		
Franklin Pierce College	NH	2/8-11	23	32	3	4	6	12	20	260	
The New Hampshire Poll (American Research Group)	NH	2/4-8	21	25	3	6	2	26	17	454	Alexander: 10%
WMUR-TV/CNN (RKM Research)	NH	1/8-11	30	31	7	3	5	10	14	576	
American Assn of Health Plans (Ayres & Assoc)	NH	1/4-5	23	27	6	5	6	20	13	300	
The New Hampshire Poll (American Research Group)	NH	12/10-15	29	7	0	4	5	38	17	450	Alexander: 15%
February 26, 2000:											
Palmetto Poll (Strom Thurmond Inst.)	SC	4/21-28	55	14	5	6	4	10	7	400	
March 7, 2000:											
Los Angeles Times	CA	6/10-14	50	13	2	6	7	11	11	391	
KCRA (Research 2000)	CA	5/27-29	31	16	12	6	5	17	11	300	
Field Poll	CA	3/3-14	37	19	4	6	4	11	19	286	
Marist Institute	NY	2/28-3/1	35	13	3	5	1	37	6	212	Pataki 19%, Giuliani 13%
March 10, 2000:											
Colorado News Poll	CO	5/6-16	53	24		10				234	
Rocky Mountain Poll (Behavioral Research Center)	AZ	4/2-6	31	12	23	4	7	3	20	230	
Arizona Chamber Information	AZ	2/10-15	12	9	25	27	7	19	1	288	GOP/Indies
Promark Research Corporation	AZ	2/1-4	25	16	28	10	9	2	10	320	Regis GOP
Rocky Mountain Poll (Behavioral Research Center)	AZ	1/9-14	21	16	26	5	9	4	19	237	
March 14, 2000:											
Florida Business United	FL	4/27-29	48	24	7		10	1	10	206	Quayle not offered as choice
March 21, 2000:											
Ohio Poll (University of Cincinnati)	OH	5/11-23	39	20	5	9		5		343	GOP/Indies
Ohio Poll (University of Cincinnati)	OH	2/4-16	36	25	3	15	3	14	4	305	
EPIC/MRA	MI	4/21-25	63	24					13	158	
Detroit News (Mitchell Research)	MI	2/10-13	37	30		8	7	6	12		
June 6, 2000											
Alabama Education Association	AL	5/10-18	44	16	5	8	4	7	16		

Table 3
George W. Bush Favorability
STATE Public and Private Polls: Primary Electorates

Source	State	Date	Fav	Unfav	No Imp	NET FAV	N	Sample
Boston Herald (RKM Research)	NH	6/7-9	75	8	17	67	388	RV
New Hampshire Poll (ARG)	NH	Early May	79	7	14	72	450	RV
WMUR-TV	NH	4/24-5/2	78	8	14	70	300	RV
WMUR-TV	NH	1/8-11	75	4	21	71	576	LV

Table 4
Democratic Presidential Primary 2000
NATIONAL Public and Private Polls

Source	Date	Gore	Bradley	Jackson	Gephardt	Others	Unde- cided	N	Sample	Notes
CNN/USA Today (Gallup)	5/23-24	59	30				11		Adults	"Prefer Another" given
RNC (Market Strategies)	5/18-20	67	24				9	314	RV	
Zogby	5/14-16	55	27				18	382	RV	
Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	5/5-6	48	15			28	9		RV	
CNN/USA Today (Gallup)	4/30-5/2	66	23				11	492	Adults	
RNC (Market Strategies)	4/23-25	67	20				13	312	RV	
Newsweek (Princeton Survey Research)	4/21-22	47	23				30	190	RV	
NBC/WSJ	4/17-19	62	23				15	382	Adults	
Reuters (Zogby International)	4/15-17	65	22				13		LV	
CNN/USA Today (Gallup)	4/13-14	54	34				12		Adults	
Southern Company (MSI)	4/8-12	64	22			4	10	440	Adults	
Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	4/7-8	46	16			29	9		RV	
Zogby International	4/5-7	56	23				21		LV	
Time/CNN (Yankelovich Partners)	3/25	49	29				22		Adults	
CNN/USA Today (Gallup)	3/12-14	42	27	14			17		Adults	
ABC/Washington Post (TNS Research)	3/11-14	59	20	16			5		RV	
Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	3/10-11	56	14	14			16		RV	
Zogby	3/4-7	50	15	13			22	337	LV	
NBC/WSJ (Hart/Teeter)	3/4-7	65	20			5	10			
Time/CNN (Yankelovich Partners)	3/4	54	20			6	20	459		
LA Times	1/27-29	52	7	17	11	4	9		Adults	
Marist Institute	1/25-26	44	16	11	7	6	16		RV	
Time/CNN (Yankelovich Partners)	1/20-21	44	12	17	9	3	15	472	Adults	
NBC/WSJ (Hart/Teeter)	1/16-18	45	13	11	9	4	18		Adults	
Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	1/13-14	42	12	6	9	8	23		RV	
CNN/USA Today (Gallup)	1/8-10	47	12	11	13	6	11	522	Adults	
Gannett (Opinion Research Corp.)	1/6-11	48	11	8	9	5	19	321		
Time/CNN (Yankelovich Partners)	1/7	39	12	13	12	9	15		Adults	
Wall Street Week (Opinion Research Corp.)	1/2-4	35	14	9	11	5	26	424	Adults	

Table 5
Presidential Trial Heat 2000: George W. Bush vs. Al Gore
NATIONAL Public and Private Polls

Source	Date	G.W. Bush	A. Gore	Undecided	NET BUSH	N	Sample	Notes
ABC News	6/9-13	53	36	11	17	1045	Adults	6/16: Al Gore announces 6/12: GWB announces
Newsweek (Princeton Survey Research)	6/10-11	54	38	8	16	756	Adults	
CNN/USA Today (Gallup)	6/9-10	55	42	3	13	1031	Adults	
CNN/USA Today (Gallup)	6/4-5	56	40	4	16	1053	Adults	
CNN/Time (Yankelovich)	5/26-27	54	41	5	13	1017	Adults	One (Friday) night, sm smpl
CNN/USA Today (Gallup)	5/23-24	54	40	6	14	1050	Adults	
Harris	5/14-19	53	34	13	19	1010	Adults	
Newsweek (Princeton Survey Research)	5/14	51	42	7	9	431	RV	
Rasmussen Research	5/12	54	34	12	20	673	LV	
Research 2000	5/5-7	49	42	9	7	813	LV	
Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	5/5-6	56	33	11	23	901	RV	
Market Strategies	5/3-5	50	36	14	14	800	Adults	
CNN/USA Today (Gallup)	4/30-5/2	56	40	4	16	1014	Adults	
RNC (Market Strategies)	4/23-25	55	39	6	16	800	RV	
Newsweek (Princeton Survey Research)	4/21-22	48	41	11	7	609	RV	
NBC/WSJ (Hart/Teeter)	4/17-19	53	35	12	18	1006	Adults	
CNN/USA Today (Gallup)	4/13-14	59	38	3	21	1069	Adults	
Schroth and Associates (D)	4/5-9	57	33	10	24	800	RV	
Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	4/7-8	58	32	10	26	921	RV	
Zogby	4/5-7	53	37	10	16	916	LV	
Pew Research Center	3/24-30	54	41	5	13	1324	RV	
Time/CNN (Yankelovich Partners)	3/25	54	40	6	14	1049	Adults	
CNN/USA Today (Gallup)	3/12-14	56	41	3	15	1025	Adults	
ABC/Washington Post (TNS Research)	3/11-14	54	41	5	13	1515	Adults	
Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	3/10-11	59	30	11	29	900	RV	Combined half-samples <i>Requital 2/12</i>
CNN/USA Today (Gallup)	3/5-7	56	41	3	15	1021	Adults	
NBC/WSJ (Hart/Teeter)	3/4-7	52	34	14	18	2012	Adults	
Newsweek (Princeton)	3/4-5	57	36	7	21	750	RV	
Time/CNN (Yankelovich Partners)	3/4	52	41	7	11	1071	Adults	
CNN/USA Today (Gallup)	2/19-21	55	42	3	13	1014	Adults	
Zogby	2/15-17	54	38	8	16	756	LV	
Washington Post	2/12-14	50	40	10	10	1010	Adults	
Republican Leadership Council (Strimple)	2/1-3	49	37	14	12	600	LV	
Newsweek	1/28-29	45	43	12	2	751	Adults	
LA Times	1/27-29	57	39	4	18	960	Adults	
Marist Institute	1/25-26	53	42	5	11	700	RV	
Pew Research Center	1/14-17	50	44	6	6	472	RV	
CNN/USA Today (Gallup)	1/8-10	48	47	5	1	1014	Adults	
Time/CNN (Yankelovich Partners)	1/7	49	43	8	6	1067	Adults	

Table 6
Presidential Trial Heat 2000: Elizabeth Dole vs. Al Gore
NATIONAL Public and Private Polls

Source	Date	E. Dole	A. Gore	Unde- cided	NET DOLE	N	Sample	Notes
CNN/USA Today (Gallup)	6/4-5	51	44	5	7	1053	Adults	
CNN/Time (Yankalovich)	5/26-27	48	45	7	3	1017	Adults	
Research 2000	5/5-7	50	42	8	8	813	LV	
Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	5/4-6	47	38	15	9	901	RV	
RNC (Market Strategies)	4/23-25	49	43	8	6	800	RV	
NBC/WSJ (Hart/Teeter)	4/17-19	45	40	15	5	1006	Adults	
CNN/USA Today (Gallup)	4/13-14	54	42	4	12	1069	Adults	
Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	4/7-8	51	36	13	15	921	RV	
Zogby	4/5-7	49	38	13	11	916	LV	
Pew Research Center	3/24-30	52	42	6	10	1324	RV	
Time/CNN (Yankelovich Partners)	3/25	48	45	7	3	1049	Adults	
CNN/USA Today (Gallup)	3/12-14	52	44	4	8	1025	Adults	
ABC/Washington Post (TNS Research)	3/11-14	51	43	6	8	1515	Adults	
Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	3/10-11	50	34	16	16	900	RV	
CNN/USA Today (Gallup)	3/5-7	50	45	5	5	1021	Adults	
NBC/WSJ (Hart/Teeter)	3/4-7	48	39	13	9	2012	Adults	
CNN/USA Today (Gallup)	2/19-21	50	45	5	5	1014	Adults	
Zogby	2/15-17	53	37	10	16	756	LV	
Republican Leadership Council (Strimble)	2/1-3	46	38	16	8	600	LV	
Newsweek	1/28-29	42	44	14	-2	751	Adults	
LA Times	1/27-29	50	42	8	8	960	Adults	
Marist Institute	1/25-26	50	44	6	6	700	RV	
NBC/WSJ (Hart/Teeter)	1/16-18	47	38	15	9	1011	Adults	
Pew Research Center	1/14-17	47	43	10	4	458	RV	
CNN/USA Today (Gallup)	1/8-10	49	47	4	2	1014	Adults	
Time/CNN (Yankelovich Partners)	1/7	48	45	7	3	1067	Adults	

Table 7
Presidential Trial Heat 2000: Three-Way Trial Heats
NATIONAL Public and Private Polls

		Candidates			Trial Heat Results					
Source	Date	GOP	Dem	Other	GOP	Dem	Other	Undec	NET R	N
Rasmusson Research	5/12	Bush	Gore	Ventura	47	31	12	10	16	673
Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	5/5-6	Bush	Gore	Ventura	50	30	9	11	20	901
RNC (Market Strategies)	4/23-25	Bush	Gore	Ventura	48	35	11	6	13	800
Schroth and Associates (D)	4/5-9	Bush	Gore	Ventura	40	31	27	2	9	800
Luntz Research	3/8-11	Bush	Gore	Ventura	45	25	15	15	20	1200
Zogby	3/4-7	Bush	Gore	Ventura	47	33	11	9	14	908

Table 8
Other Presidential Trial Heats 2000
NATIONAL Public and Private Polls

Source	Matchup	Date	GOP	Dem	Unde- cided	NET GOP	N	Sample
Newsweek (Princeton Survey Research)	Bush vs. Bradley	6/10-11	57	33	10	24	756	Adults
CNN/USA Today (Gallup)	Bush vs. Bradley	6/9-10	60	33	7	27	1031	Adults
RNC (Market Strategies)	McCain vs. Gore	4/23-25	36	49	15	-13	800	RV
Newsweek (Princeton Survey Research)	Bush vs. Bradley	4/21-22	50	37	13	13	609	RV
NBC/WSJ	Quayle vs. Gore	4/17-19	29	52	19	-23	1006	Adults
CNN/USA Today (Gallup)	Bush vs. Bradley	4/13-14	61	34	5	27	1069	Adults
CNN/USA Today (Gallup)	McCain vs. Gore	4/13-14	43	50	7	-7	1069	Adults
Wirthlin Worldwide (R)	Bush/Dole vs Gore/DiFi	4/9-12	56	33	11	23	1002	Adults
Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	Alexander vs. Gore	4/7-8	30	46	24	-16	921	RV
Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	Quayle vs. Bradley	4/7-8	33	48	19	-15	921	RV
Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	Buchanan vs. Gore	4/7-8	51	29	20	22	921	RV
Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	Bush vs. Bradley	4/7-8	61	26	13	35	921	RV
Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	Dole vs. Bradley	4/7-8	52	33	15	19	921	RV
Zogby	Bush vs. Bradley	4/5-7	54	26	20	28	916	LV
Zogby	Dole vs. Bradley	4/5-7	49	31	20	18	916	LV
CNN/USA Today (Gallup)	Forbes vs. Gore	3/12-14	37	58	5	-21	1025	Adults
ABC/Washington Post (TNS Research)	Bush vs. Bradley	3/11-14	58	34	8	24	1515	Adults
ABC/Washington Post (TNS Research)	Dole vs. Bradley	3/11-14	53	38	9	15	1515	Adults
Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	McCain vs. Gore	3/10-11	30	44	26	-14	900	RV
Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	Forbes vs. Gore	3/10-11	34	47	19	-13	900	RV
Zogby	Dole vs. H. Clinton	2/15-17	54	38	8	16	756	LV
Time/CNN (Yankelovich Partners)	Bush vs. Bradley	1/20-21	52	38	10	14	1024	Adults
Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	Dole vs. H. Clinton	1/13-14	54	35	11	19	902	RV

Table 9
Presidential Trial Heat 2000: George W. Bush vs. Al Gore
STATE Public and Private Polls

Source (states ranked by Net Bush)	State	Date	G.W. Bush	A. Gore	Undecided	NET BUSH	N	Sample	Notes
Texas Poll (Scripps-Howard)	TX	3/30-4/7	73	17	10	56	1003	Adults	Ventura: 5%
Dallas Morning News (Blum & Wesprin)	TX	1/5-6	68	19	13	49	514	Adults	
Moore Information	ID	4/17-19	61	20	19	41	450	RV	
Sooner Survey (Cole Hargrave Snodgrass)	OK	5/10-12	60	25	15	35	500	RV	
Oklahoma Poll (Tulsa World)	OK	4/6-14	66	29	5	37		RV	
Sooner Survey (Cole Hargrave Snodgrass)	OK	Feb-99	57	33	10	24		RV	
Moore Information	MT	3/15-16	55	25	20	30	500	RV	
Alabama Education Association	AL	5/10-18	60	32	8	28	512	RV	
Boston Herald (RKM Research)	NH	6/7-9	54	32	14	22	838	RV	
Research 2000	NH	5/16-19	55	39	6	16	628	LV	
The New Hampshire Poll (UNH)	NH	4/26-5/2	55	35	10	20	710	RV	
Franklin Pierce College	NH	4/22-27	54	30	16	24	511	RV	
Research 2000	AZ	6/1-2	55	34	11	21	605	RV	
Arizona Chamber Information	AZ	2/10-15	42	32	26	10	503	RV	
EPIC-MRA	MI	5/25-27	52	33	15	19	600	RV	
EPIC-MRA	MI	4/21-25	47	35	18	12	606	Active V	
EPIC-MRA	MI	3/16-21	54	30	16	24	600	LV	
Detroit News (Mitchell Research)	MI	2/10-13	47	37	16	10	400	RV	
EPIC-MRA	MI	1/20-21	47	38	15	9	600	Active V	
Ohio Poll (University of Cincinnati)	OH	5/11-23	56	37	7	19	626	RV	
Ohio Poll (University of Cincinnati)	OH	2/4-16	54	38	8	16	609	RV	
Mason-Dixon	VA	6/3-5	52	35	13	17	628	RV	
Research 2000	SC	5/29-6/3	54	37	9	17	601	LV	
Moore Information	WA	3/20-21	50	34	16	16	500	RV	
Moore Information	OR	5/6-8	50	36	14	14	500	RV	
Redmond Campaign (Chris Wilson)	NM	4/22-25	51	37	12	14	500	RV	
Research 2000	IA	5/14-16	52	43	5	9	804	LV	
Research 2000	LA	6/1-3	52	44	4	8	602	RV	
Market Strategies	RI	3/25-28	50	43	7	7	500	RV	PRIVATE
Quinnipiac College	NJ	3/23-29	47	40	13	7	984	RV	
Quinnipiac College	NJ	2/3-8	46	41	13	5	926	RV	
Los Angeles Times	CA	6/10-14	49	44	7	5	1179	RV	
KCRA (Research 2000)	CA	5/27-29	49	44	7	5	810	RV	
Moore Information	CA	4/15-17	45	39	16	6	800	RV	
Field Poll	CA	3/3-14	48	46	6	2	718	RV	
Voter/Consumer Research	CA	2/10-15	50	43	7	7	800	RV	
Public Policy Institute	CA	12/4-13	47	45	8	2	996	LV	
POS	PA	4/5-7	46	41	13	5	403	RV	
Opinion Dynamics	MA	Late May	40	36	24	4	600	RV	
Boston Herald (RKM Research)	MA	4/20-22	44	37	19	7	408	RV	
Mason-Dixon	HI	5/13-18	37	39	24	-2	428	RV	
Mason-Dixon	TN	4/21-23	43	46	11	-3	626	RV	
Gonzales/Arscott Research	MD	3/23-28	43	47	10	-4	806	RV	
Quinnipiac College	NY	3/17-21	42	47	11	-5	909	RV	
Marist Institute	NY	2/28-3/1	46	47	7	-1	702	RV	
Quinnipiac College	NY	2/16-21	40	49	11	-9	1270	RV	
Marist Institute	NY	1/24	44	48	8	-4	513	RV	